

62. Ranger (1966, 1967, 1970); Garbett (1966).
63. Though there is already some literature on the colonial political role of Tonga and Ila mediums: Rotberg (1967):75; Smith and Dale (1920):11; Schlosser (1949):44f; Colson (1962):223f.
64. In addition to the attention they already received from the medical side: Leeson (1969); Savage King, personal communication.
65. Colson (1969):85.
66. Cf. Beattie and Middleton (1969b):xxviiiif.
67. Sundkler (1961):302.

### Chapter 3 The history and sociology of territorial cults in Zambia

1. The material for this chapter derives from the following sources: (a) most available written material relevant to territorial cults in Zambia, with special emphasis on academic publications and with virtual neglect of two important categories of data: archival sources and early accounts by European travellers and missionaries; (b) my own research on various forms of religion in contemporary Zambia, and on urban-rural relationships among the Nkoya. I am indebted to T.O. Ranger, J.K. Rennie, J.M. Schoffeleers, J. van Velsen, R.P. Werbner and M. Wright for criticism of earlier drafts; and to R.S. Roberts for final editorial efforts.
2. Schoffeleers (1972b).
3. Smith and Dale (1920):II, 140f; Schlosser (1949):29f., 44f; Colson (1960):165; (1962):84-5; (1969):69-103, especially 77; (1971):226-7; Cunnison (1950):31; Torrend (1906-9):548-9; Doke (1931):230-1. For a Malawian parallel of the prophetic alternative to shrine cults, see Schoffeleers (1972c).
4. For a summary of the relevant literature on Zambian non-communal rain-calling specialists, see Reynolds (1963):128-9.
5. White (1960):46; Turner (1957):319-20.
6. Schoffeleers (1979b).
7. Typical examples are found in Stefaniszyn (1964):155-6; Brelsford (1946):135; Doke (1931):239-40.
8. Vansina (1966):19.
9. Vansina (1966):30-1.
10. Richards (1939):356-7.
11. Richards's identification of the normal dwelling hut as just another type of shrine is quite justified and equally applies to Zambian peoples other than the Bemba (see Colson, 1960:53). For the purpose of analysis in this chapter, however, I shall

- concentrate on those shrines that do not primarily serve such a clearly utilitarian purpose as a house does.
12. An account of the periodical erection of temporary 'shade huts' at permanent sacred spots is given by Stefaniszyn (1964):155-6.
  13. Turner (1957):119, 126ff; McCulloch (1951):72-3; White (1960):12. On the Luchazi, see note 87 below.
  14. See Declé (1898):239 for a Mambwe example.
  15. See Melland (1923):138 for a Kaonde example.
  16. See Melland (1923):133, for a Kaonde example; Smith and Dale (1920):I, 162 for an Ila example; my field-notes contain Nkoya examples.
  17. I shall not dwell here upon the subject of spirit provinces: the division of the landscape into areas where each area is supposed to be associated with a particular spirit, the spirits being arranged in some hierarchical relationship with one another. For Zambia, the subject is properly documented only for the Mambwe; see Werner (1979). There are some indications of similar notions in the accounts of the Tonga shrine cults (see Colson, 1960:187-8; *passim*; and Scudder, 1962:111-2). On the other hand we can assume that Garbett's description of spirit provinces among the Korekore south of the Zambezi also applies to the Zambian Korekore (Goba), about whose religion very little is known; see Garbett (1966, 1969) and Mvula (1973). In view of my discussion of shrines, ecology and the landscape, more information on a spiritual partition of the landscape would be extremely valuable.
  18. They are reported to be absent among the Ila (see Smith and Dale, 1920:I, 139).
  19. Or, under modern conditions, where he identifies himself as a member of the village when, born in town, he visits his village home for the first time.
  20. Turner (1957):292-3; (1968):52ff; White (1949b); (1961):46-7; my field-notes contain Nkoya examples.
  21. See Brelsford (1949) for Chisinga ironworkers; White (1956b) for Luvale fishing and hunting and (1959):14 for Luvale honey-collectors; Doke (1931):242-3 for Lamba hunters and dancers; my field-notes contain Nkoya hunter examples.
  22. Cunnison (1959):220-1; Slaski (1951):93; Werner (1971):1-2; (1979); Richards (1939):358; Oger (1972a).
  23. Stefaniszyn (1964):156-7; Doke (1931):242-3.
  24. The term 'culture hero' could be used for named, anthropomorphic a-historical beings who are considered to have introduced the local culture or an important element of it; e.g., Mulenga, who first domesticated animals, and Kapinda, the

- first hunter, among the Bemba (see Oger, 1972a), and Kanyanyu Mangaba among the Tumbuka (see Banda, n.d.).
25. The High God can be defined as an invisible entity, postulated by the members of a society, and to whom they attribute the following characteristics: he is thought of as a person; he is the only member of a unique class of invisible entities; he may be considered the ultimate creator; he tends to be associated with the sky and with meteorological phenomena.
  26. See Van Binsbergen (1972b, chapter 2 of this volume), (1976a, cf. chapter 4); and references cited there.
  27. Melland (1923):155-6. Melland emphasized that the rain ritual is the only occasion in Kaonde religion known to him where ritual is directed to the High God. It is possible that what he takes to be 'traditional' is in fact a recent innovation, particularly an aspect of the prophetic movement of Mupumani which reached the Kaonde at about the same time that Melland became their administrator; cf. below.
  28. Mainga (1972):96.
  29. See Langworthy (1971); (1972):30, 34, 55; Schoffeleers (1972c).
  30. However, among the Luvale the 'clan formula' used in the village shrine ritual reinforces identification (though not effective interaction) with widely dispersed clan members, on the inter-local level; see White (1960):12.
  31. See Werner (1979) for Kapembwa; Brelsford (1946): 136-7, for the Ikoma pool; Colson (1960):166, 187 for examples from southern Zambia.
  32. Colson (1960):61-2, 163-4, 20f; Scudder (1962):112-3 and *passim*.
  33. Cf. Carter (1972); and chapter 2 of this volume.
  34. See Bruwer (1952) for the *Chauta* institution among the Chewa; Werner (1979) and Declé (1898):293-4 on the Mambwe; Richards (1951):185; (1939):385f and Brelsford (1944):28-9 on female custodians of the Bemba royal relic shrines; and Oger (1972a) on *ngulu* wives.
  35. The religion of north-western Zambia is exceptionally thoroughly researched (see, for example, Turner, 1953, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1968, 1969; White 1949b, 1961; McCulloch (1951): 72-83 and references cited there; Melland (1923): 127-236), but no evidence of a priestly inter-local shrine cult has been reported.
  36. See Turner (1957):25f, and (1967):280-98 for the Southern Lunda; Melland (1923): 91, 96, 229, 243, 256f. for the Kaonde; Richards (1939):344-5 for the Bemba; my field-notes contain Nkoya examples.
  37. It could be suggested that my tentative interpretation here is just a lapse back into the old 'explanations' of magic and religion

- such as offered by Frazer, Lang and Freud. I doubt whether this is the case. The interpretation of religion faces at least two major problems: first, the recognition of some correspondence between certain religious and non-religious phenomena; and second (once the general idea of such correspondence is agreed upon), the detailed explanation of this correspondence which, among other aspects, involves the attempt to account for the selection, in a given society, of particular religious forms which have a specific, systematic relationship with particular non-religious aspects. The recognition of *some* correspondence between religious and non-religious aspects has been one of the main achievements of the nineteenth-century studies of such authors as Feuerbach, Marx, Fustel de Coulanges and Durkheim. It is the second problem that dominates many modern religious studies. Here it becomes necessary to examine and contrast the formal structures of corresponding religious and non-religious forms in an attempt to develop a systematic and generalizable approach which will take us beyond the psychologism and *ad hoc* interpretation based on one society only - fallacies to which so many pioneers in this field have fallen victim. My attempt is along these lines. It does not stop at the trivial claim of some correspondence between everyday 'ecological' activities and 'ecological' shrine ritual, but tries to point out the underlying *specific* correspondence between the constituent formal properties of these two socio-cultural systems.
38. See Kay (1967):21-2.
  39. As denounced by such early sociologists as Durkheim (1897) and Sorokin (1928).
  40. See Colson (1962):92-3, 217 for a discussion of the Tonga village founder raised to the status of land spirit.
  41. In other words, she fails to give attention to the second interpretational problems as outlined above, note 37.
  42. For a study of the communal functions of the shelter, particularly in defining the village as an effective though rapidly changing group, see Watson (1954), based on research by Watson and Van Velsen among the Kaonde.
  43. This is the general situation in north-western Zambia. See Turner (1957), especially Map 4, for the Lunda; Mwendela (1972):34-5 for the Luvale; my field-notes contain Nkoya examples.
  44. Among the Nkoya the erection of a new village shrine is the first task when making a new village.
  45. See Colson (1960):98.
  46. For example, the ruling Kazembe in 1914 removed the royal cult from Lunde, where the first Kazembe was buried, to this

- capital, by making replicas of the old graves (even of those of the Mwaat Yaavs) and planting new trees on them (Cunnison, 1961:112).
47. See, for example, the eastern Lunda's destruction of the Aushi national shrine Makumba, below, note 94; the Ngoni's destruction of rain shrines (McCracken, 1968a:103, 121; 1968b:196).
48. Schoffeleers (1972a):73-94; (1972c); Ranger and Kimambo (1972b):6-7.
49. Cunnison (1951):24 relates the following Luapula tradition on the pygmies preceding the Bantu population around Lake Mweru: 'They are believed to have been of the same clan as Kaponto, the man who invaded the island Kilwa. There are believed to have been two survivors . . . who made Kaponto promise to keep up the modes of *prayer to ancestors, of rain ritual*, and of the Butwa society which was peculiar to the pygmies' (my italics). For hypotheses concerning the role of Batwa shrine cults, see Linden (1979).
50. Clarke (1950); Fagan and Philipson (1965).
51. White (1962); (1960):46; Vansina (1966); Watson (1959):12-13; Cunnison (1950):7-8, 12; (1951):23-4.
52. See, for example, Evans-Pritchard (1940); Fortes (1945, 1953); Southall (1956); Middleton and Tait (1958).
53. Peters (1967).
54. Barnes (1962).
55. Gluckman (1950).
56. Colson (1962):102-3; Turner (1957); Van Velsen (1964).
57. Gellner (1963, 1969); Van Binsbergen (1971a); (1980); see also my critique of Gellner (1969); Van Binsbergen (1971b).
58. Smith and Dale (1920): II, 186-7.
59. Ibid.
60. Colson (1960):164, 166. On a more limited scale the institution has continued to exist: the payment of a chicken or goat by the person divined as having caused the wrath of the spirit of the shrine.
61. Colson (1962):113, where it is mentioned as one of several factors giving high status to a local leader.
62. Colson (1962):100.
63. Colson (1962):218.
64. Garbett (1966, 1969).
65. Durkheim (1912):*passim*.
66. Cf. chapter 2.
67. Vansina (1966):82-3.
68. See White (1949a), Vansina (1966):85-6, especially in relation to north-western Zambia and adjacent areas.
69. Roberts (1973):38-93; Cunnison (1950):11-12; (1959):30f., 147f; these refer to north-eastern Zambia, where the growth of Luba and Lunda kingship in the eighteenth century formed the culmination of a process of gradual immigration and political development that had been going on for several centuries.
70. Tweedie (1966):204 (my italics). The passage on cleaning the shrines is not included in Roberts's synthetic account (1973:40) of Bemba myths of origin.
71. Probably the construction of the high tower, as recorded in many other myths from the Bemba and neighbouring peoples in Central Africa; see Roberts (1973):30f., 147f.
72. For references on Luchele, see, e.g., Hall (1968): 11f., and Roberts (1973):346f. *Nganga* means doctor.
73. Brelsford (1946):130-1; Werner (1979); Cunnison (1959):218ff.
74. For Luchele see note 72; for the theme of hitting the tree, see Chimba (n.d.); Chiwala (1962):50. Even what is claimed to be the most important (tree) shrine of the Ila has a spearhead embedded in its bark: Anonymous (1973); although, as we shall see in a later section, Luba-ization of the Ila has not been successful.
75. Werner (1971).
76. See Richards (1939):359-60.
77. Roberts (1973):69-71.
78. Werner (1971):14-15; see Oger (1972a) for a similar view.
79. Oger (1972a); Werner (1971); Slaski (1951):93; Richards (1939): 358; (1951); Whiteley (1950):30.
80. Apthorpe 1960.
81. Apthorpe 1960:20; Northern Rhodesia was the colonial name for Zambia.
82. Apthorpe (1959b).
83. Richards (1939):358; and especially Oger (1972b). Oger has written a paper in Bemba on this and related subjects which unfortunately was not available for the present study.
84. Brelsford (1942):1f., 15, 21; (1944); Oger (1972b).
85. Mainga (1972): 96-7; Clay (1946):3; my field-notes on Luchazi history; on the Luchazi, see also note 87.
86. See the prominence of the royal bracelet in early Lunda traditions, in Cunnison (1961):2, 6-7.
87. It is attractive to view *Mukanda* (boys' puberty ritual), a central religious institution among Luvala, Luchazi, Chokwe, Mbunda and Southern Lunda, as an alternative to the priestly inter-local shrine cult: see White (1961):1-27; McCulloch (1951):85f; Mwondela (1972):*passim*; Gluckman (1949); Turner (1967):151-279. *Mukanda* certainly provides inter-local communications, sometimes over hundreds of kilometres, and

- ceremonial specialization which might take on political functions comparable to those of the inter-local priestly shrine cults (see White, 1956a; 1961:1-2). The idea of *Mukanda* forming an alternative to the territorial cult is further corroborated by Colson's data on Tonga immigrants: while in the past immigrants to Tongaland had always organically been assimilated into Tonga society - including adoption of Tonga ritual - Luvale immigrants who have penetrated the area since the early decades of this century remained in separate villages and, far from adopting Tonga inter-local territorial cults, continued to send their boys to *Mukanda* initiation camps in the west (Colson, 1970:35-54, especially 38). *Mukanda*, not unlike *Nyau* in eastern Central Africa, seems to represent an even older stage than the priestly territorial cult, and to be associated with a hunting and gathering economy rather than with more developed agriculture or husbandry (see White, 1949a:30). Much more research is needed before the place of the *Mukanda* complex in Central African religious history can be determined. Meanwhile, it should be noted that the Chokwe and Luchazi, while belonging to the ethnic cluster practising *Mukanda*, have their homelands not in Zambia but in south-western Zaïre and north-eastern Angola. The Chokwe and Luchazi (as shown in Maps 1 and 2) on the Zambian/Angolan border between Zambezi and Mwinilunga, are isolated groups of recent immigrants. From the late 1910s, hundred of thousands of Angolans (mainly belonging to the ethnic groups of Luvale, Chokwe, Mbunda, Luchazi, Ovimbundu) have migrated into Zambia.
88. White (1949a):30, 33-4; (1960):46, approvingly summarized in Vansina (1966):85-6.
  89. Richards (1969):23-5; (1939):359-60; (1951); Brelsford (1944): especially 37-8.
  90. Brelsford (1942); (1944):2-3.
  91. Werner (1971); Oger (1972a).
  92. Gluckman (1951):1-93, especially 85; Mainga (1972):102f; Turner (1952):50; Langworthy (1971):1-23 especially 9; (1972):28-9, 55-6, for the Undi Kingdom; Linden (1979).
  93. Cunnison (1959):217-18.
  94. Cunnison (1959):219-20; Chimba (n.d.):6-7; Kay (1964):16; Philpott (1936).
  95. Werner (1979).
  96. Brelsford (1946):136-7.
  97. Vansina (1966):245-6.
  98. Vansina (1966):245-6.
  99. Brelsford (1944):3.
  100. See Colson (1962):207, and a similar view in Billing (1959).
  101. Livingstone (1899):363; Schapera (1960):145-6, 207.
  102. Anderson (1919).
  103. Myers (1927).
  104. Colson (1960):167-8.
  105. Smith and Dale (1920):II, 180-1; Jaspan (1953):41; Fielder (1965).
  106. Fagan (1963):157-77, especially 174f.
  107. Fagan (1963); Fagan and Phillipson (1965):274-5.
  108. Siddle (1971); Phillipson (1968).
  109. Fagan and Phillipson (1965).
  110. Fagan *et al.* (1969):II, 135-9, 142f; Fagan and Phillipson (1965).
  111. Miracle (1959).
  112. Mukuni (n.d.); Muntamba (1970).
  113. Colson (1970). A highly interesting group for further research is the ethnic cluster of the 'Baluba', whom Smith and Dale ((1920):I, xxvii, 25f., 40, 123, 313) report as living at the periphery of the Ila, and as Ila-speaking.
  114. Melland (1923):29-30. The Kaonde are generally considered to be of Luba extraction.
  115. Smith and Dale (1920):II, 180ff.
  116. Smith and Dale (1920):II, 181ff.
  117. Van Binsbergen (1971a); (1971b); (1980).
  118. Archer (1971) summarizes the pattern of rainfall in Zambia. Towards the south there is a considerable decrease in average annual rainfall and a considerable increase in annual fluctuations in rainfall (i.e., greater uncertainty and unpredictability).

#### Chapter 4 Religious change and the problem of evil in western Zambia

1. I am indebted to T.O. Ranger, R.J. Papstein, M.S. Muntamba, J.M. Schoffeleers, and the participants of Leiden Africa Seminar (1976), for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter, and for more general discussions on parts of the argument. In this chapter the word 'region' is employed in its usual geographical sense, without any of the implications this term would have in regional-cults theory (cf. chapters 5 and 7).
2. With the exception of the Totela and Subiya to the south-west, on whom very little is known.
3. Relevant general sources for the region include Brelsford (1965): 14f., 49-68, 74-7; Chibanza (1961); Clay (1946); Doke (1931);