History and state of the art of music in Chibale, Zambia in the 1980s

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Publication date
2007

Document Version
Final published version

Citation for published version (APA):
History and state of the art of music in Chibale, Zambia in the 1980s

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof.dr. D. C. van den Boom
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen in de Aula der Universiteit op woensdag 21 november 2007, te 14.00 uur

door Jan Jozeph Emmanuel Maria IJzermans

geboren te Bergen op Zoom
Promotor: prof. R. de Groot

en co-promotor: dr. W. van der Meer

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen
History and state of the art of music in Chibale, Zambia in the 1980s

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

Jan J. IJzermans

2007
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Acknowledgements

I want to extend my thanks to the University of Zambia to which I was affiliated during the periods of research in Zambia and to the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Research (NWO, research number W26-285), the University of Amsterdam and the Utrecht School of the Arts for providing the funding for the research.

For their hospitality I am very grateful to Mwesa Mapoma and his wife. Dr. Mapoma not only introduced me into Zambia and Chibale, he was also a great support throughout the research. I want to thank Wim van Binsbergen and Ernst Heins for their support for the research in the 1980s. Thanks go to Chris Creed for proof-reading the manuscript.

Thanks also go to my colleagues at the faculty of Art, Media & Technology for giving me the room to round off this work. I want to thank my mother Vera van Ginneken for all the work she did and the support she gave, and my children Rogier, Joris, Lukas and Maria for their support.

Ndi uwalufya abayashi ba Mika Mwape Chungwa (ba Mwela) ukwambili. Bambi abo ningafwaisha ukwibukishiwa ni banaSibilu (Ailini Chibale Musonda, bamukaKunda Mfwanti) abanondolweleko ifyo ukwilwa kwaba mwa Chibale, ba Kambele abaishibishe ukupanga ifyakulishalisha, ba Kansenkele (ba Shemu Mambwe), ing’omba, ba Sitifini Nunda abaishibe ukwimba, ukulishika nokushana, ba Alison Wila Chikola abali abena mupalamano wanjii abawemwe elyo na ba Siame Mwiba ba-mashina wanjii abali abananko nabucibusu.

Insansa no’mucinshi uwo nakwatile ba shingang’a bakalamba babili ba Salati Mukoti (ba Chalebaila) na abayashi banaNshimbi (ba-mukaNduben) mukoshanya nabo ukwing’i elyo ne’fimbone nokubuka. Bambi abapielesehe mukusupopola iyashi ukucenjela mu fintu ifya mano ni ba Alube Mika, ba Sheki Mbomba, ba Munteta Chalebaila (ba Kamimbya), banaNjemba, ba Sonika (banaNkunka) naba Musonda Chunga elyo nabayashi ba mfumu ba Teneshi ba Chibale ne’pyani yabo uwaishiba ati mupini uno tawipaya mbwa.

I still miss the late Mika Mwape Chungwa (ba Mwela) maningi shiteliki. Others who I wish to be remembered are banaSibilu (Ailini Chibale Musonda, bamukaKunda Mfwanti), who introduced me into the possession scene of Chibale, Kambele, the great instrument maker, Shemu Mambwe (ba Kansenkele), the ing’omba, Sitifini Nunda, who knew how to sing, play and dance, and Alison Wila Chikola, who was a fine neighbour. A good friend was Siame Mwiba, ba Nseko, my namesake.

Gratitude and respect I feel for the two great shingang’a Salati Mukoti (ba Chalebaila) and the late banaNshimbi (banaNduben) for the many conversations and the Cibombe and kubuka. Others who were generous with their hospitality, skill and knowledge were Sheki Mbomba, Munteta Chalebaila (ba Kamimbya), banaNjemena, banaNkunka (ba Sonika), Alube Mika and Musonda Chunga as well as chief Chibale Teneshi Njipika and his successor who knows that one axe-handle doesn’t kill a dog.
I wish to thank Katmelu Kasubika for his help and Marcel van Dijk for his partnership during the 1981 research. Thanks also go to George Chibale, Danyelu Gondwe, Tresford Chomba, Byuti Male, Benadi Mika and Lavenda Mpyakula for the interviewing done for the surveys. For that Maiko Mika Chungwa, Munsele Lupoti, the late Fishto Mayense, Chibuye Mika and Jekson Sikaswe should be thanked as well as for the other good work they did. Many thanks also go to the late Meli Blantoni Chibuye and to Chisenga Blantoni for their help.

Happy were the contacts with the Chisonta family, the Blantoni family, the Chungwa family, the Chikola family and the Chilwa family. For their hospitality and conversations and for helping us out, we thank Piet Verkley, Fritz Pehle and Maurice Cunningham.

How can I thank Basil Chisonta for being with me all these years? I can’t but still I will. For the excellent work, and for drinking, travelling and just being together: twalumba nkambo!

The same sweet problem, for a larger scope and period I have with Roxanne. I can not say it better than this old song does it: Akashinga kamumunda – Naililwa nine Ñanga nensensela mu malimba.

Jan IJzermans

Hilversum, 12 October 2007
Notes on the language used

Citations of people in Chibale who contributed to this thesis are in English though the language used was ciLala. When the ciLala was proverbial, considered to be rich or idiomatic as to our subject the ciLala version of citations is given between brackets or in notes. Central terms and analytical and categorical terms that are hard to represent in English with one or two words are given in ciLala. The reader is supported with a Glossary.

The 1977 approved orthography is followed (Zambian Languages: Orthography Approved by the Ministry of Education. Lusaka: NECZAM). The c (ch in names) is pronounced as the ch in 'child' before all vowels; ng’ is pronounced as the ng in singer. Contraction of the vowels at the end of a word and the beginning of the next word is represented with ‘’, for instance kukafye’cila for kukafya icila.

Most words in ciLala have a long and a short version. These versions are used depending on linguistic and other circumstances. For the ciLala terms in this thesis the short form is used.

The plural form of shing’anga is shing’anga or bashing’anga and the plural of cinsengwe is finsengwe. For the sake of clarity, ciLala terms are given in their singular form, except when they were used in plural form only.

Referring to persons was done in various ways, one of which was referring to the husband with the words bana (wife of) or bamuka (spouse of) or to a child with bana (mother of) or bashi (father of). If the name of the person is composed in this way, the word concerned is written as a prefix: bashiBupe (the father of Bupe), banaNshimbi (the mother of Nshimbi) and bamukaNdubeni (the spouse of Ndubeni).

The thesis is written in the past tense because it is about the past, Chibale in the 1980s, and I do not wish to suggest any continuity between the 1980s and the 2000s a priori. For the sake of readability, the present tense is used when theories are discussed or longer cases are described.

Organisation of the text and other material

Endnotes can be found at the end of each of the three parts of the thesis. They are followed by the song texts, proverbs, stories and notes with the music examples that the text refers to.

The songs, stories and music examples were recorded as a part of the documentation of an event. To avoid disruption, in most cases, two or four microphones were set up to record whatever went on in the conversation, session or ritual. Even if they are not made in a room with a tin roof while it is raining, this rarely results in recordings of 'broadcast quality'.

The songs, music examples and photos that the text refers to are on the CD that goes with this thesis. The reader can listen to them or look at them with the appropriate players on a computer.
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PART I

INTRODUCTION
Introduction

During my first stay in Chibale in 1981 I was struck by the artistic power of the spirit possession cults. Their cult meetings formed the main stage for artistic expression in Chibale (see Photo I-1). This was not an undisputed stage. Many people in Chibale were Jehovah’s Witnesses and shunned the music of the spirit possession cults, if not all endogenous Chibale music. Others were of the opinion that the resurgence of the older local cults that the new possession cults had caused, was influenced too much by styles, music and rituals from the Lenje and Lima areas, some 200 kilometres to the west. If the attraction of the rituals was not religious for many of the attendees then what was it: artistic, social?

In an area with such a religiously diverse population, the rituals in which the possessed performed would nevertheless attract the majority of the people living in the vicinity of the farm where the ritual was being held. Did these rituals and their music and dance represent something like unity? If so, the rituals should have tremendous unifying power since people in Chibale were individualistic and all lived separately on their own farms.

When asked for the history of the rituals, many would say that they had always been that way or more or less that way. This was disturbing as it became clear that the rituals were a resurgent phenomenon after a period of some thirty years in which they hardly had been held. What was their place in the history of Chibale and its musical repertoires?

And, looking at the attendees, did they experience something related to unity or diversity, artistry or religion, tradition, resurgence or hype?

Another thing that soon became clear was the difference in perspective and levels of knowledge among the Chibale people when it came to music and the history of the older cults and the possession cults of the area. This ranged from complete ignorance, whether feigned or not, to apparently boundless, multifaceted, productive knowledge. The question arose as to what representatives of these various perspectives and levels of knowledge would ‘make’ of the music they heard at the same occasion (see Photo I-2).

These were the questions I had at the beginning of the research. Later questions were added arising from the co-operation with the local exeges. They wanted me to capture the music of Chibale as well as the ‘deep Lala knowledge’ connected to music (and ritual, healing, history and the like). In this thesis I have tried to combine both. A consequence of this is that I have tried to base the analysis of Chibale music on Chibale terms and concepts.
Chapter 1 – Subject and aims

Introduction

This thesis is made up of three parts.

The first part is introductory. The aims and methods used are discussed and an introduction is given into some 'non-musical' subjects necessary to be able to appreciate Chibale music.

The second part is descriptive. It contains an overview of repertoires of music in Chibale in the twentieth century with special attention for the 1980s. It also provides the opportunity to fulfil the promise to contribute to the description and historiography of the local music.

The third part is analytical. It deals with a number of subjects aiming at a better understanding of music in Chibale and at some insight in how music was understood in Chibale. ‘Understanding’ is taken here in the sense it is used in ciLala, the language spoken in Chibale: 

knufwa - hear, feel, understand. It contains a music theory of cult music, developed in dialogue with a small number of local exegetes, and discusses a number of structural and performative features of music. It tries to shed some light on the relations that were thought to exist between physical, mental and musical qualities. It examines why it was a quite generally accepted statement in Chibale that song text was the most important aspect for interpreting music. Lastly, it contains an analysis of the evaluation of music in Chibale (see Photo I-3).

The thesis draws on research into music, and more in particular into the music and rituals of the spirit possession cults, in Chibale, Zambia. The research was done from July to September 1981, July 1985 to July 1986, November and December 1987, August and September 2004, and December 2006 and January 2007.

Though results of the research were published in IJzermans 1984 and IJzermans 1995, the elaboration of the work done in the 1980s into a thesis was interrupted because of a change of job and could only be resumed in 2003 thanks to support of the Utrecht School of the Arts. In 2004 and 2006/07 I could visit Chibale again. When material from 2004 and 2006/07 is in line with the material from the 1980s, it will be presented in the texts or notes, mentioning 2000s, 2004 or 2006/07. In other passages the 1980s will be compared with the 2000s and, thirdly, some developments in the period between the 1980s and 2000s are described in an appendix. The aim of these passages is to give depth to the 1980s material. I have no pretension to coverage of the state of the art of music in Chibale in the 2000s.
Aims

This thesis provides an overview of the music in a specific region in South Central Africa in the 1980s with attention to historical, social and cultural themes. We do not die from an abundance of this kind of overview of South Central Africa. For Zambia we can mention Doke 1927 and Doke 1931 (see Photo I-4), Njungu 1959, Mensah 1970a, Stefaniszyn 1974 and Bantje 1978. Other publications directed to the description of music are too short to give any idea about the coherence and tensions in the repertoires of the region described. In most other cases musical phenomena are discussed only in their relation to the subject of the chapter or publication.

Attention is needed for the history of the music. Since interregional exchange and adoption of songs, dances and styles are normal in South Central Africa, more overviews of music are needed to be able to write histories of music for the area. Attention is also needed for the significance of music, i.e. not only of song texts, for historiography. At several places in the thesis I hypothesise about the historical circumstances and developments that could have led to the musical situation in Chibale in the 1980s.

The analyses presented in this thesis are to contribute to enlarging the understanding of the central role of music in cultures in South Central Africa.

As to the representation of music, I want to contribute to the formulation of music theory for South Central African music by presenting a ‘small set of coherent statements’ demonstrating the relationship between a number of diverse phenomena in and around possession cult music as well as by comparing the structural and the changeable, performative aspects of music.

The thesis is also meant to contribute to an understanding of the interpretation and evaluation of music in South Central Africa. This ranges from ideas about which types of music people find worth evaluating to rituals and feasts that in a certain way can be regarded as large-scale events for the evaluation of music and dance (see Photo I-5). To come to some understanding of the experiences of attendees at a ritual, an attempt is made to gain insight into the evaluation and interpretation of music: the aspects the public pays attention to, the feelings (they were able to verbalise) they had while listening to music and the interpretation they made of song texts. This has not often been done for music in South Central Africa and, in the first place, it is worthwhile to see what kind of results this yields. Secondly, publications on musical evaluation and song text interpretation are often concerned with evaluation and interpretation by exeges or musicians only and not by the recipients of the music. I have gathered interpretations and evaluations from both sides and will compare them. I will also examine whether and how the results of this research contribute to a better understanding of the way music is experienced.

Research methods

The methods informing this research were ethnographical, historiographical, analytical and quantitative.

Qualitative research involving literature research, observation, conversation, participation as an observer, and co-operation was used to archive the repertoires of music and their history and to (help) gain knowledge on the representation, interpretation and evaluation of music. Techniques used during the co-operation with specialists were going through older literature together, discussing what could be the reason for a certain phenomenon or the form it took, presentation to the specialists of what had been said by others and feed-back of constructions made by the author. The author did not aim at participation other than participation as an observer and remained in a role as an involved outsider co-operating interculturally to archive and (help) gain knowledge.
The level of knowledge of a small number of local exegetes (possession cult leaders/healers/singers/dancers) and the way they were able to place music in a much broader context brought me to the idea of developing a theory about possession music together with them and to work out an overview of the aspects of music belonging to its structure or to its performance. We worked together using a dialogic method aiming at intersubjectivity between exegetes and researcher. Attention will also be given to how well known these ideas of the structure in music were among the general public in Chibale and whether there was any relationship between these ideas and the experiences of the people attending the rituals.

The material gathered in the qualitative part of the research was compared with material collected in surveys that were held to find out something about the experiences of those attending gatherings with music. Interviews were done with a large number of people representative for the population above 14 years of age. One survey centred on musical evaluation and the other on song text interpretation. Apart from the data themselves that these surveys would produce, they could shed light on possible ideas of structure in music, the way musical experiences were ordered, the way song texts were interpreted and the way the social themes discussed later were expressed in music and musical choices and behaviour.

More information about the research methods used will be given in the various chapters.

Translating

In this research my starting point has been a musicology that is an historiographic, culture-graphic, dialogic, ‘local-oriented’ tradition. The researcher brings in some of the ‘quality assessment’ that North Atlantic science has successfully developed for good description and research as well as the informed, third person vision that is necessary to be able to make abstractions in some measure from the full and complex ‘local data.’ As will be shown, this does not prevent the development of theory or, for instance, the use quantitative methods.

The methods used in this study aim at attaining a little more ‘translation’ and a little less ‘appropriation.’ A short excursion into Renaissance translation principles will be helpful.

To open up classical works, and contemporaneous works in other languages, for a larger public than scientists alone, writers in the Renaissance started translating/rendering these works into the vernacular. This was called translatio. When skilled, the translator went over to imitatio. He did not make a faithful copy in the words of the vernacular language but tried to follow and make variations on the intentions of the illustrious predecessor. The highest stage in translation was the aemulatio: the writer tried to surpass the predecessor. Because the writer lived in a Christian society in full knowledge of the Bible and the true God - advantages he felt to have over the predecessor - he could, to surpass him, bring in a Christian parallel to the classical original and by so doing change it quite thoroughly.

As aemulatio seems to be in-born North Atlantic - whether based on Christian motives as in this example or on scientific ones as in the cases I am aiming at here - one can only try. In the terms of this excursion, my proposal is to try to aim at imitatio as the highest stage. If we do so, the dialogue about the intentions of the local actors becomes a central issue in the research.

A consequence of this stance is that not too much attention will be given to critical reviews of musicological literature, more especially thought, on every new subject: the thesis is not about musicology. Methods used will be described as far as they pertain to the ‘quality assessment’ mentioned above.
This will not diminish Kofi Agawu's (2003: passim) grievance: the music is still represented by a non-African and, more importantly, by someone trapped in North Atlantic thinking. However, the choice then, considering the quantity of cultural research in Zambia by 'Africans,' is between hardly any representation and this type of representation.

Also, some (North Atlantic) readers might find the thesis a little odd since colonial, western economic and such influences are not presented as very large nor highlighted. My argument is not that these influences were or are small but that the situation in Chibale provided no reason to specifically highlight these influences.

Form of the thesis

All who try to represent the music of others experience the problem that particularly the nuances - grasp of which is often felt to be the soul of a long and intensive period of immersion - can not sufficiently be brought forward in the forms of representation common in musicology (see Photo I-6). I see no need for reacting to this by coming up with the Nth overview of the 'crisis of representation in musicology.' This has been done adequately by others, e.g. in Barz & Cooley (1997).

The form of this thesis has the purpose to reduce the extent of reduction characteristic for a book about music. To actualise the idealised, ‘scientific’ representation of Chibale culture(s) with cases and other exploratory material, the words about music in this thesis require dramatisation in other, more effective forms: texts, sounds and images. A linear story is told that is to be left at many places for elaborations, music, texts, photos, cases, tables and the like. The linear story is central and the reader is not sent into the wilds by enabling her to get lost within a few clicks. Apart from reducing reductionism, an advantage of this way of working is that the argumentation in the central text is not ‘interrupted’ by further explanation, dramatisation or exemplification. The snake in the grass is that the central text 'supposes' that the reader has read, seen and heard the non-central material.

In this way the author hopes to obviate some of the disadvantages of digital representation as mentioned by Lange (2001: 144, 145): a. a possible split in the community between users and non-users: the application uses free software and runs on a normal browser, b. the ephemerality of digital media: like with books and other hard-copy publications it is up to the community to keep up digital products of value and keep them available, and c. the lack of conventionality in most digital products as compared with the book: the application starts from the functionality of a book and expands it with digital means.

The reader who is prepared to read the thesis in this application from the screen does not need, and the author hopes: want, a hard copy. It only remains to be feared that the typical reader will combine an aversion for reductionism with a lack of willingness to read a book from the screen.

The above was the intention of the author for this thesis but due to the doctorate regulations at the University of Amsterdam, the author represents the content in the form of the thesis-with-separate-CD that lies before you. The better representation will be published as a separate digital publication under the title *Amalinbeji alila kwa Chibale - Description and analysis of the music in a region in South Central Africa.*
Chapter 2 – Chibale

Introduction

Chibale is a chiefdom with an area of approximately 3000 square kilometres in the south-west of Serenje district, a district in the north-east of Central Province, Zambia (see Map I-1).

Chibale is hilly (see Photo I-7) and crisscrossed with small perennial streams (see Photo I-8). With an average rainfall a sufficient crop yield is possible. In the 1980s Chibale had some 12,000 inhabitants. By far the largest number of the people living in Serenje district referred to themselves as ‘Lala’. In total approximately 300,000 people, including those living in Mkushi district and across the border in the south-east of the Congo pedicle, spoke Lala as their first language.

Map I-1: Zambia, Serenje district, Chibale and the research area. The rectangle encloses Serenje district. Chibale is situated in the southwest of Serenje District. The major sand roads are shown. The research and the surveys were performed in the middle and southern part of Chibale, starting from Kofi Kunda, halfway Nchimishi and Chibale village. For brevity, this area is referred to in this thesis as ‘Chibale’.
Practically all people in Chibale were farmers (see Photo I-9). Conjugal or single
three-generation extended families lived on more or less isolated farms (see Photo I-10).
There were only three settlements: Chibale village, Nchimishi and Mukopa, that were a
little larger: 10 up to 30 houses, a primary school and a small shop and facilities like
maize and fertiliser storage. Chibale village also had a chiefly court, a local court, a rural
health centre, a social worker and an agricultural advisor. Starting in the 1950s hybrid
maize cultivation using fertilisers had slowly increased while shifting cultivation had
gradually decreased. In the 1980s, some practised only the first, some only the second
way of cultivation while many practised both, having houses near the big sand roads and
temporary shelters in the bush. This yielded no or a little surplus for many (approximately
two thirds), a larger surplus for some (approximately one third), and a large surplus
for only a few.

During the course of the previous century, an increasing number of young men had
gone to the Copperbelt towns for migration labour and in the 1930s women had started
to accompany their husbands. Many had returned to Chibale only after a long stay in
town. After a period of relative prosperity, life in town as well as in Chibale became
harder after the dramatic fall of copper prices in the middle of the 1970s. The increase
of large-scale and small-scale crises coupled with the economical decline led to a resur-
gence of possession cults first in the towns and, starting from around 1973, also in
Chibale and other rural areas. In the 1980s, the importance of cash-crop farming was in-
creasing but also a contrary movement was emerging striving for more independence
from the outside economy. Going to town gradually was loosing importance as a good
alternative for trying to settle one’s own farm.

For more information about Chibale in the 1960s and the 1980s, see Long 1968b, Long

If the reader is to follow the Parts II and III about music, she should be introduced
into the social themes pervading daily life in Chibale, a very short history of the region,
and religion, so tightly linked to music, in the region.

Themes
Homogeneity and heterogeneity, individuality and conformity, independence and in-
terdependence, and modernity and tradition were important themes in the actions and
thinking of the people in Chibale. Together with a number of oppositions used to order
events and experiences, these themes help to understand the ideas of structure and the
ways people in Chibale order experience, as a way of understanding Chibale music.

These themes will be introduced here while, to avoid summing up important opposi-
tions in a contextless list, oppositions will be treated when opportunities arise.

Homogeneity and heterogeneity
Were the reader to compare Seur 1992 with IJzermans 1995, he might have the feeling
of reading about two parallel universes in which, apart from certain names and places,
many things are different. Seur 1992 focuses on processes of agricultural change, stra-
gic behaviour of individuals and groupings, and agricultural entrepreneurship and con-
tains many (extended) cases and dialogues with the people studied. It is a restudy of
Long 1968b which dealt with comparable subjects. In it, practically all human motives
are reduced to those of the agricultural entrepreneur and religious affiliation is reduced
to Jehovah’s Witnesses. This reduced reality had little resemblance to that which a musicologist had studied in more or less the same area in the period of five years before Seur stayed in Chibale. One may simply explain the differences by pointing at the wondrous ways of North Atlantic motives and reductionism. However, the cause also may partly be found in the conditions in Chibale. It was certainly not impossible to single out a grouping of people discerning themselves through a specific set of aspects. All kinds of, more or less loose, groupings of people competed for influence and a certain way of life. Grouping could be based on religious orientation, political orientation, clan, area within Chibale, farming strategy and cultural practice. Some groupings like those based on religious affiliation aimed at outlining a great number of aspects of the lives of the persons belonging to them while other groupings dealt only with a specific set of aspects.

Homogeneity and heterogeneity (unity and plurality) formed an unavoidable thread when looking at Chibale issues (see Photo I-11). This thesis does not go into all the historical, social and cultural factors underlying this theme but, in order to understand something about music in Chibale, it is necessary to realise its importance. Heterogeneity in Chibale had two aspects. First of all, the differences between groupings could be large. Secondly, within a grouping differences were the norm. There was little indication that this had been different in the last two centuries. Wim van Binsbergen at many places, see for instance van Binsbergen (1992: 258-261), has argued that an important part of the ‘contradictions’ are related to the variform historical background of the subsystems constituting present-day society. These contradictions are expressed and temporarily averted in ritual, an explanatory model opened up by Victor Turner (e.g. 1968).

The general tendency towards heterogeneity could be seen as a sign of the absence, or lack of dominance, for a long time of a more or less common system of reference, a kind of ‘body of homogeneity’ or ideology of cultural and social unity. From the other side, the acceptance of heterogeneity led to the acceptance in discussions and disputes of all kinds of reasoning which, next to uncertainty, provided flexibility in times of change.

The various groupings used (fictional) bodies of homogeneity. They could be relatively concrete and explicit - though typically not undisputed - as with the Jehovah’s Witnesses or the spirit possessed but they could also be idealistic /placed in the future as, for instance, was done by the development-oriented commercial farmers.

In the past, as others must have told you, people were guided by tradition. But I think we are undergoing what you might call a cultural revolution, and it will take us some time before we get some certainty again, before new rules and customs will appear. So you will see different things taking place at different farms, until we reach the time when things will be sure again, then we will have a new culture. (Musonda Chunga, in Seur 1992: 283).

Apart from the ‘inner circle’ of Jehovah’s Witnesses, people belonging to divergent groupings did not ignore each other. Empathy for people with alternative viewpoints was not rare. Heterogeneity clearly was an important characteristic of Chibaleness.

Lalaness

The concept of Lalaness was closely related to the homogeneity/heterogeneity theme. One of the expressions of homogeneity in Chibale was the referring by almost all people to themselves as muLala (individually) and baLala (collectively) or to the Lala area and to Lalaness with buLala or to the central area in the Lala area with ilala. Though many of the characteristics considered to be Lala had roots in history, there was little reason to see the population of Serenje and Mkushi district in the 1980s as a ‘tribe’ in the sense of an ‘historical nation’ or of ‘one culture’. The ‘tribality’ could be considered as shared recent history of a region, often expressed in old historical terms and relationships. Van Binsbergen (1985: 202) even speaks of Zambian regional cultures as a “hotchpotch” and
a resultant of “a slightly idiosyncratic combination and permutation of productive, social-organizational and symbolic patterns.” Though I agree with him on the necessity to put the concepts of tribality and homogeneous culture behind one, his ‘hotchpotch’ statements seem antithetical. It remains to be seen whether Chibale cultures were the result of cultural chance processes to the extent implied by his statements or that the Chibale area and its history had a certain, but not all-embracing, influence on its present cultures.

In many ways Lalaness could be considered as the upper layer of the heterogeneity discussed above. With the increase of confrontations with other cultures the expression or feeling of Lalaness had increased. At the same time, there was a variety of interpretations of the concept of Lalaness. When, in such circumstance, we would look for generally shared Lalaness, we would find little more than some general platitudes. Many of the characteristics considered to be typically Lala were shared with neighbouring regions (‘tribes’) while other characteristics expressed the fact that another region (‘tribe’) had a characteristic not known in the Lala area or vice versa (see Elaboration I-A).

**Elaboration I-A: Some examples of Lalaness**

The Lala speak ciLala. This is true but the differences with ciLamba, ciSwaka, ci-Ambo, ciLuano and ciLima were small. These languages are often placed in one group. According to Werner (1978: 10), this group of languages and Bemba correspond for 85% in their basic vocabulary. The language changes gradually as one travels through the Lala-Lamba area. There is no reason to think that the difference between ciSwaka and ciLala are larger than those between ciSwaka and ciLamba. ciSwaka was often called ‘Lambaish Lala’ by people in Chibale and possibly ‘Lalaish Lamba’ by those in the Lamba area. The argument here is that the language changes according to the region and not so much according to ‘tribe’. However, the smallness of differences should not be regarded as a measure of the smallness of their importance.

Ah, this is a song [Song II-32] from Kabamba’s area [an adjacent chieftdom in the Lala area]. Some of their songs are not understood here. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

In the days of the large villages, each village and even different parts of one village had their own peculiarities, so much as to be able to discern people. Nowadays this holds especially for each chieftdom. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1985)

Chibale is fully Lala, number one, in the centre of the Lala cultural area, unmixed. The food is beans and millet. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Since the only satisfactory definition of a Lala Native is ‘A person who lives in the Lala country’ and because the Lala tribe is made up of immigrants who have been in that country for periods of time varying from perhaps two hundred years to only a few months, there is no compact body of tradition, and whilst some members of many clans will point to this journey for the origin of their clan names, other members of the same clans will give a different origin, often similar to those given by the Lamba people. (Munday 1940:4)

As the differences between the Lala and others, there are not so much differences: being born in the Lala area, speaking ciLala, going to nkutu, having a set of three one-note-xylophones (malimba), certain dancing styles. If your child would have been born here, he would have been a Lala with white parents. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)
[In Chibale] the Ciwila possessed dance Lala-like, the Mwami possessed Lenje-like, the Moba possessed Swaka- or Lenje-like and the Kaluwe possessed Lenje-like. (Shemu Mambwe, personal communication, 1987)

The Lala are well-known for having many children as well as for their peaceableness. The latter causes God to give them more good fortune (ishuiko), hence more children. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Where I come from [the Lima area], the Lala area is known for Ciwila, katambala, possessed who dance during the day and the icila. (Salati Mukoti, personal communication, 1981)

The Lala do not praise by insulting like the Bemba do. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1985)

The drinking of blood during rituals is done by the Lamba, Lima, Lenje, Kaonde, and Swaka, not by the Lala. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1985).

Mwami is an intertribal type of possession. In town all Zambians get Mwami possessed. It can either be by their own chiefs or by Lenje, Lima, Lamba or Lala chiefs. The master drummer has to beat the master drum patterns used in the area where the spirit comes from. (Sheki Mbomba, personal communication, 1986)

Three of the spirits possessing me do not produce music or dance. Only the fourth one, the Lala one, sings and dances. Its music, therefore, was not strange when I arrived here in Chibale, while in my hometown Chipata it was. (Zulu, personal communication, 1985)

Most of the Bemba, Luvele & Chokwe harmonise in parallel 3rds with occasional 6ths while all other Zambian peoples harmonise in 4ths. (Mapoma 1980b: 631)

‘Balala’ means the people from ilala [the central area of the Lala area], just like ‘Balamba’ means the people from Ilamba [the central area of the Lamba area]. It does not refer to a ‘tribe’. The Kaonde, Lamba and Lala are the same (cimo cine). The Lenje are similar in many respects. You can see that these people are possessed by the chiefs from this large area [Kaonde-Lamba-Lenge-Lala area]. The Lala and Lamba listen to the Kaonde broadcast because they do not get what they want from the Bemba radio station. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

Regional (‘tribal’) differences are not very interesting when one looks at the characteristics that some writers deal with like socioeconomic ones but make sense if they are modal like styles and ways of doing things (see Photo I-12, Photo I-13 and Photo I-14). In this thesis many examples of this in texts, singing, dancing and ritual will follow. It are these modalities that can arouse a sense of homogeneity within a family, a clan, a group of hunters, a cult group, an area, a chieftdom, a region, etc. At the same time they can arouse a sense of difference between families, clans, groups of possessed, christian cult groups, areas, chieftdoms, regions, etc. In general it can be said that the size of the groups and areas bound together or differentiated this way has increased in history.

**Individuality and conformity**

What struck me when visiting Chibale was that the conformity sought in social situations was combined with individuality in personal styles. Though this observation will have been (more) biased by my own cultural background, this theme seemed to be deeply rooted. It found expression in the great number of rules (mushila) stipulating conventional behaviour for almost every circumstance, that were said to have been followed in the past and still played a role, certainly in the spirit possession cults and, in a changed guise, for the Jehovah's Witnesses. It also was expressed in the way conspicuous individuality and individual success were dealt with. Though, as illustrated in Elaboration I-B, there were groupings that explained success and possible consequential conspicuous
individuality as the result of hard working, it was more often looked upon as having been caused by malicious intention or by *isuko*, the good fortune resulting from a good relation with the *mpanga* (spirit world)\(^{11}\). This we also find in Seur:

> Although I am hesitant to make a clear-cut division, I found that younger people and successful farmers, in particular, tended to explain the economic differentiation among farmers as resulting from the qualities and actions of individuals. Poorer farmers on the other hand, especially those belonging to the older generation, were often less convinced that their actions could alter the course of events. These farmers often considered economic differentiation as an unjust phenomenon and tended to describe success or failure in farming as being determined by factors lying outside the control of the individual, such as fate, chance or sorcery. (Seur 1992: 206)

**Elaboration I-B: Bags race or living in nkutu**

During the 1960s and 1970s, maize became increasingly important as the pre-eminent cash crop. In the same period, villages were ‘regrouped’ by the government forcing all people to start living in the neighbourhood of one of the few large sand roads in Chibale (Seur 1992: 117). The cultivation of maize involved buying seeds and fertilisers. It made people dependant on the government and banks. On the other hand, it was the only way of making money in Chibale. In the 1980s the name ‘bags race’ was used to refer to the modern attitude of trying to cultivate as much maize as possible by contracting loans, working very hard and hiring people to help for low wages. During this time of increasing maize cultivation, a diminishing number of people continued swidden cultivation in the bush while staying there in temporary houses (*nkutu*). They were looked upon by the other people as ‘backward’.

This started changing because of developments such as the forced village regrouping, the sudden rise of the price of fertilisers and the late delivery of seeds or bags by the government in certain years.

Next to the increasing number of people involved in the bags race, other people started consciously choosing for *nkutu* living near fields in the bush. Their houses next to the sand roads were just to satisfy government regulations. They came there for some cultivation (maize hoeing) and then went back to *nkutu*, where they also cultivated gardens apart from fields. They lived ‘village lives’ in *nkutu* with relatively good houses. The ‘village’ had to have a certain size since it was too dangerous to live there alone with a nuclear family. Living in *nkutu* was a choice: being on their own, being independent of government haphazard, such as the price of seed and fertiliser. It gradually also became an economical choice: because of the sole dependence on maize cultivation, millet had become scarce and well priced. Millet was needed for making beer. So many *nkutu* farmers made more money than their maize colleagues - without all the problems of loans, prices, fertiliser, hired or bartered help etc. They had fewer problems obtaining relish as they trapped a lot, and they were also not depending on licenses for bullets and the rising prices of bullets. The way of living of the *nkutu* people was more traditional than that of their maize colleagues, but, in their own eyes, it was better adapted to the situation in Chibale in the 1980s. The new *nkutu* people were not the same as those who kept on doing it in the 1960s/1970s when the rest started with maize cultivation. They worked harder, cultivated a wider range of crops and somehow had a sound commercial intention, directed towards getting by. They sold a certain part of their millet, went to Serenje Town with the money to buy clothing, soap and salt, came back and had enough for the rest of the year. Their music was more traditional since their circumstances were more traditional. They had *Bwalwa, Sandauni, Cibombe, Imbile* there. None of them would ‘come to the roads’ for *Sandauni*, but they would for *Cibombe* and *Ipupo*.
Modern traditionality. A similar reversal could be seen in the way people who returned from town were looked upon. [In the 1960s] “those townies used to laugh at those who had remained here, because they were poor. But today no one laughs at a farmer any more, because now farming is the only way to make money, to take care of your children” (Langson Mupishi in Seur (1992: 160)). “In town there is unemployment, but here there is self-employment. In the past, money was only found in town and town dwellers used to laugh at villagers” (Harriet Lupalo in Seur (1992: 305)).

Independence and interdependence

People in Chibale fostered an ideology of independence. In the course of the previous century, living in relatively large villages had been replaced by living on separate farms based on the conjugal or single three-generation extended family (see Photo I-15). What people were generally said to be striving for was independence. This referred to freedom of the demands of matrikin (members of one’s mother’s lineage) and other local factors and/or to independence from the government and other exogenous factors. Though the striving for independence presumably was related to the money economy people became involved in, it was often implied that the striving was ‘inborn,’ for instance by arguing that it had been only to defend against the frequent raids at the end of the 19th century that villages had become large. Be that as it may, “becoming and/or remaining independent can be considered an important value shared by large sections of the population” (Seur 1992: 187). Not only did the people live each on their own farm, within a farm wife and husband often had their own fields and personal income. Of course, individuals still worked together and helped each other when necessary but this did not work ‘automatically,’ i.e. through some form of shared focus of authority. Cooperation and help were the result of negotiations and agreements between individuals or were characteristic of the grouping one belonged to.

A citation sheds light on the ideas that exist among certain people about the relation between independence and change.

The most important change in this area has been that people moved from the villages to farms. Most farmers are independent these days. In the villages there was no development, people had only one idea. In the villages there was no competition, so everybody stayed on the same level. Now there is a lot of competition, everybody wants to undertake new things and people are working hard for themselves, and they compare their results with the results of other farmers. Since everyone is living on his own farm today new ideas arise, and because of this you can see that people end up thinking differently about a lot of things. (Benson Mwape in Seur 1992: 100)

Dealing with both the need for maximum independence and the need to be able to fall back on others in times of distress defined a large part of strategic behaviour in Chibale.

Modernity and tradition

Town life and commercial farming were the two sources for the concept of modernity as opposed to traditionality in Chibale. The average duration of the stay in town for the population above fourteen years of age was no less than ten years for men and five and a half years for women. However, it would be a mistake to think people especially went for modernity or, vice versa, only for tradition.

A part of Chibale, like Nchimishi, might be called ‘town-like’ because people lived relatively close to each other and could more easily go out to meet one another or buy and
sell products. A more remote part like Mukopa might be called 'town-like' because there was (said to be) more rudeness and fighting at beer parties.

A second example. Many saw a line running from witchcraft to jealousy to competition to development. However, associating this line with the one running from traditionality to modernity was neither nonsensical nor true. In other words, people who associated themselves with modernity could be firm believers in witchcraft, while people who cared for tradition could well be on a path of slow development. This shows that one should avoid using an extraneous definition of modernity, like 'orientation towards development'.

In accordance with Chibale usage, I refer with 'modernity' to actions and ideas that referred to or based themselves upon the outside economy and town life: and I refer with 'traditionality' to acts and ideas that referred to, or were considered to be based upon, tradition, the local history or the local character (see Photo I-16). Elaboration I-C provides an example of the value that these terms had for different people in different periods in recent history.

### History

In order to understand developments in music, and in religion, in Chibale the reader will need a short overview of historical periods and a short analysis of the way changes worked in the region.

#### Historical periods

Locally seven historical periods were discerned, sometimes using the following titles that I have provided with approximate dates:

1. Before the coming of the Lala (see Elaboration I-C).
2. Bamafumu: area divided in clan territories, clan struggles (see Elaboration I-D).
4. Mapunde (1870-1900): raidings by the Ngoni, Chikunda and Bemba.
5. Mwana Kubuta (1900-1940): arrival of the British, hut tax, migration labour, witchcraft eradication movements, prophets, rise of Moba possession.
7. Sambia (1970-): village regrouping, money economy, mixing of different people(s), resurgence of possession cults through the rise of Mwami possession, (cash-crop) farming as an alternative to migration labour.

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**Elaboration I-C: Before the Lala came**

'Before the Lala' here is interpreted as meaning before any of the people from the area that is now known as Congo and the North arrived. There was a tradition of finding small-statured people in the area (also in Brelsford 1965: 121 and Roberts 1976: 65).

**Ulunyukamafumo** ('the small ones with the big bellies'), yes. They softened their belly skin so that it would protrude and even could be used as a loincloth. They slept in anthills and were famous for the phrase with which this story [Doke 1927, 202: story CX] ends: 'Eating you have eaten, unfold your belly and sleep in it. When a tall person met them they would ask: 'Where did you see us?' If you would answer 'Just here', they would immediately kill you. If you said: 'I saw you from very far away',

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13
they would give you much food and start dancing: ‘We’re tall! We’re tall!’ These small people lived in the Lala area before we arrived but had already left when we came. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

In spite of the last sentence, which contains a problematic ‘we’, one can not help but consider this passage to implicate that the short-statured inhabitants did have a cultural encounter of some sort with the first people coming from Congo. The passage may refer to some or all of the following. They were rather different: the belly-skin loincloth, sleeping in the anthill is the reverse of the old Chibale habit of burying in the anthill. When you ate with them, they expected you to be like them: eating their food (i.e. profiting from their relation with the mpanga) implied leading their lives/ following their cosmology. The differences, e.g. in stature of the newcomers and the sleeping in the anthill, only formed a problem when they were accentuated; when not, it would lead to ‘much food’, i.e. much profit from their relation with the mpanga, and singing and dancing, a ritual that bridged the differences.

**Elaboration I-D: Clans**

It was generally said that ‘the Lala’ came from Kola, or Kalwena or Kalunda, an area somewhere near the place where Zambia, Congo and Angola meet. This may be true in a faint general sense for a part of the people who arrived in the Lala area notably in the last two and a half centuries, but some of the implications that this statement might have must be denied. They did not come in one trek or within a short period. They did not all come from the same area. Note for instance the parallels indicated at some places in this thesis between Chibale and Luba music and religion. They did not all come with others, for instance with the Bemba or the Luapula Lunda. In fact, the whole concept of a ‘they’, when referring to the past, does not seem to be appropriate.

In the 1980s, sparse local oral tradition referred to competition between clans in the region and the coming of new stronger clans, for instance with a better trading position, better agricultural methods or iron technology.

What is important for this period is the picture of the continuous influx of people from the north/north-west and the clan as the prime political factor, gradually transcended by the leadership of one clan only.

In that time the leaders (bamafumu) were: the political chief (mfunu), the advisors of the chief (filolo), the healer (shing’anga), the big hunter (nkombalume) and the musician/ritual leader (ngomba). Together they led the kusung’ecalo [taking care of the land both spiritually and politically]. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Langworthy (1972: 3): “Some peoples, such as the Chewa, Lala, Bisa and Lenje, have less detailed memories of the past’. As possible reasons he gives a break in continuity of their history in the 19th century or the lack of an extensive and centralised political system to reinforce the remembering of details ‘or lack of serious conflicts.’ This ‘lack of a history’ through the absence of an extensive political system probably explains why the history of most Zambian peoples seems to begin with the coming of the chiefs and king from Katanga, although the people may have been established in some of these areas long before.
Elaboration I-E: Chiefs of the Nyendwa clan

The clan struggles resulted eventually in the supremacy of the *bena Nyendwa* (Vagina clan) before the beginning of the nineteenth century. The chief (*mfumu*), credited for this was called Malama (compare Munday 1940: 436). Malama may have been the name of an office, possibly the political leadership: *-lama* to guard, to keep. It was the praise-name of his/her successors: Kalunga Kabonde, the first chief to have traded with the Chikunda (c. 1800-1820\(^4\)), Nkata Kabonde (Nkata Yombwe pa nkondo), Chiboli and Kunda Mfwanti, the first chief Chibale, who died around 1900\(^5\). Kunda Mfwanti was said to have bought the name ‘Chibale’ from a hostage or slave. He was succeeded by his sister’s son Mwape Mondwa (nicknamed Cilonda: Ulcer, see Photo I-17). Then came his younger brother Kasubika Mondwa (nicknamed Mutende: Peace, see Photo I-18) in 1925. He was followed by his younger brother, Mushili Mondwa (nicknamed Kabinda: the Youngest) in 1946 who resigned less than a year later for his sister’s daughter’s son Teneshi Njipika Mukosa (see Photo I-19), who died in 1996. He was followed by his sister’s daughter’s son, Joshua Musonda Chipolo (see Photo I-20 and Photo I-21).

Oral tradition relates how Malama, possibly also referring to his successors, installed buffer chieftoms with *Nyendwa* chiefs around *Ilala* for protection. *Ilala* is the central area in the Lala area, laying within the present Chibale and Muchinda chieftoms\(^6\). The centripetal force of this structure and the dominance of the Nyendwa clan should not be overestimated. Of the fifteen villages existing at the beginning of the twentieth century in the area of present-day Chibale chieftom only one (the village of chief Chibale) was dominated by the Nyendwa clan, three by Chibale’s sons and one by one of his wives, all of course of different clans, while the other villages had headmen or headwomen not directly related to the Nyendwa clan. The power of a chief depended on the number of villages, clan polities, he could manage to ‘keep.’

The raidings in the Mapunde period caused a break in continuity (for an example see the text of Song I-1). Though the Pax Britannica stopped the raidings, the Mwana Kubuta period was comparably disruptive. *Fetulo* was remembered as a relatively quiet and prosperous period in which *mushila* (*paths*, *life-rules*) were still followed. *Sambia* was associated with forced village-regrouping, the mixing of people from different regions with different habits and diseases, the gaining of control over money by young people, a decline in the standard of living, the forgetting of the *life-rules* and the staining\(^7\) resulting from that. As seen also in other areas than Chibale, the present period was considered to be inferior to the previous period.

The region slowly opened up to outside economical systems possibly from the early seventeenth century\(^8\), but more rapidly since the beginning of the nineteenth century through trade (iron work, ivory and slaves for guns and cloths), especially with the Chikunda, and later from around 1870 through the raidings by the Ngoni and Bemba.

Further links to larger economical systems were formed by the migration labour the men had to perform to pay the hut tax, imposed by the British soon after their arrival around 1900. The hut tax had to be paid in cash. Christian mission arrived in the second decade of the century but took up to the 1940s to gain ground. The number of people involved in migration labour gradually increased to reach a peak in the 1960/70s. From the beginning of the 1950s small cash-crop farming and government intervention in agriculture became a new form of contact with national and international economy, especially for men. When cash-crop farming became less dependent of urban investments through returned migrants, women also gradually started having some control of the capital generated from agriculture.
Old and new interlock

Features that were prominent in one of the previous periods mentioned still were of importance, often in a modified way, in the 1980s. Innovations often did not replace older features but came to exist next to, or above, them making complex patterns of interrelation, dominance and dependence (see Elaboration I-F). Older features seem to become more prominent in times of crisis. In this thesis I will discuss a number of examples of the old and the new interlocking in music and ritual.

Elaboration I-F: Old and new interlock

To give a first impression of the coexistence of old and new in Chibale in the 1980s some examples are given here. Food production was still often organised on a kinship basis. Certainly not all people cultivated cash crops. The newly-wed husband in many cases would still live at and work for his parents-in-law for a few years. Elders still could exert power in certain situations. The clan still had an influence on one's life. The (1980s forms of the) ancestral, ecological and chiefly cults were still of importance. This was also true for the members of Christian cult groups and even more so than it had been thirty years previously. The condition and behaviour of the chief were still thought by many to be connected with the state of the area. On the other hand, children were increasingly becoming the most important kin. Though many men publicly expressed the wish that their children would inherit their assets, matrilineal inheritance practices persisted. Practically all people at one time or another had cultivated cash crops. Some people became ‘independent’ at a young age. More than 80% of the people had stayed in town for a period of more than two years. More than 85% of the people had been a member of a Christian cult group at one time or another.

Invention in reaction to change processes and resurgence, rekindling and reinterpretation of older or reconstructed features were sparked from outside or came from inside. A hypothetical reconstruction of ‘consecutive’ cults, in the next chapter, may serve as an example of the complexity involved.

For some developments after the 1980s see Appendix A.
Chapter 3 – Religion in Chibale

Introduction
As will become clear in this thesis, in Chibale religion and music were closely related. A vital form of grouping in Chibale was that based on religious orientation. One became a member of a cult group because of the convictions it stood for, the economic and social attitudes it legitimised, and the (spiritual) gains one thought would come from that membership (see Elaboration I-G). Changing religious affiliation, which was not rare, was caused by frustration in this and the search for improvement. Organised cult groups could be found with the Jehovah’s Witnesses, the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), the Roman Catholics and the spirit possession cults. Not organised were those who were not members of a Christian or possession cult group. They were not ‘non-religious’ but followed certain ideas and acts of the three older local cults, and possibly also of one of the Christian cults.

Elaboration I-G: Christianity and strategy
“My car has no clan,” said one of the few car owners to his sister’s son, when the latter asked to be allowed to pay a lower price for his transport from Chibale to Serenje, the district centre (see Photo I-22). This mixture of rudeness and bravery - gross infringements of matrilineal ‘rules’ were supposed to provoke witchcraft - is instructive. The man who said it, was an influential Witness and showed how independent Christians could, or hoped to, be from matrilineal constraints. The fact that it was the cause of much debate shows the delicacy of this striving for independence, which sought to “justify business interests and to modify family and descent ties to restrict consumer demands” (Poewe 1977: 304). Seur (1992: passim) gives detailed descriptions of the strategies used, by Jehovah’s Witnesses, as to farming, distribution of goods and inheritance, mutual support and the like.

In the surveys in the mid-1980s 33% of the respondents said they were Jehovah’s Witnesses, 17% members of the UCZ, 7% of the Roman Catholics and nearly 2% of another Christian cult (not organised locally). The remaining 41% said not to be a member of Christian cult groups. Nearly 15% of all respondents said they had never been a member of any Christian cult group.
Approximately 12% said to be members of a possession cult group as a possessed. Also the non-possessed could temporarily or for a longer period be members of a possession cult group, notably women who were barren and women who had been barren and had
been healed by the shing’anga, the leader of the possession cult group, and family mem-
bers of the possessed (see Photo I-23 and Photo I-24). Taking this into account, it is a
reasonable estimate that 18% of the people in Chibale were members of a possession cult
group in the 1980s. Approximately one third of the possessed combined this with a
membership of one of the Christian cults, notably UCZ and Roman Catholics, while
membership of one Christian cult group was never combined with that of another (see
List I-1).

Religious orientation of the spirit possessed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious orientation when becoming a possessed</th>
<th>Non-Christian</th>
<th>Jehovah Witness</th>
<th>UCZ/RC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious orientation of the spirit possessed</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious orientation of mediums</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious orientation of mwana</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List I-1: Religious orientation of 60 mediums and mwana when becoming a posses-
sed and at the moment the interview was done. The list is based on the two sur-
veys and other data collected in 1985/86 and 1987.

This List illustrates the shift of Witnesses, notably female Witnesses, to forms of
‘non-Christian’ religious orientation, in this case to membership of a possession cult
group, in the 1970s and 1980s. Of the 41 mediums a significant part (27%) still
claimed to be a member of a Christian cult group. With the mwana, either
patients of initiated possessed who were not in harmony with their possessing
spirits, this part was much larger and similar to the religious orientation of the
total population.

Multidimensional scaling of Religious affiliation and selections of the collected data on
musical evaluation or song text interpretation invariably places the Jehovah's Witnesses
and the possessed at opposite ends: Possession cult group members – ‘non-Christian’,
non-possessed – UCZ and Roman Catholics – Jehovah's Witnesses. Opinions of both
groups about each other were not symmetrical. In general, I found possessed to be more
relaxed about Witnesses and their beliefs than vice versa.

Christian cults

Through the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, from Brooklyn in the United States
of America, the Jehovah's Witnesses in Chibale were part of an international organisa-
tion serving many countries. Adaptation of preaching to the local conditions was far less
elaborate than that by the UCZ and the Roman Catholics. The Watch Tower magazine,
for instance, translated from English into many languages of the world, was a translation,
not an adaptation. The Watch Tower Society was a bureaucratised organisation within
which “emphasis is placed on individual achievement (as regards to life style, industri-
ousness, preaching, proselytising, and expertise in doctrine) and self-discipline as pre-
requisites for advancement in the hierarchy” (Long 1968a: 398, 403, 404). An important doctrine of the Watch Tower Society was that we are living in ‘the time of the End,’ the last phase before God’s new kingdom. Witnesses placed much emphasis on obtaining salvation, and on the fact that they would be the only ones able to enter God’s new kingdom once it came.

The United Church of Zambia (UCZ) was organised in a local and interregional hierarchical structure. For their leadership the Roman Catholics depended on missionaries. The UCZ and the Catholic church (see Photo 1-25) were ‘Africanised’ as to liturgy.

Life-rules

The Jehovah’s Witnesses, called baCitawala: ‘those of the Tower,’ had and sought a separate position vis-à-vis the rest of the population. They had a different lifestyle and restrictions were imposed on their behaviour: such as no eating of meat of suffocated animals, no drinking or smoking (in public), no dancing or singing, apart from hymns, no polygyny, no cross-cousin marriages, no contacts with the possessed, especially when they were in the state of being possessed, like during rituals and diagnostic sessions. Furthermore, a different contact between husband and wife as well as other ways to handle and to solve problems were aimed for. The Watch Tower Society provided its followers with a set of rules based on a thorough knowledge of (certain parts of) the bible, of ‘God’s plan,’ in a time in which the continuous change in the life-rules (mushila) was outpaced by social developments. Viewed through the eyes of the people in Chibale, these life-rules were reshaped by the Watch Tower Society into one clear set of rules in which the quality of the lives of, and the contacts between, individuals were seen as a reflection of the quality of the life they would lead in the coming Kingdom of God.

According to ex-Witnesses the Society was less strict in the beginning (the 1940s): ‘The increasing of strictness came with the decreasing of thinking (mano).’ This gradual increase of strictness, which was paralleled by a gradual decrease in the number of Witnesses, can be interpreted as a sign of a gradual loss in effectiveness of the Watch Tower Society’s doctrines (compare Poewe 1977: 316). Although the UCZ and the Roman Catholic Church imposed some of the rules mentioned, they were less effective and determined in transforming their members’ behaviour.

This was in contrast with the possession cult groups in the 1980s, membership of which was gained only after a thorough transformation of behaviour. The rationale behind the latter transformation was not to beget salvation by following God’s plan, but to beget and keep mutual understanding (kumfwana) with the possessing spirit and benefit from its positive effects. The members of the possession cult groups followed rules of all three types (see note 19), partly prescribed by the cult leader/healer, partly by each possessing spirit for the one it was possessing.

We see that where Witnesses and spirit possessed formed opposites and the content of the rules they followed differed enormously, they resembled each other in their view on the necessity of life-rules.

The local cults

In Chibale the local cults were transformations of older regional cults - namely ecological, ancestral and chiefly cults.

The cult of the mpanga was an ecological cult. The mpanga was the land outside the villages (mushi), more particularly the land untouched by human culture. It was an ambiguous concept since it was also used to refer to the spirit world. Mpanga comprised
all that was not of human origin (nature, nature spirits) as well as entities that were of human origin (ancestral spirits, the spirits of specialists and of chiefs).

I speculate that the set of spirits considered to be bene bampanga (owners of the mpanga) extended and changed when the ancestral cult and later the chiefly cult were dominant. This issue is important because the persons or groups who could rightfully claim to have access to the bene bampanga (of a certain area or realm), through shrines or through spirit possession, held considerable advantages. People specialised in dealing with two processes of prime importance, the obtainment (kupoka) from the mpanga and the giving (kupupa) to the mpanga, often were mediums. Music, dance and ritual played an important part in these processes.

Possession of specialists by the spirits of specialists was remembered for ing’omba (singers/dancers/composers - leaders of rituals), great hunters and healers, sometimes smelters/blacksmiths were mentioned as well. They were important, if not central, individuals in the ecological and ancestral cults. Characteristics of these cults can be recognised in the chiefly cult, though the spirit possession of the chief by all his predecessors is of another nature than that of the specialists. At rituals and in times of crisis, the chief worked with the three types of specialists. The demise of the chieftainship in the Mapunde and Mwana Kubuta periods presumably led to a resurgence of hunting and ing’omba possession, be it that they remained linked to chieftainship in a rather loose way. In the same period non-central, peripheral possession came up, possibly Mashabe possession already in the nineteenth century and Moba around 1914. In these types of possession the interests of the individual possessed were more prominent than the communal interests of the possession encountered in the central cults. Both Mashabe and Moba cults came from outside the Lala region and seem to have gone through a process of Lalafication through which they gradually gained central cult characteristics. When the increase of small-scale and large-scale crises caused by the raidings and the Pax Britannica (hut tax, forced migration labour, legislative denial of witchcraft) declined, Christian cults spread from urban areas to Chibale in the second half of the 1930s, notably that of the Jehovah’s Witnesses. Cults of affliction, spirit possession and other manifestations of the older local cults decreased in influence, reaching a low point in the 1960s. In the 1980s the number of Christians had declined and a new cult of affliction had risen, one with much influence. The appearance of Mwami possession cult groups in Chibale caused a revitalisation of as well as changes in the two older possession types, Kaluwe and Ciwila. Rituals, organisation and music, particularly of Ciwila, were gradually incorporated/absorbed into the ‘Mwami model’. This could be witnessed explicitly in the ritual in which the Ciwila mediums were of prime importance, the Ipuvo, the ritual that was organised to mark the end of the mourning period or to solve misfortune. Mwami mediums also performed a number of the functions that were performed in the central, chiefly cult in earlier days like for instance first fruit rituals (see Photo 1-26).

This extremely concise impression of some developments in the local cults is not sufficient to express the complexity of change processes. I will try to do better by telling the same story in other words.

Once there was an ecological cult. It formed the model for an ancestral cult that came later. The resultant of the dynamics between both cults formed a model for the next cult, the chiefly cult, that came up when one clan successfully established hegemony of some sort. Though modelled on the two previous cults, it also held a dominant position towards them, thus changing them and changing itself. Somewhere during this dynamic process the power of the chief decreased through external circumstances leading on the one hand to a resurgence of the two transformed older cults and on the other hand to the coming up of externally derived possession cults of another nature. In the following period, the latter were localised, thus changing them into another type of local cult, resembling but also partly in struggle with and transforming the three transformed ‘ori-
ginal' local cults. In the period following external (Christian) cults became prominent that were hardly localised22 while the older cults became marginalised. This process started changing when a new cult came up, possibly itself the product of the localisation and ‘centralisation’ of a cult of affliction in the Copperbelt regions of the Lamba, Lima and Lenje areas. Though partly working as a cult of affliction, it also fulfilled functions of the old local central cults, revitalising, and at the same time giving rise to tensions with, the older possession cults and the remnants of the older local, central cults.

Like the older, transformed cults themselves, the possession cults in the 1980s were transformations of the ecological, ancestral, and chiefly cults. They will be discussed in the next section while manifestations of the transformed, central cults will be discussed at various places in the remainder of this thesis.

This was the arena formed by the local cults at the time of the research in the 1980s. As much of Chibale music was so tightly linked to the local cults this story also goes to illustrate some of the complexity of endeavouring to reconstruct a local history of music. This tight link also results in this thesis paying much more attention to spirit possession music than to other main types like the newer, exogenous Christian cult musics because the possession music represented the dominant, contemporary, be it transformed, manifestation of the historically important older cults.

For some developments after the 1980s see Appendix A.

**Spirit possession**

In 1985, Chalebaila, one of the big shing’anga, said: “Possession has become like strong beer, everybody is getting drunk”.

Persons who were spirit possessed (see Elaboration I-H for definitions) by one or more spirits were called ngwilwa or baciwila23, both when in the actual state of being possessed and when in a normal state.

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**Elaboration I-H: Spirit possession**

When slightly changed, the definitions of possession and mediumship in van Binsbergen (1979: 104, 106) are applicable to the situation in Chibale in the 1980s.

Possession or spirit possession: a particular state of the individual of being regarded, by himself and his social environment, as exceptionally closely associated with, and exceptionally strongly dominated by entities other than ordinary living human beings.

Mediumship or spirit mediumship: a state of possession involving the transmission through the possessed of messages deriving from the possessing agent24.

Both concepts are interpretations of certain states of individuals. The difference between the two is the emphasis in mediumship on communication.

The word ‘medium’ is used in this thesis to refer to the possessed who, as well as possible other activities, sing and dance. The word ‘mwana’ will be used to refer to possession patients and unhappily (= unsuccessful) possessed. When referring to both mediums and mwana the word ‘possessed’ will be used.

A term often used in connection with possession is ‘cult of affliction’ which van Binsbergen (1979: 256) defines as follows:

A cult of affliction is a religious subsystem in which

a. misfortune is culturally interpreted in terms of exceptionally strong domination by a specific non-human agent, and

b. attempts are made to remove the misfortune by having the afflicted join the cult venerating that specific agent.
This definition may better fit possession cults in western Zambia where a specific misfortune of illness is caused by a specific agent, as described by Turner and White. In Chibale specific symptoms in the possession illness were no indication of a specific type of possession nor was the removing of the misfortune, in the case of Chibale this would be the possession illness, the sole purpose of the cult. Illness and other misfortune of the possessed were interpreted as signs of bad communication between possessed and possessing spirit (agent). The aim of the cults was to reach and keep *kunfwana*, mutual understanding, between possessed and agent, so that the latter could work properly through the possessed. This work had a social side: help in hunting, healing, or singing and dancing, and a personal side: protection of the possessed themselves against illness, witchcraft and other possible dangers; and it could provide income.

One should not confuse possession or mediumship behaviour with the behaviour related to trance, a term denoting a form of altered state of consciousness. Trance with ‘crisis’ as one of its characteristics (see Rouget 1985: 11) is a possible but certainly not necessary part of possession behaviour. In Chibale it was not unusual to have a ritual lasting the whole night where, say, twelve mediums sang and danced without any of them going into crisis-trance. With the experienced possessed, this trance was rare at public rituals, and occurred only during the transition of a state of good communication to one of bad communication between possessed and possessing spirit, a lessening of *kunfwana*, or vice versa. Temporary unconsciousness of the possessed could be used by the possessing spirits to communicate with the attendants of that possessed through speech, instead of communicating more publicly through song text, singing and dance. Compared with other literature about possession in Africa in which the terms trance, ecstasy and possession (behaviour) are often used interchangeably, the central Zambian form of possession behaviour seems to be exceptional.

For Chibale I agree with Beattie & Middleton (1969: xxix) and van Binsbergen (1979: 230) that possession cults in the 1980s were of importance in the process of adaptation to the, I add: negative, consequences of change. The number of possessed seems to be related to the extent of the difficulties of the time period. The possession cult leaders held similar opinions. Possession made possible what could be called a conservative change.

Once started, the possession could last for a significant part of the life of the person concerned, having a dramatic influence on its course (see Elaboration I-I).

**Elaboration I-I: Chisenga, a case story about getting spirit-possessed**

To give an impression of what happened on the personal and group level and to introduce the reader to the possession scene of the 1980s in Chibale, I present the following short case story. The reason for telling this story is neither that it can stand for all other stories of people getting possessed nor that it describes the variety of ways *shing’anga* treated their patients. Indeed, the diversity in anything related to possession was both stimulating and disturbing.

Chisenga falls ill. She visits the Rural Health Centre, gets some medicine, and goes home. Her illness becomes worse and dreams start coming at night. She fears the dreams of people in white clothes who dance and sing. They want to tell her something, but she does not understand. When visiting the church she suddenly faints and has to be carried home. As working is becoming difficult for her, she again goes to the Health Centre. She is advised to go to a *shing’anga* who is better equipped to find out the cause of the kind of illness she has. Her relatives advise against this. They get together some money and her brother tak-
es her to the hospital in Kabwe. After some time they both return. The doctors
can not find what is wrong. She is really thin now, only capable of sitting and
staring. Dreams also come during the day.

Her parents go to a shing’anga in the evening and ask for a secret treatment.
After Kubuka, diagnosis by the spirits possessing him, the shing’anga says her
case is too serious. She has to come and live in his village for treatment. Finally
the party in Chisenga’s family in favour of a treatment by the shing’anga wins,
mainly because her illness has developed to the point of letting her die when
not sending her to the shing’anga. The shing’anga diagnoses that she has posses-
sion illness and immediately starts a treatment with certain herbs, washings,
rules of healing (mishila ya kupola) as to food and behaviour, and consultations
by Chisenga of the spirits possessing him, in the evening during Kubuka.
Gradually they manage to make contact with the spirits possessing her. Through
the shing’anga’s treatment and teachings and through lengthy negotiations of
the shing’anga’s spirits with the spirits possessing Chisenga and with her hus-
band and parents, her spirits are persuaded to live with her in peace and to re-
veal who they are. During the treatment Chisenga stays in the shing’anga’s
village and as soon as it is possible takes up work for him in the village, later
also in the field. After a stay of three months the shing’anga’s spirits decide that
she is ready for the drums and a date is chosen on which her Cibombe will be
held. The Cibombe marks the end of the treatment period, especially the with-
drawal (kushilitulula) of the rules that were specific for it. It will initiate her into
the ranks of the possessed mediums (Ngwilwa). From a mwana we’lyanga, child
of medicine, she becomes the wife of her spirits. That is why she is called ci-
sungu, girl-in-initiation (preceding marriage)36, during the Cibombe. In the week
preceding the Cibombe two preparatory rituals (kushinkile’ngoma) are held, in
the night of the first and fifth day of brewing of the Cibombe beer, which she
brows herself. In these rituals as well as during the Cibombe already initiated
possessed come ‘to help in the dancing’. Most of them have been treated by her
shing’anga too. On the evening of the Cibombe many people gather to see the
‘child’ (mwana) dance for the first time. Some of Chisenga’s relatives have come,
though not all. Possessed who are already initiated start songs. Each song is
taken over by the people assembled after which the three drums fall in. If this
goes well the starter of the song dances to the music. In fact, not the human
being (muntu) starts the song and dances, but the spirit possessing the human
being. After an hour or so the shing’anga joins in and the gathering becomes
very animated as he is a popular dancer and starter of songs.

At a given moment Chisenga, who is lying in a house near the dance circle,
starts shivering and tries to rise. The women with her, the wives of the
shing’anga, call the shing’anga and, while the music and dance continue, he leads
her into the circle while she is covered with a big white piece of cloth. She is put
on the ground. He pulls away the cloth, puts her in a sitting position and he
gives her some medicines. The drummers gather around her beating loudly.
Slowly she starts swaying lifting her arms graciously. Her eyes are closed, her
head slightly bent backwards. Her movements become awkward and frantic
gradually catching up with the tempo of the singing and drumming. She gets
up. By pushing her with his stick the shing’anga helps her in standing. There is a
sudden hush when she starts mumbling a song line: her spirit reveals itself and
what its work, through her, will be:

Lelo m’i ba Muyumba bakashanina mu cimpetu
Mbano ba Muyumba mu bulenge

Today it is Muyumba who will dance in the circle
Here is Muyumba in the Lenje area

Song I-7: Mwami song introducing the possessing spirit. No recording.
So she is possessed by the Mwami spirit Muyumba, a deceased chief from the Lenje area who is specialised in healing and who sings and dances. The song is taken over fanatically, the drummers beat loudly and precisely. Muyumba starts dancing. Not much later the dancing suddenly becomes frantic and wild. Muyumba has overpowered his wife Chisenga. She falls down unconsciously and lands on her back the arms spread. The way she lies and the movements she makes with her hips seem to express the consummation of the marriage\(^7\). When the singing dies down, she becomes conscious and sits numbly staring. The *shing'anga* starts a song and the dancing begins again. Later that night she brings the same song and dances without falling down.

The next morning she eats a meal with the *shing'anga* and his adepts containing the food she was prohibited to eat. The *shing'anga* is paid for his services by her relatives. She will come back to the *shing'anga* often for additional treatment and to help him treat and initiate new patients. She will pay the *shing'anga* for the additional treatment by this help and by working in his fields. She still has many *mushila* to follow, some temporarily, some permanently. She has to keep her fire unstained, to refrain from cooking for others or making love when she menstruates. She should not eat slimy relish, barbel fish or zebra. She should not eat from the new crops before the *shing'anga* has organised a ritual for that. She should not see dead people nor come too close to graves. She should not wear anything red. If her relatives keep her from following these *mushila*, from visiting the *shing'anga* or from dancing at the rituals of the possessed, the spirits will answer with disease.

When she turns out to be successful (when there is *kumfwana* between her spirit and her) because her spirits can give valuable information through her or are very loved for their singing and dancing, she will have less problems. She might then start treating patients herself under the guidance of her *shing'anga*, in which case she will be called a *mwanang'anga*, a *child-shing'anga*. The more famous she will become, the more often she will be referred to as bamuka-Muyumba (the spouse of Muyumba) or colloquially, just as Muyumba\(^8\). Though she is ‘a possessed’, she is mostly not in the state of being possessed. Only after a special preparation (*kulalikisha*) to receive the spirits: *kuseluka*\(^9\) in the beginning of the night, during the nightly rituals, or during sleep - the spirits will communicate with or through her.

No particular individual was specially chosen by the spirits for possession. They had a preference for women because women ran more risk of getting stained (‘women are closer to the *mpanga*’) than men, and were therefore in more need of help. Secondly, the ones singing the chorus at the gatherings where the possessed sang and danced were mainly women (see Photo I-27). Frequently visiting these gatherings to sing made one more ‘open’ for possession. Conversely, the area where the possessed lived was purposely chosen. According to the *shing'anga* possession increased where and when crisis and impurity increased, compare the last paragraph of Elaboration I-I.

The three major types of spirit possession found in Chibale were related to the three local cults: Kaluwe possession to the *mpanga* cult, Ciwila possession to the ancestral cult, and Mwami possession to the chiefly cult. Possession types related to Christian cults which arose in other parts of Zambia never occurred in Chibale.

Possession was connected to all work of communal interest involving an exchange with nature, the *mpanga*, more especially the work that involved a risk of staining. The mediums were seen as the communication channels between the village and the *mipashi yaikala mu mpanga*, the spirits residing in the *mpanga*.

The works the three types of spirits helped (were specialised) in were:

Kaluwe spirits: important productive work, notably hunting,

Ciwila spirits: singing and dancing and the bringing of new songs, and
Mwami spirits: solving problems, including healing.

The tripartition of important actions is more often found in South Central Africa. The three kinds of associations found in the Luba area (southern Congo), for instance, were also for hunting, for singing & dancing and for healing (Verhulpen 1936: 172-174).

The exchange with the *mpanga* had two directions: obtaining and giving; the obtaining of products and of ideas and the giving of acknowledgement and of the dead. All three possession types had to do with both actions, but there was a difference in emphasis. Possession for hunting and possession for problem solving were for obtaining (for the benefit of all), but they also took care of the necessary giving to the *mpanga* connected to their work through music and dance. Ciwila possession was for giving to the *mpanga* for the benefit of all through singing and dancing. On the other hand, their acquiring new songs was obtaining.

The three possession types (*musango wa kuwilwa*) differed not only in the specialism they guided or practised, but also in the form of organisation, number and type of life-rules, type and origin of the possessing spirits, attire and attributes, language, subjects of song texts, melody shape, tonal material, drum patterns, and styles of dancing (see List I-2 for an overview of the knowledge of the general public about these differences).

**Differences between the possession types**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I do not know</td>
<td>66 25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Some dance, some heal, some hunt</td>
<td>55 21.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Some come from the land, some from the river</td>
<td>39 15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Some come at night, some during the day</td>
<td>29 11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The dances and/or dance attire differ</td>
<td>21 8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The music and/or song texts differ</td>
<td>19 7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The possessing spirits are different</td>
<td>17 6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>There is no essential difference: they all dance</td>
<td>13 5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List I-2: The differences between the possession types according to the general public, Survey 1985/86.

1 Though only a few respondents claimed not to know that there were different possession types, about a quarter of them were not able, or prepared, to mention a difference.

2 This answer refers to the different works of the possession types.

3 Some possession types were regarded to be typically Lala, others to come from outside. Lala types are Kaluwe and Ciwila. The spirits came from the *mulunda*, the higher land between rivers, which was associated with the *mpanga* (and the ancestral) cult. Mwami came from outside, in this case the Lenje/Lima area. Mwami spirits came from the rivers (*nika*). Rivers were associated with chieftainship and ecological cults for agriculture (rain). In Zambia chiefly cults are generally more connected to agriculture than to hunting (compare for instance van Binsbergen 1981a: 8).

4 Parallels the second answer. Depending on their work, the spirits came during the day, for hunting (Kaluwe), during day and night for singing and dancing (Ciwila), and during the night (Mwami), when healing and diagnostic sessions were held. In the Lenje and Lima areas and in town Lala Ciwila possession was known for its ‘dancing during the day’.

5&6 See Chapter 5 and 6 for a discussion of the differences in the rituals, songs and dances of the various possession types.

7 Here emphasis is laid on the type of possessing spirit. Kaluwe: spirits of ancestr-
ors, commonly great hunters some of whom were Kaluwe mediums themselves when alive; Ciwila: spirits of ancestors, only some of whom were great mediums themselves when alive, and Mwami: spirits of chiefs or important headmen from the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area.

8 In connection with mediums ‘to dance’ often meant ‘to play an important role at public rituals’. Mediums of all three types were the ones who started the songs and danced at certain occasions. The Ciwila mediums were special in this respect because they were expected to bring new songs and to dance in a very lively way: in short, to carry the ritual.

Kaluwe

Kaluwe possession was called kuwilwo'ku milimo, the possession for important work. The Kaluwe mediums, bakaKaluwe, were hunters themselves or helped hunters, and, to a lesser degree, other food producers and performers of important communal work. They told the hunter where to go and at what moment.

They were of importance in the rituals with which a hunt, or series of hunts, was opened and closed, and they were able to solve adversity, ishamo, in hunting or other works. The possessing spirits were spirits of deceased famous hunters. Kaluwe possession was widespread in Zambia and the south of Congo30. Kaluwe itself did not possess. It was a nature spirit also called mwenshang'ombe or mwishang'ombe, the one staying with the herds, and had at the same time vague historical connotations: a very great hunter who lived long ago in Kola or even earlier31. The cult for Kaluwe possibly replaced or was a rekindling of an older cult for Mulenga wa Mpanga (see note 7 in Part III).

Kaluwe songs were about hunters and hunting (listen to Song 1-2). The dancing by Kaluwe mediums was instructive. It showed what it was like to hunt the different kinds of bigger animals.

Ciwila

The work of the Ciwila mediums was the bringing of new songs and dancing, in the 1980s mostly at funerals and commemorating rituals, in former days also at the night before the coming out of the girl initiate (kufuminisha cisungu) and at important beer parties. The possessing spirits were mupashi, the spirits of dead people from the area.

The songs they brought were educating/informing (kufunda) and could be about many subjects. The dancing was to attract people to listen and learn the song texts through singing while watching. Their role of information dissemination was more prominent in former days when they travelled the area to sing and dance at funerals, girl’s initiation and important beer parties where they could meet ing’omba from other areas forming a kind of ritual and information network (see also the paragraphs on ing’omba in Chapter 6). The songs, drumming and dancing were regarded as typically Lala32 (listen to Song I-3).

Mwami

The work of the Mwami mediums was to solve problems and to heal. In the 1980s almost all big shing’anga were Mwami mediums. The possessing spirits were the spirits of deceased Lenje and Lima, sometimes Kaonde, Lamba or Lala, chiefs33. The songs were about healing, illness or any other subject connected to staining (listen to Song I-4). The language was a mixture of Lala and the language of the area where the chief lived. The dancing was considered to be Lenje-like or Lima-like, which, generalising, was characterised by the fact that the dancer bent a little forward giving more emphasis on the movements of the waist, and by a slightly lower drumming, and so: dancing, tempo.
Other aspects like the behaviour of the dancer, her attire, her language and songs, and the occasion at which the dancing was done, were equally important in the categorisation of a dance as Lenje-like.

The combination of Ciwila with Mwami possession in one person was normal in the 1980s (see List I-3). In general, the appreciation for Mwami possession was higher than that for Ciwila or Kaluwe possession, because of the work the Mwami spirits did.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex, age, and possession type of possessed in Chibale</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possession type(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaluwe only</td>
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<tr>
<td>♂</td>
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<tr>
<td>♀</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ciwila only</td>
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<td>♂</td>
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<tr>
<td>♀</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mwami only</td>
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<td>♂</td>
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<tr>
<td>♀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaluwe &amp; Ciwila</td>
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<td>♂</td>
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<td>♀</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaluwe &amp; Mwami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♂</td>
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<tr>
<td>♀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciwila &amp; Mwami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combinations with other types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>♀</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List I-3: Sex, age and possession type(s) of 154 possessed. The list is based on the two surveys and other data collected in 1985 and 1986. Other possession types were Moba and Bayambo. On the right-hand side is indicated how many persons of the various groups were small (s) or big (S) shing’anga.

Possession type: Mwami and Ciwila were more frequently found than Kaluwe possession. Taking together the frequencies of each type alone and of its combinations with other types, we come to an approximate ratio of 6:5:2 for Mwami:Ciwila:Kaluwe in the 1980s.

Sex: Of the people who were ‘fallen upon’ 77% were women. It should be noted that those who could not adapt to their possession mostly were women. Based also on other counts made in the 1980s, it could be generalised that the ratio women : men for possessed (medium and mwana) was 3:1, while for mediums alone it was 2:1. In Mwami possession and combination of Mwami with other types the predominance of women was greatest, the ratio women : men being 5:1, and in Kaluwe possession and combinations of Kaluwe with other types it was smallest, with a ratio of 1:2 and 3:2 respectively. Kaluwe possessed often were hunters (men) themselves.

Age: The average age of the possessed was 42.1 years, the mode was 43.4. Differences between the average ages of men and women were fractional. Only male Kaluwe possessed, possibly combined with other types, were significantly younger, in average 31.5 years, again because many Kaluwe possessed were hunters.
There was also some difference in average age between the persons possessed by one type only and those possessed by more types. This is explained by the fact that possession often started with the coming of one or two spirits of one type, while other spirits, possibly of different types, might ‘join in’ later.

_Shing'anga:_ The _bigger shing'anga_ were all Mwami mediums except for one Kaluwe & Ciwila medium. (See note 40 for an explanation of the use of the words big and small in connection with healers.) It was said that in former days, when specialised healing possession was rare, healing was done by Kaluwe mediums. _Big shing'anga_ often were possessed by spirits of more than one type. The _shing'anga_ did not form one seventh of all possessed, as may appear from the list. From the surveys it appears that the proportion was closer to one tenth, one twelfth. Data about _shing'anga_ were more easily obtained. The list, for instance, contains all big _shing'anga_ living in the research area. Six out of ten big _shing'anga_ were men, while for all possessed that was around 2.3 out of ten, as shown above. This underlines that men dealt differently with their possession than women did.

**Possession and town**

The Mwami possession cult ‘came from town.’ In the 1980s spirit possession in the Copperbelt towns seemed to be at least as prevalent as it was in Chibale. The _shing'anga_ in town were organised in a local and in a national association. Some _shing'anga_ organised _Cibombe_ on a weekly basis. It seemed that cults of many parts of Zambia were gradually moulded into the Mwami model.

Mwami possession presumably was a transformation of the rare _bamukaMwami_ possession found in the Lenje and Lamba areas as well as in the south of Congo in the first half of the previous century. It may have been an old cult of affliction that was Lenje-/Lambaised, comparable to the rare Lala Mashabe healing and prophet possession around the beginning of the previous century. It survived in town during the 1940s and 1950s, one or two _shing'anga_ per town. Starting in the 1960s, town cult groups under Mwami _shing'anga_ leadership went through an enormous growth during the next twenty years.

The first one to start a Mwami cult group in Chibale was _bamukaNdubeni_. Possibly Mwami possession spread to other parts of Zambia in a similar way as described for _banaNshimbi_ in the section ‘Short life stories of the exegetes who contributed to this thesis’ at the beginning of Part II.

Though Mwami ‘came from town,’ Mwami mediums did not think highly of town life. _Shing'anga_ often referred to town as _mushi wa bushiwa_, village/culture of madness. ‘To come from town’ here has to be interpreted as: ‘to have solutions for modern-day problems.’

The purpose of the possession of a person from a certain area by a spirit coming from another area is to exchange information, for instance, white spirits for western medicine. The Lamba spirits tell us what they do in the Lamba area and what he should do here.

(Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

It will be no coincidence that most Mwami spirits came from the areas (Lenje, Lima, Lamba, Kaonde) that forms the Copperbelt, the area in which all industrial cities lay. One could say that these spirits could help to make a conservative change in Chibale based on the experiences in the Copperbelt.
Mashabe and Moba

Two other types of possession, Moba and Mashabe, need mentioning. Mashabe possession was - at least in the 20th century - an uncommon, highly valued type of healing possession much like the *bamukaMwami* prophet-possession described for the Lamba area by Doke (1931: 258-267)\(^{36}\) (listen to Song I-5 and Music example I-1). In the 1980s it was not found anymore in Chibale\(^ {37} \) ‘since nowadays their work is done by the Mwami mediums’.

Moba possession was prevalent between 1914 and the 1930s. In the 1980s, it was often characterised as a Ciwila kind of possession, sometimes as a Mwami kind of possession. However, the possessing agents were of non-human origin. Moba possession spread over parts of Zambia around 1912/14\(^ {38} \). It may have been a part of the process to come to grips with the changes the raids and the subsequent coming of the British had caused (see the text of Song I-1 and Song I-6). The Moba medium was better guarded against witchcraft than the Ciwila, an important, if not *the* issue of that time. From the data assembled it seems most likely that Moba was Chibalised into a type of *ing’omba* or Ciwila possession. Stefaniszyn (1964b: 156) also mentions them as roaming singer/dancers, just like the Ciwila mediums of that time. Moba possession was very rare in the 1980s. Witchcraft was still, again, an important issue, but Mwami possession was thought to give a better protection against it than Moba.

Possession cult groups

In the 1980s the Mwami possessed, most of the Ciwila possessed and some of the Kaluwe possessed were organised in cult groups. Only the few Ciwila and Kaluwe mediums who placed, or rather because of their success could place, their possession in the framework of the older central, local cults were not members of a possession cult group\(^ {39} \).

The cult groups were led by a *shing’anga*\(^ {40} \), a Mwami medium who had healed the members of the group. Anyone, who was suffering from possession illness or another serious illness, or who had already been initiated in another cult group and was accepted by the *shing’anga* (s spirit), could become a member of the group. The possession cult groups were composed of a small number of possession illness patients called *mwana* (‘children’, people who are in the process of learning how to accommodate the possessing spirit), ten to fifty adepts (initiated possessed), zero to two apprentice *shing’anga* (*mwanang’anga*), and the *shing’anga*. The latter organised most and led all of the gatherings of the cult group and treated people suffering from possession illness as well as those inflicted by other serious (‘complicated’) illnesses or misfortune, like barrenness, madness, and afflictions caused by witchcraft. For less serious (‘simple’) illnesses - illnesses that did not seem to be caused by staining or lack of respect - people visited the local Rural Health Centre where cosmopolitan healing methods were used. In the 1980s the *shing’anga* and the Rural Health Centre referred certain types of patients to each other.

Group contacts took place during and around the rituals, called *Cibombe*, that the *shing’anga* organised or that were organised under his guidance for (the spirits of) new possession patients or a special member of his group, for all members of his group, or in honour of his own possession spirits. Certain other patients or ex-patients, notably women who were barren and had a child after treatment by the *shing’anga*, were more or less loosely connected to the group. Apart from the group contacts for rituals a member could visit the *shing’anga* for personal advice or treatment.
A clear relationship existed between the success one had during the possession rituals in dancing and in bringing songs and the importance of the role one had in one's cult group and the rituals it organised.

Before the coming of Mwami, the Ciwila and Kaluwe possessed were not organised in cult groups like the Mwami groups. One or more Kaluwe mediums formed the centre of a group of hunters, while one or more Ciwila mediums formed the centre of a musical (and dance) group that roamed the area in the 'beer season', the ritual season form August to November. After the sudden rise of possession in the second decade of the previous century, Moba mediums and some of the Ciwila mediums were loosely connected to groups around the rare big Mashabe shing’anga or around minor, that is Kaluwe or Moba, shing’anga.

Talent and success

Skill, talent and success

We have seen that in the past persons with an extraordinary talent for important work were possessed by spirits of deceased specialists who had had the same talent. It provided, as it might be put, the right to the receipt of the advantages of the application of the skill related to that talent. The possession caused and explained the success an individual had in doing one of these works. This was still the case in the 1980s and was not a minor thing in a region in which differences between two comparable cases were often interpreted as having been caused by malice of the one at the positive side of the difference. Witchcraft has been an important issue in Chibale during the whole of the twentieth century. In Serenje district Chibale was notorious for the yearly number of killings in connection with witchcraft cases.

Also with a less important talent, possession was thought to be in play. It was used as an explanation in the case of a talent or a great propensity for a certain activity. When someone was very dedicated to a certain work, like a handicraft, hoeing, or playing a musical instrument, he was regarded, at least by those connected to the possession cults, to have a special, mild form of Kaluwe possession. The only life-rule (mushila) for such a person, called mukuKalwe utashana, non-dancing Kaluwe possessed, was that he performed his work frequently and ardently. He was often not aware of his possession until things went wrong and a shing’anga was consulted.

Tracey (1965: 31) writing about the Shona area describes how the skill of the performer awakes the appropriate spirit (shawi) of the listener, with music and interest/affect (manyawo) as the mediation means at the side of the performer and listener respectively. Music and interest/affect are means to an end. The shawi will not appear without the means of skillfully performed music. Skill and spirit are autonomous entities: a father will often say that he hopes the shawi of his craft will awake in his son.41

Also with reference to the Kaonde area, a connection has been described between spirit (possession) and skill. Melland (1923: 150): “If a youth becomes an exceptionally good hunter, he is supposed to have inherited this skill unexpectedly from someone deceased, and is called his ciwilo”; the latter is derived from kuwila - to (spirit) possess.

Apthorpe (1962: 4) sheds a different light on the ownership of skill.

At a puberty ceremony in a more northern village in Petauke, an instructress explained to me that in ideal Nsenga practice the mother of the master-drummer would herself be an instructress, and she and her son, in their different capacities, should attend always the same ceremonies sharing one ciselo. Ciselo in this context may be translated as 'ritual kit', though it also has the connotation of the ritual skill itself and the inherited right to possess it and use it.
In the 1980s, for many spirit possession was regarded as a reasonable, but certainly not undisputed, explanation for talent and success in healing, (directing) hunting, bringing new songs and minor talents like being good in playing an (important) music instrument. Furthermore, a clear relationship existed between the success a medium had during the possession rituals in bringing songs and dancing and the quality that could be expected of the other important work that that medium did (see Photo I-28).

**Kumfwana, talent and success**

The talent leading to the success was not at all ascribed to the possessed person (*mununtu*) but was an ability of the possessing spirit. The desired relationship between the spirit and the possessed was called *kumfwana*, mutual understanding; *-mfwa*: hear, listen, understand, feel; *-na* indicating reciprocity (see Photo I-29). Someone in the first phase of possession was ill (the ‘possession illness’) because *kumfwana* between her and the spirit was not yet possible. The healing process was aimed at finding out how the patient could attain *kumfwana*. Apart from illness, a sign that *kumfwana* was missing was the lack of success of the possessed in music and dance, including the incapability of the possessing spirit to sing or dance through the possessed. The sign of optimal *kumfwana* was success. Success could be measured in two ways. One could look for the practical success the possessed had: did the *shing'anga* receive new methods for healing and solving problems; did the Kaluwe medium succeed each time to direct the hunter to the correct place at the correct time for him to be able to shoot big game; did the Ciwila medium always bring new songs? One could also look at whether the possessed was successful in starting new songs and in dancing during rituals. In general, in the 1980s the success in the bringing of songs and in dancing was considered to be the more important sign of true *kumfwana*, since people could check it more easily. Success in music and dance was a measure of the *kumfwana*, and, therefore, of the power of the medium.

It is not clear when singing and dancing became the measure for the power of the possessed. Many people agreed that in former days the *shing'anga* did not perform in public, the rituals of the older possession cult groups were only intended for those concerned.

In Chapter 9 I will examine the criteria that were used to assess the success of musicians, dancers and composers.

**Possession music and rituals**

The passages above about possession are introductory. I will treat possession rituals and music in the Chapters 5 and 6, the worldview of the cult leaders and the relation that it has with music theory in Chapter 7, the importance and interpretation and application of possession song texts in Chapter 8 and the evaluation of possession music and the relation between success in music and success in important work in Chapter 9.
Notes

1 Kartomi (1981: 233-234) recommends the use of one or more of the following terms: transculturation, musical synthesis and musical syncretism for contacts between musical cultures. The first two terms are based on the conception of a people's music as a whole which is an untenable position as, for instance, this thesis shows. The latter term is useable for the South Central Africa case but has wrong connotations because of its use in religious studies for the ‘reconciliation of differing beliefs’ (Kartomi 1981: 245), and so, again, containing an undertone of a convergence to ‘one culture’. To counteract the ‘natural’ tendency to think of convergence, for Chibale one can better think in terms of the tendency of non-convergence to one culture under a light ideological sauce of homogeneity and of the constant expression of frictions and connections, in music and rituals. This makes the latter interesting for a historiography that is not only oriented to factuality.

2 This way of working has resulted in the pilot for a research project, called Butala, in Serenje and Mkushi District which at present consists of three parts. The training of a small number of people in Chibale and surrounding areas to do research into culture, history and the like with the aid of digital means. Secondly, self-research by these people involving digital archiving. And, thirdly, transformation of the material gathered into new, often digital, forms of tradition for schools, special groupings, special projects, local radio and the like. The role of the author is in the obtaining of funds, the training, the quality assessment of the research, and in helping to design good new forms of tradition.

3 See Warners 1956.

4 The word chieftain is used here in the way the word was used locally. It referred to the area that ‘traditionally’ fell under a chief as well as to the set of three or four wards that each chieftain comprised. Chibale chieftain was one of eight chieftains in Serenje district and existed in its 1980s form since the 1920s, when chieftains in the area were (re)shaped by the British. For the people in Serenje district the name of a chieftain referred to its characteristics and to the style differences within the district.

5 Except when stated differently, figures in this thesis are based on two surveys with 259 and 146 respondents above fourteen years of age, held in December 1985 & January 1986 and in December 1987 respectively.

6 Seur’s survey in Ncimishi (1992: 113) shows that around 88% considered life in Ncimishi to be better than life in town. An even larger percentage considered establishing a farm in Ncimishi area a better strategy for earning cash than migration labour.

7 Other larger sources relevant to Chibale are Madan 1908, Madan 1913, von Hoffman 1929, Stephenson 1937, Pope Cullen 1940, Edme 1944, Lambo 1945, the publications of Munday, Peters 1950, Rukavina 1951, the publications of Stefaniszyn, Ranger 1975b, the publications of Verbeek and for a larger culturally and historically comparable region (the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area) Doke 1931, Cuvelier 1932, Marchal 1933. For sources relevant to the music in Chibale and surroundings see note 1 and 2 in Part II.

8 Compare, for instance, Seur (1992: 289): Again, we may conclude that women (as well as men) in Ncimishi often treat matrilineal ideology and its related norms as a kind of strategic resource used in various ways and in different contexts to further personal or collective interests and objectives.

9 Van Binsbergen (1985: 202) discussing Nkoyanness: “Admittedly, there are specific details. Nkoya music has unmistakable qualities which have become the court music par excellence throughout western Zambia. There are specific variations in style patterns as manifested in cultivation or hunting, in food habits, girls’ initiation, dancing, etc. Also it is possible that the amazing cultural and structural homogeneity that characterises present-day western Zambia is partly a result of processes of political and economic incorporation over the past hundred years; these may have obliterated much that was uniquely local, and may have replaced it by a neo-traditional hotchpotch of peripheral-capitalist rural culture as prevailing throughout the region. There are indications in the field of chieftainship and religion that such a converging transformation was one among several intertwined processes of cultural change affecting western Zambia. Present-day similarities should not automatically be taken as proof of past identities. Yet it is difficult to conceive of so-called Nkoya culture as something other than a slightly idiosyncratic combination and permutation of productive, social-organizational and symbolic patterns that are widely and abundantly available throughout the region. Some of the potentially distinguishing cultural features of Nkoya-ness underwent considerable change over the last few centuries.”
In 1981 while in Mbala I met a man from Lusaka. After having heard that I was doing research into music and other cultural phenomena in Lala area, he said: ‘Oh, that is a pity for you because the Lala have no culture’. He meant that if an area did not have conspicuous cultural manifestations like the annual Mutomboko in Lunda-Kazembe area, it made little contribution to national culture which, for that matter, was largely town-derived in his opinion.

For the people that did not regard *ishuko* as the result of a good relation that one could built up/try to maintain with the spirit world, ‘*ishuko*’ could be translated as ‘good luck’ or ‘chance’.

See also Seur (1992: 186).

The meanings of the terms used are *banaifumu* - leaders (of old), *banfumu* - chiefs, *mapunde* - foreigners, enemies, *mwana kubuta* - white men, *fetufo* - ‘federal’. The Fetufo and *Zambia* periods did not coincide exactly with the historical facts their names are derived from. The Federation of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe) only came into existence in 1953 and the Republic of Zambia gained independence in 1964. But it was from the beginning of the 1970s that the social reality, to which the term *Zambia* refers, took form.

The Chikunda visited Kazembe, the Nsenga and the Lenje at the end of the eighteenth century (Isaacman 1972: 456). Until around 1820 the Cikunda were middlemen for the Portuguese prazos (a feudal system of traders with private armies) along the Zambesi under Zumbo. Later, groups of them started their own expeditions and many settled near the Luangwa river. They were elephant-hunters, traders and ironworkers (see also Elaboration I-C).

Pope Cullen (1940: 267) mentions “*Mwabetembe, Malama, Kalunga, Mawonde, Nkata, Chiwoli, Chiwali the first and Chiwali the second*” as the predecessors of Mutende (“Chiwali the third”). According to some Mwape Ntembe was the same person as Malama.

The area formed by Ilala and all these buffer chiefdoms, some sixty thousand square kilometres, coincides with the area referred to as ‘Lala of Kankomba’ drawn on the map ‘*East Central Zambia 1700-1835*’ in Roberts (1970: 117) which may be based on Monday (1961: 20).

To be stained (*kukowela*): to have a heightened risk of misfortune, to be with *ishamo* because of an uncontrolled contact with the *mpanga*, see further.

Roberts (1976: 91): “Some Lala chiefs were probably established by the early seventeenth century, for the Portuguese on the Lower Zambesi heard at that period of ‘Kankomba’, which is a praise name used by several Lala chiefs”. This name, however, was not exclusively used by Lala chiefs. Moreover, one can not deduce from Roberts’ information any association of this Kankomba with the Nyendwa clan or the ruling of these chiefs over a Lala nation in the early seventeenth century. It is more likely that the Nyendwa clan took the praise name Kankomba of the people/clans they conquered, at the end of the eighteenth century.

For the local cults three kinds of life-rules or rules of conformity (*mushila*) could be discerned: the paths of (preventing) staining, *mishila ya kikoweshi*, also called *mishila ya kutina mpanga*, paths of fearing the *mpanga*, regulating contacts between human beings and the non-human sphere (*mpanga*), the paths of respect, *mishila ya mucinshi*, also called *mishila ya kutina bantu*, paths of fearing people, regulating contacts between human beings among themselves, and the paths of cooling, *mishila ya kupola*, also called *mishila ya kucitita*, the paths of doing (solving/healing), which are to be followed for solving a problem, e.g. healing a disease. *Kutina*: to fear, to respect, to care for. *Kutina mishila*: to follow life-rules, though *kutonda* and *kusunga mishila* were used more frequently.

This process seems to run parallel to the increase of the use of the Watch Tower and other publications, not adapted to the Chibale (Zambian) context but aimed at a world public, see Seur (1992: 379).

It is tempting to represent the differences between Jehovah’s Witnesses and other people in Chibale to be as large as possible because the former were much more influenced by exogenous (North Atlantic) forces. When following this route the choice of an individual in Chibale to become a Witness might be reduced to motives based on non-local reasoning, e.g. that in the pre-colonial period it represented a desire for ‘total innovation’ (van Binsbergen: http://www.shikanda.net/ethnicity/labour.htm). In the beginning it certainly represented a, quite generally felt, desire for ‘instant salvation’ as is exemplified by the hope invested by the people in the prophets who visited the area in the mid-1920s: Mwepya Lesa, Lungo and Mwana Lesa, and in the beginning of the 1930s the Bamucapi. These were men who claimed to be able to solve the troubles of that time within a short time. The history of Mwana Lesa is well-documented (e.g. Ranger 1975b, Verbeek 1983: 37-108 and Verbeek 1992: 89-102. The latter includes three songs, one of which goes as follows: *Lwakwe lwakwe lwakwe umwine Teti akasambe lwapela mu matwi* – It is the case, the case, the case of the one Who does not bathe above the ears. Mwana Lesa used as a witch’s ordeal the submersion of people in water to see
whether they floated (witch) or sunk (human)). But let us look at two issues that illustrate that the
Witnesses were not completely different, e.g. because of feeding upon a superior, exogenous source.
Seur (1992: 402): ‘According to the younger generation of Witnesses, many brothers and sisters had,
in the past, given too much time and attention to secular work; in their quest for tangible assets they
had unwittingly or unwittingly neglected their religious duties and had spent too little time building up
their family spiritually.’ Of course, I do not have an exact, analogous citation but shinganga could
have said: ‘Many people in their struggle with modern life neglect the life-rules (mushila) and have no
time or energy to pay respect to certain spirits (kupupa). This brings them all kinds of problems that
could have been avoided when following a purer lifestyle with more respect for what needs to be re-
pected’. Seur (1992: 409): ‘Some Witnesses of the ‘inner circle’ went so far as to state that the devo-
tion of some Witnesses to their worldly activities, their single-minded pursuit of economic status
through agricultural production, poses a serious threat to the spiritual well-being and thus to the sur-
vival of the congregation.’ The parallel with witchcraft (accusations) is difficult to overlook.

Contrary to the situation described for some other parts of Zambia, there was or had been little or no
cross-over between the Christian and the possession cults.

General words used for people who were possessed were ngwilwa and baciwila. Both words were de-
erived from the verb -wa: to fall; -wila: to fall upon, and -wilwa: to be fallen upon. Baciwila: those who
have to do with something that falls upon them. Ngwilwa: those who have been fallen upon.

Van Binsbergen (1979: 104, 106): mediumship or spirit mediumship: a state of possession involving
the transmission by the possessed of messages supposed to derive from the possessing agent.

Note that even the title and subtitle of a valuable book like that of Rouget (1985) ‘Music and trance. A
theory of the relations between music and possession’ suggests the inseparability of the two notions.

Male possession initiates are also called ‘cizungu’ and after the initiation they also are called the wives
of their spirits.

During Cibombe I witnessed in town movements like these by possessed patients in trance were
loudly applauded by the public.

The woman in the story was referred to as ba Chisenga in her capacity as human being (muntu),
bamukaMuyumba in her capacity as successful medium, and ba Muyumba in ‘her’ capacity as spirit.

Seluka: come down, descend (also in Madan 1908:129), related to the verb -senuka, which is used in

See Stephenson (1937: 262), Lambo (1945: 331, 336), Munday (1948: 42), and Stefaniszyn (1951: passim).
If we go by the information of Stefaniszyn, Moba possession merged with Kaluwe possession
in the Kambonsenga (Ambo) area (1964: 156). For Kaluwe (possession) in other areas see Doke (1931:
256, 324), Marchal (1933: 105), Grevisse (1956: 73, 100f), Turner (1968: 121f), Bantje (1978: 39),
Gansemans (1978: 111), Haworth (1979: 10) and Mapoma (1980a: 80). The hunting possessed de-
described by Doke (the Lamba area) and Lambo (the Congo Lala area) are called bayambo. In the 1980s,
there were two bayambo mediums in Chibale, both born in the Lima area.

This statement finds support in Grevisse (1956: 100) who says that certain of his Basanga informants
state that Kaluwe or Luwe is the spirit of the great Kunda (in Congo) hunter Bili Kiliwe. Mbidi Kiliwe
was the one to bring ‘kingly manners,’ and more, to the Luba. He is connected to the founders of the
Luba, Lunda and Bembu kingdoms (see de Heusch 1972: 10). Bulwe is the Luba word for hunting
and fishing.

Information about Ciwila possession can also be found in Lambo (1945: 331) and Stefaniszyn (1964b: 90, 156)
for the Congo Lala and Kambonsenga areas respectively. Doke (1927: 524) for the Lamba
area: “The Baciwila are spirit-mediums resembling the Bamukamwami; they are young women who become
spirit-possessed, and dance alone in a moral manner. They are supposed to be possessed by a Lala
spirit.” It is not clear why, four years later, Doke did not repeat, or referred to, this information in his
standard book about the Lamba area when he talks about Lala Ciwila possession (1931: 256).

Mwami is the Lenje word for chief, plural: abami. Mukamwami: spouse of the mwami.

Remarks about possession in town are based on a stay of three weeks in Luanshya in May 1986. Also
shinganga from Ndola, Kapiri Mposhi and Kabwe were interviewed there.

See Madan (1913: 141) and for the Lenje/Lamba area: Doke (1927: 524, 525 and 1931: 258-267) and
Heintze (1970: 40). Marchal (1933: 153) gives an impression of the rarity of this type of mediumship
around 1930: in the eastern Lamba area there was one mukaMwami and in the Aushi area there were
two. See also Smith & Dale (1920, ii: 140f) and van Binsbergen (1979: 175).

Though the description by Doke of the bamukamwami mediums is very valuable as a historical docu-
mentation, it should be noted that he does not clearly separate the works of the real mediums from
those of the frauds. Exegetes in Chibale, confronted with his description, had little problem in separat-
ing the acts from those of the impostors.

37 References to Mashabe possession, in central Zambia, can be found in Doke (1927: 524 and 1931:
256) and Stefaniszyn (1964b: 156f). Rare in Central Province, a possession type of that or a similar
name was still prominent in Eastern Province and in Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in the
1980s. See, for instance, Blacking (1962), Tracey (1965), Chilivumbo (1972), and Berliner (1978).
Mensah (1970a: 100) says the Nsenga Mashabe possessed sang in Korekore or Cikunda and Jaspan
(1953: 61) says that Mashabe possession came to the Tonga area, in the south of Zambia, a little before
1918 from the Karanga area. A Zimbabwean connection seems not unlikely for Mashabe possession,
but, for our area, it must be placed much earlier in history, presumably connected to the trade with
the Cikunda or to the later Zulu/Ngoni (mapunde) invasions. Carter (1972) goes as far as to suppose
that all Zambian cults of affliction ultimately originate from the Shona area (see also note 41).

38 See Lambo (1945: 331) and Stefaniszyn (1964b: 158f). For other areas see Doke (1927: 524 and 1931:
253-256), Marchal (1933: 154), Njungu (1959), Colson (1969: 84), Heintze (1970: 12), Haworth (1979:
9) and van Binsbergen (1979: 127, 185, 239, 302, with more references).

39 Some Kaluwe mediums who were hunters themselves, were organised in co-operative hunting
groups, that, apart from the ritual functions, served to obtain a hunting-licence or to buy bullets,
which by rural standards were very expensive: the price of a bullet was equal to the amount of money
one could gain when selling the meat of a smaller type of antelope, not counting bad shots. ‘Modern’
developments like this did not lessen the importance of the ‘traditional’ relation of man (mununtu) and
mpanga, in this case of the hunter with Kaluwe.

40 The word shinganga needs some further explanation. Anyone who was able to heal or to solve prob-
lems was called a shinganga. So the herbalist, who could treat some minor illnesses, and the diviner,
who diagnosed minor problems, were called shinganga as well as the exceptional person who was
able to heal madness or other serious illnesses and problems. When comparing them, the former
shinganga were called ‘small’ or ‘minor’ (munini), the latter ‘big’ (mukalanha). A few of the latter
were also called ‘big’ when not comparing them with others. Except when stated explicitly, in the re-
mainder of this thesis I refer with the word shinganga to a possessed healer and cult leader.

41 It is tempting to hypothesise that the Shona way of ‘handling’ the possession of skill was one of the
causes of the success of Mashabe possession throughout (East) South Central Africa. It may have
been used to break through existing structures of monopolising the gains of the application of skill.

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**Song texts**

1 **A Moba song**

   *Zwisoi*lapili ulu naluba
   Cinonene nonene npa mapunde pa kufwa bantu

   Which hill is that over there I have forgotten
   ‘Sharpening Place’ where the enemies whetted for people to die

**Song I-1:** A Moba song from the beginning of the 1920s commemorating the raidings in
the last quarter of nineteenth century. The song was brought, in the beginning of the
1920s, by Moba spirits through Koni Mafuba, headman of Koni village, now in chief
Shaibila's area, formerly Chibale's. In 1981 it was sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa in
Chibale as an example of an old Moba song.

In this song the people are reminded of the total disorientation the raidings brought.
This is exemplified here by the fact that the name of an important hill - which stands for
the whole area around it - is forgotten and that it has to be renamed. A possibly more
understandable translation of the text would read: ‘What is that hill over there I have for-
gotten the name of? Let us call it ‘Sharpening Place’ where the enemies whetted their
spear blades before they killed the people.'

The enemies referred to here most likely are groups associated with or incorporated
by the Ngoni (see Verbeek 1983: 2, Langworthy 1972: 92, Lane Poole 1949: 10, Lambo
1941: 56).
Part I

2 A Kaluwe song

*Mushana cinselawila ne kutali mfumine*
*Mwaka wakufwa ne ng'anga nkalele na micila*
*Mushana cinselawila ne kutali mfumine*
*Mwaka wakufwa ne ng'anga nkalele na micila ya nama*

Don't dance moving your hips up and down since I come from far
In the year of my dying, I, the *shing'anga*, will lie with tails
Don't dance moving your hips up and down since I come from far
In the year of my dying, I the *shing'anga* will lie with tails of game

Song I-2: A Kaluwe song sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa after having heard the text in
Doke (1931: 311, see below), 1986.
A song for the *Cilili ca nama* that could be brought by a Kaluwe medium or a hunter
(as an *ilimbalakata*). The first line is a word of caution to the other dancers: let's
have this session in a good way, without too much competition.
You have to realise that at these *Cilili* there were many boisterous hunters. The song is in
secret language (*sha mulwankama*). Those who understood would abide to what the
owner wanted. (*banaN'shibi, personal communication, 1987*)
The second line says the singer will remain a big hunter for the rest of his life. *Cinselawila*
derives from *kuselaula* which means to move the hips up and down during
intercourse.
According to Doke (1931: 311, the footnotes are his) a similar song text was sung
during witchcraft diagnosis (*Kubuka*) by a doctor when the witch had been revealed.
His version seems to be a *kucitila* version, see Part III, in which the tails of game are
replaced by the horn of medicines.
*Mushana-cinselawila, nikwilala mfumine,*
*Ili afwile banangwa, nkala nyensengo!*
[I] the dancer of the dance of abandonment¹, it is from the Lala country I have come²
When [I] the great doctor die, I shall lie with the horns [in my hands]³?
1. The people are so relieved that their fear is removed that they can now dance in abandonment.
2. 'I have come from far - a prophet from another country.'
3. 'People will bury me with my powerful medicines.'

3 A Ciwila song

*Tamumfw a ifyo ntalika baine*
*Ba Chisenga Machingo balishe cawayaway ove*
Listen how I start, friends
Chisenga Machingo, beat the *cawayaway* style ove

Song I-3: A Ciwila song sung by Chisenga Machingo (human name: Sitifini Nunda) at an
*Ipuo* in Milombwe, 1981.
*Cawayaway* is fast and light drumming that is often used at the end of a longer
ritual or session. Ciwila songs often referred to the quality of the ritual or tried to
heat it further. How a ritual was heated, and what role music played in heating, will
be discussed at various places in this thesis.

4 A Mwami song

*Lyali nkuleme mukulebola ba tupandi maa*
*Bankula molu kabashala nati wowo iyaya*
*Ne mulanda kambelenga*
*Mwishang'ombe alokwita waya*
*Tola kabula nkansholoka nkankatola*
*Mu cisakasaka ca mufungo*
*Ishamo* dragged me into getting only those with thin legs
Those with fat legs were left, I say: *wowo iyaya*
Me the poor one, I am counting [the cattle in the herds]
The Guardian of the herds is calling *waya*
“Pick a leaf”, I turned back
Into the thick bush of *mufungo* trees

Song I-4: A Mwami (Bayambo) song sung by Chalabaila (human name: Salati Mukoti) inside in the house where the beer was kept during a *Cibombe*, the outside music of which can be heard in the background, 1981. The chorus is sung by the wives of Chalabaila and the idiophones heard are Chalabaila’s *nsangwa*.
Most of this text is in ciLima. The spirits speak here: “We were very unlucky to possess this person with his thin legs”. *Mwishang’ombe* is the praise-name of the spirit(s) that make the hunters find game (or, more generally, make people succeed in difficult work). In the 1980s it was equated with Kaluwe. The spirits told the singer to take the *mufungo* tree leaves to use them as a medicine for a patient.

5 A Mashabe song

*Tanje twimbemo cifuto cimo, ne munsenga*
*Tanje twimbe lwa ku ba Maili, ne munsenga*

Let’s first sing in this one *musango*, me the Nsenga
Let’s first sing like from Maili, me the Nsenga

Song I-5: An old Mashabe song as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
Like the references to the Lenje area or language in many Mwami songs, this song refers to the Nsenga area, the region from which Mashabe came to Chibale. It seems to be a song announcing the possessing spirit, much like the Mwami song in the story about Chisenga in Elaboration I-I. Maili might be the name of the man from the ruling Nyendwa clan who went to the Nsenga and Chikunda areas, see Stefaniszyn (1974: v). (Listen to Music example I-1 for the Mashabe drum and dance patterns that Mika Mwape Chungwa remembered.)

6 A Moba song

*Ningabono’kushana Chibuye*
*Mwebana babene afimba molu*
*Ningabono’kushana nebo*
*Mwebana babene afimba molu*

How can I dance, Chibuye?
My friends, my legs are swollen
How can I dance, me?
My friends, my legs are swollen

Song I-6: An old Moba song sung by banaMwape; the chorus is formed by members of the Chungwa and Chikola families, 1986. In other versions of this song at the place of ‘Chibuye’ and ‘nebo’ ‘Moba’ is used: ‘How can I dance Moba?: Complaints about the legs are most often found in Moba songs.
## Music examples

1. **Mashabe drum and dance patterns as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986**

   First drum: *nyinankonshi cilupaula*
   Second drum: *tibili tibili tibili*
   Third drum: *mbilindeng mbili - mbilindeng mbili - mbilindeng mbili*

   First drum: the mother hartebeest goes staggering
   Second drum: drum sound
   Third drum: drum sound

   This is followed by a short impression of the *nsangwa* sounds of Mashabe.
PART II

REPERTOIRES OF MUSIC IN CHIBALE
Introduction

In this part, music in Chibale will be introduced by giving an overview and detailed information of Chibale repertoires of musical instruments, gatherings with music and songs and dances in the twentieth century.

To avoid undue referencing, the names of musical instruments, gatherings with music and songs and dances are given without referring to the section of the chapter in this part where they are discussed.

The music of ‘the Lala’ has been the subject of several publications\(^1\) (see Photo II-1). These publications and sources about neighbouring areas\(^2\) suggest a considerable structural homogeneity for the Lala area and the neighbouring areas. This structural homogeneity was recognised by most people in Chibale and was apparent in the spirit-possession scene. So, though the following only refers to Chibale, it is a more than incidentally relevant to a far larger region.

As seen earlier, referring to regional characteristics by giving them a tribal attribute was very common. I will follow this habit here in order to say something about cultural similarities and differences between regions. Culturally and historically the Lala area, in Serenje and Mkushi district and across the border in Congo, has much in common with the Kambonsenga (also known as the Ambo) area in the south, the neighbouring area of the abena Luano, and the Swaka area in Mkushi district. Strong historical and cultural similarities exist with the Lima and Lamba areas in the west while the similarities with the Lenje area are large but possibly obscured by the presumption that cultural and linguistic similarities coincide. Based on linguistic evidence, but also for political reasons\(^3\), ‘the Lala’ (including the Kambonsenga, abena Luano and the Swaka) and ‘the Lamba’ (including the Lima) are nationally placed in the Bemba group, though culturally they have much more in common with ‘the Lenje’ who ‘belong to’ the Tonga language group.

Map II-1: A sketch of the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area that was considered by many in Chibale to be culturally interconnected.
In the 1980s in the Chibale possession cults the rather large area, over 100,000 square kilometres, comprising all the regions mentioned above, except the Bemba area, extended with parts of Kaonde and Sanga regions, was considered by many to be culturally-religiously connected (see Map II-1). In Chibale no name was used for the area, I will refer to it as the ‘Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area’. One of the reasons was that spirits from this large area possessed people and that subsequently a large repertoire of music was shared, or at least shareable: rituals, songs and dances had been and were being exchanged. The area forms the southern side of the border between the areas in South Central Africa where people sing in parallel thirds and in parallel fourth & fifth respectively.

In Chibale, the general opinion about Bemba music was a simple tenyimbo, no music, or as somebody put it: “Only their imbfunkuta songs enable a person to say: ‘Hey, that’s a song.”

Kubik suggests that a possible explanation of this, as he calls it ‘brain-racking’, discrepancy between linguistic and musical orientation in the Lala (and the Lamba) area, may be “the transculturative encounter in this region (South Central Africa) between heterogeneous musical cultures, namely, those of the early Bantu migrants associated with the Early Iron Age Industrial Complex and of the San hunter-gatherers once occupying this area” which was ‘cracked’ by the influx of ‘(parallel) thirds people’ on its northern fringes” (Kubik 1988: 44f). My suggestion is that the discrepancy and the apparent similarities between Lala and San music may be explained by the fact that new migrants (never - in case of the ‘thirds people’ - or only after quite some time - in case of the ‘fourths people’) may have obtained control over the (musical) contact between the people and the mpanga (see also Elaboration I-C). Because, as we will see, the music of this region comes from the mpanga, linguistic changes then may not have been accompanied by musical changes.

**Methods used**

The data for the description of Chibale musical repertoires presented in this part were collected with ethnographic and historiographic methods.

In 1981 the local authorities organised sessions for the research in various parts of Chibale where people gathered to bring songs. People were interviewed at the spot. The material collected was discussed with a small number of persons mentioned at these sessions as authorities on Chibale music: the shing’anga Mwela (Mika Mwape Chungwa), bamukaKunda Mfwanti (banaSibilu, Aidini Chibale Musonda) and Chalebaila (Salati Mukoti), the Ciwila ingomba Chisenga Machingo (Sitifini Nunda) and Kansenkele (Shemu Mambwe), the instrument maker Kambele and Teneshi Njipika Mukosha who was chief Chibale.

In 1985/86 and 1987, surveys were held in which the familiarity with the names of all instruments and song types collected until that time was measured. In these surveys, new names of instruments and song types as well as the names of other authorities on music were collected. This method turned out to be very effective. In the qualitative research only two instruments and no song types were encountered that were not mentioned in the surveys. Also, the list of authorities collected in 1985-87 was nearly the same as the list made in 1981. Only the big shing’anga bamukaNdubeni (banaNshima) was added. I worked with her intensively from 1985 to 1987. Later, I also worked with Mbomba (Sheki Mambwe) and Kamimbya (Munteta Chalebaila). In the 2000s I worked especially with Alube Mika.

Short life stories of the exegetes who contributed to this thesis can be found in the next section.
The literature mentioned in note 1 and note 2 was discussed with the specialists which often led to new historical information. The material collected was discussed with the specialists mentioned above, often as a by-product of other discussions about music, healing, hunting, religion and history. A short description of each item was checked with them in a type of small dialogical editing. With the rather concrete subjects musical instruments and music gatherings, this worked well. With the song types it did not. Reasons for this were: the researcher putting too much emphasis on typology and the complexity of the subject. No finished pieces were ready for dialogic editing during the research in the 1980s (see further Chapter 6 and 7).

**Short life stories of the exegetes who contributed to this thesis**

*Mika Mwape Chungwa - Mwela*

Mika Mwape Chungwa of the Nguni (Honeyguide) clan was born in Koni village in Chibale in 1918. After the making of new borders of chieftdoms by the British in the 1920s Koni lay in Shaibila’s. His grandparents came from the area around Kapiri Mposhi. Because his mother had no milk he was given cow’s milk, ground groundnuts mixed with some water (groundnut milk) and sweet water of sorghum stalks mixed with mealie meal. The children after him died on this diet. His father was an axehandler (*shing’anga wa mupini*) with big herbal knowledge. He learned axehandling from him. His father was also an iron smelter (*kengulula*) and blacksmith. The whites stopped the smelting around 1930 for fear of the rifles and bullets which could be, and had been, made with it.

In 1932 he was sent by his uncle, the headman of Koni, to the Bamucapi across the Congo border to obtain medicine from them with which Koni would be cleansed from disease and witchcraft.

In 1935 he finished year seven at the boarding school of the (Scottish) Free Church in Chitambo after which he stopped going to school.

In the 1930s he knew the *ingomba* Citelela, Nkasabanya and Susa personally and played *ilimba* or *ciwaya* in their ensembles.

After the coming in the 1920s of prophets like Mwepya Lesa, Lungo and Mwana Lesa and in the beginning of the 1930s the Bamucapi who all promised to end all disease and especially witchcraft, the ground was ready in which the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ seed could grow. Mika Mwape Chungwa became a member and was imprisoned thrice for proselytising which was forbidden at that time.

He now regularly went to Kabwe and also to Bulawayo where he worked as a shunter. In Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) he followed a training for medical assistant. After that he worked in hospitals in Kabwe and Luanshya.

In 1951 he returned to Chibale as the first medical assistant of the area working at the new, small rural health centre in Chibale village. He was rural health assistant for 3 years but it was very badly paid and when he was to be transferred, he stopped the work. He opened a store in 1955 and worked as a carpenter, especially on repairing writing desks for schools in Serenje District. Later he founded a sawyer’s cooperative for making planks and the like for use in town. He was the first in Chibale to have iron sheets on the roofs of his houses.

All of this had to stop when he started to get ill in 1962. The illness lasted three years. He went to clinics and hospitals but to no avail. Then he went to a *shing’anga*, banaMusana in Masaninga, who helped him. She was the first one in Chibale to be Mwami possessed. The mukaMwami prophets had been well-known in Chibale in the first part of the twentieth century but no one in Chibale had ever been possessed by Mwami spir-
its. At a given day at the end of the third year there were five occasions when he went into a state of apparent death. “Every time the spirits took my mweo [life spirit connected to the body] to the mpanga to show herbs. They also taught me how to dance. They held me by my little finger and showed me how to use nsangwa and masamba and how to use my feet. After some time they left me to dance alone while they were clapping. Then they said: “Let’s take him back [to the village], otherwise they think he has died and start preparing his burial”. After the fifth time, all my pains and illness were gone and I asked somebody to bring me an offering (mumpamba) of 20 ngwee to do the nightly Kubuka for him. After this I was a (big) shing'anga.”

![Photo II-2: The shing'anga Mwela, Chibale village, 1986.](image)

His medium name was Mwela (Wind, Spirit) because he was possessed by so many spirits of the Ciwila, Kaluwe and Mwami types: ing'omba, chiefs, hunters, headmen, whites, imfunguni and major spirits like Mulenga and Chipimpi.

He regularly worked in town as a shing'anga and not without success. Therefore also people from town visited him in Chibale for diseases like barrenness (male or female), epilepsy, madness, leprosy and elephantiasis. He treated people suffering from Mwami possession illness in Luapula and Northern Province, accompanied by a Lamba master drummer, presumably as the first to do this. He was also ill there and stayed in a hospital for a long period.
His position as a shing'anga among other shing'anga was comparable to that of an ing'omba among possessed: a bit outside of it all and highly self-dependent. His peak as a shing'anga in Chibale lay between 1965 and 1980. After that he stayed active in town up to 1987 but in Chibale slowed down which gave him the time to cooperate in the research. Mika Mwape Chungwa wrote down his cases in a big book including his dreams and the diagnoses made during Kubuka.

![Photo II-3: Mika Mwape Chungwa pointing out things, Chibale village, 1986.](image)

In 1986 his spirits announced to him that they would stop doing Kubuka. In October 1987 his wife, with whom he had been married since 1957 and with whom he had 9 children and who had been his helper in singing (kampenga), and he divorced. He could not live with it. Two days after the divorce his spirits left him telling him to return to the Jehovah's Witnesses (after 22 years). He went to their church, took off his shirt, said: “I have returned”, and sat there. They received him with open arms. Two days later he died.

*BanaNshimbi - bamukaNduben*  
BanaNshimbi of the Ngoma (Drum) clan was born in Chibati village in Chibale chiefdom in 1925. Her father was a hunter. At the end of the 1930s she left with her parents for Kabwe where they became Jehovah's Witnesses. Later she moved to her brother in chief Nkole's area near Kapiri Mposhi. In 1971 she became ill there. She talked without stopping from morning till sleeping and only felt pain when she stopped talking. Talking was about witches, when somebody passed she said whether he was using witchcraft or not. The talking was done by the spirits. She was brought to a big Mwami shing'anga, Mwengu (human name: Losimeli). She tried out everything on her until it turned out she reacted to Mwami medicines.
First came Ndubeni, the spirit of a Lima chief. He left her when her first husband died in 1972. Then came Lonika, the spirit of a Lamba chief. When she remarried in 1973 Ndubeni returned. Ndubeni only did *Kubuka*, no singing and dancing. Lonika sang and danced and helped infertile people who wanted children. Her third spirit was a Ciwila, Chiwilinkita, a lame man who as a spirit could dance through her. During treatment she had dreams of many plates, clothes and money (all signs of wealth). Therefore, she presumed she would become a big *shing'anga*. Ndubeni appeared to her as a boy with a miner's helmet saying: “Don't be worried, you'll have all those things after some time”. The price of the treatment was two cows, one of which was slaughtered at her *CiBombe ca kumwensho'mulopa*, her initiation as an independent *shing'anga*. When her husband died, she went back to her parents in Kabwe but Ndubeni did not agree. He wanted her to go to Chibale to heal. So, he left her. Some time later her parents decided to go back to Chibale.

![Photo II-4: BanaNshimbi sharing her knowledge, sitting in her kitchen, 1987.](image)

When she returned to Chibale in 1973 there were no *CiBombe* being held. She introduced the *CiBombe*. Before that many people had died or become mad because nobody knew how to cure their illness. Her coming brought an end to this. The medicines against Mwami illness therefore were called: *miti ya mishitu*, medicines against madness, and the possessed were often jokingly referred to as madmen or spouses of madness (*bamuKaboluya*). In the beginning she was singing all the time and people started informing with her neighbours who she was. They then said: “Oh, she is the Mwami from Nkole”. Then a child became sick and she healed it. This gave her a name. She was well-known within three months as the big *shing'anga* who could treat Mwami illness. And soon people came from all around, also from Lusaka, Ndola, Kabwe, Chitwe, Chisomo, Muchinda, Kabamba, Selenje. She clearly could fulfil a need. In the beginning people found her songs strange and it took time before the chorus could take over her songs. Drumming was also a problem. Her (second) husband then convinced an experienced Mwami drummer, Pepa Bulaya, in Ndola to come back to Chibale. He became her *iyikulu* player. Others who regularly played for her, also learned Mwami drumming in Ndola: Katumpa Bulanga, Ngosa Bulanga and her son Edwin. At the end of 1973 she organised her first *CiBombe* as a *shing'anga* with only Mwami patients. Later she started treating other illnesses. She had many patients then, all in her village. More than in the
1980s, after the coming of Chalebaila and others. None of her adepts has become a shing’anga.

In the 1980s she was one of the two big shing’anga of Chibale. Her success as a healer was equalled by her dancing power and the dramatic quality of her (healing) behaviour. In the beginning of the 1990s she became ill and from then on only danced once in a while and then went ill again until 2002 when she got into a state of immobility and stupor. After a year she was taken by her daughter to her farm. The possession spirits were still with her and helped her through this period. She died of old age in 2005.


Salati Mukoti - Chalebaila

Salati Mukoti of the Mbwa (Dog) clan was born in 1942 in the Lima area. He got ill while still at primary school, went to all clinics and ended up with a shing’anga, Cipepo, who died while treating him. He then moved to shing’anga Nsakanya whose name as well as those of the other spirits possessing him, Mbaita and Chongo, could later be found often in Chalebaila’s songs. He ended the period of treatment with a Cibombe ca cisungu. He was possessed by Maluba, a Mwami. Later two other spirits followed, among whom the Bayambo spirit Chalebaila, the spirit of a Twa chief, from the nearby Lukanga swamps. He was not called bamukaMaluba or Maluba because Maluba would only come once in a while for serious cases.

He worked for a number of years in the Copperbelt towns where two of his patients became shing’anga. Married earlier in town with a woman from Chibale, he came to Chibale to heal in 1976. At that moment there were only a few Mwami shing’anga in Chibale. He was immediately successful and had many patients with serious illnesses and adepts, some of whom became shing’anga, like bamukaKunda Mfwanti and Mbomba. Despite this his life in Chibale was not without troubles. His health was poor and he often had to visit his shing’anga in the Lima area. He was preoccupied with the jealousy that his success caused. He played with his relatively foreign origin by accentuating it in his way of speaking, songs and dancing. This partly gave him power, as the Lima area was known to have powerful healers, but it also kept him an outsider which fuelled his suspicions based on jealousy. Together with bamukaNdubeni he was generally seen as the
biggest shing'anga in Chibale in the 1980s. This lasted until in the 1990s when the possession scene diminished and respect for him waned. The spirits left him in 2002 and shortly after that he left Chibale. He is now a non-possessed herbalist working in Ndola.

Photo II-6: Chalebaila and the author conversing at a Cibombe in May 1986.

Shemu Mambwe - Kansenkele

Shemu Mambwe of the Ngoma (Drum) clan was born in 1947. He lived in Masaninga ward, some 40 kilometres north of Chibale village. His parents and he himself, as a child, were Jehovah’s Witnesses. In 1966 he became ill and went to clinics and hospitals but to no avail. He remained sickish and, finally, in 1979 dared to visit a shing'anga who gave him medicine.

He turned out to be Ciwila possessed by the spirit of his mother, banaNgosa, who had not sung or danced when she was alive. The first song came to him in a dream. After that songs would come in dreams and at Ipuvo. All songs had new texts because “every occasion asks for another text”. Other messages from the spirits he received were about coming events and medicine that could help him. This spirit brought one musango the chorus line of which started, at that time, with Ne kansenkele: I who do the kansenkele, a certain dance movement. From this his possession name Kansenkele arose. He started visiting Cililo and Ipuvo and soon people started to invite him and the area in which he would dance grew. Later he also danced at shows and certain chiefly occasions like the installation of a chief.

In the beginning he danced some 20 times a year. This meant travelling to the place, dancing all night, for 10 hours, often being the only dancer, and then travelling back again. He did not mind “because that’s how I get treated”. His first wife, banaChibuye,
also called Kalilele, was his helper in singing (kampenga) and greatly contributed to his success by her skills. When visiting them two weeks after an Ipupo at which she also had been the helper of the only other Ciwila possessed, Bola, dancing there, she managed to reproduce all 92 song texts brought by Kansenkale and Bola.

In February 1985, after a period of illness, a second spirit started possessing him, Meli, also called banaChibuye, the spirit of his first wife's deceased sister, using a new musango in which the name 'Meli' or 'banaChibuye' was always used. When visiting new areas he brought a team of four people to help in teaching the chorus this new musango.

Photo II-7: Shemu Mambwe sitting on the ground in the nsaka at his farm, 1981.

Photo II-8: BanaChibuye teaching a song to the audience/chorus at the Ipupo lya fikankomba, 1985.
Kansenkele’s songs were often copied by other possessed, especially in more distant areas. “I do not react when they bring my songs, exactly the same or slightly changed. I count on the people present to know and to have a low opinion of that person.” So, the copyright was guaranteed by the ludicrousness of the copyist or by the distance the copyist had to the original.

Kansenkele’s first wife died in 1996. He died two years later by the hand of the ex-husband of his third wife.

BanaSibilu (Ailini Chibale Musonda) - bamukaKunda Mfwanti

Ailini Chibale Musonda of the Tembo (Wasp) clan was born in 1951 in Chibale.

She became ill in 1973. She went to bamukaNduben. Though her condition improved, she made little progress and finally went to Chalebaila who succeeded in healing her in 1977. Then she became his mwanang'anga. In 1979 she started her own practice and had her own mpata (spirits’ shrine) though she never was initiated as an independent shing'anga. In many cases she did not work alone but worked together with bamukaNduben and was guided by and assisted Chalebaila. She was possessed by all four types. One of the possessing spirits was the first chief called Chibale: Kunda Mfwanti (died ±1900).

In the 1980s she belonged to the four shing’anga bakalamba in the wide area around Chibale village: Chalebaila, bamukaNduben, Mwela and bamukaKunda Mfwanti.

She took her own life in 1988 due to incurable breast cancer.

Photo II-9: BanaSibilu tranquilly receiving her guests at her farm in 1981.

Sitifini Nunda - Chisenga Machingo and Nunda Chibale

Sitifini Nunda of the Nguni (Honeyguide) clan was born in 1920. His parents were Ciwila possessed. In 1952 he became seriously ill and got into a kind of coma. He immediately went to the shing’anga, banaKaliko, who gave him certain medicines after which the spirits forced him to sing and dance. He was not a Christian and had visited Ipupo and the like all his life. He was possessed by the spirits of his deceased father and mother Nunda Chibale and Chisenga Machingo whose names could often be found in the texts he brought (see the text of Song II-1). They appeared for him wearing masamba,
nsangwa and other paraphernalia of Ciwila mediums. In that way they taught him the songs and showed him how to dance.

Sitifini Nunda was an ing’omba, one of the few Ciwila possessed in the period, called Fetulo, of more Christianity and less manifestations of the older and possession cults. His knowledge of Chibale music was only surpassed by that of Mika Mwape Chungwa. After the coming of Mwami, he, like Kansenkele, was continuously educating the drummers to beat well.

Photo II-10: Chisenga Machingo (human name: Sitifini Nunda) has taken over the kace to show how to drum for Ciwila dancing, in this case Kansenkele is dancing, at an Ipupo in 1981.

He kept on dancing until the end of the 1980s. He died in 1993 by the hands of some of his grandchildren who thought he was using witchcraft.

Sheki Mambwe - Mbomba

Sheki Mambwe was born in 1961 in Cipenshi in Chibale. His parents and he himself were Jehovah’s Witnesses and he never visited Ipupo or the like. He got sick in 1977. Chalebaila had just arrived and he stayed at Chalebaila’s until the end of 1978. His relatives didn’t visit him during this period. At a given moment he dreamt he was in a dark room, then a light came from above and a person resembling president Kenneth Kaunda appeared in it. He gave a handshake and said: “We are the chiefs, we want you to concentrate on healing. We shall always work through you”. Then it vanished. The following morning Chalebaila said Kaunda was a vision of the spirits of chiefs possessing people (bamafunu). His possessing spirit’s name was Chiselwa, a Lima chief. He liked to bring the Lenje song Aya mbomba, aya mbomba, also often brought by Chalebaila. So he was called Mbomba. He became Chalebaila’s mwanang’anga which meant he assisted and, when necessary, substituted him. Later he prepared a Cibombe for his spirits.
Photo II-11: The shing’anga Mbomba dancing at a Cibombe he organised in Luanshya, 1986.

Not long after that in 1979 he went to Luanshya taking young Munteta with him as his helper (cipyaila). His spirits asked him to go there since it was not good when two shing’anga of such power stayed in the same area. Furthermore, his father rejected him because of his possession. It was no problem to start working in Luanshya since there were many patients there. There he became one of the only men in the Traditional Herbalists Association of Luanshya who dealt with possession cases. In Luanshya there were three compounds. The Association had given every shing’anga a section of one of these compounds. To be registered with the Association one had to prove to be a real healer. This was done by giving certain difficult cases to solve and by a conversation with the Provincial Medical Officer. His practice went very well. He started investing his money in two taxis and a house for renting. He still is a practising shing’anga in Luanshya.

**Munteta Chalebaila - Kamimbya**

Munteta Chalebaila of the Nyendwa (Vagina) clan was born in 1965 in Kabwe. In 1976 he came with his parents to Chibale. In 1979 he went to Luanshya with Mbomba, the mwanang’anga of his father and worked as his helper (cipyaila) for three years. Also in 1985 he stayed there for four months. His father Chalebaila visited him and Mbomba occasionally, sometimes staying for a period of some weeks.

As the eldest son of a big shing’anga he had attended Cibombe and Kubuka often and he was an accomplished drummer.
In the course of 1985 he dreamt of people in white dancing. He did not realise they were a sign but at the *Ipupo lya fikankomba* he was struck down while drumming (for Kansenkele). They took him somewhere but his spirit told him to go to bamukaNdubeni. There his spirit told him to go to every possession session in the surrounding. So at the *Ipupo* organised by banaNjenjema on 26 October 1985 he was there (in normal clothes) and was again struck down. This was the first time the spirit danced through him.

Photo II-12: Munteta Chalebaila has been struck down by the spirits and is helped by bamukaNdubeni at an *Ipupo* at banaNjenjema’s, 1985.

Photo II-13: Kamimbya (in the middle) dancing at a *Cibombe* at Chalebaila’s farm, 1987.
His case was exceptional because his spirits immediately were powerful and started working as if they were already years in him. A month later, at a Cibombe at bamuka-Ndubeni's, he danced from the beginning in his attire for the first time.

He was possessed by two spirits. Kamimbya was a Mwami (high voice) and Mushili, a Muyambo (low voice). Munteta was called Munpokwe by the spirits. Since the bayambo spirit is from the mulundu, Munteta could also dance at Ipufo and his spirit could make texts for the occasion (see some of the texts in Chapter 8 in the section 'Fighting with songs').

In a rather short period Munteta established a practice as a shing'anga in Chibale and was able to work there up to 2005. In Survey 2004 he ranked among the few having much knowledge of Chibale music. In 2005 he left Chibale, together with his brother who also was a shing'anga, to work as healers in Mpongwe area.

Alube Mika

Alube Mika of the Mpande (Shell) clan was born in 1968. He was the 5th child of Mika Mwape Chungwa and banaMwape. He was a real father's child keeping him company from early childhood and later accompanied him to drum at his visits as a shing'anga to town. In 1987, soon after his father's death, he joined the Zambian army but after some time returned to Chibale. Here he started a farm, hunted, worked as a drummer at Cibombe and earned some money as a herbalist. He is still a farmer-hunter-drummer in Chibale.

Photo II-14: Already an accomplished drummer at an early age Alube Mika drums at a session in Chibale village, 1981.
Chapter 4 - Musical instruments

The general word for musical instruments was malimba, the plural of ilimba⁶. When asked to give another word, many said fintu ifyakulisha mu nyimbo, literally: ‘things that are made to cry to [accompany] songs’ or: ‘things to play along with/accompany songs’. Kulisha is the causative form of the verb kulila cry, mourn, sing, shout. It refers to any action leading to musical sound production, except for singing (kwimba or kulila).

Overview of musical instruments in Chibale

A variety of musical instruments could be found in Chibale. During the research I came across the names of 45 different instruments. Of these, 17 instruments were frequently played, 6 were used occasionally, while the remaining 22 were rarely used or not used anymore⁷, mostly because the occasion at which they were played changed or fell into abeyance. Some of the instruments had to be drawn on my request because there were no specimens extant. Foreign instruments were very rare: I came across one guitar (listen to Music example II-1) and one concertina (listen to Song II-2).

Frequently played instruments

Cisekele

With the term cisekele, sometimes the term isebe was also used, a variety of shaken or struck idiphones was denoted. Only the masamba and nsangwa, though shaken idiophones, were never called cisekele.

Often the cisekele was a small calabash or tin can filled with little stones or grains⁸. Sometimes a stick was passed through the container. It was often played by women.

One cisekele could be used for accompaniment to songs sung solo or by small groups in the evening, for instance in the family circle or Pa kwisha.

A small cisekele, also called nsanshi (see Photo II-15), was played by women in a group during the evenings (Pa kwisha) while they sang songs. It was filled with a kind of small bean (cinkunkwa) and the seeds of the kantimbwa-pods, giving a rather high sound. Each woman played the nearly round instrument by rolling it from one hand to the other
for some time and then passing it to her neighbour. The one playing was to start a song or a new stanza of the same song.

The *cisekele* could also consist of an enamelled bowl in which grains of millet or maize, or small stones were put. In most cases, this *cisekele* was called *ciwaya* or *mataba pa mbale*. The bowl was held with two hands shaking it back and forth while making a wriggling movement so that the grains either hit the bottom for a more forceful sound or the sides for a lighter sound (see Photo II-16). The instrument was regularly used to accompany the set of three drums. Its pattern is linked to that of the *cibitiku* drum.

The *cisekele*, mostly the *ciwaya*, could be played in a set of three. Then the bowls were of different sizes: *kakupama*, *cibitiku* and *cikulu*, containing for instance millet, maize and small stones respectively (see Photo II-17 and listen to Music example II-2). The set could be played at funerals, when there was no dancing by mediums nor singing by Christian cult choirs. It also could be played as a replacement for drums, or together with the drums.

A *cisekele* that needs special attention was the *musebe* which was used by *shing’anga* during healing or problem solving sessions (*Kubuka*). Though it could be a container *cisekele*, in most cases the *musebe* was an *nsangwa kwa kuboko* (‘arm *nsangwa*) which could consist of one stick with *nsombo* fruits as described under *nsangwa*, of one complete *nsangwa* worn around the upper arm (see Photo II-18), or of one *nsangwa* played with the hands (see Photo II-19). *Musebe* were also used by the famous *cinsenge-ing’omba* of the first half of the previous century. Their ensemble consisted of two *musebe* played by the *ing’omba* himself who was also the lead singer, three one-note-xylophones (*ilimba*), one to three *ciwaya* and a *mukonkonto*.

No normal person would use the *musebe*. For the *shing’anga* and the *cinsenge-ing’omba* the *musebe* were a sign of the power invested in them. Where the *ing’omba* ensemble had long disappeared, the *nsangwa kwa kuboko* was still used by *shing’anga*, usually during *Kubuka*.

The various *cisekele* were connected to one or more of the important modes in Chibale life: hunting, healing and mourning (see for instance the text of Song II-3) and the ‘normalisation’ of these in get-togethers of women. The *musebe* was connected to ‘not-dancing’ and no examples of dancing to it are known.

**Masamba and nsangwa**

In the 1980s these dance instruments were played only by mediums. Formerly they were also played by the girls’ initiation instructress, the *nacimbusa* or *nacimbela*. They were the sign of the professional (possessed) dancer (see the text of Song II-4). Mediums told that when spirits appeared for them to teach a song or dance, they wore *nsangwa* and *masamba*.

The *masamba* was a dance skirt. To a belt, ropes of some 25 centimetres were attached that all ran through four to six pieces of bamboo. Variations depended on the origin of the possessing spirit. Some *masamba* had two layers, others did not cover the hips all around having no ropes with bamboo in the front (see Photo II-20). Anley (1926: 84) mentions the *masamba* as a dance skirt for the possession dances of the Kaonde. Doke (1927: 523 & 1931: 367) and Stefaniszyn (1964b: 95, 156) give *buyombo* as the name of the same dance skirt worn at possession and girls’ initiation (*Cisungu*) dances. The playing of the *masamba* was linked to that of the master drum, as expressed in the text of Song II-5. It could hardly be heard by the public when the drums were playing. Notwithstanding, presumably because of its link to the master drum, the continuous rustling sound it produced was said to heat the gathering. It was more important as a visual proof of the dance movements made, especially those of the hips.
The nsangwa - also called nsombo or, sometimes, nsenselo\(^14\) - were anklet-shaken idio-
phones. Nsombo or nsangwa\(^15\) seed-pots, with a diameter of 3 to 4 centimetres, were hollowed out and the specially grown seeds of the manjenje, or little stones or grains, were put inside. A stick with a little hole at each end was passed through three to five of these fruits. Leather strings were strung through the holes at both ends of three or four of these sticks, so that they stood parallel (see Photo II-21). The two leather strings wrapped in cloth to protect the skin were tied around the ankle (see Photo II-22). Most dancers wore two nsangwa. A few spirits had their possessed dance with only one. Nsangwa playing was linked to that of the cibitiku drum. It could be heard when the drums were playing and the dancer was not too far away. The nsangwa was connected to women, compare Doke (1931: 97, 98), and death, compare the text of Song II-6.

The art of possession dancing was partly defined by the mastery of making two non-
synchronous movements at the same time. The hip movements for the swirling of the masamba had to be combined with fast up-and-down movements of the feet for playing the nsangwa patterns (see Photo II-23). A special verb was used for this: kwalula which verb also could mean: alter, change and turn.

Still remembered was an ensemble of three masamba-ing’omba (ing’omba sha masamb) that roamed the area in the first part of the previous century and made a living out of their playing: they did not farm and took wives and children along (listen to Song II-7 and Music example II-3). They played a three-part nsangwa piece without any other accompaniment than hand-clapping while they were singing. The one bringing the song played the solo nsangwa while the other two played cibitiku and kace (see Elaboration II-
\(A\).

**Elaboration II-A: Ing’omba sha masamba**

The three ing’omba who roamed the area, presumably the Lamba, Lenje and Lala area, in the first part of the previous century were called Mulongwe, Mulemb and Lusambo. They wore masamba and nsangwa and played them while singing songs. Mulongwe was the leader playing the iyikulu nsangwa part while the other two took the cibitiku and kace parts. The only other accompaniment was hand clapping. Mulongwe was famous for his low voiced singing (listen to Song II-8).

They made a living with their art and visited each, in that time large, village in the area once a year. Just like the other ing’omba they were consulted because ‘they knew better ways from somewhere else.’

The receiving of Mulongwe and the others was always very good. They got houses and firewood. They were respected. The three visited village after village and often people went with them, up to fifty at a time. In the next village they had already prepared food for them. They went from house to house, moving just like a honey-guide, and they sang to get whatever they were given. [Follows Song II-7] And then a solo (teka) was given for each gift, especially by Mulongwe. Should somebody from town be in the village - they had wealth - they would sing: [Follows Song II-9]. It was all pa kwangala, for rejoicing. They worked until they had enough food and then stayed in the village until it was finished and went on again. They just played for money, not at Cisungu, Cililo and the like. Mulongwe did axe handle divination and treated minor illnesses but he did not do Kubuka as a possessed medium. He was possessed by Chibolele. Should at present somebody become possessed by Chibolele, he would sing and dance without drumming. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

**Christian cult music instruments**

In the 1980s the UCZ and Catholic choirs were accompanied by a set of one to three cisekele and two or three small drums (kaoma) of different sizes. The kaoma were short,
single-sided or double-sided drums with heights and diameters of around 10 to 20 centimetres (see Photo II-24). In the 1990s the small drums were replaced by normal (not iyikulu) drums (see Photo II-25).

Ngoma

Drums were played in sets of three similar single-headed, open, slightly conical drums consisting of a cibitiku: the middle drum, the starter (see Photo II-26), a kace (‘small one’): the smaller, high drum (see Photo II-27) and an iyikulu (‘big one’): the low master drum (see Photo II-28). The master drummer was called combela wa ngoma or sometimes selwa ngoma. The name cibitiku is frequently found in literature about central Zambia and southern Congo16. Apart from the cibitiku the drums had no other names than ngoma followed by their size17.

Cullen Pope (1940: 259-262) mentions drum names for Chibale that were hardly (Mwimbi) or not (Fumba) remembered. All other, older sources (see notes 1 and 2) also use more names and describe more drum types for the areas around Chibale. The possibility can not be excluded that a larger drum tradition than that of the 1980s was disrupted in the period 1940-1970. One might also suppose that only those dances which were accompanied by the present-day drums survived or that the drumming or other accompaniment for all other types was converted to accompaniment by the present-day drum set.

The average heights of the drums (four drum sets measured) were 82, 66 and 92 centimetres respectively. Average diameters of the skins and the feet were 27, 27 and 29, and 17, 17 and 18 centimetres. The wood was nsase (Albzia), mulombe or cisangwa. The membranes could be the skins of several types of antelopes. The skin was fixed to the wooden case by some 30 small wooden pegs. Some special tools were necessary for the making of the drums. It was made by one of a few specialists18.

Before and during the playing, the drum was tuned by holding the skin in a fire (kanga) and by applying to the skin a paste (masemo) made of pounded mbono fruits, mixed with black cooking remains (cifibo). Apart from tuning (semeka) the drum, the masemo made the skin a little sticky which drummers found beneficial to their playing. The tonal quality of the iyikulu was the most important, then that of the cibitiku, then that of the kace. When only cibitiku and kace were available, the cibitiku was tuned down to become iyikulu by throwing water in it (bombola) and then heating the skin and in the same way the kace was turned into a cibitiku while the kace pattern was played on any container available (see also the end of Elaboration II-B).

The kace in three-part music is the salt to the music. But it is only salt if the other two are playing. It is heard above the other two. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The cibitiku looks at the song [the singing] and follows it. It straightens (-olola) the song. Then the kace follows the cibitiku. The iyikulu then completes the whole. After that the iyikulu will follow the dancing. It does not follow the song. So, you will see that when there’s no dancing the iyikulu will be less varied unless the player knows how to imagine that a certain person is dancing and follows him/her. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 1987)

The iyikulu could be played heavily or not. This was called kupika (weaving19) and kusansa (sprinkling, broadcasting) respectively. It was related to the dancing: when the dancer was beginning or intermittently during the dancing, the master drumming was rather regular (kusansa) and the dancer followed the drumming. When the dancer started a solo (teka) the drumming followed that dancing and also influenced it (kupika). Kusansa and kupika never lasted very long. They were alternated in various degrees.
Elaboration II-B: Relations between singing, drumming and dancing

When people talked about the relations between singing, drumming and dancing at rituals where the possessed danced, they would talk about which part followed (konka) the other. The cibitiku followed the song, the kace and later the iyikulu followed the cibitiku.

When the master drum did kupika, the kace might play another pattern (Kace II) or a more complicated pattern (Kace kupikula) but, because of the resultant complexity, the latter was only done when the dancer was known to like it or when the gathering was in full swing. The kupika of the iyikulu was always of a relatively short duration and was alternated with less or more kusansa. So, it would be better to talk about a kupika phase: relatively much kupika and a kusansa phase: much kusansa with some kupika.

Singing

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<tr>
<th>Starter</th>
<th>Chorus</th>
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Drumming

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<tr>
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<th>Kace I</th>
<th>Kace I, II</th>
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Dancing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nsangwa</th>
<th>Masamba</th>
<th>‘solo’</th>
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No singing

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cibitiku</th>
<th>Kace I, II, kupikula</th>
<th>Iyikulu kupika</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure II-1: Relations between singing, drumming and dancing. Singing, drumming and dancing are shown from top to bottom while the moment of starting in the performance of a song with drumming is from the left to the right. The dancing mostly followed later.

When there was no singing while the drumming continued, the master drum would kupika and the kace would alternate patterns including the more complicated pattern. When the singing had been stopped, for one reason or the other, and was to be resumed the starter would follow the cibitiku.

Two instruments were often used to make the cibitiku and kace more audible: the mataba pa mbale (grains of maize in a bowl) and the mukonkonto (stick beaten at the side of the iyikulu) respectively. This was also expressed as ‘to follow’ (konka). Sometimes a fourth drum was added, doubling the cibitiku or the kace, “to add more hotness to the ritual”. In rare cases, both cibitiku and kace were doubled though this laid a heavy burden on the iyikulu player.

We see that the role of the cibitiku in the ensemble was coordinative. So much so that some would jokingly call this the ‘master’ drum. The kace was not followed by anything. Its role in the ensemble was called asashila. This term referred to the adding of peanut butter to relish: the relish becomes nicer but the addition does not make an essential difference.

There could be little kupika and much kusansa. There could be approximately as much kusansa as kupika which was called kupika pepipepi (‘nearby or straigh kupika’). Furthermore, the kupika itself could be quite regular, called kupikula, or it could be very heavy, called kupikula or kupika kutali kutali, far or spread kupika. (See the last part of Chapter 7 for comparable use of the musical terms nearby, far, straight and spread. See Elaboration II-B for an overview of the relations between singing, drumming and dan-
cing, and listen to Music example II-4, Music example II-5, Music example II-6 and Music example II-7 for the various forms of alternation of kusansa and kupika and of heaviness of kupika). The pattern of the cibitiku (musango wa cibitiku) was fixed, the kace had one or two patterns depending on the knowledge and skill of the player, while sometimes a kupikulula version was used (listen to Music Example II-8). The iyikulu playing consisted of variations of one pattern for each type of dance with a number of subpatterns for insertion.

During Ipubo and Cibombe, but also sometimes during old beer parties, mealie meal was thrown on the skin and foot as well as on the drummers’ heads to prevent the drums from being blocked (see Photo II-29). When a drum was blocked, nobody was capable anymore of beating an acceptable sound on it. Blocking was caused by bwanga (medicine) used by competing drummers or by people who wanted to disturb the ongoing of the feast or ritual. Competition between drummers was tough.

There was an important difference in playing position of the drums at Ipubo and Cibombe as compared with that taken at beer parties or in kalindula bands. At Ipubo and Cibombe, the drummers had to be able to follow the dancers, mostly the starter of the song being played. By means of a rope, which passed through a hole in the foot and a wooden eye near the top of the drum shell, the drum was carried around the left hip so that it hung aslant along the right hip of the player who stood slightly bent forwards (see Photo II-30). In Chapter 7 we will see that this playing position also had an acoustical-cosmological reason. At a beer party, the drummer sat on the drum or it was held by a boy or it rested on a stool or on another drum.

More information about drums, drumming and drummers will be given at various other places in this thesis.

Mukonkonto

Often, the set of three drums was reinforced by a player who beat one or two wooden sticks (mukonkonto) of 60 to 70 centimetres on the side of the iyikulu drum (see Photo II-31). Its pattern was the same as that of hand-clapping: it followed the rhythm of the melody and became simple as soon as the melody stopped (listen to Music example II-9). Presumably the mukonkonto served to replace synchronous hand-clapping by many, to avoid the risk of an inaccurate performance. The instrument therefore was linked to the increase in scale and the subsequent lower involvement of all present at the ritual. As hand-clapping was a sign of respect for the organisers and / or commitment to the purpose of the gathering, this seems to show that accuracy in performance was, or came to be, regarded as more important than showing respect through helping in the performance.

Kalindula instruments

The kalindula band from Muchinka (a chieftdom north-northeast of Chibale) that visited Chibale in 1980 and formed the source of Chibale kalindula, consisted of an ndindula (babatoni), three banjo, which all played different patterns (all beaten, not plucked), one kaoma (kace) and a cisekele. The first band in Chibale and its followers immediately changed this make-up into a band consisting of a babatoni, a banjo, a kace and a cisekele. In 1985, two to three drums had been added: the iyikulu and the bita, possibly with a small drum next to it (see Photo II-32). The makers of kalindula instruments, except for the kace and iyikulu, were the players themselves.

The kalindula cisekele, called musekele in town-fashion, was made of one or two half bicycle rims. The middle of the curved rim was fixed to a flat piece of wood that served as a base. The two upright sides were connected by one or two parallel iron rods that ran through perhaps ten small pieces of iron. The player hit the rod or rods with two sticks
(see Photo II-33). Later, sometimes a full bicycle rim was held in the hands by a boy (see Photo II-34) or placed on a tripod with a central rod on which the iron jinglers. Cisekele-like were also the iron plates (4 flat pieces of iron with a hole in the middle and fanned like a flower) nailed to the bita and played by the bita player.

The bita was a drum made like the body of the babatoni. One of its sides was hit with a beater operated by a pedal. It played the crude beat.

The banjo was a small chordophone of some 45 centimetres in length, with three or four strings, tuned (relatively): a-d’-g(-b’). This tuning differs from the most frequently used tunings mentioned by Kubik (1989: 13, 26). A calabash or tin can was used as a body over the open side of which a thin skin, sometimes thick plastic, was stretched. In some cases a square larger tin can (paraffin container) was used. In most cases, the neck passed through the body. The strings were fixed on the edge of the skin, passed over a bridge and were strung with tuning screws at the other end of the neck. When played in the band chords were struck with a plectrum, mostly: a-d’-a’(-d’), b-d’-g (-b’) and a-e’-a’(-c’). Especially since the rise of kalindula, the instrument was also used to play, mostly rather casually, when alone or in a small group. It was only played by male adolescents (see Photo II-35). After marriage, most young men laid down their instrument.

In Zambia in particular, it [the banjo] has become an instrument which promotes age set identity, somehow compensating for that identity that was provided by other ‘traditional’ institutions in the past. .... the making and playing of a home-made banjo has become a positive stage in a male’s life in many Zambian societies. (Kubik 1989: 6)

The babatoni, sometimes called ndindula, was a large chordophone of about two metres in length (see Photo II-36). The body was made of a half oil drum over the two open sides of which cow skins were stretched that were connected by leather straps. It had two strings tuned to an interval that differed for each player: a whole tone up to a fifth. I came across a few babatoni with three strings. The strings were fixed on the edge of the skin, passed over a bridge and were stretched with tuning screws at the other side of the long neck. They were shortened, mostly to two thirds of their length by a large nail connected to a piece of rubber wound around the neck. The strings were plucked. The pattern was drum-like. The sound was often more felt than heard. The strings were mostly made by tightly winding the thin strips of plastic with which maize bags were woven. The volume that could be obtained by plucking these strings was not very big, so the player was compelled to play tones on relatively quiet moments. This is a good example of Nketa’s (1967: 26) assertion that problems of context, in this case the lack of good material for strings, may be reflected in the very structure of the music.

Because of the addition of more drums and cisekele, the banjo, with its low volume, functioned in the ensemble more for metaphorical (‘this is modern music’) than for musical reasons. It could only be clearly heard at the very beginning of each song since the banjo was the starter (listen to Music example II-10).

It was generally felt that the addition of drums, particularly the iyikulu, had Chibalised kalindula. This all happened over a short period of time, four years perhaps, in the first half of the 1980s.

Pintu

An instrument only used by dancers was the pintu, a whistle consisting of two small bamboo flutes glued together with wax that were tuned approximately a major second apart (see Photo II-37). In the 1980s, it had been replaced by the police whistle, also called pintu. It was used to play short patterns paralleling the dance movements, to cue the drummers and to signal the peak in the dancing of the player (compare the text of Song II-10).
Occasionally played instruments

Ilimba

The ilimba consisted of a big calabash to which two yokes were attached with hard-
ened plaster made of pounded kasongole leaves. The plaster covered the top of the cala-
bash leaving a hole in the middle. Between the yokes a wooden bar was hung by means
of ropes. The bar was struck with a beater (mucimpu) with the top wrapped in cloth or
with the top made of a small piece of car tyre. Its sound was influenced by the position
of the left hand. This hand covered the opening on top of the calabash resonator; or it did
not, or it was pulled away at or just after the moment of hitting. The instrument was
tuned by the maker but retuning became necessary when the ropes bearing the bar be-
came too loose. Most ilimba I encountered in Chibale in the 1980s had been made by
the instrument maker Kambele (see Photo II-38).

The ilimba were played in sets of three instruments of different sizes: small (ice, see
Photo II-39), middle (cibitiku, see Photo II-40), and big (ikulu, see Photo II-41 and listen
to Music example II-11).

In former days a special type of ilimba was used to learn to play the ilimba: a calabash
with a piece of bamboo passed through it. The longer part of the bamboo was hit while
the left hand covered or did not cover the opening at the top of the calabash.

As far as I have been able to find out, Chibale seems to be the only area in the one-
note-xylophone region (part of South Central Africa) where this xylophone (still) was
played in sets of three (see Photo II-42). A diffusion of the instrument and its use from
the Luba area in south-south-eastern direction is likely - see the distribution map in
Meel (1980: 82). In literature, the playing of the ilimba is always connected to hunting
and/or mourning rituals. In Chibale it was also played at important beer parties. When
the ilimba players got tired or the people wanted to dance, the drums were taken out. It
was never played together with drums. The ilimba had a complementary relation with
the drum. It was used at the funeral wake, at hunting rituals and at the beer party (par-
ticularly more in the first half). The drum was used at the girls’ initiation, the commem-
orative ritual (lpupo) and the old beer party (that is more in the second half). The ilimba
was connected to: smaller occasions, sitting, inside, little or no dance, texts; the drum to:
larger occasions, standing, outside, hotter, dance. Possibly the drum in the 1980s had
‘won’ from the ilimba because women, and later youths, obtained more control over
public occasions as well as because of the rise of public, i.e. outside, occasions them-
selves. Other factors influencing the decline of the ilimba in the period between the
1950s and 1980s were the decrease in the village size: it became hard to get together
three skilled players and the knowledge about building and repairing the instrument was
no longer there; the preponderance of the drum in modern music and on the radio; and
the change in national policy from stimulating regional traditions in colonial times to an
orientation towards integration of the government after Independence.

The reason why the instrument was still of importance in Chibale is that between
1910 and 1950, and maybe also before 1910, it was used by the small group of famous
ing’omba (see Chapter 6) in an ensemble very much like the hunters’ ensembles men-
tioned for south-eastern Congo, mentioned for instance by Gansemans (1978: 111,112)
which was the Luba buyanga (hunters’ society) ensemble that played for Kaluwe.

Though the instrument was not played that often anymore in the 1980s, the ilimba,
played in an ensemble of three, was rather generally seen as typical for Chibale. Apart
from the cinsengwe-ing’omba, chief Chibale was also credited for this. Most occasions in
which I encountered the ilimba ensemble were organised by or for him and often he
played in the ensemble (see Photo I-19).
Kankobele

The general word for lamellaphone was kalimba\textsuperscript{25}. There were three types: the kankobele, the ndandi and the kalimba kamaswao.

The kankobele\textsuperscript{26} was by far the most frequently played kalimba (listen to Song II-11). It consisted of an almost square, slightly fan-shaped, wooden sound board with three raised edges while the fourth side was curved. The iron tongues (ngela), made from bicycle spokes or nails, rested with one end on the back edge and passed under a small iron bridge (musaq) that was fastened to the sound board with iron wire (lubango)\textsuperscript{27}. The player plucked the keys with his thumbs and held the sound board between the stretched index fingers while his remaining fingers held the separate resonator (muteshi), a calabash or tin can, and moved it up and down during the playing to vary resonance (see Photo II-43). In the middle of the sound board a small hole was made that was covered by the thick web of a certain spider (lembalemba). This web served as a mirliton. Often, it was heated before the playing started. Kalimbas were mostly built by specialists though some men built them themselves\textsuperscript{28}. The tools needed were the axe, small axe, knife, hammer, awl and chisel (see Photo II-44), which did not all belong to the standard set of tools found on farms.

Before 1930 the instrument had eight keys\textsuperscript{29}. Under the influence of the two or three upper keys of the ndandi, a lamellaphone that was brought along from town and became fashionable at the end of the 1920s, two upper keys, that is shorter and more upward curved keys producing higher, thin tones, were added. In the 1980s the upper keys were used in fewer than half of the songs played on the kankobele and were never used as the upper tone of bichords (see van Dijk 1983). The tuning from left to right was close to (relatively): a’-g’-f’-a-f-c’-c”-d’-bes’-e’; e” and bes’ were the upper keys; e’ was flat in one case. The absolute pitch of the lowest key of each of the eight instruments measured was always between d and f. A key that was out of tune was tuned by pulling or pushing (see Photo II-45). Andrew Tracey (1972) has argued that the tuning of the Lala kankobele is the ‘basic (tuning) core’ for all lamellaphones of the central/south African belt. Kubik (1988) states that all bichords (octaves, fifths and fourths) played on the kankobele can be derived from the lower harmonics of the fundamentals provided by the four lowest keys: f-a-c-d. These fundamentals, he argues, are presumably derived from the three pairs of ‘anchored’ fundamentals (f-a, a-c and c-d) used in San (Bushmen) musical bow music. However, Kubik’s “system-inherent simultaneous sounds”: d’-a’, e’-a’, c’-g’, f-f’ and a-e\textsuperscript{30} do not completely correspond to the intervals most frequently played in Chibale (as measured by us, see van Dijk 1983: 43): f-f, c’-f, d’-g, e’-a’ and a-e. Fifths, so prominent in Kubik’s list, were mostly only played in specific (not repeated) parts of a piece when there was no singing and the player could show his skill: during instrumental variations (teka), the introduction and the coda.

“The kankobele follows the song”. This means that most notes from the accompanying song as well as parallel fourth harmonisation were played (listen to Song II-12). An important clue to listening to kalimba music is that kace, cibitiku and iyikulu tones are also discerned. One should listen to these three tone groups interacting as with ensembles. The division in tone groups given by various kalimba players was comparable, though they would often use different names for the keys: mpelilele (=kace): a’ and, sometimes, e’ plus the two upper keys; cibitiku: g’, f’, c’, d’ and, often, e’; cimbomba (=iyikulu): a & f. We see that only the e’ was grouped in two ways (listen to Music example II-12).

Of old, the kalimba has been played by boys and men (listen to Song II-13). It was a leisure instrument played while resting, waiting or walking (see Photo II-46). Because iron was harder to get in the nineteenth century, it is not impossible that the fact that it became more readily available in the twentieth century led to a rise in the popularity of the instrument (see for instance Proverb II-1). With the coming up of cash-crop farming.
the quantity of leisure time had diminished gradually. In the 1980s, most banjo players were boys and most kalimba players were older men.

The repertoire of the kalimba consisted of arrangements of songs. The arrangement was made by the player. The circumstance that the ‘same’ melody (see the section on the archetypal melody in Chapter 6) could carry different texts was used to make longer pieces - by putting all texts in a row - than normally encountered (listen to Song II-14).

Ndibu

The ndibu (singular: lwibu[^a]), also called lubendo, were small bells with clappers (mentioned in the text of Song II-15), mostly used in pairs (see Photo II-47). They were worn by dancers, the bells hanging over and among the ropes with bamboo of the masambwa. So, they were not played separately (listen to Music example II-13). The bells were said to be of Chikunda origin (see Elaboration II-C).

**Elaboration II-C: Ndibu and trade**

The first trade between the Chikunda, working for the Portuguese, and chiefs of the Nyendwa clan, presumably in the first half of the nineteenth century, is said to have been done as follows:

The people left ivory on a certain spot along the river and then left the place to return after some days. Then there were cloth, ndibu and the like in exchange. They thought this was brought there by creatures from the rivers. Later the Chikunda came to the Lala area because they thought there had to be much more wealth there than only that ivory. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

They were also put around the necks of hunting-dogs (see the text of Song II-16), which were sent into a big thicket of trees (mushitu) where nobody dared enter, to chase out animals which were then shot (compare the text of Song II-17). This was a strong image which was often used when connecting the ability to listen to cleverness (as in Proverb II-2).

Kameme

Some boys used a kazoo-like instrument, made with a special thick spider web (lem-balenga) in which they sang their favourite songs.

Ngolwa

The honeyguide ‘whistle’, sometimes also called ndubulula[^b], was an ocarina made of a round, dried and hollowed-out kamina fruit[^c] with a blowing hole on top and a smaller hole at the front that could be closed by the fingers (see Photo II-48). The notes played were close to (relatively) a - c' - d' - f'. The a was obtained by blowing the hole while holding the instrument straight under the lip (see Photo II-49). For d' the instrument was slightly canted, thus making its depth smaller which resulted in a higher tone. The c' and f' were obtained by uncovering the second hole while playing a and d' respectively. When making the instrument, one started with a small blowing hole only, slowly making it larger until the fourth was reached when canting. After that the second hole was made.

The instrument was used by the honey-gatherer to call the honeyguide (mwebe, also called nguni), as will be described in the section on music theory in Chapter 7. Characteristic for ngolwa playing was the short passage that can be heard in Music example II-14. The quick alternation of d' and f' was not an imitation of the sound of the honeyguide - which makes a twittering sound like: tewe-tewe-tewe-tewe - but to call the honeyguide. The music for ngolwa was based on the musowwa wa mfwa (listen to Music example II-15). It could also be lamented by the player alternated by passages on the ngolwa. The
player considered to be the best, that is most successful in attracting and following the honeyguide, knew how to combine the possibilities of the four ngolwa notes and those of the Musowa wa mfwä. In former days, the ngolwa was subject to rules of preventing staining (mushila wa kukowela) obviously because playing it involved a closeness to death and the mpanga. It was, for instance, not to be played nor to be made in the village. In the 1980s, some of the ngolwa rules were still followed, especially by people who partly made a living with honey gathering.

The ngolwa could be used in situations of difficult communication like that between the son-in-law and his father-in-law (as in Story II-1). Other instruments that could be used for communication without direct words were the mankubala, the iron smelter's bellows and the mutule (flute). It could also be done by singing softly without words or talking in one's sleep.

The ngolwa could be used for signalling during hunting as well as the ngolwa yauminwe. The latter was played on the two hands pressed together to leave a small resonance room and was blown on the connecting part of the thumb and index finger of the right hand. This yielded one tone. By slightly lifting the fingers of the left hand a second tone was obtained, a minor third higher. Like with the ngolwa the blowing edge was moistened before playing.

Cinyenye

Another instrument used during hunting was the cinyenye. It was made of an mpombo (duiker) horn the open side of which was covered with a thin membrane. There was one blowing hole. The sound resembled the cry of a small antelope for its mother. It was sometimes used by Kaluwe mediums or hunters during their dances.

Rarely played instruments

Iron and wooden struck idiophones

Iron and wooden idiophones, called mikoci, tusembe and minkobele, were used for signalling and occasionally for mourning, for instance for accompanying cisengwe at the Cililo. It was said that in former days this type of music was played by the relatives of the deceased until the Kufuta makasa was held: the rounding off of the burial period within a few weeks after the burial. Mikoci or tusembe: an axe blade laying on the ground was struck with two axe blades or sticks held in the hands. Minkobele: two sticks were beaten on the shell of an iyikulu drum lying on the ground.

Lusonso

A large single iron bell, called lusonso, was only played at important occasions (mostly mourning and death) connected to chieftainship, for instance when the remains of the chief were carried to the (distant) grave or in the morning of the Ipuwo lya fikankomba.

At the entrance of the roving hut people of the Mbushi clan played lusonso and ciwaya continuously. The lusonso should make even a stranger aware that the chief has died, without asking. Lusonso was played during daytime, ciwaya in the evening when cisengwe were sung until the people got tired and the Ciwila mediums took over. (Munsele Lupoti, personal communication, 1987: about the funeral period of chief Mwape Mondwa in 1925)

The lusonso of the previous chiefs was kept in the shrine for the deceased chiefs (mpata). Each new chief had a new lusonso made. Practically all sources about neighbouring areas describe the lusonso as a double bell. Chief Chibale commented:
Originally the *masonsolo* (double bell) came to Chibale through the Chikunda, while the locally made *lusonsolo* are single. (Teneshi Njikika Mukosha, personal communication, 1985)

**Ndandi**

The *ndandi* was a lamellaphone, sometimes called *ndimba*, with 11 normal keys and two or three upper keys and a separate resonator (calabash or thin can) (see Photo II-50). The normal keys were ordered from low (left) to high (right). The instrument was introduced in Chibale at the end of the 1920s by migrant labourers. The repertoire of *kankobele, ndandi* and *kalimba kamaswao* were more or less the same (listen to Song II-18). Because of the fundamental difference in the ordering of the keys, no players were found who were able to play both the *kankobele* and the *ndandi*.

**Mitungu and mabotolo**

*Mitungu* was a set of three small gourds with narrow necks (see Photo II-51), played by two women. One woman held a gourd in each hand, the other one gourd in one hand. The gourds were struck on the ground while the small opening at the top of the gourd was closed with the thumb (percussive sound) or left open (percussive sound plus soft tone). The playing could also be done with three bottles, called *mabotolo* (listen to Music example II-16). The *mitungu* and *mabotolo* were played by girls and women Pa kwisha, accompanying the women’s repertoire. Because of this a certain part of the women’s repertoire sometimes was called *mitungu*, also for instance by Doke for Lamba area. In Chibale, however, no *mitungu* proper songs were remembered. Any song accompanied by the *mitungu*, at that moment, was a *mitungu* song. Possibly in the past the *mitungu* was a female counterpart of the male *ilimba* set, but we have too little information to corroborate this.

**Cimwimwi and lindya**

A bull-roarer, in the 1980s was sometimes played by children or used to scare people for fun. It was said to have been used at the chief’s *Cililo* at which all kinds of sound-producing instruments were used (see under *lusonsolo* and Chapter 7). Another name was *cimwimwi ca musowa wa nkalamo*: ‘lion-roarer’. The onomatopoeia *cimwimwi* was also used for the friction drum. The same is found for the Lamba area:

The term *intambangoma* (friction drum, see Photo I-4) is also applied to the *lendya*, or bull-roarer, the bulb of the gladiolus plant twirled on a string. But among the Lambas the bull-roarer is but a child’s plaything, and has no further significance. (Doke 1931: 367)

In Chibale the *lindya* was a toy which was first wound up and then could be played forever since it rewound continuously on one of the two sides. The instrument made a soft sound: young-young-young. There was also a drill which worked on the same principle. The *lindya* could also be called *ntandangoma*. During the playing of the *lindya* a song was sung, like Song II-19.

**Kantimbwa**

This was a large musical bow with a connected calabash resonator played with a small stick or reed, called *cintimbwa* or *kantimbwa* (see Photo II-52). The bow was a branch from a *mwenge* tree cut into a special shape and bent by tying the fresh branch to two bent pieces of wood. At two places dried pods of the *cinkunkwa*, containing seeds, were attached to the bow (see Photo II-53). The string was made of twisted hartebeest (*nkonsi*) leather or iron wire. The rope attaching the calabash to the bow (see Photo II-54) divided the string into two pieces of unequal length, mostly tuned a minor third, sometimes a major third. A third, and in rare cases a fourth, tone was obtained by short-
ening the longest of the pieces by pushing the tip of the thumb against the string (see Photo II-55). The kantimbwa was tuned before every piece by moving the calabash up or down the bow. The most frequently used tunings consisted of a ‘filled-in’ minor third: e-f-g, e-f#-g or e-♯-g. The open side of the calabash rested on the player’s chest (see Photo II-55). During singing, it was continuously moved from and onto the chest to regulate the resonance. When the string became too loose, it was stretched by means of hand and foot (see Photo II-56). The instrument was a men’s leisure instrument, like the kalimba, with the same kinds of songs (interchangeable) and occasions when used (listen to Song II-20 and Song II-21).

**Mutililo**

Self-made copies of flutes (mutolilo, see Photo II-57 and Photo II-58) for patapata music that were taken to Chibale from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) in the 1970s (listen to Music example II-17).

**Instruments no longer in use**

Most of the music that was played on these instruments had disappeared in the 1980s. Some of the songs connected to them were still known.

**Mankubala**

The set of three wooden boats, called mankubala, was played with two sticks (mukonkonto) by one, rarely two, players (see Photo II-59 and Photo II-60, listen to Song II-22). The wood was the kernel of the stem of the chisungwa tree. The mankubala was used to scare birds from picking out sorghum grains. In former days the scaring of birds (kwamina) was a prominent part of the annual cycle. The women and children would do this by shouting and striking an iron bar (nyenjele). The adolescent boys would sit on specially constructed towers (citeba) and play the mankubala there. They played songs from a special repertoire of songs giving sarcastic commentary on events or dreaming about what could happen ‘at the far end of the field’ (listen to Song II-23).

Though the instrument disappeared with the coming up of maize cash-cropping and the subsequent decrease of sorghum cultivation, some of these songs were still known in the 1980s. Like the ilimba the instrument had a cultural heritage status and was built for agricultural shows (see Photo II-61).

The songs often had second or even more meanings that were known to the family of the boy, who learned the songs from his grandfather, that were applied to events that had recently happened. When talking about the indirect meaning of a song, people often mentioned the mankubala repertoire as typical for nyimbo sha nkama: songs with hidden meanings. The circumstance that the songs the boy was singing often could not be heard by the listeners because they were too far away - in their own (adjacent) fields - will have contributed to the secrecy of the songs since, based on the clearly audible sounds of the mankubala, one had to guess what the exact text was. So, getting the first meaning already was a sport, then came possible other meanings.

**Kalimba kamaswao**

The kalimba kamaswao or ndandi amaswao was a lamellaphone of the ndandi type (see Photo II-62). It had an integral hollowed-out resonator (see Photo II-63) in which a small iron bar (musombo) was fitted that passed through iron jinglers (see Photo II-64). The integral resonator and the iron buzzers had their influence on the sound quality but the instrument had no other repertoire or history than the ndandi (listen to Song II-24).
Itumba

In Chibale, the itumba or litumbu was only used for accompanying the mbeni, a social dance popular in the 1930s. Outside Chibale, in a large area Northwest to Northeast of Serenje District, it was the normal (master) drum for the accompaniment of social dances. It was broader than the normal Chibale drum and had a hole in its body covered with the thick web (lembalembe) of a certain spider that functioned as a mirliton. The drum did not find another type of use after the disappearing of mbeni.

Mangu

This was a large two-headed drum, called mangu, connected with chieftainship. It was played on both sides with two sticks. The two skins were just as big: a difference in tone was obtained by heating one of the two sides. The drum was only played in times of danger: raiders, war, lions.

Musumpiti

Calabash drums were made from specially grown gourds (nsupa). The skin was attached with small pegs (labambo) for which small holes were made in the gourd. The musumpiti was played in sets of three: kace, cibitiku and iyikulu. The gourds were 25, 35 and 50 centimetre in height. The skin of goat (mbushi), steinbok (katidi), duiker (mpombo) or water lizard (insamba) was used. There was a hole in the side covered with a mirliton made of thick spider's web (lembalembe). Patterns were the same as those for the drums. It was used when drums were not available and for teaching children how to play the drums though for the iyikulu a real drum was preferred, because of the importance of tonal sounds on the iyikulu.

Friction drum

A friction drum was remembered but little was known about it. The ordinary name was cinwimwi ca ku kaole. It could also be called ngoma ya bukali (drum of fierceness) or ngoma ya buloshi (witch drum) which might indicate that it was only used for occasions connected to killing. It was said that it was only played at the chief's Cililo which may indicate that the friction drum was connected to chieftainship, as is stated by Doke. It is likely that the instrument had already disappeared long ago since the last 'traditional' Cililo of a chief was in 1925. Furthermore, the remark that the rubbing stick did not pass through the skin but was pressed upon it seems to indicate that in a later stage a normal drum with a separate rubbing stick was used instead of a specially built friction drum.

Namukalapanda

A composite idiophone-chordophone, called namukalapanda, was played indoors by mediums. It was played by only one player to imitate the drum ensemble (see Photo II-65 and Photo II-66 and listen to Song II-25). This is a complex instrument. The string could be stretched by the leg - while the foot could be slightly turned to vary the length of both sides of the strings - yielding higher and lower drum-like tones. Around the string, at both sides, pieces of bamboo and nsombo fruit were placed that were hit with the hands or only the string was hit yielding different percussive sounds. Between the arms and the body resonators were placed that were operated by the elbows. No reference to an instrument like this elsewhere could be found in literature.
**Manyema**

The *manyema* was a board zither with three strings and a calabash as a resonator. It resembles the *ngyela*, with seven strings, described by Laurenty (1971: 55) for the Luba area and the *isese*, with two strings, described by Doke (1931: 364) for the Lamba area. It was played and held like a banjo, either struck or plucked. A plank was connected to a topped-off calabash which made a humming resonance. There was no mirliton attached to it. On the plank, three strings of different thickness - obtained by twining rope (*lushishi*, the root fibre of the *mubanga* tree) - were attached. They were stretched by putting two bridges of wood at either end. The strings were called *iyikulu, cibitiku* and *kace*. Like the *kalimba* and *kantimbwa*, it was a men's instrument with the same kinds of songs and occasions for use. The last one who could play it was Kalota, who died early in the 1980s. I have no photos of the *manyema* nor recordings of its repertoire.

Laurenty reports that the instrument is used by hunters' associations in an ensemble of *ilimba, cisekele* and *mikoci* (played on a bottle). Though this ensemble is similar to the *ing'omba* ensemble of the first half of the previous century, the use of the *manyema* in the *ing'omba* ensemble was not remembered by anyone.

**Bellows**

In former days, the iron industry was important. Hoes and axes from the Lala area were traded over long distances\(^{45}\). The smelting was done by 8 to 12 men belonging to one village. The men of the households needing something made of iron, brought along iron ore, helped in the bellowing and got a piece of iron. Outside the village, a circular oven (*nyumbi*) was built with a diameter of 2 metres and a height of one metre. The oven including the surrounding space for the bellowers stood in a big dugout hole. At the underside of the oven 4 to 6 holes were left for the hand bellows (*myuba*, see Photo II-67) that were played with shifts of one to two hours. In the oven layers of charcoal and iron ore (*malamba* or *motapo*) were put. Women were not allowed to be present and food was handed to the bellowers by men.

The bellowing began early in the morning and was guided by the singing of songs, like Song II-26, while the bellows formed a rhythmical ensemble with the master bellows (*nsapa*), played by the iron smelter, as the leader. The iron smelter (*kengulula*) was not necessarily the same person as the blacksmith (*kafula*). During the long process bad (*‘watery’*) iron dripped away to the bottom. Towards the end of the day, the bellowing was stopped and it was checked whether there was a clump of good iron in the centre of the oven. When a good clump was found there was much ululating. This clump was divided and the pieces were brought to the blacksmith\(^{46}\).

The sound of this industrial ensemble did not only consist of the sound of the bellows but also the fire reacted rhythmically and the bellow pipes themselves made a sound (listen to Music example II-18 for the oral notations of the patterns of the bellows in the smelters’ ensemble and to Music example II-19 for the oral notations of the various master bellows patterns). And, after some 8 hours of work, the ‘iron water’ started to add a sound *sa-sa-sa-sa-sa*, like a simple version of the *cibitiku* pattern. The bellows could be used to convey certain messages without words (see Story II-2).

**Various aerophones**

In the past various other aerophones were used most of them connected to herding or hunting. It was said that long ago a lot of cattle were kept in the area but that raiding and diseases\(^{47}\) and, later, the decrease in the size of the villages, decimated the herds. I will treat these instruments here in short.

*Peku*: a pan flute made of the stalk of the *mbono* (see Photo II-68), played in a set of three. The instrument was cut when needed and thrown away after use. *Peku* music
could also be performed on bottles. It was used as a way of remembering the dead at non-mourning occasions, it was not played at the Cililo. It was also played by young girls with the same commemorative connotation for those who heard it. A peku song consisted of a mourning text (cinsengwe) accompanied by the words peku and possibly also tubenge tu. These words were blown, or alternated with tones, on the peku while the rest of the text was sung (listen to Song II-27). The peku was popular in the 1920s/1930s, possibly also before that. Hearing or replaying these songs caused heavy feelings among older people, some of them breaking into tears. No recording could be reconstructed containing the iyikulu peku though one reference to it was recorded (listen to Music example II-20).

Mutole\textsuperscript{48}: a transverse flute with the length of an underarm, made of the stalk of the mbono. There was a notch at the end where the blowing hole was. The other end was open. The lips more or less covered the blowing hole. Nearer to the other end, there were three playing holes. It was held with both hands while only one hand stopped the holes. It had to be moistened before playing. It was played by herding boys (bakacema) but was also used for scaring birds. Song I-2 was remembered as having been sung by young men coming home from bird scaring accompanied by the mutole: they were now off duty. On the mutole young people could also imitate certain spoken lines, much like on the mankubala.

Lumbeta and lupenga were musical horns, made from the horns of antelopes (mapeba, musyangwa, kansonto, mpulupule)\textsuperscript{49}. The blowing hole was in the middle of the horn at the outer side of the curve. One or two natural overtones were played. It was used for warning and signalling by the chief: ‘Lumbeta lwalila (the horn sounds): the chief calls us’. It was also used to denote that there was a beer party and at the end that the beer party was finished. It was also blown by young men during Cila, “to make the session lively”. In the 1980s, the signalling for a beer party was sometimes done by hitting a drum shell with a hoe or axe.

Supplementary issues regarding musical instruments

True instruments

A difference was made between ‘true’ and other musical instruments (see Elaboration II-D). Of the instruments frequently and occasionally played, the pintu, the mukonkonto, the cisekele played with the drum set, the cisekele played in the kalindula band, the masamba, the nsangwa, the ngolwa, the ndibu, the kameme and the Christian cult music instruments did not belong to the group of true instruments.

The major factor determining this partition was the relative skill needed to play the instrument and, connected to that, whether the playing of the instrument was worth evaluating or not: ‘though it can be played wrong, it cannot be played better than others’. This explains why most of the instruments mentioned as well as hand clapping were not in the group of true instruments. For instance, only a few of the men interviewed claimed to be able to play the cibitiku, the easy drum with only one fixed pattern, that many could play.
A second factor was the purpose for playing the instrument. The *masamba* and *nsangwa* definitely required skill to be played, but they were not seen as true instruments because their sound was produced through dancing and served more as a sonic proof of the dance movements. So, skill in playing *nsangwa* or *masamba* was seen as a dance skill. The *ngolwa* also needed skill to be played, but it was played with the sole purpose of attracting the honeyguide.

A last factor was the identity of the player: the *masamba* and *nsangwa* were played by the possessing spirit, not by the - possessed - human being. She could therefore not claim to play it.

In short, a true instrument was an instrument the playing of which was worth evaluating, that had the purpose to make music (accompany songs) and was played by a human being.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elaboration II-D: Playing a musical instrument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The numbers of respondents claiming to play one or more musical instruments in the two surveys differ enormously:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey 1985/86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or more instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-1: Number of respondents claiming to play a musical instrument, Survey 1985/86 and Survey 1987.

The reason for this difference was the difference in position of the question about the playing of musical instruments in the two surveys. In the first survey the question was put halfway through the section about musical preferences, just after the question asking for the preference for musical instruments and the reason for that preference. This focused the minds of the respondents to the 'true instruments': that is, the instruments worth evaluating. In the second survey the question was situated more in the beginning of the interview immediately after going through a list of all musical instruments (see Appendix B for the survey questionnaires). This focused the mind upon all possible musical instruments and sound producers. For instance, none of the 25 mediums in Survey 1985/86 claimed to play *masamba* and *nsangwa*. The crux of the matter lies in the definition of musical instrument and the aspects of that definition that were emphasised by the position of our question in the two surveys respectively.

When we compare the results of the two surveys using the factors determining whether an instrument is a true instrument or not, we see that the difference is not great: 42% (Survey 1985/86) against 45% (Survey 1987) of the respondents played a true instrument.
Playing musical instruments

In the 1980s most people playing an instrument played one, two or three instruments. The instruments most frequently played by women were the cisekele (by far the most common), the ngoma, masamba & nsangwa, mataba pa mbale, Christian cult music instruments and the ngolwa. Most frequently played by men were ngoma, banjo, kalimba, ngolwa and ilimba (see List II-2). A strict separation between instruments played by women or by men, often found in literature about music in Africa, is not corroborated by this list. Instruments like the ngoma could be played by women at small occasions, in former times also for the initiation of girls (ngoma ya Cisungu). Christian cult drums were sometimes played by girls. Nsangwa and masamba were also played by male mediums but none of them mentioned them as instruments they played in the survey. Instruments only played by men were most of the instruments for personal use, like the kalimba, those used for hunting, like the cinyenye, and all instruments at large-scale occasions.

The most frequently played musical instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>♀</th>
<th>♂</th>
<th>♀</th>
<th>♂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cisekele: shaken idiophone</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoma: drum</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjo</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngolwa: honeyguide ocarina</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimba: lamellaphone</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilimba: one-note xylophone</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintu: dancer’s whistle</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsangwa &amp; masamba: dance idiophones</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataba pa mbale: shaken idiophone</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukonkonto: stick</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinyenye: hunter’s whistle</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cult music instruments</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-2: The most frequently played musical instruments by women and men, Survey 1987. This list is intended to give an impression.

The playing of instruments was learned by listening, watching and imitating. Three out of each five players were helped by someone already skilled through guided imitation and demonstration in a lower tempo. In general, the teachers for women were the grandmother and the mother; while for men, teachers were the father and the grandfather for drums, kalimba, ngolwa and ilimba, and a friend for the kalindula instruments.

Playing the kalimba and cisekele was more often (75%) learned from a teacher than playing the banjo (52%) or ngoma (35%). This reflected the extent to which learning to play the instrument involved learning a whole repertoire of songs. The players of the kalimba, always, and of the cisekele often, started the song, that is: they were the ones coming up with another song each time a song had been finished. In general, drummers never started a song and the banjo repertoire was relatively small.
Knowledge of musical instruments

**Familiarity of the general public with musical instruments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngoma - drum</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsangwa - anklet shaken idiophone</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masamba - dancing skirt</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babatoni - large bass</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjo</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimba - lamellaphone (general word)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngolwa - honeyguide ocarina</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukonkonto - stick struck against drum</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilimba - one-note-xylophone</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankubala - wooden boats</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisekele - shaken idiophones</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pintu - whistle</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kantimbwa - musical bow</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kankobele - smaller lamellaphone</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand-clapping</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peku - bamboo pan flute</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndandi - larger lamellaphone</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lusonsolo - iron bell</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cult music instruments</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangu - large double-skinned drum</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikoci - struck iron idiophones</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimba kamaswao - larger lamellaphone</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

U = unknown; R = recognised; M = mentioned. In the interview, the respondents were asked to mention as many musical instruments as they could. When no instruments could be mentioned anymore, the instruments not mentioned were read from a list and the respondents were asked whether they recognised them as musical instruments. The scores above are also caused by the wish to answer (it is impossible not to know the drum, so the informants not knowing it had reasons not wanting to recognise it) and, for the musical instruments that were mentioned by the respondents, by whether they were true instruments or not.

The ngoma and each of its three types, the nsangwa and masamba, the babatoni and banjo, the kalimba and ngolwa were known by practically everybody. Well-known were the mukonkonto, ilimba, mankubala, cisekele and pintu. Less well-known were the kantimbwa, kankobele, hand-clapping, peku, ndandi, lusonsolo and the Christian cult music instruments, while the mangu, mikoci and kalimba kamaswao were practically unknown (see List II-3). In general, it can be said that the instruments that could be heard most frequently were known the best while the instruments most frequently mentioned by respondents were true instruments. This means that there were no instruments, except the mankubala (sounding boats) and to some extent the ilimba (one-note-xylophone), that had the special status of being played rarely but being known/mentioned by many, something that could happen with ‘folk instruments’ that were considered to underline local identity.
Favourite musical instruments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favourite musical instrument</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngoma (drums) in general</td>
<td>75 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iyikulu (master drum)</td>
<td>15 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjo</td>
<td>47 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babatoni (large bass)</td>
<td>30 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisekele (various shaken idiophones)</td>
<td>17 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimba (lamellaphone)</td>
<td>13 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other instruments</td>
<td>27 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>224</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-4: Favourite musical instruments, Survey 1985/86.
Other instruments: Christian cult music instruments: 4; guitar, ilimba, mankubala, radio: 3; all kalindula instruments, masamba: 2; all Lala instruments, cintimbwa (musical bow), hand clapping, mukonkonto (stick), nsangwa, piano, pintu (dance whistle): 1.

When asked for their favourite instrument, most people in the 1980s would answer the drum, sometimes more specifically the master-drum, or one of the kalindula chordophones. The cisekele and kalimba were also mentioned (see List II-4). More than 90% of the preferred instruments were true instruments. The reasons for the preferences will be treated in Chapter 9.

3

The reader will not have failed to notice that the number three is very prominent in this chapter.

Most ensemble consisted of three instruments: drums, cisekele, ilimba, peku, nsangwa & masamba, mitungu, mabotolo and musumpiti.

Instruments with three tones or tone groups: mankubala, manyema, kantimbwa, mutole and the different kalimba: kankobele, ndandi and kalimba kamaswao.

Instruments with one tone:lusonsole, mikoci, mukonkonto, minkobele, mangu and horns were used either for signalling or for doubling one of the drums.

The examples for other areas, mostly given in the endnotes, show that this orientation on three is typical for Chibale and possibly for other Lala areas as well. In Chapter 7 I will present an explanation for the prominence of three in Chibale music.
Chapter 5 - Gatherings with music

Overview of gatherings with music

In the 1980s, large-scale gatherings with music were frequently held in Chibale, most frequently in the beer season - after the harvest, from August to November - but also in other seasons. The general words used for larger-scale gatherings with music were Cila, Dance, and Ngoma, Drum. At the rituals at which the spirit possessed performed (Cilili, Cililo, Ipuyo and Cibombe), at social dance gatherings (Cila) and at beer parties for older people (Bwalwa) music was made continuously. At modern beer parties (Sandauni), and at the meetings of Christian cult groups (Calici), music was important but not used continuously. And, at meetings connected to national, political, medical, or agricultural organisations (School, Mitigi, Shows), music was mostly only used to mark the transitions at the beginning and the end of the meetings. The number of people (200 to 400) attending the gatherings where the possessed brought songs and danced (see Photo II-69) was much larger than attendance at the other large-scale gatherings mentioned (50 to 150). Small-scale gatherings with music: get-togethers of the women or of the men of one farm or a group of neighbouring farms, family meetings, work, children's games and the like, were also of importance, though their frequency had diminished in the three decades before. The greater part of the repertoire of the small-scale gatherings was drawn from that of the large-scale ones, though most types of small-scale gatherings had songs that were particular to them.

As an introduction, an overview of gatherings with music is given here based on the three major distinctions that the people used when they talked about gatherings: the scale of the gathering, whether beer was brewed for it and whether people danced (during a certain period) at the gathering or not. Other distinctions were not generally used. Combining the three distinctions results in four large groups and four small ones. The four large groups can be characterised as follows.

Small scale - no beer - no dancing: contact between adult relatives and friends.
Small scale - no beer - dancing: contact between young and adolescent relatives and friends.
Large scale - no beer - no dancing: contact between non-kin, mostly on initiatives from outside.
Large scale - beer - dancing: contact between non-kin at gatherings with local roots.
The other four groups are small and the gatherings in these groups deviate for various reasons. The Cililo contrasted with other local, large-scale gatherings because neither beer drinking nor dancing, by non-possessed, was done during the mourning period. The combination of beer - no dancing, which was rare before the beginning of the 1980s, was found in the Drinking at home and in the Tarven and Bar. The latter were not found in Chibale itself, so that visiting this type of gathering was an option only for migrant labourers and persons travelling to Serenje Town, the district centre. In the combination small-scale beer we also find the Bwalwa bwa nkombo, the Beer of the gourd, that was a small-scale Ipupo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small-scale</th>
<th>No beer</th>
<th>Dancing</th>
<th>Beer</th>
<th>Dancing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No dancing</td>
<td>Family circle 4</td>
<td>Children's games 3</td>
<td>Bwalwa bwa nkombo 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pa kwisha ♂ 3</td>
<td>Cila 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mu nsaka ♂ 2</td>
<td>Pa kwisha ♂ 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kubuka 4</td>
<td>Instruction of the cisungu 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kupupa 3</td>
<td>the cisungu 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radio 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Large-scale</th>
<th>No beer</th>
<th>Dancing</th>
<th>Beer</th>
<th>Dancing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No dancing</td>
<td>Christian cult 4</td>
<td>Cililo 2 2</td>
<td>Bwalwa 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cililo 1 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bwinga 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cililo 3 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cibombe 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meetings 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cilili 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Coming out of the cisungu 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shows 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ipupo 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imbile 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sandauni 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-5: Gatherings with music in Chibale in the 1980s, types and frequencies.
Following each name is an estimation of how often the gathering was organised:
1 - rarely if ever, 2 - infrequently, 3 - occasionally, 4 - frequently.

Of course, this overview only presents a rough drawing. As to the frequencies given: though School, for example, was a type of gathering often organised, music played only a minor role in it; the national anthem was sung daily and occasionally songs from a nation-wide repertoire of children’s and school songs were sung; moreover, School was only visited by a part of the population. The frequencies, notably those of the small-scale gatherings, also depended on the place or area within Chibale. Farms could be found where get-togethers of women or men did not occur, while in the (groups of) nkutu farms they occurred above average.

In the following part I will enter at some length into the gatherings in which music played an important role.
Small-scale gatherings with music

The repertoire of songs, dances, and games used at the small-scale gatherings was very varied. The common characteristic within these repertoires was non-musical. The common characteristic of work songs, for instance, was that they were sung during work (see the next chapter for a discussion of the various repertoires of songs).

Family circle

In the family circle all kinds of songs could be used, including song stories (listen to Song II-28), lullabies (listen to Song II-29 and see Photo II-70) and Christian hymns. Listening to the radio also played a role in the 1980s, though most programmes were talk programmes instead of music programmes. Despite the fact that many people owned a radio, the cost of batteries combined with a rather poor reception meant that the radio was not used very much. In addition, the fact that the programmes aimed at the region were Bemba-oriented made them less interesting as far as music was concerned.

Gatherings of men

These gatherings took place in the nsaka, a round, open shelter - sometimes having a wall of some 75 centimetres high - where the men met. In the 1980s, music was not very important for these gatherings. The nsaka was not used much anymore for the meeting of groups of men since most people lived on farms where one or two men were present. The repertoire consisted of songs taken from the hunting (listen to Song II-30), mourning (listen to Song II-31) and other repertoires, and of stories (listen to Story II-3), possibly accompanied on the men's leisure instruments: the lamellaphones (listen to Song II-32) and, very rarely, the musical bow.

Gatherings of women and girls

In the evening women and girls of a farm or neighbouring farms might sit together and sing songs, play games and sometimes dance. The Pa kwisha-repertoire was large and varied. The gathering provided opportunity for reproducing the women's knowledge (cimbwasa) that also was dealt with during the instruction of the girl initiate (listen to Song II-33), for sharing mourning songs for the deceased grandmother or mother, for criticising farm or marital life (cisango) (listen to Song II-71), for singing social dance songs (icila) (listen to Song II-34), for imitation of spirit possession song and dance (cilala), or for games (kasela).

Many were the names used for the songs, dances and games performed at these gatherings. Women's music had been exchanged between regions in an area even larger than the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area. It is striking that during the process of exchange the item could change character/context: from a mourning or kupupa song to a girls' game.

Cila

The Cila was a gathering in the evening where the young people from a certain (small) area got together to play and dance the social dances fashionable at that time. This type of gathering ‘has existed always’. Whenever a new dance, dance movement, song or song text had just become popular, the weather and lack of light (no moon) were the only things to stop a Cila from being held. In the past, adults could be present and would start some songs, but most songs were brought by one or two young people who were known as the starters and singers of the solo-line of that social dance (see for instance the text of Song II-35). The texts of old social dance songs often contained the name of the starter of that dance (see, for instance, the text of Song II-60). With the 1980s Cila, the kalindula Cila (Cila ca kalindula), one or two of the band members,
typically the chordophone players, were the starters. The number of youngsters present at the kalindula Cila in 1981 around the Ngalande band of Godfrey Kabamba, where Song II-68 was recorded, could be up to sixty. Smaller numbers were the rule, from fifteen to thirty. In the past it had been possible to start other types of songs than the one in vogue at that moment. However, because the kalindula ensemble was composed of other instruments than the ensemble for all the older social dances, it was difficult to start non-kalindula songs since they could not be accompanied by the ensemble. In the 1980s, therefore, the Cila was a younger’s and kalindula only gathering.

The icila and Cila stood for energy and life. At the Ipupo (ritual ending of the mourning period) this characteristic was contrasted with mourning and death: the icila was danced during the night of the day that began with a mourning ritual.

**Work**

Work songs were used, more often by women than by men. They could be sung for all kinds of activities but most often during pounding or grinding. The time spent on pounding and grinding depended on the distance to the nearest grinding mill, the amount of money available to pay for it and a sufficient supply of fuel at the mill. The repertoire consisted of any song the singers might like at the moment plus a set of songs said to be proper work songs, for instance pounding or grinding songs. The latter, however, were songs from other repertoires, especially the mourning repertoires (for example Song II-36) that were often used for pounding/grinding or only ‘survived’ as a song for pounding/grinding (for example Song II-37).

**Kupupa**

Kupupa, acknowledgement to a specific spirit or part of the spirit world, was important in all local and spirit possession cults. Kupupa took place at shrines of various forms, fixed or temporary, before and/or after the appropriation of something from the mpanga. It could be done through invocation and offering of a cultivated and prepared product (mainly beer and mealie meal), by following a certain life style, and by singing songs. It could be cursory or it could be connected to an entire ritual. The kupupa could be organised for an individual, a family, a village, a clan, a group of non-relatives, or a chieftain.

The purpose of all kupupa was to be granted ishuko and to prevent or resolve ishamo.

The state in which one is able to obtain things from the mpanga was called ishuko, while the opposite state was called ishamo (mpanga lyankana: the mpanga refuses me).

There is no path between ishamo and ishuko. Any non-shamo is ishuko; when nothing bad happens it is ishuko. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The following three terms were used to describe the types of kupupa.

Kwilimuna (recharge, reactivate, open): rejoicing about the work of the mpanga, with the purpose of being granted a continuation of ishuko and of preventing ishamo, in general or for a specific future occasion.

Kulila (mourn): mourning, with the purpose of preventing and, sometimes, resolving ishamo.

Kucitila (make, repair): actions with the purpose of resolving ishamo.

Singing was one of the primary forms kupupa could take.

To sing teaching songs (nymbo sha mafunde) is to pay respect (mucinshi) to the ancestral spirits (nupashiti). So, it is kupupa. Singing a song for wanting peace (mutende) is also small kupupa (kepupa). (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

In the next chapter I will argue that it is likely that the main division of the Chibale song repertoire was related to these three forms of kupupa. In Part III we will see that
singing could only be *kupupa* if it was done correctly. *Kwilimuna* and *kulila* could consist of singing only, but they could also involve no singing\(^{31}\). *Kucitila* often involved singing but it needed additional activities to work. When there were problems or success was needed for a difficult task, the *kupupa* would be more intense (see for instance Proverb II-3) and possibly had a more formal character or it was performed on a larger scale. In case of major *ishmento* often a *shing'anga* was consulted who would advise how the *kucitila* had to be done.

*Ishuku* and *ishmento* come from the *mpanga*. *Ishuku* is not obtained, it is granted. *Iishmento* has to be resolved by going to those who know. Then the one who has wronged you, man or spirit (*muntu* or *mupashi*), is brought into contact with you and *kupupa* can be done. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

In the 1980s, the performance of a part of the songs sung at small-scale occasions was *kupupa* in the form of *kulila*, most often to the dead parents or grandparents, especially the mother (see Aphorism II-4), by singing a song mentioning the deceased’s name, a mourning song that was brought at their funeral or a song that was liked by the deceased or that the singer associated with her. The *kupupa* could be done more explicitly by putting some mealie meal on a plate before singing started. The number of mourning songs tended to decrease when more people were attending. When alone, most older men and women would sing mourning and commemorative songs.

*Bwalwa bwa nkombo*

The *Bwalwa bwa nkombo* (Beer of the gourd shrine), also called *Bwalwa bwa mupashi* (Beer of the ancestral spirits), was a small-scale variant of the *Ipupo*. It was mostly asked for by the ancestral spirit (*mupashi*) in a dream: ‘*Nkofwaya nkombo*’ - ‘I want a gourd shrine’. If the one who had the dream did not comply with this request and thereafter suffered small and family misfortune, eventually the *Bwalwa bwa nkombo* would be organised. If the misfortune was larger, an *Ipupo* would be organised.

I dreamt of my grandmother visiting me and asking for some beer. I dismissed it as ‘just a dream’. Two times after that the beer I brewed went sour and the morning of the mixing day of the third beer, again I dreamt of my grandmother coming, saying: “I come to your dreams but you don't listen. Also this beer will be sour. Now make some beer for me but not from your own maize or millet but that from your mother and your mother's sister. And don't go into the kitchen to check the beer”. So, my husband had to check the beer and it was sour. Then I brew beer with millet from my mother and mother’s sister for the sweet and the sour parts. This beer, not so much, was very strong. I put up a tree branch and a gourd as my grandmother had instructed me and I did *kupupa* with some of the beer there. Other people came and put money on a tray at the threshold of the room. The next commercial beer I brew was very strong! (banaMunsele, personal communication, 1987)

At this ritual a shrine was made (see the text of Song II-38): a special type of gourd (*mungu*) with a handle was cut and put on a tree branch ending in three twig stumps (*mulenga wa nkombo*), thus making a tripod in which the gourd could rest. The handle of the gourd was often overlaid with beads (*bulungu*). In the gourd some of the beer brewed for the occasion was poured and some mealie meal was sprinkled. On top of this was placed a plate with mealie meal. No publicity was given to the ritual. Visitors were family members, funeral friends (*bali*) and neighbours. They put money on the plate (*kutaila*) as an offering ‘to help in the ritual’. During this, the family members and the funeral friends could say things like “Today we do *kupupa*, you *cibanda*, stay in the *mpanga*’ (*Lelo twupupa, we cibanda, kalale mu mpanga*). The money went to the organiser who might distribute it further. After some drinking, the singing and dancing started, more or less like on a normal, small beer party. After the *Bwalwa bwa nkombo* the
Kubuka

*Kubuka* was the diagnosis by a *shing'anga* or by a non-possessed (*mufisoko*) who claimed to have other means of communicating with the *mpanga*. It could have various forms, only one of which involved music. That was the *Kubuka* done by a possessed *shing'anga* during a session held after sunset. One or more patients or people with other problems were present. Non-resident patients had announced their coming during the day and had left an offering (*mumpamba*): money put on a tray with mealie meal on it, for the possessing spirits of the *shing'anga*. In the evening the *shing'anga* did *kuseluka* on a bed in his house with his head on the *mumpamba* plate. When the spirits had come down, one of them started a song. On hearing that, the patients and the helpers of the *shing'anga* entered the room which was completely dark (see Photo II-71). The helpers and the patients formed the chorus while the spirits through the *shing'anga* also played the *musebe*, the doctor's *cisekele*. One of the helpers (*cipyaila*) had the special task of remembering all important things said and sung. After the song had ended, the spirits of the *shing'anga* started talking with one of the patients or a relative of hers who was present. This was regularly alternated by the bringing of a song by the spirits. On average, there was more singing than talking during *Kubuka*. There was no physical examination of the patients while physical treatment might occur. The songs were called *Kubuka* songs (*nyimbo sha pa Kubuka*) and were taken from the large repertoire of healing songs. The text of each song referred to the case which the spirits were dealing with at that moment (see the discussion of Song III-9 in Chapter 8, and listen to Music example III-3, for a transcription of the proceedings of a part of a *Kubuka*). Attending a *Kubuka* was a most impressive (musical) experience, not only for outsiders like researchers but also for the relative outsiders that most patients were. Depending on the number of patients, the *Kubuka* could last from half an hour up to a full hour.

**Importance of the small-scale gatherings**

In the 1980s most of the small-scale gatherings with music were declining in importance. There were several reasons for this decline.

Because of the changes in the agricultural system, people had less spare time. Per year there were fewer periods in which cultivation demanded little activity, while during these periods many tried other ways to earn cash. There was also less time left because more working hours were put in per day. Most people went to bed within two hours after sunset and previously, the hours after sunset had been just for informal music gatherings. Except for places where farms clustered as they did in *nkutu* and in some other parts of Chibale, there were simply not enough people present for an informal music gathering either inside, in the *nsaka* (mainly men), or outside (mainly women and children).

In the eyes of many people the status of this type of music and dance was low. First of all, there were the Witnesses with their low opinion of all ‘Lala music’. Then there was the influence of the low opinion in town of ‘folk’, ‘backward’ or ‘old-fashioned’ music, vague terms meaning roughly: local songs without accompaniment, with clapping or with ‘folk’ instruments, that is any other instrument than the drum, the banjo or other *kalindula* instruments, or, to a lesser extent, the lamellaphone. Lastly, there was the influence of the radio on which the playing of ‘traditional music’ did not take up much time when compared with *kalindula*, *lumba* and other African pop music.
Large-scale social gatherings with music

Beer parties

Most beer parties (Bwalwa) consisted of a feast, starting in the morning, at the farm of the organiser. The beer could be for sale or it was handed round by the owner. The history of the beer party shows it was a continuously changing occasion. It was a podium for the introduction and assimilation of social innovations. For the 1970s and 1980s only, five different forms can be discerned.

Beer (bwalwa) was brewed by the woman of the organising household and some of her female relatives or by one of the few women who were well-known brewers and could be hired to do the job (see Photo II-72). The money that came in went to the owner - more often men than women - of the maize (for katata beer) or millet (for cipumu beer) from which the beer was made, while about 20% of the profit went to the brewers. In 1987 the expenditure per drum, including brewing, was about US$ 9.50 and the receipts per drum were about US$ 17 resulting in a profit of about US$ 7.50 per drum of 200 litres. For most people there was no other way to earn income that even came close to this amount and input/output ratio. The relative amount of money spent on beer, mainly by men, was huge.

Cash-cropping, labourers returning from town and returning migrant labourers brought more money into local circulation. This changed the balance of power between the age groups and led to a number of the changes that distinguish the period Fetulon from the period Sambia. Though it seems rather late, people agreed that beer was sold for the first time at the end of the 1960s, the date generally given as the beginning of the Sambia period. The beer parties before that, and those modelled on them, I will call the ‘old beer party’ or ‘old Bwalwa’.

The old beer party (Bwalwa)

In the first part of the previous century the ilimba ensemble was dominant at beer parties. It played the classical repertoire of cinsengwe made by a few famous ingomba who played not only at important beer parties but also at Cililo, Iputo and the coming out of the girl initiate (cisungu). Drums were only used by adults ‘when people started getting possessed or when they got tired of listening to the ilimba’. Drums were also used by the youngsters who played and danced their own music, the social dance songs in vogue at that time, at a fair distance from the large half-open shelter (nsaka) in which the adults played. The adults’ repertoire did not exclusively consist of cinsengwe for the ilimba ensemble but also of hunting songs, possession songs, and, since the 1940s, women’s music and old social dance songs for the drum ensemble while the repertoire of the youngsters consisted of recent social dance songs accompanied by the drum ensemble. Much of the time at beer parties was spent with music and dance.

This gathering may well have functioned “as a mode of integrating the community, of confirming authority and social relations, of maintaining individual reciprocal relations, and of redistributing surpluses from wealthy households” (Hedlund & Lundahl 1984: 62). But at least as important was its role in the dissemination of news and new behaviour and attitudes.

It is likely that in the past the beer party was always, more or less explicitly, connected either to some form of kupupa, often of the rejoicing kind (kwilimuna), or to kwangala, celebration of life energy. Other terms used for rejoicing were nsansa for the feeling of joy and kwangala and kusekelela for occasions for enjoyment. Where the term kwilimuna was used to refer to ritually rejoicing, that is: to open up, recharge the mpanga, the three other terms were used to denote life energy, ‘not-mourning’ and being clear or open in mind (mano) and heart (mutima). The Ciwila possessed were there for mourn-
ing but also to brighten up the people who had been mourning. The latter was called
kwangala. With the lessening of the influence of the local cults, the three terms had lost
these implications and had come to be regarded by many to mean: ‘(just) for fun.’

Singing for Kaluwe at a normal beer party is for rejoicing (pa kwangala) and it is
kwilimuna because you try to be granted a continuation of ishuko. (Mika Mwape
Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

It is in this light that the following has to be considered. Some say that the first pay-
ments for beer were made at the Cilili ca kusekelela (hunting feast for rejoicing).
Through the hunter, Kaluwe, the hunting spirit that guided him, was given offerings
(meal, beads, money) for the meat he had brought to the village (see note 59). At a cer-
tain moment, this giving of presents had to be done for the beer too, though not for each
portion of beer\(^5\). The size of the gift was said to have been according to one’s means.
This changed towards the end of the 1960s when the foretaste (dyonko) was introduced.
The visitor to the beer party was given a rather large, free quantity of beer and had to pay
for more. This was done after the example of the colonial ‘native beerhalls’ in the Copperbelt
towns, one of which was opened in Serenje Boma, the district centre, in the early
1950s. The paying for beer met with resistance from the older people and the number of
old Bwalwa only gradually decreased. In the 1980s, old Bwalwa were mainly given by the
chief or organised by each of the twenty sections of the chiefdom that the chief visited
during his yearly round of the chieftain (see Photo II-73).

From the end of the 1960s a new kind of beer party with new behaviour, new relations
between people and age groups, and with new music and dance, grew in importance: the
Sandauni (see List II-6).

**Differences between the old beer party and the Sandauni**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences</th>
<th>respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The songs, texts and music have changed</td>
<td>82, 20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Sandauni the young people drink</td>
<td>62, 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Sandauni beer is sold instead of given</td>
<td>52, 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Sandauni there is less respect and peace</td>
<td>49, 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The type of beer brewed had changed</td>
<td>48, 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The beer party was quality, the Sandauni is quantity</td>
<td>32, 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Sandauni people fight sometimes</td>
<td>28, 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer parties were held only at important occasions, Sandauni are held more often</td>
<td>19, 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The dancing has changed</td>
<td>14, 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Sandauni an entrance fee is charged</td>
<td>11, 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandauni are visited by more people</td>
<td>6, 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandauni are held outside</td>
<td>4, 1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-6: Differences between the old beer party (Bwalwa) and the Sandauni accord-
ing to the general public in Chibale, Survey 1985/86.

About half of the respondents gave two differences, therefore 407 differences are
listed. Approximately one third of the answers is about the differences in content,
music and dance, while two thirds of the answers deal with the changed signs of
the time that were reproduced in the two types of gatherings.
Sandauni

The first Sandauni in Chibale were held around 1970. The organisers erected a fence creating a large fenced space. To enter this space one had to pay an entrance fee which gave right to a free foretaste. The reason for asking a fee was that the music was played on a battery gramophone. The records played were practically all from Congo: lumba music.

In the course of the 1970s, next to this imitation of the beerhalls and bars in town, a new type of gathering came up with a curious expression of the realisation by the people to be at the mercy of money economy: the 'bidding Sandauni'. There was no foretaste and no entrance fee. Lumba music was played on a battery gramophone. The gathering was led by an eloquent speaker (baspika). Anything happening had to go via the speaker. At the start of the Sandauni he announced a list of prices for the beer, the food, the records, and the dancing. Any order for beer or for a certain record had to pass via the speaker, who announced it loudly and ordered one of the waitresses (ba-weteleshi) to bring it to the customer. One could not only buy beer or the playing of a certain record, one could also buy behaviour, for instance that the waitress would bring the cup to the lips of the buyer, so he could drink without touching it. Or that a certain person would dance to the record ordered, possibly together with the one ordering. A second characteristic was that bids could be made (kubecela) on anything happening, for instance the one who was ordered to dance could make a higher bid to pay off the order or to have the one ordering it dance himself. Or a bid was brought against the further playing of a certain record, which was followed by a higher bid from the one who had originally ordered the record. The end of the bidding was that the person paid off the order or was obliged to dance or, when still refusing, had to leave the fenced area.

Next to the Sandauni with gramophone, a Sandauni with live Patapata or Twist music appeared in the 1970s. The band consisted of three flute players, a drummer, a ci-sekele player and a guitar and/or banjo player. The three flutes (mutolilo) differed in size and played the same lines though embellishing the melody in their own way (kwipaila). The music played came from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). There was no singing to this music, only dancing the Twist by pairs.

In 1979 a kalindula band from Muchinka, another chiefdom in Serenje district, visited Chibale and played at two beer parties. This led to the quick emergence of many local kalindula bands and to that of the kalindula Sandauni. There was no foretaste and no gramophone music. For a big feast a fence was erected and an entrance fee was asked. Smaller feasts were held just in the open space of the farm of the organiser. In both cases the music was performed by a kalindula band though it mostly did not play continuously. In the previous Sandauni the young ones could buy beer but their role had been a minor one. In the kalindula Sandauni the music and dance were theirs and some of them were paid to play it. The use of kalindula music at beer parties led to a local commercialisation and professionalisation of adolescents’ music. It produced and reproduced the change of balance between the age groups.

There were two major reasons given for organising a Sandauni. By far the most important one was to raise money to buy essentials. The second reason was to bring together friends and relatives. Reasons to visit Sandauni were to drink beer, to see the dancing, for entertainment, to listen to the music, to dance, to meet friends, to see what happens and to play a musical instrument.

Attendance at Sandauni lay between 70 and 150 people. Sandauni were more often organised in the beer season. One would be able to visit at least two Sandauni a week within a distance of ten kilometres during this period. In the remaining period this averages one or two every two weeks. In fact, this is valid for 1985-86, less so for 1987 when the take-away beer, became more en vogue and the organising of a Sandauni was experienced by some as unnecessarily laborious.
Bwalwa bwa cikwakwa
Take-away beer was called the ‘beer of the scythe’: people come and go. The buyer took the beer home in a container where it was consumed, in most cases by sharing it with a few others, perhaps relatives and friends. Use of music and dance was mostly rather superficial.

Imbile
In former days, the beer given at a Work beer party (Imbile ya bwalwa or Cimbila) was not considered to be payment since there existed mutual obligations. In the 1980s, the Workbeer was simply a form of bartered help, most often organised by people in nkuta. Music used at the Imbile varied from cinsengwe to kalindula.

Girls' initiation and Marriage

Cisungu
In the 1980s, girls’ initiation was practically non-existent. Though it was told that some parents kept the girl in the house for instruction for two days or a week, I met nobody who could or wanted to tell what was done. In Survey 1985/86 there was a clear relation between the generation to which a female respondent belonged and the fact that she claimed to have undergone Cisungu: of the oldest generation practically all and of the youngest generation nobody (in the 2000s this had changed, see Appendix A). Cisungu songs still played a role in the Pa kwisha and in the healing rituals of the Mwami.

Bwinga
In the 1980s the marriage ceremony, Bwinga, in most cases was a small ceremony, the festive part of which could resemble a normal, small beer party (see Photo II-74) (in the 2000s this had changed, see Appendix A).

Large-scale cult gatherings with music

Christian cult group gatherings
The cult groups belonging to the three different Christian congregations - Jehovah's Witnesses, United Church of Zambia and Roman Catholics - each held a formal meeting every week in their church building (calici). This meeting was mostly led by local ministers or lay members, sometimes by visiting ministers or missionaries (Roman Catholics). Less formal meetings of all members of the group or a part of them were organised regularly for religious purposes, like Bible study, or for social reasons, for instance visiting the sick or mutual help in agriculture. Once or twice a year the Witnesses organised a kampu, a large meeting of all Witnesses of the congregations of a certain administrative area (Circuit). It lasted two days.

At the Sunday meetings normally 40 to 80 people met. A meeting lasted about two hours and consisted of readings, preaching and singing. Songs were sung by the choir of the group with the other members singing along depending on whether they knew the song or not. For those who could read, text books were available. The choir also sang at the funeral wake of deceased cult group members or their relatives (Cililo 3). The fifteen to thirty members of the choir were youngsters of both sexes between ten and twenty years of age. The choirs practised two or three times a week. The leader was one of the experienced members who was in contact with the adult leaders of the cult group and
with neighbouring choirs of the same denomination. For most youngsters membership of the choir (in which were their friends) was an important reason to be a member of a Christian cult group. The choir was rather independent of the rest of the group. Choirs often had a plot of land which they cultivated collectively or they worked the land of someone else for money. From the proceeds they paid for extra activities such as the buying of uniforms or travelling to other churches of the same denomination to meet and, especially for UCZ, compete with other choirs. Serenje district counted around 30 UCZ choirs. They did not only meet and compete in pairs, but all choirs also met once a year for a weekend.

**Rituals of rejoicing, of mourning and of problem solving**

In the 1980s, the spirit-possessed played an important role at most of the large-scale gatherings. Mediums of all three types brought songs and danced at a number of rituals. I will treat them here ordered by the possession types involved but an ordering as to the type of *kupupa* or the type of cult involved would make sense as well.

These rituals were important social gatherings. Despite the influence of the Christian cults - more than half of the population was a member of one of these cults - the numbers of people meeting at *Cibombe*, *Cililo* and *Ipupo* were much larger than those at the Christian cult meetings, or *Sandauni* or other meetings. Distinction could be made between rituals organised by the possessed themselves and those organised by others at which mediums played an important role. The Mwami possessed (for problem solving) organised their own rituals. The Kaluwe mediums (for hunting) organised their own rituals but also visited other rituals. The Civila mediums (for new songs) only danced at rituals organised by others. This was related to the work of the different types and the fact that the Mwami possessed were rather tightly organised, the Kaluwe mediums more loosely and the successful Civila mediums not.

As we saw also with the small-scale *Kupupa*, the purpose of the gatherings with music at which the possessed performed was either rejoicing (reactivating through rejoicing) or mourning (commemorating) or problem solving, mostly healing. Where rejoicing for many people had left the domain of the religious, mourning and problem solving were done purposely and spiritually.

In the 1980s, the course and the ritual and musical forms of the first sections of the public part of all of them were similarly structured though the purpose, as well as a number of specific actions, differed for each of these gatherings. The reason for this was that the general aim of the first part of all these gatherings was the same, namely to heat the ritual.

**Kaluwe rituals**

The rituals organised by Kaluwe mediums and hunters were called *Cilili*. The word was presumed to derive from –*lila*: mourn, cry, lament, produce sounds.

1. *Cilili ca ku cisanda ca nama* (*Cilili* at the hunter’s shrine) or *Kwilimuna* (reactivating): rejoicing ritual held for Kaluwe, the hunting spirit, with the purpose of being granted a continuation of *ishuko* for the next hunt or series of hunts.

2. *Cilili ca kusekelela* (*Cilili* of rejoicing): rejoicing ritual held at the end of a successful hunt or series of hunts at which meat (head, heart and ears) was divided among those present who gave gifts (*kutaila*) for a share. It was also a *kwilimuna* ritual but with a larger attendance than the *Cilili* 1. See Lambo (1945: 331, 337, 338) for an account of a *Cilili*59. It is not unlikely that the festive part of this ritual evolved into the beer party60.

In the 1980s, these rituals were rarely, and mostly secretly, held due to government regulations against poaching. They were organised by hunters and Kaluwe mediums -
often hunters themselves - who formed small hunters’ associations. Kaluwe mediums were always needed for (a part of) the music and dance. Initiation of a Kaluwe-possessed was done at a Cibombe 3 or at a special Cilili. The Kaluwe mediums could dance at mourning and healing rituals as well.

Ciwila rituals

The Ciwila mediums could dance at the Cibombe but most of all they were needed at the rituals of death, sometimes called the ngoma ya kupele’mpanga: the rituals of giving to the mpanga. These rituals were organised by the owners of the dead (bene bamfwa or benemfwafwa): close relatives and ritual friends (bali) of the deceased. In former days Ciwila possessed also could perform at the Cilili, at the night before the coming-out of the girl initiate (cisungu) and at important beer parties.

Cililo

The Cililo (‘place or occasion of mourning’) was a funeral vigil (see Photo II-75 and Photo II-76), lasting one or two nights and one or two days. In the 1980s, the evening and night of the Cililo could have one of three forms:
1. People sang cinsengwe accompanied by struck iron idiophones, shaken idiophones, and one-note xylophones or one drum; there was no dancing.
2. Like Cililo 1 but also one or more Ciwila mediums danced (to the set of three drums).
3. The choir of the Christian cult group to which the deceased belonged, or to which some of the next of kin belonged, performed Christian mourning songs and other Christian cult songs.

A Cililo was organised at every death with the exception of that of stillborn babies. Many people visited the Cililo. Most people would stay for a few hours during the day or they kept watch during the night. One of the characteristics was the providing of much food to the attendees, in accordance with the story and the aphorism presented in the first part of Chapter 7. The ritual was called ‘kulilafye’ (sheer mourning) by some. So shortly after death, kupupa could not be done yet to the spirit of the deceased and the mourning done was sheer mourning since it did not have the (indirect) purpose of preventing or resolving ishamo attributable to other mourning. The Christian form was found much more frequently. It was also often held for non-Christians who had Christian relatives. At most Cililo the musowa wa mfwa were lamented by the next of kin of the deceased (see next chapter).

Ipupo

Ipupo or Bwalwa bwe’pupo (Great kupupa or Beer of the great kupupa) was a ritual that marked the end of the mourning period, around a year later. At that point in time the spirit of the deceased was at the stage when kupupa could be done for it, hence the name. It had shown its strength by appearing in dreams or by making a child sick or turning beer sour. The kupupa was done in the early morning by pouring beer on the ground of the house where the deceased died, at the grave, under a large tree or along the road if the deceased had died in town. Dancing predominantly by Ciwila mediums started after sunset (for an example of a song, listen to Song II-39 and Photo II-77 recorded at the same Ipupo). Around midnight, beer was given to all present. After this, everyone joined to dance social dances until sunrise. The problematic situation that existed during the time that the spirit of the deceased was not approachable was solved now and the people, also the next of kin of the deceased, could dance to rejoice (pa kwangala).

Since the coming of Mwami, the tendency existed to have the Ciwila mediums dance during the whole night of the Ipupo, as it is done at the Cibombe. This was done at nearly half of the Ipupo in the 1980s. The idea behind this was that the problem solving power
of the *Ipupo* would be enhanced by having the medium part (the heating) last longer. This was related to the fact that the *Ipupo* was not often held anymore as the conclusion of the mourning period. It was more frequently held much later ("if necessary") as a restorative ritual in times of major misfortune (*ishamo*), after the diagnosis by a *shinganga* that one or more (grand)parents were annoyed and caused the misfortune (see List II-7). Dual use like this, for mourning and for restoring, in the past is not unlikely though no source could be found about it.

**Ipupo as the end of the mourning period or as a restorative ritual**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 or 3 months</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 or 3 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 7 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 to 15 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 to 32 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-7: Period of time after which *Ipupo* were organised, Survey 1985/86.
Of the 259 respondents of Survey 1985/86 45 (17.4%) said to have organised one or more *Ipupo* in their life. These *Ipupo* were organised 2 months up to 32 years after the burial. Eleven respondents said they 'just organised the *Ipupo*' (in case of the *Kufuta makasa* and the *Ipupo* after one year), while the others said 'the ancestral spirits (*mupashi*) asked for it' through illness in the family (14), dreams (13), beer that went sour (5) or other adversity (2).
They were organised for the mother (23), the grandmother (5), the father (5), the son (4), the maternal uncle (3), or others (5). 31 out of the 45 organisers were women, 14 were men.

At the *Ipupo* of or for a well-known person where famous mediums came to dance, up to 500 people might be present at the same time. At other *Ipupo* around 300 people were present. *Ipupo* were more frequently organised in the beer season, within ten kilometres at least once or twice every fortnight. In the remaining period *Ipupo* were organised less frequently.

Motives to visit *Ipupo*, in declining order, were: to see the dancing, to drink beer (which was free at *Ipupo*), to help, to dance, to honour the dead, for entertainment and to sing.

Organising an *Ipupo*, or *Cibombe* for that matter, was a heavy financial burden for the organiser, especially because of the beer. In 1987 the average quantity of three drums (600 litres) used at an *Ipupo* (or *Cibombe*) cost about US$ 28.5 while a profit of US$ 22.5 could have been made when the beer would have been sold at a beer party. For this reason the (restorative) *Ipupo* was sometimes replaced by the similar but much smaller ritual, the *Bwalwa bwa nkombo*. Another reason to organise the *Bwalwa bwa nkombo* was for Christians that it was less in the open and gave them the opportunity to do *kupupa* without offending fellow Christian cult members.

(See the section ‘Fighting with songs’ in Chapter 8 for a detailed account, directed to the song texts used, of a particular *Ipupo* in 1987)

There was another mourning ritual only for relatives and funeral friends, sometimes organised in the 1980s (see List II-7): *Kufuta makasa* (the wiping away of the footprints), also called *Bwalwa bwa Cililo*, the *Cililo* beer party. It was held two weeks to three months after the burial to round off the after-burial period. Beer was brewed from the millet or maize left by the deceased. The house in which the deceased had died or had been placed (the *citandala*) was burnt and the death dues (*yaka mutwe*) were settled.
Ipupo lyana fikankomba

Ipupo lyana fikankomba (the Ipupo for the deceased chiefs) or Kusekelela fikankomba (rejoicing about the works of the deceased chiefs) was a ritual for important owners of the land: the deceased chiefs Chibale and their predecessors. It was held near the chiefly shrines (mpata) at the edge of chief Chibale’s village (see Photo II-78, Photo II-79 and Photo II-80). At sunrise, offerings of mealie meal and beer were made there on the relics of the old chiefs while the relics were laid on the ground. They remained there until the Ipupo was finished next morning (see Photo II-81). Two or three famous mediums, mostly Ciwila, were invited to come and dance in the evening and at night (see Photo II-82 and Photo II-83).

This ritual was the largest manifestation of the old chiefly cult in Chibale. It ‘should’ be held annually around the beginning of the rainy season but chief Chibale waited until it was necessary: at times of drought or of many crimes, making it a kucitila ritual instead of a kwilimuna ritual. Between 1975 and 1990 it was held four times. It is not unlikely that in the past it was two different rituals, see the conflicting naming which classifies it as a kulila and a kwilimuna ritual respectively. An annually held kwilimuna ritual (Kusekelela fikankomba) would be held just before the rainy season would start and a restorative ritual would be held in times of troubles (Ipupo lyana fikankomba).

Mwami rituals

The rituals of the Mwami possessed all were called Cibombe. There were various types of Cibombe.

1 Cibombe ca kuposha/kukanda banamanga (the Cibombe of cooling/treating the patients): a ritual in which the patient(s) were treated. It was organised by the shing’anga and held at his farm. It was normal in town but rare in Chibale, as people had no money to pay for it. It was sometimes held for patients from town.

2 Cibombe ca kushinkile’ ngoma (the Cibombe of opening the drums): rituals organised on the evening and night of the first and fifth day of the brewing of the beer for Cibombe 3 and 4. It is a typical kwilimuna ritual ‘to draw the spirits nearer for the Cibombe ca cisungu’. Like Cibombe 1, it mostly did not last all night but stopped between midnight and two in the morning.

3 Cibombe ca cisungu (the Cibombe of the girls’ initiation): the initiation ritual at the end of the treatment of the possession illness at which the patient (mwana) proved to be a ‘wife of the spirit’. It was organised by the initiate(s) under the guidance of the shing’anga. It was the most frequently held type of Cibombe in Chibale. A short description of what happened at this Cibombe was given in the Elaboration I-I.

4 Cibombe ca kusubula or Cibombe ca kumwensho’mulopa (the Cibombe of the pulling out of the water or the Cibombe of the drinking of blood): the initiation of a mwanaang’anga (apprentice-shing’anga) to become an independent shing’anga. At this ritual the mpata (shrine for the spirits) of the shing’anga were officially taken into use. It was extremely rare. Many (small) shing’anga in Chibale were ‘self-proclaimed’ healers. Only two of them had gone through this ritual while these two had three mwanaang’angas, all of them accomplished shing’anga, who were still waiting for a kusubula which would set them free completely, that is ritually and financially, from the parent-shing’anga.

5 Cibombe ca kusekelela (of rejoicing) or kwilimuna (of reactivating): ritual organised by the shing’anga or by the patients and adepts. It was kwilimuna for the spirits possessing the shing’anga “to reload their power”. It was held once or twice a year per cult group.

6 Cibombe ca ntongo/munkoyo (of the light sorghum/maize beer) or Cibombe ca kusumina mataba/masaka (of the permitting of maize/sorghum) or Cibombe ca kulya fyamfula (of eating the products of the rain): the ritual which had the purpose to
have the adepts and patients eat first fruits grown by natural rains (that is: from the
field, not from the garden) under controlled conditions. It was held once or twice a
year by some of the possession cult groups in Chibale (see the text of Song II-40 for
an example of a song text for this ritual).

People could visit one or two Cibombe within ten kilometres distance every two weeks
in the beer (ritual) season and one or two every month in the remainder of the year. Ci-
bonbe, and to a lesser degree Ipupo, counted many children and youngsters among the
attendees. Attendance at Cibombe averaged 200 to 300 people during the first part.
Later, typically after beer had been distributed, many would leave.

As already indicated in the case story, the motives to visit a Cibombe varied with the
various groups of attendees. The shing’anga was for treatment of patients or adepts, es-
establishing unity in the cult group and payments. The patients were after treatment and
change of status. Possibly, other patients present would use the occasion at which the
spirits were so close for their own healing process, which was called ‘personal healing’ or
‘partial healing,’ and was in fact a combination of healing and kwilimuna, because they
prevented themselves from becoming ill by giving their possessing spirits the possibility
to come to the fore through singing and dancing. The motive of the attendants who
came with some of the mediums was to take over the solo-line sung by that medium
(kampenga) and to make sure the gifts given by the audience to the one they attended
ended up in the right pocket. This money mostly was split half and half between medium
and kampenga. Drummers were after payment, beer, and prestige. Family and friends of
the patient were interested in the progress and outcome of the ritual. Other people came
for various reasons connected to the ritual: “I want to see the initiate dance for the first
time to see whether she brings new styles of songs or of dancing” or not directly connec-
ted to it: “I come to meet girls”.

Purpose of older and possession cult gatherings with music

All these rituals, except for the Christian cult group gatherings and Cililo 3, aimed at a
controlled contact between the mpanga, nature, the spirit world and the village, culture,
the human world. The village part in this contact was called kupupa. As seen earlier, ku-
pupa can be done with various intentions: kucitila, kulila and kwilimuna. Although the
primary goal of each ritual may have been one of these three, in the 1980s most rituals
served more than one purpose. This may have been partly caused by the rise of Mwami
with its conglomerate tendencies. Both the rules that a Mwami possessed, as human or
as spirit, should not mingle with the dead for fear of staining, or that no healing should
be done during kulila rituals were being undermined in the course of the 1980s. In
Chapter 8 we will look in detail into song texts that testify to the tensions that the change
of purpose of the Ipupo created.

In the 1980s, rituals aimed at resolving crises, ngoma ya kucitila, were most im-
portant. The shing’anga Chalebaila observed: “People just wait until ishamo comes. They have
forgotten how to do kwilimuna and kulila.” Kulila and kwilimuna rituals, like the Ipupo
and the Cilili ca ku cisanda, were also frequently held to solve problems (resolve
ishamo). The course of the Ipupo was even changed to make it better serve that purpose.

An important difference between the possession cult group rituals (Cibombe) of the
1980s and those of earlier days was that the latter were practically only attended by the
possessed and members of their families, while in the 1980s these rituals were visited by
anyone whose convictions allowed him to go there.
Physical layout and course of events in the rituals at which the possessed performed

This section is based on observations of around thirty Cibombe and Ipupo. The first half of the public part of each of the rituals at which the possessed performed was similarly structured in the 1980s. At sunset, people gathered at the farm of the organisers. A number of fires had been made in the middle of which a large area had been kept free. Here the spectators, who would sing the chorus lines, formed a circle. This circle was called ‘circle’ (Lenje word for circle: cimpetu), ‘marked area’ (cishilwa), ‘small mpanga’ (kapanga) or ‘small mpanga in the village’ (kapanga ka mu mushi). Other attendees sat around the fires that burnt at some distance around the circle.

The mediums were in one or more houses where they put on their attire and did kuseluka (to have the spirits come down). This was often done by lying on a bed under a white blanket (see Photo I-29), possibly after the smoking or drinking of certain herbs. So, contrary to the situation in many parts of Africa and America, the actual state of being possessed was not induced by music. After the kuseluka, the human being (muntu) is in the state of kwililwa (to be descended upon) in which he has a different feeling of reality. It is described as “I felt heavy”, “I felt protected /surrounded” or “I felt hot in the chest”. The mediums, now considered actually to be spirits, assembled in the house of the organiser. Here they sang songs and discussed issues of importance for the specific purpose of the ritual and its course.

Meanwhile the three drummers had lined up in the free space in the circle. Drums were used because they heat up the village, Proverb II-5: ngoma likafya mushi (see below). In all these rituals heating was sought while in normal circumstances, i.e. ‘in the village’, coolness was sought. The majority of the 100 to 200 people forming the circle were girls and women. Practically all the men in the circle stood at the side nearest to the drummers who stood at the eastern side with their drums slanting backward in an eastern direction. The mediums entered the circle at the western side and lined up there facing the line of the drummers (see Photo II-84).

One of the mediums started a song. The solo line was taken over by a helper and the chorus line by the chorus. The taking over by the chorus might take a short or a long period depending on a number of factors that will be treated in Part III. When the taking over was successful, the drummers joined in and the starter of the song (the medium) began dancing to the music (see Photo II-85). Some songs could last as long as fifteen minutes, while other never caught on so that neither drumming nor dancing was done to them. There was no pre-arranged order in the songs or the bringers of the songs. Practice was to have the minor (less successful) mediums sing at the beginning. In the course of the first two, three hours, the more famous mediums gradually took over. This could result in one or two mediums, among whom at a Cibombe the organising shing’anga or at an Ipupo the invited Ciwila medium (ing’omba), bringing all songs starting from midnight until six or seven in the morning.

After each song and dance the dancers and the drummers returned to their starting positions. The complete public part of the ritual consisted of a sequence of 80 to 120 songs, once or twice interrupted for actions specific to the ritual and for the distribution of beer. After the first or second interruption, the various rituals continued differently. The Cibombe 1 & 2, see the list of rituals given earlier, stopped. The Cibombe 3 & 4 continued but now with the initiate dancing along as an initiated cult group member. The Cibombe 5 & 6 continued in similar way. At the Ipupo the mediums could continue dancing or they could stop dancing in order to have the normal people dance social dances (icila). The singing and dancing stopped just after sunrise.

Through the spatial layout of the rituals (see Figure II-2) a number of aspects were linked to each other: mpanga, west, inside, spirit, woman, dancer & darkness and: village, east, outside, human, man, drummer & light. Between these aspects, contacts or transitions repeatedly took place during the course of the ritual. In the next section, I
will go more deeply into the contact between the *mpanga* and the village as it was dramatised by the contact between the dancers and the drummers.

**Figure II-2: The dancing circle at the rituals where the spirit possessed performed.**

**Drummers and dancers at the rituals at which the possessed performed**

In the 1980s, both dancers and drummers were situated between the *mpanga* and the village and between spirit and human being. Their attire also expressed a position between woman and man. The dancers combined several *cishibilo* (signs, symbols) for woman and man: skirts, headscarves, hunting-axe, and gun, while the drummers (men) wore a skirt and often also a headscarf.

At the beginning of each song one dancer started to walk around trying to teach a song to the chorus. A female helper of the dancer standing at the edge of the circle took over the solo line while the people forming the circle took over the chorus line. Most possession songs consisted of these two lines only, while the remaining possession songs consisted of a short solo and chorus line followed by a longer solo and chorus line. When the song had been taken over, the drums joined in one by one. When the starter of the song was satisfied about the total sound, she began dancing to the music. The other dancers might dance or not, depending on whether the music fitted their type of possession. Most of the attention of drummers and chorus, however, was focused on the one who started the song: the 'owner of the song' (*mwine wa lwimbo*).

The contact between dancers and drummers was a continuous game of attraction and rejection, of connection and opposition. During the dance the dancer could come up very close to the drummers to dance in front of them (see Photo II-86) and then danced back again (see Photo II-87). Or the drummers moved toward the dancer. The dancer and the master drummer often had intensive eye contact (see Photo II-88). They “concentrate like hunting dogs who are near their quarry”. Sparks flew when three or four dancers danced in a row opposite the row of drummers, when the drummers hunted a
dancer who moved backward (ciwilewile) or when a dancer gripped the sides of the head of the master drum (see Photo II-86) shifting her weight to make her hips free for fast movements while she and the drummer looked into the depths of each other’s eyes.

Dancers said that they followed the master drummer, the master drummer said he followed the dancers. As seen in Chapter 4 under Ngoma, there were two types of master drumming: kusansa and kupika. During kusansa the dancer was free in her movements. During kupika the master drummer first enticed the dancer to start her solo (teka). When she started following, the second phase of kupika could start in which the drummer followed the dancing of the solo dancer. Dancer and drummer challenged each other (kucimfyanya) to see who would tire first. When drummer and dancer knew each other, the drummer knew what preferences the dancer had. This knowledge and maka, the ability to play loudly and without tiring, were important qualities of a master drummer. When drummer and dancer did not know each other, the dancer indicated the type of playing she preferred by reacting eagerly or reluctantly.

Connection and opposition were also found in other behaviour: the drummers were the first to be given beer and they were given more than others; they might be praised or scorned in the dancers’ songs; the organiser might dismiss a drummer due to his incompetence; there might be disputes about the correctness of the patterns played or about the fact that the melody brought by the dancer did not fit the patterns that belonged to his possession type; a dancer might demonstrate the correct way of playing to a drummer; or the drummers might go slow because they had not yet received enough beer. The drummers were concurrently more dedicated and less subordinated to the dancers than other people present. They represented what was maximally possible for the village in the contact with the mpanga.

Though the structure of all Cibombe was similar, there were many differences between the cult groups, that is each big shing’anga, as to the ways they were performed as well as between performances of two Cibombe of one shing’anga. We will illustrate this with some photos for the dance circle, the coming in of the initiate, the treatment of initiates or patients and the first performance by the initiate and the way medicine was administered: see Photo II-89, Photo II-90 and Photo II-91; Photo II-92, Photo II-93, Photo II-94 and Photo II-95; Photo II-96, Photo II-97, Photo II-98, Photo II-99, Photo II-100, Photo II-101, Photo II-102, Photo II-103 and Photo II-104; Photo II-105, Photo II-106, Photo II-107, Photo II-108 and Photo II-109; and Photo II-110, Photo II-111, Photo II-112, Photo II-113 and Photo II-114. Differences were there due to convictions, circumstances and the need to keep the rituals varied and worth a visit. According to bamukaNkomsha (human name: banaNkunka) the initiate had to lay waiting in the house, not sit like at some other Cibombe, and the waiting house should be as close to the dancing circle as possible (see Photo II-89 and Photos II-92 to II-95). The initiates at the Cibombe at Maleveni (see Photos II-105 to II-109) were brought into the circle in the morning and after that danced in the house with the other adepts because Chalebaila became sick during the evening, after the ritual had already started, and because the public was reacting half-heartedly to the music. The ritual went on until the next morning but it was never hot. Maleveni lay at the northern border of Chibale, so Chalebaila worked outside of his area. The public reacted listlessly because they must have felt that Chalebaila who had brought along a whole entourage more or less invaded them. Their reaction therefore was one of: ‘OK, if you are so great, show it, entertain us’. Only at that particular Cibombe ca ntongo of bamukaNdubeni in 1986 (see Photos II-110 to II-114) the adepts were lined up that way to receive the fresh sweet beer. At other Cibombe ca ntongo she used other, in her case always dramatic, ways of giving the beer.
Supplementary issues regarding gatherings with music

Visiting large-scale gatherings

*Visiting large-scale gatherings with music*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cililo</th>
<th>Ipupo</th>
<th>Cibombe</th>
<th>Sandauni</th>
<th>Christ. cult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-8: Frequencies of visiting the five most important gatherings with music, Survey 1987.

It was practically impossible to stay away from, if not ‘to rush to’ (*kubutukila*), the *Cililo* of a relative or a friend, or of someone whose farm was not too far away. It was rude and insulting to the next of kin of the deceased and a possible sign that one was involved in the death. In former days, this also held for not visiting someone’s *Ipupo*. The *Ipupo* had changed less than the *Cililo* and therefore many Christian cult group members did not visit it. This, however, could still lead to conflicts between the organisers of the *Ipupo* and the ones not attending. In List II-8 we see that, except for the *Cililo*, the large-scale gatherings, however influential they were, were visited on a regular basis by less than half of the population above fourteen years of age.

Favourite gatherings with music

*Favourite gathering with music*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favourite gatherings with music</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandauni and kalindula <em>Cila</em></td>
<td>95</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gatherings at which the possessed dance (<em>Cibombe, Ipupo</em>)</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cult group gatherings</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cila</em> (social dance gatherings before kalindula)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bwalwa</em> (old beer party)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Town music’ gatherings: bar, <em>tarven</em>, disco</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other gatherings: games, all gatherings with music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-9: Favourite gathering with music, Survey 1985/86.

When asked for their favourite gathering with music, most people in the 1980s would answer *Sandauni* and *kalindula Cila*, both featuring *kalindula* music, or *Cibombe* and *Ipupo*, both featuring possession music: Mwami and Ciwila respectively. Far less frequently, the Christian cult group gatherings and the older *Cila* were mentioned (see List II-9). The reasons for these preferences will be treated in Chapter 9.
Chapter 6 - Songs and dances

Song classification

Practice of song classification

In Chibale in the 1980s to refer to a song, often the one they had just sung or heard, people mentioned certain characteristics of the song or they used a name.

Characteristics

Reference was often made to the occasion(s) at which the song was typically used, to the purpose for which it was used, or to the purport of its text. Of course, this might come down to the same thing.

A song could be called a healing song because it was used during healing rituals, because singing it helped in the healing process or its text referred to healing, illness, medicines, or the like. Sometimes a reference was made to the accompanying instrument(s).

Examples: a Pa kwisha-song: reference to an occasion; a greeting song: reference to the text and a purpose; a hunting song: reference to the occasion/purpose and the text; a kalimba song: reference to the accompanying instrument and occasion.

Less frequently the classification was based on a division of the repertoire into two or three big groups. These partitions also informed roughly about the occasion at which the songs were used or about their purpose.

Examples: dance songs and other songs: nyimbo sha pa kushana, the category of ‘non-dance’ songs had no general name; songs for kupupa (nyimbo sha pa kupupa) through mourning (kulila), through healing (kucitila) and through rejoicing (kwilimuna) while the kulila and kucitila songs could also be contrasted with music for enjoyment (nyimbo sha pa kwangala); songs of men, of women or for all; nyimbo sha baume, nyimbo sha banakashi, and nyimbo sha (bantu) bonse; other subdivisions based on the typical performers of the song are: nyimbo sha bacibinda, hunters’ songs; and nyimbo sha baciwila, songs of the spirit-possessed.

Music technical features could be used for classifying songs. Distinction was made between ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ songs. Related to this was the distinction made between music from the higher lands between rivers (mulundu) and music from the rivers (nika) (see Chapter 7 and List I-2).
Names
Words (names) that did not refer directly to characteristics or subdivisions, referred to
the dance type that went with the song or to the composer/origin of the song. In this
case too, there was a connection with occasions. For instance: the name of a social dance
was connected with the Cila of that dance, the ilimbalakata with the old beer party and a
Kansenzele song with the Ipupo.
Examples: a cinko (old social dance) song: dance and occasion; a Cisungu (girls’ initia-
tion) song: occasion/ purpose, text, and dance; a Mwami song: occasion/purpose, text, 
origin, and dance; a Citelela song: composer, occasion and text.

Basis of song classification
It will be clear that in Chibale a song could be categorised in several ways depending
on the context⁶⁹.
Usually, one only classified a song to be able to refer to it in short. As the purpose or
possible use of the song was important, a way to refer to a song was to mention the occa-
sion at which it could be used. In an analogous manner, because song text was very im-
portant, referring to the purport of the text was an obvious way to classify a song. Since
references to the purport of song texts mostly came down to a reference to the occasion /
purpose of the song, an overview of songs in Chibale should follow the occasions /pur-
poses of the songs. One, for instance the naive researcher, could be interested in how this
overview would match with an overview of the names used in song classification. While
trying to do this one stumbles into some salient aspects of Chibale music that will be
treated here in short.
The overview of song types in Figure II-3 is given with due reserve. It is made by me
based on the idealised, stereotyped representation of the relations between domains of
spirit-possession, occasions and major song types as they were conceived, in Chibale in
the 1980s, to have been in a not too distant past.

Figure II-3: Overview of the relations between the major older song types, occasions and
domains of spirit possession and of the relations between the song types themselves.

A few citations of the persons that contributed to the composition of this overview
will illustrate some of the points one encounters while looking into song classification
(see Elaboration II-E).
Elaboration II-E: Examples of song classification by specialists

A few citations of the persons that contributed to the composition of the overview of song types in Figure II-3. They illustrate some of the points one encounters while investigating song classification. All persons cited were competent. Classification glitches based on lack of knowledge or interest are not presented here.

The cimbwasa and cinsengwe are basic dances done at many occasions. They are very important, they are kupupa themselves. Because they are the kupupa dances of old, they are used by the spirits now for possession: it is the old people’s music and the spirits are old people. The spirits bring songs which they were used to when they were alive. (Salati Mukoti, personal communication, 1986)

Cimbwasa and Cinsengwe in fact are also words for occasions, for instance Cimbwasa ca ciwombe (Cimbwasa of begging the spirits), Cinsengwe ca Cililo (Cinsengwe of funeral mourning). In the Lenje area both are called Cimbwasa, though they know the other word. The dancing of Cimbwasa and Cinsengwe is the same. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The cinsengwe is not a dance but a generic term for the ilimbalakata, Ciwila, Moba and Kaluwe dances. (Sitifini Nunda, personal communication, 1981)

Mediums of all types can bring old songs - cimbwasa, cinsengwe or ilimbalakata - or new songs according to their type. The drummers need to recognise the type of every song being brought. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

At Cibombe the Kaluwe mediums bring and dance cinsengwe, ilimbalakata and Kaluwe. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1981)

[About a certain song] It is a Cisungu cimbwasa and can be sung at Cibombe or Ilimbalakata. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Cimbwasa and ilimbalakata are of the same family: they resemble each other in some parts. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

[While discussing the dancing of a female Kaluwe medium] Her dance is not the ilimbalakata since she is a medium, so it is Kaluwe dancing. The ordinary hunters also can do this dance, but they have only a limited number of songs. Mediums will bring new songs. The non-possessed hunters’ dance is indeed the ilimbalakata. They can bring a Kaluwe song they learned, as an ilimbalakata. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

Cilaila is Cila ca kwungala (gathering with music for rejoicing) and, of course, we also have Cila ca kupupa (gatherings with music for kupupa) and Cila ca kulila (gatherings with music for mourning). (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Kaonge is the dancing of the Mwami medium and also falls under cimbwasa. The instructress of the girl initiate (nacimbusa) does it cilaila to show what dancing is all about. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

‘Kankonko kwa Lesa - Balokutwa akahale’ is an old Mwami song. During Cisungu it was sung as a cimbwasa. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The relation between the cimbwasa and possession songs is that with cimbwasa any of those dancing could start the song while with possession songs only the possessed could start the songs. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1981)

Though the f wandafwanda [a social dance song] was brought by a medium, Mubanga, it is not a possession dance. He was taken into the mpanga by nature spirits (cibanda) for three weeks [kuwilwa fja kubuka] and came back to instruct the people: the dance movements of the [group] dance, the drum patterns and the singing. The same holds for Kabolemo from Koni, who around 1937 was abducted for a month and came back with the cinsengwe for drums. It had two lines of dancers: male and female. One man can dance with one to three women who shake
their breasts while the man holds them from the back. After his return Kabolemo was a small Ciwila possessed (muCiwila panono): he went round to instruct the new dance, drumming and singing style, so [he was] not a dancer but a teacher making everything alive. The dancing that some did with the cisengwe of the famous ingomba was freely just dancing for everyone who liked, always inside. It could be done better than others: lifting the legs and shaking the body, dancing softly (kushana panono), but the text was more important than the dancing. [...] The ilimbalakata is a set of different, but related, songs where the dancing is more important. First, all who want, dance strongly until one man starts imitating hunting scenes, then the rest sit down until he is ready. These men are Kaluwe mediums or hunters. This dancing is instructive (kufunda): how to hunt, and how to hunt different animals, for instance how a buffalo should be shot and the hunter after that should run in the opposite direction. Cisungu dancing is also instructive. With Mwami and Ciwila the dancing itself is not instructive but the song texts, the occasion and the behaviour of the mediums are. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Some story songs are Mwami or Kaluwe songs, or cisungu. A Mwami or Kaluwe medium can bring a story song at a Cibombe [Song II-41 is given as an example] but it could also be sung as ilimbalakata during hunting rituals (Cilili ca cisanda). Ciwila mediums can't bring story songs. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The cibitiku drum pattern is the same for all. The kace drum pattern of ilimbalakata and Ciwila is the same and the kace pattern of Mwami and Kaluwe too. (Sitifini Nunda, personal communication, 1981)

In former days only men were allowed to dance the cisengwe. From the 1940s onwards, women were allowed to join in, to sweeten and make the dancing live. (Sitifini Nunda, personal communication, 1981)

**Spirit possession and song type**

The overview may be biased by the fact that those knowing much about Chibale music in the 1980s all were influential mediums. On the other hand, it is not very surprising that the influential mediums knew most about music. First of all, it was their trade. There was no one who took an interest in Chibale music outside of its use, say as a local culture-observer. Secondly, within the heterogeneity in Chibale part of the people trusted this work to the mediums while the other part did not care about (the classification of) Chibale music. As seen, the upheavals in history may have caused breaks in the continuity, also in the classification of music. Since the possession cults more or less served to provide a sense of continuity, it was logical that they were the ones trying to come up with a classification with historical roots.

Though the domains and spirit-possession song and dance are historically related, it is not clear whether or not the music of the local cults and for girls' initiation had always been brought by mediums of one of the three domains.

The apparent symmetry between the three columns in the overview in Figure II-3 never existed. The role of Mwami is not clear as healing possession called 'Mwami' was of very recent origin in the 1980s. Before the coming of Mwami, problem solving and healing had also been done by mediums but was not their main purpose70. As it is improbable that Kaluwe and Ciwila will have fed the complete female repertoire in the past, two questions arise. Where did the female repertoire in Chibale come from, before it was associated with Mwami? If Ciwila and Kaluwe songs and dancing were used for problem solving in the past, what performative and ritual specifics did they have then to be able to perform that role?
Problem solving and healing in the past

In the past, problem solving and, especially, healing were not related to spirit possession in the way that they were in the 1980s. Problem solving as a specialization was rare, it was a consequence of the other work a medium did. The power of a certain Kaluwe medium in preventing (kwilimuna) and solving hunting problems (kucitila) was interpreted to be a sign of a more general problem solving power. Though Ciwila mediums were not directed toward problem solving/ healing but toward mourning (kulila) and the stopping of mourning (kwangala, opening up/ clearing the mind and the heart)\(^2\), their power to heat the ritual with singing, dancing and composing was seen as a sign of the power to heat other occasions, the result of which would prevent or solve a problem.

Since the coming of Mwami in the 1970s many witnessed the use of Cisungu songs and ritual elements in the problem-solving rituals and diagnostic sessions of the Mwami possessed. When we take into consideration that in the years before the coming of Mwami possession music and ritual were marginal, this then could be an explanation for the fact that the third and sixth column in the overview were so readily attributed to Mwami.

Origins of the female repertoire

No indication exists that in the past the repertoires for Cisungu and Pa kwisha were extended with new songs by a specific possession type. Let us examine the possible reasons for this: the repertoire was extended by human composers; by abduction (kuwilwa fya kubuka) of a human by spirits who during the abduction taught him one or more new songs; it was derived from possession music; or it was borrowed from other regions.

Composition of music by humans was a concept beyond comprehension for most people in Chibale, certainly when referring to Chibale music.

No instances of extension of the female repertoire through abduction by spirits were remembered.

There was no recollection or indication that a possession type had existed that produced this type of song. Derivation from Kaluwe or Ciwila repertoire is conceivable in the way that a female, cilaila (see next paragraph), heavier (see Chapter 7) performance of these songs, possibly with some changes in the text, could have led to an extension of the female repertoire.

Borrowing from other regions was normal. In Chibale many names were used for similar types of female music. These names occurred in many regions around Chibale though they might have different values in different regions: what might be a heavy song in one region could be used as a light song in another region; also the switch from ritual song to social dance song or vice versa might occur (see Women's songs further in this chapter).

The owner of the song

What appeared to be 'the same' songs could be classified differently depending on the status of the one starting it: the owner of the song. For the repertoire deriving from Chibale or more generally from the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area, a distinction was made between (ritual) songs brought by mediums, (non-possessed) specialists and lay(wo)men. When a hunting medium brought a song, it would be called a Kaluwe song, when brought by a hunter it was called an ilimbalakata and when it was brought by anyone else it would be called cilaila. When a Cisungu song was brought by a medium, it would be called a Mwami song, when brought by a girls' initiator (nacimbusa) a cimbwasa and when brought by anyone else, cilaila. In the weeks after an Ipupo where Kansenkele had performed, many women would cilaila his songs Pa kwisha. Cilaila was not a song or dance type. Though Doke (1927 &1931) treats it as such, his use of the
word can be analysed to corroborate the above (see Elaboration II-F). Cilaila referred to the performing of important music in another, less heavy context. It was also used to refer to the imitation of musical instruments or the use of substitutes for musical instruments as well as to the imitation of rituals by children. Literally the term means: just doing the Cila (musical occasion, ritual); doing the Cila for enjoyment only.

The effect of the performance was different for the three types of performers. The medium's performance was significant and had a large reach: it had implications for the whole area or a whole group of people. It would be effective for the whole ritual and its purpose and it could be new. When the occasion was particularly serious, involving vulnerable transfer processes between nature and culture or vice versa, the mediums were indispensable. The specialist's performance was especially important for the occasion and for the ones involved directly in it, while the reach of the lay(wo)man's performance was personal or for the family circle only.

### Elaboration II-F: Cilaila, cinsengwe and cimbwasa in the Lamba area in the 1920s

129 out of the 144 song texts in Doke (1927 & 1931) have been classified by Doke in one or two ways. Of the 87 cases in which the classification is done with a name, cilaila occurs most often (26 times). In all cases in both books the cilaila is done by women, by children or by women and children. The frequent occurrence of cilaila seems to indicate that imitating songs by women and children outside of their ritual context was normal in the Lamba area in the beginning of the previous century. In practically all cases of double qualification the cimbwasa, girls' initiation and/or cilaila are connected which seems to implicate that cilaila was especially done with cimbwasa songs and dancing. The other classifications by Doke corroborate the overview in Figure II-3. The most frequently used names of real songs/dances are cinsengwe (23 times) and cimbwasa (17 times). Cinsengwe is related to occasions connected to hunting (10), mourning (4), Bayambo (hunting) mediums (2), beer party (1) and the erection of a shrine (1). Cimbwasa is only related to the girls’ initiation (9), not to other occasions.

### Specialist's performance

The three specialisms occurring in the three columns were of a different nature. The great hunter was a proven specialist. In any single area, only a few men were considered great hunters. The instructress of the girl initiate (nacimbusa), was a specialist to the extent that she was always recruited from the neighbourhood of the initiate. And for mourning there were no specialists between medium and lay(wo)men. The persons designated to take care of the proceedings for mourning, funeral and after-funeral occasions of a particular deceased were the relatives and ritual friends of the deceased. They did not have the public function that the hunter and the nacimbusa had. Nevertheless, a lay(wo)man's performance of a song brought by a Ciwila possessed also was called cilailila. It is not impossible that in the nineteenth century all these functions were performed or led by possessed specialists of the inglemba type of possession, i.e. they were possessed by the spirits of specialists of the same trade. This also would explain how the female repertoire was extended in that period, through cilaila of that repertoire and adoption of cilaila'ed repertoire of adjacent areas. However, this assumption can not be based on evidence present in Chibale in the 1980s.

Social dance songs had no specialist's nor a medium's performance. They were composed by spirits but were not brought through normal possession but by abduction (kiwilwa fya kubuka).

For our study of song types, another three subjects have to be discussed: the concept of the archetypal melody, the way extensions of the song repertoire were classified and an examination of the Chibale concept of sameness.
The archetypal melody

A melody in its archetypal form was called musango (wa kwimbilamo), a kind (of singing). The songs in one musango had the same length and were similar in the contour of the melody, in the ratio note repetitions : steps : skips, in the number of syllables used and in rhythmic density. They were not similar in text, apart from a few words, like a name or exhortation, that occurred in every song.

Every possessing spirit brought songs in one or only a few musango. It was especially important for Civila, the possession type for the composition of new songs. The musango guaranteed that a new song text could be quickly learned by the chorus. This was an important condition for success and for the heating of the ritual. The public preferred ‘simple’ songs that were ‘easy to learn’ (see Chapter 9).

Classification of new songs

When the repertoire was extended with a ‘new’ song, how was this new item classified? See the section "Extension of the repertoire" in Chapter 7 for the way people in Chibale looked at the concept of ‘new music’. Newness could apply to revival and the like and to a new text, a new musango and a new rhythmic accompaniment.

When a song (type) had been in the background for a while, it could go through a revival, mostly on the initiative of the one who started the song at gatherings. These songs could then lose their old name and be called after that starter or after a salient part of its text or a salient dance movement going with it.

If a song had something new, this almost always was a new text, to an existing musango and rhythmic accompaniment. The classification was that of the musango of which this song was a member. If it was a social dance song, the song might get a new name derived from a salient part of the text.

Occasionally a song had a new text and a new melody to existing rhythmic accompaniment. The classification of this new musango depended on the factors discussed earlier: purpose, occasion, purport of the text and on the rhythmic accompaniment. The song was called a daughter (variation) or sister (variant) of an existing type. Its name, however, could refer to a salient part of the text.

Rarely did a song have a new text, a new melody and a new rhythmic accompaniment. This song would get a new type name. The song was called a daughter (part of the same cluster) or sister (part of another cluster but of the same importance) of an existing type. For instance the following classification:

Cimbilingoma was a daughter of cinko, the sister of cinsengwe, together the ancestresses of all dances; it had two musango. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

means:

Cinko and cinsengwe together form the basis of the whole repertoire of [Chibale] music. Cimbilingoma was a social dance song that came after cinko; it had a number of different song texts, two melody sets and one style of drumming.

The same song and different songs

When were two songs called the same? I will use same and different to refer to Chibale qualifications of sameness and difference and ‘same’ and ‘different’ as qualifications based on observable music technical characteristics of the songs.

Depending on the abstraction level, songs were called the same (cimo cine) when they belonged either to one musango or to one type category. Songs within one musango were only called different (-mbi or -aluka) as far as their texts differed, not for ‘differences’ in other aspects of the songs. In general, the level of abstraction when regarding sameness was rather high which meant that two ‘different’ things could be called cimo cine. For an
observer oriented to music technical characteristics, the use of cimo cine could be very
disturbing. Though someone acknowledged that 'differences' were obvious, for instance
when two melodies were called the same yet one of them went up at a certain point and
the other down, it did not change the qualification of sameness.
The reason for this, as may have become clear in this chapter, was that song text, per-
formative characteristics, purpose and context were far more important than the observ-
able music technical characteristics of the song.

It may be helpful to sum up the issues that are related to the sameness, or not, of
songs. Some of them have been dealt with sufficiently in this section, others will be
-treated in more detail in Part III.

Songs within one archetypal melody (musango) might 'differ' on certain points but
were the same, except for their texts.

Two songs that were 'different' might be the light and heavy version of the same song
because of the way they were performed or the occasion at which they were sung.

Two songs that were 'different' might be the female or male performance of the same
song.

Songs that were the 'same' but were performed by a medium, (non-possessed) spe-
cialist or a lay(wo)man were classified as different.
Differences in the accompanying dancing - and, so, in at least the master drum pat-
terns - may cause the 'same' song to be classified differently.

We can conclude that in the 1980s song classification was based on the purpose, use
and text of the songs. Conflicts in classification were not felt as such since every single
classificatory action was related to a specific context. The most consistent and author-
itative classification was done by the influential mediums.

The internal conflicts that classification was to conceal and the problems that it caused
for a historically useable classification of Chibale music have already been examined the
above and will be elaborated in the remainder of this chapter.

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**Overview of song types**

With the discussion above in mind, I will now discuss the various song types found in
Chibale in the 1980s. After a short description, we will look at the occurrence and char-
acter of each song type in the areas around Chibale, the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area
and further.

**Cult songs and songs related to cult songs**

*Cinsengwe*

From a historical point of view the cinsengwe is very important. In the course of time
the number of meanings of the term cinsengwe increased while the items that the term
referred to changed. I will first discuss the different ways in which this term has been
used in the twentieth century.

1. It was the 'giving to the mpanga' song, the kupupa song type, the song type of the
old local cults. With the regaining of independence of hunting, as indicated in
Chapter 2, and the disappearance of other arts, like iron smelting, that needed a lot
of giving to the mpanga, the songs came to be known as 'hunting songs' (listen to
Song II-42), for instance in Stefaniszyn (1951). Cinsengwe were also used for mourn-
ing rituals, the other rituals where giving to the mpanga was done intensively (listen

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to Song II-43).
2. A special subset of this giving to the mpanga song repertoire was formed by the repertoire left by the famous ingomba sha cinsengwe of the first half of the previous century.
3. In the second half of the 1930s Kambolemo of Koni village, after an abduction to the mpanga, came up with a way to play the cinsengwe with drum accompaniment as a social dance which was popular for a few years. This may indicate that in the course of the 1930s part of the kupupa song repertoire was little used anymore because the ritual setting in which they had been used in the period before that had fallen into disuse. This part of the repertoire then was introduced in another domain of gatherings, the Cila, that was still alive in that time.

A seemingly innocent question like: ‘What is the instrumental accompaniment to cinsengwe?’ was answered quite differently depending on the context in which the question was put. It could be: the ilimba ensemble (hunting rituals and beer parties); the drum ensemble including (dance) idiophones (possession rituals); iron idiophones possibly with one drum (mourning rituals); the ingomba ensemble (ilimba plus other idiophones); and the drum ensemble (beer parties, social dances). Apart from that, cinsengwe could be played at small-scale occasions with any other instrumental accompaniment or with none.

In the Fetulo period, the time of the coming up of Christian cults and the increase of migrant labour, kupupa was done less and less often. The knowledge of cinsengwe and kupupa had declined much when the coming of Mwami possession led to a reevaluation of old knowledge. In the 1980s terms were often used without much knowledge. Cinsengwe meant something like: the ingomba repertoire, all possession songs, all songs with ilimba accompaniment, all hunting songs or a special type of hunting song, all mourning songs or a special type of mourning song, or even all old songs. And lastly, people could be found who said that the cinsengwe was only a social dance song.

Cinsengwe in adjacent regions

Like the names of important spirits Mulenga (Mulenga wa Mpanga), Kaluwe, Mushili Mfumu, Lucele (Lucele Ng’anga), and Moba, most names of old song and dance types are widespread and occur in approximately the same large area. This spread indicates exchanges in that area of names, texts, dances and musango for the periods before, as well as after the migration labour started. Mensah (1970a) gives examples of this for Zumaile village in the Nsenga area. Dances or songs of central religious importance for one group can live the short life of a social dance novelty in another group, though not with the same musical characteristics as in the original group.

In the Lala area in Congo, in the Ambo area and in the Lamba area, cinsengwe was a song type used at hunting rituals and feasts and at mourning rituals. It was composed by “[Bayambo who] follow the profession of composing nyimbo sha cinsengwe, songs of the chase, and of singing and dancing in the cinsengwe dances” (Doke 1931: 256). The dance was held in honour of Kaluwe when danced by hunters while the Bayambo mediums danced it in honour of the spirits that possessed them. It was also danced during beer-drinking in honour of the departed spirits during mourning ceremonies (Doke 1931: 359). So for a fairly large area the cinsengwe served as hunting and mourning (‘eating and dying’) song and dance, new versions of which were brought by mediums.

Kaluwe and Ciwila

Chibale fits into this picture, though with some differences. The most important difference is that in the Lamba area there was one possession type that provided all the new cinsengwe for hunting and for mourning, while in Chibale, and in the Congo Lala
and Ambo areas as well, there were two possession types, Kaluwe and Ciwila (including the *ing’omba*), for these two works. It is striking though, that for mourning and hunting songs one single general name was used in Chibale also.

The following citation throws another light on this:

*Cinsengwe* before hunting and fishing, or at beer parties, are *kwilimuna*, especially for rejoicing. To avert *ishamo* the *cinsengwe* texts should be mournful. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Just as we saw earlier with the gathering of honey, mournful texts and mournful performance were normal and necessary while being outside of the village on a hunting trip before a kill was made. In the village the hunting songs were rejoicing (*kwilimuna*). In the case of hunting *ishamo*, this would be reversed. We hypothesise that a shift in religion, presumably also involving the burying of the dead outside of the village, the need to mourn for certain individuals (specialists) and/or a change in the interpretation of *ishamo*, made the singing of mourning songs in the village necessary without the purpose of averting hunting *ishamo*. As this could not be done by Kaluwe mediums or the dominance of the newer ancestral cult did not allow them to do this, the performing of songs, and the bringing of new texts suitable for the occasion, for mourning rituals ‘split off’ into Ciwila possession.

The question then rises whether Ciwila and Kaluwe brought different kinds of *cinsengwe* or not? The general answer given to this question was that the texts differed but that for the rest, they resembled each other ‘since both are from the *mulundu*,’ the higher land between rivers while Mwami, *cimbwasa* and *Cisungu* songs ‘come from the river’ (see Chapter 7 for an analysis of the differences).

This brings us to the last important aspect of *cinsengwe*. New songs and dances and powerful performances of existing ones were brought by mediums while non-possessed specialists could use these solo in imitation (*cilaila*) at the rituals of their specialism. As seen above in the citation of Doke (1931: 359) this held for the hunting ritual. It also held for the *Cisungu* (girls’ initiation) where the instructress of the girl (*nacimbusa*) danced the *cimbwasa*’ solo. New *cimbwasa* and powerful performances of existing ones could only be brought by mediums, according to Doke (1931: 254, 266) by Mwami mediums and also by Moba mediums. At mourning rituals the situation is different since there are no non-possessed specialists involved. Again we can find interesting parallels with the Lamba area (Doke 1931: 182): “The songs used at the *malilo* (mourning rites) are generally chosen from the *cinsengwe* (hunting songs); others are composed by the *abayambo*”.

It is likely that here the same situation is described as that found in Chibale: at mourning rituals already existing mourning songs are chosen from the *cinsengwe* repertoire while Ciwila mediums bring the new *cinsengwe* songs necessary at each, or at least at each important, mourning ritual and thus enlarge the repertoire.

I have used information about the Lamba area from the first quarter of the previous century to explain something about the *cinsengwe*, to show that the Chibale situation in the 1980s presumably was not an isolated one, and to illustrate the historical importance of the *cinsengwe*.

Without additional specification *cinsengwe* can not be used as a term for classification. Moreover, it was not generally known (see List II-10) nor understood. It was only used with consistency by a few older people and mediums.

*Ing’omba cinsengwe*

There have been famous players/composers who made such an impression and had such a distinct style that their names were connected to their songs as if they were song types. These *ing’omba* were semiprofessional musicians-singers-composers, possessed
by the spirit of a deceased ing’omba, who each led an ensemble that accompanied the songs they started. At least between 1910 and 1950, they did not dance and did not use drums, or as some said: “they forbade the use of drums for their songs” (see Elaboration II-G).

**Elaboration II-G: Tensions between the one-note xylophone and the drum**

The fact that the cinsengwe-ing’omba ‘forbade’ the use of drums for their music may be an indication of a rekindling of the musebe-ilimba ensemble, the hunter’s music ensemble, possibly connected to the regaining of independence (from chiefdom) of hunting and hunting possession around the turn of the century.

The relation between the one-note-xylophone and the drum was not without tensions in the twentieth century. I suppose this is related to the process that during the twentieth century practically all music for larger groups that was played inside disappeared or went public. The public version could differ from the inside one. This presumably is the reason that the ilimbalakata by some was called the cinsengwe accompanied by the drums while a ‘real’ cinsengwe would be accompanied by the (musebe-) ilimba ensemble. Related tensions in the same period were those between spirit possession connected to the local cults (like ing’omba) and spirit possession of a more peripheral, cult of affliction nature (Moba and a part of the Ciwila possessed) that increasingly became involved with the local cults.

They were ing’omba sha cinsengwe, also called ing’omba sha malimba. They provided the classical repertoire for the ilimba ensemble. Still known in Chibale were: Citelela (c.1870 - c.1954) who lived in Chibale near Sancha hill and later in Muchinda’s; Susa (c.1895 - c.1955) who lived in Shaibila’s - west of Chibale; Nkasabanya (died c.1950) who was chief Kabamba - northeast of Chibale; and Musoka (died before 1940), who lived in Serenje’s area- farther east of Chibale (see also Elaboration II-H and Elaboration II-I).

**Elaboration II-H: The cinsengwe-ing’omba were mediums**

Citelela was possessed by Mulota, and therefore he was also sometimes called Mulota which means ‘dream.’ He had a village, Wasa, near Sancha hill. He began singing in the beginning of the twentieth century. He was very old when he died in the early 1950s. A story that is always recollected when talking about Citelela is that he left his village after some problems with relatives not taking his advice, and never returned. He went to live at the border between Muchinda and NaMopala because some of his relatives had settled there.

Nkasabanya was possessed by Nkasabanya. He was chief Kabamba, three generations before the present chief Kabamba (Serenje District), some 40 kilometres north-east of Chibale.

Musoka was possessed by a spirit called Musoka, his real name is not known. The original Musoka was an advisor (cilolo) of the chief, no shing’anga, dancer or singer. The ing’omba Musoka had a village in Serenje chiefdom (Serenje District), some 120 kilometres east-north-east of Chibale.

Susa was possessed by Mboloma, a chief in Mkushi district. He was the youngest of the four and began in the 1930s. He was an official (kapaso) of chief Shaibila (Mkushi District), some 40 kilometres west of Chibale.

The spirits by which they were possessed had already possessed ing’omba before them, doing the same things through them, except for Mboloma: ‘that was the start of a line’. Ing’omba existed and still exist in the whole Kaonde-Lamba-Lenze-Lala area. They perform at beer parties, Cisungu: ing’omba ya mu fisungu, and for Cililo & Ipupo: ng’omba ya mu Cililo.
They were invited for important rituals and feasts and were experts in ritual knowledge. Because they met each other as well as ing’omba of other, ‘non-Lala’, areas forming an informal interregional network (see the text of Song II-44), they were major sources of information and conservative innovation. They criticised and commented on any issue of importance for the area. Their reach, in both senses, was said to have been much bigger than that of the travelling Ciwila and Moba possessed.

They were not in the service of chiefs, like the Bemba ing’omba (see Mapoma 1974 & 1980a), though chiefs, being organisers of many gatherings, often used their services. They were advisors of the chief in case of problems. They ranked among the most influential persons of their time.

All possessed have more knowledge about kupupa but the ing’omba we are talking about had specialisation according to the way they did it. In case of poor yield some of them were invited to help in the kupupa, so next year would be better. But mostly, it was for Cililo, Ipupo, Cisungu, and Bwalwa. At Cisungu to make it hot (pa kukafye’cilu) and to bring new songs appropriate for the occasion which were an honour for the owner; the same for Bwalwa. There was no kupupa during Cisungu and Bwalwa. They were ‘paid’ through ritual gifts (kitaila). After the ing’omba had played their songs, new ones and old ones especially suitable for the occasion, people started making their own music again. Having an ing’omba at your daughter’s Cisungu-coming-out or at your beer party guaranteed a big attendance. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Elaboration II-I: A tradition of ing’omba

It is unlikely that ing’omba only existed in the twentieth century. Many believed that the ing’omba were bamaifumu (see also Chapter 2: Historical periods). Based on what was said, their role in history can be reconstructed as follows. In the Bamaifumu period the bamaifumu provided political and spiritual leadership. They were the political leader (mfumu, mostly a rather young man), the chief’s advisors (cilolo), the shinganga, the great hunter and the ing’omba. These were the people who had to lead a respected way of life. The ing’omba were the specialists in kupupa. They were not many. The gifts given to the ing’omba in fact were gifts given to the spirit possessing him. People would not say “That person [human name] is coming to dance” but “Lucele [spirit name] is coming (to dance)”. So, in a way they were travelling shrines. They earned a part of their living by roaming the country as ‘professional musicians/dancers’. Because they moved about they knew better ways and alternatives from other regions. The people consulted them about what to do ritually. Since they met with other ing’omba, they had knowledge about the old and the changed rituals of a rather large region: the Lenje, Kambonsenga, Lamba and Swaka areas. Like in the possession cults of the 1980s alternatives from other places were tested and tasted as viable possibilities for solving complicated problems.

After the political chief had become dominant, in the Bamfumu period, he needed ing’omba for kupupa which involved singing, for other kupupa he only needed the advisors or headmen. In this way the ing’omba served in the chiefly cult while they were a more central part of the local cults before the chiefly cult. They guided the chief in his work since they were in contact with the old (deceased) bamaifumu, ‘the owners of the land’. In this period the ing’omba also became the criticiser of the chief. A relic is that even in the 1980s the mediums present at the Ipupo ifa mfumu could criticise his behaviour in songs. The chief, if agreeing, would give that dancer, but in fact the possessing spirit, a relatively large gift to show his respect for the opinion given. It was said that this was normal in former days: “the chief trusted the ing’omba”.

Ing’omba regularly play a role in stories. Even for historians it will be confusing since it is often unclear whether in a certain story it is the historical figure who acts
or that it is someone possessed by his spirit. An example of this is the story in Munday (1940: 446-447) about Kunda Mpanda, the founding father of the Kambonsenga. Kunda Mpanda wants to capture the daughter of Lungo who is not willing to give his daughter in marriage to him.

Kunda Mpanda all night is looking for the chief’s wife and not seeing her, no. Therefore Kunda Mpanda asked the band of his clansmen together with the counselors saying: what shall I do? Consider. All spoke saying: she has crossed the Luapula, she has gone into the countries. Therefore Kunda Mpanda said: I shall go, I shall look for her, perhaps I shall find her. Therefore he took a few people and a drum and rattles. Saying: on going into the countries you must speak saying: it is a professional-dancer [ing’omba] going dancing for hire in the countries; that nobody may know that it is Kunda Mpanda the chief from the Luapula; we should find war, we should not see many countries, no. That is the wisdom he planned on crossing the Luapula, that he might see a long journey beginning at the West and reaching the Mulungushi River, and reaching the Congwe River, he went on and reached the Zambezi, he went on and reached the Luangwa river, there he found powerful chiefs, there was Lungo there too. He began energetically to dance saying: Indeed it is at Lungo’s and my wife’s here. He began to dance. Then all came to dance with him, and the chief’s wife also went to see. But Kunda Mpanda saw saying: that one is my wife. Then he went and caught hold of her saying: Peace? And she said: Peace. Then they went to a hut to question one another about the journey and their flight. The chief’s wife spoke saying, it is not my palaver, no, it is father who began (it). Kunda Mpanda lived peacefully with the chief’s wife.

Citelela, Nkasabanya, Musoka and Susa differed from the possessed in the 1980s in that they were musebe players/singers leading their own ensemble while they did not dance. The ing’omba was the lead vocalist and played two musebe, one in the right, one in the left hand. This double musebe was the mark of his ing’omba-ship. Citelela’s musebe had names: the right one was called Namwele and the left one Telesa (after his wife). The other instruments in their ensemble were three ilimba, one mukonkonto and one, two or three mataha pa mbale. So the maximum size of the ensemble was eight players. No drums were used for their music. In their time the ilimba and the drums were both normal. They could be alternated, but were never used together. Before their days drums were also used to accompany ilimbalakata and after their days too.

Contrary to other ing’omba in this period, the four were settled - that is: not roaming like other professional dancers - though, through invitations coming from a rather large area, they served a large area. When playing in or near their village they were mostly accompanied by the wife and people around. When further away they took along three people, called kampenga, to accompany them. Occasionally they played in towns at special occasions for a large audience of diverse origin. They carried letters from their district capital (Boma) to show who they were, so they were recognised by all kinds of institutions like just as travelling shing’anga were in the 1980s.

The ing’omba made cinsengwe with new texts and infrequently with new melodies (musango). They played their songs, already existing ones and one or a few new ones, for audiences anxious to hear their latest songs and texts. Sometimes people danced during the songs. Their music was widely copied, mostly then accompanied by three ilimba only. The ing’omba songs were still liked in the 1980s because of the teaching (kufunda) they contained. Their song texts were longer than most of possession songs, which only consisted of two lines, and so could bear more meaning; also the language used was regarded to be deeper. (See for examples of the texts of Citelela: Song II-45, Song II-46, Song II-47 and Song II-48; of Musoka: Song II-49; and of Susa: Song II-50 and Song II-51. To conclude listen to Song II-52, a cinsengwe by Mulongwe, the leader of the three masamba-ing’omba).
In the 1980s chief Chibale, Teneshi Njipika, was an accomplished player of the *ilimba* and because many beer parties of the old type (*Bwalwa*) were organised for him and by him, the *ilimba* set was still played and the *nyimbo sha kwa Citelela* and *sha kwa Susa* (songs of Citelela and of Susa) were not forgotten. Their songs were also often sung, unaccompanied or accompanied on the lamellaphone (listen to Song II-12), by older people for personal use, or in the family circle.

**Ilimbalakatak**

The *ilimbalakata* was the *cinsengwe ca mubwalwa*, the *cinsengwe* used at hunting rituals with beer and at old beer parties. It was sometimes called *Kawayya* (also in Lambo 1945: 331). It had many *musango* and only one drum pattern. Only the master drum pattern differed from that for Kaluwe (hunting possession) songs and dancing. It was the non-possessed performance of the hunting *cinsengwe* accompanied by drumming. The term *Ilimbalakata* could also be used to refer to the occasion at which this type of song occurred.

During an old beer party people could be singing songs without dancing or they were 'just dancing,' that is: no special attention was given to it because 'you can not do that kind of dancing better than somebody else.' Then suddenly after a song was finished, a man stood up and took a big piece of cloth from a woman. While he tied this around his waist, he started a song. One woman took over his solo line and the others took the chorus line. After the drums had started, he started to dance the *ilimbalakata*. It was the dancing out of his personal experience while hunting one of the bigger animals. How he spotted it, asked his companions to be quiet, how he stooped to get closer to it, aimed and decided to get a little closer, aimed again, shot the animal, performed the actions needed until the animal was dead and took care of its spirit by, for instance, closing the nostrils with medicine. During the dance one or more women might dance a short dance of praise around him. The showing how to hunt in hunting dances was instructive but might also have served the purpose of convincing the public that the success was not acquired by malicious means. When this hunter's dance was danced to it, the text of the *ilimbalakata* was always about hunting (see the texts of Song II-53 and Song II-54).

Other *ilimbalakata* texts were about mourning (Song II-55), beer (Song II-56), dancing, social problems, and other subjects that could be brought forward at a beer party. A similar dance, but actually with a part of the public dancing in a circle around drummers and solo dancer, presumably at a *Cillil*, is described by Hoffman (1929: 163) for Chibale in 1925.

In the literature we find *ilimbalakata* for the Sanga, Mbwal, Kaonde and Lamba areas, as the name of the dance danced at the ritual, also called *Ilimbalakata*, that was held after an elephant kill. Both Doke for the Lamba area and Roland for the Sanga area say that the dance originated from the Mbwa and Kaonde areas. In Chibale neither an origin from outside nor a special connection with the elephant hunt was remembered for the *ilimbalakata*.

As to Doke (1931: 360): "[The *ilimbalakata*] was introduced long ago from the Kaonde and Mbwela people, but is now regarded as a Lamba dance. Two imikunto and one large drum are used. One man dances at a time. He may be an umupalu (hunter) or a man without a profession. The dancer wears two incema (serval) skins, one in front and one behind, hanging from a waist-band. Two other skins, of galago, wild-cat, or genet, are worn at the sides. In his hand he carries a dancing axe (icibanga), and when dancing keeps far from the drums. He imitates the elephant in its gait, the way it looks round, its anger, etc. The people standing round sing. An umupalu dancing this does so in honour of Mwishang’ombe (the guardian of the herds) [Kaluwe]; when an ordinary man dances it he does so in honour of the hunter.” I disagree with this for Chibale except that hunting was imitated in the dancing and that the last two lines also are correct (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)
The dancing to *ilimbalakata* songs could be: a. no dancing; b. ‘just dancing’ by a group of people (of either sex); c. solo dancing by a man in honour of the hunter(s) in imitation (*cilaita*) of the hunter’s or the Kaluwe medium’s dancing; or d. solo dancing by a hunter dancing out his personal hunting experience in honour of Kaluwe, the hunting spirit. Similar solo dancing, called Kaluwe dancing (with a difference in the master drum pattern), was done by a Kaluwe medium who taught/showed what hunting was all about. In the 1980s, solo dancing to *ilimbalakata* was rare.

**Possession songs**

Up to here, much has been said about spirit-possession music. We have seen that there was a strong link between mourning and hunting music and Kaluwe and Ciwila music, and between girls’ initiation (*Cisungu*) music and Mwami music.

Here now, some general remarks will be made about possession songs and dances.

Kaluwe songs were about hunting and adventurous hardships. The dancing by Kaluwe mediums was instructive. It showed what it was like to hunt the different kinds of bigger animals. Regarded as typical for the Lala area, it was recognised that Kaluwe music was shared within a large area.

The role of Ciwila songs was to mark the occasion and to link it up with other features of Chibale culture. The dancing was to attract people to listen and learn the song texts through singing while watching. The song texts were expected to be composed at the spot. The songs, drumming and dancing were regarded, also by people from other areas, as typical of the Lala area. In Ciwila dancing the dancer made small movements in preparation for the real dancing. When dancing he stood straight, often with raised arms, the hips pushed forward while the feet pointed outward slightly. The playing of the *nsangwa* and the swirling of the *masamba*, notably keeping it at an angle as high as possible, got much attention.

Mwami songs were about healing, illness or any other subject connected to staining (*kukowesha*). They were in the language of the area where the chief (the possessing spirit) lived, possibly mixed with Lala. The dancing was considered to be Lenje- or Lima-like, which, generalising, is characterised by the fact that the dancer bent a little forward while bringing her arms forward, often leaning on a stick or on the edge of the master drum to create a posture that enabled her to give full focus to the movements of the hips. The drumming tempo, and so the dancing tempo, was slightly slower than that of Ciwila and Kaluwe. Other aspects like the behaviour of the dancer, her attire, the colours used, her language and songs, and the occasion at which the dancing was done, were also important in categorising the dance as Lenje-like.

**Christian songs**

In the 1980s Christian songs differed from all other songs in Chibale. There were some common traits with *kalindula* songs. Christian songs were not accompanied by the set of three large drums. The music was more metric than polyrhythmic. The texts were longer and often had a stanza-refrain form with an occasional coda (see and listen for an example of a Jehovah’s Witnesses hymn Song II-57 and Photo II-115, for a UCZ song Song II-58 and for a Roman Catholic song Song II-59). The tunes were not made within one *musango* or within a limited set of *musango*. Christian singing and playing were softer and slower than that of other songs and two performances of the same song sounded very much alike. There was no dancing, though in the UCZ churches movements were made, while being seated, with the arms, the head and the upper part of the body.

The songs were taken from song books in Bemba published in Lusaka by the three respective denominations. The UCZ and Roman Catholic songs were responsorial or antiphonal while the Jehovah’s Witnesses sang in unison. If there was polyphony, it was
mostly parallel thirds and/or fourths. Lastly, use was made of the differences in colour between the female and the male voices and sometimes, near the end of a song, a stanza and refrain were sung softly.

Musowa wa mfw

One type of mourning practised at Cililo needs special attention. At the evening of the death and especially early in the next morning the close relatives of the deceased lamented their musowa wa mfw in the room where the body lay. Musowa wa mfw: low sound of death, low sound for the corpse. In the musowa wa mfw short mournfully spoken lines concerning the deceased were alternated with ‘sung’ mourning lines (listen to Music example II-21). Every person had her own way of mourning the musowa wa mfw. Only the text differed according to who died and the circumstances of the dying.

The musowa wa mfw was not sung, -imba, but lamented, -lila. Though people recognised that a part of it was like singing, it was not a song because it contained the opinion and feelings of one person and therefore could contain lies (bufi, see the section on the meaning of song texts in Chapter 8 for a discussion of the impossibility for songs to lie).

The only other occasion at which the musowa wa mfw was used was for playing the ngolwa (ocarina) to attract the honeyguide (listen to Music examples II-14 and II-15 and see the first part of Chapter 7 for a further discussion of this).

Social dance songs

Icila

In Chibale the icila was any dance for a group of dancers of both sexes, mostly unmarried people. It could be danced both at recreational occasions and at special occasions: the girls’ initiation and the mourning rituals. Icila, or ‘Cila’, was also used to refer to the social dance gatherings of young people in the evening. For the sake of clarity here, I will use icila for social dances and Cila for social dance gatherings. Cila was also used as a general word for gatherings with music and dance.

Each type of icila had a number of texts, one or a few musango and one way of drumming. The dance could be a pair dance. The couples took turns dancing between two lines of dancers of either sex or in the near-circle formed by two curved lines of dancers of either sex. These dances I will call the line & pair dance and circle & pair dance respectively. A third form was the dance in which the dancers moved in a circle without couples dancing separately: the circle & group dance. The social dance in the 1980s, kalindula, was not danced at mourning rituals, and had a deviating form: couples and individuals danced all at the same time without a formation. The kalindula dancing styles of the women, however, were hip (lubunda) styles with proper buckling at the knees (kushana panshi).

The icila had two versions: a moderate version where married people could also join in and a hot version that in normal circumstances was to be danced by unmarried people (abashike, see the text of Song II-35).

In the past, the girls had white spots on their faces and torsos and red ochre in their hair while dancing icila at special occasions (see also Chingwulu 1973a: 13f). At certain occasions the icila was danced as a representation of life and reproductive powers, contrasted with death and mourning at mourning rituals and with confinement and intens-
ive teaching at the girls’ initiation. Though the purpose of the occasion at which the icila was sung and danced could be rather heavy, the icila itself always was light and for enjoyment (pa kwangala).

Many names were used to refer to subtypes of the icila. Most often it was a word or name in a new text on an existing musango. A slight change in the dancing movements also might lead to a change of name. These names then are not found in the literature about South Central African music because they were used only locally for a short period. Sometimes, when musango, dance steps, dance form, or drum patterns changed but were felt to be related to an existing dance the new one was called the ‘daughter’ of the old dance. And, when no relation was felt, the new one was a different icila.

In the twentieth century there have been four different icila: the cinko, the mbeni, the fwandafwanda (including katambala) and the kalindula. The ‘icila - old style’ described by Jones and Kombe (1952) was the Sota, a variation of the cinko. The name was taken from the name of a person, Sota Kaluba, who was mentioned in the new text. It was ‘old style’ because at the time of recording the mbeni or fwandafwanda will have been the prominent social dance. Sota Kaluba may have been the person who led the local revival of the cinko for a short period (see the texts of Song II-60 and II-61).

Cinko

Just like the name cinsengwe and the names of the cimbwasa type dances, the name cinko, or mucinko, was used in a large area (south Congo and central and north-west Zambia) for an old social dance, that could also be danced at funerals and at the girls’ initiation, or for a women’s dance84.

There are many references in the literature to the erotic, immoral, jealousy rousing, or lewd nature of the cinko and other icila-like dances. Brelsford (1948: 10) speaking for the whole of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) reports: “(The fertility and erotic) dances still form the most important types in native life”. For the Ila area, Smith and Dale (1920: 269) give a list of occasions at which ‘lewd songs’ - according to Ila standards - were essential: at sowing time, at Lwando fishing, when taking a canoe to the river for launching, when smelting iron, at the girls’ initiation, and at funerals. For the Lamba area, Doke (1923: 41) says that contrary to the normal situation “at times of mourning (certain) obscene language becomes the vogue”. Marchal (1933: 84) reports that when the mukinka [cinko] was danced at death rituals the chief forbade the husbands to express their jealousy.

The cinko was a line & pair dance. A line of women and a line of men faced each other. One of the men came to the fore. He either chose a woman or one of the women came to the fore too. During the dance the partners danced close to each other and at intervals held each other while the man caressed the breast and buttocks of the woman. In the moderate version they kept dancing at a distance. Sometimes two pairs performed at the same time. After a while they returned to their respective lines after which a new pair started to dance. The text of cinko songs were topical and could be about the Cila, dancing, death, and about new or curious things (see the text of Song II-62).

Daughters of cinko were cimbilingoma and ngobele, becoming popular around 1925 and at the end of the 1920s (listen to Song II-63). In the cimbilingoma dance the men made a shuffle while moving around in a circle, putting their right foot before the left rather fast, while the women shook their breasts (listen to Music example II-22).

Because the name cinko was widespread and icila was only used in the Lala area, it is certainly not impossible that up to the 1920s cinko was the (mother) name for a number of social dances and their revivals that represented life, life-force, life-flow. These dances were danced at gatherings, called Icila, at which expression of this life-flow was needed. Hence the 1980s name icila.
Mbeni

In the beginning of the 1930s a new, unrelated dance came up, the *mbeni*<sup>85</sup> (listen to Song II-64). It had little more to do with the *Beni* described by Ranger (1975a) than the name. There was also little similarity with any of the daughters of *Beni* that existed in regions outside Chibale like Kalela, Maganda or Malipenga<sup>86</sup>. In Chibale no dance associations were formed for the performance of *mbeni*. Neither did the dancers fulfil European functions, like officer or doctor. It was ‘just an icila dance’. The dance was taken to Chibale from town. This may have given it its name since *mbeni*, presumably derived form the English word ‘band’, must have meant something like ‘modern, European, from town’ in this period. The master drum for the *mbeni*, and sometimes the other two drums as well, was an *itumba* drum, only used for *mbeni*.

There were two types of *mbeni*. One from the Bemba area and the Copperbelt towns and a Lalaified version from Muchinka, another chiefdom in Serenje District. One was a circle & pair dance (see also Mensah 1971: 12), the other a circle & group dance. A daughter, and a further Chibalisation, of *mbeni* was the *luwela* (listen to Song II-65).

Fwandafwanda and Katambala

The next different social dance came up in Chibale around 1950. It was known as *fwandafwanda* and *fwandaula*<sup>87</sup> (listen to Song II-66). It was also sometimes called *cindanga*, *kapoya* or *nyimbo shakwaMubanga* (songs from Mubanga). *Cindanga* was another word for *icila*, used in the Congo Lala area. *Kapoya* was the name of the spirit possessing the *ingomba* Mubanga of Namopala’s, a chiefdom north of Chibale across the border with Congo. *Fwandafwanda* and *katambala* were said to originate from Mubanga. The *fwandafwanda* came to Chibale via Muchinda, a chiefdom north of Chibale. An origin from the Lala area is corroborated by the fact that the Lala area in town was known, among others, for its *katambala*. It was a circle & group dance. Accompanied by three normal drums<sup>88</sup>, the dancers forming the circle moved anticlockwise during the singing and clockwise during the instrumental interludes. An early daughter of, or maybe another word for, *fwandafwanda* was *nsase*, also mentioned by Tracey<sup>89</sup>. In the beginning of the 1970s the *fwandafwanda* went through a revival<sup>90</sup> due to the efforts of Musonda Chunga, the biggest commercial farmer in Chibale in the 1980s (later an MP and Serenje District Commissioner as of 2003) who was in contact with Mubanga via the Chikubula brothers from Muchinda. With men working at his farm he formed a well-known band. The name of this daughter of *fwandafwanda* was *katambala*, a word taken from the text of the song that heralded the revival (see the text of Song II-67). Like this song, *katambala* songs were often about problems, witchcraft and death. The *katambala* dance was the same as that of the *fwandafwanda*. Mubanga is said to be a *muomba wa fwandafwanda*, a *fwandafwanda* *ingomba*. Together with the *cinsengweicila*, treated earlier, the *fwandafwanda* and her daughter are social dance types with a spirit origin. Because of its age this could not be ascertained for the *cinko*, while for *mbeni* and *kalindula* this was not possible because their origin lay outside of the Lala area.

Kalindula

The last type of social dance is the *kalindula*. It was believed to have come from the area in Congo west of Luapula Province and to have arrived in town and in Serenje District via people from Luapula Province. It came to Chibale when a band from Muchinda’s played at two *Sandauni* in 1979. In the period between 1981 (listen to Song II-68) and 1985 the *kalindula* was localised, a process that was more or less rounded off after a *Sandauni* near Chibale village in October 1985 at which the band Tula Twabane from Mulilima (near the border between Muchinda and Chibale) performed (listen to
Song II-69). The localisation consisted of reducing the number of banjos in the ensemble and adding drums.

On some points kalindula songs differed from all other songs in Chibale while there were some common points with Christian songs. Kalindula songs were not accompanied by the set of three drums. The band of the original version of kalindula even only had the kace. The music was more metric than polyrhythmic. The texts were longer and often had a stanza-refrain form and possibly a coda. The tunes were not made within one musango or within a limited set of musango.

The kalindula dance was a hip-dance. It was especially the female dancers who stayed on one spot and slowly buckled at the knees to rise slowly again while ardently shaking the hips (see Photo I-5). Kalindula song texts can be about many subjects. They are topical and when educating (kufunda) the instruction is direct, not multi-layered as in many older songs.

**Lumba and national kalindula**

Lumba was a comprehensive term used to refer to music from one of the neighbouring countries of Zambia, notably Congo. It derived from the term ‘rumba’ or ‘rhumba’ used in Congo from the 1940s onward to refer to the new popular music. Zambian music that was very similar to this music might also be called lumba. Lumba could also refer to all popular music from Zambia and neighbouring countries that one could hear on the radio or in bars, though popular music from Zambia was more often called kalindula. In many cases the kalindula songs were arrangements of old songs with new song texts. For example: the melody of Chibuyubuyu (listen to Song II-70), a well-known song at the end of the 1980s by one of the then most popular bands of Zambia, Amayenge, belonged to the Mwami repertoire. It was brought by (the spirits of) Chalebaila at a Cibombe in 1987 (no recording). In the 1980s lumba and national kalindula were not very important in Chibale because of the price, quality and availability of batteries. Though many people had a radio and some owned gramophones or cassette-recorders, mostly no batteries were available.

**Lishiki**

The lishiki was a performance by one or more girls who sang a song and, during the teka, danced competitively while accompanying themselves with body sounds.

**Men’s songs**

Both repertoires of men’s and women’s songs consisted of cult songs as well as social dance songs. The men’s songs were work songs or songs accompanied by the men’s instruments: the lamellaphones, the musical bow or the banjo. In general, the repertoire consisted of arrangements (kusambiilita: try to learn, learn by trying) of social dance songs and of cinsengwe. Repertoires differed from person to person, and also differed according to the age of the player: the quantity of grief in the song texts increased with age. The repertoire also differed for each instrument. On the musical bow only hunting songs were played (in the 1980s), on the lamellaphones all kinds of men’s and social dance songs and on the banjo kalindula and lumba. More songs within one musango were often linked together, so that song texts could have considerable length, with a change of subject every two or four lines (see for example the texts of Song II-21 and Song II-49). More recently, Christian cult songs had extended the repertoires of men and women.
Women's songs

The repertoire formed a whole wealth of cult songs, women's dance songs, girls' initiation songs, social dance songs, work songs, critical songs and songs in stories and games.

Women's critical songs

The subject of song texts of women might be self-awareness (nendi mwando wa bulungu: I am a rope of beads), criticism of the husband, especially when not living anymore in the village of her parents, or, in the case of polygyny, criticism of the co-wife. No other subjects of criticism were found (see the text of Song II-71). In the 1980s a clear relation existed between this criticism and one song type name: the Fisango. This term was used for a form of song, and dance, in which the women sang a verse one at a time. If danced, the women stood in a circle and sang a verse one at a time, anti-clockwise. The woman singing danced in the circle and then returned to her place. Accompanying instruments, when seated, were nsanshi and cisekele, and in the past also mitungu or bottles. The word cisango was always used when referring to the critical songs but it was also used in a more general sense, like the words Fitelele and Kasela, for all women's songs and gatherings. Reason for the reduction of the term Fisango to women's critical songs may be that though the women's repertoire was performed less often when villages decreased in size, the problems underlying the criticism did not decrease.

Women's work songs

Though other songs from the women's repertoire could be used during pounding, the typical pounding and grinding songs were mourning songs. In most cases, the subject of mourning was the mother or grandmother. Crying while pounding was not exceptional. Where men used mourning songs in the mpanga to obtain products, women used them in the village for work. The repertoire was not very large and contained beautiful, generally liked, songs (listen to Songs II-72, II-73 and II-74). In the interludes during the pounding commentaries were given on the husband, the co-wife or situations at the farm or in the surrounding area.

Women's songs and dances

Dancing was important in women's music, much more so than in the men's. Though dancing was certainly not always actually performed to women's music, it was an important factor in its categorisation. Cimbwasa and all its subtypes were called masha ya lubunda, dances of the hips. In most Chibale dancing the hips were by far the most important focus of attention (see the texts of Songs II-75a&b). The dancing consisted of a light shaking of the whole body making moderate use of arms and head. Both men and women might use swirling hip movements while hip movements back and forth were used practically only by women. Another important quality in female dancing was buckling at the knees at certain periods during the dancing, making the movements as low as possible (kushana pansi). The movements were ‘for girls and women to obtain a softness of the waist to be used in the house later.’ The lubunda dances served the goal of training and showing the dancer's sexual skills and, in the 1980s, an association with sexual heating surely was present though overt references to sexuality were shunned in most public situations.

The lubunda styles formed the major focus of Chibale dance aesthetics: of what could be done better than another. They then were more styles of beauty - in the sense of excelling - than of sexual prowess. Other sources of dance movements, like those of the hunter in Kaluwe and ilimbalakata dancing, were not taken over as styles of beauty at other occasions. A possible reason for this may be that cilaia of the hunter's dance was
not really accepted in former days. Another reason will be that lubunda dancing had been central in competitive social and women's dances within living memory.

In the 1980s the following names of subtypes of women's songs/dances were in use: cidika or cilika, cisango or fisango, citelele or fitelele, kaonge, kasela or cisela or fisela, kashimbo, katembo, maenge, makuku, mancanca or mantanyakta, mitungu, mukwashish, musakasa, shiboyo and teka.

Oh, the mukwashish. It are mitungu songs like kaonge, Mwami, mitungu or makuku. It is just dancing for enjoyment (cishaneshane)\(^6\). (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Kasela is a hip-dance like kaonge, mwami, mitungu, maenge, musakasa or ka-shimbo. Drumming and dancing are the same, the songs differ. They are danced at Kasela [Pa kwisha], Cisungu and Ipupo. It are all icila, which the Lamba call fisela. It can also be teka or shiboyo. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Almost all these names can be found in the literature about central and east Zambia as girls' and women's songs, dances and games, girls' initiation songs and dances, or as social songs and dances\(^5\). It is not possible to pinpoint these names to a certain area nor to try to give a conclusive description of the dancing, let alone the songs, that a certain name covered. Writers about dance in South Central Africa seem to take one of two stances: to describe the dances in a certain area at a certain moment as belonging to that area - and by doing so, suggest that the dance has a (long) history there - or to note that dances of the same name may be different or that dances with different names are similar, if not identical. Earlier in this chapter, some light was shed on this: the name of a dance that at a certain moment fulfils a certain function can be used by the people to refer to the whole repertoire fulfilling that function, even if they are talking about a part of the history of that certain function, a period in which that particular name was not used nor known. For an external observer, this confusing, way of classifying was only ‘compensated’ by the fact that most people also used one or more other names from earlier days and then when asked, would say that these names referred to ‘the same’ dance. To give some further clarification, presumably of value for the whole of South Central Africa, I will give some comments on the types on the list above.

With the lubunda dances, differences between the dancing styles of individual dancers were much more important than those between the dance types they performed. When a stranger visited a Pa kwisha and performed a new or improved style there, she might be given a present as a way of thanking her for sharing the art. As the competitiveness around lubunda dancing also indicated, women were always on the watch for new and further developed styles.

Most of the names were associated with other cultural areas. Only cisango or fisango were seen as typically Lala, while citelele or fitelele, kasela and teka were seen as typically Lala but shared with neighbouring areas.

Some of the items on the list indeed are almost identical. From a Chibale perspective the only difference between kaonge and maenge was an association with the Lenje/Lima area and with the Lenje/Kaonde area respectively, kaonge being slightly 'more Lala' than maenge.

Some names referred to a style of dancing that could be used with more types of songs, like girls' initiation or social dance songs. Cidika, kaonge, maenge and teka were also used to refer to intensive lubunda dancing.

Two of the names refer to the competitiveness of the dances involved, not to their styles nor to the song type. Cilika and teka both referred to a period during the dancing that the dancer could show what she had to offer. Both words could be used to refer to any dance type/occasion in which this competition was important.
Some of the names like fisango, fitelele, kasela and fisela were also used to refer to the occasion at which women’s music was performed, the Pa kwisha. Mitungu refers to the use of the mitungu during the dancing or singing.

Some of the names - kashimbo, makuku, mancanca, mukwashu, musakasa and shiboyongo - were rarely used. They were all associated with other cultural areas.

We see that with the female repertoire an external source was much more emphasised than in the case of the male cinsengwe-hunting column which nevertheless also had shared external sources.

**Similarity of women’s music in different cultural areas**

Many writers about music or dance report that the people themselves say that the dance in question was introduced from another cultural area. It seems to be a general characteristic of South Central Africa that this holds particularly for social dance music, women's music and healing possession music. “The similarity of some of these dances may be interesting as they seem to suggest the existence of external associations [between various cultural areas] which justify the use of different names for what appear to be identical dances” (Mensah 1970a: 97). Maybe these external associations were partly kept up by travelling mediums who danced at Cisungu and, at least in the case of the Lala area, met each other occasionally to exchange songs and other information.

Some writers, like Njungu (1959: 6), tend to associate certain dances with certain cultural areas ('tribes'). This may be applicable at a certain moment in time, but over a longer period this seems to be less likely. Dances seem to travel the country, at varying paces. When we look at the state of affairs in a given period in history, the association between dance and area can be made, while in another period, it would be different. We have already seen that when a new phenomenon, i.e. Mwami, takes the place of an older phenomenon with analogous functionality, the tendency exists to call that phenomenon by the new name, including when referring to the history of that functionality.

The Mwami column had a heavy Lenje flavour in the 1980s. This was illustrated by the fact that in Chibale many of the dances mentioned above were attributed to the Lenje: cidika, kaonge, maenge, kashimbo and mitungu. A possible explanation for this is the following. The coming of Mwami, that was strongly associated with the Lenje area, led to a resurgence, if not emergence, of women’s music for public cult purposes in Chibale. Hence, women’s music that could not be clearly associated with Chibale was interpreted to be Lenje derived. Anyhow, it is likely that the Lenje area has been a major source for women’s music in Chibale in the last centuries.

**Women’s music and social dance music**

The Mwami column and the social dance column were connected.

As seen above, lubunda styles were also used by women in social dances, often in the form of a competition. Some social dances, like katembo and teka, seem to have been women’s dances with men also dancing. Of course, there were differences: the setting of the social dance was more public, there was accompaniment by the set of three drums and there were different formation patterns of women and men.
Supplementary issues regarding songs and dances

Knowledge of song types

The knowledge of names of song types was assessed in a survey (see List II-10), though, as seen, names were only a part of the total classification of song and dance types. We see that some fifteen names of song types are known (mentioned or recognised) by more than half of the people while 11 were known by less than half of the people and 8 by less than 20%. Some of the names considered to be very important by specialists were not well-known with the general public: cinsengwe (unknown to 42% of the population), cimbwasa (67%) and cinko (88%).

The number of times that women sang together decreased considerably in the course of the twentieth century. Cimbwasa and the names of many of its subtypes were among the least well-known song type names in both surveys. This contrasts sharply with the high value scores achieved by the two recorded women’s songs (Song II-37 and Song II-71) in Survey 1987.

Familiarity of the general public with the names of song and dance types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ciwila</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalindula</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwami</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilimbalakata</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Icila</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cult songs</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katambala</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisela</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cindanga</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fwandafwanda</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumba</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maenge</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaluwe</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citelele</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinsengwe</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cisango</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbeni</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-10: Familiarity of the general public with the names of song and dance types, Survey 1987. U = unknown; R = recognised; M = mentioned.

In the interview, the respondents were asked to mention as many names of song types as they could. When no names could be mentioned anymore, the names of types not mentioned were read from a list and the respondents were asked whether they recognised them as song and/or dance types.

Favourite songs and dances

When asked for their favourite song type, most people in the 1980s would mention one of three types: possession cult songs, Christian cult songs and kalindula. Ilimbala-kata, various older social dance songs and town music (lumba and national kalindula) were also mentioned (see List II-11).
**Favourite song types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favourite song type</th>
<th>To sing</th>
<th>To listen to</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possession songs</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian songs</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kalindula</em> (present social dance and beer party songs)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social dance songs (before <em>kalindula</em>)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ilimbalakata</em> (old beer party songs)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Town music’: <em>lumba</em> and national <em>kalindula</em></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (local) song types</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>216</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>439</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-11: Favourite song types, Survey 1985/86.

In the same order, the same types, except for Christian cult music that had no evaluable dancing, were mentioned as favourite dance types (see List II-12). The reasons for these preferences will be treated in Chapter 9.

**Favourite dance types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favourite dance type</th>
<th>To dance</th>
<th>To watch</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possession dances</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kalindula</em> (present social dance and beer party dance)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social dances (before <em>kalindula</em>)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ilimbalakata</em> (old beer party dance)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dances for <em>lumba</em> and national <em>kalindula</em></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other dance types</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I do not (like to) dance</strong></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>343</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List II-12: Favourite dance types, Survey 1985/86.

**Conclusion**

**Relations between the major song types**

With the aid of the information presented in this chapter it is possible to give a representation of the relations between the major older song types in Chibale, see Figure II-4.

The figure represents the relations between the major older Chibale song types. The four columns, i.e. main repertoires, of the first overview in Figure II-3, associated with the possession types and the *icila* are represented in blue. The *cinsengwe* is at the top and the left, while the *cimbwasa* and the *cinko* are at the bottom and the right. Associated
with these are, represented in red, the purposes of the contact of the village with nature (mpanga) for which these main repertoires were basically used. The two basic forms of this contact are represented in green: the giving to the mpanga of corpses and of liveliness and energy, and the prevention as well as the resolution of ishamo. The relation of the three features at the ends of the lines is not exclusive but is a basic association.

**Figure II-4: Representation of the relations between the major older song types in Chibale**

The arrows in the figure indicate that there was intensive contact between those two main repertoires. Major polarities in Chibale music: male-female and mulundu-nika (for which see the following chapter), play between the two pairs of main repertoires-in-contact in the upper left and the lower right while light-heavy plays both within and between the two pairs. We may conclude that historically there were two 'systems of music', the cinsengwe system and the system for which no single name was used but which could be called the 'cimbwasa system'.

Presumably banaNshimbi took icila and Mwami together into one term, cinko, in her statement, given earlier, on the ancestry of Chibale music being shared by the sisters cinko and cinsengwe. A comparable statement was made by Mika Mwape Chungwa though he separates the music of the possessed and of the common people in the 'cimbwasa system'.

*Cinko* is the ancestress of all dances. After it, came Ciwila dancing, then Kaluwe, then Mashabe and then Moba. Cinsengwe and the like are sisters of cinko. [...] Possessed do not dance cinko, but they can dance cinsengwe and cimbwasa. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The exogenous kalindula, partly Chibalised as it was, could fulfil a part of the 'life' and kwangala functions of the icila, 'a part' because kalindula was never used at Ipupo in the 1980s. The exogenous music of the Christian cults, on the other hand, provided a third 'system of music'; a dimension orthogonal to the other two.

More research is needed in more regions of the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area to improve the picture.
Notes


3 “The fact that Zambia possesses four major language groups, rather than three or twenty, and that each group is located in the parts of the country that it is, is critical for understanding the dynamics of the country’s contemporary politics. The political dominance of the Bemba-speaking community is directly related to its large size and the fact that it came to dominate the politically crucial mining towns of the Copperbelt.” Daniel N. Posner (2003: 130), The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia, Comparative Politics 35, 2 (2003): 127-146.

4 See the map in Jones (1959: 224-228).

5 Though the ingomba of older generations often got possessed by the spirits of old ingomba, Kansenekele’s possession looked much like that of those ingomba. The illness was not at the centre of the attention but the bringing of new song texts, an art for which they were invited in a large area. One could say that the coming of Mwami led to a resurgence of Ciwila possession, not only in Mwami-led cults of affiliation but also in a new form of ingombaship for the older cults.

6 Apart from ‘playing a musical instrument’, kulinba means ‘plant’ or ‘shout or speak provocingly’ (see the text of Song 38 brought at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s in Chapter 8 for the use of -limba, in the word kambalimbe, in this sense). See also Nurse (1970: 34f) for the use of the stem -limba for musical instruments (lamellaphones) in Chewa language. According to Nurse -limba denotes a firm, flatish object sticking out. In many Bantu areas ulimba or s(h)limba will denote a large xylophone, ilimba a small or one-note xylophone and kalimba a lamellaphone. Other stems are -kembe, -sanshi and -mbira/-mbila.

7 Mensah (1970a) calls these three groups: active, moribund and passive respectively. He uses the latter term because: “This reflects the way in which most of those interviewed looked upon their musical heritage. They frequently referred to a particular musical tradition as either obsolete, almost dead, and rarely revived, or active and often performed. But since many of the obsolete traditions were still remembered and could be revived under appropriate stimulus, the word ‘passive’ has been chosen in preference to the word ‘obsolete’.”

8 Stefanisyn (1951: 2) mentions a cisekele for the Ambo area made of a basket-bag filled with pebbles. It played in an ingomba-like ensemble consisting further of minkonkobelo (axe-blades struck against stones) and one-note xylophones (ilimba).

9 Bantjie (1978: 12) mentions a cisekele: “Kisekele. To accompany the mourning songs a metal plate is used in which a handful of dry maize or beans are tossed up and down.”

10 Also in Collard (1920: 72) for a handheld shaker in the Lamba and the Lala area in Congo.

11 Also in the Kaonde area (Bantjie 1978: 12, 18).

12 A musebe used by doctors/diviners is also mentioned in Stephenson (1937: 262-264) for the Lala area, the Ilala area (Smith & Dale 1920: 210, 273, with picture, 274) and the Lamba area (Marchal 1933: 83 and Doke 1931: 367).

13 Livingstone (1874: 316) is the oldest external source for a wide area around the Lala area about anklet shaker rattles. The oldest external source on masamba and nsangwa in Chibale is Pope Cullen (1940: 259-262). Other external sources are Lambo (1946: 54) for the Congo Lala area, Stefanisyn (1974: 24) for the Ambo area; Doke (1931: 156, 255, 266, 327) for the Lamba area and Anley (1926: 84) for the Kaonde area. All these passages deal with professional (possessed) dancers.

14 Also in Madan (1913: 96) and Collard (1920: 62).

15 “The nsangwa is a thickset bush, which produces round seed-pods, which are used as rattles when dancing” (Doke 1927: proverb 709).
Jones (1949: 297) mentions it as a Nsenga drum, the name of which is an onomatopoeia for the sound it makes: Bi-ti-ku, Bi-ti-ku. Roland (1934: np) and Boone (1951: 60) mention the kibitiko as a drum that in the Sanga area belonged to hunters’ associations that used it for their rituals (‘leurs danses cabalistiques’) and it is mentioned as the name for a dance related to spirit possession and shinganga (Doke 1931: 361, Mensah 1971: 14).

The drums are very similar to the kayanda drum mentioned by Smith & Dale (1920, ii: 267, with picture), Scheyven (1937) and Bantje (1978: 11, 12 with picture) for the Il’a, Lamba and Kaonde areas respectively. It was possibly also called Mwinbi or Mumbi in the 1920s and 1930s, compare Cullen Pope (1940: 262) and Lamba (1945: 331, 332), and see also Ragoen (1938: np). Blacking (1962: 7) mentions the ngoma ikhulu as the Nsenga master drum.

See Jones & Kombe (1952: 40-49) for a description of the making of a drum. Cullen Pope (1940: 259-262) states that the men of only three clans (not mentioned by her) are allowed to make drums. If this were the case in the 1920s, it was no longer the case in the 1980s nor was it remembered.

In a social context kusansa meant: to be at ease with a friend, while kupika meant: to talk seriously with him (to make sure he understands your message). For music a difference was made between the measure of variation that was used: apikule/ngoma: he ‘improvises’ and asashila: he plays varied but no real ‘new’ things. The first verb is derived from kupika (see Elaboration II-B).

Not dung as stated by Jones (1949: 29).

Only Roland (1934) reports for the Sanga area (Congo) that several of these instruments are played at the same time. But in his case, as in other cases, it is not clear whether the instrument is the ilimba (or mbila as it is called in some other regions) because his description is poor (see further note 23). Generalising for Zambia, Mapoma (1980b: 632) says one-note-xylophones are played singly or in pairs. References to an instrument like the ilimba outside the Lala area, we find for the Il’a, Lamba, Nsenga and Kaonde areas in Smith & Dale (1920: 263, 264), Doke (1931: 182), Blacking (1962: 1, 7, with picture) and Bantje (1978: 14, 15, with picture).

The map is not complete as it does not include the Il’a, Lamba or Kaonde areas. A second problem, as with most distribution maps, is that it is not clear whether a white area on the map indicates that there are no xylophones found there or that no data are existing about the area.

In Chibale hunters’ music is called iyanga by some. However, there is no sign that hunters’ associations like those of the Luba area ever existed. Hunters associated with one (or two) Kaluwe mediums in a rather loose connection. For the Lamba area Doke (1931: 351) suggests that the mutual hospitality that hunters offer each other may be a relic of a hunters’ guild.

Roland (1934: np) for the Sanga area. “Hunters’ ensemble: a. mbila [ilimba]: an instrument for personal use; it is never used at the same time as drums, and, therefore, never at public danses; b. mansonkomba, a small basket filled with small stones; c. tunzongele: two pieces of iron (hoes); d. kibitiko (a very small drum). The mbila is used at dances organised by elephant hunters. Several of these instruments are played at the same time”. And at another place Roland states: “The mbila is played at many occasions like the mourning of the dead, mourning rituals, hunting rituals and during large beer parties. The hunter likes companions who can sing well. If not, he will sing: ‘The hyenas are the ones who do not sing. The Makeya are the ones who sing.” (Original in French, translation by Jan Ilzermans)

This has a longer history. An account of chief Chibale (Mutende) playing the ilimba can be found in Pope Cullen (1940: ChXII) while the title page of Artes Africanae 1937,7 shows a photo of ‘Chiwalis, chef du Balala’, presumably also Mutende, playing the ilimba. Though the one-note-xylophone is connected to hunting in a rather large area, in Chibale it had connections with chieftainship, for instance it was played from dawn in a rain begging ceremony at the chief’s village (musumbo). This may be related to the, not unproblematic, control that chieftainship acquired over hunting (and the ecological cult) in the nineteenth century. I hypothesise that though hunters were expected to visit the chief’s village and make offerings there at the chiefly shrine (mupata) before and after a hunting trip, the chiefly cult never succeeded in ‘replacing’ the music for it and therefore took, a certain, hold of hunters’ music. This is in line with the hypothesis in the last paragraph of the Introduction of this Part on the discrepancy between linguistic and cultural orientation of Chibale as treated by Kubik (1988).

The lamellaphone is the most often described musical instrument of South Central Africa. For the Lala area important external sources are Jones (1950), Davidson (1970) and van Dijk (1983) while it is treated shortly in Anonymous (1945: 10), Lambo (1946: 331) and Jones (1949: 29). Jones & Hewitt (1931) have several Roman Catholic songs accompanied by the kalimba in their Lala Hymnbook.
26 It should be noted that the Chibale kankobele was different from the lamellaphone from the Nkoya area with the same name.
27 See the drawing in Jones (1950: 326) on the understanding that the lowest side was more curved (and therefore the two sides were shorter).
28 See Jones (1950) for a description of the making of a kankobele.
29 Also in Jones (1950: 324).
30 Jones (1950: 331) also gives these intervals as the ‘harmonies used’ adding three more. Two of these contain a tone from one of the upperkeys (bichords not encountered by us). The third harmony (f-a’) belongs to the group of bichords I found to be less frequently used: a-d’, c’-g’, d’-a’, c’-a’ and f-a’.
31 Also in Madan (1913: 109).
32 Also in Madan (1913: 94).
33 Madan (1913: 111) mentions the lusangwa, of which the nsangwa was made, for this.
34 See also Lambo (1945: 339) for the Congo Lala area and Doke (1931: 367) for the Lamba area.
35 Also in Pope Cullen (1940: 263) for Chibale and in Doke (1927: 526, 527) for the Lamba area.
36 The oldest external source for Chibale is Hoffman (1929: 177), also on the death of chief Chibale Mwape Mondwa.

Lambo (1941b: 68): “[The chief of Shinkaola] possesses also a bell called Lusonso. The lusonso consists of two bells attached to the same stem, of different lengths and said to be of different sex. The larger bell is the female one, the smaller one the male. The bells do not have a clapper, sound being produced by beating with an iron rod. When being played, the female bell has to be at the right since the wife has the privilege of laying at the right side in the conjugal bed.” (Original in French, translation by Jan IJzermans)

Stefaniszyn (1964b: 60): ‘After the death of the chief the funeral friends announced ‘the mourning of the land.’ People had to come to wait at the capital. They were told to bring foodstuffs such as flour, goats and fowls. Boys and girls had to come to dance. The war drum, manda [presumably: mangu], was sounded, the chiefly double bell, lusonso, was rung, the gourd drums [presumably: ilimba] were beaten. There seems to have been a degree of licence.’

Stefaniszyn (1964b: 69): “The war bell, or double bell, lusonso, was a flat bell, really two bells joined at the tups. It was clapperless, some eight inches long and three inches by one and a half at the bottom. The bells were forged each from two concave pieces of thick iron sheet. One bell of the pair was thicker than the other, thus producing a different sound. The bells were stopped with leaves when going to battle. They were struck only after a victory, at rain sacrifices, at the chief’s funeral, and probably also at the chief’s installation. The possession of lusonso was a prerogative of chiefly rank. The sons of a chief were allowed to own one.” According to Stefaniszyn (1964b: 154) the lusonso was also used in rain begging rituals, related to the chiefly cult.
37 The oldest external source for Chibale is Hoffman (1929: 20) containing a picture of an ndandi with 11 normal keys and two upper keys.
38 See Brelsford (1948: 25) and Mensah (1971: 78) for mittangu in the Nsenga area.
39 Stefaniszyn (1974: 174) mentions a kantimbwa for the Ambo area. The kalumbo described by Bantje for the Kaonde area resembles our instrument. Other cintimbwa (Doke 1931: 362) and mantimbwa (Smith & Dale 1920, II: 262) mentioned in literature differ from our instrument. Doke (1931: 363-364) mentions the munkoto or kankoto, with a photo, which is similar to our instrument.
40 A reference to the mankubala for the Congo Lala area can be found in Anonymous (1945: 8), with picture. It is also mentioned by Doke (1927: 525 and 1931: 363) for the Lamba area but there it are only two boats. Doke also gives nine mankubala songs.
41 Doke (1931: 362) for the Lamba area: “Then there is the akalimba kanaswao, which has a hollowed sounding-board, in which are set movable pieces of metal, which rattle as the instrument is played”.
42 See Scheyven (1937), Roland (1934) and Ragoen (1938).
43 The same use of a kamungu is described by Marks for the Valley Bisa area. The oldest external source for Chibale is Hoffman (1929: 175).
44 Compare Doke (1931: 365-367) for the Lamba area in the first quarter of the previous century.

“(2) Intambangoma, the friction drum. This was associated with the chief, and particularly with his war affairs. Unlike that of the ordinary drum, the diaphragm at the end was pierced, and through the hole was inserted a piece of reed with a wad at the end to prevent its slipping out. To sound this type of drum the wet hand is worked up and down the reed, when a loud, booming noise is produced. The Lambas call this drum ingoma yabukali, the drum of fierceness, and it could not be used for any trivial matter. When it was heard they knew that there was an important matter on at the chief’s village.”
The *intambangoma* was used on the following occasions
(a) On killing a man. A. is sent by the chief to such-and-such a village to kill B., who has committed an
goof. On A.'s return to the chief's village the villagers sound the *intambangoma*, and A. performs
his dance of triumph (*akwanga*). The women sound their shrill lululu-ling (*ukalisho'lumpandi*), while
the man leaps about with his spears and bow and arrows. At times he shouts, "It is I who killed him,
and if the chief sends me to slay another man I'll slay him too!" He then rushes to his companions,
shouting, *civelent!" Shout ye!" and they all shout and sound the *intambangoma*.
(b) When the chief sets out on the war-path he does so with one *intambangoma* ahead and another
behind the caravan.
(c) When an *umulenda* is being erected in honour of the spirit of a departed chief, and when light
beer is being drunk as a similar honour, the friction drum is used.
These drums used to be held in great respect, and were only found at the village of the paramount
chief, but in these days they are made and used by anyone.
For the Ila area in the same period, see Smith & Dale (1920, part II: 265): "The *namalwa* is a friction
drum—a hollow cylinder carved from a solid log. It is open at the base. The head is covered with a skin,
like the *kayanda*, but has a hole in the centre through which passes the end of a reed, secured outside
with a peg. To play the *namalwa* a man takes some sodden grass in his hand and grasps with it the
reed inside the drum, and then draws his hand backwards and forwards along the reed. He sits with
the drum between his legs, the head outwards: and as he plays with his right hand, with his left he
grasps the string to steady it. This drum produces a deep, booming note. It is used in giving an
nouncement of war, or accident or disaster of any kind. Also, when cattle are to be crossed over a
river, they send this drum ahead in a canoe and the cattle follow."
For the Nsenga area around 1960, Blacking (1962: 12) mentions the *Kalilaomba* friction drum. Here it
is not specially connected to chieftainship or important occasions.

See Lambo (1946: 333): "The Lala used to work iron in former days. Laterite abounds and at certain
places iron ore is found. A furnace was assembled on the spot comprising many openings at its base
where bellows of goatskin were placed. Great quantities of charcoal were prepared and in turn iron
ore and charcoal were thrown into the furnace. The blacksmith, who was an important person in the
village, was generally helped by the men of the village, mainly the young people. All went away for
weeks from the village, the women held a strict distance, regularly putting baskets of mealie meal near
the place of work. It was understood that the iron would be polluted if any of the women who re-
ained at the village would commit adultery. Spears, axes and hoes were forged; the blacksmith gave
a tenth to the *mfunu*, the chief of the village; kept a part for his assistants and exchanged the re-
mainder. The Lala and the Aushi were very good in forging. In his work In the Heart of Bantu
land Dugald Campbell quotes Arnott who wrote in 1886 that since more than one generation the hoes
forged at the east side of the Luapula and consequently in Masenga and Ila of the Lala, had supers-
seded the copper hoes in Uganda." (Original in French, translation by Jan Ilzermans)

For a description of iron smelting in the Lamba area in the beginning of the previous century, see
Doke (1931: Chapter XXI). Next to other differences with smelting in Chibale in the same period,
Doke does not describe any music made during the smelting though he mentions 'boisterous shout-
ing (*ingwele*)' when the oven works well and in Doke (1927: 7) and Story II-2, the bellows are used to
convey unspoken messages like some other musical instruments could do.

According to Munday (1942: 48), Edme (1944: 103), Lambo (1946: 277) and Marks (1976: 35)
rinderpest killed most of the cattle in the Lala area in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Blacking (1962: 4) mentions a three-holed transverse flute, *tulilo*, for the Nsenga area. Doke (1931:
364): "Lamba boys are quite clever at making and playing a species of flute called the *ciloli, nuloli*, or
*musembe*, which is cut from a piece of reed. Apart from the hole for blowing, there are two holes not
very far from the end of the instrument. The flute has to be soaked in water before it can be played,
and then very pleasing notes are produced on it."

The *musaku*, cupping horn, was made of the same horns but then only the straight beginning of the
horn was used.

The word 'Cila' can be used for any gathering with music and dance. The youngster's *Cila*, however, is
the only gathering having no other names. Secondly, the general name of the dances at the youngster's
*Cila is icila*. Therefore, 'Cila' is used here exclusively for the youngster's gathering.

In the 1980s, for instance, there were people who did individual *kupupa* before eating new crops.
They took some new cobs to a big tree and then said, for instance: "Oh you people who helped me
with these things and you who move about, just assist me. I do not need to mention your name, since
I do not know you’. A similar kupupa could be done before sowing. In former days, this type of kupupa was done at certain shrines (masala masala) each village had, compare Doke (1927: 526) for the Lamba area.

52 The directive of President Kaunda in 1975 that 95% of the music played by Radio Zambia should be by Zambian and African artists (Anonymous 1985: 19) had hardly increased the time spent on Zambian ‘non-pop music’.

53 In former days when beer was not sold but shared (among adults only), the consumption of beer was big too, be it mainly in the beer season (August, September and October). Peters (1950: 98f) estimates the consumption per adult for the year 1945 at about 75 litres. As this was the strong, thick beer (cipunu) made of millet that is diluted with boiling water and then sucked up with pipes, the actual consumption in litres was more than double the quantity Peters mentions. Considering the fact that women in general drank far less than men and that much of the beer was consumed in the beer season, one gets an impression of the consumption of the men in that season. Peters (1950: 99) even writes: ‘... (in the beer season) “the Lala are but rarely in full possession of their faculties”.

54 According to Hedlund & Lundahl (1984: 63), in the area around Chipata, Eastern Province, the first beer was sold during the Forties.

55 It is likely that when people said that beer was only sold since the end of the 1960s they refer to this change. And consider the following social dance song text from the 1930s.

‘Ubwalwa ubu rashita tekwishwa ukupela meshinga
Engulya uwanjikete ne’camba
This beer I bought should not be given to the court messenger
He’s the one who arrested me for possession of marijuana.

Song II-76: A social dance song from the 1930s, as remembered by banaNshimbi, 1987. No recording. The mentioning of the court messenger indicates a rural setting, probably Chibale. It is not likely that the beer had been bought in town and taken along to Chibale.

56 See also Long (1992: 157-159).

57 Reasons given by the general public, in Survey 1985/86, to visit a Sandauni were to drink beer (43%), to see the dancing (18%), for entertainment (11%), to listen to the music (8.5%), to dance (7%), to meet friends (6.5%), to see what happened (3%) and to play a musical instrument (3%).

58 Also described in Long (1992: 159-160).

59 Lambo (1945: 337, 338) for the Congo Lala area: “The hunter having made good hunting will dance in the evening. To this end, he will take care to preserve the heart, the entrails and the ears of his victim; he will cook them without salt and will eat them with nshima. This meal, called nyama ya bwanga, is eaten only by the hunter and his fellow-members. The dance that the hunter performs is called Ikisen-
gwe [cinsengwe]; he is joined by the professional dancers named Bayambo. These dances, which take place in front of the Ijipanda [hunter’s shrine], are the occasion of festivities, the meat eaten by the attendees helping to create a favourable ambience. The professional hunter is called Umupalu, [...] As said earlier, the hunter dances at the village when he killed some animal of importance, such as the hippo, the eland, the bubale, the zebra, etc. The animal is carried to the village in large parts. The hunter hangs four civet skins around the waist: one in front, one behind and one on each side. He has zebra mane around the forehead and in each hand he holds a tail of the eland. The hunter has a very young girl at each side, the breasts hardly formed yet. He places on his right the parts of meat which one cuts further at the village, on his left are empty baskets and containers. He dances and the girls with him. The natives who want a piece of meat deposit in the baskets either grains or flour, or in the containers beer or hydromel, then pass at the opposite side where they receive from the hand of the dancer a piece of meat the value of which varies with the importance of their offering.” (Original in French, translation by Jan Ilzerms)

60 In contrast with the above, Jones & Kombe (1952: 1) mention the cilili as a dance performed by daylight and always indoors. Probably they refer to the old beer party. This seems another indication that certain hunting rituals (cilili) turned into beer parties in the course of the twentieth century.

61 Reasons given by the general public, in Survey 1985/86, to visit an Ipuwo were: to see the dancing (34%); to drink beer (which was free at Ipuwo) (27.5%); to help (16%); to dance (9.5%); to honour the dead (5%); for entertainment (5%); and to sing (3%).

62 If the root of the word Cibombe is interpreted as coming from the Lala -bomba (work) the term means place or occasion where the spirits do their work. From a historical point of view it is more likely that the term derives from the Lenje -bomba which in Lala is –womba. Cibombe then means: place or occasion of begging the spirits. Both interpretations are given in Chibale and the pronuncia-
tion ciwombe is also used.

63 This is a Lenje term. The literal meaning in Lala is: to block, close the drum, which is just the opposite. Lala would be kushinkuléngoma or kasekelešéngoma: to open the drum or to rejoice for the drum. Whether this is simply a matter of a difference in conjugation between the two languages or of a difference in cosmology, a reversion of the connected aspects open and close in this context, is not clear.

64 Reasons given by the general public, in Survey 1985/86, to visit a Cibombe were: to see the dancing (47.5%); to drink beer (which is free at Cibombe) (21%); to see the initiate go through the ritual (6.5%); to see the various dance styles (5.5%); to sing (5.5%); for entertainment (5.5%); to help (4.5%); to meet friends (4%).

65 In Chibale, crisis-trance - so often associated or even equated with possession - marked the transition between a period of bad and a period of good communication (or vice versa) between the possessing spirit and the one being possessed. Crisis-trance in one or more patients or initiates was one of the purposes of healing and initiation rituals (see Cibombe 1, 2 and 3). With the initiated possessed, and in all other rituals, this trance was not desired, though it happened that people, mostly non-possessed, were struck down by spirits soon after which treatment would start. Descriptions by the ones who experienced it sound similar: “I was swept away,” “I felt a whirlwind inside of me” or “I was blown by a strong wind.” Wind was an often used metaphor for possessing spirits. A medium could also be overwhelmed and pushed downwards by the spirits so that they could speak via her with her attendants.

This did not happen frequently, most communication went through the songs the spirits brought via the medium, or, at another occasion, during kubuka.

66 Note: ifya mu mpanga and ifya ku mushi: ‘things of in the mpanga’ and ‘things of from the village’. As in the story an mpanga perspective was taken here. This perspective was the conventional one in normal speech.

67 According to de Boeck & Deisch (1994: 125) this might be related to their bridging function. “The vital life-flow itself is a boundless, all-embracing force that generates energy and life through its encompassing and bridging capacity. As such, it has a liminal and generative potential through which male and female body and self are outlined in their corporeal boundedness, and at the same time merged into one another” (see the section on Energy, notably the end, in Chapter 8).

68 Every aspect can be connected to one or more things (matter, quality, state, action, process) that were cishibilo for that aspect. Cishibilo literally meant a thing that makes something (else) known, so: sign, metaphor, image. For instance, the cuttings that hunters made on big trees were cishibilo for the surrounding area and the path to follow. A comparable term found with the Ndembu (NW-Zambia) is derived from the verb kujikijila, to blaze a trail (Turner 1961: 1). A symbol, Turner says, “is a ‘blaze’ or ‘landmark’, something that connects the unknown and the known.”

69 Bantje (1978: 17) also had trouble with obtaining an overview of music in the Kaonde area: “There is much discrepancy in the few references to these dances in literature (cf. Anley 1926, Melland 1967). The reasons may be: insufficient insight of the observers, the fact that these dances vary from region to region, the fact that different groups use identical names for different dances. Equally confusing is the fact that, while belonging specifically to a certain situation or ritual, they may be equally performed at any other occasion. This is also true for the songs”.

70 Though the old type of spirit possession Mashabe may have been directed towards problem solving and healing, it was very rare, if not untypical, in the twentieth century. Compare Doke (1931: 256): in the Lamba area Moba seems to have replaced Mashabe around 1915.

71 This double work could also be conceived of as ‘ritualising’ and ‘deritualising’ an occasion or period.

72 The ‘professional mourners’ in Hoffman (1929: 177) presumably were ritual friends (bali) of the chiefly clan.

73 This would also explain the difference in heaviness of songs and dances in adjacent areas. A heavy song of a certain area would likely have a cilaila variant in that area but all would be aware of the heavy, dominant variant. In the area that took over the light (cilaila) version this awareness would not be present, which could lead them to conceive of it as a light type of song.

74 Note that the musango is not a ‘motto’ in the sense used by Rouget (1985). The musango is the mark of the spirit in a certain possessed. When two persons are possessed by the same spirit, which is not exceptional, the spirit will use different musango through each of them. “The spirit does not possess two persons to do the same work twice. Each possession serves another goal.” (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

75 Note that the cimbwasa is not mentioned. Compare the last paragraph under Cinko.
References to cinsengwe in the areas around Chibale can be found in:
Lambo (1945: 337): mentions a dance called Cisengwe for Kaluwe by hunters in front of the hunter’s shrine joined by professional dancers called abayambo, and
Stefaniszyn (1951 & 1974) gives annotated transcriptions of the texts of 34 cinsengwe, “the bulk of the Ambo hunting songs”. According to Stefaniszyn (1951: 1.2) the cinsengwe is especially connected to hunting and beer parties. “The authors are unknown, nobody composes new songs but only these traditional songs are sung. They are sung at the ordinary beer parties, at hunting feasts, at the sacrificial beer for the successful hunt or when the hunter being unlucky and discouraged sings them alone or with others at night before the hunt. A hunter may also dance, at hunting festivals, with a gun, horns, animal skull or a tail, to the accompaniment of these songs. Such dance is also called cinsengwe. The songs are sung in antiphony and largely recitando, the rhythm playing a major part and the melody being of minor consequence. For accompaniment axe-blades struck against the stones are used (mikonkobelo), gourd drums (malimba) and rattles made of basket-bag filled with pebbles (cisekele).”
Only at one place Stefaniszyn (1964: 81) mentions the cinsengwe as being used at funerals: “To dream of a great amount of tobacco means a funeral because much tobacco is distributed to people who dance cinsengwe at the funeral beer party.”

And for other areas in:
the Lala-Lamba area in Congo (Collard 1920: 70) related to the joyful gathering with dancing after a successful hunt;
the Lamba area (Doke 1927: 525f & 1931: 182f, 235f, 256f, 323f, 359): as seen in Elaboration II-F cinsengwe is related to hunting and mourning rituals, possibly led by Bayambo mediums, and to a lesser extent to beer parties and other occasions related to the local cults;
the Nsenga and Soli areas (Brelsford 1948: 25): “One ancient, and perhaps symbolical, instrumental accompaniment is the tapping of the hoe blade by another piece of iron such as an axe blade. The use of this instrument seems to be restricted to funeral dances and is heard in the Chisengwe [cinsengwe] funeral dance of the Nsenga and Soli and the same dance known as Ngangana among the Chikunda”; the Nsenga area (Blacking 1962: 4): “Nor have I examples of percussion instruments in the form of hoes being struck, called nsengwe, or maize being rattled on a plate. I never heard a dance of spirit possession (mpanda, nzamba, or mashabi), but was told that the melodies and rhythms are very similar to those of the puberty ritual. Master-drummers use the same set of drums for both types of music”; and
the Lenje area (Mensah 1970b: 115) describes one of the examples he as a “recreational song (cinsengwe) of the Lenje”.

Note the resemblance of the terms nacimbusa: instructress of the girl, cimbwasa: girls’ initiation and healing possession solo dancing, and Vimbuzza: eastern Province healing possession.

In the 1980s, ingomba or muomba was the general word for a singer/dancer/composer who was invited to heat a ritual or feast through the good music he or she was able to bring. Ingomba in Chibale in the 1980s who were invited by chief Chibale for rituals and feasts were famous Ciwila dancers (ingomba ya baciwila) like Kansenkele and Stifini Nunda, and shinganga (ingomba ya bavaannwami) like bamukaNdubeni, Mwela and Chalebaila. All these persons combined great musical qualities with a renowned knowledge of music, exegesis and rituals.

Anley (1926: 83), Doke (1931: 328, 360), Roland (1934: np); see also Melland (1923: 287).

Doke (1927: 524), Roland (1934: np) for the Sanga area: “The Mbwela dance the Dimbalakata [dimbalakata] for hunting, the same as the Lamba and the Kaonde. The Kaonde also know the Kikanda because the Kaonde and the Sanga understand each other well! The Lamba also know the Kikanda but not the real Lamba, they don’t know it.” (Original in French, translation by Ian Ilzermans)

When done by a layman, this dancing was much more likely to be considered presumptuous than the cilaila done by women. It was looked upon with some distrust as to the pretensions the dancer made (as to his ranking as a hunter).

Arthur M. Jones (Jones & Hewitt 1931) was one of the first to try to solve the problems that were caused by putting a Bemba or Lala text to a European Christian hymn.

Chingwulu (1973a) is about the icila. “The active participants of icila dance form a circle. If there are spectators, which is always the case, they all crowd behind their sexes. […] The leader of the dance enters the circle, followed by about six men. They make a little loop. A special feature of icila dance is that the women in turn choose a man and lead him to the centre of the circle. She and several other women dance around him. Each men has his own turn to be chosen and danced around. No woman can dance around her relative.”

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The ciniko, also mucinko, is one of the better documented dances. Information about the mucinko, the mukinko, the mukinka and the mucinku can be found in: Bouche (1921: 745-747) for the Luba area (Congo), Anley (1926: 84) for the Kaonde area, Doke (1931: 359), Marchal (1933: 84-86, 126 and 1935: 128) and Brelsford (1948: 12) for the Lamba area, Roland (1934: np) for the Sanga area (Congo) and Jones (1949: 16) for the Tonga area. According to Doke a variant of the mucinoko was the cipelu information about which can be found in: Doke (1931: 359) for the Lamba area, Brelsford (1935: 214) for the Sala area and Njungu (1959) for the Lozi area. Marchal 1933 gives ten mucinko song texts (in French translation only).

For the Ambo area, presumably referring to the end of the 1930s, Stefanisyn (1974: 6) mentions the group dance beni for young people, the old name for this dancing being cilai [cilai]. Also Mensah (1971: 74) mentions the mbeni: “Dancers of the mbeni of the Lala around Ching’ombe Mission perform in pairs from positions in a circle.”

See Jones (1945), Brelsford (1948: 19), Mitchel (1956), Mensah (1971: 74) and Chingwalu (1972d). It is striking, if not irritating, that dances involving adoption of European styles get so much more attention than the great majority of dances that, in spite of the presence of European culture, influence of town and the like, did not adopt European elements. The same holds for religious subjects and many other aspects of culture. Whether they put them in a positive or in a negative light, European - North Atlantic - writers often seem to be more oriented to reflections of their own culture and its motives or, put differently, they often seem to be inclined to inappropriate application of Ockham’s razor.

Tracey (http://www.smithsonianglobalsound.org/trackdetail.aspx?itemid=40137) in a programme note of his 1957 recording of Lala music at Mufulira Mine: “Tilikka is the name of the dancefloor at the Mufulira mine where the Lala usually go to dance. The fwanda-fwanda is a dance performed in two lines, men in one, and women in the other. As they dance, the two lines form a circle. Performers move slowly around the circle, accompanied by a trio of drums.”

Tracey mentions three conical drums: Akanono, Cimbulunge and Fwanda fwanda as the accompanying drums. Kanono is a similar word as kace but the other two names were not known as drum names in the 1980s.


This seems to be the only music revival in Chibale that had a purpose as described by Livingston (1999: 68) for music revivals: “(1) to serve as cultural opposition and as an alternative to mainstream culture, and (2) to improve existing culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity expressed by revivalists”. After a period of little development in music due to Christian cult influences katambala arose as a link to the icila tradition that was there at the start of the ‘Christian interlude’ (1940s up to 1970s). Earlier revivals in the icila were related to a form of novelty: to bring in an older style which is new for the present generation, next to novelties like the bringing in of a new catchy phrase or a new dance movement. Other movements of resurgence like those of hunter’s cult and of ing’ombe at the beginning of the 1900s and Ciwila in the 1980s were far more comprehensive than a music revival alone.


One band from Serenje District, the Serenje Kalindula Band, played a role in the rise of kalindula as the national popular music in the 1980s. They called their music fwandafwanda - ingoma ya balala: fwandafwanda, the music of the Lala. Though a number of bands grew to national and even international fame, kalindula has a rural origin and, most times, focus and is often unjustifiably described as town and national music only. Apart from being a reference to Lalaness, the use of the term fwandafwanda by the Serenje Kalindula Band presumably illustrates the continuity felt within the icila line: kalindula was the successor of fwandafwanda.

The song is on the record Shani! The sounds of Zambia by various artists and bands (WOMAD 009, 1988). On the record-cover: ‘Chibuyubuyu. Traditional dance music of the Lamba people. The beat is called ‘Mayenge’ from which the band take their name’. Again we see the bond between social dance and women’s (maenge) songs.

Doke (1927: 526): “(13) Makuka: A dance by women only, accompanied by handclapping. The Lambas call this cishaneshane, dancing irregularly. The Lenje equivalent, mukwashi, is danced when mourning”. Doke (1931: icilala): “(8) icilala, or icinsensebele. Women only dance, while men may
look on. No drum is used, but the rhythm is preserved by hand-clapping. This dance is performed merely for enjoyment, and not in honour of any person or event. One of the women acts as *mutatatwishi*, to start the refrains, and the others dance round and round (*kushinguluka*). This kind of dancing is sometimes called *cishaneshane*, a dancing anyhow or dancing irregularly”.


It is not unreasonable to call it ‘cimbwasa system’ since these two systems are related to the complementary systems of the art of hunting and the art of giving birth, or, more generally, complementary systems of production and of reproduction that are present in one form or the other in areas in South Central Africa. See, for instance, Filip de Boeck, 1991, *From knots to web: Fertility, life-transmission, health and well-being among the Abruud of southwest Zaire*, Ph.D. thesis, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Catholic University of Louvain.

**Proverbs and aphorisms**

1 *Proverb II-1*

*Akalimba kakwapula takashilisha misango.*

A borrowed *kalimba* does not finish off all the melodies.

Don’t be possessive when you borrow something, it is not yours.

The owner plays so much on the instrument that the one borrowing it can only play for a little time. Also in Primer (1937: proverb 7) and Doke (1927: proverb 11).

2 *Proverb II-2*

*Uuli ukufwa, tomfwapo.*

The one who is going to die, does not hear.

Be attentive or you will only have yourself to blame.

If an animal does not start running as soon as it hears the *ndibu* of the hunting dog, it will be killed.

3 *Proverb II-3*

*Lwimbo lumo talwipaye'mama*

One song doesn’t kill game.

Not all things are simple.

For hunting more extensive *kupupa* was needed than, for instance, for small misfortune, also in Munday (1961: 29).

4 *Aphorism II-4*

*Uwapupa nyina, wapupila bonse bafwa.*

The one who does *kupupa* for the mother, does it for all the dead.

5 *Proverb II-5*

*Ngota likafya mushi*

The drum heats up the village.

Things that show that the village, a co-operation between people, a large group of people is alive are important.

Apart from the ritual meaning treated in the text, the meaning can be: Drumming shows life in the village. A proverb of similar nature was:

*Cikola mumbo likafya mushi*

The one who coughs deliberately heats up the village.
Stories

1. The ngolwa and the big lumps

Kwali uvuupile umukashana.

Elyo umwanakashi kuya fye kuli banyina ati bushe tapali akashima akasheleko. Elyo banupula kalya akasheleko ifyo fine mpaka umukashi aonda nokonda.


There was a man who married a young woman.
When nshima was prepared from the in-laws, they sent his wife saying: go and eat with your husband. When her husband took two big lumps (in his hand), his wife was left with nothing. Her husband took everything from the plate and ate.

So the woman used to go to her mother and asked: has no small piece of nshima remained? And she was given what was left. This went on many times until his wife became thinner and thinner.

So one day this young man went out to look for honey with his father-in-law. His father-in-law got the ngolwa and started playing like this: You have made my daughter thin through those big lumps you take, lilo. The young man (son-in-law) also got the ngolwa and started blowing it like this: Why shouldn’t I take big lumps! - Why shouldn’t I take big lumps from sunrise in the Ngoni area, ee lilo.

His father-in-law realised that this was the reason because he did not eat any food starting from morning till late in the evening when he ate. The mother-in-law after being told by her husband, changed the meal times. She started cooking in the morning and at noon.

Story II-1: Ngolwa na ncomone - The ngolwa and the big lumps as told by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

2. The story of the son-in-law and his father-in-law

One day the son-in-law went out into the veld, and killed a guinea-fowl, and took it to his wife’s village. Then he cooked the guinea-fowl; his father-in-law put it aside saying, “We shall eat (it) tomorrow”. Thereupon the son-in-law (thought) that he had deprived him of his guinea-fowl; his father-in-law in the morning said, “Let us go and blow the bellows”. So they went, he and his son-in-law. When they had arrived at the bellows, the son-in-law got up to them, (and) said,

At my wife’s village they grudge me a guinea-fowl! At my wife’s village they grudge me a guinea-fowl!

Thereupon his father-in-law said, “Move away Father, and let me blow!” And he too got up to them, (and) said,

Palpitation to my son-in-law!
Palpitation to my son-in-law!

Then he rose saying, “Come Father, let us go to the village”. When they had arrived, he cooked porridge with the guinea-fowl. Then the son-in-law felt much ashamed. So he arose and went to his home.

1. These words are chanted to the ‘music’ of the bellows.
2. A term of respect for a man, used even to a son-in-law.
3. The native forge is always outside the village.
4. He was ashamed of having been suspicious of his father-in-law.

Story II-2: The story of the son-in-law and his father-in-law (Doke 1927: Story IV, notes from Doke). No recording. The oral notation of the first pattern in this story, in Chibale: *Kubuko ikanga bantana* - At my in-laws they refuse me a guinea-fowl, can be found in Music example II-19.

The story illustrates that a son-in-law should not expect or claim things he has caught / hunted, the parents-in-law might test him. The two played lines stand for master bellows (*nsapa*) rhythms which the older men could understand without words, so presumably they didn’t ‘say’ or ‘chanted’ it but only ‘played’ it. Communicating like this could also be done on the *ngolwa*.

3 The curse of the very old person

_Walikotele nomba alepambukila mu ng’anda_
_Nakwete nabeshikulu babili_
_Nombo’yu uno_
_Aleti nga alepita filya palubansa asaka na mate_
_Iti aa aka kacekulu ifyo kalukile_
_Nomba yu uno umwaice bantu_
_Afika asola asola_
_Aleti na menshi_
_Neloba akubamo_
_No mulilo akosha_
_Namenshi abatekela filya bafyashi_
_Balikoteshe_
_Takuli kulwala iyoo balikoteshe_
_Nomba elyo akakulu kaebele ati:_
_We keshikulu kanji_
_Wakwisa kushuka_
_We ukopwe_
_Nebana ukafyale_
_Ababulamo kapopo ka kufwa_
_Kukana ici cibanda cikoshipa mate_
_Necupo teti acibonepo_
_Neli mwana_
_Teti amubonepo_
_Fyalicitike tulu_

There was a very old person ... [like] our grandmother/grandfather
She/he had grown very old and defecated in the house
She/he had two grandchildren
Now the first one [of them]
When she passed nearby the grandmother/grandfather she spat saliva
And said: ‘Oh! this is how the old one has become now’
Now the younger one
Reached there and removed the feces
Brought some water
Spread some soil inside
Prepared the fire
And fetched water for the grandparent
She/he was too old
She/he was not ill, no, only too old
Now the very old man/woman said
You my granddaughter
You will be very lucky
You will be married
And bear children
Without having premature child who will die
And now as to this nature spirit [part of a curse of the first grandchild] which spits saliva
She is not going to have a marriage
Even no child
She will not bear
This happened, it is true.

Story II-3: The story of the curse of the very old person as told by Mika Mwape
Chungwa, 1986. The very old had a rather ambivalent position in Chibale.

Songs

1 A Ciwila song
   Changwe Mabuku
   *Ba Chisenga Machingo bakuya kwa Kamena - Kaluba*
   Changwe Mabuku
   Chisenga Machingo will go to Kamena - Continue singing
   
   Song II-1: A Ciwila song brought by Chisenga Machingo at an *Ipupo* in 1981. On the recording we hear the starter, Chisenga Machingo, continue singing the solo line while dancing. This is one of the performative actions to heat the ritual. Chisenga Machingo was married to Nunda Chibale who was the son of chief Mutende. She wants to go to Kamena where the chiefs are buried. Here the *ing’omba* emphasises his link to the chiefly cult.

2 A song accompanied on the kodeoni and the cisekele
   *Lazaro ndecikwele’ci*
   *Bama ndecikwele’ci*
   
   Lazaro, I am pulling this [concertina] here
   Mother, I am pulling this [concertina] here

   Song II-2: A song accompanied on the *kodeoni* by Lazaroz Musonda and on the *cisekele* by Basil Chisonta, 1981.
   Concertina, called *kodeoni*, chromatic, 8 chord buttons, in and out: I/V. In 1966, it was taken along from South Africa by the uncle of Lazaroz Musonda who gave it to him as a present. Lazaroz learned to play the instrument without any instruction. His *kodeoni* playing was always accompanied by the *cisekele*, as on the recording.

3 A song mentioning the musebe and the ciwaya
   *Bene bamfwa kwisa mwikalile*
   *Samwitabe, mwise mpurpose bunga pa ciwaya*
   *Muleteko nefyakutai’le’misebe*
   
   Owners of the dead where are you?
   Come and respond, come and throw some mealie meal on the *ciwaya*
   Come with something to give to the players

   Song II-3: A *cinsengwe* brought by chief Chibale and his people, 1981. No recording. *Misebe* stands for those playing the *musebe* or *ciwaya*. The putting of mealy meal on musical instruments at funerals was done to procure good music.
4 A song mentioning the masamba
   *Bama nakukaka masamba nakulola mbonshi*
   *Bama katwishi nokubwela nkalola kumbonshi*
   *Bama naya kwa Makumba Chabala*

   Mother, I will put on the masamba to go in western direction
   Mother, I don't know whether I'll ever return when I go to the west
   Mother, I am going to Makumba Chabala

   The first line might be translated as: ‘Now I will go and dance as a medium,’ *masamba* being associated with possessed dancers and ‘going to the west’ with becoming a spirit. The second line can be interpreted to express the extent to which the life of a possessed changes, once initiated. The third line also says that the singer goes west: ‘to Makumba’ or ‘to Makumba Chabala,’ also in Moffat (1934: 7,8); the spiritual meaning is: to deliver oneself to the (possessing) spirits. Since this text was brought, ‘composed’, by the possessing spirit of Citelela, the text consists of this spirit citing the internal dialogue of the human Citelela.

5 Drumming and dancing
   *Cilisha ngoma kumupo'lubunda*
   *Cilisha ngoma*

   Who plays the drum should be given the waist
   Who plays the drum

Song II-5: A women’s song praising the drummers, as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
   The playing of the (master) drum and the dancing with the waist were strongly related. The sexual meaning, the man as the master drummer of the woman’s hips, is not an ‘undertone’ but the same.

6 Nsangwa, anthill and death
   *Mu culu ca nsangwo'mulele bamama mwainama*
   *Kwainama uku lele bamama kwainama*

   At the *nsangwa* anthill where my mother lies, it is depressing
   It is painful where my mother is lying, it is painful

   The singer bows and feels sad because her mother was buried there. The *nsangwa* plant only grows on the anthill, which was used as a grave in the past.

7 Making a living with dancing
   *Ukutuka mu lusombo*
   *Kutuka mu lusombo*

   It is making a living with the *nsombo*
   Making a living with dancing

Song II-7: A song made by the *masamba-ing’omba* as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986. After the short song the patterns are sketched and the story is told how they went from house to house to dance and do a solo (*teka*) when something was given.
   Compare *kutuka muli bucibinda*: making a living with hunting. The great hunter like the roaming *ing’omba* did not care about farming and might boast about this or might deride the others’ conventionality.
8 Low voiced singing by the masamba-ing’omba
   Mutensha nsombo, mutensha nsombo
   Ngoma ya pa kale, ngoma ya pa kale mutensha nsombo
   You the causer of nsangwa shaking
   The drums/music of old, you the causer of nsangwa shaking
   
   Song II-8: A song made by the masamba-ing’omba, as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

9 Asking for gifts by the masamba-ing’omba
   Posa ntolu, we musungu
   Posa ntolu, fwe bakumine kibusungu
   Throw it so I'll pick it up, you rich one
   Throw it so I'll pick it up, we who are close to richness
   
   Song II-9: A song made by the masamba-ing’omba to obtain gifts from migrant labourers visiting Chibale who were richer than the people in Chibale, as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

10 Pintu and the peak in dancing
   Kamumfwa banaSondashi bwaca umondilile mama lelo
   Yo mwaumfwa pintu mufila ni bamama fyala balifuntile
   Listen, banaSondashi, I cried until the morning, mama, today
   Yo, do you hear the whistle in the dancing; it's my mother-in-law who acts crazy
   
   Song II-10: An icila song text mentioning the pintu as remembered by banaNshimbi, 1987. Bad recording. The song is full of sexual allusions, one of which is that the pintu is used at the climax of the dancing.

11 A kankobele song by Kambele
   Mwe bakashi fyo mwanjebele
   Mwanjebele ati we cibola
   We cibolo’afyalaa oo oo (2x)
   Mwebalamu fyo mwanjebele
   Mwanjebele ati we cibola
   Mailo nakubwelela mama
   Kwalola ba cibinda bankombalume akasuba kawa
   Katulokuya ba nkombalume twailila
   
   You, wife, what you said to me
   You said that I don't produce children
   You who do not produce oo oo
   You, in-laws, what you said to me
   You said that I don't produce children
   Tomorrow I am going back, mother
   To the direction where the big hunters have gone the sun is setting
   You big hunters let us go it is late now
   
   Song II-11: A song on the kankobele by Kambele, 1981.

12 A kankobele song by Sitifini Nunda
   Amalimbe’fis calila mwinaminina
   Aliila mwinaminina akula panshi akula sensenta malimba/mbanindo
   Nashala nenka mwansungamina/bata
How the music is sounding downward and upward
It sounds downward and upward, it drags over the ground, it sounds downward and upward again, the music/but why
I am left alone with all of you against me/father

Song II-12: A song on the *kankobele* by Sitifini Nunda, 1981.

13 *A kankobele song by Andson Chilimba*

*Ba Kasubika Chinguwa bacaibela, nkoya ee*
*Yo kunyaengwa mukamwine nimpango kwatishe*
Kasubika Chinguwa is really different - I’m going to her
To go out with someone else’s wife: you should have enough to pay the fine


14 *A kankobele song by John Ngoma*

*Mwana wanji kulwalalwala* My child is always sick
*Mwana wanji kulwalalwala baine* My child is always sick oh friends
*Mwana wanji ili akufwa* My child will die
*Mwana wanji nkashika kwi* Where will I bury my child
*Panshi napo pali muswa* On the ground there are white ants
*Kamulu nako kuli ntanda* Up there ... there are stars

*Batata kulwalalwala* My father is always sick
*Batata kulwalalwala baine* My father is always sick oh friends
*Batata ili bakufwa* My father will die
*Batata nkashika kwi* Where will I bury my father
*Panshi napo pali muswa* On the ground there are white ants
*Kamulu nako kuli ntanda* Up there ... there are stars

*Mwana wanji ukulwalilila kwacila* My child is getting sick too much
*Mwana wanji ukulwalilila kwacila* My child is getting sick too much
*Mwana wandi ili akufwa yo* Now when my child dies yo
*Mayo mwana nkashika kwi* Oh mother where will I bury my child
*Panshi napo pali muswa* On the ground there are white ants
*Kamulu nako kuli ntanda* Up there ... there are stars

*Batata nkashika kwi* Where will I bury my mother
*Panshi napo pali muswa* On the ground there are white ants
*Kamulu nako kuli ntanda* Up there ... there are stars

Song II-14: A song on the *kankobele* by John Ngoma, 1986.

15 *Twin ceremony song*

*Cipuli ca shapamba cilimukanwa nga mu ndibu*
*Cinyo ca napamba cilimukanwa nga mu ndibu*
The rod of the father resembles the clapper of a bell
The vagina of the mother resembles the bell

Song II-15: A twin ceremony song from the Congo Lala area (Lambo 1946: 253, 254; French original, translation Jan IJzermans). No recording.
It implies that the (sexual) behaviour of the children resembles that of the parents.
16 A story song mentioning the ndibu
Elyo nomba cilye cimi pakufwaya ukuti ciwe
Nomba elo aebel ati ee
Ati aka kantu kakanjipaya
Nomba elo atampile ukwimba naye ali kwialu ati:
Mwe mbwa shanji
Kamubutuka kamwisa na malibu
Mwaisabanga
We cibwa cikulu cifwite masangalilo
Now when the tree was about to fall down
That is when he said ee
This thing is going to kill me
Now he started singing while on top of the tree:
My dogs
Start running and come with ndibu
How-many-are-you
You big dog wearing ferocious ornaments

Song II-16: This song is part of a story called Mwaisabanga told and sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

17 A Cisungu song mentioning the ndibu
Po cipopolwa 2x
Umukashi tetaba mu ndibu
Umukashi witaba mwinepo
Po, empty shell
The wife doesn't react to the ndibu
The wife does react to the owner

Song II-17: A Cisungu song sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986. It teaches the woman how to react in her role as wife when she is called. It teaches men not to treat their wives as animals. Cipopo: an ignorant person, an empty shell. Compare Doke (1927: proverb 914): Ni kapopopo, akatele ka pa kalinba
He is a little tap-tap-tap, a little calabash on a kalimba
He is insignificant.
The term kapopopo refers to the tapping of the woodpecker (mubangwapopo).

18 An ndandi song by Makaliki Mukwashi
Ba Makaliki mwile pi - Ba Makaliki ku Lubembe
Ba Makaliki mwapita - Ba Makaliki ku Lubembe
Ba Cisenenta ee - Ba Cisenenta mwapita
Makaliki where did you go - Makaliki to Lubembe
Makaliki has gone by - Makaliki to Lubembe
Cisenenta - Cisenenta has gone by


19 Lindya winding up song
We Ntandangoma
Lindya we, lindya we
Ukakana kulila nkupose pa nika
Part II

20 A short kantimbwa song

Musowa walila bana Chinsebele

The weeping sound of Chinsebele's mother mourning

Song II-20: Some kantimbwa songs were short as mankubala songs. Played and sung by Kasubika Saka, 1981.

21 A long kantimbwa song

Yo we cinsewile nalila bamama mwe 3x
Yo we cinsewile citabona bakulu sobone 2x
Yo we cakusemuka nangu bakulile mupala 3x
Yo bamama fyala tambulukeni mpite 3x
Nangu mukakana ninsoni shenu mukafwe ee 3x
Yo we waikula mu Nsumbye sobone 3x
Sancha kali muntu icitutu balo ubune 4x
Yo we mwana wabo kopoke fwaka nguno 2x
Nelyo ukukana ninsoni shobe ukafwe
Yo koli nga lunshi komwikele mpalya
Yo komwikala apapelele cibelo mupala /ngulya

Yo I cried during the dancing at my grandmother's [Ipupo], friend
Yo this dancing that doesn't see old people, come and see
Yo it [the dancing] is for making love though they are (nearly) bold headed 3x.
Yo mother-in-law pull in your legs so that I can pass
If you refuse, it will be your shame you'll have
Yo you who built yourself on Sumbye, come and see 3x
If Sancha were a human being, the bold head would look very good
Yo you, child of theirs, come and get tobacco here
If you refuse, it will be your shame you'll have,
Yo if I were a fly I would sit there
Yo I would go and sit where the thigh ends, sure /of that one

Song II-21: Some kantimbwa songs were long; lines within the same musango were put one after the other and repeated. Played and sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

22 A mankubala song

Kalnya akalebule'nsala
That which chases hunger away

Song II-22: A *mankubala* song played and sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa (two sticks) and Alube Mika (one stick), 1985.
The hunger chaser, of course, that is food. But food can [continue to] remove hunger only when a person works hard enough. So, working hard is the hunger chaser. And hunger finishes power (*maka*). (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1985)

23 *A mankubala song*
*Ku mpelo ye’bala*
*Kanshi ne’ngulube ilayo’lubilo* 
At the far end of the field  
Even the bush-pig runs away


24 *An ndandi amaswao song*
*Mwana Chipungu bulombe*
*Koli mukulu kuya kupa*  
How beautiful Chipungu’s daughter is  
When I were older, [it would be] to go and marry her!

Song II-24: A song accompanied on the *ndandi amaswao* by Mailos Kalunga, 1981. 
Many lamellophone songs take the perspective of the boy/young man. There was an overlap with the *mankubala* songs for which the same held. As to be expected, we hear more metallic buzzing with this *kalimba*.

25 *A namukalapanda song*
*Kalulu ati neiluke*  
*Kantandale mulupili lwa mitunta*  
*Acilikila mu ciliba*  
*Tubone fkwashi kuli Muchinga*  
*Iciliba ica kubuko*  
*Nkabone Nsenga lwembe/Nsenga*  
*Palaba mukalapanda!*

The hare trying to jump  
Let me visit the area of the high hills  
Falls into the trap  
To see the eagle fish in Muchinga  
The in-laws’ trap  
To go and see Lwembe of the Nsenga  
What a *mukalapanda*

Song II-25: A song sung and accompanied on the *namukalapanda* by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986. The player imitates the set of three drums on this one, be it composite, instrument.

26 *A smelters’ song*
*Wayumfwe’nsapa ku citenge*  
*Ciceleka*  
*Ndimushukile umulume utaya ku citenge*  
*Ndimushukile umulume utaya mu kunonka*  
*Ndimushukile umulume utaya ku masembe*

Hear the master bellows in the smelter’s hut  
Does it make salt from burnt grass?  
What a husband who doesn’t go to the smelter’s hut  
What a husband who doesn’t go to seek wealth
What a husband who doesn't go for axes

Song II-26: A smelters' song as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa whose father had been a smelter, 1986. The master bellows (nsapa) player sang the solo: ciceleka and the others answered. Though it was sung by the bellowers, the song is the complaint of the wives of those men in the village - the oven was built outside of it - who didn't join in the smelting.

27 A peku song

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biliya bama (wesu)</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkubabwena pi</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku ng’anda batabwela</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukubumbwe’loba</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My/our mother has gone</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where will I ever see her</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the house from where you don't return</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be moulded (back) into soil</td>
<td>tubenge(tu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Song II-27: A reconstruction of a peku song, played on two bottles by Basil Chisonta (saying tubenge followed by one tone on the bottle) and the author (no words, only one ongoing pulse, orally notated as pe-pe-pe) while Mika Mwape Chungwa sings, 1986. The song text revolves around the four lines shown, with minor variations.

28 A story song

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chabala leka kutwa, tukasambe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chabala leka kutwa, ku milonga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chabala stop pounding, let's go and bathe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chabala stop pounding, to the rivers.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Song II-28: A story song accompanied on the kankobele by Mika Mwape Chungwa, banalMwape and daughters, 1981.

29 A lullaby

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mwana walila, menda twakutapula pi aiyie a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twakutoba amacinda tukatape ku Luombwa aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musonda mwana wabubele na bukabinda aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwana wallila menda twakutapula pi aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twakutoba amacinda tukatape ku Luombwa aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Child, you are crying, where are we going to get water aiyie a
We shall break the dam to draw water from the Luombwa aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie a Musonda the only child remaining aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie
Child, you are crying, where are we going to get water aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie
We shall break the dam to draw water from the Luombwa aiyie aiyie yiye yiye aiyie a

Song II-29: A lullaby by Lontya Kasubika and women of Kapampalwe seksioni, 1981. During singing she kept her son to her breast. He indeed fell asleep during the song despite her loud singing.

30 Men's music, a hunting song

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Song</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kwaloala bacibinda kawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaloala nkombalume kwabukabilila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwaloala balukonga banama yenkabilila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cepausha manyama ukonaile mukubamba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Where the hunter went, it’s now late
Where the big hunter went, it’s promising [getting hot]
Where the small hunter went it’s less promising
Killer of game, where I went hunting

Song II-30: Excerpt of a hunting song accompanied on one ilimba by Kambele, 1981.

31 Men’s music, a mourning song
   Kamulila nemunenu kamulila Kamwale
   Kamwale waluba tumulile Kamwale
   Kamwale woo
   Bamama baliya kambalile woo
   Bamayo baliya kambalile woo
   Batata baloba kambalile woo
   Batata baya kambalile woo
   Nashala neka kanjilile woo (2x)
   Kamwale waloba katulile Kamwale ee
You cry, me, your friend, you cry for Kamwale
Kamwale is lost, let’s cry for Kamwale
Kamwale woo
My mother is gone, let me cry for her woo
Mother is gone, let me cry for her woo
My father is lost, let me cry for him woo
My father has gone, let me cry for him woo
I have remained alone, let me cry for myself woo
Kamwale is lost, let us cry for Kamwale ee

Song II-31: A mourning song accompanied on the kankobele by Kambele, 1981.

32 Men’s music, a kalimba song
   Ba Mukumbo wesu/mwe, mumpeko akasengo
   Cimba mubengi, iyo cimba mubengi
Mukumbo of ours/you, give me the small witch horn
The singer for many, oh the singer for many

Song II-32: A kankobele song by Tamala Waiti, 1981.
   Continuous text repetitions, near 'meditations,' were normal in men’s private music.

33 Women’s music, a cimbwasa
   Kolya kopako mukwanu/akakwanu
   Bufr bulanunka, Chibuye
Eat and leave something for your family
Neglecting smells, Chibuye

Song II-33: A cimbwasa sung by Malanke Mwape and women from Mukopa, 1981.
   Whatever you do to your relatives can not be hidden. What you called a lie, at the end of
   the day is the truth because you feel ashamed of what you did. (Malanke Mwape, per-
   sonal communication, 1981)

34 Women’s music, an icila
   Sefa lubunda
   Sefa lubunda elele sefa waya
   Sefa lubunda elele sefa lubunda
**Part II**

*Nkoya nkalabile kuli bama ati balinjikete bacibola*
Shake the hips as a sieve
Shake the hips as a sieve elele sieve, shake
Shake the hips as a sieve elele shake the hips as a sieve
I will go to my mother and tell her that the sterile one has taken me

**Song II-34**: An *icila* song sung by women from Mukopa, 1981.

35 **Dancing for the unmarried only**

*Bamuka bene kabaframepo*
*Nomba wafika mweyamine*

Those married should leave [the dancing space]
Now it is time for embracing

**Song II-35**: A song sung before the hot version of the *icila* began as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1985.
The older *Cila* dances could involve fondling of breast and buttocks (*kusenga*). This stopped with the coming of the *fwandafwanda*. The *kalindula* again could be hot.

36 **A men's work song**

(‘Yo) kali mwaiw koya kwipaye’mbalali owe eyaya
*Palya pakupenda amambalashi e shitoli bata banskilile /
Palya pakupenda amambalashi teyalile bata bacolobola*

(‘Yo) if I were young I would go and kill a leopard, owe eyaya
Counting its spots is the story in which my father left me /
Counting its spots is the same (story), my father, the great hunter

**Song II-36**: A song sung during the cutting of trees by men as remembered by bana-
The singer mourns the loss of the father without whom the work is too much, like counting the spots of the leopard.

37 **A pounding song**

*Mwebalele mu culu, nailila bamune yo*
*Seni muncishe mwebalele mu culu*
*Paliwikala bama, nailila bamune yo*
*Patalala pali kwikale’nhimbi*
*Iya iya iya iya iya iya*
*Bamupanda nsengo nailila bamune yo*
*Emwe mukolengela abanenu ukulila iya iya*
*Iya iya iya iya iya*

You lying in the anthill, I am crying for myself, oh friends
Come and help me you lying in the anthill
Where my mother stayed/lived, I am crying for myself, oh friends
It is all quiet where the steel [mother] once lived
Iya iya iya iya iya iya
Those who bewitch using horns, I am crying for myself, oh friends
It is you who cause our people to cry/mourn
Iya iya iya iya iya iya

**Spoken while pounding**: [not on the recording]

*Tubatwiletwile* We pound and pound for them
*Balya batalale* Those who do not give
*Bacileya mwiko* Those who never fail to see a cooking stick

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Notes ‒ Proverbs ‒ Stories ‒ Song texts ‒ Music examples

Tubatwile twile We pound and pound for them
Kucitwi ca mushi At the head (far end) of the village
Mwaba Lubeni At Lubeni's [former farm of the singer]
Mutali kunema Everything runs smooth
Mutali kunema Everything runs smooth
Ba Manti Manti Manti Manti [husband of singer]
Iya iya iya iya iya iya Iya iya iya iya iya iya
Kashila kaku Kabwe The road to Kabwe
Inya kuli ba Flensh Yes, where Flensh is
Inya endume yesu Yes, our brother
Inya twalikutwa kale Yes, we used to pound together
Inya citwi camushi Yes, at the head of the village
Inya kwaba Lubeni Yes, at Lubeni's
Inya kako Yes, that's it
Inya tubatwiletwile Yes, we pound and pound for them
Inya banaMutilwa Yes, banaMutilwa [fellow-pounder]
Inya cileywa mwiko Yes, who never fail to see a cooking stick
Inya bamunshipela Yes, who do not give
Inya tubatwiletwile Yes, we pound and pound for them

Song II-37: A pounding song sung while pounding by Miliam Chisenga and Musonda Lubeni, 1981.
Kako: ‘that thing’ is also an imitation of the sound of pounding. It is also used as an encouragement during public performances. Though the first bringer of the song was not remembered, it is very likely that the song consists of three verses on one musango brought as separate songs by a medium in the past.

38 An nkombo song
Yo, nakusembe nkombo ya muundula
Kabanwemo ba Amoni, mundabakungalausha
I will cut and prepare a gourd for all
Let Amoni drink from it, so that he will stop troubling me

Song II-38: A song referring to the preparing of the gourd shrine of Amoni Nunda, as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

39 A Ciwila song brought at an Ipupo
Oo panse paliba kufwa
Ne Calaula nande kwa Mulungu bakomfwaya nafwa mayo
Oh, there is death in this world
I, the possession dancer, am also wanted by God, I die, mother

It is a lesson song. It teaches the people that an Ipupo is a mourning ritual and not a beer party. (Shemu Mambwe, personal communication, 1981)

40 A song for the Cibombe ca ntongo
Tukalye ntongo ku conde
Tukalye ntongo ku conde kuli ba Maya
Let us eat light sorghum beer in the field
Let us eat light sorghum beer in the field where Maya lives

Song II-40: Mwami song for the Cibombe ca Ntongo, the first fruit ritual, brought by banaNshimbi, 1987.
The ritual consumption of beer was called ‘eating’ (kulya) instead of ‘drinking’ (kunwa). Conde is a citeme field in the mpanga and here (also) refers to the dance circle or to a house-like shrine of the shing’anga (also in Doke 1931: 260). Maya is the name of one of the spirits of the organising shing’anga.

41 A story song
Senseleni senseleni nebo - mumfwe calila kumacinga
Senseleni senseleni - mumfwe calila kumacinga
Cati ‘wuu’ - nabene balile ukutali
Hurry hurry, me - you’ve heard the sound from one of the traps
Hurry hurry - you’ve heard the sound from one of the traps
The sound was wuu - the owners (of the traps) are far away

Song II-41: A story song sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986. Example of a story song that could be also used at a hunting or healing ritual.

42 A cinsengwe connected to hunting
Kamulonda/konkeni mungulube na ne nkonkemo mplembé
Icinama icinasenga five ciliwene kulonda
Go and follow/follow the warthog’s tracks only and I will follow the roan antelope
This big game with horns for us is good to follow

Hunting animals with horns is nicer. They are bigger, they give easier tracks, they run and do not hide in places with thorns etc.

43 A cinsengwe connected to mourning
Ubushiku bwaca
Twabutongamina bwaca pelebele
The night is over
We sit here and wait till the morning is clear

Song II-43: A cinsengwe as brought at a Cililo, accompanied by the iyikulu and the tusembe (ax blade hit with sticks, imitated here with a kalindula cisekele), sung by Laitani Mupeta and women from Mukopa, 1981.

44 A Citelela song
Twakumana ba Susa wesu
Abanakashi bafye ukukumana
Twakumana ba Susa wesu
Mumbuleko icisemo mulokwimba icabwangu
Nkabuleko ba Ngosa Mano
Icisemo cilokwimba ba Susa wesu
We have met Susa of ours
The children of one mother shouldn’t they meet?
We have met Susa of ours
Pass on to me the latest way of singing
I will go and inform [my wife] Ngosa Mano
The way of singing of Susa of ours

Song II-44: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Citelela as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
Citelela asks the cinsengwe-ing’omba Susa to give him the latest in music. Wesu en abanakashi denote they are close and of the same trade.

45 A political song by Citelela

Shilafula mfumufu bafunya mu colo
Abasungu bacitaia bawansha nsoni
Takwaba mbwa ishibile
Babapata ukwabanesu
Babasamfya ubutungulushi bwabo
Bakushala busulutani ili bamina amabala

The number of chiefs has been reduced in the country
The white man intervened so bringing shame to those
A dog is never trusted
They hated our friends
They cleansed them of their leadership
To leave them a headmanship, to scare the birds from the gardens

Song II-45: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Citelela as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

The song comments on the decreasing of the number of chiefdoms in both Serenje and Mkushi districts from 10 to 8 by the colonial government around 1930. Even if a dog is faithful, he is not always treated well. After this measure, two chiefs in each district were demoted to be just headmen taking care of a village (‘to scare the birds from the gardens’).

46 A Citelela song about himself

Ati/Baine nakokwelapo nakokwelapo nomba natendwa
Nakusende’misebe yanji nakulola mbonshi ne mubungo ilinyimba
Katwishi nokubwela nkalola mu mbonshi nikabanga lyaboya

I have spent much time here, now I’m tired
I’ll take my musebe westwards, me, the ing’omba playing on the way
I don’t know whether I’ll return from the west, maybe I’ll die there.

Song II-46: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Citelela as sung by Franki Kampaikosha, 2004. This famous song Citelela brought just before he left Chibale for Muchinda after having had troubles with some of his relatives. To go westward implies the intention never to return - in actual fact Citelela went northwards. As in Song III-1 the last line is remarkably heavy.

47 A Citelela song about developments/news in the area

Icupo mulokufya abomwishibile
Maulokufya abena falo, balupuma mbuto, bakabwala abalwani
Bayibile imbalala/ndalama sha banafyala
Alo banayala bashele mubwamba
Ngabaliko ba Kabiki ngabalimukonkele
Kabamwikata kabalokupanda ati lipanga

As to the arranging of marriages: you should marry them to somebody you know
Don’t have her marry those who come from other regions, who will eat sowing-seeds;
strangers are thieves
They stole the groundnuts/money of their mothers-in-law
So the mother-in-law remained without
If Kabiki would have been around he would have followed
And caught them to beat them as if they were mouses

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Song II-47: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Citelela as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

48 A Citelela mourning song
Cikonko mutima pamo no’bwanga
Kamuwela, mwebalikupinga ukutibula Sancha
Lelo Sancha mwabikamo icipunda

Deep hatred in the heart, just like witchcraft medicines
Sing that chorus line well, you who were planning to drill a hole in Sancha hill
Today you have made that hole in Sancha

Song II-48: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Citelela as sung by banaNshimbi, 1987.
Bad recording.
Cikonko stands for any deep (bad) feeling which takes you into a certain state. This song was composed at the mourning ritual of an important person, presumably a man because he is likened to the rock Sancha, who was hated by someone or a group in Citelela’s village. The first line is a proverb.

49 A Musoka song with many verses
Spoken: Ico catampa nomba balisha ecibitiku ekuti bebe ati citaila
Ekuti umumbulu eyuo witati ndindi ndindi
Malimba alile’fyo - Esho twalalisha
Kanshi inyimbo twalaimba niba Musoka balikwimba
Ishi nyimbo sha mu cinsengwe, tabalelishamo ngoma iyoo
Kano mu cinsengwe balenwo’bwalwa
Nangu elo batendeka ukulaimba, nomba ne nyimbo
Eshi batampako nomba baleimba ati:

Spoken: The instrument that has started is the cibitiku which they say as citaila
Now comes the mumbulu (wild dog) that says ndindi ndindi
The ilimba sound like that - This is what we are going to play
So the songs we are to sing, it is Musoka who used to sing them
These songs are of the cinsengwe, no drums were played, no
It was in the cinsengwe while they were drinking beer
And when they started singing, it were these songs
Which they started singing, like this:

Mwebakashi munsunge bwino - Nilika na bakoswe
Kabili mwaikalila kumwinshi - Mwebali kupinga makani
Mwalikulye’fiweme - Muntina kununka
Kamwinbeni kabinda wesu
Iyaya lele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu

You, my wife, look after me properly - Before I am eaten by rats
Again you are sitting in the door way - You are brooding
You were eating nice foods - Don’t fear my smell
Go on singing, youngest child of ours
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow

Mwebakashi munsunge bwino - Nilika na bakoswe
Yo kabilo mwaikalila kumwinshi - Mwebalikupinga makani
Mwalikulye’fiweme - Bentina kununka
Kamwinbeni Kalunga wesu
Iyaya lele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu
You, my wife, look after me properly - Before I am eaten by rats
Again you are sitting in the doorway - You are brooding
You were eating nice foods - They shouldn't fear my smell
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
*Iyaya lele* - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow

*Mwebakwasu abakashimi besu - Inya nabo ba Miselo*
Balya baye'l'i basananga ku nika - Ne'nyong ya menda
Ekulo kutapilila'ti likanda Miselo
Kamwimbeni kabinda wesu
*Iyaya lele - Yo bana Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu*
O friends, my wife - Yes, also Miselo
Has gone to the river boastfully - With a water clay pot
As if watering in the pit, Miselo
Go on singing, youngest child of ours
*Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow*

*Cipungu'upalale mulemba - Koyo ukanshimike*
Kabuleko ba Mangalita - Wati umwana ulisamible
Woyo'kosemaila'ti ya mwela
Kamwimbeni kabinda wesu
*Iyaya elele - Yo bana Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu*
You big bird fly high - Go and inform them about me
Inform Mangalita - That the child has learnt
Is now possessed by the wind [spirit]
Go on singing, our youngest child
*Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow*

*Mwebakwasu abalume besu - Inya nabo ba Miselo*
Miselo tekuceba nakunumoko - Ba noko bafwile limbi
Paliyo mutima pakusambo pamitumba
Kamwimbeni Kalunga wesu
*Iyaya elele - Yo bana Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu*
O friends, my husband - Yes, also Miselo
Miselo can't even look back - Where his mother had died
His heart [only focussing on hunting] strongly needs looking at dead game
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
*Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow*

*Koswe wambala pando nemwine - Cilinjiye*
Tengu wandilecitonga - Munshiku bakwimbi malaila
Bakukuteye'ciliba ba Lunguwe
Kamwimbeni Kalunga wesu
Part II

**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**
**Kamwimbeni 'Kalunga wanji**
**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**

Hey, you rat, what makes you provoke me - I am killed/injured
Here he eats my maize - In the days to come when you are rejoicing
A trap for you will be put by Lunguye
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**
Go on singing, my Kalunga
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**

**'Ewe balokwenda Mwape wesu - Mu cilubaila**
**Ba ne mwatuwena kumauni - A'makubi akuntule cisumba**
**Ba cimbwi bantwale ku malengo**
Kamwimbeni Kalunga wesu
**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**

We who move/wander about - In the unknown [country]
So you knew about our presence because of birds - The big birds have broken the branch
The hyenas were taking me in the thick forests
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**

**Yo bamama ndabalila - Bakali kumalambila**
**Mpalya pakufuma ne canda ca mafumo, kabawama nokwenda**
**Bwela cibinda wesu ulishe'limba**
Kamwimbeni Kalunga wesu
**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**
**Yo kamwimbeni 'Kalunga wanji**
**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**

O how I cry for my mother - A fierce thing in the thick bush
Especially when coming out with a bundle of spears looking beautiful while walking
Return hunter of ours who plays the ilimba
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**
Go on singing, my Kalunga
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**

**Mwebakwasu icandilo mwana - Cilamfwaya**
**Ndokupampanta nkaling'ongo - Kalunga bwela eyo**
**Monze mwebamangwa mwakukandaulwa**
Kamwimbeni Kalunga wesu
**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**
**Yo kamwimbeni 'Kalunga wanji**
**Iyaya elele - Yo bana'Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu**

O friends what ate [killed] my child - Still hunts for me
As I look for the scorpion - Kalunga kindly come back
All of you with witch charms will be punished
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**
Go on singing, my Kalunga
**Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow**
Mwebakwasu abakashi besu - Inya nabo ba Miselo
Mbalya baye’li basananga ku nika - Ne’nongo ya menda
Ekulo kutapilila’ti likanda
Kamwinbeni Kalunga wesu
Iyaya elele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu
Yo kamwinbeni Kalunga wanji
Iyaya elele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu

Friends, my wife - Yes also ba Miselo
Has gone to the river boastfully - With a water clay pot
As if watering in a ditch [in the process of moulding bricks]
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow
Go on singing, my Kalunga
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow

Mwebakwasu abakashi besu - Inya nabo ba Miselo
Yo lulya lupwa lwa cipunda nasalile - Umo ndubwenene
Teti kalya kanwa kabakashi banji Miselo
Kamwinbeni Kalunga wesu
Iyaya elele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu
Kamwinbeni Kalunga wesu
Iyaya elele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu

Friends, my wife - Yes also ba Miselo
Yo what a worthless family I chose - The way I saw it
With that mouth my wife Miselo has
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow

Yo nyina-nsha akociliba bwino mungole mwatanta
Balifwa ba Mangalita
Baliya mukutebele’culu
Bamama wesu bali kumanda
Kamwinbeni Kalunga wesu
Iyaya elele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu
Yo kamwinbeni kabinda wanji
Iyaya elele - Yo bana’Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu

Yo how good the female duiker jumps in the far plains
Mangalita has died
She went to fetch firewood for the anthill [the grave, her new home]
O my mother is at the grave
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow
Yo, go on singing, my youngest child
Iyaya lele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow

Yo batata ndabalila - Bakali kumalambila
Mbalya pakufuma ne canda ca mafumo kabawama nokwenda
Bwela cibinda wesu mulishe’limba
Kamwinbeni Kalunga wesu
Part II

Iyaya elele - Yo bana Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu
Yo kamwimbeni Kalunga wanji
Iyaya elele - Yo bana Kalunga mwimbe lukumbu

O how I cry for my father - the fierce one in the thick bush
Especially when coming out with a bundle of spears, looking beautiful while walking
Return, hunter of ours, to play ilimba
Go on singing, Kalunga of ours
Iyaya elele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow
Yo, go on singing, my Kalunga
Iyaya elele - Oh, mother of Kalunga, sing with sorrow

Song II-49: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Musoka as sung by Mika Mwape
Chungwa during an analytical recording of the ilimba ensemble (played on wooden containers) that turned out to be a remembrance session for Musoka, 1986.
Text spoken by Mika Mwape Chungwa followed by a number of stanzas within one musango of Musoka, the ing’omba. He had never heard Musoka, who died before 1940, sing himself but was possessed by the spirit that possessed Musoka and said to have acquired the song in that manner.

50 A Susa song with a hunting verse and a critical verse
Kalupili kwalila mfuti, kulupili kwakola necipungu
Kulele kasashi katemo kanamawele
Mone’ mishimu kotwakuya ulucelo
Umusana wakonekela mumapili
Mukukonkele ukulele bankombalume

In the hills a gun has sounded, in the hills the vulture coughs
Where slept the swinger of the hunting axe, full of desire to hunt
The spirits have shown us to go in the morning
The back has been broken in the hills
Because of tracing where the big hunter slept

Ba Lunshi mutibwilwa
Mukosela kwabanya pa nsaka
Tamubwene batata wese abenda mu mpanga bakasatya wa milimo
Ba Lunshi mutibwilwa
Sobone amaluma ng’ombe cabwela

Mr. Fly always waiting until a hole has been made
When it comes to sharing in the nsaka you are suddenly strong
Haven’t you seen our father going into the mpanga, always working very hard
Mr. Fly always waiting until a hole has been made
Come and see, the cutters of meat have returned

Song II-50: A cinsengwe with two stanzas in one musango (the same as in Song II-51 and Song III-7) made by the ing’omba Susa around 1940, as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

51 A Susa song
Cawaya umpene nkongole kale wampokele
‘Wabush‘citala wantuka amatuka wati ni’nambala
Pandalame’shi wakope shisano waluwa tiki
Kabili wala bilwa mucingeleshwi wati pasopo
Pakukongola tewe ta walikupapata
Cawaya give me back what you got from me long ago
You have started to provoke me by saying that I am useless
You now say that my five shillings were a tickey [three pence]
You even speak in English saying ‘Pas op’
When getting it you were very humble

Song II-51: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Susa around 1940, as sung by Sakaliya Mulwaso, 1981. ‘Pas op!’ is Afrikaans for ‘Watch it!’; ‘Pasopo’ was used in ciLala as a last warning.

52 A Mulongwe song

BanaShitima banaShitima banaShitima
Mwalimfishile ubwalwa bwa malilo
Mwalimfishile ubwalwa bwa malilo
Mwalimfishile ubwalwa bwa malilo
Bwe bwaliwa bwa malilo 2x

BanaShitima, banaShitima, banaShitima
You have hidden the funeral beer for me
You have hidden the funeral beer for me
You have hidden the funeral beer for me
This is a funeral beer party

Song II-52: A cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Mulongwe as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

In former times the presence of a medium belonging to a certain clan at an Ipupo organised by someone belonging to that clan was imperative. This song was brought by Mulongwe. The husband of banaShitima had died and Mulongwe had not attended the Cililo. When he came to our village, Koni, he told her to brew beer for Ipupo and inform him. She however kept it hidden for him and he came too late. Then he made this song.

She was of the Mbushi (Goat) clan, just like Mulongwe. That’s why he wanted to dance at her Ipupo. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

53 An ilimbalakata about hunting

Bambi nimfuti shakutwako sasa
Tamubwene ba Maunga abalala mwipengele

Some only use their guns as pestles to pound cassava leaves
Not so Maunga, the one who lies in hiding near the animals’ tracks

Song II-53: An ilimbalakata if sung by a non-possessed hunter and a Kaluwe song if sung by a Kaluwe medium, as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986. It refers to the famous hunter Maunga (’mister Mpanga’) from Mukopa who died in 1984. In 1986 his spirit possessed a woman who could bring this song as a Kaluwe (ritual) song.

54 An ilimbalakata about hunting

Mukacibinda/muka Lukonga wasekaseka
Waceba pa cinanga muselempa wa mwanakashi
Kobone ukwinangila nkoya ne’ngombe

The wife of the hunter/Lukonga smiles and smiles again
She imagines the waist of a woman playing around
See how I was sneaking, me, the hunter
I am going with big animals

Song II-54: An ilimbalakata from a story as sung by Sakaliya Mulwaso and his sister, 1981. The generally assumed parallel between the behaviour of the wife of the hunter and the course of his hunting trip is expressed in this song in the use of -inang(il)a for her (possible) behaviour and his.
Part II

55 A mourning ilimbakata
Bama balifwa
Mbacindo cindelele mwana
My mother is dead.
Then who is keeping my child

Song II-55: A mourning song for a Cililo performed as an ilimbakata by Sitifini Nunda and the people from Milombwe, 1981.

56 An ilimbakata about beer
Cikumba buce
Nebo ndikumbile ku manga
The one who brews little
I myself have brewed in abundance

Song II-56: An ilimbakata for an old beer party, as sung by Andson Chilimba accompanied on one drum, 1981.

57 A Jehovah's Witnesses' hymn
Imabalika we Sioni
Mfifi yafimbe'sonde
Ikatiso kuteka kwa nkalamo iyakwa Yuda
Anga punda anga punda Sioni watufyalile'mbila nsuma
Kuti pa Amagidoni Klistu akacindika Lesa
Kasuba no'mweshi tafyaka be lubuto lobe
Yehova Lesa akabalu lumbelo butto lobe
Anga punda anga punda Sioni watufyalile'mbila nsuma
Kuti pa Amagidoni Klistu akacindika Lesa
Bana bobe fibusa beni
Besa bengi nge'nkunda
Mumalinga yamutelelewe ngalalumbanya Lesa
Anga punda anga punda Sioni watufyalile'mbila nsuma
Kuti pa Amagidoni Klistu akacindika Lesa

There's light in Zion
Darkness covers the world
It will help in the Lion's reign over Judea
Be happy and shout, be happy and shout, Zion you bore us good news
That at Armageddon Christ shall give respect to God
Sun and Moon will not shine light on you
Jehovah God will be your light
Be happy and shout, be happy and shout, Zion you bore us good news
That at Armageddon Christ shall give respect to God
Your children are friends
They come in large numbers like doves
In safe, stockaded villages praising of God
Be happy and shout, be happy and shout, Zion you bore us good news
That at Armageddon Christ shall give respect to God

58 A UCZ song

Solo
Filye'nse
Pakufwa
Efyno
Uefwa
Bamunyina
Iseni
Pantu 'Lesa
Wafintu

Solo  Chorus
/F.swashilye'nse  /F.swashilye'nsebulefwaya
/P.swashakufwa  /P.swashakufwaya
Efyo no'mutima wandi
Uefwaya 'Lesa (2x)
Bamunyine'fwe bonse
Tulumbanye 'Lesa wesu
Pantu 'Lesa ekapela
Wafintu twakwata (2x)

Just like the ze  Just like the zebra
Need  Needs water
That is how  That is how my heart
Need  Needs God
Fellow Christians  Fellow Christians, we all
Come  We praise our God
Because God  Because God is the giver
Of the things  Of the things we have

Song II-58: A UCZ song (beginning with a paraphrase of Psalm 42:2) as sung by the New God’s Messengers choir, UCZ church, Chibale village, 1990 (recorded by Corien Unger).

59 A Roman Catholic song

Solo - stanza 1
Twali abakumanina munda muli mayo  We were equal when born from our
Yangu we mfwa we  mother’s womb - Hey you, death

Solo - stanza 2
Twali abakumanina munda mu citente  We were equal in our small Christian
Yangu we mfwa we  community - Hey you, death

Solo - stanza 3
Twali abakumanina munda mu safeli  Were we equal in our youth group
Yangu we mfwa we  Hey you, death

Solo - stanza 4
Twali abakumanina munda muno kwaya  We were equal in our choir group
Yangu we mfwa we  Hey you, death

Chorus - refrain
Walibipa  You are bad
Wansendela  You have carried away
Mwana wandi  My child
Wansendela  You have carried away
Mwana wandi nashala mufilamba  My child, I have remained crying
Yangu we mfwa we  Hey you, death
Walibipa  You are bad

Song II-59: A Roman Catholic song as sung by the choir of the Roman Catholic St. Barnabas church, Chibale village, 1990 (recorded by Corien Unger). The song ends with soft singing.
60 Jones’ Icila - Old Style, the Sota

Yalila ba Sota, yalile'ngoma
Mulon Malongomalongo emo bashiile'utumpe ba 'Lesa
It has sounded, Mr. Sota! The drum has sounded!
In Malongo-malongo that is where God has left startling wonders!

Yalila ba Sota Kaluba
Ulwinbo nayimba icimbejimbe naluba kwawana Calunduma
Iyiya iye mama owe alala ba Masaiti ee
The session is on, Sota Kaluba
I have sung the song, just singing and singing ... I forgot how it became evening, Calunduma
Iyiya iye mama owe alala, Masaiti, ee

Yalila ba Sota Kaluba
Yo yaliyala ba Mashiki ba Ngosa bamuka Tembo
Iyiya iye mama owe alala ba Masaiti ee
The session is on, Sota Kaluba,
Oh it really is on, Mashiki Ngosa, the wife of Tembo
Iyiya iye mama owe alala, Masaiti, ee

Song II-60: Jones’ ‘icila - old style’ text and two cinko texts mentioning Sota Kaluba as sung by banaNshimbi and her sister, 1987.

61 An older version of the Sota

Yalila ee yalila
Yalila ingoma kaili ya mukwanu ukulilo bwino
‘Waiya ee waiya ee oo mama kamwimbeni ba Masaiti ee
Yalila ee yalila
Ino ngoma yalumbule’mpuleti pa Lunsemfwa batini
Waiya ee waiya ee oo mama kamwimbeni ba Masaiti ee
Waiya ee waiya
Kuli malongomalongo ekobashile utumpe ba ‘Lesa
Waiya ee waiya ee oo mama kamwimbeni ba Masaiti ee

The session is on, the session is on
This session has sounded for your relative to sound well
Waiya ee waiya ee oo mama, sing well, Masaiti

The session is on, the session is on
This session has mentioned a plate at Lunsemfwa [mine], sure
Waiya ee waiya ee oo mama, sing well, Masaiti
Waiya ee waiya
In the clay pots to ward off locusts Mr(s). Lesa has left gifts
Waiya ee waiya ee oo mama, sing well, Masaiti

Song II-61: An older version of Song II-60 as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

The last verse was sung by a Ciwila possessed, Mulenga [a major spirit], to ward off red locusts (kushiliika) before I was born. She danced there. Malongomalongo were small clay pots used for kupupa while doing a ritual to ward of red locusts. Three pots were for the three chiefs (bamfunu batatu). The rest were put in a line as a barrier against the locusts. It is a Ciwila song. It was done after the news had reached the village of a plague somewhere in an adjoining area. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)
62 Another cinko song

Another cinko song

Note - Proverbs - Stories - Song texts - Music examples

153
Mother, wakabaya wayewe wayiya bai mama etc
Wife of Moba, I am crying for my mother

_Nangu kabanaile teknalyapo apoyalile mbeni_
_Bati kansenke ba Lipenso kabainankulapo_
_Mumatampa yeka ukupala ba Iloni Kanjeke_
_Uli nomwana kumupela kacaya we tumba_
_Besa banakashi nakufwila mumukoti wa 'Loni (Roan) /mukoti wa Luanshya_
_Nomba twatota ba Nunda Chale abafyele ba Mwape_
_Cikoti campumine ba Mutende nobulungu kabuputuka_

Even if they cooked food I can't eat when _mbeni_ is being played
As ba Lipensho wanted to laugh he fell down
Her thighs look [as beautiful] as those of Iloni Kanjeke
The one with a child would be given to the _itumba_ player
Which wife would I sacrifice dying in the mines of Loni (Roan)/ of Luanshya
Now we thank Nunda Chale for producing Mwape
The whipping I got from chief Mutende cut all my beads

_Song II-64: An _mbeni_ accompanied on the _kankobele_ by Sitifini Nunda, 1981._
This was the only _mbeni_ I could find. Each line after the first stanza and refrain is worked out in the same way as the first stanza, all of them followed by the refrain.

65  _A _luwela_ song_

_Mwebalani ne nune ciwalewale mama yo_
_Uluwela ukuza iyo mwele ciwalewale mama_
_You with brothers sing loudly, mama yo_
_Luwela means: you _wela_ loudly while moving, mama_

_Song II-65: The _luwela_, a daughter of _mbeni_ as remembered by banaNshimbi, 1987._

66  _A fwandafwanda_ song_

_Mwebakashi anasho ngamwaleta_
_Pantu mukofina ati baNsenga mwakunkonwena ne nsonto ee oo_
_You wife, this dancing you brought_
_Because of your dancing like the Nsenga, you might break my penis_

_Song II-66: An old _fwandafwanda_ song as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986._

67  _A katambala_ song_

_Katambala kandi kaliluba - Nakulema kufwaya mu lubansa_
_Nibwangu bafwile bama - Cawayawaya nibwangu bafwile bama_
_Tekwendumaloko ku Kabuingo - Kumawilo pepi ne'Saninanga_
_Kabekala bata ba Wili kobekala ba Ciwila_

_My handkerchief is lost - I will really try to find it in the surroundings_
_It’s just recently that my mother died - Cawayawaya, it’s just recently that my mother died_
_I can’t go to Kabuingo - At the confluence near Saninga_
_Where my father, Wili, lives and where Ciwila lives_

_Song II-67: The song text that heralded the revival of _fwandafwanda_ under the name of _katambala_ in 1972 brought by the people of Kapampalwe seksioni, 1981. _Cawayawaya_ is a description of the sound of musical instruments accompanying mourning songs._
68 A kalindula song from 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solo</th>
<th>Chorus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zamara yawira mayo</td>
<td>Zamara yawira 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulelumba ba Chibale mayo</td>
<td>Tulelumba ba Chibale 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceze la pa manda mayo</td>
<td>Ceze la pa manda 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngalande yawina mayo</td>
<td>Ngalande yawina 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twatota Kaunda mayo</td>
<td>Twatota Kaunda 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekela ba Mebo mayo</td>
<td>Sekela ba Mebo 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba God ceule mayo</td>
<td>Ba God ceule 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbombola matak o mayo</td>
<td>Mbombola mataka 2x, 4x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zamara has come mother
We are praising chief Chibale
Sing all night at the grave
Ngalande has won
We thank Kaunda
Be cheerful Mable
Godfrey is fond of flirting
Push around your buttocks

Song II-68: A kalindula song brought by the Ngalande Kalindula Band at a kalindula Cila, 1981.

69 A kalindula song from 1985

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lyapyo lyapyola natuye twingile 2x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba cikumbe baletwita natuye twingile 2x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natuye twingile ba cikumbe wa bwalwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oo Sisi we tawaba bwino 2x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne misango yobe tayaba bwino 2x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne mibe lobyte tayaba bwino 2x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wamona ba Banda ee ba Banda bobawama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wamona ba John ba John bawama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisi we tawaba bwino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiara kiara ee kiara ee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoo yoo yoo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana anina motoka oh shimeshi mayo pa Ndola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimeshi mayo pa Ndola muli Jane ee 2x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muli Jane ee muli Jane ee 4x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The signal, there’s the signal, let’s go and enter
The brewer is calling us, let’s go and enter
Let’s go and enter, the brewer of beer
Oh Sisi, you, you are not good
And your manners are not good
And your habits are not good
You see Banda, ee Banda is nice
You see John, John is nice  
Sisi, you, you are not good  
Kiora kiora ee kiora ee  
Yoo yoo yoo  
Ana gets in a motorcar oh smash, mother, in Ndola  
Smash, mother, in Ndola into Jane ee  
Into Jane ee - into Jane ee

Song II-69: A *kalindula* song brought by the band Tula Twabane at a *Sandauni* at bana-Fale's, 1985.  
The band members get some beer at the beginning of the *Sandauni* and then are signalled by the organiser (brewer) to begin. *Sisi*, from ‘sister’, can be any woman who likes too many men. The ‘smash’ of crashing cars is meant as a warning against promiscuity and adultery.

70 A national *kalindula* song

_Ba Mwape ifyo babapamine mwebo kupama ati kwakwiponya inkoso_  
_Cikamba conse babatununa - endeshemi bamashinge_  
_Spoken: Balibapamine nonsenshi - ukubutuka ulubilo ukusha nencinga kwishilya - abo_  
_Umwaka bafwile ba Ndubenı kabatambika kuboko mwi ulu_  
_Nakaka ne usheme kamushala banababo_  
_Spoken: Twashila - ifyo twalufyenyeye muno mushi efyo tatwishipo_  
_Muyaya wa ngoma (Davy, Mwape, Chali, Kumwenda)_  
_Nebo muyaya bashiMaloba ee muyaya mawo nebo muyaya mawe_  
_Spoken: Ikatapo ikatapo iyo! iyakulishina bakulu iyakupalasha - Kabili lipayeni_  
_Fitenge mu lubunda na machekezte onse - Ikata!_  

How Mwape was beaten: it was beating that was meant to kill  
Everything was torn - hurry up, you messengers  
Spoken: He was beaten severely - he started running leaving his bicycle behind over there - there.  
In the year when Ndubenı died, he stretched his arm high and said:  
I have packed, me the unlucky, you remain, chorus  
Spoken: We are finished - where did we go wrong in this village, we don't know  
The drumming must continue [mentions band members]  
I, bashiMaloba, to continue ee to continue, me, to continue mawe  
Spoken: Beat the drums, beat the drums iyo! which the elders play faster - Dance until you're dead  
Put the cloth around your waist and all the jackets. - Hold! [one another]

_BashiMaloba* is a female possession spirit in a male medium. BashiMaloba wants her/his drumming to continue. The melody of this song is bashiMaloba’s. (Chalebaila, personal communication with Corien Unger, 1990)

71 Women’s critical song

_Cankole ubanda nshila eya eya_  
_Tanshakwibukile cankole wesu tupwe babili eya eya_  
_Nendi mwando wa bulungu eya eya_  
_Nangu amwamfulwa mwebalume mumbweleshe kwsu eya eya_  
_Kalatwala nka kasongole eya eya_
Kalimwibinde lya musesha katwalila amaleka/nkanika eya eya
We bwe witelenteta eya eya
Tsapelele mamafyala etuma mwana ati kamubenge eya eya
Kankolobwe kmwibala eya eya
Bani ukotuka we kankolobwe nkusasaula eya eya
Abakasha banesu buluya eya eya
Baipika mbatata kumatako shakanga nokunaka eya eya
Nati nkalapule mulilo/kalilo eya eya
Nasange'mipindo balia bana Musonda wesi eya eya
Nokutemena kwa mulupili eya eya
Nafwa mama wesi / nemulando'ubwebwe lwampoka amakasa eya eya
Mwaice/Kaice misha kumuna eya eya
Tukabone kumibepo kumunda baposia mukasungo eya eya
Mwitina mukishu kubulumya eya eya
Mbeli mwaubalile, mwatina nswe nswe kuwela eya eya
Ndikatele kalumbumbe eya eya
Nefi mulukulabila ndukunfwa eya eya
Fumbwa pepe alinjikete eya eya
Tekala mwaice ngamwakanda ubushike eya eya
You mappie who waggles like making a path eya eya
I didn't expect the two of us to get married eya eya
I am a rope of beads eya eya
If you are so angry with me, my husband, take me back home eya eya
This kasongole tree bears fruits eya eya
It bear fruits for so many eya eya
You grinding stone, don't move here and there eya eya
I grind for my mother-in-law so that she doesn't ask her son to divorce me eya eya
You bad pumpkin of the garden eya eya
Whom are you cursing, otherwise I smash you to pieces eya eya
My co-wife is a fool eya eya
She only half-cooked the potatoes eya eya
I wanted to getsome fire eya eya
Only to find the door barred; Musonda's mother has gone eya eya
Cultivating on the hill eya eya
Causes my feet to ache because of the gravel eya eya
Young one, take this little bit of nshina eya eya
Let's go and see where they cheat in the garden while making citeme circles eya eya
If you fear the roaring in the thicket eya eya
Then why did you start it; don't fear the cracking of leaves eya eya
I am a chicken's nest (under the roof edge of the nsaka) eya eya
All you talk about I hear it eya eya
The big he-goat has held me (caught) eya eya
If he were young, you would have 'treated' him during the night eya eya

Song II-71: A cisango sung by the women of Kapampalwe seksioni, 1981. All lines were sung twice. A performance might contain between four to all the stanzas. This recording contains the first eight stanzas.

The connotation of ubanda nshila is adultery (condeyende), in this case possibly result-
ing in polygyny. *Tupwe babili, pe:* marrying of men; *pwe:* marrying of women. The fruits of the *kasongole* are eaten when hunger strikes an area. *Kasongole* leaves are used during labour.

*Kankolobwe* is a dry kind of small pumpkin that is found in the field after everything has been harvested. Here it is the husband.

*Citeme* cultivation on a hill is heavy for the woman. A good husband chooses a place for cultivation that is also not too heavy for the wife.

‘Then why do you start it’: then why did you start the dangerous thing. Reference is made to the proverb (Proverb II-6) *Uwaingila mu mushitu, tomfwa nsanswa:* the one who enters the thicket expects the cracking of dead leaves. The one who starts something risky should not be frightened at first signs of possible risk.

‘I am a chicken's nest’: If you do not use proverbial language, then do not bring the topic while the children are around.

72 A pounding song

*Natwa neuli nenka iyo*
*Iliileile bama mwe oo - Natwa neuli nenka*
*Balume besa cipuba*
*Iliileile bama mwe oo - Natwa neuli nenka*
*Musowa wa tunga nebo iyo*
*Iliileile bama mwe oo - Natwa neuli nenka*
*Bama muncinsheko*
*Iliileile bama mwe oo - Natwa neuli nenka*

I pound all on my own *iyo*
Mourning mourning you, mother oo - I pound all on my own
My husband is crazy
Mourning mourning you, mother oo - I pound all on my own
Wailing of the pounding mortar, me, no
Mourning mourning you, mother oo - I pound all on my own
Mother, come to pound with me *iyo*
Mourning mourning you, mother oo - I pound all on my own

Song II-72: A pounding song by Margaret Chibuye, 1981.

73 Another pounding song

*Seni muncinshe muncinshe*
*Babukwe, ba mulamu*
*Nalikutwa kale nebo*
*Banandi bakulwala kulwala nandi kwabweshako*
*Bama iya ati besa balalume balalume bamukula nkule*
*Kamupengela bwa ka ati bakapeyeye*
*Bakapeyeye nindo bangamupela*
*Bama iyo ati besa balalume bamukule'nule (bamutobela cibwabwa)*
*Kupite'ya mukulo nkombwe ifyo babule'fyo balanda bana Bina Musonda*
*Nalikimbwa bwino kwati nakumanda nakumanda twakuye'li tubonga*
*Mwebashwala masuti kwati nakumanda nakumanda mwalikuye'li mubonga*
*Mama ne mulanda cibonga cakwimba cakwimba ne kabwa ne tunga*
*Cimbwi calabile kamutwa mwebashimbi*

Come and pound with me, pound with me
My brother/sister-in-law, my brother/sister-in-law
I was pounding in the past
My friends are sick while with me the disease has lessened my abilities in pounding
Mother, *iya*, said I, who are those men who are doing the deep hoeing
You who are poor, really really poor
What could these very poor ones give you
Mother, *iya*, who are the men who are doing the deep hoeing?
(I'll) pass via the path over there to listen how the mother of Bina Musonda begins, what she sings
I will be singing well because we can't do *kubonga* when we are taken to the grave
You who dress in suits do *kubonga* because you can't do it when you're taken to the grave
Mama, me the poor one, an artist doing *kubonga*, I am just a dog and a mortar
The hyena said it: just be pounding, you [marriageable] girls.

**Song II-73:** A pounding song by Elina Chibale, 1981. Doing the deep hoeing: deep hoeing was mostly done when rains were about to go, here it refers to dipping *nshima* deeply into the relish: eating a lot, and therefore causing a lot of work for the lonely singer.

### 74 Another pounding song

*Teti munsunge, banshi Borni*
*Teti munsunge apo bafwa bama*
*Seni muncinklemo*
*Seni muncinsho babukwe ba Kani nailila*
*Bama naingainga*
*Lelo naingainga neuli neka iya*
*Bama iyo nakubanainga ne kabwa ne tunga*
*Bama nali kumweba ba Eshinala mwitulo munshi*
*Nkomusha mukucula*
*Bunga bwandi nktwa*
*Nabako kabalyako nebo babukwe /bamulamu*
*Tubatwiletwile - Bamunshitota*

You can't take care of me, father of Borni
You can't take care of me because my mother is dead
Come and assist me to pound
Come and assist me, my sister-in-law, Kani, I cry
My mother I can't get over it
Today I can't get over it because I am alone *iya*
My mother, *iya*, I can't get over it, I am just a dog and a mortar
My mother I was telling you, Eshinala, don't put the pounding stick down
I will leave you in great sufferings
It's my mealie-meal I am pounding
With all that I prepare, it should be enough for the in-law[s] to take part
Let us pound for them - Those who do not thank you

**Song II-74:** A pounding song by Chibale Katumpa, 1981.

### 75 Two women's dance songs.

*Lubunda lwanji tentenkunya*
*Tentenkunya amenshi ku lubunda*

Hips of mine, shake it
Shake it, water in the hips
Part II

_Cilisha ngoma kumupo’lubunda - Cilisha ngoma_

The master drummer should be given the hips - The master drummer

Songs II-75a&b: Women’s songs frequently dealt with sexual matters or hinted at the relation between dancing and making love. No recording.

**Music examples**

1. **Serenje District guitar playing**
   I have no recordings of guitar music from Chibale but in 1957 Hugh Tracey made recordings of guitarists from Serenje District like for instance this excerpt of ‘Iuwale’ played by Mbasela Kunda & William Munyanda. It can be found on http://www.smithsonianglobalsound.org/trackdetail.aspx?itemid=40162.

2. **Patterns of the set of three mataba pa mbale (ciwaya)**
   Played by people from Milombwe with Sitifini Nunda on the cikulu, 1981. The two smaller ciwaya play 2 against 3.

3. **Patterns of the masamba-ing’omba**
   First we hear a short oral notation including the notation citaila for 2-against-3. Immediately after that we hear the two simple nsangwa patterns clapped while the solo nsangwa pattern is played on wood by Mika Mwape Chungwa.

4. **Kusansa and kupika of the master drum 1**
   Excerpt of Ciwila drumming during an Ipuvo. The master drummer, Pepa Bulaya, plays kusansa: playing only strokes alternated one time by kupikulula between the twelfth and fifteenth second.

5. **Kusansa and kupika of the master drum 2**
   Excerpt of Ciwila drumming during an Ipuvo. The master drummer, Pepa Bulaya, alternates kusansa and kupikulula. The loud and fast drumming starting after 11.5 seconds is also kupikulula, be it of the asashila type. It could be played with half of the strokes but the player may add ‘peanut-butter to this relish’: it doesn’t change it in essence but makes it nicer.

6. **Kusansa and kupika of the master drum 3**
   Excerpt of Mwami drumming during an Ipuvo. Typical Mwami master drumming, kupika pepipepi: a rather swift alternation of kusansa, kupikulula and kupika. In general, it stays close to the pattern played at the beginning, kupikulula, and gives some heavier kupika near the end.

7. **Kusansa and kupika of the master drum 4**
   Excerpt of Ciwila drumming during an Ipuvo. At the beginning and at the end the master drummer, Pepa Bulaya, gives various kupika in a short time: kupikulula, in-between there is kusansa.
8 Kace patterns
Oral notation of the patterns I, II and kupikulula of the Ciwila kace as treated in Elaboration II-B.

9 Mukonkonto patterns
The mukonkonto is played here by Alube Mika to the accompaniment of a song he sings. In the beginning the mukonkonto follows the song and in the second part it has a fixed pattern as if there were no singing.

10 The instruments in older kalindula
The beginning of a kalindula song played by the Mukopa Kalindula Band in 1981. First we hear the banjo, followed by the cisekele, soon followed by the kace and then the babatoni.

11 The ilimba ensemble
Analytical recording of the ilimba ensemble, played on pieces of wood instead of the real instruments. We hear the cibitiku playing 2-1-1-2 (“ci-ta-ia-ia”) and the cibitiku 2-4 (“ndi-ndi”) with the player imitating the left hand covering the hole with the voice (“mu-mbu”) then the ikulu starts.

12 Tone groups on the kalimba
In the example, played on a digital kalimba, we hear the different tone groups. Each cycle is played four times.
1. all tone groups together
2. kace tone group only
3. cibitiku tone group only
4. iyikulu tone group only
5. kace and cibitiku tone groups
6. kace and iyikulu tone groups
7. cibitiku and iyikulu tone groups
8. all tone groups together.
The cibitiku tone group contains more tones than the other two. This holds for the tone groups in melodies too. The reason for this is that, as with drumming, “the cibitiku is everywhere” (konsekonse).

13 The ndibu played together with masamba and nsangwa
On the recording we hear the Ciwila dancing of Mwela. Together with the clearly audible nsangwa sounds and the softer, rustling sound of the masamba we hear the small bells ringing.

14 The sound of the ngolwa
We hear a typical passage of ngolwa playing. It combines calling parts with musowa wa mfwa parts (compare with Music example II-15).

15 The lamentation of the ngolwa player
Here Music example II-14 is, slightly differently, performed with the voice.
Mwebe we lilo - lilo lilo lilo lilo lilo
Wo wo wo wo wo lilo
Mwebe we lilo - nemulanda bama ee
Nemulanda bama wesu ee
Yoo woo woo
Mwebe we mbalulya lubamfwa bamama wanji ee yoo
You, honeyguide, lilo - lilo lilo lilo lilo
Wo wo wo wo wo lilo
You, honeyguide, lilo - I the poor one, my mother ee
I the poor one, my mother ee
Iyo woo woo
You, honeyguide, how [heavy] it is since my mother died ee yoo

We hear the calling of the honeyguide followed by *musowa wa mfwa* for the deceased mother. The *musowa* is to convince the honeyguide that we are in grave troubles.

16 *Mabotolo playing*

*Mabotolo*, the playing of *mitungu* with bottles instead of gourds, as remembered by Alube Mika (2 bottles: *kace* and *ikulu*) and Basil Chisonta (1 bottle: *cibitiku*). The *kace* bottle is always left open. The *cibitiku* opens every other hit. The *ikulu* opens *panono* (slowly) meaning that it opens just after hitting. The rhythm is a simple alternating eighth notes beat while the *cibitiku* plays quarter notes. Another not recorded pattern was: *cibitiku*: 2-2-2-2-2-2-2-2-2-2-2; *kace*: 3-3-3-3-3-3-3-3; *ikulu*: 1-1-1-3-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-3-3. Here the *ikulu* opens just after hitting a 3.

17 *Mutolilo playing*

*Mutolilo* played by Agripa Musonda, 2007. The *mutolilo* was made by Agripa after the example of the flute imported from Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia) that he bought in the shops in the 1970s to play *patapata* music at Sandauni.

18 *The smelters’ ensemble*

The oral notations are given of four bellows patterns in the smelters’ ensemble followed by the master bellows (*nsapa*).

19 *Three patterns for the master bellows*

The oral notations of three master bellows (*nsapa*) patterns, separated by one second of silence. The first one is the line played by the son-in-law in Story II-2. The second one is like a *mankubala* song but then from an elder’s perspective. The third one contains two praise names for hunters. Patterns like these including patterns giving an interpretation of animals’ sounds were important in former days. In the 1980s they were used only sometimes.

*Kabuko ikanga bantana*
At my in-laws they refuse me a guinea-fowl

*Umwana atomfwa nyina mbatumufulamine omfwwe*
A child that doesn’t listen to the mother: maybe we should bend over to show our buttocks, so he’ll understand.

*Kabunga mafupa, kabunga mafupa - Colobola, colobola*
The bone gatherer; the bone gatherer - The inviter, the inviter

20 *Three patterns of the peku ensemble*

The three patterns of the *peku* ensemble with the *iyikulu* at the end.
21 Musowa wa mfwa
An excerpt of the musowa wa mfwa of Yunike Kamwanya for her grandfather at his cililo, 2007.

Babapele lunda bama
Mwalya ibu mungalokupakila malampu bashikulu ... tali bufi
Bamayo oo ee
Ngapali balalume ... iyo nshima
Nganaeba ati ... leteni
Tuakopeke nshima iyo mwasakubapela
Bamayo oo ee
Bamayo wanjie ee
Bamayo oo iye ee
Ye ee
Bamayo ee
Ngale bamayo nemwine ngabakopitana ku menso
Ngabakoti koya mukwisha nabamayo munsaka
Bama ee oo
Bamayo ee
Iye ee
Cipalamfumu nemwine bama ee
Cipalamfumu nemwine bamayo
[Kunuma] Mwalya poisoni bana Kunda mwe
Bababikila munshima baku ee
Ni munshima bababikile baku ee
Kalumba kaikila munshima baku ee
Bambuya imwe yo ee
Baku wanjie ee
Mayo oo
Tabalefwaya kulila
Bashale nkunta baku ee
Baku wanjie ee
Mukamposeshe bana mayo

He was given poison, mother
You ate it yourself, why give food lumps to my grandfather ... it is deceit
Mother oo ee
If there were men ... that nshima
I would have said: "Bring it over here"
We’d have gone to collect the nshima you gave him
Mother oo ee
My mother ee
Mother oo iye ee
Ye ee
Oh my mother
Oh my mother, may he [grandfather] pass once more in front of my eyes
Asking me to pass time with my mother in the nsaka
Mother ee oo
Mother ee oo
Iye oo
To me he was a chief, mother ee
He was a chief to me, mother
[In the background] You have eaten poison, banaKunda, you
They put it in the nshima of grandfather ee
It is in his nshima that they put it ee
It is the lightening that struck/entered his nshima ee
Hey you grandmother ee
My grandfather ee
Mother oo
She doesn't want to mourn
She has remained heart-broken, oh grandmother
My grandfather ee
Kindly greet my children [on my behalf]

22 *The drum patterns of the cimbilingoma*
Oral notation of the drum patterns of the *cimbilingoma* as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
PART III

ANALYSIS OF MUSIC IN CHIBALE
Introduction

Next to documenting the repertoires of music and their histories, I have followed three paths to come to an understanding of music in Chibale and to some insight into the way music was understood in Chibale. I have looked at whether representations of music existed or could be made that explained the characteristics of music. I have examined how people in Chibale found meaning in music and what the (emotional) content was of their engagement with music. I have tried to find out what they cared for most in their music and why and how they cared about it.

Put in other words, we are interested in the natures, the meanings and the values attributed to music by the people in Chibale, both by specialists and by the general public.

Methods used

To be able to study these subjects research into the ideas and opinions of specialists was necessary as well as into those of the general public in Chibale. The methods used to work with both types of informants will be treated in this section.

Methods followed for working with specialists

The level of knowledge of a small number of exegetes, specialists in music and ritual, and the way they were able to place music in a much broader context as well as the observation of recurrences of certain phenomena in possession music and rituals brought me to the idea of developing a theory about possession music together with the exegetes. I worked together using a dialogic method aiming at intersubjectivity between exegetes - particularly the shing’anga Mika Mwape Chungwa, banaNshimbi and Salati Mukoti (see the section ‘Short life stories of the exegetes who contributed to this thesis’ at the beginning of Part II) - and researcher. This co-operation was also used for other material in Part III, i.e. the material covering the specialists’ vantage points. As an example of how this co-operation worked I will now go into more detail as to the construction of the theory about music.

Before the theory about music was formulated only descriptive and evaluative terms and a number of stories and song texts were present as a set of (at best implicitly related) statements. To come to a larger set of related statements I gathered material and discussed it with the shing’anga, incorporated material brought forward by Mika Mwape Chungwa and elaborated consecutive versions of the theory with him, discussed these versions with the other shing’anga and others, brought up subjects of discussion, such as material deduced from practice, and observed differences between the theory in development and practice. Before we could round off this cyclical process, Mika Mwape Chungwa died. However, the descriptive and analytic materials presented in the first section of Chapter 7 all were worked out together with him, though he never heard them or commented on them in the worked-out order in which they are presented here.
The day after the conversation in which Mika Mwape Chungwa first brought to light the importance of the *mpanga* (nature, the deep forest, spirits) for the village (culture, humans) in a conversation about the making of new music and the origin of music, he told me the story, transcribed in Chapter 7, that eventually led to the theory presented here. During the night, the spirits possessing him had told him to use that story to show the nature of the relation between the *mpanga* and the village. We were still far from formulating any theory about music then. I started to present material gathered from the rituals - the symbols and signs, the music, the texts, the healing methods, the use of words, the dance, the clothing, and other aspects of the present possession cults - as well as from sources about the Lala area and neighbouring areas. I discussed this material at length with Mika Mwape Chungwa and also with the two other *shing'anga*, though of course the development of this theory was not the only subject discussed. After that I made new observations, and a set of related statements about music and many other things gradually emerged. I discussed versions of this theory in development with other *shing'anga*, mediums, and musicians from Chibale as well as from Luanshya. To obtain an impression of how widely known and accepted verbalisations of these ideas were, a survey was held among forty possessed persons. Generally, all *shing'anga* in Chibale, as well as those interviewed in Luanshya, agreed on the central importance of the exchange between the *mpanga* and the village, but typically did not agree on all of its consequences for healing, music, dance, and other aspects of the possession cults.

For the repertoires study and the theory I co-operated especially with Mika Mwape Chungwa, because he was a fountain of music and historical knowledge. He was the most interested in trying to make things explicit and find accurate verbalisations and examples, as well as giving greater depth to the theory in development. His motive was wanting his knowledge ('deep Lala knowledge') to be recorded before he died. Though amused, he went along with my motive of finding a form to present it outside of a context of direct application. I used the many conversations, interviews, and observations of practice with the other two *shing'anga* as feedback for further deliberations with him. Later, I co-operated with banaNshimbi on the importance of song texts and the results of Survey 1985/86 and Survey 1987. In the 2000s I especially co-operated with Alube Mika on music theoretical and practical subjects.

The goal I have sought is neither new nor unusual among musicologists. However, the intersubjective form of theory development, the prolonged and continuous discussion between researcher and exeges, aimed at the construction of a theory about their music, requires more explicit attention, in my view, than published accounts reveal. Musicological knowledge is not derived only from the answers to questions one person (the researcher) asks of others (the informants). As researchers, we also look for data that are not answers to specific, prearranged questions. These data, of course, are found mainly in performances and events. But most musicologists would agree that little improvement has been made if one one-way communication (informants answering questions) is replaced by the other (researchers writing about the structures they find in the performance data). When exeges are present and prepared, a possible way out of this is a form of two-way intersubjective theory development that is not only a final aim of the researcher, but a primary aim of both parties.

A number of the problems are related to this option (adapted from Giannattasio 1987). To what extent do the basic theoretical assumptions of the researcher determine the observations for the theory and the construction of the theory? In which cases are the researcher's views more valid than those of the local theorists? Is it necessary for the final formulation of a theory to be explicitly and consciously acceptable for the local theorists? Can the researcher include parts that the local theorists do not agree upon or with? Can parts be included that seem to work subconsciously or unconsciously? Do linguistic data such as terms and other metamusical expressions form a sufficient basis for
the construction of a theory? How explicit, accessible, and elaborate is the local theory in question? If the theory is almost completely implicit, does the influence of the researcher become too large? Should we still speak of a 'local theory' then? How 'scientific' are local theories and their presentations or paraphrases by researchers? To what extent can and should they comply with the classical requirements of falsifiability, coherence, objectivity, and universality? Will cross-cultural comparison between a number of local theories be worthwhile?

These questions draw attention to the fact that in any research the optimal position has to be found in an area of tension defined by the informants' perspective and the researcher's perspective, knowledge connected to individuals or groups and 'objective knowledge,' data collection and development of theory, and cultural validity and cross-cultural validity (after Kloos 1984: 186). In this research I tried to come to a certain measure of convergence of my perspectives and those of the exegetes in Chibale judging that a set of related statements about music that we created together was worth more than an 'objective' construction made by me. Or, in the terms used in the first chapter: since, by lack of an explicit original, translatio was not possible, we co-operated to come to an imitatio.

**Methods followed for investigating the general public in Chibale**

*Quantitative methods and the public in musicology*

Quantitative methods are a good help in investigating what moves the members of the public: the helpers, the receivers, the recoders, the ones providing the feedback for a successful performance, the reusers, the recontextualisers of the music. The lack of interest in musicology in applying these methods could be a sign of a lack of interest in the public. Indeed, much attention is often given to the musical product and its producers. With the exception of popular music studies, the public often comes off badly. This is puzzling since conveying is an undisputed side of the musical process.

Exception for the study of musical material, musicologists do not often use quantitative methods. Reducing an individual to a set of data and a group of people to a data matrix, admittedly, is disrespectful. But quantitative methods can also be used to support the qualitative work. If the collection and analysis of quantitative data form a modest part of the research, they may enhance its significance, especially when attention for larger groups involved in the music studied is necessary. Data gathered in qualitative research and results of the analysis of those data should be used to interpret the quantitative data. And, the results of the quantitative data analysis may be used to throw light upon the qualitative material.

Audience research, then, is not particularly at the centre of musicological attention. Yet ethnographical methods, like those used in anthropology and musicology, are at the centre of attention of (media) audience research after the latter, like some other branches of social and cultural studies in the 1990s, made an 'ethnographic turn' (Livingstone 2003: 344):

Thus the crucial transition was made from text to context, from literary/semiotic analysis to social analysis (Morley 1992a). Of course, these should not be posed as either/or options, for the moment of reception is precisely at the interface between textual and social determinations and so requires a dual focus on media content and audience response.

By nature, audience definition is one of the concerns of audience research. Livingstone (2003) outlines that in the second half of the twentieth century the description of western audiences has seen a shift in conception and attention from the mass audience that
Part III

passively consumed centrally broadcast content to an audience of individual members, all being constructors of meaning. Secondly, the widespread metaphor of communication transmission that assumes that communication merely requires the more or less efficient transport of fixed and already-meaningful messages in a linear manner from sender to receiver has been contrasted with the idea of a cyclical process, a circuit of articulated practices - production, circulation, reception, reproduction – each of which represents a site and side of meaning-making. It is stimulating to see that the emergence of the new, individualised media has brought the audience researchers to using ethnographic methods. How embedded the idea of a passive, mass audience was, and possibly still is, in the west is exemplified by the fact that in many fields of cultural studies the central focus of attention was great artists or thinkers and their products. This expresses itself in the fact that in audience research some findings are considered to be new that reveal more than they bring, like: “The life of signs within modern society is in large measure an accomplishment of the audience” (Bruhn Jensen as cited in Livingstone 2003: 343). The strange thing is that though this assertion may sound obvious to most musicologists, so little research has been done into that audience.

Though the research presented here was done in the 1980s, it addresses some of the questions, if paraphrased, posed by present-day audience research. How were relations among people framed as one of ‘audience’? Did certain kinds of texts produce certain kinds of audience? How did the social relations among people shape the communicative possibilities of gatherings with music, enabling some and inhibiting others? Which were the intersections and disjunctions between processes of encoding (makers) and decoding (public), contextualising both within a complex cultural framework? How did people’s tacit knowledge ‘fill the gaps’ or reframe the meaning of texts, resulting in divergent interpretations of the very same texts?

As Robert Allen (1987) argued, once textual and literary theorists had made the crucial transition to a reader-oriented approach, context flooded in for two reasons: first, the shift from asking about meaning of the text in and of itself, to asking about the meaning of the text as achieved by a particular, contextualised reader (i.e. the shift, in Eco’s terms, from the virtual to the realised text); second, the shift from asking about the meaning of the text to asking about the intelligibility of the text (i.e. about the diversity of sociocultural conditions which determine how a text can make sense). (Livingstone 2003: 12)

Data collection

Considering all of the arguments given in the literature in the 1980s (see Appendix B, section 1), I came to three practicable techniques of quantitative data collection in audience research (Survey 1985/86 and Survey 1987).

The respondents are asked to mention the names of those genres they prefer (and of those that they dislike), to give examples in words of these genres, and to give the reasons for each preference (and for each dislike).

The respondents are asked to value-score or rate music examples of genres or styles that are played for them, to give examples of similar music in words, and to give the reasons for each score or rating scheme.

The respondents are asked to arrange music examples played for them according to a number of given qualities of an affective, associative, descriptive, evaluative, and functional nature, to give similar examples in words, and to give the reasons for each arrangement.

With all three techniques it is necessary to take into account the correspondence between the survey form and the forms of musical evaluation common in the research area, the representativeness of the music examples used and the suitability of the qualities used in the third technique. Of the three practicable techniques the first two were
used. The third method eventually was not used because I could not get a clear picture of what it would measure.

Quantitative data for this thesis were gathered in two surveys. The first one was done in 1985/86 to get an impression about what aspects of music and dance were important for the groupings of people that used certain types of music and dance, especially for those attending the rituals at which the spirit-possessed played an important role. It was important to find out what their preferences were, what they paid attention to in music and dance, and what their knowledge and standpoints were in some matters concerning possession and music and dance. The second survey was performed in 1987. It used music examples and was aimed at gaining more knowledge about (the process of) musical evaluation and song text interpretation in Chibale in general. (See Appendix B, section 2 for information on the set-up and the way of performing the surveys. The questionnaires can be found in Appendix B, section 3 and Appendix B, section 4. In 2004 a survey was done combining the subjects of the two surveys of the 1980s, see Appendix B, section 5).

Usefulness of surveys
One should not expect much new data from a survey. For the greater part the result will be many ordered lists of answers given and a run-down of adjustments and confirmations of things already thought of or guessed at. There are the possibilities to combine data for analysis that make a survey worthwhile. These form a good starting-point for further exploration of the subject and may serve to get inspiration for new ideas. It is mainly this exploratory side of surveys that is useful; we don't seek to prove anything with statistics.

A survey should be based on an adequate knowledge of the field, not on a lack of knowledge. A survey as a major method of data collecting or a survey held at the beginning of the research period will more often than not yield superficial, incomplete or unreliable data and data interpretation.

Issues with surveys are many. To mention some: the unfamiliarity of the informants with the interview situation and style, the rapport between interviewer and informant, correct formulation of questions, correct order of questions, representativeness of the sample, categorisation of answers, handling of missing data, use of appropriate analysis techniques and the checking of interpretations made on the bases of the data. The returns, however, can be good, if the quantifications and the analyses are interpreted against the background of an independent source of information, usually the researcher's own comprehensive non-quantitative fieldwork and possibly that of others.

Data analysis
It may be a comfort to many musicologists that data analysts are not uncompromising statisticians. They even tend to say understandable things. According to Tukey, the pioneer of such data analysis, exploratory data analysis much more than a catalogue of techniques is an attitude and a flexibility: “a willingness to look for what can be seen, whether anticipated or not wholly anticipated” while recognising “that the picture-examining eye is the best finder we have of the wholly anticipated” (as cited in Gifi 1981: 27,28). In the cyclic process of conjectures and refutations that forms development and discovery, the task of exploratory data analysis is to come up with conjectures. As a result the interpretability of representations of data is of prime importance. Practicable quantitative techniques of (exploratory) data analysis in musical preference research should yield visual representations of data that appeal to the eye's pattern recognising ability.
Plots

At various places in this study plots are used to visually represent quantitative data. In the plots the relative positions of the categories of all variables in analysis are represented in one space that, for reasons of interpretability, has only two dimensions. The first two dimensions often give us a fairly clear idea of the most important effects in the data (Gifi 1981: 58).

The plots use the intuitively appealing image of distance for dissimilarity. Consequently, the categories belonging to the ‘average set of answers’ are placed close to the origin (zero-point) and the more peculiar an answer (category) is the larger the distance to the origin. In addition, the angle made by the lines drawn from the origin to points corresponding to the categories of two different variables is informative: when two lines point in the same direction this indicates a positive relationship between the two categories involved; when they point in opposite directions a negative relationship is indicated; when they make an angle of 90°, there is no relationship. (See Appendix B, section 6 for more information on the two techniques used.)
Chapter 7 - Representation of music

In this chapter we will look at two sides of the representation of music in Chibale in the 1980s: the representation of a, possibly existing, higher-order structure of music and the representation of individual musical features\(^5\).

Theories about music

A theory about music developed in co-operation with Chibale exegetes

Introduction

In the first part of this chapter I present my paraphrase of a theory about music\(^6\) developed in collaboration with Mika Mwape Chungwa. Major contributions to the development of the theory were made by banaNshimbi and Salati Mukoti. By ‘a theory about music’ I mean a set of related statements aimed at explaining or predicting certain musical phenomena.

I will begin with a discussion of the world view shared in the possession cults that is at the core of most of the theory and formal practice. Some relevant information about spirit possession as well as an examination of the parameters of the various rituals at which mediums play a crucial role were discussed in the previous Part and for the sake of clarity will be repeated in short. Then enough information will have been provided to present the theory about music (and ritual) developed in co-operation. In the second section of the chapter additional music representational issues will be treated.

The world view of the Chibale shing’anga

The central issue in the world view of the shing’anga was the exchange (kupelana) relation that existed between the mpanga and the mushi (literally ‘village’: culture, the human world). Knowledge of this reciprocal relation is of great importance to the understanding of the theory about music presented here. The following story outlines this exchange relation. It is a literal transcription of an ilyashi ya kale, a ‘story with a historical background’ told by Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986, listen to Story III-1.
Mpanga and Village were friends, but, mind you, their friendship was not very good. To some extent it was good, but not really good, no. So, you see, at a given moment Mpanga said to Village concerning their friendship, the giving to each other of things: “You should give to me the things that belong to the village.” And Village [echoed]: “You should give to me the things that belong to the mpanga.” So, when a human being dies they [the villagers] give him to Mpanga, and Mpanga takes the game and makes it enter the village. So then they were in friendship in these ways. The things that are done in the village and the things that are done in the mpanga are interrelated; they are not in contradiction, no.

Story III-1: The friendship between nature and culture, as told by Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986.

An extremely concise formulation of the meaning of this story\(^2\) can be found in the aphorism: Iyi fwe bantu kula no’kufwa - The important things for us, human beings, are to eat and to die\(^3\) (Aphorism III-1).

The exchange relation and the interrelation between the things that are done in the mpanga and in the village formulated in this story were of central importance to the way the shing’anga described and explained what happens in the spiritual, musical, and other domains.

The friendship between the mpanga and the village is like that between an elder and a young person. The elder possesses many kinds of things, such as knowledge and material products, and gives some of them to his protégé. The latter can do little more than reciprocate with gratitude, enthusiasm, and vitality and must always take care to please the elder in order to continue the contact.

‘Nothing is made in the village, everything (ultimately) comes from the mpanga’ (Takwabapo icipangwa kuno mu mushi, iyo, [nangu acaba shani] ni mu mpanga sifuma fyonse, the stem -panga meaning ‘to make’), especially those things that were only obtained at the risk of being stained (kukowela, becoming impure), such as meat, medicine, new songs, and new ideas. When one entered the mpanga and appropriated its products, one entered into obligations to the owners of the mpanga (bene ba mpanga): the spirits of big animals, those associated with big hills and other nature spirits, a few major spirits with vague historical connotation, and the spirits of remembered specialists, headmen, and chiefs.

As seen in the section ‘Kupupa’ in Chapter 5, the state in which one was able to obtain things from the mpanga was called ishuko while the opposite state was called ishamo (mpanga lyankana, the mpanga refuses me). The purpose of all kupupa was to be granted (the continuation of)

ishuko, to prevent ishamo or to resolve ishamo. As seen earlier, three terms were used to describe the types of kupupa in more detail. Kwilimuna (recharge, reactivate): rejoicing about the work of the mpanga, mostly with the purpose of being granted the continuation of ishuko. Kulila (mourn): mourning, with the purpose of preventing or resolving ishamo. Kucitila (make, repair): actions with the purpose of resolving ishamo (misfortune, illness or other distress).

Methods of communication used by the mpanga with the village include ishuko (prosperity, good fortune), ishamo (adversity, ill fortune), dreams, omens, and songs. People specialised in dealing with two processes of prime importance, the obtaining (kupoka) from the mpanga and the giving (kupupa) to the mpanga, often were mediums (see Elaboration III-A).

Every event in which an exchange between the mpanga and the village occurs, or should occur, can be characterised by transitions (kufuma) within a limited set of basic concepts called ‘true things’ (cintu cinenene, true thing, matter, quality, state, or action). Each basic concept has an aspect ‘belonging to the mpanga’ (fya mu mpanga) and an aspect ‘belonging to the village’ (fya ku mushi). These aspects ‘hold each other, produce each other’ (fyalikatana). During the event, contacts or transitions continuously occur.
between the two aspects of a small number of basic concepts. Important examples of this will be discussed below, such as the transitions in music between the aspects 'high' and 'low' and in ritual between the aspects 'hot' and 'cold.' As the story demonstrates, it is not the opposition between things belonging to the *mpanga* and things belonging to the village that is vital, but the contacts or transitions between them.

**Elaboration III-A: The exchange relation between the mpanga and the village**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of products</th>
<th>Forms of information</th>
<th>Mediators</th>
<th>Mediation means</th>
<th>Forms of kupupa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>food products</td>
<td><em>ishuko/ishamo</em></td>
<td>spirits</td>
<td>music</td>
<td>offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new ideas</td>
<td><em>omens/dreams</em></td>
<td>mediums</td>
<td>ritual</td>
<td>invocations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new music</td>
<td><em>song texts</em></td>
<td>shrines</td>
<td>life style</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These structural relations may ring a bell. There are parallels between the *mpanga* and village aspects and, for instance, the cosmological codes extracted by de Heusch (1982) from the myths and initiation rituals of Central African groups, among which is included one myth in ciLala. Where de Heusch completely based his structural analysis on secondary sources, what I present here has been constructed in dialogue with exegetes working in Chibale, and is based on the story and on the theoretical categories used by the exegetes themselves.

There are more differences between the theory presented here and structuralist or dualist theories. The *shing'anga* did not use dualism as a simple complementarity. Depending on the situation, things were considered from an *mpanga* or from a village perspective. Aspects of a true thing that belonged to the *mpanga* in one situation might belong to the village in another. There was no symmetry between *mpanga* and village aspects. The story makes clear that the *mpanga* aspects were superior in the first instance. There was no homology between *mpanga* and village aspects. The importance of aspects depended on the situation under consideration.

A citation of Serge Tcherkézoff, who reconsidered (scientific) dual classification, can place this issue in a wider context. Writing about research on classification in non-modern societies in general, he states “If one refrains from imposing a binary choice upon the symbols [for instance, left or right], one becomes aware of hierarchical constructions. The poles of each opposition are not in the same relation to the whole to which they refer. Different values organise hierarchised symbolic levels. Passing from one context to another will therefore sometimes involve a change of level, and reversal will be meaningful too” (1987: 6, emphasis in original). Note, by the way, that the one addressed in this citation is a researcher working out his ‘objective’ (one-way) theory. Moreover, central to the theory presented here are not the oppositions between *mpanga* and village aspects but the contacts or transitions between them. Every event in which an exchange between the *mpanga* and the village occur or should occur, can be characterised by contacts or transitions between aspects of a limited set of true things.

Neither the story nor the interconnected world view of the *shing'anga* were general knowledge in Chibale. Many people only came into contact with them when they themselves, or a relative or friend, were in a situation of distress. The capability of their world
view to be applied to a variety of problems in order to find solutions defined a part of the power of the shing’anga.

In Chapter 3 I described how there was a clear relation between the success in singing and dancing of a medium and the healing and solving power attributed to him. The possessed saw this success as the proof of an optimal kumfwana between the possessed and the possessing spirit(s). This optimal kumfwana then would enable the spirit to completely work through the medium and therefore be successful in healing and solving problems.

In Chapter 5 several rituals have been described in which the possessed play an important role. All these rituals aimed at a controlled contact between the mpanga and the village. We saw how a number of aspects of these rituals, like the course of events, the physical layout, the behaviour of drummers and dancers, contributed to the securing of a controlled contact or, to put it differently, we saw how they produced and reproduced the contact. But how did ‘the music itself’ produce and reproduce this contact?

A theory about music

Amalimbe’fi alila kwa Chibale
Alila mwina mukala akula panshi alila sensenta mbanindo
Nashala nenka mwantengamina / bantengamina / owowo

How the malimba sound in Chibale
They sound downward and upward, they drag over the ground,
they sound doing sensenta, but why
I am left alone with all of you against me/ with all against me/ owowo

Song III-1: Cinsengwe brought by the cinsengwe-ing’omba Citelela in the 1930s as brought by an ensemble led by chief Chibale in 1981.

The second line of this song gives highly condensed essential information for the theory about music that is presented here. The translation of this line as given above therefore is prosaic. We will have to look at each word (group) separately.

Malimba, one-note xylophones, as we have seen this term also refers to musical instruments in general and, as is the case here, to songs accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.

Alila mwina mukala: the music creates a state of -inamina, a repeated forward movement up and down as it is done by people mourning who, while seated, place their hands on the back of their necks and slowly rock back and forth while bending forward.

Akula panshi: -kula means to drag, to grow or to cultivate; panshi means on the ground, below, in the human world⁸.

Alila sensenta: sensenta refers to a specific movement, the best example of which can be found in the flight of the honeyguide. This bird has a symbiotic relation with humans: it needs humans to obtain its food and people need it to obtain honey. Sometimes the bird tries to attract the attention of a human who walks in the mpanga. More often, it will be the human who tries to summon the honeyguide by playing the ngolwa while roaming through the mpanga. He laments musowa wa mfwa, partly on the ngolwa (listen to Music examples II-14 and II-15) to show the bird he is in grave trouble⁹. The honeyguide then will show itself and fly ahead and return, skimming the ground to show where to go and to show it is still there, upward and downward again. In this way the bird leads the human to a bee’s nest in a tree. The nest is smoked out and emptied, and the human takes the honey and gives the comb with larvae to the honeyguide. The cyclical forward movement, up and down, in the flight of the honeyguide is called sensenta.
Nashala nenka bantengamina. This line may come as a surprise; however, references to mourning and funerals are already present in the second line and in the fact that the song is a cinsengwe. The song text was applicable to all situations in which one had the feeling of being the next one to die or to get into serious trouble. When the song was sung privately, for instance with lamellophone accompaniment, the singer may sing mwantengamina: with all of you against me. This shows possible witches that one is on guard. In a social context bantengamina or mwantengamina may be mitigated to owowo (mourning sound).

The second line of the song explains precisely how music should sound. The words mwinamina, -kula panshi, and sensenta indicate that kupupa music, in this case mourning or giving to the mpanga music, is played downward to the ground, that it moves over the ground and then goes up again. The first and last words indicate the repetitive nature of the process. Since in this context ‘earth,’ ‘ground,’ and ‘below’ belong to the village and ‘above’ to the mpanga, this is another formulation of the exchange defined in the story, emphasising the role of music in the contact between mpanga and village.

The word sensenta evoked an image: something that belongs to ‘above’ (the honeyguide) comes down through the mediation of giving to the mpanga music (the cinsengwe) to yield something good (the honey) (see also the text of Song III-2). The mediators in this process are the honeyguide and the ngolwa player (analogous to the dancer and the drummer). The means of mediation is music. The flight of the honeyguide, sensenta, is produced and reproduced by the ngolwa player’s music. The flight of the honeyguide serves as a model for a productive contact between the mpanga and the village. This contact is produced by and reproduced in music that does sensenta. (See also Elaboration III-B. In Chapter 8 other interpretations of Song III-1 by exegetes and by the general public in Chibale will be discussed, under Mourning and good music.)

Elaboration III-B: Cimo cine (‘the same’) revisited

An illustration of the concept cimo cine (‘the same’) discussed in the paragraph ‘The same song and different songs’ in Chapter 6 can be given here.

The ngolwa is especially used to attract the honeyguide. While following, you can also make some sounds with your mouth like lilo or oo. You play the wailing sounds (musowa wa mfwa) because you are in trouble. The relation between the honeyguide and the human is cimo cine as that between Kaluwe and the hunter. Both have to do kwilimuna. The honey gatherer (cibinda ca buci: honey hunter) will put offerings of meal under trees, just like the hunters (cibinda ca nama: game hunter) do. The seeing of the honeyguide in the mpanga is cimo cine as the dreams Kaluwe gives the hunters in the mpanga. Like the mourning songs on the ngolwa, there is a lot of singing in the temporary shelter of the hunters (mutanda). Nowadays a Kaluwe possessed can even have these dreams in the village; they are given by Kaluwe possession spirits. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

It is as attractive as speculative to think that in the ecological cult specific music and musical performance in the mpanga was used by men to obtain specific products and information through dreams and musical inspiration to bring these to the village.

Doing sensenta

Good music does sensenta. Music doing sensenta produces and reproduces an effective contact between mpanga and village. As will be demonstrated in this section, many structures in music are modelled on this sensenta form.

Playing slanting downward, playing ‘down to earth,’ so that the music moves over the ground and bounces up, is the normal playing position for all musical instruments in kupupa music in Chibale. A further formulation of the acoustics of the shing’anga is found
in the rule, and practice, that music has to be played in an easterly direction in order to
have it return, i.e. to ensure its repetitive, cyclical character. Aphorism III-2: *Kumbonshi
takuya ubwela* or *Kumbo takuya ababwela*: a person or something human that goes west
will never return.13 The drummers in the dance circle, for instance, always take care that
their drums point slanting downward in an easterly direction14 (see Figure II-2).

As we have seen in Chapter 4, the construction of ensembles in Chibale was tripartite:
three drums, three one-note-xylophones, three shaken idiophones, three tuned stamped
calabashes, and three panpipes. The keys, eight to thirteen, of the two lamellophone
types found in Chibale were divided in three groups. The instrument to ward off birds
consisted of three hollow, wooden sounding boats. The musical bow produced three
tones. The board-zither had three strings.

The middle instrument of an ensemble or the middle tone group of one instrument
starts the music, followed by the high one, then by the low one (sometimes the high one
starts, followed by the middle, then the low one). The high and low tone groups of an instru-
mment or parts of the ensemble are called *kace* (small) and *iyikulu* (big) respectively. It
is noteworthy that the pattern of the *cibitiku* (the middle drum, the starter), the back-
ground against which the high and low drums interact, is easy to play,15 and is the same
for all ritual music.

Similarly, a melody starts in the middle tone group and then goes upward, or some-
times it starts in the high tone group, while every melody ends in the low tone group.
Low and high are used synaesthetically. *Mashiwi ya panshi* literally means ‘words/tones
of below’ and *mashiwi ya pamulu* means ‘words/tones of above’. These two tone groups
together with the middle tone group form the music of the singing in three, *nyimbo sha
kwimbila patatu*. Music cannot do *sensenta* if it does not contain tones from all three
groups in the order middle-high-middle-low or high-middle-low. This order is the
paradigm for the form of the melody in *kupupa* and derived music.16

In volume, loudness, or intensity, *sensenta* is expressed by the fact that during the per-
formance of each song the overall volume (and the number of people involved in the
performance) moves from soft (small/high) to loud (big/low) and, at the end, back to soft
again.

In addition, the term for ‘silence’ (absence of volume) is the same as that for ‘coolness,
coldness’ (-talala or -tontola, also in Madan 1913: 286, 318). Conversely, a song that is
long and loudly performed is a heating song. An example from outside the possession
rituals may clarify the relation between silence and coolness, volume and hotness. This is
an abridged version of information given by Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986; another
version can be found in von Hoffman (1929: 175-186).

In former days when the chief died, his body was put to rot on a special stool in a special
house. The matter coming from the corpse was collected in special pots. During the
entire period of rotting music was made continuously near the rotting-house. During the
day mourning songs were sung, while during the night famous mediums (*ingomba*)
brrought songs and danced or people danced social dances, at which occasion sexual con-
tact between dancing partners was appropriate. When after some three months only the
bones were left, they were wrapped in a cow’s skin. This package and the pots were
brought in procession to the burial place of the ruling clan, some thirty miles to the east.
This procession should be without interruption and everybody continuously made as
much noise as possible, both with the voice and on any sound producing instrument.
During the night at a special resting place mediums danced and non-possessed people
danced social dances. This was called *kwipike’mfumu*, cooking the chief. At the river near
the actual burial place the package and the pots were handed over to the special person
(*kansanda*) who buries the chiefs and other important persons of the chiefly clan. After
this the people returned in complete silence. During a period after the burial no one was
allowed to play drums, in order to allow the area (*calo*) to cool down.17 At the end of this
period of silence a *Cilili ca kushilwila ngoma*, a ritual to open the drums was organised.
During the first section - the heating period - of all possession ritual, the same uninterrupted continuance in volume as that during the procession and the ‘cooking of the chief’ is the ideal.

In short, the sensenta form is produced and reproduced in music in the playing position and playing direction, in the melody contour, in the way a song is started, and in the way the performance develops. More important than the oppositions between musical aspects (high/low, soft/loud, and so on) that are linked to these items are the transitions that occur through, or in fact are, the sensenta in music.

*Heating the ritual*

Ritual creates an opportunity for controlled contact between the *mpanga* and the village. This contact can only take place when the ritual is hot (being cooked). It is the task of the mediums to lead the cooking of the ritual, which is called *kukafye*cila. *Kukaba* means ‘to boil’ or ‘to be hot,’ *kukafya* means ‘cook’ or ‘make hot,’ and *icila* here means ‘gathering with dance’ or ‘ritual.’ The cooking of the ritual is done in a variety of ways, all contributing to the following sequence:

- *kumfwana* (optimal relation between the spirit and the possessed) → the spirit brings a good song through the possessed → the chorus is good → the drumming is good → the spirit can dance well → the chorus remains good → the drumming remains good → the dancing remains good → the song is long and of a continuous uninterrupted volume.

This whole sequence is embedded in another one:

- high quality in music → high quality (hotness) of the ritual → high quality of the result.

In this ‘good’ and ‘high quality’ refer to the following performative conditions.

A good song is a song that can be taken over quickly by the chorus, contains an informative or teaching text (*kufunda*), with a message that is full of meaning making it worth the trouble for the chorus to sing the song for a long enough time to learn it by heart.

A good chorus sings loudly and sharply (*kutumpula*) and sustains the last tone of the chorus line loudly for a long time (*kuwela*). “They should sing with happiness since they represent life,” Mika Mwape Chungwa said.

The drumming is good when the two drummers who establish the basic texture play loudly, clearly, and unceasingly, keeping the song ‘straight’ (*-olola*) and enabling the master drummer to generate energy in dancer and chorus.

The dancing goes well when the dancer shows freedom within certain structural boundaries, so that the chorus does not get bored and the drummers have to continue. The dancing itself is also hot. Half of the terms used for the dance movements of the possessed could also be used to refer to various sexual positions or movements. Some terms directly referred to hotness, such as *ciwilewile* (dancing in ecstasy): that which is very hot.

The longer the performance of a song lasts and the shorter the interval between two successful songs, the hotter the ritual. Everything that strengthens one of the links in the chain is called *pa kukafye*cila: in order to heat the ritual. Some musical actions are specially known as *pa kukafye*cila: encouraging interjections by the starter of the song, certain singing techniques such as a very fast *la-la-la-la* sung by the starter, singing by the starter while dancing, shortening (*kuputula*) the solo-line, the playing of the same pattern on two high drums instead of one, the playing of the pattern of the higher drum with a stick on the side of the master drum or with a shaken idiophone, and cheering, ululating, and clapping by the chorus (listen to Music example III-14).

Many of the actions called *pa kukafye*cila, in order to heat the ritual, are directed towards volume increase and volume continuation. In that way the *-kula panshi* (controlled contact between *mpanga* and village) lasts as long as possible and the music will
be as effective as possible in the effort of being granted *ishuko* or preventing or resolving *ishamo*. The long-lasting high volume is the result of, as well as the expression of, correct contact between *mpanga* and village: it is aroused by the dancers (spirits, *mpanga*) and performed by the drummers and the chorus (village).

Until now we have concentrated on the heating of the ritual in each separate song. For the sequence of songs during the ritual it is important that the break between two songs is as short as possible. Furthermore, increase of tempo and rise of the fundamental tone of every new song is used to heat the ritual. For an example, the first, second, fifth, sixth and seventh song brought by Kansenzele at one *lpupo* had the following tempi: 275, 275, 335, 370 and 370 quarter notes per minute, while the absolute pitches of the fundamental tones were: a flat, a, b flat, b and c'. A sequence of possession songs in a non-ritual context did not show these increases at all. The increase of tempo and the rise of pitch relate to the amount of energy, *maka*, the mediums put into the singing and dancing, and the amount of energy they arouse from the drummers and the chorus (see the section on Energy and power (*maka*) in Chapter 8).

The form of the first section of the public part was similar for all rituals. It lasted three to five hours and contained the heating, the optimising of the circumstances. When this was attained the important actions specific to the ritual followed, such as the treatment of the patient or the introduction and revealing of the initiate, and beer was distributed. After that the rituals were more or less different, as discussed in Chapter 5.

During the ritual, the *mpanga* indeed brings new or important things to the village, such as songs and information. The spirits (dancers) together with the people (drummers and chorus) create the correct circumstances (hotness) to receive the products. Furthermore, the people get the opportunity to give to the *mpanga*, both through enthusiastic participation and through the giving of gifts, mostly money, to the dancers (*kutaila*). It is noteworthy in this context that the word for clapping (*kutaila*) means ‘to thank’ and that the oral notation of the 2-against-3 basic clapping pattern of the chorus is *kutaila*: to give ritual gifts:

\[ ku \quad ta \quad i \quad la \quad ku \quad ta \quad i \quad la \]

**Conclusion**

In the 1980s, excelling in the knowledge and the practice of music and dance was of utmost importance, not only for the possessed for songs and dancing (Ciwila mediums), but also for the possessed for hunting (Kalwe mediums) and healing (Mwami mediums). Their musical ability and success represented their ability to be mediators between the human and the extra-human (*mpanga*) and as such constituted a measure of the quality that could be expected from their work.

Music was a mediation means between the human and the extrahuman. For the exchange between the human and the extrahuman, the transitions or contacts between the aspects of a limited number of basic concepts were crucial, and these transitions and contacts were produced, as well as reproduced, through music. The basic musical form for the transitions and contacts was the *sensenta* form; the form for ritual was ‘heating, cooking’. Both forms expressed and provided the controlled circumstances under which exchange between the human and the extrahuman could be effected. Music was obtained from the spirits for information, but even more so to make the ritual in which the contact between the human and the extrahuman took place effective (to heat it). Furthermore, it was most suitable for giving to the *mpanga* both communally (ritual and feast) and individually (during work, in the evening, or the like).

The view of music presented here focuses on the structural similarities within a diversity of musical and other features found in the possession cults in Chibale in the 1980s. In the next two chapters attention will also be given to the freedom of the performer in a specific performance context.
Nyimbo sha kwimbila patatu - ‘the music of singing in three’

In Chapter 4 we have seen how prominent the number three was in instruments and the composition of ensembles (see also Photo III-1 and Photo III-2). In the present chapter the importance of the three tone groups in attaining sensenta in music was discussed.

When there are three instruments/ tone groups with a start in the middle, followed by the high instrument/group and then the low one for kula panshi:

Then it is good, then they hold each other/ are interrelated well (Elo fiwama, elo fikatana bwino). Two is not enough. The second one is there to answer the first and fill up the holes. The third one completes the other two. One instrument sounds well when it has to convey a clear message. For instance, a hunter has killed an animal that has been trampling the fields for too long. He comes home with the tail and informs the family. He takes out his ilimba and starts singing a song to tell everybody that only the footprints have remained of the animal that has annoyed all. Hunters use a horn or one or two notes of the ngolwa for signalling to each other. Similar things could be done by the chief with the lusonsolo or mangua. [...] Dancing is not possible to only two drums. Should only two small drums be available, the cibitiku becomes iyikulu by throwing water in it and in the same way the kace becomes cibitiku. Then any container can be used as a kace. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The importance of the number three was also confirmed by situations in which the sounding of three instruments was purposely prevented. To prevent the music from being hot, at a Cililo 1 no set of three (similar) instruments was used. The one drum used could be of any type: ‘it is only drumming for the funeral.’ Another situation in which no real music but rather its opposite was wanted, also had only one ‘drum.’ When a witch was exposed, the shing’anga beat a drum or something drum-like, a signal to which the exposed witch ‘danced,’ rather shuffled, in a circle of people while he ‘sang,’ rather crooned: “I am no longer a witch, surely the shing’anga has taken my powers away” (Nomba nshilipo mfwiti, mwandine balipokele). The ‘music’ played was not meant to be real music, the drumming was not real drumming but signalling, the dancing was shuffling, the singing was more mumbling and the text conveyed only one message.

Other theories about music

In view of the diversity found in Chibale, it is important to stress that this theory about music was constructed in co-operation with exegetes who were leaders of possession cult groups. It did not at all represent a generally used way of looking at music or musical phenomena. Most people relied on either the shing’anga, i.e. the same possession cult leaders or on Christian cult leaders who were often of external origin. They were only confronted with the implications of a theory for a certain treatment, advices on the way one should behave and the like.

I give here an example of Christian theorising about music.

Our music comes from Kasama [in Northern Province, some 500 kilometres from Chibale]. The choir leaders are trained in singing and in leading a choir in Mpika [in Northern Province, some 300 kilometres from Chibale]. Our music has changed in the last 20 years, first in the beginning of the 1980s and then during the 1990s. The old mass was imposed on the people, it was too modern. The people were wondering what they were doing in the church. That is why the bishops decided to change the music and to add drums. The bringing in of the [two] drums was both pleasing to the people and to the one who is being praised: God (Lesa). But the people do not come for the drumming only, they come for what they read in the Bible. [...] The music is to teach through singing and to give the opportunity to be touched by the message instead of only understanding it. The songs are chosen in relation to the content of the mass or meeting. Of course, singing is not the only way to teach. Other ways are talking and discussing and showing
it, for instance by helping people in need. [...] We have three types of music. At celebrations and when praising God, the music is rejoicing (kusansamuka), the drumming is heavier. At funerals and when remembering the dead, it is mourning (kulila), the drumming is not loud and respectful (panono panono mucinshi mucinshi). In the part of the mass dedicated to pleading, it is pleading (kidomba), also with small, respectful drumming. (Ngosa, leader of the Roman Catholic church in Kofi Kunda, personal communication, 2004)

Extension of the repertoire

New music

Many thought that all new music came from the mpanga, mostly through mediums, compare Aphorism III-3, in exceptional cases through a non-possessed person.

Of a song one had never heard, one would say that it was unknown or that it originated from somewhere else, not that it was new. A word coming close to ‘new’ was bwangu: recent, quick. It referred to the fact that that particular song or style had recently become known while before that it had not been played. According to many in Chibale, we could only speak of newness in the sense of an extension of the repertoire when we defined repertoire as the repertoire known at that particular moment. They were convinced that all music (of Chibale origin) already existed and was brought to people by spirits through spirit possessed at occasions at which the songs were needed. Specialists called a song ‘raw’ (lubishi) before it was sung for the first time (again). During and through the first performance it was cooked (kwipiko’lwimbo’).

Non-possessed persons were not the right mediators in this cooking process. For them the bringing of a new song always involved a dangerous actual or metaphorical journey through the mpanga. The non-possessed person disappeared from his village and was abducted into the mpanga by nature spirits (cibanda). After three weeks he suddenly reappeared, changed but unharmed, and he started to sing a new song, typically a new social dance song, that is a new text and musango, possibly also with new drum patterns and dance movements (in the latter case, introducing a new type of social dance). The ancestral spirits (mupashi) taught him this song to replace the ‘anti-songs’ (nyimbo sha fibanda: nature spirits’ songs) that the nature spirits tried to teach him which would have caused his death. The characteristics of these anti-songs were the opposite of those of good songs: they had deviant forms (for instance in the shape of the melody), they were meaningless, they lied, they were aggressive, they were mad, they caused madness or death. Up to the 1950s they could be heard at certain places in the deep mpanga. Events similar to the journey through the mpanga after abduction occurred during the metaphorical journey through the mpanga that showed itself in a protracted state of apparent death. When the preparations for the funeral had already nearly been finished, the seemingly deceased suddenly rose singing a new social dance song.

Only five cases of the acquisition of new songs through non-possessed persons were remembered in Chibale in the 1980s. Three of the persons involved became mediums in a later stage. Compare these five specimens with the output of Kansenkele, for instance, who could bring up to eighty new songs (new texts to two musango) during one ritual. Before songs could be brought through them, all possessed people had made an, in most cases, less spectacular and much longer voyage through the mpanga: their voyage was the possession illness.
New texts

Song texts were seen as inseparable from the song. However, the musango system provided an archetypical melody but not an archetypical text, i.e. no text was seen as a musango's model text, all texts on one musango were 'its text'.

It was recognised that humans could make small alterations to an existing text provided it remained in the same musango. This also had consequences for music not within the musango system. No example, for instance, was found of a kalindula song the text of which was completely made by one person. After some investigation all songs claimed to have been made by one of the players turned out to have only a few words changed in the 'original', i.e. the version learned from another band, from outside or within Chibale.

What caught the ear when listening to different performances of one song was that there were always differences in a few words (see for instance the variations made on the text of Song III-1). This limited playing with the text of a song was the norm in all music except Christian cult music.

One can imagine that if for certain song types the musango got blurred, for instance because no clear ownership could be claimed, subsequent text changes might make the melody supersede the original musango boundaries and gradually change into another style. This way of gradual change seems applicable to the development of social dance songs and the female repertoire, presuming that they were not subjected to the monopoly on repertoire extension like that of the mediums producing the male repertoires, though not enough historical repertoire could be gathered to give substance to this assumption.

Here is another cisango verse [Follows the last stanza of Song II-71]. In former days sometimes new lines were added by the women themselves, not by the spirits, because it was for fun (pakwangala). (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

Starting songs and ownership

It is likely that famous starters of songs\(^\text{30}\), apart from being good singers, had one or both of the following qualities: the ability to choose the right song from a large repertoire at the right moment and the ability to make small changes to the text that made it applicable to the situation, funny or the like. It is not unlikely that in former days the ownership of songs was an even larger issue than it was in the 1980s. The starting of songs at larger gatherings by non-possessed was rather rare in Chibale in the 1980s, but it was clear that the starter still ran the risk of being regarded as pretentious. Just like the dancer of the solo ilimbalakata dance could easily be regarded as pretending to be a big hunter. Though hypothetical, it is possible that certain songs were owned by a certain specialist or group, e.g. a clan or cult group, and that these songs then, under certain circumstances, could be used for or by people from outside of this group.

This brings us to the issue of the circumstances that led new music to be considered of equal value as fresh meat, new products, medicines and solutions to problems.

The Mwami and Kaluwe songs that exist are known to help. An old Ciwila song would not help [in the heating of the ritual] as it would not mark that very occasion. Yes, why do especially the Cilio and Ipupo need new texts and kucitila and kwilimuna not? Maybe because they are about death, an important turning point in the exchange between the mpanga and the village while the other two are part of an on-going exchange. Or maybe because they are about individual humans, not about the possessing spirits or their work. This only holds for the texts, the musango they [the Ciwila possessed] use may be very old. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2007)
Structural and performative features of music

In the section on musical theory above and in the sections in Chapter 5 on the physical lay-out, course of events and the behaviour of drummers and dancers at rituals where mediums danced, a number of features were treated that were structural and/or formed the structural departure point for performance. The structural features of songs and singing were related to the *musango unowine* (the abstraction of the *musango*, the archetypal melody). Some features of music were more changeable, performative and informed by the purpose and the scale of the occasion. These were called *fya kusala*: ‘here one can choose.’ In-between the two we will find the features that could be expressed both in structure and in performance.

**Kuwela and kuputula**

The last word of the chorus line in a song in public, and to a lesser extent in private, performance was always followed by or elided with *ee* or, occasionally, *oo* or *aa*. This sound was then sustained, mostly in parallel fourths, until the solo line was started again (listen to Music example III-1). As Chalebaila said: “A good chorus sings loud and clear sustaining the last tone of the chorus line loudly for a long time (*kuwela*)”. Derived from this, the word *kuwela* was also used more generally for good singing by the chorus at larger-scale gatherings. Another meaning of *kuwela* was: *cry, grieve, just like the other important word for ‘producing musical sound’ *kulila*: cry, mourn. The relation between music and mourning was pervading.

When the last tone was not sustained, this was called *kuputula*, to cut, one of the forms of incorrect performance, called *cileya* (see Chapter 9). However, when the solo-singer shortened a longer solo line, also called *kuputula*, it was *pa kukafyécila*, presumably because it suggested either that the solo-singer would soon start dancing or that the solo-singer sang while dancing.

**Mukutula - Cadence**

The ending of a melody was called *mukutula* or *mukuponya* (*kutula*, *kuponya*: to put/lay down). In case of a light melody, it could also be called *musango wa kukula pansi*: the way of going down. A classical, light ending had the complete *sensenta* form of starting in the middle, going up and then going down (like the last line of Song III-1). The cadences of heavy melodies were shorter.

**High and low - Pitch**

There were two levels at which pitch was considered. The one already described for the tone groups: *mashiwi ya panshi* and *mashiwi ya pamulu*, tones of below and tones of above, and a second one for absolute pitch performance, as in *kwimyešiwi*: to raise the voice (word/tone), and *kubweshéšiwi*: to drop, literally: return, give back the voice (word/tone). The first level is connected to the structure of a song, as brought from the *mpanga*, the second one to the actual performance of songs, as brought in the village.

Due to the importance of the *kula panshi*, there were more words for low tones like *cibonga, cibomba, cimbomba, mbomba, musowa wa cinemba*, than for middle or high tones.
Loud and soft - Volume
The words used normally for loud and for soft were the same, also referring to the actual performance, as for raised and dropped tone/word respectively. Loud singing by the chorus was also called kutumpula, to raise.

Large and small - Size
You remember the song brought at the chief’s place [Song III-3]. Mwapo is small (kace); leni mveba bonfi besu, kani mutende, mwabasanga are cibitiku, and abena musumba ee are large (iyikulu). The three tone groups should always be in a song. The small tones are high (pamulu), the large tones low (panshi). The song has to end on the large tones and mostly starts on the middle (cibitiku), just as the drums start their playing: cibitiku - kace - iyikulu. Also the lamellaphone always starts with cibitiku, then small, and ends on the low tones (bomba). We hear a melody divided in these three tone groups. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The words small and large were interchangeable with high (pamulu) and low (panshi) when referring to the structure, be it that with large and small there was more implication of a middle position (cibitiku) than when using high and low.

Arthur Jones (1950) gives comparable examples of the use of ‘short’, ‘on-going’ (presumably referring to kuwela), ‘soft’, ‘little’ and ‘big’ in his article on the kalimba in the Lala area.

Straight and curved - Spread
When a melody had no ‘skips’ but instead a smooth form, it could be called lwa cipici or lwa pepipepi, straight: each next event is near to the previous event. When it contained ‘skips’, it could be called lwa patali patali: spread, spread-out: each next event is far from the previous event. This being spread out was visualised, with the hands, in the horizontal plane. The ‘skip’ was seen as a curve in a road meeting an obstacle.

Nyimbo sha banakashi shilapikana sana - the music of women meanders. Another word used for this was ‘heavy’, see below. The word -pikana: make curves, meander, was related to the word -pika: heavy drumming by the master-drum and -pikawila: playing the mataha pa mbale, and: adding curves (skips) to a melody. At an Ipupu the only spread-out, curved, heavy thing in a Ciwila song and its performance was the kupika of the master-drum.

Slow and fast - Tempo
A slow tempo was described with the verb kukokomoka: to drag, to be heavy, while a fast tempo was described with kwangusha or kupufya: to be light. Drum and dance tempi from the Lamba and the Lenje area were heavier (slower) than the lighter (faster) tempi in the Lala area.

Light and heavy - Weight/Level of difficulty
The terms light and heavy were often used when referring to music. It is important to discern these terms being used to refer to the structure of a song or set of songs or to refer to the performance of a certain song.

The heavy type of song was called nyimbo sha kukule'shiwi: songs of dragging the voice. Ishiwi means voice, word, tone. The light type was called nyimbo shipubile: light songs. Kupuba: to be light (in weight), to be easy.

When assessing the performance of a song one of the most important considerations was: can I sing this myself? If one could do it quickly the song was called lukonaka: weak,
The lightness was found in the lack of ‘curves’ (skips) and in the gradual contour of the melody: the melody stayed in one of the three tone groups for a relatively long time, while in the heavy type a quicker alternation between tone groups occurred. Lightness was also found in the conformance of the new (i.e. unknown) song with a known (light) musango.

Songs that demanded much knowledge or intensive interpretation were also called heavy while songs the text of which could be related to the occasion were called easy. The former were called mu mapinda: proverbial. This however did not relate to the occurrence of proverbs in the text but to the effort needed to interpret it, proverbs could as well be present in the easy songs, only then the interpretation demanded less effort (see the section ‘Fighting with songs’ in Chapter 8 for illustrations of this).

Typical examples of light tunes were found in all classical men’s music: ing‘omba, Ci-wila and Kaluwe songs and cinsengwe, while Mwami songs, women’s songs proper (that is: not borrowed from the men’s repertoire) and social dance songs were often of the heavy type. When I measured the differences, I found that in the light type the typical pitch progression was one in which two consecutive pitches were either the same or one step apart, and only occasionally more than that. In the heavy type they were one step apart, or, less frequently, more than one step apart or the same. For instance, the pitch progressions in samples of Ci-wila and Mwami songs show the following frequencies of occurrence for: a tone repetition, a half or whole step or an interval larger than that.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Light (Ci-wila) songs</th>
<th>repetition</th>
<th>step</th>
<th>larger</th>
<th>straight</th>
<th>curved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heavy (Mwami) songs</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The light melodies also were called ‘nearby’ or ‘meeting no obstacle’ (lwali tambalala) while heavy melodies were called ‘meandering’ (lwali petauka). The curve (skip) was seen as a sign of heaviness. The light type was also sometimes called ‘quick’ (sha lubilo) or ‘from above’ (sha pa mutu) and the heavy type ‘from below’ (sha panshi).

There were two constructions used to make the connection between mourning (and Kubuka) and slower, lower music.

Shilemene pantu sha kulila /sha kubuka: it is heavy music because it is for mourning for Kubuka.

Shilemene pantu sha kuteko'mutima: the music is heavy because it gives/should give your heart the room to mourn (or contemplate or diagnose).

Though Mwami songs were often heavy their performance at a public ritual (Cibombe) was lighter in private healing sessions: the soloist (shing’anga) sang in a louder, higher voice and the tempo was higher as well. And while most mourning music was light, it was sung heavier, lwa ya panshi, at smaller mourning occasions.

Because of their ability to sing both versions [light and heavy], the Ci-wila mediums are the ones who have the privilege (isambhu) of singing and dancing during the day and during the night at funerals. [...] The Kaluwe possessed sing lightly at Kwilimuna and Cili and heavy when they are in the mpanga and get no kills. That is the time the hunter has to lower his voice because for him it is an occasion for mourning because of ishamo (cililo ce’shamo). (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

So, the spectrum contained structurally light music performed lightly (for instance a Ci-wila song at an Ipupo, like those of Kansenkele), structurally light music performed heavily (for instance a personal mourning song like Song II-21), structurally heavy music performed lightly (for instance a Mwami song at a Cibombe, a women’s song Pa kwisha) and structurally heavy music performed heavily (for instance a Mwami song at Kubuka...
like Songs III-9 and III-10). The differentiation between heavy and light songs and song performances was related to purpose (kwilimuna versus kulila and kucitila) and occasion (the larger the audience the lighter the performance), see also Elaboration III-C.

Elaboration III-C: Light and heavy in Survey 2004

In Survey 2004 people were asked whether the song they had just heard was light or heavy and, after one of the two was chosen, why it was light or heavy. The 932 answers shed some new light on the use of ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ for music by the general public. A relation is made between weight and the understandability where the exegetes did not pay much attention to this relation in the 1980s.

The first large group of reasons (318 times) given for why the song is light is formulated in two ways: ‘because it was understandable (mashiwi yanono: small words)’, and ‘because it was easy’ or ‘because I can sing it’.

The second large group of reasons (311) as to why the song is light is formulated in two ways: ‘because all voices/pitches/tone groups/words are heard’ and ‘because of the good combination of voices/pitches/tone groups/words’. The word mashiwi (singular ishiwi) used in these answers means voices, pitches, tone groups and/or words, a broad palette of meanings. Both answers seem to refer to understandability and nyimbo shatatutu in the sense that all tone groups are clearly present. The two answers can also refer to the fact that all singers sang well and in good combination. From that the respondents seem to infer that the song is easy, and so: light.

A last and less frequently given reason (42) for lightness is high voices or high pitch.

The largest group of reasons (175) explaining why the song is heavy was formulated in three ways: “because the voice (ishiwi) is low”, “because the performers take their time” and “because the voices/words (mashiwi) are large”.

A second group (78) refers to the fact that the song is not easy or easily understandable.

And a very small third group (8) state that the song is heavy because of being too fast (and therefore difficult). This may indicate that tempo was less important than weight/difficulty since a song with a fast tempo normally was called ‘light’.

Another way to bring heaviness to a light melody was to curve (skip) to the parallel fourth of a certain note in the melody and continue the melody in the parallel for a certain period. When this was done more times in the performance of a melody it would become much more ‘curved’, ‘meandering’ (heavy) than the source melody. Some female starters of songs were well-known for this. This method, called kupikawilla, was regarded to be performative rather than structural. Note also that the resulting melody had less sensenta quality: if a descending contour was made heavier at one or more points, it would not be a smooth descending contour anymore. Therefore the curves were more often put at the beginning.

It remains to be investigated whether the weighting and lightening of songs have been part of ways to appropriate or transform - e.g. from the male to the female domain - songs in the past.

Mulundu and nika music - Origin/Nature

Definition of territorial boundaries and access to land resources have been central themes in politics and religion in South Central Africa throughout history. In the 1980s, when one referred to mulundu or nika music, one tried to give the owners and users of that music a place in these themes.
On a rather abstract level, *mulundu* (the higher lands between the rivers) music was felt to be typically Lala and was associated with light music, old local music, Civila, Kaluwe, *ingomba-cinsengwe* and men while *nika* (river and the directly surrounding lands) music was felt to be typically Lenje and was associated with heavy music, Mwami, chiefs, rain and women. As soon as more detail was brought into the discussion the distinction blurred. The Chibale position in this was rather extreme when compared to other areas within the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenge-Lala area: all ‘real Lala’ music came from the *mulundu*, the *nika* music often was considered to derive from somewhere else.

We organise a *Cibombe ca Ntongo* every year to have the cult group members eat first food grown by natural rains. It is not known here since the Lala are oriented to the *mulundu*. Those [the spirits] from the river need something to eat annually. In the Swaka, Lima, Lenje and Lamba areas this is normal, only not here with these Civila possessed. (Salati Mukoti, personal communication, 1985)

The coming of Mwami brought confusion (see also Elaboration III-D) to a self-description of older, local cultures predominantly in male, and associated, terms. The latter might have been related to the gaining of control by men through the money acquired with migration labour, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century. Additionally, a relation is likely of the dominance of *mulundu* before the 1980s with the demise of the chieftainship a century earlier since the association of chieftainship with rivers, rain and water is quite normal throughout South Central Africa. The demise of the more ‘nika-oriented’ chiefly cult then caused older, *mulundu-oriented* cults to gain room and the remaining chiefly cult to take on more *mulundu* characteristics. The not-using (‘forsaking’) of the drums by the *cinsengwe-ingomba* can also be seen in this light.

The *mulundu-nika*-distinction ran more or less parallel to the light-heavy-distinction but was much less clearly expressing musical differences than light and heavy did. It was especially concerned with differentiating those associated with *mulundu* and those associated with *nika*, not so much their music.

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**Elaboration III-D: Mulundu and nika in the 2000s**

When spirits from the river (*nika*) heal, it has to be done in a densely grown grove of trees near the source of a river (*mushitu*) while the spirits of the higher grounds (*mulundu*) heal on the higher grounds with herbs from the higher grounds. Mwami and Moba belong to the river and Civila and Kaluwe to the higher grounds. So, in former days the *shinganga* here were less powerful since they could only work from the higher grounds. When Mwami came in this was a great progress since they could do *Kubuka* which can not be done by spirits from the higher grounds. Before that people afflicted by *nika* illnesses died. [...] It is not easy to say what the difference is between music from the higher grounds and the river. It is the fact that the particular music is used by spirits from the higher grounds or from the river that determines the music to be called like that. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

In this analysis the pre-Mwami situation is considered to have been so *mulundu*-oriented that healing power was impaired.

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**Conclusion**

In this section we have seen that some musical qualities were less changeable while others were more changeable, performative and informed by the purpose and the scale of the occasion. In-between the two we found the qualities that could be expressed both in structure and in performance.

So, on one side we see the qualities that were primarily structural, all related to *musango*: Pitch, in the sense of melody contour, Size and Cadence, and on the other side
those that were predominantly performative: Pitch, as absolute pitch in performance, and Volume. In-between were Tempo, Spread and Weight/Level of difficulty that each had a structural side but could be used performatively too, for instance a light performance of a structurally heavy melody; a slower tempo in performance within the generally faster range of Lala drum tempi (as compared with Lenje drum tempi) and a spread, curved performance of a structurally nearby, straight melody. In Chapter 9 in the section on Musical judgements we will see how these features were used to evaluate music.

This adds detail to the significance of the *musango*. Through performance - which itself was informed by the purpose and scale of the occasion - structure (*musango uno wine*) was transformed into an actual, contextualised form. This performance was not a rendering as close as possible to ‘the original’ but was an expression of structural and contextual degrees of freedom (*fya kusala*) that were there while the structure would still be effective. The parallel with the social theme ‘Individuality and conformity’ is inescapable and was acknowledged by the exegetes.

Yes, *fya kusala* we also find in the *musango wa kwikala* [way of living] used in former days and in some way also today: a set of rules (*mushila*) and doctrines (*nafunde*) that formed the basis of living but where people also tried to see where they had freedom within that whole. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2007)

It also sheds light on the - in my eyes enigmatic - use of *cimo cine* (‘the same’): it means ‘structurally the same’ or ‘essentially the same’ on the (abstract) level at which the structure worked or the essence was felt to be present."
Chapter 8 - Interpretation of music

In this chapter I will examine how people in Chibale found meaning in music and what the (emotional) content was of their engagement with music.

In the previous chapter we saw that the processes and the structures of sound and music production were linked up to a wider system of meaning that was practised but not formulated explicitly. In this chapter I will add to this the importance of mental and bodily experiences in the interpretation of music and the importance of texts and text interpretation for music and musical meaning.

Body and mind: experiencing musical meaning

I have already discussed various meanings attributed to music, especially in connection to the old and possession cults. In this section we will concentrate on the relation between the experiential aspects.

Nearness

One of the few generally acknowledged features of music in Chibale in the 1980s was that the physical nearness (kupalamina) of, especially possession, music heightened the effectiveness of the occasion at which it was used. This was not always expressed in the positive sense, a majority of the population expressed it by fearing to be close to possession music lest it have effect on them.

I do not use music or dance in treating other cases [than those related to possession]. The singing is to pull the spirits nearer, so that they reveal in shorter time. In the Cibombe we had yesterday, the patients (mwana) were treated this way, they also might have brought songs themselves though this time they didn't. (Sheki Mbomba, personal communication, 1986) (see Photo III-3 and Photo III-4)

The forbidding by the Jehovah's Witnesses of their members visiting occasions where the possessed are, is based on the fear for the 'jumping-over' of possession. This slowly getting in the hold of possession is especially strong through singing and seeing dancing. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Drumming to the patient shortly after the coming of the shing'anga is not unusual in case of severe symptoms, especially when there is no immediate reaction to the applied herbs. Sometimes when herbs during treatment don't work, the shing'anga will start singing,
without drums, to enhance the herbs' working. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

It should not be forgotten that songs are a product brought from the *mpanga* without human interference in its making. They are comparable with the honey, the meat and the medicines that come from the *mpanga*. Look at medicines. They are taken from certain places in the *mpanga* and when used to cure a person bring him into nearness with that place and its features. Medicines laying in the village before they are used, are comparable with songs just being sung (*cilaiya*). When they are sung in full preparedness they bring the *mpanga* near the place where they are sung. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2007)

Energy and power

The word *maka* was used to denote the quantity of energy/power the performer put into the performance. It was also used for the quantity of energy the performer/performance released with the audience. More generally, the word was used to denote the physical and spiritual power to do something difficult or to overcome trouble.

References to ‘power’ (the term *maka* is not used) can be found throughout Seur 1992, for instance:

Hence the amount of ‘power’ determines the amount of work someone is able to do. The same words, however, are used to describe a person’s mental energy, that is, the devotion and dedication with which an individual pursues his goals. Power is considered one of the most fundamental resources. (Seur 1992: 407)

*Maka* was related to independence: being able to use *maka* for your own needs without running into debts or troubles with others. Being indebted meant handing over power to others. On the other hand, a special situation arose when *maka* was aroused by one or more persons in one or more others. A master drummer aroused *maka* in the dancers and a Ciwila medium was to arouse *maka* in the bereaved.

Situations in which *maka* was aroused in or transferred to others could involve music and dance.

When we put the nine songs used in Survey 1987 in order as to the value scores they obtained, we get the following sequence: 8-9-3; 2-7; 1; 5-6-4. When putting them in order as to the quantity of *maka* attributed to the performance of each song, we obtain a similar sequence: 8-9; 3-7; 2-1; 5-4; 6. Also, the reason for the value score as well as the feelings experienced during the performance and the quantity of *maka* attributed to the performance associate rather well with *maka*.

The question then arises if the attribution of *maka* to the performance was the same as saying that it was a good performance. No, is the answer, it wasn’t. The term *maka* was not used very often in verbal performance evaluations. In Survey 1987 the reasons for a value score that refer to *maka* represented around one percent of all reasons given. This might be related to the fact that *maka* was seen as being related to other important aspects.

Playing the drum is more difficult than playing the one-note-xylophone since more *maka* is needed to do it. (Sitifini Nunda, personal communication, 1981)

When a non-dancing Kaluwe possessed [see Chapter 3] does not use his special skill, he will get weak, a light form of *ishamo*. This will only disappear, possibly after consulting a *shingaanga*, when he starts using that skill again. He will immediately feel better and have *maka*. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

*Maka* in a song, singer, dancer or drummer is a way of showing life in the whole event, to heat the ritual. It is to release hotness and *maka* in others like the chorus, the patient or the initiate. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)
The whole possession scene was at its top in the period that you were here [1981-87]. There was hotness in the whole area, but now it is cold; there are no people with maka (tamuli abamaka). The present possessed and also the drummers are not hot. In that time everybody was fully prepared, nowadays they are just moving about (kiwayawaya cabe). The relation between the people and the mpanga has been disturbed. (bana-Nshimbi, personal communication, 2004)

Now when we want to look into what drummers need, we find that the cibitiku player especially needs maka; this involves playing loudly and sharply. Then the kace player also needs maka but he also has to be able to use the different kace patterns. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

Kula panshi takes a lot of maka. You need kula panshi to keep or be granted ishuko or relieve sorrow. That is why you need maka [in the performance]. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2006)

Maka was associated with physical ability, energy, liveliness, skill, ishuko, loudness, kula panshi, hotness, and power, as the citations illustrate. It was also associated with the situations in which these aspects occurred, especially when the maka was also aroused with others. So maka referred to its capability of realising various important aspects of music in larger gatherings. The explanation of the association of good music and maka then is that music was only regarded to be of quality if these aspects were present: maka rather was a condition than a quality. Another way of putting it is that the central aim of the music of the older and possession cults, the heating through sensenta and kula panshi, required a substantial amount of maka, the condition for the performance of life and liveliness and of bridging the two systems presented in Figure II-4 (see also note 16).

Except for Christian music, the application of maka was considered to be of importance for all music at larger gatherings (see Elaboration III-E for the importance of maka in the 2000s).

Elaboration III-E: Maka in the 1980s and in the 2000s

The high rank-correlation coefficients for the relations between the value score and the quantity of maka attributed to the performance of the nine songs in Survey 1987 are not repeated at all for the seven songs in Survey 2004. This may indicate that the obviousness of the association of maka and good, effective performance in 1987 was related to the resurgence of older cults and to the very dominant possession cults of that time.

Sorrow and joy

I use the word feeling here in the following sense: a perception of an emotion, the subjective experience of bodily processes that are physical responses to a stimulus. In this sense, in the paragraphs below only the individually perceived, and classifiable, ‘parts’ of emotions are treated. Discussing Damasio, Milton (2005: 201) states that emotions and feelings arise and operate in the relationship between an organism and its environment and that emotion engages dialectically with cognition in the process of learning. At another place (2005: 204) she says learning and emotion affect each other; emotions shape learning and what we learn shapes our emotions in the sense of how we perceive them (feelings).

In the 1980s when people talked about the feelings that the performance of a certain song evoked, they used only a small set of words. Most sentences centred around feelings of joy or of sorrow (see Elaboration III-F). Far less frequently it was said - with disappointment - that the music did not evoke much feelings or that it evoked negative feelings.
Elaboration III-F: Words used to express the feelings evoked by music

Joy
There was a number of expressions with the root -sansa (joy) in them like nasansamuka, lwa kusansamuka and nsansa ku mutima.
Bune and busuma, 'goodness,' both possibly followed by ku mutima, 'in the heart,' and naunfwa bwino, I felt good. And a few words around the root -temwa (liking, loving) like nalitemwa and natemwa sana. All of these latter more individually oriented words had gradually been introduced from the town during the three decades prior to the 1980s and they testify of the secularisation of joy. Though there are areas in the world where one could say (and mean it): 'I love/like sorrowful music,' this was not the case in Chibale. Joy, liking/loving it, going for it, being lively and showing energy all belonged to the music for kwangala or kwilimuna. Sorrow belonged to the music for kulila. One might say that no aesthetic stance was taken toward joy and sorrow.

Sorrow
The word bulanda: sorrow, feeling miserable, was used very often, less often cikonko, grief, more generally: a heavy feeling related to something you will not forget, and occasionally bucushi: deep sorrow, sufferings. Seldom used were kulosha, mourning, and lukumbu, heavy thoughts.

Nothing
Tapapo/tapali ifyo naunfwa: there was nothing for me to feel, and tapali/tapapo icanjikata ku mutima: there was nothing that has touched my heart, were used to point at the absence of feelings while listening to the song.
Together the sentences around -sansa, -temwa, good(ness), bulanda, cikonko and 'nothing' were used in 99% of the answers about the feelings felt while listening to a song in Survey 1987 (see Table III-1).

To understand the limitation to feelings of sorrow and joy only, it is important to recall what was said about the use of music for kupupa and the two basic forms this normally took. Kwilimuna was rejoicing about the works of the mpanga in that way reactivating, opening (kwilimuna) it. Kulila was feeling and expressing sorrow about the loss and the absence of the mother, father, grandfather and sometimes others. While in the village it was 'small kupupa,' done during work or in leisure time, when in the mpanga it was used for obtaining valuable information about game, honey and the like. To uplift the bereaved and entice them to stop mourning, at Ipulo, music was joyous too (pa kwangala): the bereaved were enticed through music to shift from the left to the right in Figure II-4. This means that in (good) music only two basic feelings could be found: joy for being granted ishuko with the ulterior motive of preventing ishamo or joy for the stopping of mourning to open up the mind and the heart, and sorrow in mourning and for the prevention and resolution of ishamo.
This was corroborated by the information gathered in Survey 1987 where the one interviewed heard a song on the headphones and immediately after that answered a number of questions (see Appendix B). One of the first of these questions was about the feelings they had while hearing the song. 88% of the answers revolved around joy or sorrow as the feeling felt while non-positive and negative feelings comprised 11% (see Figure III-1 which is based on Table III-1).
Interpretation of music

**Feelings that one said to have felt while listening to songs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Song 1</th>
<th>Song 2</th>
<th>Song 3</th>
<th>Song 4</th>
<th>Song 5</th>
<th>Song 6</th>
<th>Song 7</th>
<th>Song 8</th>
<th>Song 9</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I felt joy</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I liked/loved it</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt good(ness)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt a little joy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other feelings of joy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt sorrow and joy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt sorrow (bulanda)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>445</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt grief (cikonko)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I felt nothing</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative feelings</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-1a: Feelings that one said to have felt while listening to the nine songs of Survey 1987.

Other feelings of joy were formulated as: “I felt like dancing” (5x), “I felt pride”, “I felt lightened” (4x), “It made me forget my worries” (2x), “I felt like eating” (1x). Negative feelings were: “I do not like it” (8x), “I felt aversion”, “I was bored” (5x) and “I felt fear for the words”, “I felt fear for the consequences of singing this song” (1x).

Correspondence analysis of this table shows that the following groups form similar answers: Joy-Liked/loved it-Other feelings of joy, Good(ness)-A little joy and Nothing (much)-Negative feelings. Table III-1a can then be simplified to Table III-1b. See Figure III-1 for a correspondence analysis of the latter table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Song 1</th>
<th>Song 2</th>
<th>Song 3</th>
<th>Song 4</th>
<th>Song 5</th>
<th>Song 6</th>
<th>Song 7</th>
<th>Song 8</th>
<th>Song 9</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joy/Liked/loved/ Other</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good/A little joy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorrow and joy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorrow (bulanda)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>445</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grief (cikonko)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-positive/Negative</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>1314</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-1b: Grouping of the feelings that one said to have felt while listening to the nine songs of Survey 1987.

Three, rather distinct groups of songs can be discerned as to the feelings of joy or sorrow that they evoked or represented: a. sorrow with most listeners, b. sorrow with some and joy with others and c. joy with most. In Survey 1987 each of the three groups was represented by three songs:

Songs 2, 5 and 8 were songs of predominantly sorrowful feelings: Song 2 (Song II-55) was a funeral song; Song 5 a *Kubuka* song (Song III-9) and Song 8 a women’s work song (Song II-37).

Songs 1, 6 and 9 were songs of both types of feelings: Song 1 (Song III-6) and Song 6 (Song III-1) were funeral songs, also often sung at old beer parties, and Song 9 (Song II-39) was an *Ipupo* song.
Songs 3, 4 and 7 were songs of predominantly joyful feelings: Song 3 was a women's leisure song (Song II-71) and Song 4 (Song III-20) and Song 7 (Song II-68) were kalindula songs brought at Sandauni.

**Figure III-1: Correspondence analysis of the feelings that one said to have felt while listening to songs, Survey 1987**

The plot that results from correspondence analysis of Table III-1b shows a clear separation between feelings of joy and of sorrow in the horizontal dimension while on the slanted vertical dimension the non-positive and negative feelings are contrasted with the five other feeling groups. This dimension may be interpreted to place negative/non-positive feelings against deep feelings*: Grief is one extreme, Sorrow and 'Both feelings' follow, then Joy/1 loved-liked it followed by Good(ess)/A little joy and at the other extreme Non-positive/Negative feelings. This exemplifies the principle that music to be able to evoke feelings of sorrow has to have little that can evoke negative feelings or inhibit positive feeling. It also indicates that when both feelings of joy and sorrow are felt this is not a sign of shallowness.

* To see this Sorrow, Both, Joy/1 loved it and Good(ess)/A little joy have to be projected on the line running from Grief to Non-positive/Negative feelings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Non-positive</th>
<th>Goodness A little joy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Song 6</td>
<td>Song 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sorrow</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song 8 Song 2</td>
<td><strong>Both</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song 9</td>
<td>Song 7 Song 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grief</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For some readers it may be useful to point out that, as illustrated by Figure III-1, in the 1980s in Chibale sorrow was considered a positive feeling and that feelings of joy were not always thought to be trivial. The three groups of feelings: Joy, Sorrow and Non-Positive/Negative feelings were not symmetrical. The non-positive and negative feelings were opposed to the feelings of the other two groups and were mostly evoked by two circumstances: evaluating the performance as bad or disapproval with (elements of) the text or the context of the song. The underlying principle seems to be that music in order to be able to evoke feelings of sorrow and, to a lesser extent, joy had to have little or nothing that could evoke negative feelings or inhibit positive feelings. This principle can also be illustrated by many examples of song texts or discussions during rituals stressing the im-
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The importance of good singing and a faultless performance (see Chapter 9). Because the latter also was a necessary condition for music to have effect, I hypothesise that the feelings of joy and sorrow were used as a kind of emotional feedback mechanism of its effectiveness.

To put it in terms of the definition of emotion and feeling given above: songs were expected to induce emotions; these emotions caused, or were perceived as, feelings of joy or of sorrow. If no feelings were perceived, the song, or song context, was regarded to have failed.

Ingold30, as discussed by Milton (2005: 206), argues that people perceive meanings in nature - instead of cultures imposing meanings on “an otherwise meaningless nature” - and that the meanings they perceive depend on how they engage with the various entities in their environment. As seen earlier, the exchange relation with nature formed a crucial element in the world view of the local and possession cults. In this exchange relation the experiencing of two types of emotions perceived as feelings of sorrow (for kulila) or joy (for kwilimuna and kwangala) was important. That only these two types of feelings were caused by songs, combined with the great role of songs in the interaction between the human (culture) and the extra-human (nature), might be interpreted to be an experiential ‘formulation’, or recurrent re-experiencing, of that exchange relation.

Joy only

Joy and Sorrow were not homologous. Frequently when mention of feelings of joy were made the adverb ‘only’ was added: ‘I felt joy only’ or ‘I only liked it’. In Survey 1987 this was done in more than one third of the cases in which one of the feelings of the Joy-group were mentioned. This seems to indicate that in the 1980s many regarded joy to be less deep or important than sorrow. An explanation for this may be that in the 1980s the performing of kulila was considered more efficacious than that of kwilimuna. Or put differently: in the 1980s many people regarded the performance of joyous music to be a secular affair, there was little recollection of its spiritual function in the past: kwilimuna joy was for the greater part being replaced by leisure fun. The latter had reminiscences of the life joy (see Figure II-4) for only a minority of the people. The reason given for this was that during the course of the twentieth century the nearness of the mpanga had become less and less for most people, physically and spiritually. Only those living near the mpanga or those connected to it, like hunters and the possessed, still gave back their joy to the mpanga31. Sorrowful music, however, was (still) quite generally regarded, and much more often used, as a way to communicate with or influence the extra-human sphere: ‘you are asking for something because you are in trouble’.

Explanations for feelings

When people described what they felt, they frequently provided an explanation. For instance, when saying they felt both sorrow and joy they often explained this as follows: “I felt sorrow because of the text and joy because of the way it was sung/played”. In more than two thirds of the cases, an association existed between the hearing of a certain message and feelings of sorrow and between the hearing of a certain way of singing or playing and feelings of joy. The reverse also occurred but far less often: “I felt joy because of the text” and “I felt sorrow because of the way it was sung”. The only other explanations given were: “I felt joy because of remembering the past” and “I felt sorrow because of remembering loved/lost ones”.

For a possible explanation of this link between feelings of sorrow and song text and between feelings of joy and performance (see the section Wisdom and the heart).
In Survey 1987, in a fifth of the cases an unsolicited explanation for the feelings of joy was given. The joy was said to have been caused by the way the song was sung or, sometimes, by the accompanying music (69%), the message of the song (18%) or because of remembering the past (13%).

For the feelings of sorrow an unsolicited explanation was given more often (nearly in half of all cases). The sorrow was said to have been caused by the message of the song (70%), by the way it was sung (the accompanying music was never mentioned in the case of sorrow) (19%) and by the remembering of loved or lost ones (11%).

See Elaboration III-G for a comparison of the feelings felt while listening to songs in 1987 and in the 2000s.

**Elaboration III-G: Comparison of the Feelings felt in the 1980s and in the 2000s**

Comparing the words used in Survey 2004 to characterise the feelings felt while hearing a song with those used in Survey 1987, we find two important differences.

In the Joy-group terms around goodness (*bune*) have become dominant so much that it better be termed the Goodness-group in the 2000s. We already saw that before the 1980s terms around goodness had gradually been introduced, presumably from town or in the Christian cults. They, however, were still related to Joy (*nsansa*), denoting a more shallow form of it. In 2004 ‘goodness’ was used in 2/3 of the cases in which one referred tot Joy/Goodness. From this we may infer that the process of the secularisation of Joy has continued in the period after the 1980s.

Another difference was that some people said to have felt ‘bad’ (*-bi*) while listening to a song because of the sorrow they said it evoked or contained. This can be interpreted as a first sign of secularisation of - or, at least, reluctance toward - Sorrow. The sorrow does not fit in, it is not ‘functional’ and therefore makes one feel bad. The word ‘bad’ was never used in the 1980s to refer to feelings felt while listening to songs. In 2004 it was used in 10% of the cases, always in connection to songs of sorrow.

In the 2000s when the reason for a feeling was the way the song was sung or played, this feeling still was joy (or, rather, goodness) but the extent of giving the message as the reason for the feeling has increased enormously, particularly for the goodness-feeling. This may reflect the grown influence of Christian cults in which the message is always interpreted as a source of feeling good.

So, to the list of joys containing the spiritual *kwilimuna* joy, the life joy (*kwangala*) and secular leisure fun, the newer ‘spiritually feeling good because of the message’ can be added.

**Conclusion**

No correlation was found between the feelings a respondent said to have felt and characteristics like gender, age group, religious orientation or extent of their stay in town. The restriction of feelings felt while listening to songs to a small set seems to have been a shared feature in Chibale in the 1980s. To value this properly one should remember that the population was rather heterogeneous and that the feelings felt while hearing a song probably originated from features of the local cults (parts of which were only recently rekindled by the resurgence of possession cults) that, for their part, were only regarded as favourable by a limited part of the population.
Wisdom and the heart

A contrast that was often used was that between mutima and mano. Mutima translated as ‘heart’ but comprised much more. The proverb (Proverb III-4) said: Mutima e muntu wine - the heart is the human self. The human stripped of spirits is inconsiderate. Consideration is brought in by mano which translates as brains, wisdom. Both terms were used in a wide range of meanings ranging from the purely physical - the heart, the brains - to the social - selfishness, sociality - to the spiritual - intuitiveness, wisdom.

Mutima is influenced by intrinsic badness (ciwa) and wisdom (mano). Mutima is directed to the person him/herself while mano is directed to other persons. Here you can compare it with work that also can be for the person him/herself or for others, like honey gathering, hunting, bridge building, healing. The possession spirits do the latter, the works of wisdom (milimo ya mano). This is one of the most powerful issues in life. (bana-Nshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

Mano is a way of thinking of which others can benefit and which gives them a path to follow. You know the young man who drowned in the Lukusashi river [trying to bring home a heavy load of game over a swollen river all by himself], he followed his mutima, not listening to the stories of previous disasters in like circumstances which mano brought forward. An ideal person (muntu wa cine) would be completely guided by mano. This, however, is not possible because mutima is the person himself.

All these stories about Kalulu (the hare). Kalulu is the one always following the mutima, and he gets away with it. I will tell you a story about Kalulu and Lion in which you can see that bad spirits (cibanda) are in Kalulu while Lion is pure. You see, Kalulu tries to persuade Lion to do something dangerous just for his [Kalulu’s] own needs. It is clearly a fight between mutima and mano. That’s why a hare should be brought into the village without the head. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Mutima comprised the feelings that emotions induced and some other physical circumstances. In some cases, like with pain, this was thought to be unmediated: “pain goes straight to the heart”.

Fear, anger, love, aversion, illness, jealousy, pain and sorrow and grief all are put in the mutima. There are situations that are ‘too mutima’ but there are none that are ‘too mano’. Singing, playing instruments and dancing relate to mutima, while looking at dancing, looking at and listening to the drums and the singing relate to mano. So, you see that these aspects are brought together at a ritual. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

This also led people to say that singing while pounding was bringing mano and maka together. Or to give the following exempting statement: ‘Men are eager to get drunk because that brings them, the ones who normally are with mano, in a mutima state. In this way mutima and mano are brought together’. Though mutima and mano were of importance for music, I have not enough material in this stage to bring forward conclusions or hypotheses.

Mano was not only directed to other persons, it also originated from them. The proverb (Proverb III-5) said: Amano mambulwa - Wisdom is taken [from others]. The transferability of mano through language is one of the main explanations for the importance of song texts (see Proverb III-6).
Song text and meaning

The bringing of new song texts for special occasions by mediums had a long history. The earliest record of the Lala area of some length, the visit and demise of David Livingstone in the north of the Lala area in 1873, describes the visit of a dancer who composed a song for the occasion of Livingstone's death.

[...] early on the 3rd May, a special mourner arrived. He came with the anklets which are worn on these occasions, composed of rows of hollow seed-vessels, fitted with rattling pebbles, and in low monotonous chant sang, whilst he danced, as follows:

*Lelo kwa Engérésé,* which translated is: *To-day the Englishman is dead,*

*Muana sisi oa konda:* Who has different hair from ours:

*Tu kamb’ tamb’ Engérésé* Come round to see the Englishman. 29

His task over, the mourner and his son, who accompanied him in the ceremony, retired with a suitable present of beads. (Livingstone 1874: 316)

The meaning of song texts

In the local and possession cults as well as in the Christian cults the text was said to be the most important aspect for the interpretation of songs. As we saw, the text often was used to classify a song. Song texts were considered to come from outside the local (the Christian cults) or human (the local and possession cults) domain. The text was thought to contain, or transfer, wisdom (*mano*) deriving from these domains. This was most clearly the case with songs of sorrow. As we saw above the text was often mentioned as the source of the feelings of sorrow.

Often the role of instrumental music was formulated as carrying the message in the song and that of singing the text over and over again as helping the people to remember it. An analogous example was that the *kace* player was supposed to know more than one drum pattern, he was only to use other patterns than the standard one if the singing had stopped while the dancing continued. Complicating the music while the texts were sung was not desired.

The spirits communicate through *Kubuka*, omens and dreams, and songs. Singing makes it easier to remember the message since people have to sing along and can repeat it; singing also reaches many more people than speaking. (banaSibulu, personal communication, 1985)

Though non-specialist individuals could encounter omens or have dreams that contained messages about the future or helped in interpreting trouble, larger audiences usually came into contact with messages from the extra-human through song texts. Analogously, Christian cult songs brought the audience into contact with important knowledge from outside Chibale.

Of course, this had an ideological flavour. The access to the correct interpretation of the text could be restricted to ‘those with *mano*,’ mostly the initiated: hunters, possessed, initiatrices, and certain elders. Also, families and clans could use certain words in songs with other than the usual meaning. This was called *nkama* (secrets) (see Proverb III-6, Proverb III-7 and Song III-4).

Only those who knew could follow and thus partake in the conversation. Not all the elders could do this. They even could sing songs about people present, while those didn’t understand and sang merrily along. There was a clear relation between knowledge of *nkama* (secrets), *mano* (wisdom) and *maka* (power). (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)
Interpretation of music

The process of teaching and learning nkama and gradually obtaining mano was called kufunda (see for instance the text of Song III-5).

To sing is to inform/teach (kufunda). Dancing is to attract people to receive the text. Everybody will say: “We’ll go to see the possessed dance”, not: “to hear them sing their texts”. The picture of a famous medium’s dancing stays in the head while his tunes and texts could be forgotten. Dancing is not kufunda. It is treatment and personal kupupa [for possessed]. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Now and again we hear the Jehovah’s Witnesses say that singing Lala music is helping in the work of Satan (Satana). But we know that all that is in the world is God’s (Lesa); he only dislikes Satan and the witches since they misguide the people. He also left directions for the people how to behave. Since the songs make the world alive and show it’s alive and since they are instructive (kufunda), there’s nothing bad in them. Singing only Christian cult songs is no guarantee to a pure life as experience shows. The slow singing of the text [by Jehovah’s Witnesses (listen to Song II-57)] to enhance the kufunda is not necessary for us. It might give the impression that they are underestimating their members. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Songs do not lie

A conviction that was quite generally shared was that song texts could not lie30. This will have been related to the idea held in the old and possession cults that all texts derived from the ancestral spirits (mupashi)31 and the connected idea that all important texts were to convey a message of wisdom (mano). Lies in song texts were only conceivable when the music would derive from nature spirits (cibanda) - the ‘anti-music’ discussed earlier - or when a song would be sung by a madman because he would not be able to take responsibility for its text or the interpretation of its text. “This is a madman’s song because there is nothing [no message] you can take out of it” (Lwimbo lwe’shilu pantu takupico ungabulamo).

Illness comes from the mpanga. It is an intrusion of the mpanga in the village because of a weak spot there. Kupupa is the new wood on the fire of warding off intrusion from the mpanga. You always have to plead the mpanga. The ancestral and chiefly spirits (mupashi) are the mano of the mpanga, the nature spirits (cibanda) are the mutima of the mpanga. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The reason that most songs are about I & me (nebo) and we & us (fivebo) is that talking for others is not possible because you then could tell a lie (bufi). Also proverbs do not lie. Talking and stories, on the contrary, can contain lies. With a song the singer gives his view in public of what is currently happening or what has happened. A song with a lie is inspired by nature spirits (cibanda). The others must be able to trust that what I sing is my view without a lie. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

Related to this was that singing along in a larger gathering was a form of showing: it is true, it is applicable. It was recognition (-suminisha) of the singer/starter’s intention. This way the starter could seek the consent of those present to back up her intention and show the one to whom she aimed that they agreed. “The guilty one will understand”.

The interpretation of song texts by the public

Umweo wa muntu walala mu matwi - The life of a person resides in the ears

Proverb III-8: The ability to listen to and understand advice keeps a person alive.

Writers often implicitly postulate consensus when writing about the interpretation of song texts. It is not uncommon to present the interpretation given by the composer or the producer or by another person apparently specialised in song text interpretation
(among whom often is also the writer) as ‘the meaning’ of the text. In the cases in which the persons just mentioned are not the only consumers of the song text, it can be relevant to find out what interpretations the non-specialist consumers make.

In the introduction to this part I reasoned that since a song text does not present an already-meaningful message, it becomes necessary to investigate what the public makes out of it. This then can be contrasted with the meanings attributed to it by the maker, the one who used the text or the one who is generally recognised as an exegete. Since, as we have seen, no-one in Chibale claimed to be the maker of a song or of a complete song text, the general public interpretations will be compared with those of exegetes. As it was not possible to obtain information about the actual interpretation during a ritual or other gathering, people were interviewed just after having listened to a song, to obtain some knowledge - however partial - about the ‘encoding’. It was only partial because, with the exception of the fourth example, the context of application of the song and song text were not considered.

I will investigate now whether people’s tacit or individual knowledge ‘filled the gaps’ or re-framed the meaning of the texts, and consider whether this resulted in divergent interpretations of the same text and I will pay attention to the intelligibility of the texts. The object is not to generalise on this issue but to give five examples only as every song text sings its own historical, educative or situational story.

As to the interpretation of the song texts the respondents in Survey 1987 were asked for each song to give their opinion about its message/story (ilyashi). Most respondents told what they regarded to be the main subject of the song. Answers to this question represent a broad interpretation of the text. A more detailed interpretation of the text was collected via a specific question about (a part of) the text of each song. As a first example we take a look at a cinsengwe made by the ing’omba Susa.

Omen, god and witchcraft

Susa nakabona kanunushi
Nkalya kanunushi kafukule’loba Susa, fwe basheme
Ni Lesa muku lu wam pangile
‘Wandekele fibanda fya mu mpanga; Satana tampangilepo
Susa saw a kanunushi
Such a kanunushi that pushes out soil toward Susa, we who are with ishamo
It is that same great Lesa who made me
Who lets the nature spirits from the mpanga on me; it is not Satan that made me

Song III-6: cinsengwe brought by the ing’omba Susa from Shaibila around 1940, as sung by Sakaliya Mulwaso in 1981.

Lesa is the name of a major spirit, often referred to in literature with ‘God’: It is also used by most Christian cults to refer to the Christian God.

Interpretation by exegetes

It is a Susa cinsengwe for a funeral. (Sakaliya Mulwaso, the bringer of this song, personal communication, 1981)

Yes, I know this song about the kanunushi [Follows Music example III-2]. It is an insect of one finger long with an extremely slim waist. It throws sand at its adversaries and anything passing by. When it throws sand at people it is a bad omen. The throwing implies the filling of the grave; so a funeral. So Susa complains about having ishamo. ‘Satan did not create me so why should God (Lesa) who created me allow ishamo: Another bad omen is a chameleon digging a hole: this also portends a funeral. Many bad omens refer to funerals. Good omens (ishuko) also exist, for instance black ants in a line, all with
something in their beaks: you are going to receive something, or a certain insect, *cikuku*,
that suddenly flies into your breast: you are going to receive something. But be careful, it
might be sent by somebody, then you think you are with *ishuko*, but it is *ishamo*. So put
your foot on it and turn, so it can't bring the message back. Here is a song about this
insect sitting on chief Chibale's shirt, after which he became ill and died. [Follows Song
III-7]. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

This *kanunushi* song could be sung as a complaint for any bad omen. Here Satana and
the nature spirits are one. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

The author likes to add that the period in which the song was brought for the first time
was characterised by the emergence of Christian cult groups (that were still present in
the 1980s). The song contains references to the local and the Christian cults and could be
interpreted to complain about the ineffectiveness of the Christian cults.

### Interpretation by the general public

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1M1</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M2</td>
<td>It is about the omen of seeing a <em>kanunushi</em></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M3</td>
<td>It is Lesa who made us, not Satana</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M4</td>
<td>It is about death, It is about a funeral</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M5</td>
<td>It is about sorrow and/or suffering</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M6</td>
<td>It is about <em>ishamo</em></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M7</td>
<td>It is about the suffering of being left by Lesa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M8</td>
<td>It is about witchcraft</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M9</td>
<td>It is about the <em>kanunushi</em></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M10</td>
<td>It is about Lesa and Satana</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M11</td>
<td>It reminds us of omens, like that of the <em>kanunushi</em></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M12</td>
<td>It is about nature spirits (<em>cibanda</em>)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M13</td>
<td>It is about Lesa and <em>ishamo</em></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M14</td>
<td>It is about the sufferings related to death</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M15</td>
<td>It is about Lesa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M16</td>
<td>The <em>kanunushi</em> is often sent by witches</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M17</td>
<td>It is about <em>ishamo</em> and death</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M18</td>
<td>Somebody will die</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M19</td>
<td>It reminds us we will all die</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M20</td>
<td>Lesa did not make us to have us all die</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M21</td>
<td><em>Kanunushi</em> is used proverbially (<em>mumapinda</em>) here</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M22</td>
<td>If it is Lesa who made me, why do I have <em>ishamo</em>?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1M23</td>
<td>The <em>kanunushi</em> portends sorrow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-1: The message (main subject) of Song III-6, Survey 1987.

One eighth of the respondents said they did not know what the song was about.
We cannot know what interpretation the ones saying for instance that the song was
‘about Lesa’ (1M15) had in mind. When we look at the extent to which the answers - as
they were formulated - represent an interpretation, we see that in some answers one or
more key words from the song text were repeated, in other answers one or more key
words were replaced by other words and, lastly, in a number of answers an explanation
or interpretation was given.
Why is it ishamo to see a kanunushi?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1T1</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T2</td>
<td>It shows what is ahead</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T3</td>
<td>It is rarely seen (digging), so it is a bad omen</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T4</td>
<td>It portends death in your family</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T5</td>
<td>It portends death/a funeral where you are going to</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T6</td>
<td>It digs a grave for you or yours</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T7</td>
<td>It is made by Satana</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T8</td>
<td>It is/was used by witches</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T9</td>
<td>It rarely digs soil, so it means a funeral</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T10</td>
<td>It portends you will have a funeral</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T11</td>
<td>It portends death/ a funeral where you are coming from</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T12</td>
<td>It is a bad omen when it digs / throws soil</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T13</td>
<td>It portends death and brings many sufferings</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T14</td>
<td>It is rarely seen, it brings death</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T15</td>
<td>It portends suffering</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1T16</td>
<td>Only those sent by witches bring ishamo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-2: Specific question about the text of Song III-6, Survey 1987

More than 30% of those having heard this song said they did not know that, or why, seeing the kanunushi bringing out soil (into your direction) portended grave misfortune. Most other answers explained what a bad omen was: it shows what is ahead, it portends death and/or suffering, it is rare, and it can be connected to witchcraft.

It is likely that the majority of the ones claiming to understand the song thought it was about a bad omen. The bad omen then was taken as an event portending ishamo (possibly relating it to the local cults), was brought in relation with lack of support by Lesa (possibly attempting to fit it into Christian reasoning) while a small number of answers connected the disturbance to witchcraft.

We can conclude that around 70% of the respondents in 1987 understood the words of this ing’omba-cinsengwe made in the 1940s and that they made three basic interpretations.

Who is jealous of whom?

*Cankole ubanda nshila eya eya (2x)*
*Tashakwibukile cankole wesu tupwe babili eya eya (2x)*
*Nendi mwando wa bulungu eya eya (2x)*
*Nangu amwamfulwa mwe balume mumbweleshe kwesu eya eya (2x)*

Magpie [you] who waggles along/blocks the road eya eya
I did not expect the two of us to marry our magpie eya eya
I am a rope of beads eya eya
If you are angry with me, my husband, bring me back to where I came from eya eya

Song II-71: An excerpt of the *cisango*, women’s critical song. Song II-71 was used for Survey 1987. The answers given specifically refer to the first two lines. -*Banda* means both waggling and blocking.

Interpretation by exegetes

As to *tupwe babili*, it refers to the marrying of women [not of men (-*upa*)]. The magpie’s way of moving [on the ground] is waggling: going from here to there, and it looks boastful. *Ubanda nshila*, waggling along the road, can also be understood as roaming, sleeping.
around (cendeyende). (Lonika Kasubika - bringer of the two verses, personal communica-
tion, 1981)
Here it is the second wife talking to the first wife. It is also to teach husbands about poly-
gyny. (banaNshimb, personal communication, 1987)

Tupwe refers to the marrying of women. If the magpie would be the husband and it
would be the first wife singing, it would have been: miatepe babili. Because of tanshakw-
ibule, it must be the first wife singing about the second. In the second verse the wife
addresses herself to the husband referring to her value and her fragility as well as to the
fact that what she does is all right in the place where she comes from. (Alube Mika, per-
sonal communication, 1987)

**Interpretation by the general public**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2M1</td>
<td>It is about marriage</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M2</td>
<td>It is about polygamy</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M3</td>
<td>It is about jealousy in marriage / polygyny</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M4</td>
<td>It is about jealousy between wives</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M5</td>
<td>It is teaching not to marry in polygyny</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M6</td>
<td>It is teaching the man how to behave in marriage</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M7</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M8</td>
<td>It is about the magpie</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M9</td>
<td>It is about love</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Though not everybody could follow the metaphor of the magpie, as indicated by an-
swer 2T4 in List III-4, most people understood that the two verses were about marital
problems. Some of them placed the accent on jealousy, others on teaching.

**What is meant with 'Cankole ubanda nshila'?**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2T1</td>
<td>The first wife is addressing the second wife (to be): don't boast/block</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T2</td>
<td>The (first) wife is addressing the husband: don't roam/marry again</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T3</td>
<td>It is shouting at each other</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T4</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T5</td>
<td>One wife is addressing the other: don't boast / block my way</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T6</td>
<td>The second wife is addressing the first wife: don't boast / block my way</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2T7</td>
<td>It is to teach men</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-4: Specific question about the text of Song II-71, Survey 1987. It was gen-
erally interpreted to mean: Who is addressing whom to stop boasting/roaming?

We concentrate now on the first verse. It seems rather clear that the second line is
sung by the first wife addressing the second wife. However, there are several alternative
options. We first have to be aware of two characteristics of Chibale song texts that one
needs to understand lest they become incomprehensible. In many songs the second line
had another subject or took on another vantage point than the first line. Secondly, a line
might be a citation of someone, not necessarily the subject until then, in the past, the
present or the future.

The second characteristic explains why many heard the first wife addressing the
second wife to be (2T1). In 2T2 the lines are interpreted as: ‘Dear roaming husband, if
you go on like this I will soon be saying to a second wife: “I did not expect the two of us
to marry our magpie” and that’s why I’m telling you now’. The 2T6 interpretation hears
the second wife addressing the first wife: ‘I had expected that our husband would have sent you home after marrying me.’ 2T3 and 2T5 offer no opinion on which wife is addressing the other.

We see that even a rather straightforward verse with a simple metaphor was not understood by all and was interpreted in different ways. It would have been interesting to see how different the interpretations would have been had the song been brought by a specific person at a specific moment.

For this song little differences existed between the exegetes’ and the general public interpretations.

**Pounding, mourning and witchcraft**

*Bamupandansengo nailila bamune yo*
*Emwe mukolengela abanenu kulila*
*Mwe balele mu culu nailila bamune yo*
*Tseni munчисhe mwebalele mu culu*

Those who bewitch using horns, I am left alone, my friends yo
You are the causers of mourning in even more families
You who lie in the anthill, I am left alone, my friends yo
Come and help me, you who lie in the anthill

Song II-37: An excerpt of the pounding song Song II-37 was used for Survey 1987.

**Interpretation by exegetes**

Yes, I know the song with *bamupandansengo* [Follows Song III-8, comparable in text but in another *musango*]. Here the witch is asked to come and help, because (s)he caused the problem. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

The author likes to add that in former days anthills (*culu*) were used as graves. In the second verse the singer calls upon her dead relatives to come and help. She is left alone in a village without people to help her. This has been caused by those who bewitch using horns.

**Interpretation by the general public**

Most respondents said the song was about witchcraft. Some of these also referred to the effect of the song (3M2 and 3M7): warning or condemning witches helped to diminish their control over the one singing. A part of the respondents saw the song as a mourning song (3M4, 3M8, 3M10-13, 3M15), thus also referring to the (*kupupa*) effect of the song.

| 3M1       | It is about witchcraft / witches                        | 59  |
| 3M2       | It is condemning witches/witchcraft, asking them to stop| 17  |
| 3M3       | It is about witches bringing sorrow to others          | 11  |
| 3M4       | It is about death                                     | 9   |
| 3M5       | It is about death and witchcraft                       | 8   |
| 3M6       | It is about being left alone/without help because of witchcraft | 8   |
| 3M7       | It is warning witches / showing witchcraft is involved | 5   |
| 3M8       | It is about the sorrow of being/pounding alone         | 5   |
| 3M9       | Witches kill the ones important for you                | 5   |
| 3M10      | It is remembering the one who always helped, esp. the mother | 5   |
| 3M11      | It is mourning/remembering the ones killed by witchcraft | 4   |
Interpretation of music

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3M12</td>
<td>It is about death and sorrow</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M13</td>
<td>It is about sorrow</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M14</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M15</td>
<td>It is asking the dead to keep on helping</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M16</td>
<td>It is asking the witches who killed the mother to come and help</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-5: The message (main subject) of Song II-37, Survey 1987.

Why should certain people come and help?

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3T1</td>
<td>The helping is only meant spiritually: to give maka</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T2</td>
<td>It is remembering them, a way of mourning</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T3</td>
<td>Because she is tired, the work is too heavy</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T4</td>
<td>The mwebalele muculu are the dead in the grave/anthill: come and help</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T5</td>
<td>If the dead in the grave were still alive, they would come and help me</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T6</td>
<td>It is imagining they would come and help, through singing</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T7</td>
<td>The witch should come and help since (s)he has killed the mother</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T8</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T9</td>
<td>Because they left their children with all the burden / in troubles</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T10</td>
<td>The mwebalele muculu are relatives who recently died</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T11</td>
<td>Those bewitched by Mupanda Nsengo should come and help</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3T12</td>
<td>Come and help against all the witches attacking me</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-6: Specific question about the text of Song II-37, Survey 1987.

Many (3T1, 3T2, 3T4, 3T5 and 3T6) interpreted the song to be a kupupa-through-mourning/remembering song. In a number of cases (3T3, 3T7 and 3T9) the mourning/remembering is not recognised but interpreted as complaining, i.e. without attempt to obtain spiritual help. Only 4 answers were the same as that of the exegete. Only 2 persons did not know what the song was about.

"But that was only a song being sung"

Kali amalwele bakayobela balile bona ku mutina
Kali amalwele bakayobela balile
Kali amalwele bwaca balokulila ba Mbomba
Kali amalwele bwaca balokulila

There is still illness but the kayebela have gone from the heart
There is still illness but the kayebela have gone
There is still illness, Mbomba has been crying all night
About the illness he has been crying all night

Song III-9: A healing song brought at a Kubuka by Chiselwa, a Mwami spirit possessing the shing’anga Sheki Mbomba that also played the musebe; the chorus consisted of the wife of Mbomba, Njustini, Basil Chisonta and the author, Luanshya, 1986.

Interpretation by exegetes

The actual bringing of this song and interpretation of its text was recorded at a Kubuka in Luanshya, on 26 May 1986 from 19.30 to 20.10 hours. The Kubuka was done in the house of the shing’anga Mbomba, a Mwami healer and possession cult leader originating from Chibale who lived and worked in Luanshya. The room was completely
dark. Present were one unconscious patient who had been brought to the shing'anga's house the previous day, her husband, one other patient, Mbomba lying on a bed in the state of being possessed by his principal spirit Chiselwa, the wife of Mbomba, Njustini: a young man from Chibale who drummed for Mbomba and occasionally helped during Kukula, Basil Chisonta, who helped me during the research, and the author. Chiselwa speaks in a mixture of Lenje, Lala and Bemba. In some cases his words are translated into Lala/Bemba by his helper Njustini. Chiselwa speaks and sings slowly in a low voice, while the husband of the patient, though being a policeman of higher rank, speaks softly and timidly. Listen to the whole passage in Music example III-3.

[Chiselwa has just finished the discussion of the case of the other patient with a song]

Chiselwa: Gives a short whistle. Now what is the name of the sick one?

Husband: She is the mother of Mwelwa.

Chiselwa: What is your view on her condition?

Njustini: He wants to know what your view is on her condition.

Husband: There seems to be some improvement.

Chiselwa: Some improvement?

Husband: Yes.

Chiselwa: Have her parents visited her already?

Husband: Here?

Chiselwa: Yes. Haven't they come here?

Husband: Her parents live somewhere in a village. They went back.

Chiselwa: So you are her only "relative" in town.

Husband: Only her grandfather remained.

[A song is started]

Chiselwa: When my mother was still here, there was no suffering
I had a good time near the fire, Sakanya, there was no crying
The good time is gone today

Chorus: When there is failing, they just leave the one they slept with
Because it was only loving the wife's body, I cry mawe oyiye

[Song III-10: These lines are sung eight times. In Chiselwa's solo the word 'mother' later is replaced by 'ba Mbomba' and the name 'Sakanya' a few times by 'Malub', another major Mwami spirit]

Chiselwa: That is how it is. What is your view?

Njustini: He says: that is how it is and what is your view? Is she improving?

Husband: Yes.

[A song is started]

Chiselwa: Kuli amalwele bakayobela balile bona ku mutima
Chorus: Kuli amalwele bakayobela balile
Chiselwa: Kuli amalwele bwaca balokulila ba Mbomba
Chorus: Kuli amalwele bwaca balokulila
Chiselwa: There is still illness but the kayebela have gone from the heart
Chorus: There is still illness but the kayebela have gone
Chiselwa: There is still illness, Mbomba has been crying all night
Chorus: About the illness he has been crying all night

[The first two lines were sung four times, then the second pair follows six times while the song was finished by singing the first two lines twice. The word 'amalwele' is replaced a few times by 'amalwash' (Lenje for illness) and 'ba Mbomba' by 'bona ba Mbomba' in the solo-line. Kayebela are creatures used by witches to steal food, to cause illness or to kill; it is a Lenje word, the Lala word being kayebela].

Chiselwa: That is how it is. This patient of yours, as I've said it, I end here - has to use medicine to be all right again. To be all right, do you understand?
Husband: Yes, sir.
Chiselwa: Let us then hear if you have any question to ask about this patient of
yours. Hm. Hm. Many different an-
swers were given to a more specific question about the text.
Interpretation of music
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[Follows suppressed laughter by Njustini and Basil Chisonta]

Njustini: But that was only a song being sung.
Chiselwa: No! No! It is the truth!
Husband: So it is true?
Chiselwa: Surely. It is exactly like you have said it. The kayebela have left but in
the heart illness has remained.
Husband: But they are laughing.
Chiselwa: It is the complete truth you have told. The kayebela have told us they
have left but in the heart is where an illness has remained. But we are
going to work on that soon.
Husband: Yes, sir.
Chiselwa: All illness will leave the heart, you understand?
Husband: I understand.
Chiselwa: So, you have been really doing your best to understand our view as it
was put in the song. What was our intention to bring this song? We saw
that the kayebela were stubborn and that her spirits (nyela) were
remaining in her heart and that when those kayebela would leave, an ill-
ness would remain in the heart that could be cured. That is how it is.

[The first two lines of the song are sung once more]

Chiselwa: That is the issue, sir, rest assured. Do not worry. Surely the kayebela
have left and in the heart a curable illness has remained.

[With these words the discussion of the case of the unconscious patient is rounded off]

Outside this actual context two shing’anga gave the following interpretations.
It means there is still something left in the heart causing trouble. This song is
brought by the shing’anga’s spirits when it looks like the illness had gone but it
turns out there is still something left. So she has to look for other medicine.
It could also mean that some of the possessing spirits left, in that case the remain-
ing spirits bring this song. ‘Bakayobela’ then means ‘fellow possessing spirits’.
(banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

The kayobela that brought the illness to the heart have left because the shing’anga’s
spirits have killed them. The patient now is healed. (Salati Mukoti, personal com-
munication, 1986)

‘Three exeges’ interpretations can be discerned: the first one (A) was brought for-
ward by Chiselwa and banaNshimbi (first interpretation); the second interpretation (B)
was given by Salati Mukoti and the third one (C) was the second interpretation given by
banaNshimbi. The main difference between A and B is that in B the patient is already
healed while in A attention goes to the illness, be it smaller than the original one, that
has remained. C differs considerably from A and B in that it interprets the song to be a
song summoning certain spirits.

Interpretation by the general public

90% of the respondents understood that the song was about illness, the remaining res-
pondents connected it with death or with witchcraft while only 5 persons said not to
understand the song. However clear the main subject may have been, many different an-
swers were given to a more specific question about the text.
**What is meant with 'Kuli amalwele bakayobela balile'?**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4T1</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T2</td>
<td>At the <em>shing'anga</em>'s his spirits are called to come and help the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T3</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are the spirits possessing the <em>shing'anga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T4</td>
<td>Mr(s) Kayobela, the patient, has gone to seek treatment (at the <em>shing'anga</em>')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T5</td>
<td>The spirits of the <em>shing'anga</em> are gone and now are asked to come and heal the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T6</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> have gone to look at the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T7</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are things of the <em>shing'anga</em> that diagnose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T8</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are sent by witches to kill the sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T9</td>
<td>The <em>shing'anga</em>’s healing spirits are gone / have disappeared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T10</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are people who (will) cure the diseased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T11</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> have died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T12</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are the <em>shing'anga</em>’s spirits gone to look for medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T13</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are the ones healing through the <em>shing'anga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T14</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are the <em>shing'anga</em>’s spirits asked to come and help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T15</td>
<td>Mr(s) Kayobela is a person who recently died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T16</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> should come and look at the patient but they are gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T17</td>
<td>Mr(s) Kayobela is a <em>shing'anga</em> gone to look at the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T18</td>
<td>The <em>shing'anga</em> and his people are gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T19</td>
<td>The spirits of the <em>shing'anga</em> are called to come and help and to look in the heart to tell what troubles the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T20</td>
<td>The nature spirits (<em>cibanda</em>) that caused the illness have left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T21</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em>, sent by a witch, have now gone out of fear for the <em>shing'anga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T22</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are spirits that are asked to come into the <em>shing'anga</em> to give him the <em>mano</em> to heal the patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T23</td>
<td>The <em>shing'anga</em> is praising his spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T24</td>
<td>There is a witch that is going to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T25</td>
<td>The <em>shing'anga</em> is asking his spirits to come, by singing; the patient is nearby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T26</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> have healed but now are gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T27</td>
<td>Mr(s) Kayobela wants to leave out of fear of the illness(es)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T28</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> are things that the <em>shing'anga</em> uses for witchcraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T29</td>
<td>Mr(s) Kayobela is a person gone to look for medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T30</td>
<td>There is illness and the spirits have gone (that's all I understand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T31</td>
<td>The <em>kayebela</em> have left (the body part) where the illness was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T32</td>
<td>Mr(s) Kayobela is a <em>shing'anga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T33</td>
<td>The <em>shing'anga</em> asks spirits that were not actually present to come and help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T33</td>
<td>People are seriously ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4T34</td>
<td>There is illness all around. So when you are ill go to Mr(s) Kayobela for help</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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List III-7: Specific question about the text of Song III-9, Survey 1987. Note that *bakayobela* can be understood as the plural of *kayobela* (rendered in the list with ‘the *kayebela*, from the Lala for *bakayobela*') and as ‘Mr(s) Kayobela’, i.e. with *Kayobela* as a name.

Quite a few did not understand the sentence while the others came up with a wide range of interpretations. The translation of this song as given above is based on the interpretation of the text given by the spirit, Chisewa, possessing Mbomba, that brought the song. The grammatical construction used in the first two lines, however, is not unambiguous. Kayobela could be the name of a healer (e.g. specialised in solving witchcraft cases) or another person involved. It is likely that most of the 25 respondents thinking this was the case did not know what *kayobela* were. Many presumed that *bakayobela* was the collective name of the *shing'anga*’s spirits. Some answers are more an interpretation of the situation - the recognisable *Kubuka* context - than of the text. In 4T2, for instance,
the song is seen as a general appeal to the spirits not being specifically applicable to the situation, more or less parallel to the understanding that the ones who laughed had of the song. In 4T15 the song is understood to be a mourning song, presumably because of the line 'About the illness Mbombba has been crying all night' and the heaviness of the performance. In a few answers the involvement of witches is brought to the fore.

How many answers of the general public are consistent, or at least not inconsistent, with the three exegetes' interpretations? Nearly 20% of the respondents gave answers (4T2, 4T5, 4T9, 4T14 and 4T16) not inconsistent with C, though mostly implying a broader idea of summoning the spirits, while one respondent (in 4T33) gives an interpretation more or less the same as C. Nearly 5% gave answers (4T11, 4T20 and 4T30) not inconsistent with A and B while one answer (4T31) matched with the identical, first parts of A and B. We see that one respondent gave an interpretation consistent with that of Chiselwa while seven gave an interpretation not inconsistent with it.

**Mourning and good music**

*Amalimbe'i alila kwa Chibale*  
*Alila mwina*mina akula panshi alila sensenta mbanindo  
*Nashala nenka bantengamina / mwantengamina / owowo*

How the malimba sound in Chibale  
They sound downward and upward, they drag over the ground, they sound downward and upward again, but why  
I am left alone with all against me/ with all of you against me/ owowo

**Song III-1:** A cinsengwe brought by the cinsengwe-ing’omba Citelela in the 1930s as brought by an ensemble led by chief Chibale in 1981.

**Interpretation by exegetes**

In Chapter 7 an interpretation of this song was discussed. Supplemented with other information, it was reworded into a theory about music. Here follow some additional citations.

[...] So for music sensenta describes the good expectations that it arises. *Alila mwina*mina *akula panshi* means that all good music comes from or is reflected from the ground. The *ilimba* is played while the player bows forward. With the drum that is also good. Ideally music comes from below. Also when you play the low tones on the lamellaphone the music goes below *(akula panshi).* It is especially the low tone group [*nashiw *ya *panshi*] that makes the music do sensenta. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

*Mwina*mina means it makes you bend forward with your hands in the neck, it is a sign of sorrow. So the music makes you do this. *Sensenta* is the rocking movement that the bereaved performs [with the hands in the neck]. The *-kula panshi* can be interpreted as: the sad news or loss makes you lose all energy, it drags you. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

BanaNshimbi agreed with the musical interpretation of the song but found her interpretation more prominent. Notwithstanding the latter, her commentary can be interpreted to show that the behaviour of those mourning - which was mostly as described in the citation - followed the sensenta model.

[After hearing the interpretation given by his father Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986] Yes, I agree with the interpretation of the second line, only ‘mbanindo’ should be ‘malimba’. The third line could also mean that the medium, as representing the mpanga, feels left alone among all the people of the public, as representing the village. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2004)
The latter places the song at a moment that the public has to be exhorted to help in the mourning ritual. This could be caused by the fact that they more or less agree with the death of the one who died which for some could be a sign that witchcraft is involved. In short the song text then means: ‘You know for Chibale music to work well it has to sound like this, so please don’t leave me without assistance to make it sound like this.’

*Interpretation by the general public*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5M1</th>
<th>I don’t know / I don’t understand</th>
<th>41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5M2</td>
<td>It is about grief and its effects</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M3</td>
<td>It is about being left alone without help</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M4</td>
<td>It is about the sorrow of being left alone</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M5</td>
<td>It is about death</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M6</td>
<td>It is about being left alone after all relatives have died</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M7</td>
<td>It is remembering the dead</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M8</td>
<td>It is about death and sorrow</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M9</td>
<td>It is about loosing relatives, loved ones</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M10</td>
<td>It is about being left alone after all others have been killed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M11</td>
<td>It is about witchcraft and death</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M12</td>
<td>It is about one-note-xylophones (music)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M13</td>
<td>It is about how to play the one-note-xylophones</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M14</td>
<td>It is about hate</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M15</td>
<td>It is about fighting</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M16</td>
<td>It is about sorrow and music</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M17</td>
<td>It is praising Chibale chieftdom</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M18</td>
<td>It is praising the playing of the one-note-xylophones (music)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5M19</td>
<td>It is just a song for drinking beer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-8: The message (main subject) (5M) of Song III-1, Survey 1987.

The last line with the dreaded image was most often used for the deduction of the message. Nevertheless, in many of the answers a link is made, more or less clearly, with the mourning behaviour that can be interpreted to be described in the second line. The interpretations in 5M5 and 5M8 must also be based on this. 5M11 and 5M14 link the message to witchcraft and hate. 5M12, 5M13 and 5M18 emphasise the (first and the) second line while 5M16 is the only answer combining attention for sorrow and music like the exegetes did.

The answers to the three specific questions posed for this song provide more information about the interpretations made by members of the general public.

*What is meant with ‘Alila mwinamina akula panshi’?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5Tα1</th>
<th>I don’t know / I don’t understand</th>
<th>56</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5Tα2</td>
<td>The <em>malimba</em> sound while/make you feel grief/sorrow</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tα3</td>
<td>The <em>malimba</em> sound well</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tα4</td>
<td>The <em>malimba</em> make/sound while you bow down (in sorrow)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tα5</td>
<td>The <em>malimba</em> are played at the funeral of the deceased</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tα6</td>
<td>The <em>malimba</em> make happy</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tα7</td>
<td>The <em>malimba</em> sound low</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-9: First specific question (5Tα) about the text of Song III-1, Survey 1987.

List III-9 indicates that more people than List III-8 seems to imply, heard that the second line was about music or music and sorrow.
Interpretation of music

What is meant with 'Alila sensenta'?  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5Tb1</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb2</td>
<td>The sorrow gets bigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb3</td>
<td>The malimba make many come (and help)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb4</td>
<td>The malimba sound well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb5</td>
<td>It refers to the coffin being taken to the grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb6</td>
<td>The malimba sound at a funeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb7</td>
<td>The music gets better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tb8</td>
<td>Stand up and dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-10: Second specific question (5Tb) about the text of Song III-1, Survey 1987.

With 43% of the respondents not knowing what was meant, this turns out to be the most difficult text part in our five examples. This may have been caused by the fact that sensenta was not a regularly used word. Certainly its music structural meaning was practically unknown. 5Tb2 and 5Tb3 seem to be based on the usage of the word for the gathering of heavy rain clouds while 5Tb5 and possibly 5Tb6 are based on its usage for the carrying of a heavy object over a longer distance (see note 11).

Why do they (suddenly) end with 'Nashala nenka bantengamina'?  

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5Tc1</td>
<td>I don't know / I don't understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc2</td>
<td>Once alone there is nobody to help you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc3</td>
<td>Once alone people turn against you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc4</td>
<td>All is/are on me now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc5</td>
<td>All my relatives have been killed, I am the next one to follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc6</td>
<td>All my relatives have died</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc7</td>
<td>Everybody has come to the good music and I am left alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc8</td>
<td>Once alone witches start hurting you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc9</td>
<td>Were my relatives alive, they would help me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc10</td>
<td>It shows sorrow; it is a way of showing sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5Tc11</td>
<td>He is attacked by the (deceased) wife's relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-11: Third specific question (5Tc) about the text of Song III-1, Survey 1987.

A homogeneity analysis of the answers to the four questions about Song III-1 shows three groups of answers (see Figure III-2).

The first is the group of all I don't know/understand answers. The group of people that did not know the answer or understand the message or passage was rather consistent.

The second group comprises the answers referring to music. They are primarily based on the second, sometimes the first, line.

The third group consists of answers that refer in various ways to the wretched state in which the singer finds himself. They are based on the third line while in some cases the second line is taken along in the interpretation.
The plot resulting from the homogeneity analysis of the answers to the four questions about Song III-1 represents, in two dimensions, the four dimensional cross-table that is made up of all the series of four answers that each individual respondent gave. In order to be able to perform a homogeneity analysis, no answers with a low score can be retained. So similar answers to the same question are taken together or answers with a very low frequency are skipped. In the plot, answers that were taken together are separated with a slash.

The plot shows three groups. The first is the group of all I don't know/understand answers. This means that the group of people who did not know the answer or understand the message or passage was rather constant. The second group comprises the answers referring to music. They are primarily based on the second, sometimes the first, line. 5M2 also is in this group which might indicate that the ‘effects’ mentioned were (partly) musical. The third group consists of answers that refer in various ways to the wretched state in which the singer finds himself. They are based on the third line of the song text while in some cases the second line is taken along in the interpretation.

In the first dimension the two interpretation groups are clearly separated from the I don't know/understand group while in the second dimension they are clearly separated from each other. With 0.768 and 0.483 the dimensions have rather high eigenvalues, a measure of how much of the information is accounted for by each dimension. The Music answers are plotted more extremely since they form the minority of the answers (17%, versus 48% for the wretched state answers).

As we saw in Chapter 7 and earlier in this chapter, the exegetes interpreted the text at least along a musical line and a mourning line. These interpretations could also be made simultaneously (polysemy). Apart from the rather large group of people (around one third) who could not make sense of the text, these two interpretations were found back with the public be it that the mourning interpretation (nearly half of the answers) was extended to a wretched state interpretation. The clear separation between the two inter-
pretation groups in the plot (see Figure III-2) seems to indicate that although the two interpretations might have been made simultaneously this was not found back in most of the answers. The answer 5Tc7 that unites both interpretations was given by one twelfth of the respondents.

**Relations between song text interpretation and other aspects**

When we examine the relations of certain ways of interpreting the five songs and gender, generation, education, religious orientation, extent of town experience and the frequency of visiting gatherings with music, we only find a clear relation between generation and interpretation. The major differences were there between the eldest generation and the youngest (out of five generations discerned). They were expressed in the young having problems understanding the two old *cinsengwe* (1 and 5) and the elder tending to give answers in terms of sorrow and giving less of the obvious answers that the younger generations gave at times.

**Public, exegetes and music interpretation**

With the examples of the five song texts in mind I will examine if they brought more light on the issue of song text interpretation by the general public. It is important to note that I have only explored the interpretation by the general public of the text of the song as it was played on tape recorder. The direct context of application of the song and song text was not considered.

As to the intelligibility of the song texts, some song texts were understood by practically all while other song texts or text lines were not understood by up to two fifth of the public.

Individual knowledge filling the gaps or re-framing the meaning of the text as compared with the meanings attributed to it by the exegetes, was common. In all examples we find divergent interpretations: two, three or even more different interpretations of the same text.

Before we compare the interpretations made by the non-specialist consumers with those made by the exegetes, we first have to note the difference in gathering information on both sources of interpretations. The frequent informal and more formal contacts with the exegetes have to be contrasted with the situation of one interview with questions about nine example songs. Secondly, the exegetes were experienced and often had been trained in explaining song texts, stories, proverbs, omens and dreams, incidents and so on that were considered to be important signs and messages. Other people in Chibale also felt, thought and discussed these issues and used song texts, proverbs and stories to influence others. Though differences were there and some feigned ignorance or really were ignorant on some of these subjects, we can claim that the general public in Chibale was used to deal with the interpretation of song texts on a rather high level.

With this in mind it can be stated that, first of all, we cannot speak of the exegetes’ interpretation nor of the general public’s interpretation. There were differences in interpretations between different exegetes as well as among the general public. Among the general public the range of the differences seems to have been larger. In the five examples this may be explained by the number of guesses the interpretations by the general public contained. If the quantity of possible interpretations was larger or the possible interpretations differed much in nature, there was more chance of differences between the interpretations made by exegetes and those made by the general public. The exegetes were more capable in taming the quantity and quality of possible interpretations.
Fighting with songs - the Ipupo at banaNshimbi's

'Twebo Cililo twalonda
Owellele Cibombe bakonkele kwa naChibuye capwa nomba mama
'Twebo kulila twalonda
'Twe calaula Cibombe bakonkele kwa naChibuye capwa nomba mama

We came here for a mourning ritual
Owellele the healing ritual they were making out of it at banaChibuye's place
has come to an end now, mama
We came here to cry
We the possession dancers, the Cibombe they were making out of it at
banaChibuye's place has come to an end now, mama

Song 69: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi's, December 1987. BanaChibuye is another name for banaNshimbi.

In this section I will present, as a case, the musical course of the public part of an Ipupo in 1987. The texts of 112 songs brought at the Ipupo will be given. We will see how the application of text and song at a specific moment worked. And we may develop some understanding of the art of bringing new, but also existing, texts at and for the occasion. The case also provides the opportunity to give information about music, dance, mediumship and rituals in context.

The Ipupo was organised by banaNshimbi for her deceased mother. It was held on 5 December and the night of 5 to 6 December 1987. In the public part of this particularly memorable Ipupo the tensions existing between the various types of mediums came to the fore in song texts and various actions. Though no two Ipupo were the same, the differences between this Ipupo and other Ipupo I witnessed were more prominent than the differences between those other Ipupo among themselves.

We have seen that the Ipupo was meant to round off the mourning period with a large offering to the spirit of the deceased and to make a transition to (normal) life, from kulila to kwangala. Increasingly, however, the Ipupo was organised to solve ishamo in the family, often a long time after the death of the person for whom the Ipupo was organised. This expressed itself in two things. Many Ipupo were not rounded off with the dancing of icila by normal people (non-mediums) but saw mediums dancing up to dawn, like in a Cibombe, and the Ipupo was more open for kucitila songs and behaviour where in the older Ipupo kulila (by the family, ritual friends and mediums) had been followed by uplifting of the deceased's relatives by one or more mediums followed by joy (nsansa, kwangala) by the normal people. In other words, the Ipupo of the 1980s were increasingly used to solve problems and their form was influenced by the Cibombe introduced during the 1970s with the rise of Mwami. Though this rise led to a resurgence of Ciwila possession, the grown need for kucitila, the individualisation of kulila and the de-ritualisation of kwilimuna and the despiritualisation of kwangala put the role of the Ciwila ing’omba under pressure. Only great artistic expression and success could keep the Ciwila ing’omba active. It is not unlikely that a comparable pressure also played a role for the cinsengwe-ing’omba in the problem-ridden, and therefore kucitila-needling, first forty years of the twentieth century. They even ‘forbade’ the use of the drums for their music, presumably to make a clear distinction with the Ciwila and Moba cult-of-affliction possessed that used drums for their music.
That night when Basil Chisonta and I arrived at banaNshimbi’s farm I was very excited. It had been one and a half years since I had visited an Ipupo or Cibombe. I was anxious to know how Kamimbya (human name: Munteta Chalebaila), the young dancer whose star rose, during my stay in 1985/86, already soon after he got possessed, would behave and sing and dance now, and how he would come out of his first confrontation with Kansenkele, the most famous ing’omba for mourning and commemorative rituals of Chibale area and further. In any case it was a thrill to be able to witness a performance of the ing’omba Kansenkele.

Munteta Chalebaila was possessed by three spirits, the most important being Kamimbya, Swallow, which name was also his possession name. His type of possession was Bayambo, for hunting, healing and dancing. This type of possession was rarely found in Chibale but it was normal in the Lima, Lima and Lenje area. He was the son of the biggest shing’anga of Chibale at that moment, Salati Mukoti, better known under his possession name Chalebaila - the name of the Twa spirit that healed through him - who in 1976 had come to Chibale from the Lima area to heal. Because his father was absent when Munteta got struck by the spirits the first time, in 1985, he was treated by the other big shing’anga of the area - and the organiser of this Ipupo - banaNshimbi, also known under her possession name bamukaNdubeni, ‘the wife of Ndubeni,’ the name of the Lima chief whose spirit healed through her. Since a patient was called the child, mwana, of the shing’anga, Munteta was also the child of bamukaNdubeni. Kansenkele was one of the few mediums in the area who, like Chalebaila, was generally known under his possession name. His human name was Shemu Mambwe. He was possessed by two Ciwila spirits: of his mother and of his sister-in-law. He was much sought after by people who wanted to organise an Ipupo, because he, or in the possessed’s terminology: his spirits, attracted many people by bringing many, always new song texts suitable for the occasion, started very well by himself, and taken over clearly and loudly by his wife, banaChibuye, who always accompanied him as his helper (kampenga). Furthermore, his dancing, though not too varied, was entertaining and showed great presence. He, in the possessed’s terminology: his spirits, did not like more than one or two other dancers, and certainly not the lesser dancers, to perform at the same time, an attitude that led to tensions with other possessed, of course. Kansenkele did not visit this part of Chibale chieftom very often because the major shing’anga of the whole area, bamukaNdubeni and Chalebaila, lived there which caused friction at rituals. Since the deceased for whom the Ipupo was held was his grandmother (MoMo), he could not refuse to come.

The atmosphere was expectant. Around 20 hours some 300 people had formed a ring leaving an open space with a diameter of about twelve metres. Outside this ring six fires had been built around which predominantly men were sitting. Many of the men in the ring did not sing. They would watch the drummers and the dancing. So the chorus consisted for about 80% of women and children.

An Ipupo was a continuous sequence of the starting of a song by a medium, the taking over of this song by a helper of the medium (solo part) and the audience/chorus (chorus part), the joining in one after the other of the three drums, and the dancing of the owner, the starter, of the song to this musical ensemble.

At an Ipupo, and Cibombe too, it were the lesser dancers, often possessed who were not in kumfwana with their spirits, who would start up the ritual. This would be the chance they got to start a song themselves and, so, to dance to their own songs. At a later stage of the night it would be much more difficult because then they would have to compete with well-known mediums for the attention of the chorus. It also provided for a slow start of the heating of the ritual. I will use these songs to introduce the reader to some important aspects of music at Ipupo. From the 113 songs brought at this Ipupo the first thirteen and three out of the next seven songs were not brought by the three leading actors, Kamimbya, Chalebaila and Kansenkele. BanaNshimbi, though a very good starter
and dancer herself, was supposed not to dance herself, being the owner of the dead, but to be uplifted by the singing and dancing of those who helped in the ritual.

Comments on the songs following are based on conversations after the *Ipupó* with banaNshimbi and the three protagonists and on observations of the author. For the sake of clarity, the story of this *Ipupó* will be told in the present tense.

After a period of half an hour of tuning the drums, coming in and going out of the circle by the dancers and waiting by the audience the first song is brought by an adept of bamukaNdubeni’s cult group (see Photo III-5). A number of her adepts have come to help banaNshimbi, the human name of bamukaNdubeni, with the ritual. Some of them are patients, *mwana*, who can not bring songs yet, or troubled initiated possessed. Nine of them, eight female and one male possessed, stand at the western side of the inner-circle with the line of three drummers at the east.

*Owe lelo twabona bai bama/ bata*
*Iye elele niba Mwape bakoimba*

*Owe* now today we see, o mother/father
*Iye* elele it is Mwape singing.

**Song 1:** A *Ciwila* song brought by an adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni at the *Ipupó* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The song is taken over rather quickly because the audience/chorus has been anxiously waiting for the ritual to begin (listen to Music example III-4). The dancing is mediocre: some of those standing in the circle hardly dance or dance close to or even behind the drums. Because of this and because of the size of the crowd the circle gets smaller and smaller leaving too little space for the dancers. After the song has finished, some experienced women connected to the organisers enter the circle and call upon the audience/chorus to keep the circle wide and upon the dancers: “You, possessed, do not come nearer to the drummers, we want to see who dances well, do not deceive us” (listen to Music example III-5). After some time the same Ciwila possessed starts the next song. It takes some minutes before the drummers can join the singing (listen to Music example III-6). The audience/chorus does not sing loud enough because of the re-forming of the circle and because no-one takes over the solo line of the starter who herself sings too softly. When after quite some time someone takes over the solo the song, drumming and dancing take off.

*Mwayumfwe’fyô/ Kumfwe’fyô yalila bwino mungoma bai bama/bata*
*Lelo yalengo’kulila*

Do you hear/ To hear how good the drumming [music] is, oh mother/father
Now today it brings [causes] mourning

**Song 2:** A *Ciwila* song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni who brought Song 1, at the *Ipupó* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Where the first song of this possessed, though a Ciwila song, resembles Mwami songs introducing the possessing spirits, the second is a song in the Ciwila tradition of linking good music, in this case good drumming, with mourning. It provides praise for the drummers, an important subject of song texts at *Ipupó*, and uses the word *kulila* in public, remembering everyone that it is a mourning ritual we are attending. It contains (the for Ciwila texts) important word *lelo*, transcribed here as ‘now today’, that is used to historicise the ritual or to emphasise that the text relates to affairs that are important at this very moment or period in history. Despite its slow start the drumming and dancing to this song last longer than five minutes. The atmosphere is not really animated yet. After
a song has finished the whole thing diminishes. Now a second Ciwila possessed adept of bamukaNdubeni starts a song. The solo line is taken over quickly by a woman, Changwe Mabuku, very experienced in doing this for a number of mediums while not really being linked to one of them as some other helpers are. Because of this, chorus and drums join in fast (listen to Music example III-7).

Temba baisa /bafika bata
'Bata wesu apo benda/kabenda no'kulila
Here comes my father / My father has arrived
Our father, who always goes while weeping / come and find us weeping

Song 3: A Ciwila song brought by a second adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Here the father stands for all of the relatives who lost someone and in the time between the dying and the Ipupo wept a lot. It refers to an Ipupo held after 9 months to a year after dying while this Ipupo like many others was held much later and was held to solve ishamo in the family. Still this song is brought because it is a typical Ipupo song.

The next song is brought by a third adept.

Lelo fyakanga ifya maombe
Owe lelo bama ba Kunda teti nshane
Now today I will be a failure because of the drumming/music
Owe, now today, mother, Kunda, I won't dance

Song 4: A Ciwila song brought by a third adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

This is a rather frequently used way of criticising the drumming, or the drumming and the singing, by mediums. Though some singing and drumming is done to this song, it doesn’t take off and after one and a half minute it stops. It is discussed immediately after the song has stopped (listen to Music example III-8). After some time the adept comes with a new first line that is not insulting for drummers or chorus. This song takes off.

Bo baine ba Cenala mwe!
Owe lelo bama ba Kunda teti nshane
Bo, friends, you, Cenala
Owe, now today, mother, Kunda, I won't dance

Song 5: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni who brought Song 4 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The audience/chorus must have wanted to reward the adept for changing the text; the text itself will not have been the reason.

A fourth adept starts a song. It is not taken over loudly by the chorus but the drummers join in and play loudly (listen to Music example III-9). This continues for some minutes.

Kakonkote kafumine kwaba Muchinda
Lelo kakondakawukisha mutima
An old person who came from Muchinda’s
Today (s)he worries my heart

Song 6: A Mwami song brought by a fourth adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
Though this type of text is not abnormal for an Ipupo, this particular text is about the illness of the adept bringing it and does not refer to a person from Muchinda’s the audience/chorus will recognise or is interested in. This presumably causes the lack of enthusiasm in the singing. The enthusiasm with the drummers is caused by the fact that they are used to drumming this type of songs, at Cibombe.

After the coming of Mwami there were in fact two types of Ciwila possession. One was connected to the old cults and yielded ing’omba and in former days they were possessed by the spirits of ing’omba but in the 1980s it was the spirits of the deceased parents, in-laws and chiefs. The other type was new and in fact was a cult of affliction under Mwami guidance. The same held for Kaluwe possession: hunting mediums leading hunters versus Kaluwe possessed adepts of Mwami-led cult groups. The Kaluwe and Ciwila possessed connected to the older cults were not members of a cult group while the other Kaluwe and Ciwila possessed were members of cult groups around Mwami shing’anga like that of bamukaNdubeni. The latter type of Ciwila (and Kaluwe) possessed often were not capable of heating the ritual since they were mostly concerned with their own possession and, more particularly, illness. As in the example of Song 6.

_Mwebene bamubala muudala kamwimbe_
_Mwebene bamubala mwilala_
You who started this _Ipupo_ do not go to sleep but come and sing
You who started this _Ipupo_ do not sleep

Song 7: A Ciwila song brought by a fifth adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni at the _Ipupo_ at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A song in the Ciwila tradition of inviting the relatives of the deceased to start thinking about other things than mourning.

_BaCiwila mwalule masamba mwebantu_
_Lelo mungafwileko ayi owe_
You, Ciwila possessed, swing your _masamba_ even more, you people
Now today please help in the ritual ayi owe

Song 8: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni who brought Song 7 at the _Ipupo_ at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A song in the Ciwila tradition of heating (=helping in) the ritual by singing and dancing. The gathering is getting hotter (listen to Music example III-10). Merry confusion arises when a Mwami medium enters the circle and performs his typical way of dancing (see Photo III-6 and Photo III-7), thus taking away the attention from the one who brought Song 8. This adept retorts by bringing the next song while the drumming for Song 8 is still continuing (listen to Music example III-11).

_Kamwimbeni bama/bamune mwe baine mwebantu_
_BaCiwila balule masamba ayi owe_
Please sing, mother/friends, you friends, you people
The possessed swing their _masamba_ ayi owe

Song 9: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of bamukaNdubeni who brought Songs 7 and 8 at the _Ipupo_ at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A text with more or less the same message as the previous ones. In these three songs the organisers, possessed and the chorus successively are exhorted to partake and help in the ritual. The reaction of the audience/chorus is good and the drumming and dancing
too. After the singing and drumming have stopped, the drummers take up the song again (listen to Music example III-12).

*Ayi banaSafi bamune*
*Iyo welele ba Kunda balumbula kwesu*
Ayi, banaSafi, friends,
Iyo welele, Kunda has revealed our home

Song 10: A Mwami song brought by a sixth adept of the possession cult group of banaNduben at the *Iputo* at banaNshimb's, 1987.

The next song is a Mwami song announcing that Kunda, one of the possessing spirits of banaSafi, has revealed where they come from. This is a next step in the healing process. The text which seems out of place at an *Iputo* turns out to be a support for another patient present. Using the present hotness of the ritual but before the more famous mediums begin, banaNduben has a patient being brought into the dance circle during the performance of Song 10. Some days earlier this patient had been brought to her while in a deep coma. She is brought close to the drums. Rather soon the patient is able to stand staggering. BanaNduben coaches her and then treats her in front of the drums. After this she remains in the dance circle for a few minutes, sometimes reacting a little bit to the music (see Photo III-8, Photo III-9 and Photo III-10). During this treatment Kansenkele and his wife arrive at the farm. They look on for a moment and then Kansenkele enters a house to prepare himself.

After the treatment has been stopped, another song is brought. Because of the treatment a number of people had crowded around the patient. The circle is much too small and irregular now. While Changwe Mabuku is pushing people backwards, people ask the possessed to come with a new song. During this Kamimbya enters the circle. Munteta Chalebaila had helped in the ritual until then by keeping the circle in shape and by drumming but now after a period of having the spirits take hold of him (*kuseluka*) comes to help as a medium (see Photo III-11, Photo III-12, Photo III-13 and Photo III-14).

*Lelo balete'fyabayambo*
*Iyo we lelo mwebantu bankululo'mweo*
Now today they bring the possessed's art
No, you, now today, you people, they will rapture me

Song 11: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of banaNduben who brought Songs 7, 8 and 9 at the *Iputo* at banaNshimb's, 1987.

This text refers to the disengagement from mourning that the possessed's art is to bring at *Iputo*. It also refers to the treatment just given and historicises it. By taking the name *bayambo* as the general word for possessed it also is a prelude to one of the themes of the evening, the use of other, in this case: Bayambo possession music for *Iputo*.

*Mwebaume pa bwalwa bwa bama, ba Kunda*
*Baikala bangeleshikakalanda bama mwe / bobedba*
You men, at the beer ritual of my mother, Kunda
An Englishman is attending with a talking machine, mother, you

Song 12: A Ciwila song brought by a seventh adept of the possession cult group of banaNduben at the *Iputo* at banaNshimb's, 1987.

A classical Ciwila way of historicising an event or circumstance at a *Cililo* or *Iputo*: in this case the recordings we were making.
Kaluwe Kaluwe mama
Yoyoyo Kaluwe
Kaluwe Kaluwe mama
Yoyoyo Kaluwe

Song 13: A Kaluwe song brought by an eighth adept of the possession cult group of bamuKaNdubeni at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A typical example of a Kaluwe cult of affliction song. The song takes off well and the performance lasts long.

Balya bawela Liya balya bawela / Balya bawela Liya ni banaKwasa
Balya bawela Liya balya bawela / Balya bawela Liya ni ba Mabuku
Balya cipale Liya balya cipale
Balya cipale Liya balya cipale

Those of the chorus, Liya, those of the chorus / it is the mother of Kwasa
Those of the chorus, Liya, those of the chorus / it is Mabuku
Those who show off, Liya, those who show off
Those who show off, Liya, those who show off

Song 14: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya, adept of the possession cult group of bamuKaNdubeni at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

After having entered the circle some songs earlier, as the last of the adepts, Kamimbya now starts a song. Among the chorus is a group of some twelve girls, real fans, who often sing at healing sessions for and of Munteta Chalebaila (listen to Music example III-13). These sessions were held at banaNshimbi’s farm as well as at Munteta’s farm at Makonde where he married. They sing very sharp and kuwela well. In this song this chorus is praised: because of their good singing they can be boastful (listen to Music example III-14). Liya is one of the spirits possessing Munteta.

After the song Kamimbya asks the audience/chorus: “You all, why don’t you all participate instead of only this small group? There are so many people but we hear only one group singing? A woman in the audience/chorus says: “There are too many dancers to be able to see the dancing”. Mabuku: “There’s nobody”, meaning: the chorus is too small. Munteta: “The starting lasts much too long, the dancing space is too small. So, you people here [in this area] you don’t know how to sing?” He, however, has caused this behaviour himself by starting with a praise song for his chorus of fans. Kamimbya starts Song 15.

Ayi pano ba Munteta ngabafwa cikabipa
Ba Munteta ngabafwa cikabipa
Buyombo bakanshila
Wayio wayiolele Liya, wayio wayiolele Liya, iyoile Liya

Ayi at this moment if Munteta would die, it would be bad
If Munteta would die, it would be bad
He would leave his masamba to me
Wayio wayiolele Liya, wayio wayiolele Liya, iyoile Liya

Song 15: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The text takes the vantage point of a patient of Munteta, and more generally of a patient of a shing’anga: I will suffer when my shing’anga dies. It is a Mwami-type of song that is used here because it, like so many Ciwila songs, mentions death which Mwami songs hardly ever do. After it is sung only ten times with a few more women singing the
chorus line, Kamimbya, on the advice of Changwe Mabuku, immediately starts Song 16 (listen to Music example III-15). The problem with the Bayambo songs of Chalebaila and Kamimbya is that people find them difficult to learn. Instead of making new songs Mwami, and the greater part of Bayambo and Kaluwe, mediums bring the most effective song at a given moment. A large knowledge of the repertoire then is an asset for the medium. In Chibale this is counterpoised by the fact that the most effective Mwami or Bayambo song might not be sung by the audience/chorus because they find it too difficult. The medium therefore has to bargain between bringing little known effective songs and repeating less applicable but well-known songs that are performed well and, so, heat the ritual.

_Ayi ba Menala / banaKala aba mwabona aba_
_Mfunda fisungu ngafindo ifi nakulila Liya_

_Ayi, this Menala / banaKala whom you see here_
_[She is] an initiation teacher, what more do I need, I will cry, Liya_

Song 16: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the _Ipupo_ at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Song 16 gains a larger chorus. In the text Menala, the mother-in-law of Munteta who was present at the _Ipupo_, is praised by his spirits for teaching her daughter, Munteta’s wife, the proper women’s knowledge. The text may be interpreted as Kamimbya’s comment on the lack of education in singing of a number of women (=chorus) present at this _Ipupo_.

_Ba Mwape ifi baeba_
_Balankunga ngabaponaka kungoma sha bayambo_

_What Mwape is saying:_
_Those who are surrounding me [in the possessed] could have struck my possessed down because of the bayambo drumming_

Song 17: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of bamuNdubeni who brought Song 1 and 2 at the _Ipupo_ at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Song 17 is a praise song for the drummers and the chorus.

During Song 17 Salati Mukoti comes up to us to complain that we did not visit his farm nor his _Cibombe_. He asks whether we are biased and whether we have been asked by some people not to witness any rituals organised by him. He then adds that he knows who is behind all this. “The one who thinks he is clever, is very small to me and can not come up to my level. At my old village you used to visit me but now: no. Why?” Because he seems to be afraid that his Lima origin, read: ‘lack of Lalaness,’ plays a role in this, we answer him that we are in the area to serve all regardless of their origin and that we will be glad to visit him in the coming week.

_Ino ngoma ilafwaya bayambo cingalule_
_Ino ngoma ilafwaya bayambo_

_This ritual wants the true dancing of the possessed/ bayambo_
_This ritual wants bayambo [quality]_

Song 18: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of bamuNdubeni who brought Song 1, 2 and 17 at the _Ipupo_ at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

In the meantime the same adept has started Song 18 in which again _bayambo_ is used as a general term for possessed. In this song, however, it presents a clear preference for the performing of Bayambo music at _Ipupo_. Since Chalebaila and Kamimbya are the only
two Bayambo mediums in Chibale, it refers to them, or at least to Kamimbya who is in the dance circle and has trouble convincing the audience/chorus to partake in his songs.

Pano ba Mabuku kulwalalwala  
Tamwaba kuwamya, Kamimbya, mucalo  
Tamwaba kuwamya, Kamimbya, mucalo owe

The case is that Mabuku gets ill often  
Even though she does good work, Kamimbya, in this land  
Even though she does good work, Kamimbya, in this land owe


Kamimbya tries again to win the Ipupo audience/chorus, in this case with a praise song for the well-known woman, Changwe Mabuku, who takes over his songs. The undertone is that there could be individuals or groups causing her illness. The song then serves as a public statement against these individuals or groups.

Oo nalelo teti nshane bwino  
Owe lelo nasha amasamba, nasha nensangwa

Oh and today I can't dance well  
Owe today I've left my masamba and I've left my nsangwa

Song 20: A Ciwila song brought by the same adept of the possession cult group of ba-mukaNdubeni who brought Song 1, 2, 17 and 18 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

Song 20 is the last song that is brought by one of the adepts, except for Kamimbya. The text can be interpreted in two ways. It can be a citation of banaNshimbi who normally would dance at Ipupo but not at this one because she is the organiser. The other meaning is that this adept who has brought no fewer than five songs now complains about the conditions at the ritual that make it impossible for her to help in the ritual by dancing well.

After the song has finished the audience/chorus complains again about the number of dancers obscuring their view of the dancing by the owner of a song while others call for another song like this but in the meantime Kamimbya starts Song 21.

Kafuti kamalele ba Kamimbya bakwete  
Kafuti kamalele ba Kamimbya bakwete yaya

A gun as a shield against witches, Kamimbya has one  
A gun as a shield against witches, Kamimbya has one, yaya


Song 21 is the self-advertisement of a shing'anga. He has a gun to counteract the 'guns of witches,' an image often used to describe witchcraft powers. It is the gun Kamimbya dances with (see Photo III-15). Though self-advertisement and references to witchcraft can be found in Ipupo texts, this combination of both only to advertise their own problem solving power is new for Ipupo.

Combela wandi ba Tobi likonone'lyo  
Combela wandi ba Tobi likonone'lyo wayaya

My master-drummer, Tobi, his drumming breaks my body  
My master-drummer, Tobi, his drumming breaks my body, wayaya

A praise song for the master-drummer. He plays so well that it forces you to keep on dancing until you 'break.' The song takes off slowly and lasts only a few minutes.

*Baisa mukuntamba ba Liya nsabante*
*Baisa mukuntamba ba Liya nsabante yaya*

Liya has come to watch me do the *nsabante* dance
Liya has come to watch me do the *nsabante* dance, yaya

Song 23: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the *Ipup*o at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

The *nsabante* is a specific Bayambo dance movement in the Lima/Lamba area. It may be a reference to the lack of space and the large number of possessed which make performing the *nsabante* difficult.

*Kamimbya ifi napenga*
*Nomba ifi napenga Kamimbya*
*Kamimbya ifi napenga*
*Nebo ndi mwaice*

Kamimbya, how I suffered
Now, Kamimbya, how I suffered
Kamimbya how I suffered
I am just a child/junior

Song 24: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the *Ipup*o at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

The last line refers to Kamimbya's status as a *shing'anga*. He did not yet go through a *Cibombe ca kusubula*, he is still learning and not fully empowered. The suffering refers to the possession illness and the attaining of *kumfwana* with the possessing spirits. It is used here also in a *Cililo/IPupo*-style reference to the suffering of the bereaved.

Between 24 and 25 a man comes to the fore and says: You, possessed, if you don’t know how to dance just leave the circle. You wear *masamba* but you don't know how to dance. With this he refers to the five possession patients present who do not bring a song themselves but 'move along' with the music obscuring the view of the audience/chorus.

*Kamimbya/ BanaKamimbya/ Pano uyu-mwana kulwalalwala*
*Baya ni bangala bay ni bangala*
*Baya ni bangala ku ng’anga*

[To consult] Kamimbya / the one possessed by Kamimbya / This junior *shing'anga* here about all kinds of illnesses
They only came to play, they only came to play
They only came to test the *shing'anga*

Song 25: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the *Ipup*o at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

New *shing'anga*, like Kamimbya, were often tested by other *shing'anga* and by people from the general public by bringing test cases to them. If the two songs before Song 25 did not really take off, this song is not even taken over by anyone. Kamimbya now complains: "They must have drunk beer for them to take so much time to take over". People in the audience/chorus answer: "If there is no good dancing then there will be no good singing." They do not mean to say that Kamimbya dances badly but that the large number of possessed in the circle makes it difficult to follow the starter in his dancing. It is unclear why banaNshimbi persists in having some of her patients in the dance circle. Though they may benefit from it for their personal healing, the lack of benefit for the ritual and all present is obvious.
We should not forget that at Cibombe Kamimbya was very successful and his songs were taken over quickly. Since the audience/chorus of this Ipupo and of those Cibombe is partly the same, the reluctance cannot not be based on a lack of knowledge of Kamimbya’s styles. It must be regarded as a refusal to co-operate with the use of the Ipupo for healing purposes. Kamimbya now resorts to the strategy discussed earlier: he repeats the most successful song of the evening.

Song 26: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987. It is the same as Song 14.

It works well in view of the fact that the song is taken over rather quickly and is sung loudly throughout. During this song Kansenkele, who has finished preparing himself enters the circle. He comes up to us to greet us. I give him two photos that I took of him and of his wife at another occasion. After Song 26 has finished, Kansenkele starts his first song.

*Mbulileniko banababo*

Owe elele ba combela wanji ba Pepa abo baisa nomba

Please take over this song, you chorus

Owe elele my master-drummer, Pepa, he has just arrived


Kansenkele’s strategy is to immediately try and get hold of the drummers and then of the chorus. First of all, he needs a good master-drummer for Ciwila dancing. His using the same words as in Song 22 underlines this: there may have been a ‘my master-drummer’ here, but now it needs to be my master-drummer. Pepa Bulaya is Kansenkele’s favourite master-drummer. ‘He has just arrived’ is a formulation to make it easier for the master-drummer, Tobi of Makonde, who has been drumming the last 14 songs to give his place to Pepa. The song is not taken over very quickly but once it has taken off, it lasts some time.

*Kamulisha mwebamaombe /mwe baume / bai ba Bulaya*

Owe lele nafuluka mwana wanji ba Kabinda cinkenjele canji

Start playing, you drummers / you men / go, Bulaya

Owe lele I have missed my youngest child, my bringer of happiness


Now Pepa Bulaya has taken over, Kansenkele praises him: he is as valuable as the youngest child is for its parents. It is a word play: cinkenjele means ‘producer of good sounds’ but in connection with youngest child (kabinda) it means ‘bringer of happiness’. (see Photo III-16) After the song Kansenkele and Kamimbya speak with each other briefly about the conditions in the dance circle, especially the number of ‘non-dancing dancers’. This song has the same progression as the previous one. It starts slowly but after it has taken off it does rather well.

*Mayo ifi bacelwa bamukafandwe’ncingo’kupompoloka mama*

*Nemulandu incingo’kupompoloka twacelwa kwenu Maloba*

Mother, the reason why this wife of spirits came so late is that the bike had a flat tyre, mother

Me, the poor one, the bike had a flat tyre, we are too late at our place, Maloba

Kansenkele explains why he and his wife were late. As we will see in the texts to come Kansenkele uses the words mayo (mother) and mana (my mother) very often. These words are no ‘filling words’, however. First of all, he is possessed by the spirit of his deceased mother. Secondly, banaNshimbi is his classificatory mother (MoSi) and is therefore called mana or bana by him. Her farm therefore is ‘our place’ (kwesu) to him. Here he directs himself directly to her. After the first time Kansenkele has sung the solo and chorus lines banaNshimbi answers loudly with “We thank you” and the women around her ululate. Maloba is another name of the spirit of his deceased mother. Bamukafibanda, literally: spouses of the nature (fierce) spirits, is an honorary nickname, often used to refer to Ciwila and Moba possessed, especially the roaming Moba dancers between 1915 and 1940. The rapture the Moba spirits gave their possessed was regarded as extremely heavy.

Because one would expect a praise song for the organisers at this point, the text has a critical undertone: had we arrived earlier, this ritual would be in better shape.

Again it takes a long time for the song to take off but then it lasts a long time. The drummers stop once but the chorus sings on and pulls them back in again.

'Bona Kamimbya nabo buluya
Ni ngoma ya malilo yalengokushana
Ni ngoma ya malilo yalengokushana
Look at Kamimbya, he is mad too
But this mourning session has made him dance
This mourning session has made him dance

Song 30: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

This song is a reaction to Song 29. It refers to another honorary nickname for possessed, in this case bamukabuluya: spouses of madness, which was more often used for Mwami possessed. Buluya is a Lenje word. Mwami possession is considered to come from the Lenje area. This song text by Kamimbya suddenly shows Ipupo features: the music of this Ipupo has to be good so that it leads the bereaved away from their sorrow.

'Mayo mwayumfwa ifyo yalile’ngoma yakubamwami mayo/lelo
Kabanga bashane’fi bashana ba Meli banangobele/ fi bayako ba Meli teti bashane
Mother, do you hear how the drums sound Mwami-like, mother/now today
I doubt if Meli can dance her dance to that, supporters of the fine music /
I doubt if Meli is going to dance at the ritual she went to with the intention to dance

Song 31: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Kansenkele, however, thinks the music is much too Mwami-like. Meli is one of the spirits possessing Shemu. The song is the first completely successful song of the evening and we may conclude that it took Kansenkele four songs to get life into a ritual that was not proceeding well. Many people now bring gifts (kutaila) to Kansenkele (see Photo III-17). Someone says the drummers should not be forgotten which is right because they play very well with Tapsoni Mambwe Mafuta on kace and Pepa Bulaya on iyikulu (listen to Music example II-5).

'Mayo balemposha bamukafibanda/ bamukabuluya/ bamukabayamo, mutende ba
Pepa mana
Nemulanda mutende ba Pepa mwabombeni
Mother, you are being greeted by the spouses of the nature spirits/ of madness / of the bayambo spirits. Be in peace, Pepa, mama
I, the poor one, be in peace, Pepa, how are you doing?


In this song Kansenkele tries to put Pepa's mind at rest. Seeing that Chalebaila who came to the ritual in his normal clothes has now dressed himself up for the ritual, he understands the problem the drummers are facing. They earn their money by playing at Cibombe organised by Chalebaila and bamukaNdubeni, but they need drumming for Kansenkele for their fame. So, the text means: for whom ever you drum, be in peace.

This song is sung again enthusiastically by the chorus but the drummers do not drum to it. They refuse to agree to its hidden meaning by drumming for it. Since also the next song doesn't take off, the conclusion made above that Kansenkele took little time to gain control over the ritual was premature.

Nibani balya abali kwa Masola kantalika calaula mama
Nemulanda kantalika calaula nenka
Who were there at Masola's? I started the dance, mama
I the poor one, I started the dance alone


And here is Kansenkele's message for Chalebaila and the other dancers in the circle. At Masola's, a farm near to that of Kansenkele, he danced alone during the whole ritual. Kantalika calaula also could mean: I ended up dancing alone. The coming of Chalebaila has brought so much confusion among drummers and chorus that Kamimbya at a given moment shouts at them: “It is discussing what you do, not singing”.

With the persistence of the ing’omba Kansenkele goes on, now criticising the ritual.

Ati nabwena kumwiko, banaChibuye, cinco Cila ba Shemu mama
Twebalanda cinco Cila ba Shemu teti cikabepo/ teti bahwepo/ teti batine.
This I saw: a bad omen, banaChibuye, this ritual, Shemu, mama
We, the poor ones, this ritual, Shemu, will not be hot/ they will not help/
they will not show respect

Song 34: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimb'i's, 1987.

BanaChibuye here refers to banaNshimbi. The reference to a bad omen (mwiko) is a classical way of ing’omba to introduce critical or teaching texts (see for instance Song III-6). This might be related to a more explicit function of interpreting signs in the past. The song is very successful which shows that many agree with the issue as it is put in the second line. BanaNshimbi give a gift to Kansenkele (see Photo III-18).

Aka kalwele kali munanda miyaya
Aka kalwele kali munanda miyaya
That sick one in the house is in a bad condition
That sick one in the house is in a bad condition

Song 35: A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the Ipupe at banaNshimb'i's, 1987.

Chalebaila has entered the circle and now starts his first song (see Photo III-19). It is a typical Mwami healing song. Where Kamimbya's songs at this Ipupe contain relatively little Lamba, Lima and Lenje words, Chalebaila's are a mixture of all these languages. It is his first appearance at an Ipupe ever. In general, Mwami mediums stay far from death and the rituals connected to it. His reasons for coming and being brave were many. He
often worked together with bamukaNdubeni and his son Munteta was her mwanga-ng’a. He had recently moved to another area within Chibale chiefdom and was facing some difficulties connected to that. He had fewer patients than he used to have at his old place and his rituals were visited by fewer people and, what’s more, they were less well-informed than the audience/chorus at his old place. Furthermore, he was convinced that like in the Lima area where he came from: “Bayambo possession music could be used for anything.” The song is taken over enthusiastically by the ‘chorus of fans’ of Munteta but not by many others. After the song Chalebaila leaves the circle.

After this song a man tells the crowd not to start favourite songs if these are not started by one of the possessed. At Mwami rituals this is sometimes done by the audience/chorus to entice a Mwami medium to bring a favourite song. He also asks the dancers to wait before bringing a new song while another is still busy.

Oh bama banaNshimbi kamubule: apo mwaita ba Shemu mama
Nemulanda apo mwaita ba Shemu bonse balale
Oh mother banaNshimbi, let me tell you: because you invited Shemu,
Me, the poor one, because you’ve invited Shemu, all [others] should go to sleep

Song 36: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Kansenkele does not stop to try to heat the ritual on his own terms. The next day he said it was not specifically aimed at Chalebaila. “There was not enough room and too many dancers. Some of them even didn’t wear attire, so you couldn’t see whether they were possessed or not”. And banaNshimbi said: “It was my mother who asked for this Ipupu. There were no rains and there was good singing, so it was a success. The cult members (banamanga) only came to help until Kansenkele would start dancing. Some of them however had a different interpretation of helping. Some of my relatives invited Kansenkele. They didn’t want Mwami dancing, they wanted Ciwila dancing. If Kansenkele wouldn’t have come Kamimbya would have been capable of heating the ritual. Kamimbya and I regularly ‘carry’ an Ipupu.”

When we compare the start of the first songs by Kansenkele with this one, we hear that he gained ground (listen to Music example III-16).

After this song the drumming is still under discussion. BanaNshimbi now talks with the drummers and with Kamimbya.

Shaleni mwangalemo namulaya naya
Shaleni mwangalemo namulaya naya/ twaya aa
Remain for rejoicing, I’m saying bye bye, I go
Remain for rejoicing, I’m saying bye bye, I go/ we go

Song 37: A Bayambo song brought by Kamimbya at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The next day Munteta said: “I was not with my father. It was our [the cult group’s] intention to help banaNshimbi in the ritual and to leave when Kansenkele would be really dancing”. After this good-bye song, everybody leaves the circle except for Kansenkele and a woman who does not dance.

Mayo bama banaNshimbi kambalimbe: ukusanga baleshana bamayo
Nemulanda ukusanga baleshana, ebene mfwa namuwela
Mother, my mother banaNshimbi, allow me these strong words: to find you dancing, mother I, the poor one, to find you dancing while you’re the owner of the dead, I wela to you

Song 38: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
As we have seen, the song texts can be straightforward or allusive (sha nkama). This one is rudely straightforward. ‘Dancing’ here refers to the healing of the patient by banaNshimbi during the performance of Song 10. The next day banaNshimbi said: “The Ciwila medium can become rude like this when there is much competition. When these things would be spoken, it would be insulting. Mediums can cross the borders of shame (nsoni) of normal people”. During the starting of the song Kansenkele bids the chorus to sing lighter, in this case meaning: to sing with more high notes from the female singers, because it is a ‘song for the youth’, i.e. it has a teaching text (Muleangufyanyako ulolwimbo lwa balumbwana).

Mwe baice ifyo balila bama banaChibuye, iyo lelo banaChibuye
Nemulanda ba Meli bakolwala
You children, how mother banaChibuye has cried, no, today, banaChibuye
I, the poor one, Meli is sick

In this song the mourning of banaNshimbi is linked to the ritual hotness of Kansenkele. This song takes off quickly and lasts very long. Kansenkele seems to have reached his goal of complete control over the heating of the ritual.

Bona motoka yafwila kwa Mulilima yendelamo ba Meli mayo
Nemulanda yendelamo ba Meli lelo bakolalala
Look, the car broke down at Mulilima, the car that Meli uses, mother
I, the poor one, the car Meli uses, today she won’t move any further
Song 40: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipuwo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

In this song Kansenkele shares the grief of the possessed human, Shemu Mambwe, because of losing his mother with those present. Shemu’s mother died in Mufulira, a town in the Copperbelt. He often dreams of her trying to reach his place from Mufulira by car but having a breakdown at Mulilima, only a few kilometres from Shemu’s farm.

Nebo natileko’kwimba
Jelashi ba Shemu mama
Mayo jelashi ba Shemu eyo batina
Then I would have to stop singing
O jealousy my brother-in-law, mother
Mother, jealousy, ba Shemu, that is what he fears, wives of the spirits
Song 41: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipuwo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Kansenkele now has created the room to put text variations in his starting (listen to Music example III-17). The text is meant not only for this ritual but is more general. Kansenkele often had troubles when he performed that, in his opinion, were caused by jealousy because he was invited all over the area.

O welele ncite buyani ba Maluba, mawe elele
Ba Maluba Sankanya kushana Maluba, mawe elele
Mawe elele ncite buyani ba Maluba, mawe elele
O welele what do I do, Maluba, mawe elele
Maluba Sakanya, the way Maluba dances, mawe elele
Mawe elele, what do I do, Maluba, mawe elele
Song 42: A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the Ipuwo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
Chalebaila has entered the circle again and starts a typical Mwami song, which he calls Bayambo. Maluba is one of the spirits possessing Chalebaila while Sakanya is the main spirit of his shing'anga Sankanya. It is hardly taken over by the chorus and there is no drumming.

While Chalebaila is starting, Kansenkele comes up to us again and makes a joke.

*Mwe bamusamba mukowa banaChibuye kwendelela/kukonkela ba Shemu mama
Nemulanda kwendelela/kukonkela ba Shemu lelo musangwepo*

You who deny your own clan, banaChibuye to visit Shemu [to invite him], mother
Me, the poor one, to visit Shemu, now today you will see to what it leads


A text with a double message. On the one hand people in the audience are reminded that they should not deny their clan and keep them involved, but on the other hand he says to banaNshimbi that when you invite your clansman Kansenkele, you get the whole thing.

*Mangoma twalema kufwaya mumayamwa
Chalebaila tetishanemo lyambwelela*

Drums, we are tired of trying to find game in the deep mpanga
Chalebaila, I can't dance, the ishamo has come back

Song 44: A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

Chalebaila starts a Bayambo hunting song. As discussed in Chapter 6, hunting and mourning songs are likely to have a common ancestry. In other areas in the Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area both were made by the same type of mediums, the Bayambo. In Chibale they were brought by two types of mediums (Kalwe and Ciwila) but both kinds of songs were called cinsengwe. This song is a typical hunting cinsengwe for a Cililo ce'shamo. It is taken over by the chorus and the drumming and dancing are good (see Photo III-20). For a sample of Chalebaila's *nsangwa* playing during this song listen to Music example III-18.

*Mwayumfwa ifi yalila banaChibuye/ banababo
Kuno kuntu ba Pepa mama/ mayo
Nemulanda kuno kuntu ba Pepa mwabona shani*

Do you hear how the drums are played, banaChibuye/ chorus
Here in this place, Pepa, mother
I, the poor one, here in this place, Pepa, what do you think about it

Song 45: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

Kansenkele is still not happy to hear other types of drumming at an *Ipupo*. He tries to influence Pepa. This song takes off very quickly and lasts long. For a sample of Kansenkele's *nsangwa* playing during this song listen to Music example III-19.

*Aa kale twabala nenu ba Chisonta
Mumpele tambala mama/mayo
Nemulanda owe lelo mumpele tambala owe*

Long ago we started with you, Chisonta
Give me a cock, mother
Me, the poor one, owe today give me a cock, owe

Kansenkele asks us to give bigger gifts. A cock is shared after having not seen each other for a long time as in our case. The audience/chorus does not appreciate this diversion from the battle between Kansenkele and Chalebaila and does not take it over. Beer is distributed now.

*Ba Maluba Nsakanya shangala bwino*
*Oyeye ba mama balifwile pêshiba lyabwela mawe*
Maluba Nsakanya, the music is good
My (grand)mother has died in a pool, that ishamo has come back, mawe

**Song 47:** A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

This is a mourning song for an *Ipupo* or *Cîlîlo* linking good music to mourning. It takes off though like with the others songs started by Chalebaila the drumming for reason given earlier is more enthusiastic than the singing. Pepa who temporarily has handed over the master-drum to Mafuta comes up to greet us.

*Pano icamfumishe ku balume mayo*
*Kani bukwa kani butambe*
I don't know what made my husband leave me
It could be jealousy, it could be indiscretion

**Song 48:** A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A virtuoso reaction to Song 41. It says: You, Kansenkele, may be indiscreet as to your worries about the jealousy directed at you but there are more people suffering, or: You, Kansenkele, don't you evoke this jealousy by your own indiscretion? As a possessed, also Kansenkele, is the wife of the possessing spirits: the husband refers to the possessing spirits. It is a citation of Kansenkele experiencing the spirits having left him. This would deprive him of the power to bring new songs. The Mwami mediums had a low opinion of the life-rules followed by those mediums that were not members of cult groups. As banaNshimbi said the next morning: “Kansenkele's success will only last a few more years because he doesn't follow much life-rules (*mushila)*.”

*Ba Maluba ba Maluba twababona aba*
*Owe iyaya twakubone’milonga yesu takwalepa wa iye*
Maluba, Maluba we have seen them, these people here
Owe iyaya we will see our rivers though they are far wa iye

**Song 49:** A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A retort by Chalebaila to Kansenkele's complains about Mwami drumming. The second line means: we will be in our own Mwami 'culture' though it is far from here.

During this song Kansenkele comes up to us to explain that in the coming song he means us with *bena myenu*. Though calling a black man (Chisonta) and a white man (the author) *abena myenu* (i.e belonging to the same clan or relatives’ group) needs an explanation, Kansenkele never explained any song to us during a ritual, so his coming to us may have been inspired by the need to show his link with us. A link to us undeniably was regarded an asset in the possession scene of the 1980s.

*Iyo we mwaice mukanambule nandi ba Chisonta*
*Apo nabalila ukwenda nenu*
*Owelelo apo nabalila ukwenda na bena myenu*
Interpretation of music

You young one, give me also something, Chisonta
Since it's long ago that I began moving with you
Since it's long ago that I began moving with your people


It was a gamble to come with a text with comparable content to the song that failed to take off, but either because Chalebaila had started three consecutive songs or because of Kansenkele's short discussion with us, this song takes off easily. We don't forget to kutaila. During this song Chalebaila leaves the circle.

Kale nabalile ukusingainga kwa Chibale mama
Nemulanda kwa Chibale banaNshimbi

It's long ago that I began looking here and there for my mother in Chibale, mama
I, the poor one, for my mother in Chibale banaNshimbi


A reconciling song for banaNshimbi. The drummers refuse to play because they think their share of the beer is too small.

Iyo mutende bangobele
Iyo lele nangula fyalula ifyo bamushilile banaNgosa
Iyo, greetings to you, performers of the fine music
Iyo lele, even though banaNgosa is the only one left to give you good medicines


This is Kansenkele's victory song. The text is ironical because the good things Kansenkele can bring are expressed here in Mwami terminology: good medicines. BanaNgosa is his deceased mother, whose spirit is possessing him.

Iyo baletuseka ukonda banamwela ndelumba ba Meli mama
Iyo lele ndelumba ba Meli kutali baya
Iyo, though they are laughing about our thinness, wives of the spirits,
I'm praising Meli, mama
Iyo lele, I'm praising Meli who is not among us anymore


Now there is time to praise the spirits, in this case Meli, in a mournful way.

We mwaice ubushiku bwaca nomba
BanaChibuye ingoma ya balumbwana
Ati shololilo ingoma ya balumbwana
Nomba tukoya/ Nomba tuleya/ Likonona musana
You young one, the night turns into dawn now
BanaChibuye, it is now the session for those who are young-at-heart
Believe it! It is a session of the young-at-heart
[The old/weak say: ] "We are leaving"/ "We are leaving"/ "It destroys your back"


This is another victory song. 'Night turns into dawn' is a theme of the Cililo. This period starts around 2 o'clock in the morning, the dark hours before dawn when one still hopes that the deceased will rise and one fears that the breaking of the new day that will
‘prove’ that the deceased is really dead. That new day also will be the burial day. Often
the mourning is at its heaviest just after dawn. When using these terms at *Ipupo* one can
refer to this *Cililo* theme but one can also refer to the end of the *Ipupo*, and therefore
the end of the long mourning period, at the break of the new day. This song in fact marks the
end of the heating period and at another *Ipupo* this might have been the last song by a
medium. After it the normal people would dance *icila*.

*Mayo we nemunenu cilinkonawile Maloba*

*Fyenke’fi ba Pepa mama*

*Mama lelo fyenke’fi ba Pepa efi bafwaya*

Mother, me, your friend, it has raptured me, Maloba
It is true, isn’t it, Pepa, mama
Mama, now today isn’t it true, Pepa, that’s how the spirits want it


Another victory song. *Cilinkonawile* means ‘it has spoiled me’ but here just the opposite
is meant. During this song Chalebaila enters the circle again and it seems Kansenkele has
been crying victory too soon.

Song 56: A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
The same song as Song 44.

Following the same method as Kamimbya he comes with his most successful song of
the evening. Only twenty seconds after Chalebaila has started Kansenkele takes over
with Song 57 (listen to Music example III-20). The audience/chorus immediately stops
singing Chalebaila’s song and a part of it starts singing that of Kansenkele.

*Tamumfwa ifi yalila ya fibanda*

*’Uko bekala ba Shemu mawe / ’Uko bekala bama banaChibuye*

*Owe lelo uko bekala ba Shemu ningoma imba*

Don’t you hear how the spirits’ music sound
Where Shemu stays, mawe / Where mother banaChibuye stays
Owe, now today where Shemu stays that’s where the ritual sings

Song 57: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Kansenkele makes a comparison between his music and that of Chalebaila: where
Kansenkele is invited ‘the ritual sings’.

Song 58: A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
The same song as Song 44 and 56.

Chalebaila tries it again with the same song. There is some drumming but poor
singing.

*’Boi we, ecí nputawila masamba Maloba / banaChibuye*

*Fyenke’fi ba Eni mama*

*Owe lelo fyenke’fi ba Eni efyalenga*

You, friend, this is why my *masamba* get torn, Maloba/banaChibuye
Surely, Eni, mama
Owe, now today, surely, Eni, it’s these rituals that cause this

Song 59: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
This is another example of self-praise. Getting your masamba torn because of heavy dancing is a positive sign of rapture. The ‘Boi we’ here is Eni, the second wife of Shemu Mambwe, who is among the audience/chorus.

*Iyo bushiku bwaca nomba kuya Maloba/ banaChibuye*
*Katumake ba Pepa ba mayo*
*Nemulandu katumake ba Pepa nomba tuleya*

No, now night turns into dawn, it is [time for] going, Maloba/ banaChibuye

Let’s settle overthere, Pepa, mother
I, the poor one, let’s settle over-there, Pepa, now let’s go

Song 60: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The starting of this song gets more attention than usual from Kansenkele and his wife. They walk around to make sure enough people start singing a song that they presumably do not understand at that moment. Kansenkele needs them to sing well for the plan that he announces in the text and that is so out of the ordinary that no-one will have guessed it. When the singing is good and the drums have begun, Kansenkele breaks away from the circle leaving Chalebaila with a part of the audience/chorus. He does this by doing *ciwilewile*, a type of ecstatic backward dancing in which the dancer is pursued by the master-drummer, or all drummers, and bumps into the audience/chorus. The audience/chorus will then move away giving room to the dancer who only goes over the edge of the circle to return to it again. In this case Kansenkele does not return but keeps on dancing backwards to another spot some 15 metres from the circle ‘to settle over-there.’ As soon as it is clear - after some two metres outside the circle - that he will not return, the larger part of the audience/chorus follows him while they keep on singing to keep him in the *ciwilewile* state. It is not clear whether Pepa, or the other two drummers, was aware of this when he started pursuing Kansenkele.

As soon as the very small, crowded dance circle at the new place has taken shape, Kansenkele switches to a new text during singing, drumming and dancing, an unusual move though less rare than moving to another place.

*Boi we balinjebele bama banaChibuye*
*fyanjebele ba Shemu mayo*
*Owe lelo fyanjebele ba Shemu nomba tukoya/ kutali baba*

You, friend, my mother banaChibuye has informed me
What was told to me, Shemu, mother

Owe, now today, what was told to me, Shemu, was: now let’s go/ to be far from here

Song 61: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The ‘Boi’ is Pepa who has been tricked into this by following Kansenkele’s *ciwilewile* that turned out to be a move to another place. It tries to put him at ease: banaNshimbì knew of this. Presumably because of the hotness of the situation a woman in normal dress starts a song but Kansenkele immediately refuses her and starts Song 62.

*Yo, we shitima ilya pa menshi wabona Ceya*
*Likominta abakwa Muchinka babona mayo*

No, you, the steamboat that you saw, Ceya
It carries only those from Muchinka, as all can see now, mother

Song 62: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
This is a song in the *ing’omba* tradition of giving political criticism (compare Song II-45). With this song Kansenkele seems to say: finally there is time to do *ing’omba* work. The complaint is that the Tanzania-Zambia Railway built by the Chinese doesn’t pass through Chibale, and so has no stopping places there. Muchanka is here taken to represent the four chieftoms through which the TaZaRa passes. The subject of Kansenkele’s next song seems to suggest that his critique not only goes to the national or district government but also to chief Chibale.

Kansenkele had left Chalebaila at the place of the old dance circle but he also took the drums and the drummers. It has taken Chalebaila and his people some time to organise things but now they are ready.

**Song 63:** A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila in the old dance circle at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbí’s, 1987. Unrecorded.

In the pause between Songs 62 and 64 in the new dance circle, Chalebaila starts a song at the place of the old circle. The kernel of the chorus consists of the ‘fan chorus’ of Kamimbya.

*Mukamposeshe ba Teneshi mailo*

*NaMuluba mulwele mama*

*Shololilo naMuluba mulwele mulwele pimpa*

Go and greet chief Teneshi from me tomorrow [and tell him ]

The wife of Muluba is ill, mother

Believe it! The wife of Muluba is ill, stubbornly ill

**Song 64:** A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbí’s, 1987.

A song of self-praise. The wife of Muluba is Shemu Mambwe himself. Like in Songs 39 and 55, with illness, or spoiling, the opposite is meant: ‘Go and tell chief Chibale that Shemu stubbornly made the ritual hot.’ The audience/chorus reacts with *walya iwe*: ‘hooray for you’ and sings enthusiastically.

Now two rather curious songs follow, brought immediately after each other by Kansenkele. They are sung only once and both end with heavy singing - presumably referring to *musowa wa nfwaw* - for which reason they are not taken over. Both songs are about personal grievances of Kansenkele.

*Owe ele bama cawaya ba Pupe mayo*

*Tyo mama lwendelela ba Shemu nafwa mayo namwela*

*Mama yoyoyo mama mama*

Owe ele mother, about this Pupe, mother

No, mother, all this travelling around, Shemu, I die, mother, wife of the spirits

*Mama yoyoyo mama mama*

**Song 65:** A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbí’s, 1987.

The first song is about a spirit, Pupe, that troubles him and that will also be mentioned in Songs 71, 82 and 100.

*Iyi yalilile ya pa Masola bamama yoyo*

*Mayo we yoyoyo mama malimba ba yoyo*

*Sole mama mama*
Interpretation of music

How [well] it sounded at [the Ipupo in] Masola, mother yoyo
Mother, we, yoyo mother, the music ba yoyo
Sorry mama mama

Song 66: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The second of these two songs is about the difficult course of this Ipupo compared with others, for instance that at Masola’s, which was a ‘home ritual,’ also mentioned in Song 33. The end of the second line (ba yoyo) is the only instance in Kansenkele’s 75 songs on this night of a text not fitting; ba is not a ‘song word’ nor an accepted short-cut for bama, bamama or bamayo. Presumably it is done on purpose to imitate musowa wa mfwa.

Immediately after these two, a third song follows which means Kansenkele brings three new song texts within only 40 seconds (listen to Music example III-21).

Mayo, kutuntuka ngoli banaChibuye kuno kuntu ba Pepa mawe
Twe balanda kuno kuntu ba Pepa tetimpiteko
Mother, to climb the top of Ngoli hill, banaChibuye, to this very place, Pepa, mawe
We the poor ones, to this very place, Pepa, I will not return

Song 67: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

This song is a sequel to the previous one. From Kansenkele’s place banaNshimbi’s farm lies just after the top of the Ngoli hill, a distance of some 25 kilometres.

Ba Maluba, mwabalila bana, Maluba
Abana mwabalila bana bana
Maluba, you were crying about the children, Maluba
Children, you were crying about the children, children

Song 68: A Bayambo song brought by Chalebaila in the old dance circle at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

In the other circle there has been no dancing for some time after Song 63 that lasted quite long. Now Chalebaila starts what will be his last song. Despite his popularity and success at Cibombe organised by him, he has not succeeded in getting Mwami/Bayambo music accepted for use at Ipupo. The song is a support for the cult group (children) of banaNshimbi.

Because we stay in the second circle, banaMuncteta, the wife of Chalebaila, comes up to us during this song and says: “Why should there be two sets of drums? Indeed this is an Ipupo and not a Cibombe, but it is for all, not only for Kansenkele who does not want Chalebaila in the circle”. We say we have an assistant in the other circle writing down all the songs that will be brought there but that, having only one recording machine, at this Ipupo we follow the invited ing’omba.

Twebo Cililo twalonda
Owelele Cibombe bakonkele kwa naChibuye capwa nomba mama
Twebo kulila twalonda
Twe calaula Cibombe bakonkele kwa naChibuye capwa nomba mama

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We came here for a mourning ritual
Owelele the healing ritual they were making out of it at banaChibuye's place
has come to an end now, mama
We came here to cry
We the possession dancers, the Cibombe they were making out of it at
banaChibuye's place has come to an end now, mama

Song 69: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele in the new dance circle at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

Kansenkele has waited some time to bring a new song. Just after the short drumming in the other circle has stopped, he starts this song. It is now a quarter past three in the morning and this song is the finale of the confrontation that has been going on at this Ipupu (listen to Music example III-22). The audience/chorus left is that of the second dance circle while some of the people who have been in the first dance circle will join them in the period to come.

'We mwanice bushiku bwaca nomba banaChibuye/ kuya Maloba
Mayo ngbaseluka mayo
Twebalanda mayo ngbaseluka benangobele/bama
You, young one, the night turns into dawn, banaChibuye/ we're to leave, Maloba
Mother, if they would only do kuseluka, mother
We the poor ones, if they would only do kuseluka, people of the fine music/ mother


It is normal at an Ipupu that a number of involved people remain for the last part of the night until dawn. This 'bushiku bwaca (night-turns-into-dawn) group' here consists of some 35 people among whom is banaNshimbi who has been with the second dance circle from the beginning. In this song Kansenkele first inaugurates this group as the 'bushiku bwaca group' and secondly, in an ironical manner, praises the Mwami mediums as long as they only have the spirit come over them (kuseluka) which means as long as they lie entranced on a mat under a white blanket. Presumably a wider meaning is intended: as long as they heal (and do not sing and dance in public).

'Bama banaNshimbi kamubule
Mukabebe ba Pupe mayo
Ne mulanda mukabebe ba Pupe bangashila bantu
Mother, banaNshimbi, let me inform you
Go and tell Pupe, mother
I, the poor one, go and tell Pupe to stop the killing of people


In this song Kansenkele asks bamukaNdubeni to help him persuade Pupe to reveal witches. "As Ciwila don't deal with witchcraft", banaNshimbi said the next morning, "this song must be Moba. Pupe is a deceased relative of Shemu [Kansenkele].". This Pupe also figures in Songs 65, 82 and 100. The start of this song is sung in a soft, begging way; it wins acclaim with the audience/chorus, who now all are connoisseurs (listen to Music example III-23).

'Boi we tukengile mu nanda ya fibanda
Tubone ifyo babuka mama
Nemulanda tubone ifyo babuka banaNgwele
Boy, you, let’s enter the house of spirits
So we see how they do *Kubuka*, mother
I, the poor one, so we see how they do *Kubuka*, the wives of Ngwele

Song 72: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Notwithstanding that he asked for help in the previous song, Kansenkele teases the Mwami mediums again, including bamukaNdubeni. During the singing he dances *civilewile* into the building, a large kitchen, that stands very close to the new dance circle. Ngwele is a general name in Zambia for the bad character in the plot of a movie or in an area. This insult is not as heavy as it seems because it is likely that Kansenkele cites Mwami haters here. BamukaNdubeni did *kuseluka* and *kubuka* in her own house but the kitchen resembles the buildings used by some *shing’anga*, like for instance that of Chale-baila (see Photo III-21).

*Boi we fumenimo mu ng’anda ya fibanda*
*Umo balala ba Meli mayo*
*Owe lelo umo balala ba Meli banaNgwele*

Boy, you, let’s leave the house of spirits
Where Meli lies, mother
Owe, now today where Meli lies, wives of Ngwele

Song 73: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

With this song Kansenkele and the group that followed him left the house again and formed a dance circle at the same place as the second dance circle. The house of spirits is the place where the spirits can come very close to or enter humans. Also Meli the spirit possessing Shemu Mambwe lies there (in her grave).

*Boi we ndoyu mwana nimwana bani mayo*
*Tumwinike ba Shemu mama*
*Nemulanda tumwinike ba Shemu ba mwenda nalyo*

Boy, you, who’s this child and whose child is this
Let’s name him Shemu, mother
Me, the poor one, let’s name him Shemu, the one who goes with *ishuko*

Song 74: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

The boi here is the author. Shemu Mambwe is an only child and I am the only white man in Chibale. We have something in common. Seemingly a filling word, *Boi, we* in Kansenkele’s song texts denotes that it is meant for a particular person present. In the previous two songs it was Pepa. This low term of address is a reference to the distance created/existing in former days by Ciwila, and in the 1980s still by Mwami, mediums to normal humans. It is a reference to their mastery of text interpretation in comparison with which the others are young ones.

*Kamubuleko bamukabuluya/ bamukafiwaya/ banababo Maloba*
*Nemwine wa Cililo mama*
*Nemulande nemwine wa Cililo nombe lelo/mama*

Let me inform you, wives of madness/ lovers of *Cililo* music/ chorus, Maloba
I, the owner of this *Cililo*, mother
I, the poor one, the owner of the *Cililo*, I’m stuck here today/mother

Song 75: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
Another victory song, ironic, almost sardonic. In the three variations of the first line Kansenkele directs himself to all those who have been and are still present at this *Ipupo*: Mwami music lovers, mourning music lovers and lovers of both. I am the owner of the *Cililo*: I was invited to heat this ritual. I am stuck here: I am left without companions, I now have to finish this work on my own. Again a negative word is used in the positive sense.

The song is sung four times and is immediately followed by Song 76 (listen to Music example III-24).

*Bakotuseka ukonda banababo/mama eyo/ bakapenta
Ingoma yatuletelela mayo/ bama
Nemulanda ingoma yatuletelela fwebenda fwenka

They laugh at us because we are thin, chorus/ mother eyo/ beautiful ones
All these sessions have caused this on us
Me, the poor one, all these sessions have caused this on us, who move alone

**Song 76:** A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A self-praising song that continues on the subject of the last line of the previous song. In the guise of a complaint Kansenkele formulates what he is after: to dance alone at all sessions he is invited to.

*Twanutotela mayo/mama ba Chisonta
Ukupembako ba Shemu mayo
Nemulanda ukupembako ba Shemu banangobele/ mwana Ciwila

We thank you, mother, Chisonta
For guarding Shemu, mother
Me, the poor one, for guarding Shemu, supporters of the fine music/ Ciwila child

**Song 77:** A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A praise song for Chisonta for staying close to Kansenkele, more especially for moving with him to the second circle.

*Iyo we mwaice mukamposesheko bakumangalande
Uko bekala ba Shemu mayo
Nemulanda uko bekala ba Shemu kwali ngobele

No, you young one, greet those in England for me [and tell them: ]
Where Shemu lives, mother
I, the poor one, where Shemu lives there is fine music

**Song 78:** A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Dear readers, I greet you on behalf of Kansenkele. This song with its splendid start (listen to Music example III-25) does not need much commentary as it shows itself that where Shemu lived there is fine music. We thank moba.

*Boi we mutota nsha enda nakafunda
Uko twaile kwa Chibale mama
Nemulanda uko twaile kwa Chibale twatota Moba*
Interpretation of Music

Boy, you, “Delicious duiker!” goes with something to prove
Where we went in Chibale, mother
I, the poor one, where we went in Chibale we thank Moba

Song 79: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimb'i's, 1987.

A complex song text. Mutota nsha enda nakafulunda is a proverb: “Delicious duiker” goes with something to prove\(^3\). When you have been eating duiker somewhere and you visit another place, you can not only say how delicious the duiker was at the place where you ate, you should take a little bit of it to prove it. ‘Experiencing is believing.’ The text is a continuation of the message of the previous song. Whatever I take along to England to prove that Chibale music is fine music, we should not forget to thank Moba. It is not immediately clear why he refers to Moba but presumably it is related to opportunities he seeks or is in the process of obtaining - consider the Pupe songs and songs about witchcraft - to be able to sing about (reveal) witchcraft threats and cases.

_Ba Mabuku ulwimbo lwa fifanda_
_Mama icipempele mayo we_
_Fwabalando mama icipempele banangobele mwela_
Mabuku, [as to] the nature spirits’ song
Mother, like a butterfly, mother
We, the poor ones, mother, like a butterfly, supporters of the fine spirits’ music

Song 80: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimb'i's, 1987.

As a daughter of Makonde, Mabuku who is still present in the audience/chorus, belongs to the Makonde group. As said earlier, she skillfully takes over the solo-line for all possessed who have no own helper (kampenga). The image of the butterfly is not positive nor negative in itself, so the song is not an open reproach or praise but in the whole context of reproaches of the Makonde group by Kansenkele, it should be interpreted here as a mild reproach for not refusing to take over Mwami songs at an Ipupo.

_Iyo bama Muluba eyo_
_Mayo malimba mayo_
_Yoyoyo, nemulanda mayo malimba ayo bama naya_
No, mother Muluba, eyo
Mother, the music, mother
Yoyoyo, I, the poor one, mother, that music, mother, I go now


In this song the music as it has been performed in the preceding period of the ritual is mildly questioned by Kansenkele. In the previous ten songs there have been songs that met acclaim from the audience/chorus but were only sung, i.e. not drummed to, and lasted a very short time. The ‘I go now’ means that Kansenkele is prepared to go along with a singing-only phase. A sequence of these songs has now been started. The connoisseurs are eager to hear what the fountain of new song texts that Kansenkele is brings forth. They have the knowledge and skills (mano) to know what these texts are about without having to repeat them over and over and the drummers are tired and deserve a rest. The phase might refer to the rather short periods in the Ipupo of old where the ingomba informed about the state of the involved family, clan or region.
Part III - Chapter 8

_We mwaice uko twaile nimupepi ne fibanda_
_Kubekala ba Samba mayo_
_Shololilo cawaya ba Pupe nafwa mayo_
You young one where we went it was near the nature spirits
Where Samba lives, mother
Believe it! Dance cawaya, Pupe, I die, mother

**Song 82: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimi’s, 1987.**

Shemu Mambwe’s farm is near a thickset grove of trees (*mushitu*) with great *mpanga*
power and, therefore, with many nature spirits (*cibanda*). Samba is one of them. Pupe is
brought in relation with Samba here to underline Pupe’s fierceness. If only there would be *kumfwana*
between Pupe and Kansenkele, i.e. Pupe would dance through him.

_Balibekata bambi balile_
_Figelo batamba mayo_
_Shololilo nimfwiti bamulamu ebalowa bantu_
Some are known to practice witchcraft
The full-figured girls are admired, mother
Believe it! Someone close to you is a witch who bewitches people

**Song 83: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimi’s, 1987.**

Someone in the audience is, or could well be, involved in witchcraft to beget a beautiful
wife already married to another or in preventing her husband from succeeding in
this. It is also a more general warning against witchcraft practised by those close to you.

_Benka/ Eko baba balya benda ne cipingo_
_Nimfwiti ba mulamu mama_
_Shololilo nimfwiti ba mulamu balishila bantu_
Only those/ Among those who always carry a bible
They are witches, my friend, mother
Believe it! They’re witches, my friend, they kill people

**Song 84: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimi’s, 1987.**

Witchcraft accusations form a very important issue in Chibale. When an accusation is
made, solutions may be sought in a small circle or it may be kept hidden on purpose, but
often the case is brought to a wider circle via a visit to a *shing’anga* or to the chief. The
chief in many cases will send the accused to a *shing’anga* to obtain his or her advice be-
fore he relegates the case to the local, sometimes district, court. When the accused is a
Jehovah’s witness he can refuse to go to the *shing’anga* - basing himself on the fact that
the Jehovah’s Witnesses deny the existence of witchcraft - even when the chief asks him
to do so. This leads to a situation where Jehovah’s witnesses are often associated with
witchcraft: witches are supposed to become a member to obtain this protection against
revelation.

The rude *Benka* (Only those) in the first line is a reversal of the allegation of some
Christian cult members that witchcraft only occurs among ‘non-Christians.’

_Buce buce mwebantu bakapenta_
_Tyenke’fi bamayo/ bamulamu owe_
_Nemulande’fyanke’fi bama ekulila bantu_
Interpretation of music

Sing really small now, you people, beautiful women
Surely, women/friends owe
I, the poor one, surely, mother, it is the way to mourn people


The intimate singing in this phase is praised. The chorus members are called baka-penta, painted ladies, prostitutes; here meant as: completely up to it, at their best. Good music is linked to mourning.

Cipi cipi we wali/ Mukamposeshe ababa kwa Makonde
Mucincile ba Shemu mama
Wayawaya/ Ne mulanda, muncincile ba Shemu nafwa mama

Those who were close to Makonde/ Go and greet the Makonde group from me
Be serious, Shemu, mother
Wayawaya [dancing]/ I, the poor one, be serious, Shemu, I die, mother

Song 86: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

Shemu Mambwe, through his father's side, is related to Makonde, the group of families into which young Munteta has married. This song testifies to his grudge against the latter. During starting he interludes: Mama yoyoyo mama naya mama mama mama mama mwe bena buko mubele namwela: Mama yoyoyo, mama, I go, mama mama mama mama, you family-in-law let me tell you, wife of the spirit(s), meaning: 'In this way these Mwami mediums became my in-laws.' The song is directed to the Makonde people some of whom joined the second circle after Chalebaila had stopped his last song in the first circle, referred to here as 'close to Makonde.' Even though you will invite Shemu for an Ipupo, he will not 'be serious,' he will not come anymore.

Ooi we twalilwala myaka bana Chibuye / Buce buce mu nanda eyo
Cipale bamulamu mayo
Shololilo cipale yoyo ba Pepa ndeya/ Woyoyo cipale bamulamu nandebo nkoya

Boy you, I have been sick for years, banaChibuye/ It is too silent in the house eyo
Full of themselves, my friends, mother
Believe it! Full of themselves yoyo, Pepa, I leave/
Woyoyo, full of themselves, my friends, I would leave too

Song 87: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi's, 1987.

Kansenkele mocks the self-centredness of Mwami mediums and the cult of affliction possessed. The first line gives two citations. The first is the possessed's catchphrase. They will often refer to their illness or use it as an excuse. The second citation is from the husband who says it is much too quiet in the house during the night. The possessed wife is either not capable of making love because of illness or restricting life-rules or is away dancing somewhere. The word cipale is used both for self-centredness and for refusing to make love. The song text provides a good example of the use of citations, so typical for Chibale song texts.

Citation by possessed/ Citation by husband of possessed
Citation of husband but also comment by Kansenkele
Citation of husband and comment by Kansenkele/Citation of husband and comment by
Kansenkele ending in comment by Kansenkele (I would leave too)

Bama bana/Nshimbi balipinga na banabamanga oye
Nemulanda/fwebalanda ngabana ba manga balola kwisa/ mwalola kwisa?

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My mother banaNshimbi has a serious bond with her cult group oye
I, the poor one/We, the poor ones, now where have these cult members gone?

Song 88: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

A continuation of the message of the previous song. Kansenkele can't stop denouncing the Mwami possessed. It must be said, though, that only two of bamukaNdubeni's cult members were present in this phase of the Ipupe.

'Kabali balume bampame'nsapato
Pa kushana bamulamu owu
Nemulanda lelo pa kushana bamulamu kanselebenda

Would my husband kick me with his shoes
I would be dancing, my friends, owe
I, the poor one, now today I would be dancing, my friends, while limping

Song 89: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Here we have a funny reference to the problems that many Mwami adepts have with their husbands because of the restricting life-rules they have to follow and the many nights spent dancing. A number of women in the audience/chorus start dancing in the circle during this song.

'Wayumfwefi yalila banababo
Yatota/yalumba ba Shemu mama
Nemulanda yatota/yalumba ba Shemu banaCiwila

Do you hear how it sounds, chorus
It praises Shemu, mother
Me, the poor one, it praises Shemu, the wife of Ciwila

Song 90: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

This is self-praise, but also the next ironic reference to Mwami mediums, banaMwami, since the term banaCiwila is never used. The Ciwila and Kaluwe possessed are called baCiwila and baKaluwe.

Between songs 90 and 91 Kansenkele pleads to the audience/chorus to start singing again in such a way that drumming will be possible: “To you who are present, I am pleading you, now the night turns into dawn, sing for me just for this short while”. All answer: “We will sing for you”. Kansenkele: “No, it is me who will do the singing”. They: “Ooo”. Kansenkele: “Just sing for a while. Because we now are only a few, the singing will sound good (mukoumfwu ubune)”. After this the drumming and singing are in full swing again.

'Aka kaice bapupa kwa Mulilima
Basenda ba Pati mayo/mama
Ati ne mulanda basenda ba Pati kati twakwenda shani

The small child they offered in Mulilima
They took away Pati, mother
I, the poor one, they took away Pati how shall we go on

Song 91: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

Pati Kalulanya was the big shopkeeper at Mulilima, the small village at the Great North Road where the road to Chibale starts. He was generally thought to use witchcraft and was shot in 1987 by a hired gunman to stop his witchcraft. The offering of one or
more persons when someone died was done in former days only when chiefs had died, called musanshiko. Here it is said that a young child was killed to accompany the killed shopkeeper. The song tells that witchcraft related to this case went on just after Kalulan's death and it foretells that the witchcraft related to him will be continuing.

*Ayi wo abena ngoma balifyala bwino Maluba*
*Shakulalingana bana*
*Nemulanda shakulalingana nebaice bakwe*

Ayi wo the drum people make good breed, Maluba
Their music will remain on this high level, mother
I, the poor one, their music will remain on this high level through their children

A young drummer, related to a well-known drummer, drummed during the previous song and now is being praised.

*Neba kamfwa nkambwelele ndo Maloba/naChibuye*
*Ningaya mukwekele mayo*
*Fwebalanda/Nemulanda ningaya/nakuya mukwekele kuli ba Ngosa*

If I die: why come back, Maloba/banaChibuye
I would rather stay there, mother
I/we, the poor one(s), I would rather stay there with Ngosa

Song 93: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi's, 1987.
A mourning song: Ngosa is Shemu's deceased father.

*Boi we bushiku bwaca bamukabayamo/ bamukafibanda*
*Mucincile ba Pepa/ Calaula mayo*
*Nemulanda/ Shololilo mucincile ba Pepa nomba tuleya*

Boy, you, night turns into dawn, wives of the bayambo/nature spirits
Liven up, Pepa/ Dance the *masamba*, mother
I, the poor one/Believe it! Liven up, Pepa, now we go

As explained the *bushiku bwaca* at the *Ipupo* is the period of transition to the state after mourning. It is getting to the time when people liven up.

*Boi we ndemulaisha amashiwi kwa Makonde*
*Mukebeko ba Lucele mayo*
*Nemulanda/fwebalanda mukebeko ba Lucele Shemu alelwala*

Boy, you, I am asking you to take this message to Makonde
Go and tell Lucele
I/we, the poor one(s), go and tell Lucele Shemu is ill

A song comparable to Song 64 and similar in its intentions as Song 80. Lucele is Maseya, son of Makonde and brother of Mabuku, a cousin (FaBrSo) of Kansenkele. ‘Shemu is ill’ here means: ‘Shemu succeeded in heating the ritual (and winding up as the only dancer).’
Although the audience/chorus is relatively small the atmosphere is so lively that Mabuku has to widen up the circle by shouting.

*Kasiuba katula nomba kuya Maloba/ Boi we tushanemo kalaile nomba kuya
Balwele ba Shemu mama
Nemulanda/fwebalanda balwele ba Shemu banangobele*

The sun rises now it is time to go, Maloba /
Boy, you, we dance the last dances now it is time to go
Shemu is ill, mother
I/We, the poor one(s), Shemu is ill, supporters of fine music

Song 96: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
The sun is still below the horizon but it is getting light. We have only a few dances to go.

*Boi we tushanemo kalaile nomba kuya
Tushindike ba Meli mama
Nemulanda/fwebalanda tushindike ba Meli nomba baley*

Boy, you, we dance the last dances now it is time to go
We respectfully accompany Meli, mother
I/We, the poor one(s), we respectfully accompany Meli because she is leaving now

Song 97: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
Meli, one of the spirits possessing Shemu Mambwe, has filled this *Ipupo* with songs and dancing. Since she is now going to stop, we respectfully accompany her by stopping too.

*Ati nokwenda kwa muno banaChibuye
Nebo bateyo'kulu mama
Nemulanda nebo bateyo'kulu tetinshane*

Because of going to a lot of *Ipupo*
They have set up a trap for my leg
I, the poor one, they have set up a trap for my leg so that I can't dance

Song 98: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
All mediums have the constant fear for (witchcraft) actions that will impede the work of the best, so that others may become famous.

*’We mwaice cibanda mutetaule banaChibuye
Ecashila bantu bama
Nemulanda/fwebalanda ecashila bantu banangobele/ cinangobele*

You young one, the nature spirit you have cut in pieces, banaChibuye
It was the one that has finished people
I/We, the poor one(s), it has finished people who were supporters of fine music

In this song Kansenkele claims that one of his possessing spirit has found a witch and solved the problem.
Interpretation of music

'Boi we kabambula munanda banaChibuye
Benka aba ba Pupe mama
Nemulanda/Fwebulanda benka aba ba Pupe ebalenga

Boy, you, he took me out of the house
It was Pupe, no-one else, mama
I/We, the poor one(s), it was Pupe, no-one else, who caused this

Song 100: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

It is unlikely that Kansenkele calls banaNshimbi ‘Boi we’, even when in the state of being possessed. It will be one of his relatives who did not believe the story. But the message is directed to banaNshimbi, telling her that he was taken to the mpanga by the spirit Pupe while sleeping. This may precede his becoming possessed by Pupe, a process involving many risks, for which he seems to ask for help with from bamukaNdubeni.

Eyumanishimu twalipanga bwino
Twali na ba bwana lelo
Bama wesi nemulanda tucoine ba bwana lelo tukopanga

It is humanism, we have applied it well
We were with the white man today
Our mother, I, the poor one, let us join the white man, so that we apply it today

Song 101: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

This is a merry song: a bit of joking, a bit of irony, a bit of kindness, and a bit that I was the only one who was still giving him presents (kutaila) because the others in the meantime had given everything they had with them.

Kanshi ba Labani kanshi balitaba mu nanda ya Cililo mayo
Fwebalanda mu nanda ya Cililo mwashila bani

So it is true that Labani is not present here in the house of the Cililo, mother
We, the poor ones, in the house of the Cililo, do you leave these things to the others?


This is a typical mourning ritual accusation, If a close relative, like Labani is not present, this is not only interpreted as neglect (leaving all work to the other relatives and funeral friends (mwali) but also, especially at Cililo, as a sign of possible involvement in the death, or as a way of disturbing the ritual for reasons not known yet.

Bakane’ngoma lelo kambabule ati
Munanda mwa Pupe mayo
Nemulanda munanda mwa Pupe emo cili cileya

They have frustrated the ritual today, I tell you that
In the house of Pupe, mother
I, the poor one, in the house of Pupe, there will be discord

Song 103: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupe at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

As explained earlier the developments of the Ipupe caused tensions with the drummers, especially Pupe, who after this Ipupe might be not invited anymore by Chalebaila for Cibombe, resulting in less income for Pepa’s family.
Part III - Chapter 8

Tamubwene banaChibuye ifi mwacita/Boi we kuwilwa takuweme banaChibuye/banababo
Ba Shemu lelo
Nemulanda ifyo bacita ba Shemu bamwenda nalyo
Didn’t you see what they did, banaChibuye/
Boy, you, it is not good to be possessed, banaChibuye/chorus
Shemu now today
Me, the poor one, what they did to make Shemu go with ishamo

Song 104: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
A last complaint about the difficult first part of the ritual.

Efí nshanina ne'fíbanda Maluba / Efí nyendela no buluya
Ngoma yamfunu molu mama
Nemulanda ingoma yamfunu molu ya ba Ngosa
That’s why I dance with nature spirits, Maluba/That’s why I go with madness
The session has broken the legs, mother
Me, the poor one, the session has broken the legs of Ngosa

Song 105: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
As we have experienced, there has to be plenty of inspiration, fierce possession and/or
geniality close to madness to be able to bring new song texts without interruption, many
of them referring to the actual situation, starting them the way only Kansenkele can do
and then dance to each of these songs for some 5 to 15 minutes.
The last line contains a curious play with relations. Shemu is possessed by the spirit of
his deceased mother, banaNgosa, and in possession terminology this makes him the
spouse of his mother. The real spouse of his mother was Ngosa, Shemu’s father. In that
way, Ngosa is used here to refer to Shemu.

Kamwimbeni bamune wesu
Ne calaula sebeni koloko kukomboka banaNgosa
Continue singing for me, my friends
I, who dance swirling the masamba, at seven banaNgosa will have to stop

Song 106: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
The audience/chorus does not think of stopping. We are all under Kansenkele’s spell
and there can be no stopping (see Photo III-22). Kansenkele offers us another hour.

Mumpeleko tunini ba Luyande
Tupeleko ba Pepa mama
Nemulanda/fiwebalanda tupeleko ba Pepa bacesha ukulila
Give me a little, Luyande
So we can give to Pepa, mother
I/We, the poor one(s), so we can give Pepa [beer] for completing the whole mourning

If we are to go on, we have to be able to go on, so Pepa and the other drummers need
beer. Luyande is the funeral friend (mwali) who is in charge of the beer.
Interpretation of music

Mayo we mutekepo namenshi banaChibuye
Bakasambe ba Meli mama
Fwebalanda bakasambe ba Meli kutali baba
Mother, you, put some water on the fire, banaChibuye
So that Meli can wash, mother
We, the poor ones, so that Meli can wash who lives very far from here

A self-praising song. As a woman is expected to take care of her own washing water, the request shows the special status of Meli.

Twakashala tulokulasa Maluba
Iyo bakuya ba Pepa mama
Fwebalanda ilyo bakuya ba Pepa munshe nenka
We shall keep on thinking about you, Maluba
When Pepa will not be there anymore, mother
We, the poor ones, if Pepa will not be there anymore, he will have left me in solitude

A great praise for Pepa, implicitly expressing the hope that Pepa will keep on drumming for Kansenkele in the future, despite what has happened tonight.

Boi we/mwaise kabandilila umwana kwa Mucinka
Lwendelela ba Shemu mayo
Fwebalanda ulwendelela ba Shemu nafwa mama/ twapenga mayo
You, young one, they forced me to recognise a child in Muchinka about whom I know nothing
Because of dancing at many Ipupo, mother
We, the poor ones, because of dancing at many Ipupo, Shemu, I die/suffer, mother

According to Shemu, one of the ways people try to impede his work is the false accusation of fatherhood of a child in an area where he has been.

We mwaise ba Luyande nibani bamufyala
Niba Shemu kwa Chibale mama
Fwebalanda niba Shemu kwa Chibale oyo Ciwila
You, young one, Luyande, who brought you into this world?
Shemu is your relative in Chibale, mother
We, the poor ones, it is Shemu in Chibale, that [exceptional] Ciwila

Song 111: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.
Luyande (see Song 107) was sparing in giving beer to the drummers. He is reminded of the fact that he can not refuse a request of a relative.

Boi we tukenile munanda ya fibanda
Tukomboke ba Pepa eyo
Fwebalanda tukomboke ba Pepa nomba tuleya
Boy, you, we enter the house of the nature spirits
To change clothes, Pepa, eyo
We, the poor ones, to change clothes, Pepa, now we’re going

Song 112: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

During this song, Kansenkele and the drummers enter the house (kitchen) that they entered earlier during Songs 72 and 73. Now it is to convince the audience/chorus that it is really over.

_Mama/ boi we ne’nganalwala ndamwita Maloba/ Chibuye
Katuleya ba Pepa mayo
Nemulanda, katuleya ba Pepa kutali twaba
Mama/ boy, you, should I continue to be sick I will call upon Maloba/ Chibuye
Let’s go, Pepa, mother
I, the poor one, let’s go, Pepa, it is far where we live

Song 113: A Ciwila song brought by Kansenkele at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s, 1987.

After a pause of some minutes Kansenkele brings this last one. He is tired (listen to Music Example III-26) but still in good shape (see Photo III-23). The song praises his possessing spirits: whenever he will be sick, they will be there to help him.

The singing, drumming and dancing end a little before half past six in the morning.

The next morning banaNshimbi told me:
As the owner of the Ipupo I can’t give much comment because it was my mother who asked for it but there were no rains and there was good singing, so it was a success. The adepts (abana manga) only came to help by dancing until Kansenkele would come and by singing after that. Some of them, however, had a different interpretation of helping. Kansenkele was invited by some of my relatives. Wouldn’t he have come Kamimbya could have carried the evening. My relatives didn’t want Mwami dancing but Ciwila dancing. [...] Yes, I agree that this Ipupo presented the highest quality of music and dancing in the Lala area. High quality is directly related to the success, also for the relatives. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)
Conclusion

It will be clear now why song texts were so highly valued in Chibale in the 1980s. To a considerable extent the progress of this ritual was reflected in or produced by the song texts brought. Most of them were brought for the first time at this Ipupo. These new texts were often more applied and therefore easier to understand for the attendees than the texts of already existing songs that had to be interpreted as to their fit to the situation. The monopoly of Ciwila mediums on Ipupo music and ritual clearly was at stake in this Ipupo, and so was this way of dealing with texts. Though Mwami songs were appreciated, the extent to which they forced the audience to interpretation was their weakness. Certainly men were prone to reject this ‘typically female’ characteristic of Mwami music but also many women preferred ‘easy’ songs at public rituals.

Many of the texts are hard to understand when looked at by themselves. A rather large number of these are not understandable when one is not informed to a certain extent while a few will have been understood only by those deeply involved in the personal lives of the protagonists and the possession scene in Chibale. Presentation of song texts without context, like it also is done at various occasions in this thesis, will only be useful when they render (historical) facts or illustrate things. This is a heavy restriction on the song texts renderable as illustrated by this Ipupo in which many of the song texts do neither.

Let us look at the contents of the song texts in this Ipupo. As seen earlier, good performance was necessary to heat the ritual. Therefore, in many songs texts persons or actions were being praised or criticised: the ritual, the organisers, the kampenga or the chorus, the master-drummer or the drumming, and fellow dancers. And a number of songs contained explicit or implicit self-praise that became positive criticism once the song had been taken over by the audience/chorus and the drummers. Other topics central to the Ipupo were the livening up of the organisers, mourning, sharing of mourning and relating good music and mourning. Topics for large gatherings, not particularly the Ipupo, were explicit teaching (kufunda), historicising the event and references to witchcraft or other large main concerns of the period. These three topics were also typical for ing’omba as well as guiding the course of the ritual, political commentary and underlining the importance of ing’omba. Song texts related to hunting and healing were typical for some other gatherings with music. The bringing of the latter and the treatment of a patient formed a big issue at this Ipupo. This led to some critical texts listed already under praise and critique, but also to four texts in favour of and seventeen against Mwami/Bayambo and a more than average number (also seventeen) of ‘ing’omba rule’ texts.

Some 30 song texts were explicitly about the issue at the heart of this particular Ipupo. For a not unimportant part, the hotness of this Ipupo was caused by the open fight between Kansenkele and those who were of the opinion that an Ipupo could also be used for cult of affliction purposes. From the perspective of the distinction between structural and performative aspects of rituals, this fight was a performative aspect. It was an important issue throughout the 1980s but hotness could well be, and in most cases was, produced without it.
Chapter 9 - Evaluation of music

Introduction
In this chapter I will investigate how people in Chibale evaluated music, what they cared most about in music, and why.

In Chibale things worth evaluating and not worth evaluating were quite generally discerned as follows:
there are things that can't be done wrong or right, or: badly or well, like walking along the road,
there are things that can be done wrong or right, or: badly or well, like cooking or singing in the audience/chorus, and
there are things that can be done better or worse than others, like hunting, healing or starting a song.
I will look at evaluative judgements of what was wrong/bad and what was right/good and of what was better. I will investigate which issues were central to these judgements.

Nketia (1984: 4) while writing about the aesthetic dimensions of ethnomusicological studies felt obliged to caution fellow music researchers that "aesthetics of music must concern itself not only with enquiry in general philosophical terms, but also with empirical studies of aesthetic principles in the variety of musical expressions in oral and written traditions cultivated in different regions of the world".

Within the evaluation of music, major topics found in ethnomusicological literature are form, content, development and basis: forms of musical evaluation; types of choices, judgements, criteria and meanings in music, and the mutual relations between these types; the development of musical preferences, judgements and meanings, in individuals as well as in groups, and the factors bearing on this development; and, lastly, the socio-cultural determinants of musical evaluation and its foundations.

This chapter is based on an empirical study of the evaluation of music in Chibale in the 1980s paying attention to the first two major topics mentioned.

The importance of the study of the evaluation of music is not only defined by its direct subject matter but also by the connection the evaluation of music has with other cultural processes. A number of the findings in the preceding chapters will have raised expectations as to the reasons why certain music will have been appreciated in Chibale. I will investigate these connections when examining the preferences and reasons for these preferences (judgements) of the general public in Chibale in the 1980s.
Forms of musical evaluation

The section 'Fighting with songs' in Chapter 8 dealt with the importance of song texts for music but also provided us with good examples of how the evaluation of music by the public as well as the protagonists worked in the context of an *ipupo*. Evaluation in real time was important. Evaluating from memory, at another point in time, was also common, like looking back on and discussing a performance, a song text, the way someone performed or the effect of a gathering as well as reusing songs or musical techniques, often in another context. Two related subjects are the mistakes in music that were discerned and the purpose of popularity of performers.

Evaluation in real time

By the audience

Participation by the audience was an often occurring form of musical evaluation. A good song would make many people take part and they would sing long and enthusiastically. A song, for instance, with a tenor not acceptable for the majority of the attendees or one that was badly started would not be taken over at all. Many would come to a gathering where good music was expected because a good *kalindula* band would play or a famous medium would sing and dance. The intensity and the length of the performance of a song could stand for its evaluation by the various participants. For instance, at an *ipupo* the dancing or not by the medium, more precisely the possessing spirit, could stand for the opinion it had of the ritual, the drumming and the singing; the starting and the continuing of the drumming or not by the drummers for their opinion of the song, singing and dancing; and the taking over and continuing by the chorus/audience or not for their opinions of the text, song, dancing and drumming.

Of course, the badly conceived, passive, mass audience discussed in the introduction of this Part was not the audience found in Chibale in the 1980s (if anywhere at any time). We will see that tendencies towards a more passive attitude could be found in Chibale. Passivity in the audience, however, was in many cases a sign of not understanding or rejecting one or more aspects of the gathering, and so it was an act of evaluation rather than a sign of a 'consumer attitude'. Partaking, helping in the ritual and respectful behaviour were the norm, but not always the practice.

In the previous chapters we have seen that there was more to participation than aesthetic evaluation.

Singing sharply and enthusiastically is a sign of respect to the owner of the song and of the ritual. So when someone sings too much or the beer is given later than expected the quality of singing will go down. (Salati Mukoti, personal communication, 1981)

Appreciation and participation by the audience were also related to the quantity and quality of the beer. It was not for nothing that at both *ipupo* and *Cibombe* beer was shared (for free) at the moment when the ritual was hot; this in contrast with the commercialisation of beer parties that happened in the same period.

Another not unusual form of evaluation by the audience was to ask for a certain song from a certain starter of songs. It was either because it was a song that would make the gathering hot or, sometimes, to see that starter, in that case a medium, dance.

Also the giving of money could be interpreted as an evaluative action since one would not give money to a bad singer/dancer. However, at rituals at which mediums performed, it was seen as *kupupa* to the dancers who were actually spirits one could physically *kupupa* to, or as a way of honouring the drummers or the drums.
The giving of money to dancers and drummers is kupupa. It also shows to the owner and the public [at an Ipupo] that one shares in the mourning. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

**By the organisers**

During a gathering the organiser could negatively criticise a part of the performance, mostly the attitude of the attendees or the quality of the drumming or singing, by interrupting the session to hold a speech. We have seen examples of this in ‘Fighting with songs.’ This critique could also be made at other gatherings, like a Pa kwishka or a healing session.

**By the performers**

Evaluation by the performers especially took place at the rituals where the possessed performed. The dancers could, negatively or positively, criticise the drumming or the singing by the chorus in a song text or by word of mouth (see the texts of Song III-11). They could also criticise the whole ritual (see the texts of Song III-12 and Song III-13). It regularly happened that dancers took over a drum to show how it had to be played, most often Ciwila mediums with their problems with the dominant Mwami drumming (see Photo II-10, Photo III-24 and Photo III-25). Dancers often praised the master drummer or the woman who took over the solo line of the song they had started (kampenga). Examples can be found in ‘Fighting with songs,’ for instance Songs 19, 22 and 109. On a few occasions a dancer positively criticised another dancer, mostly a famous medium, in a song like Song III-14.

Evaluation could also be expressed in performative actions. For instance, certain types of dancing expressed a positive evaluation.

Kansenkele can dance ciwilewile. It is danced because the medium is so overwhelmed by the music that he starts bumping into others. This may happen when the song is being taken over rapidly by chorus and drummers. The people sing with happiness causing the drummers to blend into the music and then the dancers as well. (Shemu Mambwe, personal communication, 1981)

When the dancers, or organisers, appreciated a drummer very much they would put some mealie meal mixed with water on his forehead.

When a dancer held the master drum while dancing, it was a sign that the spirit was really moving her: ‘the rhythm of the drum has taken the dancer in that high mood, she wants to be as close as possible to it’ (see Photo I-6). Also blowing the whistle (pintu) was such a sign.

The nsangwa might break when a dancer danced very fiercely, especially with Moba dancing this used to happen in former days. The spirit could announce this, so that everybody could watch. For drummers, breaking the skin also was a sign of good drumming.

**Competition**

In music kuteka meant ‘stop the singing and show how good you are’ in dancing, in drumming, on the kalimba and the like. A comparable word used only for dancing was kucilika: Chibuye alicilika - Chibuye danced better than the others.

Kuteka, and kucilika, could take place at many occasions. Music and dance formed relatively accepted areas for overtly showing one’s skills and for overt competition. The evaluation of the kuteka was mostly done with no or a lot less feedback, e.g derision (see the text of Song III-15), than at the rituals where the possessed performed.
Evaluation from memory

Discussion

The morning after an Ipupo or Cibombe, the gathering was evaluated by the participants: dancers (who were normal human beings again), drummers, chorus and relatives or friends who had stayed all night (see Photo III-26). An Ipupo, Cibombe or Sandauni might be discussed in the company of family or friends including those who did not go to the gathering. The discussion was only partly about musical matters. The quality and quantity of the beer and peculiar behaviour of one or more attendees received more attention. Successful songs might be sung again for enjoyment, to think about or discuss the text, or to teach the song to the ones who had not attended (listen to Song III-16). The conversation could also go into detail about the participation of attendees, the medium, the ones who took over the solo lines of the songs, or the drummers or band members. Public criticism that was ventilated at the gathering, whether spoken or sung, might also be discussed. Discussion about the meanings of a song, whether new or old, occurred between those attending a gathering, between the possessed and his possessing spirits, between an elder and an inquisitive youngster, during some of the gatherings of the Christian cult groups, and between the (helper of the) shing'anga and a patient or a member of her family, as in the passage ‘But that was only a song being sung’ in Chapter 8.

Reuse and recontextualisation

Many would sing a song that was successful at an Ipupo or Sandauni: at home with family or friends or while walking or working. A kalimba or banjo player might adapt a successful song for his instrument.

A kalindula song might be imitated by another kalindula band. A Civiila song might be brought by a less successful possessed when visiting an area where that song was not known.

Some possessed, especially of course popular mediums, were invited to perform at Ipupo or were invited by one other than their own shing'anga to dance at her Cibombe.

Mistakes

As seen earlier, in the 1980s many people in Chibale were convinced that music would not have any effect when it was performed wrongly, i.e. when it contained mistakes (cileya). In accordance with the conclusion of the section "Representation of musical qualities" in Chapter 7, we can discern mistakes in dealing with the structure (musango uno wine) and mistakes in dealing with (performing) more changeable and performative features (fya kusala). Mistakes in dealing with the structure were singing a wrong word, tone or stress in a known melody; singing a new melody not in concordance with the tone and stress of the text when it was spoken, or wrongly breaking a word into two (kuputula); and singing the wrong parallel tone (in polyphony). Mistakes in performance were singing out of tune; singing too softly; singing too slowly or too fast; singing in the wrong register (relative to the range of one's singing voice); pronouncing unclearly; and for choruses (except for some Christian choirs e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses, listen to Song II-57): singing without kuwela, called kuputula: break off. Failure to meet other requirements of performance might also be called cileya such as voice quality and timing. Standards, however, could be different for each of the main song types (see below for an example of the evaluation of the singing (voice quality) of Song III-1 and Song III-20).
With drumming mistakes (bukwabukwa) could be made as to the correct patterns for that particular music, playing unclearly, playing the wrong tempo, and starting wrongly. Examples of the use of the word cileya\footnote{Music example III-27} outside of the direct context of performing were: to denote the sound a record makes on a gramophone the speed of which is changing from 33.3 to 45 rpm or vice versa and to denote the situation in which a person who normally (for instance) cooks well, fails to do so on an important occasion (compare Music example III-27).

I know of only a few songs, for instance Song III-17, in which the word cileya was used, presumably because the reverse, i.e. the correctness and excellence of the performance, was the central issue: sing well (bwino), sing with ardour or pride (cibonga) (see the texts of Song III-18 and Song III-19).

A part of the necessity of the absence of mistakes lay in the fact that the song had to sound well (for it to have effect) at just the right moment.

[While commenting on Song III-19] It is very important to sing the song exactly right. Singing can only be kupupa when it is cibonga, not cileya, especially because the spirits are near now and offerings can be made at this very moment. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Singing without mistakes is important for kwilimuna. If the text contains pleading [the spirits], mistakes are a little less important. When you’re doing kwilimuna the composition of the words should follow the sequence, like when you’re writing a letter: it has to be step by step (pepi pepi). Too much of joy could get you in trouble. (Alube Mika, personal communication, 2006)

The influence of mistakes upon preferences and feelings

In the 1987 survey, respondents were asked whether they heard no mistakes, some mistakes or many mistakes in the performance of the nine songs that were played for them. For six of these songs only two to five respondents detected some mistakes while for Song III-9 it was nine respondents. In Song III-1 sung by chief Chibale with a voice marked by his age, softer and less forceful than the voices in the other songs (excluding the very heavy Song III-9), 20 respondents heard some mistakes and 18 many mistakes. Lastly, in Song III-20 where some members of the chorus sing too high for the ranges of their voices, 22 respondents detected some mistakes and 34 many mistakes.

The respondents who detected mistakes in Song III-1 or Song III-20 gave lower value scores (ratings) to these songs\footnote{Additionally, a young and experienced senior.}. It does not seem to have been the case that one was less inclined to detect mistakes in the singing of a song belonging to one’s favourite song type: the mistakes in Song III-20 were also noted by the young and those in Song III-1 also by older respondents.

As to the feelings experienced while hearing the songs: when mistakes were detected the feelings were non-positive or negative in 67.5% of the cases, joy feelings in 27% and sorrow feelings in only 5.5% of the cases. This underlines the importance of the absence of mistakes for appreciating music and is in conformity with the principle that kupupa songs should not contain mistakes in order to be effective. It also illustrates that feelings were used as feedback mechanism for the effectiveness of music: the mistakes lead to a lack of feelings which is interpreted as a sign of a lack of effectiveness of the music.
Popularity

Popularity at possession rituals

When the songs or dancing are popular, it is a sign of good co-operation between possessed and spirit. To give an example. You do not eat something that is forbidden for you, even during the day, while the spirits only come at night. If you do eat something that is forbidden, a form of punishment can be to let only a small audience come to a ritual where you dance. (Munteta Chalebaila, personal communication, 1987)

In former days possession songs, like other songs, often were about sexual matters. Nowadays they aren’t, since the people do not like that type of text anymore. So the spirits follow (-koikha) the taste of the people. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

Someone from here can be possessed by a spirit of Kaonde origin. The music and dance will be a mixture of Kaonde and Lala. It will be only Kaonde when the spirit comes down on the possessed (kululuka) but a mixture of both when singing and dancing for the public. They will aim at the majority. So dance and music are predominantly Lala, even when they then would be unKaonde-like. (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

The performers were depending on the public for their participation. The participation - in rituals called: ‘showing respect’ - was necessary for heating the gathering which was necessary for the ritual to be effective. Even if not interested in the final effectiveness of music or gathering, the attendees themselves benefited from dedicated participation since that made the gathering much more lively and interesting. On top of the need for dedicated participation of an as large as possible audience which was brought in by the popularity of the songs, dancing and behaviour, the popularity of the Mwami medium was directly related to the healing and problem solving power attributed to him or her. In short, popularity was not a non-issue.

For Mwami the popularity of a song is a condition for its usability for heating the ritual (kukafye’cila). (Salati Mukoti, personal communication, 1987)

Even if Mwami had been a Ciwila type of possession with the medium bringing new songs all the time - which Mwami was not - they could not have brought in many new songs since, as seen earlier, these were often considered to be too difficult. A Mwami medium, especially when coming from outside of the Lala area like Chalebaila, therefore had to cherish the songs that were known and popular with a large audience.

In former days there were fewer possessed and their rituals were visited by the cult group and relatives. So concentration was always there. They needed no popular songs to heat the ritual (kukafye’cila). (Mika Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

It was the Cibombe that had brought in a rather new element in possession rituals. The general public could come to attend without an invitation or some other relation with the organisers or the group around them44. Of the the possible reasons for this one has not yet been mentioned. In the period between the 1940s and 1970s shing’anga and older and possession cults had been marginalised. This included imputation, based on observed or attributed fraud but more often based on North Atlantic reasoning (Christian, medical, scientific), of the shing’anga, the therapies and the rituals. Transparency of the methods and rituals therefore had become necessary when Mwami brought the rekindling of these therapies and rituals.

The way of dealing with the dependence for the effectiveness of the ritual on a large public changed, to put it bluntly, from qualitative to quantitative: from a smaller, well-trained audience consisting of cult members and their relatives to an audience of anyone (any prospective client) who cared to come. The latter strategy was informed by the fact
that Mwami mediums could acquire a reputation as a healer by being a popular singer/
dancer. This clashed, as we saw in the previous chapter, with the older form of a per-
former’s popularity: the ingomba popularity, that, ironically, had been revitalised by the 
coming of Mwami.

Population as well as success were reasons for jealousy and suspicion. It was certainly 
not always possible to assess whether they were the result of ishuko because of following 
life-rules or whether they were obtained by malicious means.

Some hunters just use herbs, others use parts of dead persons as medicine. So, the latter 
are connected to witchcraft; their success in hunting means death for others. (Mika 
Mwape Chungwa, personal communication, 1986)

**Preferences at other gatherings**

At Sandauni the performers, the kalindula band and the dancers were not often in the 
centre of attention. They provided musical services arouses the attendees to participate 
and make the Sandauni lively. This was also, if not mostly, done by the consumption of 
beer. Only when this stage of arousal was reached could the Sandauni have a vibrance 
and hotness comparable to an Ipupe or Cibombe (see Photo I-3). In the majority of the 
cases, however, it did not and the attendees had a consumers’ attitude to the music. Im-
portant in this was that, due to frequent fighting, at a given moment it was forbidden to 
hold Sandauni in the evening. Popularity of certain songs existed, often because they 
worked well at the kalindula Cila. Popularity of a certain band in most cases was con-
fined to a rather small area compared to the popularity of individual mediums. Some 
people would come to a Sandauni to watch the dancers, predominantly adolescent girls, 
but without giving feedback to them.

At the old beer party also beer consumption supported arousal of the attendees but 
the music was made by all attendees; little distinction was made between performers and 
attendees. Major musical roles would regularly switch. Behaviour that a successful per-
former could exhibit at an Ipupe was not considered respectful at old beer parties: 
someone starting all of the songs, or dancing continuously, or playing the drum or 
ilimba for a long period. Here popularity was possible both for performers who could 
heat the gathering by the way they started or performed as well as to certain songs or 
dances that were known to heat it.

**Preferences and judgements**

Let us now look into the preferences that the general public had in Chibale and, more 
importantly, the reasons why they preferred a song, dance or performer.

For this I use the data collected in two surveys held in 1985/86 and 1987. The methods 
of musical evaluation used in the two surveys were not too far removed from some of 
the forms of musical evaluation used in Chibale. For Survey 1985/86 this was a discus-
sion after a performance or gathering and, to some extent, criticism during a perform-
ance or gathering, although discussing or eliciting criticism by means of some sort of 
formal interview was not practised. The method used in Survey 1987: playing the songs 
before questions were asked, was more genuine because it came closer to participation; 
some respondents sang along with the songs they knew. The differences between the two 
methods used in the surveys will be discussed briefly.
Musical preferences

Favourite musical types

Preferences for the musical instruments, gatherings with music, and songs and dances treated in Part II were presented there. Since the latter three types can be compared, I will give an overview of the preferences for them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type group</th>
<th>Favourite to sing</th>
<th>Favourite to listen to</th>
<th>Dance to dance</th>
<th>Dance to watch</th>
<th>Gather. with music</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spirit possession music</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kalindula</em> (Cila and Sandauni)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cults’ music</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social dances (before <em>kalindula</em>)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ilimbalakata</em> (Old beer party)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Town music’</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (local) types</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>216</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-2: Favourite types of songs, dances and gatherings with music, Survey 1985/86. To create this overview, the different types within the possession cults, the *kalindula Cila* and *Sandauni*, the different types within the Christian cults, the social dances and *Cila* before *kalindula* came, and all ‘town music’ have all been taken together45.

We see that there were six favourite groups of types. Two of these rank first, followed at a distance by three other types and lastly by town music which was the least favoured. The two major types both have more preferences as to consuming (listening and watching) than as to participating (singing and dancing). They also have a high score for the gatherings associated with that type of music. With the other four types participating was more important than consuming.

Possession music had had a history as the only event at which the majority of those attending had a more consuming attitude, though many would participate in the chorus. In this respect, the *kalindula* songs, dances and gatherings were new-comers. When we compare the song and dance types: older social dances and *ilimbalakata* at older *Cila* and *Bwalwa* that preceded *kalindula*, we see that participating there was more important than consuming. Though also relatively modern, in the Christian cults, participating was more important since singing songs was thought to have much more effect than hearing them. The principle that seems to underlie these preferences is that one likes the types to which one has been exposed and has exposed oneself to most often during one’s lifetime.

The number of people not answering these questions is rather high when we compare it with the importance and occurrence of music. Not only because the ones claiming to prefer possession dances to dance all were possessed themselves, participating in dancing is extra notable in this. There was a mixture of aversion and fear among Jehovah’s Witnesses as to all “Lala music” and among other Christians as to possession music. The aversion was caused by the idea that that music was the work of Satan or that it was too unchristian. The fear was instilled by the idea that the nearness of music
would make one more open to it and to its context. The latter shows that the ideas about the relation between the nearness and the effects of music, discussed in Chapter 8, were a generally shared feature in Chibale in the 1980s.

It may be considered striking that town music, let alone western music, played such a minor role in the lists of favourites, also with musical instruments (see List II-4). As we have seen, the average time spent in town was ten years for men and five and a half years for women. Some of the respondents had just returned from town or were living both in Chibale and in town. And, up to a few years before the surveys were held, working in town was generally considered the better alternative to starting an own farming enterprise. Several reasons can be given for this apparent discrepancy. First of all, for most people town life was not ‘western’; equation of living in town with a westernised way of living was untenable. And people in town could well be more ‘traditional’ than those in Chibale, even if they did use a minibus and have water or electricity. It is likely that many of the reinvented traditions in the rural areas in Zambia in the 1980s based themselves on features that had survived in town. As described this held for the resurgence of possession cults and later for the rekindling of girls’ initiation (see Appendix A). Secondly, living in town often was merely an alternative, not an ultimate goal. Many people returned after a number of years, and many left Chibale with the intention of returning once they had become more wealthy. Instead of feeding upon a superior, more modern or better adapted culture, staying in town for them was part of a strategy to eventually ‘stay the same’.

Favourite performers

Because popularity was so important for mediums, the question arises whether they indeed were popular or that they had to compete with performers of other types of music. If we formed an opinion on this based on the favourite types of music from the consumers’ point of view: song to listen to and dance to watch, we would expect that the rank order of favourite performers would be: first mediums, then at some distance kalindula performers, followed at a distance by performers of the other types. In reality the rank order shows mediums alone at the top, followed at a large distance by kalindula performers and, lastly, by performers of the other types. More than 80% of the favoured performers were, or in case of kampenga and drummers worked for, mediums.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favourite drummer</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pepa Bulaya</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danyelu Chibanda Bulangu</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mambwe Tapsoni Mafuta</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunda Yokoyo</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other drummers for mediums (and older dances)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummers for kalindula</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babatoni (large bass) players for kalindula</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummers for Christian cult music</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have no favourite drummer</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumming for spirit possession music</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drumming for other types of music</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-12: Favourite drummers, Survey 1985/86.
A drummer could gain a reputation by playing at other gatherings but could only become famous when drumming for *Ipupo* and *Cibombe*. The prominence of one drummer, Pepa Bulaya, is striking, certainly in view of the considerable mastery shown by the other three mentioned. Even a blind person would have known immediately when Pepa started to play, although probably that person would have known even earlier since once Pepa arrived at the ritual the news spread instantly. Beating loudly (the volume of his *kusansa* was unrivalled), dedication to the dancers, knowing the wishes of all of the mediums, *maka*, much *maka*, and the ability to take the gathering to a higher level were some of his many talents (listen to Music example II-4, Music example II-5 and Music example II-7).

**Favourite dancer, singer and bringer of songs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medium or Event</th>
<th>36</th>
<th>35</th>
<th>32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kansenkele (Ciwila)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndubeni (Mwami &amp; Ciwila, <em>shing'anga</em>)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chalebaila (Mwami &amp; Bayambo, <em>shing'anga</em>)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other mediums, <em>shing'anga</em> (Mwami)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other mediums (Ciwila and/or Mwami) and <em>kampenga</em></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalindula</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social dances (not <em>kalindula</em>)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumba or national <em>kalindula</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cults</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| No favourite | 55 | 56 | 103 |
| Performer of spirit possession music | 82% | 76% | 83% |
| Performer of other types of music | 18% | 24% | 17% |

List III-13: Favourite dancers, singers and ‘bringers of new songs’, Survey 1985/86. In this overview the mediums mentioned fewer than nine times are grouped as to being *shing'anga* or not.

Where possession cult music ranked together with *kalindula* and to a lesser extent with Christian cults’ music, the possessed performers truly were the favourite performers in Chibale in the 1980s.

We have seen that the heterogeneity in Chibale led to some 40 to 60 people saying not to have a favourite with each musical item and performer. On top of this, the concept of a ‘bringer of new songs’ led to confusion within the group of people who had no trouble mentioning a favourite musical item or performer. The word ‘new’ caused this confusion. On the one hand the bringing of songs was a specialism within the art of singing (ability to make the song easy and a good voice), on the other hand when it concerned the bringing of new songs, apparently new song texts, it clearly was restricted to the possessed, most often Ciwila mediums and possession patients (*mwana*) bringing their first song and, possibly, to those who were capable of slightly changing existing song texts.

As to Kansenkele one should take into account that Shemu Mambwe, possession name: Kansenkele, did not live in the survey area but some twenty kilometres north of it. Seeing this list the reader will understand what made the *Ipupo* at banaNshimbi, described in ‘Fighting with songs’ in Chapter 8, so special: the presence of not only the best and the third best of drummers, but also the three most famous mediums and the rising star in 1987, Munteta Chalebaila, who was not yet a medium in the period of the 1985/86 survey and therefore not included in this list.
Kansenkele really could bring you under a spell, his starting was incredible, his presence inescapable, his style fine: you could not stop looking and listening. Ndubeni was there, watching the proceeding of everything like a lioness, but also really dancing, dancing, very commanding with much maka. Chalebaila was exotic, extremely forceful and imposing, varied and resourceful. In short, to me it was no wonder that they were at the top of this list. In the next section we will look into judgements other than mine and investigate why the general public in Chibale preferred them.

Musical judgements

Large-scale gatherings - Sandauni, Ipupu, Cibombe, Old beer party - clearly were the settings for the music and the dance that were preferred in Chibale in the 1980s. For performers it was predominantly the Ipupu and the Cibombe. These gatherings were open to all who cared to come. In this section the audience/consumers’ side of musical evaluation in Chibale in the 1980s will be treated. I will go into detail as to the judgements underlying the evaluation of songs and song types. After that, the reasons for favouring dances, gatherings and performers will be treated in a less detailed way.

Evaluation of songs

Evaluation of songs and song types was done in both surveys. In Survey 1985/86 the informants were asked for their favourite song to sing and their favourite song to listen to and the reason why each of them was the favourite. These reasons all were to explain a very high ‘score’: the all-time favourite (of that moment). They represent musical judgements given from memory. In Survey 1987 nine songs (see Appendix B) were played and after each song the informant was asked for a value score for that song and the reason for that value score. These reasons therefore explain high, middle and low scores. They represent musical judgements given in real time. The two lists of reasons will be presented and compared.

From List III-14, we see that there were many reasons for preferring a certain song or song type.

Going by the words used to formulate them, I will group the reasons according to a number of criteria used in Chibale that were treated at various places in this thesis.

a. On the basis of what was considered worth evaluating in Chibale (i.e. the things that could be done right or wrong (or, well or badly) and the things that could be done better) we would expect that people would give reasons to prefer a song that either stressed the ‘goodness’ or appropriateness of a feature, as opposed to its badness, insufficiency, inappropriateness, wrongness or incorrectness, or shed light on what features made the song better than other songs.

b. Since in both the local and possession cults and in the Christian cults, the effectiveness of music was central, we would expect to find at least some reasons referring to the effect of the song.

c. Based on the section ‘Sorrow and Joy’ in Chapter 8, we would expect at least some of the reasons to refer to the feelings of joy or sorrow the song evoked.

d. And lastly, based on what has been treated in the section ‘Representation of musical qualities’ in Chapter 7, we would expect at least some reasons to refer to structural characteristics, to changeable (performative) characteristics of the favoured song and to characteristics in between these two.

Looking at List III-14, there were indeed reasons that referred to the goodness or appropriateness of the song (24.5%; Properness: reasons 1, 7, 8 and 11) and reasons that provided evidence that the song was better than other songs (6%; Excellence: 9 and 16).
**Reasons to prefer a song to sing and a song to listen to**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It has a good text, proper message</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has an educative text</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy singing/hearing it</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It makes me remember (old days/a deceased person)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is easy, it is easy to sing/follow</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is to praise God</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has a good sound</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is good for (my) dancing</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is popular/attracts many people</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am a possessed</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is part of praying to God</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It makes me feel good</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It makes me forget/draws away my worries</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It stimulates my mind/me</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I love to watch the accompanying dancing</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is the predominant song type nowadays</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It goes well with the accompanying music</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is traditional, it promotes customs</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It makes the possessed really dance</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is for salvation/to be saved when Jesus comes</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is variety in the songs</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has various (levels of) meanings</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is nice to sing/hear when drunk</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is for heating the ritual</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It talks about facts</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It has a nice tune</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reason given</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No favourite song (type)</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-14: Reasons to prefer a song (type) mentioned as favourite in Table III-2, Survey 1985/86.

A number of reasons referred to the personal or social effect of the song (39.5%; Effect: 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18 and 20) and to the feelings, mostly of the Joy-group, that it evoked (10%; Feeling: 3 and 23). Lastly, there were reasons referring to structural (10%; Structural features: 5, 17 and 26) and changeable (7%; Changeable features: 15, 19, 24 and 25) features of the song and in-between (3%; Structural/changeable features: 21 and 22), i.e. where the formulation of the reason did not make clear which of the two orientations was followed. The classification has been done by the author based on the qualitative research, parts of which are treated in this thesis. At the end of this section I will assess the usefulness of and the relations between these judgement categories (groups of reasons).
A correspondence analysis of these judgement categories (see Figure III-3) contrasts songs sung at gathering where performance evaluation was important (at the right) with songs at other gatherings (at the left). In the vertical dimension endogenous Chibale songs are contrasted with exogenous songs. The judgement categories Excellence and Structural features, Properness, Effect and Changeable features spread rather well over this space which suggests that the categories discriminate well. The judgement categories Structural/changeable features and Feeling associate with more performance-oriented gatherings. The latter could be an indication that feelings were, partly, induced by the structural and changeable features of songs.

**Sing or listen**

Though most respondents readily gave a different favourite song to listen to than to sing (as well as another reason to favour it), only minor differences exist between the reasons given for both. Notable is that Easiness (5) clearly was more important in the case of singing a song and that Variety in the songs (21) turned out to be more of a consumers’ judgement than expected.

Other differences were rather obvious. Praising God (6 and, related, 20), though considered important in any way, was felt more strongly when one did it oneself by singing. When dancing (8) one was often depending on, i.e. listening to, others to sing well. The popularity (9) and predominance of a song type (16) were things one 'encountered' by listening/watching. And singing while drunk (23), I can ascertain from personal experience, was more to be favoured than listening to it.

All in all, one can say that there were only small differences between consumers’ and participants’ evaluation of songs. The simple reason for this is that these two perspectives were not that far apart in the 1980s. Starting a song at a large gathering and taking over the solo-line from the starter were the only exceptions to this as we will see below.
Evaluating songs in real time or from memory

Reasons to give a certain value score for a song just heard

1. It was sung well
2. It has a good message
3. It has an educative text
4. It was sung (very) sorrowfully
5. It is a song of joy
6. I don't understand text
7. I don't like this song (type)
8. It is a song of sorrow
9. It was not sung well
10. It was sung & played well
11. It reminds me of the past
12. Its message and the way it was sung
13. It is good song (type)
14. It is entertaining
15. It was played well / because of the instruments
16. It brings happiness
17. The text is not good
18. It was sung well and slowly
19. It is for children
20. Its message is not educative
21. It has a message of sorrow
22. It reminds me of my mother / those who have died
23. It is good for (my) dancing
24. It gives power
25. It is morally bad
26. It was sung very lightly
27. It is sung for healing
28. It was sung loud & clear
29. It has a hidden meaning (lwananka)
30. It has a message about God / God is mentioned
31. It is (for) remembering the dead
32. It was not entertaining
33. It causes sorrow (bulaanda mu mutima)
34. I like this type of songs much
35. It is for elders
36. I don't participate in it
37. I enjoy(ed) singing it
38. It was sung heavily (lulemene)
39. It makes me forget my sorrow

List III-15: Reasons to give a certain value score for a song just heard, Survey 1987.
In Survey 1985/86 people were asked what their favourite song was while there was no music involved at that moment. In Survey 1987 they were asked for their value score for the song they just heard and why they scored that way. Therefore we also find negative and neutral judgements (see List III-15). We find the five judgement categories: Properness (20% of the judgements given), Excellence (4%), Effect (19%), Feeling (12%) and Changeable features (45%) of music.

These judgements differ from the judgements of songs in the 1985/86 survey treated above. This is partly caused by the fact that only *kalindula* and endogenous songs were used in the 1987 survey but the main reason is that the judgements were given in real-time while the others were given from memory.

The category Effect is half as large, Changeable is many times as large and Structural and Structural/changeable judgements were not given. Judgements from the categories Properness, Excellence and Feeling were given more or less as frequently. This seems to implicate that within a person real-time judgements concerning the performance in the course of time were ‘replaced’ by judgements on the effect and the structure of the song. Secondly, none of the many real-time judgements pertaining to good singing are found back in the judgements from memory, for instance one does not find a judgement there like: ‘This is my favourite song because it was sung so well by Kanskenke! This is an indication that real-time judgements on changeable features partly were transformed into judgements oriented to the structural features of the song, once the music was out of hearing.

For the evaluation of songs, one could characterise judgements referring to Properness, Feeling and Excellence as stable, judgements referring to Changeable features as transient and prone to change into Effect or Structural judgements, and judgements referring to the Effect of the song as partly stable and partly emerging from Performance judgements.

*Judgements per song type*

Are certain types of judgements given more often for a certain type of song? We have to be aware of the differences discussed above between evaluating in real time or from memory, and aware of the fact that in 1987 only nine songs were used while in the 1985/86 survey one was free to choose a favourite song (type).

In general, possession songs were more often judged for their changeable and structural features and effect, *kalindula* songs were judged for most reasons but less often for their effect and their changeable features, social dance songs (before *kalindula*) and *ilimbalakata* more often for their effects, while Christian cult songs were judged for their properness and effect.

*Evaluation of dances*

The material in the following sections is based on data collected in Survey 1985/86. The informants were asked for their favourite musical item or performer and for the reason why they were favourite. The judgements, therefore, were from memory, not made in real time.

*Reasons to prefer a dance (type) to dance and to watch as favourite*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>1985/86</th>
<th>1987</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 I enjoy to dance it / watch it being danced</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 There is variety in the dance styles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 It is easy to dance</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Many people (can) sing and dance together</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 I can dance it (very) well</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The movements of the waist 1 12 13
The dancing is systematic, good dance patterns 2 10 12
I am a possessed 8 3 11
It revitalises me 7 2 9
It is modern 4 5 9
The body movements 1 8 9
It is traditional 5 3 8
It makes me happy 5 3 8
The dance attire 0 8 8
The swirling/twisting of the dance skirt (masamba) 0 8 8
The movements/sound of the anklet-rattle (nsangwa) 1 6 7
To see the best dancer 0 7 7
The accompanying music/songs 5 1 6
It is suitable for elders 5 1 6
I like to see X dancing it 0 4 4
It entertains everybody 2 2 4
The meaning song and dance convey 1 3 4
It makes me remember old days / a person 0 4 4
The dancing matches with the singing and drumming 0 4 4
It is common nowadays 0 4 4
The shaking of the head 0 2 2
It makes me forget my worries 2 0 2
The movements of the breasts 0 1 1
To get a piece of meat 1 0 1

List III-16: Reasons to prefer a dance (type) mentioned as favourite in Table III-2, Survey 1985/86.

The many reasons to favour a dance (type) (see List III-16) can be grouped in similar judgement categories as with songs: Properness (15%), Excellence (5%), Effect (16%), Feeling (26%), Structural (8%), Structural/Changeable and Changeable (17%) features (14%)\(^{48}\). Though ‘from memory’, a rather large part of the judgements refers to dance technical features (39%), structural and especially changeable. This type of judgement then was used twice as much as for the evaluation of songs from memory, comparable with the proportion of this type of judgement for evaluating songs in real time (see the next paragraphs).

**Dance or watch**

For dances, the differences between a participative and more consuming attitude were larger than with songs. An important issue in this was the aversion to dances and more particularly to the act of dancing itself. Little less than half of the respondents claimed to have no favourite dance to dance. More than half of them explained this by adding that they did not dance themselves.
**Evaluation of music**

Figure III-4: Correspondence analysis of the favourite dances to be danced and to be watched and the judgement categories underlying the preferences, Survey 1985/86.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural features</th>
<th>Social dances &lt;1980</th>
<th>Kalindula</th>
<th>Town dances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excellence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession dances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Changeable</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural/ changeable features</strong></td>
<td>Social dances &lt;1980</td>
<td>Ilimbalakata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Feeling</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Properness</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effect</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possession dances</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When evaluating favourite dances to dance (blue print) the same judgement categories were used, but in another proportion, as when evaluating favourite dances to watch (black print). The difference is so large that groups of favoured dances to dance and dances to watch do not even overlap.

In Figure III-4 we see that dancing was evaluated more for Properness, Effect and Structural features while dances watched were evaluated more for Changeable and Structural/changeable features. Feeling is the only judgement category used in comparable proportion for both. The judgements referring to structural features are practically restricted to the evaluation of favourite Dances to dance while those referring to structural/changeable and changeable features are used much more often to evaluate Dance to watch. One could say that when people danced they were much more occupied with the structure and goodness or appropriateness of the dance as well as with the effect the dance would have on them while when a dance was watched they would pay more attention to the freedom that the dancer managed to take in her movements.

The differences between evaluating Dances to dance and to watch parallel those found between judging songs from memory and in real time though in case of the dances all judging was done from memory. This seems to indicate that the memory of dances was less abstracted than that of songs. An explanation for this could be that dances were experienced as more concrete than songs and that the images they evoked were more easily remembered in formulative detail. Dances were less theoretical and the memory of dances was more concrete than that of songs.

**Judgements per dance type**

From Figure III-4 we read that while watching, the same judgements were used in more or less the same proportion for all types of dances though judgements referring to excellence and changeable dance features were given more often for possession dances.
and to a lesser extent kalindula dances. When dancing oneself the various dances were judged for different reasons. For the evaluation of possession dancing Effect judgements (dancing was personal healing for each possessed) were often used. For the other dances the Properness, Structural features and Feeling judgement categories were used in changing proportions while Effect judgements were of more importance than Structural features judgements for ilimbalakata.

**Reasons to prefer a certain gathering with music**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 To drink beer</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 To watch the dancers</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 To meet friends</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 There is good music and dance</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 To dance</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 A lot of people meet there</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 The possessed dance there</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 It is entertaining to see what happens there</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 To participate in the music/singing</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 There is good behaviour <em>(mutende)</em></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 To pray to / praise God</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 For salvation, to beget eternal life</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 There is new and varied music &amp; dancing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 To help</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 It is common</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 I am a possessed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 To forget my worries</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 It is traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Everybody is involved/concerned</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 There we teach each other</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 There is a lot of dancing</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 To sell food</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 It is modern</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reason given</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No favourite gathering</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-17: Reasons to prefer a gathering with music mentioned as favourite in Table III-2, Survey 1985/86. Most respondents interpreted the question to mean: Why do you visit your favourite gathering?

Presumably because people had difficulties considering a gathering as a concrete, assessable item, the reasons given to favour a certain gathering with music mostly referred to the reasons to visit that favourite gathering (see List III-17). In spite of this, five categories of judgements can be discerned that have similar orientations as those given to favour songs and dances: Properness (13%), Excellence (2%), Effect (48%), and Structural/changeable (15%) and Changeable (22%) features of the gathering and the music and dance there. Structural features and Feeling judgements were not given.
From Table III-3 we read that Christian cult gatherings were practically only visited for reasons referring to the effect of the gathering. Effect was of importance for all types of gatherings but for gatherings where the possessed performed Changeable features were more important and these were also important for *kalindula* and social dance gatherings. For the larger-scale gatherings Properness also played a role.

**Categories of reasons to prefer a certain gathering with music**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>K</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goodness / appropriateness</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural / changeable features</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changeable features</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-3: Categories of reasons to prefer a certain gathering with music, Survey 1985/86. K = *kalindula*-related; P = gatherings where the possessed performed; Ch = Christian cult gatherings; SD = social dance gatherings before *kalindula*; U = old beer party and T = gatherings connected to town music.

**Reasons to prefer a certain musical instrument**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Bj</th>
<th>Bb</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>K</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 I play it (well)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 It has the best sound</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 It has an impressive sound</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 It makes one dance</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 It makes me forget my loneliness/worries</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 It attracts many, is popular</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 It goes together well with the song</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 It is entertaining/fights boredom</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 It makes the sound better</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 It makes the dancing go well</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 It stimulates me</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 It has a low/bass sound</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 It has a wide range of sounds</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 It is traditional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 It makes me remember old days/a person</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 It heats the ritual</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 It makes the possessed dance well</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 It is easy to play</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 It scared the birds away</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 It is modern</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 It makes people peaceful</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-4: Reasons to prefer a certain musical instrument, Survey 1985/86. No reason given: 12. No favourite instrument: 60. D = drums; I = iyikulu; Bj = *banjo*; Bb = *babatoni*; C = *cisekele*; K = *kalimba*; O = other musical instruments.
The reasons for preferring musical instruments (see Table III-4) can be grouped into the judgement categories Properness (16.5%), Excellence (18%), Effect (32%), Structural (15%), Structural/changeable (9%) and Changeable (9.5%) features of the instrument. Judgements pertaining to Feelings were not given.

The judgement categories spread rather evenly over all instruments which means that instruments were liked for analogous reasons. The effect of the instruments on the player or on others was most important. The low, impressive sounds of the drums and the babatoni were mentioned often and the banjo was mentioned for its range of possibilities.

**Evaluation of performers**

What criteria were used for the popularity of performers? We can not use all the judgement groups used up to now. By definition, the performer had no ‘structural’ features except when one would ascribe the continuous success in ‘changeable’ features to ‘structural’ qualities of the performer. As seen earlier, the latter was not done in Chibale in the 1980s: most people did not ascribe success to inherent qualities of the one having success.

**Drummers**

*Reasons to prefer a drummer mentioned as favourite*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He does not get tired, plays all night</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He plays loud, hits hard</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He knows the patterns and styles for all types of songs</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He matches with/controls the song</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He arouses the possessed</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He excels, is the best</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He stimulates the people, makes all take part</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He stimulates the dancers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He makes good sounds</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He has good tactics to play for the possessed</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He plays it properly</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He makes me feel like dancing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is serious</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He plays varied</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He dances while playing</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reason given</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No favourite drummer</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List III-18: Reasons to prefer a drummer mentioned as favourite in List III-12, Survey 1985/86.

There was little variation in the relative spread of the reason groups over the various (types of) drummers. This means that they were favoured for more or less the same reasons which seems to indicate that a rather clear picture was shared by many as to what was expected of a good drummer: List III-18 gives an overview of this. This in turn seems to be an indication that artistic (fya kusala) freedom for a drummer was limited and that ‘to be better than another’ meant ‘doing the things that are required to a com-
parative degree': louder, more energetic, with more knowledge and more control. Freedom could be found in good sounds (9), good tactics (10), variation (14) and behaviour while playing (15). The latter formed little more than a sixth of the mentioned performance skills.

**Dancers, singers, bringers of new songs**

*Reasons to prefer a dancer mentioned as favourite*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Has a soft (flexible) waist</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Excels, is the best</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Dances like a (young) woman</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Has good styles of dancing</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Plays masamba &amp; nsangwa very well</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Good movements of the whole body</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Has a variety of dancing styles</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Moves legs/ nsangwa properly</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Her/his dancing makes one happy</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Is fully committed</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Follows music correctly</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Swirls masamba properly</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Doesn’t get tired</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Makes the gathering hot</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Makes attractive head movements</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Jumps well</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Has great attire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No reason given: 32  
No favourite dancer: 54

List III-19: Reasons to prefer a dancer mentioned as favourite in List III-13, Survey 1985/86.

*Reasons to prefer a singer mentioned as favourite*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Has a very good voice</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Songs are easy (to sing/learn/follow)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sings entertaining, keeps attention captured</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Has a loud voice</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Has a sharp (clear &amp; loud) voice</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Has a high (clear &amp; high) voice</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Brings meaningful texts</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Brings interesting and varied songs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Excels, is the best</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Has a straight (not hoarse) voice</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sings without mistakes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Starts well</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Makes a song sound better</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14 Sings well while dancing
15 Can teach a song quickly
16 Sings like a woman
17 Presents her-/himself well
18 Never gets tired
19 Has an uncommon singing style
20 Has the voice of a spirit

No reason given
No favourite singer

169
35
55

List III-20: Reasons to prefer a singer mentioned as favourite in List III-13, Survey 1985/86.

Reasons to prefer a bringer of songs mentioned as favourite

1 Songs are easy (to sing/learn/follow) 55
2 Songs are full of meaning 15
3 Brings interesting songs 14
4 Brings songtexts everybody understands 9
5 Songs are appropriate for the occasion 7
6 Has a very good voice 6
7 Texts are important (for me/us) 5
8 Can bring (many) different songs within a short period 5
9 Can teach a song quickly 4
10 Clear and instructive songs 3
11 Songs spread fast 2

125
31
103

List III-21: Reasons to prefer a bringer of songs mentioned as favourite in List III-13, Survey 1985/86.

When we study the Lists III-18, III-19, III-20 and III-21, we see that the judgements of performers for the major part pertained to performance skills. Within these judgements we can discern those about the attitude in performing, those about what could be called ‘proper’ skills - the ones that could be expressed to a comparative degree - and those directed to fya kusala skills.

Using this distinction, we find that the dancer had most degrees of freedom and, concurrently, that Excellence was most important for this type of performer (see Table III-5). Drummers had far less freedom but needed proper skills, a good attitude and an effect on those present at the gathering.

Singing was the field with the most performers, that is including most of the participants at gatherings, so proper skills were more like minimum requirements of the specialism while the level demanded by the fya kusala skills for singing, like starting well (12), making a song sound better (13) and singing well while dancing (14), was only reached by a few.
Judgement categories used to evaluate favourite performers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Drummer</th>
<th>Dancer</th>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Bringer of songs</th>
<th>Avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Properness</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellence</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills: attitude</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills: proper skills</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills: fya kusala skills</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-5: Judgement categories used to evaluate favourite performers, Survey 1985/86. *Reason 9 to prefer a dancer has been put here; it was the only Feeling judgement for all performers.

Bringing songs was a specialism with three sides. The minimum requirements were that one had a good voice, the ability to start well and teach a song in a short time to the audience/chorus and the ability to make a song easy. As seen earlier, making a song easy could be done in three ways: following a musango that was known to be easy; using strategies, like Chalebaila did, to make a difficult song well-known and therefore ‘easy’; and making a more difficult song easy by the way you perform it. The latter was also a fya kusala skill in singing (reason 2 in List III-20). The third part was that the texts brought, already existing or new, were effective, i.e. full of meaning, understood by everybody (another meaning of ‘easy’) or appropriate for the occasion. The newness of the texts was not mentioned in the reasons in List III-21; the one that comes closest is the ability to bring (many) different songs within a short period (8).

We conclude by looking what all this means for a gathering where the possessed performed to have success or to be effective.

An essential condition was that the humans should not perform badly or inappropriately and that the possessed should perform well in the ‘proper’ skills. This condition, however, did not guarantee that the gathering would be hot. For that, the humans should perform in the comparative degree stimulated in this by the possessed who should perform well in the fya kusala skills. The only humans with some degree of freedom were the drummers.

This had little influence on the other two large gatherings with music: the kalindula gatherings and the Christian cult gatherings. Here fya kusala skills played a minor role in judging performers. Proper skills played a role while for the kalindula gatherings, properness and for the Christian cult gatherings the attitude in performing were important. The effect of singing and bringing songs that pertained exclusively to the effect the performer caused through the texts he brought, played a less important role in Christian cult gatherings than one would expect on the basis of the importance of texts, and their effect, for the Christians. This will have been caused by the fact that in the Christian cults they did not attribute the choice of the text to the performer. The texts followed an order of performance predetermined by people outside of Chibale.
Conclusion

Types of musical judgements

I have based the study of the judgements used to evaluate musical items and performers on the criteria that were used in Chibale in the 1980s. I will now assess these criteria. The seven judgement categories played a varying role in the evaluation of musical items from memory (see Table III-6).

Judgement categories used to evaluate favourite musical items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favourite</th>
<th>Nine songs ‘live’</th>
<th>Song to listen</th>
<th>Dance to dance</th>
<th>Dance to watch</th>
<th>Gathering</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Avg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Properness</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellence</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural features</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural/changeable features</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changeable features</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III-6: Judgement categories used to evaluate favourite musical items, Survey 1985/86 and Survey 1987.

Most often used were judgements that referred to the changeable and structural features of the item. Within this group, judgements referring to changeable, let’s say ‘artistic’, features of the item were used most often. Structural features of the item and features that could either be interpreted as structural or as changeable, were evaluated less frequently. The fact that judgements referring to changeable features were especially made in real time evaluation and not so often in evaluation from memory may be interpreted to indicate that real-time, artistic judgements transformed or were transformed in other types of judgements after they had been committed to memory.

The second most frequently used judgements were those referring to the effect that the evaluator found the item to have on himself or on others. With real-time judgements and judgements of items (dances) that were more concrete for the evaluator, effect judgements were far less frequent. Therefore, I postulate that judgements referring to the effect of a musical item partly arose in the period after its performance.

The third most frequently used were judgements referring to the goodness or appropriateness of the item, or a feature of it, as opposed to its badness, insufficiency, inappropriateness, wrongness or incorrectness. They were common in the evaluation of songs and dances to dance, less so in the evaluation of dances to watch, gatherings and instruments. Judgements within this group seem to refer to the minimum requirements for the item to have effect or for the music or dance to be well performed.

Judgements referring to the feelings, mostly of joy, that the item evoked were used in varying frequencies. Most often they were used for dances, less often for songs, while gatherings and musical instruments were not at all judged for the feelings they evoked.

The smallest group of judgements is formed by those referring to the fact that the musical item is better than others. Though these judgements were made frequently in normal conversation, we should consider them as crude variants of other types of judge-
ments, most likely the judgements of changeable features (in which excellence could be shown) or properness (excellence as a result of just properness), since they do not shed as much light on what features made the item better than other items.

**Dimensions of musical evaluation**

*Figure III-5: Correspondence analysis of the judgement categories used to evaluate musical items, Survey 1985/86 and Survey 1987.*

In the evaluation of musical items two dimensions seem to play a role. One could be called the musical freedom-within-a-structure dimension (red line rising from left to right), the other one the effectiveness dimension (red line descending from left to right). A third facet seems to be Properness: the concern whether the item fulfils the minimum requirements for effect or good performance.

In most analyses of the judgements for the various musical items, a rather straight line runs, as also in Figure III-5, from structural feature judgements via properness judgements and then structural/changeable feature judgements, to changeable feature judgements. This line at the same time runs from performed to consumed items. This seems to indicate that for performing oneself one related more to the features that gave one something to hold on to: structural features and properness as defined above. In Figure III-5 an overview is presented of the relations between musical items and judgement categories. The suggestion arises that there were two dimensions in the evaluation of music in Chibale in the 1980s. One dimension runs from the structural to the changeable features of the evaluated item and could be called the musical freedom-within-a-structure dimension. The other runs from the effect of the musical item to the feelings it evokes and could be called the effectiveness dimension. A third facet seems to be Properness: the concern about whether the item fulfils the minimum requirements for effect or good performance.
So, we started off with seven possible judgement categories and are left with two dimensions and one facet of musical evaluation. All three seem to show one principle at work: music must have effect and for it to be able to have effect it has to be performed well and for that a number of basic requirements have to be fulfilled.

Effectiveness is the most important thing when looking at songs, dances and gatherings. Also a teaching text or action (kufunda) is there for its effect since it makes you do something good or do it differently. (banaNshimbi, personal communication, 1987)

**Transformation of judgements in time**

With evaluation from memory, the effect and structural feature judgements play a larger role while in real time changeable (artistic) features play a larger role. The transformation in time of changeable features judgements to structural features judgements plays within the same dimension. It indicates that during the performance evaluative attention was given to the freedom the performer was able to use in his performance while later, when one looked back at it, the performed item and its structural characteristics got more attention. The more frequently occurring transformation from artistic judgements to effect judgements (but not to feeling), even represents a transition from one dimension of evaluation to the other when the item is judged in real time or, later, from memory. It is attractive but, due to the paucity of data about judgements in real time, speculative to infer from this that the judgement of the effect of a musical item was, for the most part, caused by the digestion of the judgement of its performance, a statement that many people in Chibale would agree with, in accordance with the principle treated at various places in this thesis that a good performance was necessary for the music or the ritual to have effect.

**Preferences for a certain musical type and judgements**

The seven judgement categories were used for the evaluation of all main musical types. In three cases a clear relation existed between categories and types.

Half of the judgements of musical items related to the Christian cults belonged to the Effect category while for possession music it was little more than a fifth. Judgements as to the Changeable and Structural features, and the related Excellence, were used most often in evaluating possession music and least often in evaluating Christian cults’ music. Both seem to be related to the middle element of the effect principle mentioned above. In both the Christian cults and the possession cults it was thought that for good music minimal requirements had to be fulfilled and that its favourable effect was its final goal. The difference lay in the means that led to that goal. For Christians this was text, also unsung, that was rendered at the right moment and without mistakes. For the members of the possession cults it was well-performed music and dancing and a small number of other actions, all leading to hotness.

Thirdly, feeling played a less important role in judging Christian cults’ music and, especially, kalindula than in items related to ilimbalakata and Social dances before ka-

**lindu. As seen in Chapter 8 with ‘Sorrow and joy’, feelings felt when hearing music played a part in the older and possession cults’ and other endogenous music as the experi-

ential formulation, or recurrent re-experiencing, of the exchange relation with nature. This could be an explanation as to why feelings played a less important role in the evaluation of exogenous musical types.
Evaluation of music

Preferences for a certain musical type and other characteristics of the evaluator

The preferences correlated rather well with some other characteristics of the evaluator. We may assume that this is related to the principle that one likes what one is exposed to and exposes oneself to what one likes.

The most important characteristic of the one having a preference was her age. Also important were level of education (which in Chibale was closely related to age), religious orientation and musical knowledge. Of some influence too were the type of farming of the evaluator and the duration of the stay in town.

Gender was not related to musical preference. Though ilimbalakata was more preferred by men and social dances by women, the main types were more or less equally preferred by the sexes.

The relation between age and preference is not unexpected: newer types of music like kalindula and popular music from town were liked more by the young while ilimbalakata and older social dances were liked more by the old. For possession cult music and Christian cults’ music the differences were not so much between the young and the old but between consecutive age groups. When we compare the preferences for these two main musical types in the consecutive five generations we see that the eldest generation (those born before 1926) preferred possession music and did not prefer Christian music, for the following generation (those born between 1926 and 1937) it is the other way around, presumably because they were young during the first period of Christianisation of the area, for the next generation (born between 1937 and 1948) it is again the other way around, presumably because they were the ones leaving Christianity in disappointment, while with the last two generations Christian music was preferred somewhat more than possession music.

The relation between religious orientation and music was also not unexpected since the main religious groupings had their own music. All these groupings had similar preferences for kalindula.

Musical knowledge correlated well with musical preferences but it was not an independent variable. Due to the lack of thought for the culture and history of the area in which the pupils lived in primary and secondary schools, older people had more knowledge and many Jehovah’s Witnesses and the other Christians to a lesser extent turned, or pretended to turn, their backs to Chibale music, often pretending not to know much about it.

The type of farming had an influence mainly because the people in nkutu used more traditional types of music.

The duration of the stay in town, maybe contrary to what some would have expected, more or less paralleled musical knowledge. This goes to show that the people who returned from town did not return because they were not interested in Chibale culture. Moreover, some features of Chibale, or rather Kaonde-Lamba-Lenje-Lala area, culture, namely possession cults and later, in the 2000s, girl’s initiation, had been better preserved in town than in Chibale.
Judgements and other characteristics of the evaluator

The judgements did not correlate very well with other characteristics of the evaluator. This seems to indicate that most people picked out of the same box of judgements to evaluate music. Though this is true grosso modo, there were some noticeable tendencies (see Figure III-6).

This plot is presented to give an impression of the judgements categories used by evaluators of a certain age group, religious group and level of musical knowledge. All judgements, about the various musical items, within the same category are either in one of the corners or within the area of a coloured polygon. For religious orientation UCZ and Roman Catholics are on the line running from Possession & older cults to Jehovah’s Witnesses. Some musical knowledge is close to Little musical knowledge and Above average music knowledge at three quarters of the distance between Little and Great musical knowledge.

The plot should not be read in the way that all members of Younger generation 4 were Jehovah's Witnesses having Little musical knowledge, or the like. The plot only shows that people in these three groups showed a certain similarity in their judgements of musical items and a certain dissimilarity with people belonging to the older generations, members of the possession and older cults or those having great musical knowledge.
Secondly, it shows in what kind of judgements this similarity/dissimilarity was expressed. People with little musical knowledge gave fewer judgements referring to their feelings or to the structural features of the evaluated item. People belonging to the two older generations that were less Christian and people belonging to the older and possession cults tended to refer more to the changeable features while those with greater musical knowledge showed more attention for structural features. The latter group and the more Christian oriented older generation tended to pay more attention to the feelings which the item evoked than the others. The properness of the item seems to have been a general concern. Lastly, we find a confirmation of the assumption made above that judgements referring to the excellence of the item were crude, i.e. less informed versions of those referring to changeable features and properness.

Attention to the properness of a musical item was a shared feature in musical evaluation in Chibale in the 1980s. Also attention to its effect was rather common while, considering the fact that they hardly overlap in the plot, attention to feelings, structural features and changeable features was more or less characteristic for certain groups of people. Because the idea of the effect of a musical item as its central issue was also a shared feature, look at its central position in the plot, we may conclude that the plot seems to suggest that people took either feelings or structural features or changeable features as the ways to/signs of a favourable effect.
Notes

1 An example is given here of the spread of the knowledge of the concept 'cooking a song' among relative specialists (mediums). The survey was done after the concepts 'cooking a song' and 'raw song' were brought forward by Mika Mwape Chungwa. Twenty mediums were asked what 'cooking a song' was. The answers were: don't know (9); doesn't exist (4); bringing a new song (4); no answer (3). Three of the four persons saying it was 'bringing a new song' were shinganga. This seems to imply that 'cooking a song' was a specialists concept.

2 Text: any cultural item or event involving an audience (of diverse definitions).


6 A slightly shorter version of the material in the first part of this chapter was published earlier (Ilzerman 1995).

7 Another version of this story, collected from someone not related to the possession cults, is more explicit about the inferiority of the position of Mushi, Mr(s) Village, by adding that (s)he lacked meat, medicine, and means to solve quarrels between the villagers. In addition it states that Mr(s) Mpanga was Mulenga wa mpanga and Mr(s). Mushi was Mushili Mfumu. Mulenga and Mushili are the names of two major spirits that are used in a wide area in South Central Africa. According to Munday (1961: 1) they are aspects of Lesa and good and evil as well as the human race spring from their incestuous union. -Lenga means: draw, make to be, and -panga means: make. So Mulenga wa mpanga could mean: the creator of (or from) the place where is made. Mushili means 'soil' in the sense of what is, or can be, brought in cultivation (Munday 1942: 49); mfumu means (political) leader, chief. The big villages of old (until the 1950s) in Chibale normally had one shrine for Mulenga and one for Mushili, and often a third one for a third major spirit. Kupupa, ritual acknowledgement, to Mulenga was mostly, if not always, accompanied by kupupa to Mushili Mfumu and vice versa.

8 This proverb can also be found in Madan (1908) Fwe bantu kulya nangu kufwa, e cikulu pano pesonde - For us, human beings, to eat and to die, that is the important thing here outside [on earth]. The use of the singular form in the second part seems to underline that eating and dying form one system. The proverb also occurs in a reduced form in Doke (1927: proverb 281) Cikulu pano pesonde kuly'a: The important thing here outside is eating.

9 In many other situations going downwards or putting oneself in a low position was the correct form, for instance when doing kupupa, when begging or when greeting the chief. The utensils and other paraphernalia of the previous chiefs that were kept on racks in the chiefly shrine at the edge of the chief’s village were put on the ground (paanthi) during the kupupa period before and during the ipuno ly'a fikankomba (compare Photo II-81 with Photo II-78 and II-79).

10 The image behind the seriousness of the trouble was that of seeking honey to survive in the ‘months of hunger’ (mysesi wa nsala, January and February) when there was very little to eat. The honey gatherer therefore had no alternative, his problems were grave. It was regarded significant that in the months of hunger there happened to be more honey available than in the other months.

11 "Sensenta is also used to refer to the complete transport of a very heavy object by two or more persons from one place to another. Every time they lifted it, move a little further and then put it down again. Like the sensenta of the honeyguide it involves co-operation, and it involves energy and power (maka)" (Altube Mika, personal communication, 2004)

12 Comparable images we find in the usage of the term sensenta for the gathering of heavy rain clouds (see also Song III-2).

13 Literal translation: who returns did not go to the west. Only spirits return from the west. For the south of Congo van Malderen (1941: 118, 121) gives the following song text brought by a shinganga at the initiation of a possessed (like Cibombe 3): "The child goes eastward and returns from the west’. The initiate (‘child’) goes away as a human being and returns as a spirit, that is: a medium during possession.

14 At all rituals where the spirit-possessed performed that I visited the drummers stood at the eastern side of the dance circle. In some cases, the house in which the possession initiate or patients lay was at the edge of the circle. In those cases the house was at the eastern side - the initiate had to enter the circle at the eastern side, to leave it, as an initiated possessed, at the western side - and the drummers stood at the southeastern or south-southeastern side.
The cibitiku pattern could be orally notated as pacibitiku - pacibitiku - pacibitiku (lit.: ‘on the cibitiku’).

Some went as far as to see this form also as producing and reproducing contact between the two major spirits of old, Mulenga wa mpanga and Mushili Mfumu (see note 7). This music then would produce a kind of reconciliation between two older local cults.

Though the period of rotting was considered as one of uncontrolled heat that was contained as much as possible by music, it was ended by controlled heating: the cooking of the chief. After that a period of cooling down (silence) was observed. This may serve as an example against the use of simple dichotomies. It shows that (controlled) heating and cooling down can serve the same purpose (see also the next note).

A person or an inhabited area to be good had to be cool, a village, a co-operation between people or a large group of people to be good had to be kept warm and for a ritual to be effective it had to be heated. A sick person or disturbed area was hot and a bad village and ineffective ritual were cool.

Akaba: he is ill, literally: he is hot. Kupola: to cure a sick person, literally means: to cool down. For a person the coolness was connected to mano, wisdom, brains, and hotness to mutima: heart, emotion. Mutina wakaha - the heart is hot: to be angry.

In 1873 two drums were used for the ‘loud, wailing lamentation’ at the death of David Livingstone (Livingstone 1874: 315).

The verb kusumuna in ciLala was only used for the starting of songs. From this were derived insau and cisaila: starter of songs. Because in the Christian cults the starter of songs was called kampenga, this Bemba word was used more generally for the starter.

In this way banumakunda Mfwanti (banaSibili) could maintain that a Cibombe ca cisungu in Mukopa that we had witnessed followed the same procedures as the one held at her place earlier while the differences in my eyes were considerable and when brought to the fore by me were confirmed by her. As I would find in many other discussions where we concentrated on the structure, it turned out that all acceptable procedures at a Cibombe ca cisungu that served its objectives were ‘the’ procedures. So, this way of conceiving structure and contextually ‘performed’ structure was used for more than melody only.

Compare Stefaniszyn (1964b: 76): “The reproductive power while released into action in pregnancy should not be interfered with through the release of further energy, because then there would be a clash of reproductive forces”.

The relations between the value score and the quantity of maka attributed to the performance of the nine songs have high rank-correlation coefficients lying between .66 and .85.

Rank-correlation coefficients between .44 and .64 and between .32 and .61 respectively with a significance of .0000 for almost all.

This conditional sequence was even larger since maka was an experiential sign of being with ishuko.

So: being with ishuko → maka → good performance.


It is possible that cilaila, treated in Chapter 6, so important in the first half of the previous century, was an in-between state of the secularisation of joy: one performed important music in another context as a form of play. With cilaila there was still a clear relating to the ones who could really bring the specific type of song.

This text does not make sense in present-day Lala. Possibly the text went something like:

Lelo kwa Ingelesi
Mwana mushishi wakonda
Tukatambe’Ngelesi

Today [we are] at the place of the Englishman
Who has smooth hair
Come and see the Englishman.

‘Lie’ should be taken here in the wider sense of not showing your intentions, just as it can be found for the Ambo area in Stefaniszyn (1964b: 142): “In divining by muung’i ants, musolo, the leaves are used. This tree has many seeds, therefore it does not ‘lie’ but truly bears fruit. To the Ambo, a barren tree is a lying tree. Hence the fruitful musolo becomes the symbol of divining truth”.

Mwesa Mapoma (1980: 122) gives the following citation for the Bemba area: “Nalimo nici twenda ne
mipashi eco tushifawaila bufi”: maybe it is because we move with the spirits [we, the possessed] that we dislike lying/lies.
In Verbeek (1992, 1993 and 2001) and Verbeek & Mutambwa (1997) numerous examples can be found of the interpretations by a small number of non-specialists of the texts of the same or variants of the same popular dance, girls’ initiation, mourning and possession song. Verbeek’s aim is to provide the texts, their translation and their interpretation, not to analyse the differences in interpretation.

Doke (1931: 216) gives the following omen (inwiko) for the Lamba area: “A mud-wasp (inmunushi) gathering clay and sprinkling it on to one when sitting.”

Kayebela are also mentioned by Munday (1956) for the Lala area, by Doke (1931: 389) for the Lamba area and by Bantje (1978: 20) for the Kaonde area. Bantje provides us with the following song.

Kayebela, kayebela kapita muno kabaMbwele
Ne muzhi kasalananya kabaMbwele
Kayebela, the kayebela of the Mbwele will pass here
And the kayebela of the Mbwele will scatter our villages

Witchcraft was generally seen as the malicious profiting of a contrived contact with the mpanga. The text can be interpreted to mean that the contact that existed between the mpanga and the previous inhabitants of the Kaonde area, the Mbwele, had been replaced by ideologically correct Kaonde ways and that the old way now was to be considered as witchcraft.

An interpretation of bakayobela as a person can be found in the following answers given 25 times in total: 4T4, 4T10, 4T15, 4T17, 4T18, 4T27, 4T29, 4T32, 4T33 and 4T34.

An interpretation of bakayobela as the shinganga’s spirits can be found in the following answers given 63 times in total: 4T2, 4T3, 4T5, 4T6, 4T7, 4T9, 4T12, 4T13, 4T14, 4T19, 4T22, 4T23 and 4T25.

Eight respondents brought the text of Song III-9 in relation with witchcraft; answers: 4T8, 4T21, 4T24 and 4T28.

Doke (1927: proverb 773) renders it as follows.

“Mutota-nshe a lenda ne kafunda.
The one who brings news about locusts, brings a bundle of them with him.

Do not make an assertion unless you can substantiate it with a token.”

Relevant ethnomusicological studies up to then related, to touching on, or dealing with musical evaluation were among others: Tracey (1965), Keil & Keil (1966), Kauffman (1969), Kaeppler (1971), Kauffman (1976), Berliner (1978), Chernoff (1979), Keil (1979), Feld (1982), Racy (1982) and Pegg (1984). Most of these studies are of a philosophical rather than of an empirical nature.

Terms used in musicological, sociological and psychological literature for concepts related to the evaluation of music are acceptability of music, aesthetics of music, affective responses to music, attitudes towards music, critical standards of music, emotional responses to music, music appreciation, musical choices, musical discrimination, musical meanings, musical preference, musical receptivity, musical sensitivity, musical taste, musical value judgements, opinions about music, and reactions to music. These terms refer to the individual or the group; to the cultural or the cross-cultural domain; to choice or judgement; to long-term or short-term commitment; to attitude or behaviour, and to affection or cognition, thought or feeling, impression or expression of value. By using the term evaluation of music I do not want to emphasise any of these poles a priori.

Mwesa Mapoma (1980: 41) on the Bemba infunkutu songs: “Audience participation, however, depends on the appropriateness of the issue prompting a particular song, the justification for the singing by the person introducing it, social position of the singer and that of the person to whom the song is directed, and the composition of the audience”.

Some possessed had as a life-rule not to eat bulaya, a type of pulse, in order not to loose their ishuko in singing. The slipperiness of this pulse was given as the explanation for this life-rule: eating it would prevent the medicine the possessed was using to get hold of the body which would make a (good) performance by the possessed impossible. However, similar rules held for other slippery food, so the relation between bulaya and cileya may have been popular etymology.

The strengths of the rank-correlation between the quantity of mistakes detected and the value score for Song III-1 and Song III-20 are -.61 and -.70 respectively.

That this was a recent development in the 1980s we can also see in Blacking (1962: 4): “Each style of music appeals primarily to those who are concerned with the social events which it embellishes: thus, for instance, mashabi [mashabe] music appeals principally to those who are members of the possession cult.”

This is not only a choice of the author. Many respondents were not capable of differentiating between types that have been taken together, for instance Mwami and Ciwila music, certainly when not actually hearing and seeing them in context.
David Gordon (2003: 133) while discussing Ferguson (James Ferguson. 1999. *Expectations of modernity: myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press): "Ferguson contends that workers always retained rural ties and identities; the teleology of 'permanent urbanisation' was a myth of modernity perpetuated by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute anthropologists and later shared by workers who sought to distinguish urban from rural life. [...] Ferguson's argument is strengthened by the prolonged recession that shattered Zambian expectations of modernity."

The categories of judgements used to evaluate a song in real time in List III-15 are Properness: 2, 6, 13, 17, 23 and 36; Excellence: 7 and 34; Effect: 3, 11, 16, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35 and 39; Feeling: 5, 8, 14, 21, 32, 33 and 37; and Changeable (performance): 1, 4, 9, 10, 12, 15, 18, 26, 28, 29 and 38.

In List III-16 we find the following categories of judgements to evaluate a dance from memory: Properness: 4, 5, 19 and 24; Excellence: 17, 21 and 25; Effect: 8, 9, 10, 12, 22, 23, 27 and 29; Feeling: 1 and 13; Structural: 3; Structural/Changeable: 2, 7 and 18; and Changeable (performance): 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20, 26 and 28.

In List III-17 we find the following categories of judgements to evaluate a gathering from memory: Properness: 4, 10 and 19; Excellence: 15; Effect: 1, 3, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22 and 23; Structural/Changeable: 5, 9 and 13; and Changeable: 2, 7, 8 and 21.

In Table III-4 the following judgement categories can be found: Properness: 1; Excellence: 2 and 6; Effect: 4, 5, 8, 11, 14, 15, 19, 20 and 21, Structural: 3, 12 and 18; Structural/changeable: 7 and 13; and Changeable: 9, 10, 16 and 17.

The judgements in List III-18 can be categorised as follows: Properness (3%; 11), Excellence (6%; 6), Effect (21%; 5, 7, 8 and 12) and Skills (70%) in which attitude (21.5%; 1, 13 and 15), proper skills (38.5%; 2, 3 and 4) and fya kusala skills (10%; 9, 10 and 14).

For favourite dancer, List III-19, the following judgement categories can be discerned: Properness (4%; 10), Excellence (12.5%; 2), Feeling (3.5%; 12) and Skills (80%) in which attitude (8%; 9 and 13), proper skills (24.5%; 1, 8 and 11) and fya kusala skills (48%; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18).

For favourite singer, List III-20, the following judgement categories can be discerned: Properness (4%; 11), Excellence (4.5%; 9), Effect (17%; 3, 7 and 8) and Skills (82%) in which attitude (3%; 15, 17 and 18), proper skills (51.5%; 1, 4, 5, 6 and 10) and fya kusala skills (19.5%; 2, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19 and 20).

For favourite bringer of new songs, List III-21, the following judgement categories can be discerned: Properness (5.5%; 5), Excellence (1.5%; 11), Effect (37%; 2, 3, 4, 7 and 10) and Skills (56%) in which attitude (3%; 9), proper skills (50%; 1 and 6) and fya kusala skills (4%; 8).

For western classical music Scherer and Zentner (2001: 362-365) identify four 'aspects of listening to a piece of music' that are involved in the inference and/or induction of various affective states like preference and emotion. These aspects consist of structural features, performance features, listener features and contextual features. Where the effects of the features of the first two aspects can be based on both iconic and symbolic meaning-conferring coding, they suggest that the coding in the case of the listener features is based on associative coding. The effects of structural and performance features may be associated by the listeners with emotional content in their individual memories due to learned associations and conditioning. The latter seems of importance for Chibale evaluation since 42%, in the case of musical items, and 18%, in the case of performers, of the reasons given to favour a certain item or performer refer to an influence the item or performer had on the affective state of the listener(s): the judgement categories Effect and Feeling. From the Chibale perspective we could add that in Scherer and Zentner’s model time should play a role since judgements about the influence of an item or performer on the affective state of the listener(s) tend to become more important once the item or performer is out of hearing.

Older school children in Chibale could mention 22 cities in the UK but not one of the deceased chiefs, old musical types or instruments, let alone characteristics of the older local cults or healing methods. The reasons that were often given for this state of affairs were the government’s vague strive for a national culture and its fear for a type of tribalism that would destabilise the country. However, these reasons do not really help to make the described state of affairs more understandable.
Proverbs and aphorisms

1 Aphorism III-1
\textit{I}fi \textit{fwe bantu kulya no'kufwa.}
The important things for us, human beings, are to eat and to die.

2 Aphorism III-2
\textit{Kumbonshi takuya ubwela or Kumbo takuya ababwela.}
A person or something human that goes west will never return.

3 Aphorism III-3
\textit{Ifyalula muntu bung'omba fyamipashi ffifuma mumpanga,}
\textit{nomba kukopa likoso bungaba bwangalo}
What changes a human being into an \textit{ing'omba} are the spirits of ancestors and specialists from the \textit{mpanga}, not imitation which is just children's play.

4 Aphorism III-4
\textit{Mutima e muntu wine.}
The heart is the human self.

5 Aphorism III-5
\textit{Amano mambulwa}
Wisdom is taken [from others].
It can also be found in Doke (1927: proverb 88):
\textit{Amano kubulwa and Amano mambulwa}
Wisdom consists in being told.
A word of correction to the self-satisfied, who considers that he knows everything.
And in Doke (1927: proverb 1688):
\textit{Bumano ndi li kwatile te bo, amano mambulwa}
It is not wisdom-I-have-of-myself, wisdom is being-told.

6 Proverb III-6
\textit{Ni we fulwe amano ulibikile mu cikwambulwa.}
It is you, the tortoise, you have stored the wisdom in your shell.
The wisdom may be transferable but it is hard to crack and not given lightly.
Also in Doke (1927: proverb 229). He gives another interpretation: One's wisdom is not all on the surface: a seemingly ignorant man may prove to be very wise.

7 Proverb III-7
\textit{Ulya ulikutika amano ali mu ntibi.}
He yonder, who is keeping silent, wisdom is in his breast.
From Doke (1927: proverb 1315): The wise keep silent.

8 Proverb III-8
\textit{Umweo wa muntu walala mu matwi}
The life of a person resides in the ears
The ability to listen to and understand advice keeps a person alive.
Stories

1 Ilyashi lyabya Mpana na la Mushi

Mu myaka ya kunuma kulingana ne’fyo abakulu baletufunda, ukubati ukuba\(^1\).


Story III-1: The story of the friendship between nature and culture, as told by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.

1 In the years behind us, according to what the elders taught us, the story goes like this.
2 The pronunciation of this sentence and the fact that Mushi repeats what Mpana says make clear the inferior position of Mushi.
3 Kuli iyi misango means ‘in these ways.’ Reference is made here to other exchanges than that of dead bodies and animal meat that take place between the village and the mpanga.
4 -katana (to be interrelated) literally means: hold each other, produce each other. Here we find an echo of the friendship, because -katana cibusu means: to be friends.
5 -kana (to be in contradiction) literally means: refuse, deny, contradict.

Song texts

1 A Citelela song

Amalimbe’fi alila kwa Chibale
Alila mwina mina akula panshi alila sensenta mbanindo
Nashala nenka mwantengamina

How the malimba sound in Chibale
They sound downward and upward, they drag over the ground, they sound downward and upward again, but why
I am left alone with all of you against me

Song III-1: A cinsengwe brought by the ing’omba Citelela in the 1930s, as performed by an ensemble led by chief Chibale in 1981.

Here some of the variants of the text of this cinsengwe will be presented.
The text is in deep Lala. In many recent performances the modern Lala third person plural ya- was used instead of a-.

Where meaning and tone language permit verbs could be alternated; so: akula could be apula (emerging upwards), bantengamina (they put pressure upon me) could be bansungamina (they are always on me). The rather offensive mwantengamina could be alternated with bantengamina, owowo, bama (my mother) or bata (my father).

Mbanindo could also be malimba or bakwasu. It is possible that malimba was the original ending of the second line because it recalls that the subject of this semantically and grammatically challenging line is music (malimba). Mbanindo and bakwasu (my relatives) are connected to an interpretation and application of the song as an anti-witchcraft song: ‘why do you wrong me and my relatives’?

Some of the variations mentioned could be present within one performance. I interpret this both as play and as message: ‘I master all these variations and their interpretations’.
Part III

2 A first-rains song
Kamimbya kunkula panshi
Banoko bele mukwela
Swallow, skim the ground
Mother has gone to winnow/bail fish
Song III-2: A song sung by children during and after the first rains, sung here by Mika Mwape Chungwa and Basil Chisonta, 1986.
Note that the movements made in winnowing and bailing fish have the sensenta/(kun)kula form. The second line promises the child, that is missing its mother, that there soon will be something to eat. As with sensenta, the kunkula panshi leads to something good.

3 A greeting song
Mwapoleni mwebabomfi besu
Kani mutende mwabasanga abena musumba /
Kani mutende mwatusangana fwebena nsombo / ba Cila
Welcome to you, our dear workers
How are you? You have found all the people at the chief’s place /
How are you? You have found us, the people of the anklet-rattle / the musical gathering
Song III-3: A Ciwila song composed for us by one of the spirits possessing Mika Mwape Chungwa (ba Mwela) at a gathering in 1981 for which chief Chibale had invited a number of people. No recording.
It was held in the large nsaka of chief Chibale. Mika Mwape Chungwa first left the nsaka and came back a little later singing this song. It was taken over very quickly by the chorus because those present knew this musango.

4 An ilimbalakata
Abena buko ndabapela/ ndabanaila
Kabalya kabalya malyambepa
Sombi baka bwesheko
Mumbona buluya ndicikuku
Mano mano ilelile mano alimunshingo
Mano - buluya
My in-laws, I give to them/ I cook for them
And only eat the left-overs
But I expect something in return
Do not regard me as a fool for being quiet
Wisdom, wisdom, ilelile, wisdom is in my blood
Wisdom - madness
Song III-4: An ilimbalakata accompanied by the set of three ciwaya, Sitifini Nunda and the people from Milombwe, 1981.

5 A Cisungu song about teaching
Ukufunda tulafunda
Pantu mutwala ku nika amano akoya ne’nika
Teaching is what we do continuously
But you take the knowledge to the river to let it flow away
Song III-5: A Cisungu song about teaching (kufunda) sung by Malanke Mwape, 1981.
6 A Susa cinsengwe
   Susa nakabona kanunushi
   Nkalya kanunushi kafukule’loba Susa, fwe basheme
   Ni Lesa mukulu wampangile
   Wandikele fibanda fya mu mpanga; Satana tampangilepo
   Susa saw a kanunushi
   Such a kanunushi that pushes out soil toward Susa, we who are with ishamo
   It is that same great Lesa who made me
   Who lets the nature spirits from the mpanga on me; it is not Satan that made me

   Song III-6: A cinsengwe brought by the ing’omba Susa from Shaibila around 1940, as sung by Sakaliya Mulwaso in 1981.

7 A cinsengwe about fierceness
   ’Ubwanga bukali kamubutina, bwaipaya ba Chibale
   ’Ubwakapembya bwakile kwilaya lywa fwiwe ba Chibale
   Fwe colobola, basungu bakali
   Fierce witchcraft tricks are to be feared; these killed chief Chibale
   A bwakapembya settled on the shirt of chief Chibale
   We [witch-]hunters, the white men are fierce

   Song III-7: A cinsengwe, presumably of the ing’omba Citelela, as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986.
   The bwakapembya is a large beetle. The song refers to the death of Kunda Mfwanti around 1900 that was considered to have been caused by witchcraft: a good omen was contrived with bad intentions. The mentioning of the fierceness of the Whites can refer to their very arrival: the first Whites arrived only a little before the death of Kunda Mfwanti, or by their attitude of denial towards witchcraft. They might have forbidden the killing of the one who contrived the good omen for Kunda Mfwanti. The text seems to formulate the dilemma of being confronted by one or the other type of fierceness.

8 Song related to Song II-37
   ’Mwebaume bamupandu nsengo iyo nemulanda iyo
   Mulalengela abanenu kulila ee lelo we cibanda
   You men, who bewitch by using horns, iyo me the poor one, iyo
   You cause others to mourn, today, you nature spirit

   Song III-8: A mourning, pounding song comparable to Song II-37. No recording.

9 A Kubuka song
   Kuli amalwele bakayobela balile bona ku mutima
   Kuli amalwele bakayobela balile
   Kuli amalwele bwaca balokulila ba Mbomba
   Kuli amalwele bwaca balokulila
   There is still illness but the kayebela have gone from the heart
   There is still illness but the kayebela have gone
   There is still illness, Mbomba has been crying all night
   About the illness he has been crying all night

   Song III-9: A healing song brought at a Kubuka by Chiselwa, a Mwami spirit possessing the shing’anga Sheki Mbomba that also played the musebe; the chorus consisted of the wife of Mbomba, Njustini, Basil Chisonta and the author, Luanshya, 1986.
10 A Mwami healing song
Élo balipo bamama / Maluba / Chitapa, tekupengapo fino
Buboni nali kubonta buboni Sakanya
Teshi bakandile
Cine buboni nalelo caya / kawa
Cikanga bapos a balala ku numa
Kanshi abakashi citemwa mubili
Ndabile / nkongole / mawe oyiye
Èbalipo ba Mbomba ...
Èbalipo bamama ...

If my mother / Maluba / Chitapa were still here, there would be no suffering
Wealth I would have, wealth, Sakanya
But they will not mourn me
Surely, will the good times ever arrive / be brought?
When there's failing [because of illness], they leave the one they slept with
“The wife only loves the [husband's] body”
Let me say / credit / mawe oyiye
If Mbomba were there ...
If mother were there ...

Song III-10: A healing song brought at a Kubuka by Chiselwa, a Mwami spirit possessing the shinganga Sheki Mbomba that also played the musebe; the chorus line is sung by Njusini, Luanshya, 1986.

11 Evaluating drumming in the Kambonsenga area
Yino ngoma taitle lwino - Yalila kapalingo
K’iteni bashi Ngosa - Besa bakunte pa nsangwa - Yalila kapalingo
This drum gives a weak sound - It is clumsy drumming
Do call Shingosa - He will beat it hard - It is clumsy drumming

Song III-11a: A song evaluating the drumming, from Stefaniszyn (1974: 59): “Kapalingo is the poetic form for ‘weak drumming,’ an idiophone. K’iteni, a contraction of ‘ka iteni’. Besa, a contracted form of baise. Nsangwa is the rattle made from nsense fruit. Shingosa, a proper, representative name. Proper names are often used in these songs seemingly to give them ‘individual qualities of a single occasion’”. No recording.

Cilishamunkunto nakuya nakwe
Nakupita ntala ku Mulembo
Who beats a little drum, I shall go with him
I shall carry him to the Mulembo

Song III-11b: A song evaluating the drumming, from Stefaniszyn (1974: 80): “Cilishamunkunto is a Homeric epithet. Munkunto means: a little drum. Mulembo is the name of a river. Near the Mulembo is the hallowed graveyard of the conqueror chiefs of the Ambo, beginning with the first chief, Kunda Mpanda. The singer pays a compliment to the fine drumming on the little drum. He, or she, would like to go everywhere with such a fine drummer, even to the distant Mulembo river. The Ciwila dancers, as also other kinds of dancers, travel throughout the area performing in many villages”. No recording.

12 Evaluating the whole ritual
Éno ngoma tayiwe me
Ne Kansenkele, ifyo yaweme uya kwa Makonde
This ritual is not good
I, Kansenkele, not as good as the one that was held at Makonde


13 Evaluating the attendees
   Kamulekapo ifya kulondola mu ngoma
   Ba Shipesha tekuyako ba Shipesha, mwenda nkumbu
Stop all this talking during a ritual
Shipesha won't go for it, Shipesha, the one going in grief

Song III-13: A Ciwila song brought by the medium Shipesha, as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
Going in grief might have also referred to the fact that this medium was limp.

14 Evaluating another dancer
   Kansenkele batota ning’omba
   Tyimba mwa Chibale
   Bai bata ati kanyimbe ne citondo
Kansenkele most praised ing’omba
Who sings in Chibale
Oh father let me sing, I, the praise singer

Song III-14: A song sung by a Ciwila medium at a Cibombe in Mukopa in 1985.
Kansenkele was not present at this ritual and he hardly ever visited Mukopa. The message is that Ciwila mediums can be important too.

15 Competition in choosing dancing partners
   Salenimo abawama, cikolola mwiko ashale
   Salenimo amashipesha, cikolola mwiko ashale
Choose the good/handsome ones, the one who scraps food
   from the cooking stick will remain (be skipped)
Choose the special ones, the one who scraps food
   from the cooking stick will remain (be skipped)

Song III-15: A song for a competition in choosing dancing partners as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
This song was accompanying a dance in which each woman and man walk clapping to the other line and chooses a man or woman respectively. The one who remained was embarrassed. Cikolola mwiko: the (male) mother’s child.

16 Discussing the text of a song
   O nakusenda bako banji ba ‘Legina bakabinda
   Kamuwela ifi bawela ba nsangwe
   O bamukamwami
   Kamuwela ifi bawela ba nsangwe
I will go along with my daughter-in-law Legina who is like a last born to me
Sing along well like the the possessed do it
O wives of the Mwami spirits
Sing along well like the the possessed do it

Song III-16: A Mwami song sung by young men while discussing the application of the text in the particular situation (healing an acute case of possession illness), 1987.
Part III

17 A song about mistakes

*Mweebaume apo twabona bamwana bwana*
*Nafwa bama, bama/lelo muimbe cileya*

Hey friends, now that we have seen the white man
I am dying oh mother, mother/today sing without mistakes

Song III-17: A song brought by bamukaKunda Mfwanti (human name: banaSibilu) at a
Kubuka I requested on 17 October 1985 to be able to interview Kunda Mfwanti, the
chief who died around 1900.
Here the singing without mistakes is mentioned to mark the occasion as special or
potentially dangerous: this was the first Kubuka ever visited by a white man. This
text also goes to show that Mwami mediums, in this case bamukaKunda Mfwanti,
originating from Chibale, often also possessed by Ciwila spirits, could make new
texts referring to the occasion, even if this was a healing or problem solving occasion
like this Kubuka. Nafwa bama was a normal (male) exclamation of excitement.

18 A song urging to sing well

*Mwebakashi mpalela bunga - Mailo ndi nelwendo kuya ku matanga abanyama*
*Tetimwele nalema - Kamwimba bwino nakuwa mumbulu*

My wife, grind meal for me - Tomorrow I shall go to reach the game herds
I shall not return before I tire - Sing well for me, I bark like a wild dog

Song III-18: A cinsengwe for kwilimuna underlining the importance of good singing. No
recording. It can also be found in Stefaniszyn (1951: 5 - with a different translation).
The wild dog, that like the human hunter has relatives that stay in the village, is a
‘roamer of the mpanga’, a honorific title for great hunters. The barking of the wild
dog (in the mpanga) is contrasted with the good singing in the village.

19 A kwilimuna song

*Bacibinda mwalaala - Bukeni mweba yinga weulele ungace*
*Twimbe cibonga twilimume - Mishimu yabwela*

Hunters, you have slept - Rise up, you hunters who sleep until dawn
Let us sing with ardour, let us do kwilimuna - the spirits have come

Song III-19: A cinsengwe for kwilimuna underlining the importance of good singing. No
recording. It can also be found in Stefaniszyn (1951: 9 - with a different translation).
Cibonga is the opposite of cileya.

20 Kalindula song used in Survey 1987

*Tubalumbe ba* [follow the names of all band members, one after the other]
*Ai yo iyo iyo mama ai yo iyo iyo mama we*
*Tubalumbe balishiki*
*Ai yo iyo iyo mama ai yo iyo iyo mama we*
*Oh tubalumbe ba makali wesu*
*Ai yo iyo iyo mama ai yo iyo iyo mama we*
*Oh tubalumbe ba chief Chibale*
*Ai yo iyo iyo mama ai yo iyo iyo mama we*

Let’s praise [the members of the band]
Let’s praise the ones doing the lishiki
Let’s praise our beautiful selves
Let’s praise chief Chibale
Ai yo iyo iyo, mother, ai yo iyo iyo, mother, you
Song III-20: A kalindula song brought by the band Tula Twabane at a Sandauni in 1985.
The band members are introduced one by one. Bamakali: makali was slang, a town word for big and beautiful, e.g. ‘makali wan’: beautiful girl. Balishiki: those who do the lishiki; more generally: girls dancing.

Music examples

1 An example of kuwela
Kuwela by the chorus at a Cibombe organised by Chalebaila in 1981.

2 Another version of Song III-6
The kanunushi-song of the ing’omba Susa as sung by Mika Mwape Chungwa in 1986.

3 The relevant part from the Kubuka by Sheki Mbomba
Recording of the part of the Kubuka by the shing’anga Sheki Mbomba, Luanshya, 1986 that contains the discussion about the direct applicability of song texts.

4 Song 1 at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s
Excerpt of the full ensemble: helper of the starter (solo), chorus (audience), three drums and the anklet-rattles (nsangwa) of the starter of the song.

5 Critique between Song 1 and 2 at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s
Excerpt of the critique by experienced women at the public for not keeping the dance circle at the size it needed to be and at the dancers for not showing their styles or even not dancing at all.

6 The starting of Song 2 at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s
Excerpt of the starting of Song 2. The starting of the song - starting by possessed, taking over by helper and by chorus and the joining of the drums - at an Ipupu (or Cibombe) could take a long time. Some songs never took off: the singing came up for some time and then disappeared again in the general rumour of the ritual. The drum beats heard on the excerpt is no drumming but drummers spreading drum paste on the skins of their drums. This could often be heard between songs.

7 The joining in of the drums with Song 3 at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s
Here the cibitiku first joins in incorrectly and then starts again after which (at 30") kace and immediately after that the iyikulu join in while the dancing starts immediately too, listen to the anklet-rattles (nsangwa). The cibitiku playing is not very good. For drummers the same holds as for the dancers: the minor ones go first.

8 Critique between Song 4 and 5 at the Ipupu at banaNshimbi’s
A woman from the chorus: “You, drummers, what’s happening”? Another woman: “The chorus doesn’t sing [well]”. The one who takes over the solo line, Changwe Mabuku: “You always see the necks being swollen while the drumming is not there [i.e. while the drumming is bad]. This forced singing might even cause a goitre. Later, at home, you even see those lines at the sides of your neck. So, good singing follows good drumming”.
Immediately at the end of Song 5 the discussion continues by the same women. One woman: “You singers, you confuse the drummers (kufundaule’ngoma)”. Mabuku: “I try my best”. Another woman: “The chorus doesn’t sing [well]”. Mabuku: “Surely not! If the possessed would dance properly, the singing would be good”. Another: “The possessed should
start to really dance (kushanisha) now. The nsangwa should be shaken”. Mabuku: “Listen to me! I sing very well, so, you, dancers, now start to really dance; like this … ”.

9 Soft singing and loud drumming
Because of the text of Song 6 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s the audience is not very enthusiastic but they sing to assist the starter. The drummers play loudly because they are used to playing this kind of music.

10 Audience heating the ritual
By joining in quickly, singing loudly and without mistakes, continuing the last tone of the chorus line and singing on for a long time the chorus/audience helps in heating the ritual. They can do this also by cheering and making noise (during Song 8 at the Ipupo at bana-Nshimbi’s).

11 Starting a new song while the drumming of the previous song is still continuing
The possessed starts a new song (Song 9 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s) while the drumming of Song 8 is still going on.

12 Drummers taking up a song that had stopped
After the singing and drumming of Song 9 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s have stopped the drummers take it up again and then the chorus takes up the song again.

13 Singing by the chorus of a song by Kamimbya at a healing session of Kamimbya
An excerpt of the singing at an earlier occasion in 1985, a session, at which bamuka-Ndubeni healed (kukanda) Munteta Chalebaila by discussing and singing with the spirits possessing him. The girls in the choir sing extremely sharp and kuwela well.

14 Singing by the chorus of a song by Kamimbya
In this excerpt of Song 14 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s we hear the same girls on the Ipupo of banaNshimbi with sharpness and kuwela similar to Music example 13. [Bad recording]

15 Immediate change to another song
We hear Kamimbya bring Song 15 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s. Apart from the self-praise that is not (yet) opportune, the song is too difficult as can be heard by the way the chorus sings. Between the 17th and 18th second of the excerpt, though very vaguely in the background, we can hear Mabuku say “Buleniko wa bwangu”, “Take another one” to which Kamimbya reacts with ‘Ah’ and starting Song 16.

16 Comparing the starts of the second and the eighth song by Kansenkele
The first 38 seconds of the second and eighth song Kansenkele brought (which were Songs 28 and 36 of the Ipupo). We hear that the audience is more quiet during the start of the eighth song and takes over much faster.
In the eight song we can hear, at the third repetition of the text (after 18 seconds), Kansenkele and his wife, who takes over his solo line, sing together. What she does is called kwimye’shiwi, to raise the voice, in both senses.

17 Text variations during the starting of Song 41 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s
If there is enough attention and concentration among the audience, a medium may vary the text during the period that the song is sung by herself or himself. In this case Kansenkele’s wife waits before taking over the solo line until the variations have been made.
Kansenkele brings four variations before the song reaches the form that is repeated by the helper (solo line) and the chorus.

O jelashi ba mulamu mama
Mayo jelashi ba Shemu banamwela
Jelashi ba Shemu mama
Nemulanda jelashi ba Shemu eyo batina
Owe nomba nalileko'kuyalawila
Jelashi ba Shemu mama
Mayo jelashi ba Shemu eyo batina
Nomba nalileka masamba Maloba
Jelashi ba Shemu mama
Mayo jelashi ba Shemu eyo batina
Nomba nalileko'kwimba
Jelashi ba Shemu mama
Mayo jelashi ba Shemu eyo batina
Nebo nalileko'kwimba
Jelashi ba Shemu mama
Mayo jelashi ba Shemu eyo batina

O jealousy, my brother-in-law, mother  
Mother, jealousy, Shemu, wives of the spirits  
Jealousy, Shemu, mama  
I, the poor one, jealousy, Shemu, that is what he fears  
Owe then I would have to stop dancing  
Jealousy, Shemu, mama  
Mother, jealousy, Shemu, that is what he fears  
Then I have to stop the masamba, Maloba  
Jealousy, Shemu, mama  
Mother, jealousy, Shemu, that is what he fears  
Now today I would stop singing  
Jealousy my brother-in-law, mother  
Mother, jealousy, Shemu, that is what he fears  
Then I would have to stop singing  
Jealousy my brother-in-law, mother  
Mother, jealousy, ba Shemu, that is what he fears, wives of the spirits

18 Anklet-rattles (nsangwa) playing by Chalebaila during Song 44  
This is Mwami nsangwa playing. Compare with the next music example.

19 Anklet-rattles (nsangwa) playing by Kansenkele during Song 45  
This is Ciwila nsangwa playing. Compare with the previous music example.

20 Starting a song while another one is starting  
Though the recording is bad, we hear Chalebaila starting Song 56 at the Ipupo at bana-Nshimbii's. Then suddenly Kansenkele starts Song 57 and the audience immediately stops singing Chalebaila's song and starts singing that of Kansenkele.

21 Singing songs only once  
Full recording of two consecutive songs (Song 65 and Song 66) at the Ipupo at bana-Nshimbii's that are sung only once followed by Song 67 that is repeated, all brought by Kansenkele. During Song 66 a man who clearly had some of the beer asks for a repetition of Song 41 (Jelashi). As said before, this is sometimes done at Cibombe because
Mwami mediums take their songs almost completely from a fixed repertoire. With a Ciwila medium who seeks to bring only new texts this is a contradictory request. It is ironic that he does this at the moment that Kansenkele expresses his personal grievance over the difficult circumstances at this Ipupo, one of which was the Mwami-orientation of a part of the public.

22 Finale of the confrontation between Kansenkele and Chalebaila
Start of the song (Song 69) that summarises the issue at stake at this particular Ipupo.

23 A song begging for help
In this song (Song 71) Kansenkele begs banaNshimbi to help him. The beginning is sung more softly and beggingly than other songs. The reaction of the audience/chorus is very positive. [The beginning is cut off.]

24 A song sung four times immediately followed by another
Song 75 at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s is sung four times and then is immediately followed by Song 76. We can clearly hear the murmur of assent from the audience/chorus.

25 A beautiful start
If we were already familiar with beautiful starts by Kansenkele, we are still stunned by the start of Song 78.

26 The last song at the Ipupo at banaNshimbi’s
Though Kansenkele is tired, his wife still has the voice, the audience/chorus sings and the drummers still want to play. The song (Song 113) lasts nearly ten minutes.

27 Failing when it is important
Cibitiku patterns of the frog, also in Doke (1927: 530-16). It was used to describe the case when somebody can not perform well when it is important, e.g. hunting for a visiting chief, playing instruments for visitors. It was ishamo and might call for Kubuka.

*Bitiku bitiku*
*Cabone mfumu cachanga kulila*
*Mbototo mbototo*
*Cabone mfumu cachanga kulila*
*Mbiti mbititi*
*Cabone mfumu cachanga kulila*
*Mbiti mbitiku*
*Cabone mfumu cachanga kulila*

*Bitiku bitiku* etc.
It has seen the chief, it has failed to sound

Music example III–27: Failing to play the correct drum patterns, as remembered by Mika Mwape Chungwa, 1986.
Glossary

_Babatoni_: Large chordophone with two or three strings, only used as a bass in _kalindula_ music.
_Banjo_: Small chordophone with three or four strings.
_Bayambo_: The Bayambo possessed. Type of possession common in Lamba and Lima area; rare in Chibale.
_Bita_: Drum like a bass-drum used by most _kalindula_ groups after 1985, one of its sides is hit with a beater operated by a pedal.
_Bulanda_: Sorrow.
_Bwalwa bwa nkombo_: Ritual for the erection of a gourd shrine for a known ancestor. Small-scale version of the _lpupo_.
_Bwalwa_: Beer, beer party. Older types of beer party.
_Calici_: Christian church, Christian cult meeting.
_Cibanda_: Nature spirit.
_Cibitika_: Middle instrument in a set of three; the starter.
_Cibombe_: General term for all _Mwani_ rituals.
_Cikonko_: Grief.
_Cila_: Get-together of the youngsters of one village or neighbouring villages for playing and dancing social dances. Also used to refer to any gathering with dancing. See also _cilila_.
_Cilalila_: A lay(wo)man's performance in imitation of a performance by a specialist or medium.
_Cilala_: The Lala language.
_Ciley_: Any mistake made in the performance, particularly in the singing.
_Cilili_: General term for hunting rituals and beer parties.
_Cililo_: Mourning rituals (three types), funeral wake.
_Cimblingoma_: Daughter of _cinko_, fashionable around 1930.
_Cimbwasa_: General name for women's songs.
_Cino cine_: The same. Literal meaning: one true thing.
_Cinko_: Social dance fashionable until the 1930s.
_Cinsengwe_: Term referring to a number of song types related to the old local cults.
_Cinyenye_: Aerophone with one blowing hole; made of a horn, the open side of which is covered with a thin membrane.
_Cisangwa_: Form of _cimbwasa_; women's critical songs.
_Ciskele_: General term for all shaken or struck idiophones, except for the _nsangwa_ and the _masamba_.
_Cishibilo_: Thing that makes something else known; sign, symbol, metaphor, image.
_Cisungwa_: Girl's initiation, girl initiate, possession initiate.
_Citemi_: A form of swidden axe-cultivation.
_Ciwaya_: See _mataba pa mbale_.
_Ciwila_: Type of possession; specialism: bringing new songs, dancing, giving-back.
_Fwandafwanda_: Social dance fashionable in the 1950s; also called _fwandaula_.
_Fwandaula_: Another name for _fwandafwanda_.
_Fya kusala_: The freedom a performer has or takes within the structure of the music.
**Icila:** General term for social dance (song). [For the sake of clarity Cila and icila are spelled differently in this book though both are the same word.]

**Ilimba:** One-note-xylophone played in sets of three. The plural, malimba, can also refer to musical instruments in general and to songs accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.

**Ilimbalakata:** Cili and Bwalwa songs; the solo dance shows what hunting is about.

**Ilyashi:** Story; message.

**Imbile:** Work beer party.

**Ingombha:** Very successful mediums. In older days a rare type of Ciwila possession involving possession by a limited number of ingombha spirits.

**Ipupu:** Ritual marking the end of the mourning period. In recent times often organised as a restorative ritual.

**Ipupo lya fikankombha:** Ritual for important owners of the mpanga: the deceased chiefs Chibale and their predecessors.

**Ishamo:** A state of lack of good contact between a person or a group and the mpanga, adversity, ill fortune.

**Ishuko:** A state of good contact between a person or a group and the mpanga, prosperity, good fortune.

**Iyikula:** Lowest and solo instrument in a set of three.

**Kace:** High instrument in a set of three.

**Kalimba:** General word for lamellaphone (three types).

**Kalindula:** Social dance music fashionable since the beginning of the 1980s.

**Kaluwe:** Hunting spirit. Type of possession; specialism: important work of communal interest, notably hunting.

**Kamponga:** Woman who helps one or more mediums during the rituals by taking over the solo line and teaching the chorus line to the chorus.

**Kankobele:** Most frequently played lamellaphone with eight keys and, in most cases, two upper keys; lowest key in the middle.

**Kaoma:** Small drum used for the accompaniment of Christian songs. Literal meaning: small drum.

**Katambala:** Daughter of fwan daula, fashionable in the 1970s.

**Kubuka:** Diagnostic session by a shing’anga.

**Kucitila:** Restorative kupupa with the purpose of removing ishamo. Literal meaning: solve, repair, heal.

**Kufuta makasa:** Ritual to end the heavy mourning period, some weeks after the burial. Literal meaning: to wipe out the footprints.

**Kukafyečila:** To heat the ritual.

**Kulila:** Kupupa through mourning and remembering with the purpose of preventing, sometimes resolving, ishamo. Literal meaning: mourn, cry, lament, produce sounds.

**Kunfwana:** Mutual understanding between the possessing spirit and the one being possessed.

**Kupika:** Heavy drumming by the master drummer, accompanying a solo in dancing.

**Kupupa:** Ritual acknowledgement of the mpanga.

**Kusansa:** Light drumming by the master drummer.

**Kuseluka:** Occasion at which the possessed has the spirits come down upon her.

**Kuwela:** The sustaining by the chorus of the last sound of the chorus line, often in parallel fourths.

**Kwagala:** Rejoicing, show liveliness.

**Kwilimuna:** Kupupa through rejoicing with the purpose of obtaining ishuko. Literal meaning: recharge, reactivate, celebrate.
Lumba: General term for popular music from neighbouring countries, especially Zaire and Zimb-abwe; also sometimes used to refer to Zambian popular music (‘town music’).

Maka: The energy/power the performer puts into the performance and/or the energy the performance releases with the audience.

Malimba: One-note xylophones (plural of ilimba), musical instruments in general and songs accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.

Mano: Brains, wisdom, considerateness.

Masamba: Dance skirt, only used by the spirit possessed.

Mashabe: Rare type of possession not current anymore in Chibale; specialism: problem solving including healing.

Mataba pa mbale: Enamelled tray with grains of maize (mataba) used as a musical instrument.

Mhendi: Social dance fashionable in the 1930s.

Moba: Type of possession that came to Chibale around 1912; in the 1980s it had become a rare type of possession; specialism: bringing new songs, dancing, giving-back.

Mpanga: The area untouched by humans, nature, the spirit world (natural and ancestral).

Mukonkonto: One or two wooden sticks used to beat on the side of the master drum (by another player than the master drummer).

Mulundu: The higher land between rivers.

Mu nsaka: Get-together of the men of one village or neighbouring villages with songs, stories and games.

Muntu: Living human being (plural: bantu).

Mupashit: Ancestral spirit.

Musango: Archetypical melody.

Mushe: Village, culture, the human world.

Mushila: Rules and life rules regulating the contact between human beings and the mpanga and between human beings among themselves.

Musowa wa mfwa: Spoken and lamented type of mourning in the presence of the corpse.

Mutima: Heart, intuition, self-centredness.

Mwami: Type of possession that came to Chibale in the beginning of the 1970s; specialism: problem solving including healing. Lenje term for ‘chief’. The plural abami is also used to refer to the possessing spirits.


Mwanang’anga: Apprentice-shing’anga.

Ndibu: Small bells worn by dancers and hunting dogs.

Ngolwa: Ocarina-like aerophone used by the honey-gatherer to call the honey bird.

Ngoma: Drum. Gathering with songs accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.

Nika: River.

Nkuttu: Temporary farm outside the areas around the passable roads where people do citemi.

Nsaka: Sheltered place where the men meet.

Nsangwa: Ankle-shaken idiophones, only used by the spirit possessed.

Nsansa: Happiness, joy.

Nsase: Social dance.

Nyimbo: Songs, the singing, the total sound of the ensemble including the singing, ‘music’; singular: lwimbo.
History and state of the art of music in Chibale in the 1980s

Pa kukafyecila: Specific performative actions that increase the quality of the ritual. Literal meaning: in order to heat the ritual.

Pa kwisha: Get-together in the evening, of the women and girls of one village or neighbouring villages with songs, stories, games and dances.

Panshi: Below, down there. Ritual music has to ‘go down’ and bounce up again and it ends panshi.

Pintu: Whistle consisting of two small bamboo flutes tuned approximately a major second apart. Nowadays often a police whistle. Used by mediums and hunters.

Sandauni: Modern types of beer party.

Sensenta: Paradigm of the form which controlled contact between the npanga and the village should have in and through music.

Shing'anga: Healer and possession cult leader; shing'anga were important exegetes.
Abstract

Four paths are followed in this thesis to make a contribution to enlarging the understanding of the central role of music in the regions of South Central Africa. An overview is provided of the music in Chibale, Zambia, in the 1980s: its state of the art, its history, its relationship to the musics of surrounding areas and its relations with social and cultural themes. A theory about music is formulated and the structural and the changeable, performative aspects of music are examined. Attempts are made to gain insight into the evaluation and interpretation of music: the relations that are felt to exist between body, mind and music, the aspects of music people pay attention to, the feelings (they are able to verbalise) they have while listening to music and the interpretation they make of song texts. The interpretations and evaluations of the expert utilisers of the music and the recipients of the music are presented and compared.

The methods informing this research are ethnographical, historiographical, analytical and quantitative. The extent of co-operation between exegetes and researcher, the endeavour to use Chibale concepts in the analysis and the quantitative methods used may differentiate it somewhat from other research in our field of study in the 1980s. We worked together using a dialogic method aiming at intersubjectivity between exegetes and researcher. The researcher tried to follow and make variations on the ideas of the exegetes in order to attain a more general idea of the representation, interpretation and value of music in Chibale. Chibale concepts and ideas were used where possible. In that way, trying to understand Chibale music also provides insight into how music was understood in Chibale. Since we studied the ideas of only a few people about the music of many people, it was necessary to combine working closely together with specialists with surveys of the general public. In a small number of cases we have been able to make a diachronic analysis of a feature, comparing the situation in the 1980s with that in the 2000s.

In the first chapter of the first part we go into the aims of this thesis, the necessity to come to intersubjectivity and the need for a form of the thesis that is, if only a little, less reductionistic than the traditional book form. The two other chapters of the first part provide short introductions to social themes, history and religion in Chibale, knowledge of which is needed to be able to understand the history and the state of the art of music in the 1980s that are described and analysed in the two other parts of the thesis.

In the second part a description is given of the repertoires of music in Chibale and their histories.

In Chapter 4 the forty-five musical instruments that were present or remembered in the 1980s are described as well as their history and occurrence in surrounding areas. Musical instruments played frequently were those used at large-scale gatherings, organised by possession cult groups, Christian cult groups or individuals with or without their kin or friends. Personal use of instruments, notably by men, had diminished in the period before the 1980s. The remaining instruments had disappeared or had not yet disappeared completely. Instruments not originating from Chibale were hardly played.
In Chapter 5 an overview and short descriptions are provided of the gatherings at which music was used as well as of their history and the occurrence of similar gatherings in surrounding areas. The history of beer parties and that of older and possession cult gatherings are examined. The lay-out, course of events and behaviour of drummers and dancers at the latter gatherings are described and, in Chapter 7, brought into relation with a theory about music. Large-scale gatherings had become more important during the twentieth century and could be visited by other people than those directly concerned with its organisers or purpose. This had its impact on the music and its performance at these gatherings as well as on its evaluation.

In Chapter 6 an overview of song types and their history is given. Due to a period of reduced attention for endogenous music between 1940 and 1970 combined with an historical tendency in music to change, adopt and adapt, the overview can only be tentative and the history is the result of reconstruction and hypothesising. The latter process eventually leads to a representation of the main historic song types in Chibale that does justice to their functions and the tensions between them.

An important concept in Chibale music was the *musango* which was the definition of the structure of a set of melodies that were considered to be essentially the same. The structure was defined as the features that could not be changed between the melodies within the *musango*. In Chapter 9 this is re-examined by studying the way people evaluated the use by performers of the degrees of freedom that resulted from these definitions of what is considered to be the same and what can not be changed. This had a strong relation with the social theme of the tensions between individuality and conformity.

The exchange of music between regions was and is so intense that differences between the musics of adjacent regions can mainly be found in the particular combination of the types used in a certain region and more especially in the way they are performed, applied and evaluated. In all the repertoires treated, the coherence between the regions forming the northern border of the parallel fourths area with the parallel thirds area is striking. This coherence seems to be historical and might have been strengthened by more recent developments like the development of the Copperbelt, which is situated completely within this area, and by the increasing dominance of Bemba language and culture in the area. At least during recent history, certain repertoires developed in one of the regions of this large area turned out to be meaningful for the other regions. That this was so has previously been obscured by thinking in terms of homogeneous and distinct cultures (tribes, ethnic groups) for the area as well as by the a priori assumption of the connection of language and culture. Even the culture in a small region like Chibale is not homogeneous, and most likely never was; on the other hand, its coherence with the much larger area mentioned is large.

In the third part of this thesis a number of subjects are discussed related to the representation, interpretation and evaluation of music in Chibale.

In Chapter 7 a theory about music is presented that was developed in co-operation with Mika Mwape Chungwa and a few other exegetes. It describes in detail how form and progress in music relate to form and progress of a productive contact between nature and culture. In an analogous way the latter also relate to form and progress of rituals. The basic musical form for the transitions and contacts between nature and culture is the *sensenta* form; the form for ritual is ‘heating, cooking.’ Both forms express
Abstract

and provide the controlled circumstances under which exchange between the human and the extrahuman can be effected. The number three is prominent in instruments, the composition of ensembles and in melodic form and progression. Correct progression of

The structural features of songs and singing were related to the musango while other features of music were - to a certain extent - changeable, performative and informed by the purpose and the scale of the occasion. In sections of the Chapters 5, 7 and 9 a number of features are examined that formed the structural departure point for performance while in the Chapters 7 and 9 the changeable features of music are discussed. Finally, the relations are analysed that existed between the ideas of the structural and performative in music and the experiences of the attendees at rituals. Performance was not a rendering as close as possible to ‘the original’ but was an expression of structural and contextual degrees of freedom (fya kusala) that were there while the structure would still be effective.

Chapter 8 starts with the presentation of three examples of the way that experiencing music was used to interpret the effect of music. Physical nearness made music more effective. The amount of energy put into the performance and aroused with other performers and the attendees was a condition for musical and ritual effectiveness. The feelings felt while hearing music we hypothesise to be part of an emotional feedback mechanism of its effectiveness.

In the 1980s, practically all people in Chibale, also the members of Christian cult groups, some of them having turned their backs to ‘Lala music’ experienced only two types of feelings, sorrow and joy, when listening to music. It is plausible that these feelings were related to ideas and concepts that were part and parcel of the older local cults in Chibale. The feelings of the people seem to react more slowly to change than ‘they themselves’ seem to do.

In the course of the thesis, a development is shown in the function of the feeling of joy. In former days joy, the showing of life energy, was a way of giving to the mpanga. It was also used with the intention of being granted a continuation of the state of good fortune or of preventing misfortune. Later, the feeling became detached of these intentions for many people and was experienced as ‘just fun’. A recent development is that of experiencing joy because of the goodness of the texts of Christian cult songs. So, in Chibale the feeling of joy can be related to four ‘systems’.

It was generally said that the text was the most important aspect for the interpretation of music. Since it was recognised that the song text took its meaning from the people using and hearing it, it was necessary to study song texts in context and to investigate what a large group of people would make out of the same song text. Examples are presented of the interpretation of the same song text by 146 people. In all examples, even in the case of rather straight-forward verses, divergent interpretations (re-framing) of the same, short text were found. In some cases, one third of the people indicated that they did not understand the text. Therefore, it is not advisable to take the interpretation by specialists as the interpretation of a song text, though this is quite common practice in literature. When comparing the interpretations of the five song texts as given by the exegetes and by the general public, three things can be noticed. The exegetes only rarely said that they did not understand a text, the range of different interpretations between exegetes was smaller than that between members of the general
public and, when interpretations differed much in nature, the differences between the
exegetes and the general public increased.

An extended case description of the contextual use of song texts is presented of an
Ipupo, a ritual marking the end of the mourning period. It does not only demonstrate
how important song texts were for the course of the ritual and shows the differences
between the interpretation of new and of already existing song texts, but it also provides
eamples of the processes that played in the real-time evaluation of music and describes
the tensions around the use of older rituals for new purposes and the tensions between
different types of spirit-possession. These tensions and oppositions all played within the
possession cults. It is illustrative for the heterogeneity in Chibale that for lack of interest
or knowledge these cults were considered a coherent grouping by a rather large part of
the population. The case also shows that the structural tensions between or within
groupings could function as performative elements in a ritual.

In Chapter 9, before discussing musical preferences and judgements in Chibale in the
1980s, the forms of evaluation that were practised, in real-time and from memory, are
discussed. The mistakes in music that according to many would prevent music from
being effective are discussed. When an evaluator found mistakes in the performance of
a song, she did not only give it a lower value score but also complained that the song did
not evoke feelings. The latter illustrates that feelings and the lack of feelings were used
as a feedback mechanism for the effectiveness of music.

The majority of the musical items that were preferred in Chibale in the 1980s were
performed at large-scale gatherings. Preferred performers predominantly performed at
the gatherings of the spirit-possessed, Ipupo and Cibombe.

To analyse the musical judgements, i.e. the reasons given for preferring a musical
item or a performer, criteria were used that were derived from four important consid-
erations as to music made in Chibale: the definition of what was worth evaluating, the
most important characteristic of music: its effect, the feelings felt while hearing music
and the way a musical item allowed a performer to play with its changeable features
within the framework of its structural features. Analysis shows two dimensions of eval-
uation in Chibale: the musical freedom-within-a-structure dimension that runs from
structural features to changeable features, and the effectiveness dimension that runs
from effect to feeling. A further aspect (belonging to both dimensions) is the appropri-
ateness of the item.

The real-time evaluation of songs is compared with the evaluation of songs from
memory. Certain types of judgements were used more or less as frequently in both
cases while others were used (much) more often in one case than in the other. This
seems to indicate that over time a part of the real-time judgements as to changeable fea-
tures changed into judgements as to structural features and, more often, into judg-
ements about its effect. We assume that the judgements of the effect of music for a
substantial part were caused by the digestion of the judgements about its performance.

One basic principle lies beneath all this: music must have effect - for music to be able
to have effect it has to be performed well (using freedom within a structure without
denying the latter) - for music to be able to have effect and for music to be performed
well a number of basic requirements have to be fulfilled.
Abstract

Synopsis

In deze thesis wordt op vier manieren getracht een bijdrage te leveren aan een beter begrip van de centrale rol van muziek in zuidelijk centraal Afrika. Na een inleidend deel bestaat de thesis daartoe uit een beschrijvend en een analytisch deel waarbij het laatste gericht is op de representatie, interpretatie en evaluatie van de muziek in Chibale, Zambia.

Ik geef een overzicht van de muziek in Chibale in de jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw. Ik ga in op de status van de muziek in die periode, haar geschiedenis, de verbanden tussen de muziek in Chibale en die van omliggende gebieden en de verbanden tussen muziek en sociale en culturele thema’s. Ik formuleer een theorie over muziek die enkele exegeten en ik samen ontwikkelden en behandel de structurele en de veranderbare, performatieve aspecten van muziek in Chibale. Ik probeer inzicht te krijgen in de manieren waarop muziek werd geïnterpreteerd en geëvalueerd: waar letten mensen op, wat voor (formuleerbare) gevoelens hebben zij tijdens het luisteren naar muziek, zijn er verschil- len in de interpretatie van muziek en zo ja, welke. Ik kijk hierbij ook naar de verschillen tussen de evaluatie en interpretatie door exegeten/specialisten en die door het ‘grote publiek’ in Chibale.

Voor het onderzoek maakte ik gebruik van etnografische, historiografische, analytische en kwantitatieve methoden. Wat het onderzoek enigszins onderscheidt van ander onderzoek in ons vakgebied in de jaren tachtig is de manier van samenwerken tussen de onderzoeker en exegeten, de poging om bij de analyse de in Chibale gebruikte begrippenkaders niet te zeer te verlaten en de gerichtheid op het grotere publiek waarbij kwantitatieve methoden werden gebruikt.

Ik werkte in dialoog samen met de specialisten in een poging om met hen te komen tot intersubjectiviteit. Ik trachtte tot een wat algemener, dat wil zeggen: niet alleen in rechtstreekse toepassing zich uittende, formulering te komen van de ideeën en toe- passingen van de specialisten wat betreft representatie, interpretatie en evaluatie. Waar mogelijk maakten we gebruik van door hen gebruikte concepten en ideeën. Op die manier hielpen de pogingen om tot begrip van de muziek in Chibale te komen ook om een idee te krijgen van de wijze waarop muziek in Chibale werd begrepen. Als tegen- wicht tegen het alleen werken met de concepten en ideeën van enkelvoud was het nodig om ook het ‘grote publiek’ in Chibale te onderzoeken.

In hoofdstuk 1 wordt kort ingegaan op de bedoelingen van deze thesis, de noodzaak om te komen tot intersubjectiviteit en de behoefte aan een vorm van de thesis die, al is het maar iets, minder reductionistisch is dan het traditionele boek.

In de hoofdstukken 2 en 3 worden korte inleidingen gegeven op sociale thema’s, geschiedenis en religie in Chibale. Kennis hiervan is nodig om de geschiedenis en status van de muziek in het Chibale van de jaren tachtig te begrijpen die in de twee overige delen van de thesis zullen worden beschreven en geanalyseerd.
In het tweede deel wordt een beschrijving gegeven van de verschillende muziekrepertoires in Chibale en van hun geschiedenis.

In hoofdstuk 4 worden de 45 muziekinstrumenten die er waren of werden herinnerd beschreven als ook hun geschiedenis en hun voorkomen in omliggende gebieden. De instrumenten die het meest bespeeld werden waren die welke gebruikt werden op grote bijeenkomsten, georganiseerd door bezetenheidscultusgroepen, christelijke cultusgroepen of individuen met of zonder hun familie of vrienden. Persoonlijk en kleinschalig gebruik van instrumenten, vooral door mannen, was sterk afgenomen in de periode voor de tachtiger jaren maar was nog steeds aanwezig. Andere instrumenten waren verdwenen of zo goed als verdwenen. Er werden nauwelijks instrumenten met een oorsprong van buiten Chibale bespeeld.

In hoofdstuk 5 worden een overzicht en korte beschrijvingen gegeven van de bijeenkomsten waarop muziek gebruikt werd als ook van hun geschiedenis en hun voorkomen in omliggende gebieden. Er wordt ingegaan op de geschiedenis van bierfeesten en van de rituelen van de bezetenheids- en oudere, lokale cultussen. De inrichting en het verloop van deze rituelen en het gedrag van drummers en dansers daarbij worden beschreven en, in hoofdstuk 7, in relatie gebracht met een in samenwerking met specialisten opgestelde theorie over muziek. Grote bijeenkomsten waren in de loop van de twintigste eeuw steeds belangrijker geworden en konden in de jaren tachtig vaak ook worden bezocht door anderen dan degenen die rechtstreeks bij de organisatoren of het doel betrokken waren. Dit had gevolgen voor de muziek van deze bijeenkomsten en haar evaluatie.

In hoofdstuk 6 worden een overzicht en korte beschrijvingen gegeven van de belangrijke liedsoorten in Chibale als ook van hun geschiedenis en hun voorkomen in omliggende gebieden. Omdat er in de periode van 1940 tot 1970 minder aandacht was geweest voor de lokale, niet-christelijke muziek en de muziek in de regio de neiging heeft om te veranderen, zich aan te passen en dingen van elders over te nemen is het gepresenteerde overzicht het resultaat van reconstructie en giswerk. Vanuit een eerste schematisch overzicht komen we aan het eind van het hoofdstuk tot een manier van representeren die meer recht doet aan de functies van de belangrijkste liedsoorten en hun onderlinge spanningen.

Een belangrijk concept in de muziek in Chibale was de musango. Dit is de definitie van de structuur van een verzameling melodieën die beschouwd worden in wezen gelijk aan elkaar te zijn. De structuur werd gedefinieerd als datgene dat niet kon verschillen tussen de melodieën uit één musango. De musango werd zeker niet alleen gebruikt voor muziek maar was een belangrijk concept in het begrippenkader van degenen in Chibale die betrokken waren bij de bezetenheids- en oudere, lokale cultussen en was gerelateerd aan het sociale thema individualiteit-conformiteit. In hoofdstuk 9 besteden we vervolgens aandacht aan de evaluatie van, aan de ene kant, de manier waarop een uitvoerende omging met hetgeen dat vastlag en, aan de andere kant, gebruik maakte van de mate van vrijheid die daaruit voortkwam.

De uitwisseling van onderdelen van muziek en ritueel tussen regio’s rond Chibale is zo intensief dat de verschillen tussen aanliggende regio’s hem vooral zitten in de bijzondere combinatie van soorten en in details in uitvoering, toepassing en evaluatie per regio. De samenhang tussen de regio’s die de noordgrens vormen van het parallele kwartengebied met het parallele tertsengebied is opvallend. Dit gebied is ongeveer drie
maal zo groot als Nederland. De samenhang is historisch maar werd waarschijnlijk ook in de hand gewerkt door de ontwikkeling van de Copperbelt, die geheel in dit gebied ligt, en de toenemende dominantie van de Bemba taal en cultuur in dit gebied. Tenminste gedurende de recente geschiedenis werden repertoires die ontwikkeld, aangepast of overgenomen waren in een van de regio's in dit gebied van waarde in de andere regio's. Doordat in diezelfde periode vooral gedacht werd in termen van homogene en te onderscheiden culturen (stammen, etnische groepen) is deze samenhang lange tijd niet opgemerkt door mensen van buiten deze gebieden. Ook de a priori aannames van de samenhang van taal en cultuur speelde hierbij een rol. In het bewuste gebied kunnen drie hoofdtalen worden onderscheiden. Via de genoemde a priori aannames omvat het dus drie te onderscheiden culturen. Bovendien wordt een van deze drie talen/culturen, waartoe die van Chibale ook wordt gerekend, gelijk gesteld met het Bemba. Hoewel dat op grond van de taal wel zou kunnen is dat op muzikaal en ritueel gebied niet mogelijk.

In dit licht stellen we dat het een fout zou zijn om ervan uit te gaan dat de cultuur in Chibale homogeen of onderscheidend zou zijn. Daartegenover staat dat de samenhang met een groot gebied op het gebied van muziek en ritueel groter is dan tot nu toe gedacht.

In het derde deel van deze thesis worden een aantal onderwerpen behandeld in verband met de representatie, interpretatie en evaluatie van muziek in Chibale.

In hoofdstuk 7 wordt een theorie over muziek gepresenteerd die werd ontwikkeld in samenwerking met Mika Mwape Chungwa en enkele andere specialisten. De theorie beschrijft in detail hoe de vorm en voorgang in muziek gerelateerd zijn aan de vorm en voortgang van een productief contact tussen natuur en cultuur. Op analoge wijze is er ook een verband met de vorm en voortgang van rituelen. De grondvorm van de muziek die een productief contact tussen natuur en cultuur reproduceert en produceert is de sensenta vorm, voor rituelen is dit verhitten, koken. Beide vormen zijn een uiting van het contact tussen natuur en cultuur maar voorzien ook in de gecontroleerde omstandigheden waarin dit contact kan plaatsvinden. Het getal drie speelt hierbij een belangrijke rol, bijvoorbeeld in toongroepen, instrumenten, samenstelling van ensembles en in melodische vorm en voortgang. De juiste voortgang van de drie toongroepen, instrumenten en dergelijke is van vitaal belang voor het verkrijgen van sensenta in muziek.

De structurele kenmerken van liederen en zingen stonden in verband met de musango terwijl andere kenmerken in zekere mate veranderbaar waren: performatief en onder de invloed van de omvang en het doel van de gelegenheid waarbij de muziek gebruikt werd. In delen van de hoofdstukken 5, 7 en 9 wordt een aantal kenmerken behandeld die de structurele uitgangspunten voor de uitvoering vormden terwijl in de hoofdstukken 7 en 9 wordt ingegaan op de veranderbare kenmerken van de uitvoering. Tot slot worden de verbanden geanalyseerd die bestonden tussen de ideeën over structuur en vrijheid daarin en de ervaringen van de aanwezigen bij een ritueel. De uitvoering was niet een zo getrouw mogelijke weergave van ‘het origineel’ maar was een uitdrukking van de structurele en performatieve vrijheidsgraden (fya kusala) die er waren terwijl de structuur nog steeds effectief was.

Hoofdstuk 8 begint met drie voorbeelden van de manier waarop het ervaren van muziek werd gebruikt als een middel om de effectiviteit ervan te bepalen. Fysieke
nabijheid maakte muziek effectiever. De hoeveelheid energie die in de uitvoering werd
gestopt en kon worden opgewekt bij andere uitvoerenden en de aanwezigen was een
voorwaarde voor muzikale en rituele effectiviteit. Het is niet onaannemelijk dat de ge-
voelens die men voelde tijdens het horen van muziek werkten als een soort emotionele
feedback mechanisme van de effectiviteit ervan.

In de jaren tachtig ervoeren bijna alle mensen in Chibale, ook de leden van
christelijke cultusgroepen, die zich gedeeltelijk of geheel hadden afgekeerd van alle 'Lala
muziek', slechts twee gevoelens, namelijk vreugde en verdriet, wanneer ze naar muziek
luisterden. Het is mogelijk dat de beperking tot deze gevoelens verband houdt met
ideeën en concepten die onderdeel waren van de oude lokale cultussen waarvan velen
zich afgekeerd hadden. Permitteer me de reificatie: de gevoelens van de mensen re-
ageerden langzamer dan 'de mensen zelf' leken te doen.

Op verschillende plaatsen in de thesis wordt de langzame verandering toegelicht die
heeft plaatsgevonden in de functie van gevoelens van vreugde. In vroeger tijden waren
vreugde en het tonen van levensenergie onderdeel van de uitwisseling tussen natuur en
cultuur. Zij werden ook 'ingezet' met het oogmerk om een toestand van voorspoed te
verlengen of om een toestand van tegenspoed te voorkomen. In een latere periode
raakte dit gevoel, door kerstening en invloeden van de stad, voor velen los van deze
bedoelingen en ervoeren zij het als plezier of lol. Een recente ontwikkeling is dat
vreugde wordt ervaren vanwege de liedteksten van de christelijke cultussen. In Chibale
kent het gevoel van vreugde dus vier historische 'bronnen'.

De tekst werd algemeen beschouwd als het belangrijkste aspect voor de interpretatie
van muziek. Daar men ook algemeen van mening was dat een liedtekst zijn betekenis
ontleende aan degenen die hem zongen en hoorden, was het nodig om liedteksten in
hun context te analyseren en om, naast de tekstinterpretaties door specialisten of de
brenger van een lied, de interpretaties van de ontvangers te peilen. Er worden vijf voor-
beelden gegeven van de interpretatie van dezelfde liedtekst door 146 mensen. In alle
gevallen, ook als er sprake was van tamelijk eenvoudige beelden, werden verschillende
interpretaties gegeven van dezelfde, korte liedtekst. Bij enkele van de liedteksten
gaf een derde van de respondenten aan de tekst niet te begrijpen. Het er eenvoudigweg
van uitgaan dat de interpretatie door een specialist dé interpretatie van de liedtekst is,
wat toch vrij algemeen gebruikelijk is, valt dus af te raden. Bij vergelijking van de inter-
pretaties door de specialisten en het publiek vallen drie dingen op. De specialisten
gaven zelden aan een tekst niet te begrijpen, de verschillen in interpretatie tussen de
specialisten waren kleiner dan die tussen de leden van het publiek en hoe groter de ver-
schillen in interpretatie waren, hoe meer verschil er was tussen de specialisten en het
publiek.

Er wordt een uitgebreide casus gepresenteerd van het gebruik in context van
liedteksten, op een Ipupo, een ritueel dat het eind van de rouwperiode markeerde maar
ook gebruikt kon worden om tegenspoed af te wenden. Deze casus laat zien hoe belan-
grijk liedteksten waren voor de voortgang van het ritueel en wat de verschillen waren in
de interpretatie van nieuwe en van al bestaande liedteksten. Daarnaast biedt het de
gelegenheid voorbeelden te geven van de evaluatie van muziek tijdens of vlak na de uit-
voering, de spanningen te beschrijven die ontstonden door het gebruik van oudere
rituelen voor nieuwe doeleinden en de tegenstellingen te beschrijven die bestonden
tussen de verschillende bezetenheidsoorten. Het is tekenend voor de heterogeniteit van
de ‘cultuur’ in Chibale dat al deze spanningen speelden binnen de bezetenheidscultussen die zelf door velen, bij gebrek aan kennis of interesse, werden beschouwd als een samenhangend geheel. De casus laat ook zien dat de spanningen en tegenstellingen tussen of binnen groeperingen konden worden ingezet als performatief element van rituelen.

In hoofdstuk 9 worden eerst de vormen van evaluatie besproken die werden gebruikt vanuit de herinnering en tijdens en vlak na de uitvoering. Ook worden de fouten die men kon maken in de uitvoering van muziek behandeld. Velen waren ervan overtuigd dat fouten het effect van de muziek zouden verminderen of zelfs wegnemen. Wanneer men fouten waarnam in een uitvoering, gaf men niet alleen een lagere waardering maar klaagde men ook dat het lied geen gevoelens opwekte. Dit laatste is een aanwijzing dat gevoelens werden gebruikt als een feedback-mechanisme voor de effectiviteit van muziek.

In de jaren tachtig gaf men in Chibale de voorkeur aan muzikale items die gerelateerd waren aan grote bijeenkomsten: bierfeesten, Iupu, Cibombe en christelijke cultusbijeenkomsten. Als het om uitvoerenden ging had men een voorkeur voor de bijeenkomsten waar de bezetenen uitvoerden: de Iupu en de Cibombe.

Voor de analyse van de muzikale voorkeuren voor items (liederen, dansen, bijeenkomsten, muziekinstrumenten) en voor uitvoerenden wordt gebruik gemaakt van criteria die zijn afgeleid van de vier belangrijkste elementen in beschouwingen van muziek die ik aantrof in Chibale: de omschrijving van wat het waard was om geëvalueerd te worden, de zorg voor de effectiviteit van muziek, de gevoelens die men had wanneer men muziek hoorde en de wijze waarop een uitvoerende speelde met structuur en vrijheid. De analyse toont dat er twee dimensies waren in de evaluatie van/ oordelen over muzikale items in Chibale: de eerste loopt van oordelen over de structuur van items tot oordelen over de mate waarin gebruik gemaakt wordt/kan worden van vrijheid; de tweede dimensie loopt van oordelen over het effect naar oordelen over de gevoelens die het item oproept. Een aspect dat in beide dimensies een rol speelt is daarnaast de mate waarin het item gelegenheid geeft tot oordeelsvorming.

Wanneer we de oordelen die werden gegeven vanuit de herinnering vergelijken met die welke vlak na de uitvoering werden gegeven valt het op dat bepaalde soorten oordelen in het ene geval veel vaker werden gebruikt dan in het andere. Na verloop van tijd werd een deel van de oordelen die men had tijdens of vlak na de uitvoering blijkbaar omgezet in anderssoortige oordelen. Zo werd een belangrijk deel van de oordelen, vlak na de uitvoering, over de vrijheid in de uitvoering omgezet in oordelen over het effect van de herinnerde muziek. We zouden daarom kunnen veronderstellen dat een belangrijk deel van de oordelen over het effect van herinnerde muziek veroorzaakt waren door een verwerking in de evaluator van oordelen over de uitvoering van die muziek.

Het bovenstaande over evaluatie is gebaseerd op de volgende samenhangende uitgangspunten:

Muziek moet effect hebben – om effect te kunnen hebben moet muziek goed uitgevoerd worden (met een mate van vrijheid die de structuur niet verloochent) – muziek kan alleen effect hebben en goed uitgevoerd worden als aan een aantal basisvoorwaarden is voldaan.

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History and state of the art of music in Chibale in the 1980s
Appendix A: Twenty years later

In this appendix we will briefly go into some of the changes and developments in Chibale in the period 1987-2007. The aim of these passages is to give depth to the 1980s material. I have no pretension to coverage of the state of the art of music in Chibale in the 2000s.

Some macro and meso developments in the period 1987-2007

Drinkwater (2006) gives an overview of certain developments on the national and district level in the period 1993-2005 (see Elaboration AppA-1). The period is not directly consecutive to the last research date in the 1980s, but the sample area, Teta, lies in Chibale chiefdom. The table is only meant to give an idea of these types of developments in Chibale.

The finding of semiprecious stones around 1993 and the subsequent, open-pit mining, predominantly by people from Chibale - the district government keeping away strangers - led to the emergence of local markets. Where in the 1980s the area counted three small shops, it has hundreds in the 2000s. Many paths have been turned into sand roads that are to a certain extent drivable. Trucks from town make and use them to buy the harvest. Nowadays many people run two agricultural enterprises, one with swidden cultivation in the woodlands where they live in temporary houses (nkutu) and another with gardens and fields in the neighbourhood of the one of the big sand roads, cultivating maize and/or plants that do not use fertilisers like sweet potatoes and beans. They stay in nkutu for some five months and for the remaining months they stay along the road. It is a way of getting by.

Going to town is an option only for youngsters with relatives in town. Most youngsters, however, think that starting a farm of their own is the better option. The average number of years spent in town now is six years for both sexes. This means that the younger generation hardly has any town experience. A new social layer has arisen that is school-educated and has some town experience. They have a certain self-awareness and have some interest in ‘local culture’ from a more reflective point of view.

Some developments in religion in the period 1987-2007

Most people (86%) are Christians now. Some new cults like the 7th Day Adventists, the Pentecostal Church, the New Apostolic Church and the Baptists have gained a following in Chibale. Possession cult groups are literally marginalised and can be found only far from the main sand roads. From a lack of good examples, shing’anga are marginalised to ‘witch-finders’. The religious functions performed by the previous chief have partly been taken over by the new one.

The rekindling of girls’ initiation in the 2000s

From the 1950s onwards the performance of the girls’ initiation, Cisungu, had diminished gradually to have almost completely disappeared by the 1980s. The result was that no form of sexual education was left since neither the Christian cult groups, nor the schools, nor the parents provided any. Especially girls in the age range 15 to 20 suffered a lot because of this lack of education, resulting in a heightened danger of contamination with diseases including AIDS and, secondly, in many early divorces, leaving the young mother with the small children. On the initiative of a small group of women, led by Aliyet Kabiki and banajubili Cisungu (see Photo AppA-1) was rekindled. This project (done without any external help) was originally aimed at problem girls. It has grown to include
girls who are not (yet) in trouble. The education consists of instruction through discus-

sion, music, dance and ritual. The beneficial results of this initiative are generally ac-

knowledged in Chibale. Undertones of women power exist in the rekindled Cisungu that

will be a reflection of the waning power of men because of the decrease of town labour

and because of help from outside, such as international aid programmes. Though

Chibale is not a particularly aid-ridden area, the word ‘gender issue’ is one of the only

longer English words known by all people.

We went through Cisungu in our youth. It lasted a month. Then the churches started

advising against having your daughter go through Cisungu. Now with the disappearance

of Cisungu and the coming up of Christian churches the girls grew up astray. Though

the churches were against Cisungu, they did not come with an alternative, for girls or for

boys. Why throw away a good thing you have, especially if nothing comes in its place?

We saw Cisungu disappear, in the same period the power of men grew through their

labour in town. And then there was the low opinion in that time of people for their own

culture, rules and doctrines (mafungo). This started changing in the mid-90s. Young men

may misbehave but we can’t have young women misbehaving: then the whole system gets

rotten. So to hold Cisungu is to take care of the area for the benefit of all (kisung’calo).

In 2003 there was a family having a lot of problems with their daughters. The daughters

were brought to us to be mended. We were chosen by that family because we were

already known to be able to help for that kind of trouble. We both have lived in town for

a large part of our lives. There a Cisungu of two weeks is normal. When we got back in

Chibale we found that such practices were not being done in Chibale. So our first group

consisted of girls who needed mending. Our second group consisted of a mixture of that

type of girl and of girls who were taught before they go astray. Because the parents have

to pay for the teaching (kafunda), some wait to put their daughter on it and later when

she has gone astray are forced to put her on.

The first group was visited by the chief and he invited us for a demonstration at the Ka-

bwelumushi festival. The group at the festival consisted of two girls who went through

Cisungu and four girls who only rehearsed for this occasion and will go through Cisungu

later.

The young marriageable girl always wants to start a family. Men can easily take advantage

of this. Though the churches pay special attention to those who are going to marry, those

marriages do not last long. Marriages following a Cisungu do.

There are new things like condoms and contraceptives, they should know what to do.

There are miniskirts and other things in their appearance that should not be used, they

should know what to do. There is AIDS, they should know. The old knowledge is exten-

ded with some new things.

The teaching is done in the house of the parents of one of the girls concerned. They stay

in the house for two weeks at a stretch during the school holidays. They only leave the

house, under a blanket, to wash and to go to the toilet.

The teaching is bundled in periods of three days. We teach by demonstration with

singing and dancing in the evening; then the girls practise and rehearse during the day,

also through singing and dancing, and we talk about that in the afternoon. During most

of the practising we are not present. Girls in the group who are about to get married get

more detailed information than the others.

There is no going into the mpanga by the girl but there still is the coming-out or final day

(bushiku bwa kubafiunya). The night before that day they continue to dance the whole

night and in the morning go to wash in the river and to be dipped in the water. During

the night before that eve the girls who went astray go to their parents dressed in only a

loincloth (mubinde) to beg for forgiveness (kidala panshi, ‘lay on the ground’) for their

misbehaviour. The girl lies just before the threshold and pleads her parents to reconcile. If

they do not react, we start mistreating the girl, e.g. by pouring cold water on her, until the

parents come out to ‘rescue’ her; they are now convinced that she has learned something.

(Aliyet Kabiki and banaJubili, personal communication, 2004)
The marriage ceremony in the 2000s

In the 1980s the marriage ceremony, Bwinga, was often a small ceremony. In the 2000s it can be a large festivity involving many people. The main reason for this is that certain Christian cult groups work together, e.g. Roman Catholics and UCZ, and that they are increasingly paying attention to the preparation of the marriage, especially instructing the partners, though not on sexual matters, as discussed above. The choir of the group performs at the ceremony which, like all gatherings, new and old, in Chibale, is a mixture of elements from former times and today, from inside Chibale and from outside.

The introduction of cultural heritage festivities in the 2000s

Around the year 2000 the district governments of Serenje and Mkushi district, together with the chiefs of the districts, took the initiative to have an annual festival celebrating their own culture. It is called Cibwelamushi after the name of the month in which people in former days used to return from their temporary homes (nkutu) near their citemi fields to their houses in the village. This was the first month of the beer season with a lot of celebrations and beer. At the Cibwelamushi festival, which is held in Chalata near the border between the districts, all chiefs from both districts are present as well as the district commissioners. Every chief has taken along noteworthy cultural material and people who can sing and dance certain old or present-day music.

In the same period chief Chibale started a cultural heritage festival celebrating his installation as a chief. People who perform well at this festival can be invited to perform at the Cibwelamushi. The festival is referred to by some as Kabwelamushi, another name for the same month, with the difference that ci- denotes something big and ka-something smaller, something typical for Chibale. At this festival people from all wards of Chibale chieftdom meet at the chief’s place. Every ward has taken along a drum with beer. At the festival the chief is ceremonially brought in carried on a carrier (macila) and then he sits on a special stool on a triangular podium. Ward officials and other officials form a public in a shaded fenced area while all other people crowd around a very large fenced area. In the fenced area performances and speeches are held.

The festival with its huge number of attendees, the outfit and entry of the chief and the performance of music and dance as a part of a cultural heritage and cultural identity festival are new for Chibale though in the 1980s the annual Agricultural Shows sometimes featured cultural heritage products be it much more informally. The outfit and entry were specially designed for the festival. Also the festive performance of certain music and dance such as cisungu and Civila is a new phenomenon that expresses the increased self-awareness and interest in ‘local culture’ as noted above.

Familiarity of the general public with musical instruments and song types in the 2000s

The familiarity has not changed very much. Some instruments and song types have become better known, like the Christian cult music instruments and lumba. Women’s songs have become much better known in as far as they are connected to the rekindled girls’ initiation but far less known when they are connected with the Pa kwishita. Most men’s personal instruments are less known now. Some less frequently played instruments are still known very well like the ilimba that has become recognised as typical for Chibale.
Occurrence of gatherings with music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small-scale</th>
<th>Beer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No beer</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dancing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family circle</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pa kwisha ♂</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu nsaka ♂</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubuka</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupupa</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Large-scale</th>
<th>Beer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No beer</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dancing</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian cult</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cililo 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cililo 3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetings</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shows</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

List AppA-1: Gatherings with music in Chibale in the 2000s, types and frequencies. Following each name is an estimation of how often the gathering was organised:
1 - rarely if ever, 2 - infrequently, 3 - occasionally, 4 - frequently.
In some cases the type of gathering does not occur less than in the 1980s but music and/or dance are used less during the gathering.

Favourite instruments, songs and dances in the 2000s

The coming up of Christian cult music and *lumba* is not reflected in the preferences for musical instruments. The drum is even more popular than in the 1980s: 52% against 40%, the *kalindula* instruments are far less popular: banjo 8% against 21% and the babatoni 1% against 13%. It is likely this is related to the fact that live *kalindula* has become less important and that the *kalindula Cila* has almost disappeared. Instruments that are not present in Chibale like the guitar are favoured by only 2% of the people.

The increase in the popularity of Christian songs is large: 57% of the people favoured them against 25% in the 1980s. Decreased are especially possession songs: 5% against 29%, but also *kalindula*: 12% against 22% and older social dance songs: 4% against 9%. *lumba* and other ‘town music’ have increased from 5% to 9%.

With favourite dances it is striking that the attitude towards dancing is a lot more relaxed: only 5% of the respondents, against 27% in the 1980s, say that they do not (like to) dance themselves. This is probably caused by the fact that dancing has become far less important. The stages for watching dancing: the gatherings at which the possessed danced, the *kalindula Cila* and to a lesser extent the *Sandauni*, have decreased enormously in importance, while dancing oneself also occurs less. The popularity of possession dances decreased from 36% to 11%, that of *kalindula* dances from 28% to 21%. The pop-
ularity of the Christian cult dances increased from 0% to 19%. As described in Chapter 7 under *Other theories about music*, the Christian cult music, except for that of the Jehovah's Witnesses, has been in a process of adaptation to the people's needs, i.e. in the way that these needs were observed from outside. The popularity of dances to musics from town or the radio has increased from 7% to 19%. This has to do with the opportunity for dancing to radio and cassette and CD-music that the bars near places with shops provide. The dancing is ‘just dancing’, i.e. not meant to be better than that of another. The proportion of western music is still negligible: just one preference out of 414 preferences for songs, dances to dance and dances to watch.

In short, the major trends are that the popularity of possession cult music and live *kalindula* has declined enormously while that of Christian church music and *lumba*, played via radio or cassette or CD-player has increased considerably. Christian cult occasions and, to a lesser extent, *Cisungu* have become the major occasions for live music with participation of most people present.
**Elaboration AppA-1: Overview of certain developments on the national and district level in the period 1993-2005 from Drinkwater (2006)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Zambia - 1993-2005</th>
<th>Chibale chiefdom (Teta) - 1993-2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political</strong></td>
<td><em>Macro level trend</em></td>
<td><em>Meso level trends</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Multi party democracy</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Establishment of more Rural health Centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Decentralisation policy</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in NGOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Deterioration in govt. services</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Introduction of community school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional councillors</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Decentralisation of health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- District Council</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in orphans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td><em>Decreased rate of urbanisation</em></td>
<td>- Population increase (migration &amp; birth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td><em>User fees</em></td>
<td>- Reduced attendance in schools / Increase in pupil enrolment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td><em>Structural adjustment policies</em></td>
<td>- Introduction/training of CHWs and TBAs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Structural adjustment policies</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Malaria control program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Reduction in agricultural input supply</td>
<td></td>
<td>- More HIV awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increase in production</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in orphans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increase in IGAs for women</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Improved farming knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Improved markets</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Improved sanitation (wells, pit latrines, atl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Liberalisation of pricing</td>
<td></td>
<td>- No more cattle loans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subsidised inputs</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Opening of new fields</td>
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<tr>
<td>Natural resources</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increased land degradation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Opening of new fields</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Reduction in cattle population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increased land degradation</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Introduction of fish ponds and bee keeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increase in gardens</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in vegetable production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increase in small-stock</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Increase in sunflower &amp; cassava production</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in sweet potato pests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Introduction of conservation farming</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Increase in grinding mills</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infra-structure</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Introduction of oil press</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Introduction of trading premises</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix B: Quantitative research

In this appendix we will briefly go into the set-up of the surveys and the multivariate analysis techniques used.

1. Some considerations that led to the set-up of the surveys
2. Set-up and performance of the two surveys
3. Questionnaire Survey 1985/86
4. Questionnaire Survey 1987
5. Questionnaire Survey 2004
6. Correspondence and homogeneity analysis

1. Some considerations that led to the set-up of the surveys

The surveys were set-up in the middle of the 1980s. Some of the considerations that led to the set-up of the surveys based on the literature and practice of that period are given here.

Data collection techniques

Various techniques of data collection are used in quantitative research into musical evaluation. Important differences in techniques can be summarised as follows.

1. Verbal orientation: Some forms of data collection are completely verbal, while others use music examples.

2. Structuredness: One can work with a prestructured lists of names of genres or prestructured music examples or one can leave it to the respondents to mention the names of genres they prefer. One can ask the respondents to choose one or more answers from prestructured lists of answers or one can work with open questions as to why certain choices were made, what kind of feeling one had while listening to the music and the like.

3. Ordering: In some techniques, if prestructured lists are used, the respondents may be asked to choose preferred names or examples of genres or to rate or to order names or examples of genres. In addition, the respondents may be asked to order the presented genres according to one or more given qualities or to fill out a ‘semantic differential’ for each genre presented.

Classification of the music used

For the music of western Europe and the United States of America one can find preference studies in which names like ‘pop music’, or ‘classical music’ or music examples intended to represent them, are used in all seriousness. One does not have to stretch one’s imagination to realise that results may be of little value when indefinite subdivisions like that are used.
One should not use style names or style examples without checking their classification in genres by the respondents. Nor should one use genre names or music examples without asking the respondents for examples in words, that is instances of similar songs, performers or composers. It is possible that the same name means something else for the different groups among the respondents.

If the researcher has reasons to believe that her division of the repertoire is more useful, for instance when two equally important but highly divergent genre classification principles are in use, she should take care to ‘translate’ this convincingly into the names, if possible, or in the music examples she uses.

In general one can say that it is better to let the problem of a useful classification be an a posteriori one and to leave it to one well-informed person (the researcher), who, before, during and after the survey, gathers as much information as necessary, instead of leaving it to many persons of various, indefinite levels of knowledge and intention (the respondents).

**Validity of lists and music examples**

Even if we assume that it is sufficiently clear what each name or example stands for, validity is still a problem, with both lists of names and music examples.

1. **Representativeness**: The list of genre names should represent a known part of the total repertoire, preferably the total repertoire. Due to restrictions of time the music examples will never represent all genres. The researcher will try to make them ‘as typical as possible’ for the total repertoire or will consciously restrict the study to a part of the repertoire.

2. **Genuineness**: In many cases the picking of preferred genres out of a presented list or the rating of genres on a list will be far removed from the normal forms of evaluation practised by the respondents; to a lesser extent the same holds true for the evaluating of music examples. Secondly, lists of answers may induce the respondent to pick out socially desirable, extraordinary, or other answers he normally would never have given himself, while with music examples one may measure more short-term choice and judgement than desirable. People who are used to evaluating music outside the performance situation will have fewer problems with the verbal techniques. For others it will be better to use music examples or combine lists and music examples. If practicable, interviewing during the performance or during video or film playback may be a good, though presumably very time-consuming solution to the problem of genuineness (compare Stone & Stone 1981).

**Rating, choosing and mentioning**

Rating produces many data about the degree of liking of the various items on the list or of the examples. Choosing and mentioning give less data: one or a few favoured and disfavoured genres (versus all other genres). Rating-data are more precise and statistically more easily processable. The precision, however, must not be overrated: asking respondents to estimate the distance between, say, two towns in millimetres will yield a sort of precise data. In general, one should be careful with techniques the prime advantage of which is the statistical neatness of the data they yield. The neatness should be a bonus of the technique, not its essence.
Appendix B

‘Far better an approximate answer to the right question, which is often vague, than an exact answer to the wrong question, which can always be made precise’ (Tukey’s most important maxim for data analysis, cited in Gifi 1981: 21).

The data resulting from choosing or mentioning preferred genres as well as the data representing the reasons for rating, choosing or mentioning are statistically less neat and more laborious. On the other hand they contain more information. When comparing the reasons that will be given for rating and mentioning/choosing respectively, it is likely that reasons given for a preference (or dislike) will be more veritable than reasons given for the multitude of rating scores.

Consensus or divergence

To obtain quantitative data about subjective matters, like the feelings and meanings that are communicated by or through music, and to find out something about the reasons behind choices without directly asking for them, psychologists sometimes use the semantic differential which was introduced by Osgood in 1952 (C.E. Osgood: The nature and measurement of meaning. Psychological Bulletin 49 (1952): 197-237). In general, for a semantic differential the respondents rate a series of notions, feelings, or examples of songs, aromas or colours, on a number of polar adjective scales. The adjectives used mostly are associative, like ‘calm - agitated’, ‘masculine - feminine’, or ‘light - heavy’. The polar pairs should correspond as little as possible and should differentiate between the objects (notions, songs, etc) as much as possible. Often pairs are chosen by the researcher that are known to yield statistically convenient data. Jost (1982: 264) makes out a case against the associative form of this technique by arguing that the requirements the polar pairs have to meet will make the differential as a matter of course yield homogeneous results (the underlying ‘consensus feelings or meanings’). He adds that divergent attitudes manifest themselves much more in value judgements than in associations or metaphors.

When one is interested in divergence of opinion and feeling, or when one refuses to take the implicit assumption of consensus for granted, one should not use the (associative) semantic differential and, secondly, one should ask for the reason, close as it is to judgement, for choosing, rating or mentioning.

Choice and reason

It is striking that in almost all musical preference research, which incidentally is mainly psychologically or sociologically oriented, the term ‘preference’ has lost much of its judgement character. It is used to refer to the respondents’ choosing or rating, not to the reasons they had for choosing or rating. See, for instance, Kuhn’s definition of preference: “act of choosing, esteeming, or gaining advantage of one thing over another through statement, rating scale response, or choice made from among two or more alternatives” (cited in Boyle 1982: 12).

Fox & Wince (1975: 199) first define a ‘taste public’ as “people who make similar choices for similar reasons”, but their research only deals with choices, not with reasons. Consensus as to the reason for a preference is often implicitly assumed. Furthermore, it is only sometimes that the researcher theorises about the possible reasons behind the choosing or rating. This practice presumably can be explained by the fact that most preference research was (and is) directed to political and consumer choice behaviour
and that the methods and techniques for the collection and handling of that kind of
straight-forward quantitative data were well-developed and available at the time mu-
sical preference research was started.

2. Set-up and performance of the two surveys

Survey 1985/86

During the interviews of 259 people over fourteen years of age, a list of questions was
used about musical preferences and a number of other issues. The survey was held
when I had been in the Chibale for 6 months in total, during a period of reduced agri-
cultural activity.

The sampling area was equal to the research area (see Map I-1). The population of the
survey formed around 4.5% of the total population at that time. Care was taken that the
survey population contained groups of more or less comparable size as to sex, age and
place of residence within the research area.

The interviewing was done by young men from Chibale who had just finished sec-
ondary school. No women were willing to do interviews. The questionnaires were trans-
lated into Lala and every interviewer did some test interviews, not only for himself to
get used to it but also to reformulate questions that turned out to be difficult for the re-
pondents. The interviewers wrote down the answers to the questions in English if the
answers had already been given before or in Lala if they were new or in any other sense
divergent.

During the survey we daily discussed how things were proceeding. It was necessary
to keep a close watch on the way the interviewers handled the open questions. They
were expected not to be content with each answer given. Some respondents tended to
give informationless, ambiguous or evasive answers, for instance “I prefer Katumpa as a
dancer because she dances so well”. Another problem discussed in these sessions was
that of the differences in age, status or sex between the interviewers and many of the re-
pondents. Also discussed was how to accustom the respondent as much as possible to
the interview situation.

The average length of the interview was a little more than two hours, which was near
to the maximum time respondents could concentrate. The respondents received a
present of salt, sugar or soap after the interview, equal to the payment for half a day’s
work.

The non-response bias of the survey was small. Only in few cases someone refused to
be interviewed. In two cases a respondent stopped the interview before it was finished.
A number of Jehovah’s Witnesses among the respondents, approximately a third,
answered questions about spirit-possession only reluctantly, or refused to answer. To
minimise the effects of this, questions pertaining to possession were asked at the end of
the interview.
Survey 1987

During the interviews of 146 people over fourteen years of age, the respondent listened with a headphone to nine songs played on a cassette-recorder. Of each song the first 60 to 80 seconds were played. After each song the same list of questions was gone through (for the questionnaire see further).

Because of limited time available, the survey was done in a busy time, so that most interviewing had to take place in the afternoon. As to the personal data and musical knowledge the survey was almost the same as Survey 1985/86. A short section was added to obtain information about the respondents’ views on the similarities and dissimilarities between seven well-known musical instruments and between six well-known song types.

The main part of this survey was the section where nine songs were played for the respondent. After each song the same questions were asked. These were questions for a value score, the reason for that score and the feelings experienced while hearing the song. As to song text interpretation, the respondents were asked what they considered to be the message or main subject of the song, followed by a detailed question about the text of that specific song. From the reasons for preferences as collected in Survey 1985/86 six main types of reasons for preferring a song were deduced. It was checked whether the respondent found one of these applicable or not applicable to the song in question. Then followed short questions about the song type, the occasion at which it was normally sung, the performer(s), possible mistakes in the performance, the energy (maka) in the performance, whether the song was related to one of the sexes or not, whether it was typically Lala or not, whether it belonged to the fast, light (lupubile) or the heavy (lukule’shiwi) type of songs, and lastly whether the song could be used for kupupa.

I had planned to play twelve songs for each respondent. These songs were recorded on four cassette tapes to be used by the three or four young men who would do the interviews. After some tests twelve songs turned out to be too demanding, because the time necessary to go through the list of questions after each song was longer than expected. So I decided to reduce the number of songs to nine. Since I had only one recorder with me I was not able to reorder the twelve songs and decided to drop the last three songs. This was to avoid the interviewers having to search the beginning of the next recording when skipping one. This was not only impracticable because the cassette players used headphones, but it also interrupted the interviews. The only option I had left was to have the interviewer play song 1 to 9 for one informant and song 4 to 12 for the other or any other such sequences. However, this would have reduced the number of respondents for songs 1, 2, 3, 10, 11 and 12 to a low 50 (in that stage I was expecting some 100 respondents). So eventually I simply dropped the last three songs: a song with kalimba (lamellaphone) accompaniment, a hymn of the Watchtower Society (Jehovah’s Witnesses) and a song by the choir of the UCZ church in Chibale village. It was especially unfortunate that no Christian song was present among the songs played because this was an important song type.
3. Questionnaire Survey 1985/86

The questionnaire was put in ciLala. Here a translation in English is presented.

A Personal data
1. Name
2. Sex
3. Place of residence
4. Clan
5. Year of birth (if necessary estimated)
6. Place of birth
7. Marital status and history
8. Number of children
9. Education
10. Christian church membership and change(s) of membership
11. Form(s) of farming
12. Help in farming if yes: form(s) of help
13. Contentment with yield
14. Types of crops and yield
15. Types of supplementary income
16. Town experience when, how long, which town(s), reasons for stay
17. If informant is a woman: did you go through Cisungu? If yes at what age where by whom (relation to the initiator), how long did it take how long after Cisungu did you marry?
18. If married: questions 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10 and 16 about the partner.

B Gatherings
1. What different types of gatherings old or new, with music or dance do you know?
2. Which of these gatherings do you visit? (never)/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often.
3. Reasons for attending gatherings mentioned in 2.
4. Did you ever organise one or more of these gatherings? If yes, how often?
5. Reasons for organising gatherings mentioned in 4.
6. If Ipupe mentioned in 4:
   a. For whom (relation) was it held?
   b. How much time after death was it held?
   c. Was more than one Ipupe held for this deceased?
   d. Did the mipashi ask for it? If yes how?
   e. Was beer offered (kupupa) to the deceased/mupashi? If yes: where and when?
   f. What dances were danced at the Ipupe? If applicable around what time did the Ngwilwa stop dancing?
7. What are the major differences between the present and the older Bwalwa?

C. Knowledge of names of musical instruments and dances?
1. Can you mention as many (types of) musical instruments as possible?
2. Can you mention as many (types of) dances as possible?
3. Can you name one or more persons who know much about the music and dance of Chibale?
Appendix B

Name, age, place of residence, types about which (s)he knows much.

D Preferences, playing of instruments
1a What is, for your whole life, your favourite song, or type of song, to sing? (If the latter give an example)
   b Why is it your favourite?
2a What is, for your whole life, your favourite song, or type of song, to listen to? (If the latter give an example)
   b Why is it your favourite?
3a What is, for your whole life, your favourite dance to dance?
   b Why is it your favourite?
4a What is, for your whole life, your favourite dance to watch?
   b Why is it your favourite?
5a What is, for your whole life, your favourite gathering?
   b Why is it your favourite?
6a What is, for your whole life, your favourite musical instrument?
   b Why is it your favourite?
   c Did or do you play any musical instrument? If yes: which instruments, how did you learn to play it/them? If learned from someone: relation to this person. Do you play never anymore/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
7a Who is, for your whole life, your favourite dancer? Name, age, place of residence, period, type(s) in which (s)he excels/excelled.
   b Why is it your favourite?
8a Who is, for your whole life, your favourite drummer? Name, age, place of residence, period, type(s) in which (s)he excels/excelled.
   b Why is it your favourite?
9a Who is, for your whole life, your favourite singer? Name, age, place of residence, period, type(s) in which (s)he excels/excelled.
   b Why is it your favourite?
10a Who is, for your whole life, your favourite bringer of new songs? Name, age, place of residence, period, type(s) in which (s)he excels/excelled.
   b Why is it your favourite?

E Miscellaneous
1. Can you give the names of the chiefs that preceded the present chief Chibale, if possible in the correct order?
2. Can you mention some mishila? For each mishila mention if it is still followed?
3a Do you visit the Rural Health Centre (icipatala) never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
   b Do you visit a shing’anga never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
   c With a and b: why (not)?
   d What is the difference in treatment between RHC and bashing’anga?
4a Is it true what people say that there is more witchcraft and/or illness nowadays?
   b Why (not)? If yes: since when has this changed?

F Possession
1a Can you mention as many types of possession as possible?
   List: Ciwila; Kaluwé; Mashabe; Moba; Mwami; Imfunguni.
   b What are the differences (between the types mentioned or recognised)?
2 For what reason(s) are Cibombe held?
3 For what reasons are people possessed?
   List: illness; witchcraft; madness; lack of Christianity; by accident; to fight illness and witchcraft; to get attention.
4. Questionnaire Survey 1987

The questionnaire was put in ciLala. Here a translation in English is presented.

A Personal data
1. Name
2. Sex
3. Place of residence
4. Clan
5. Year of birth (if necessary estimated)
6. Place of birth
7. Marital status and history
8. Number of children
9. Education
10. Christian church membership and change(s) of membership
11. Form of farming
12. Help in farming if yes: form(s) of help
13. Contentment with yield
14. Types of crops and yield
15. Types of supplementary income
16. Town experience when, how long, which town(s), reasons for stay
17. Do you visit Cililo never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
18. Do you visit church never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
19. Do you visit Ipupo never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
20. Do you visit Cibombe never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
Appendix B

21. Do you visit Sandauni never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
22. Did you ever organise any of these gatherings? How often?

B Knowledge of names of music instruments and songs, playing an instrument
1. Can you mention as many (types of) musical instruments as possible?
2. Can you mention as many (types of) songs as possible?
3. Which instruments do/did you play? For each instrument: do you play it never anymore/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?

C (Dis)similarity between instruments and between songs
1. Which of the following instruments are very similar, which of them very different?
List: ngoma, banjo, cisekele, ilimba, babatoni and kalimba.
2. Which of the following song types are very similar, which of them very different?
List: shabaCiwila, kalindula, katambala, ilimbalakata, shabanaMwami and shaCililo.

D Nine songs
* The first 40 to 75 seconds of each of the songs were first played an a cassette recorder. Apart from the fifth question, all questions were the same for all songs.
1. How much do you like this song? (0-6)
2. Why do you like it that much?
3. What did you feel when hearing the song?
4. What is the message of the song?
5. Specific question about the song text (listed below).
6. What is most important for you in this song?
List: its effect, its message, the entertainment it gives, the way it is sung and/or played, the fact that it can be sung at an important occasion /for an important reason.
7. What is the least important for you in this song?
List: its effect, its message, the entertainment it gives, the way it is sung and/or played, the fact that it can be sung at an important occasion /for an important reason.
8. What type of song is it?
9. When can it be sung?
10. Who is the performer/who are the performers?
11. Is there any cileya (mistake) in the performance?
12. How much maka (energy, power) does the song have? (0-6)
13. Are there many different meanings in the song? (0-6)
14. How educating is the song? (0-6)
15. Is the song for women only, men only, or for both?
16. Is the song a Lala song?
17. Is the song light or heavy?
18. Can the song be used for kupupa?
Question 5 was specific for each song.
1.5 Why is it ishamo to see a kanunushi?
2.5 Is this song to teach or to show sorrow?
3.5 What is meant by cancole ubanda nshila?
4.5 Why are people praised in this song?
5.5 What is meant by kuli amalwe bakayobela halile?
6.5a What is meant by alila miwinamina akula panshi?
   b What is meant alila sensenta?
   c Why do they (suddenly) end with: nashala nenka bantengamina?
7.5 No specific question.
8.5 Why should certain people come and help?
9.5a What is meant by panse palba kufwa?
   b Why does the singer find it important to remind us of the fact that there is death in this world?

5. Questionnaire Survey 2004
A. Personal data
1. Name interviewed:
2. Sex
3. Place of residence
4. Clan
5. Year of birth (if necessary estimated): 19 .
6. Place of birth: Chibale - Serenje/Mkushi - Town Lala parent(s) - No relation with Lala
7. Marital status and history
8. Number of children
9. Education
   When 20: non-Chr - JW - UCZ - RC - SDA - other.
11. Form of farming
12. Types of crops and yield
13. Contentment with yield
14. Help in farming if yes: form(s) of help
15. Types of supplementary income
16. Town experience when, how long, reasons for stay
17. Do you visit church never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
18. Do you visit Cabombe never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
19. Do you visit Cililo never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
20. Do you visit Ipupo never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
21. Do you visit Maket never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
22. Do you visit Sandauni never/rarely/sometimes/regularly/often?
23. Did you ever organise any of these gatherings? How often?
24. If the respondent organised Ipupo:
   a. For whom (relation) was it held?
   b. How much time after death was it held?
   c. Was more than one Ipupo held for this deceased?
   d. Did the mipashi ask for it? If yes how?
   e. Was beer offered (kupupa) to the deceased/mipashi? If yes: where and when?
   f. What dances were danced at the Ipupo? If applicable around what time did the mediums stopped dancing?
Appendix B

B. Knowledge of names of music instruments and songs, playing an instrument

1. Can you mention as many (types of) musical instruments as possible? (2: mentioned by respondent; 1: recognised)

2. Can you mention as many (types of) songs as possible? (2: mentioned by respondent; 1: recognised)

3. Which instruments do/did you play? For each instrument: do you play it never anymore/rarely/ sometimes/ regularly/often?

4. Can you name one or more persons who know much about the music and dance of Chibale? Name, age, place of residence, types about which (s)he knows much.

C. Preferences

1a. What is, for your whole life, your favourite song, or type of song?
   b. Why is it your favourite?

2a. What is, for your whole life, your favourite dance to dance?
   b. Why is it your favourite?

3a. What is, for your whole life, your favourite dance to watch?
   b. Why is it your favourite?

4a. What is, for your whole life, your favourite gathering?
   b. Why is it your favourite?

5a. Who is, for your whole life, your favourite instrument? For what type of music?.
   b. Why is (s)he your favourite?

6a. Who is, for your whole life, your favourite dancer? Name, age, place of residence, period, type(s)
   in which (s)he excels/excelled.
   b. Why is (s)he your favourite?

7a. Who is, for your whole life, your favourite singer? Name, age, place of residence, period, type(s)
   in which (s)he excels/excelled.
   b. Why is (s)he your favourite?

D. Seven songs
   * The first 40 to 75 seconds of each of the songs were first played an a cassette recorder. Apart from
     the fifth question, all questions were the same for all songs.
   1. How much do you like this song? (0-6)
   2. Why do you like it that much?
   3. What did you feel when hearing the song?
History and state of the art of music in Chibale in the 1980s

4. What is the message of the song?
5. Specific question about the song text (listed below).
6. What is most important for you in this song?
   List: its effect; its message, the entertainment it gives, the way it is sung and/or played, the fact
   that it can be sung at an important occasion /for an important reason.
7. What is the least important for you in this song?
   List: its effect; its message, the entertainment it gives, the way it is sung and/or played, the fact
   that it can be sung at an important occasion /for an important reason.
8. What type of song is it?
9. Is there any ciley (mistake) in the performance?
10. How much maka (energy, power) does the song have? (0-6)
11. Are there many different meanings in the song? (0-6)
12. Is the song lupuble or luleme?

Question 5 is specific for each song.
1.5 What is meant with: ‘Natutashe Imfumu Lesa - Incende yakwe ikatami - Mucifulo cabulamba
   bwakwe?’
2.5 Why does the player stop playing kalimba when the dead in the mpanga have been awoken?
3.5 Is this a song to rejoice or of dispar - Lwimbo ululi luli kwangala nangu kushama?
4.5 What is meant by: ‘Yehovah Lesa akabalubula lumbi lubuto lobe?’
5.5 What is meant by: ‘Waliya abana - Wewampa kalala kalilowe ne’ng’anda’?
6.5 Why does the singer mean with: ‘Ngoma ya balumbwana’?
7.5 Why does the singer says about herself: ‘nekabwa netunga’?

6. Correspondence and homogeneity analysis

These techniques are more inspiring than the study of crosstables because relations
between the categories of the variables are visualised in a two or three dimensional
space: a plot, in which the linkage between two categories (that is the weighted score
of their mutual cell) is expressed as the distance between the points representing them
in the plot. If the score is high, they are placed close to each other, and if low, far from each
other. In this way, distance is used as a metaphor for difference. Secondly, the dimen-
sions of the plot allow for further interpretations that are not easily found when only
examining the numbers in the crosstable.

One of the goals of correspondence analysis is to describe the relationships between two
nominal variables in a correspondence table in a low-dimensional space, while simul-
taneously describing the relationships between the categories for each variable. For each
variable, the distances between category points in a plot reflect the relationships
between the categories with similar categories plotted close to each other. Projecting
points for one variable on the vector from the origin to a category point for the other
variable describes the relationship between the variables. (Help topic 'Correspondence
Analysis' within SPSS for Mac OSX)

Homogeneity analysis is similar to correspondence analysis but is not limited to two
variables. As a result, homogeneity analysis is also known in the literature as multiple
correspondence analysis. Homogeneity analysis can also be viewed as a principal com-
ponent analysis of nominal data. (Help topic 'Homogeneity Analysis' within SPSS for
Mac OSX)