In this study John Yoder chronicles the history of the Kanyok, a people from the southern savanna of Zaire, from before 1500 until their incorporation into the Congo Free State in the 1890s. By analyzing their oral histories, myths, and legends, the author describes the political and cultural development of a people who, before 1891, had no written records, and accounts of whose past had previously been confined to the sketchy recitation of wars and succession struggles that characterize many existing books on pre-colonial African states.

Yoder sets his work firmly within the larger context of the southern savanna by extending his investigations to the traditions of neighboring peoples, in particular to the Luba and the Lunda, whose empires once dominated the region. In this way he demonstrates how the same stories and ideas circulated over a vast area but were continually adapted to local circumstances. Yoder's history of the Kanyok of Zaire thereby forms the nucleus for a broader and more composite understanding of the entire region.

THE KANYOK OF ZAIRE

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THE KANYOK OF ZAIRE

An Institutional and Ideological History to 1895

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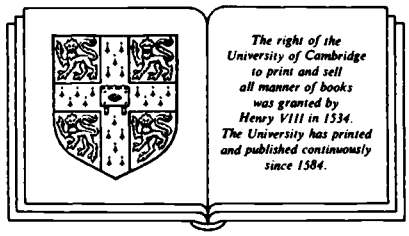

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To Janet

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Exactly a hundred years ago, the Le Marinel expedition looted and burned the Kanyok capital. This book represents an effort by many people to rebuild part of that which was destroyed.

Abbreviations

AIMO	Affaires Indigènes et de la Main-d'Oeuvre. Files at the Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, Belgium
ARSC	Académie Royale des Sciences Coloniales (previously the IRCB)
ARSOM	Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer (previously the ARSC)
BJIDCC	*Bulletin des juridictions indigènes du droit coutumier congolais*
CEPSI	Centre d'Etudes des Problèmes Sociaux Indigènes
INEAC	Institut National pour l'Etude Agronomique du Congo
IRCB	Institut Royal Colonial Belge
JAH	*Journal of African History*
MRAC	Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale (previously the MRCB)
MRCB	Musée Royal du Congo Belge
UNAZA	Université Nationale du Zaire

Chronology of Kanyok rulers at Mulundu and Katshisung

Shimat dynasty rulers at Mulundu

Generation	Name	Dates
I	Shimat	Legend known by 1700
II	Kabw a Shimat	ca. 1700–1725±50
III	Mulang a Kabw	ca. 1725–1750±30
III	Ciband a Kabw	ca. 1750–1775±20
	INTERREGNUM	ca. 1775
IV	Cibang a Ciband	ca. 1775–1795
IV	Ciam a Ciband	ca. 1795
	INTERREGNUM	ca. 1795–1800
V	Mulaj a Cibang	ca. 1800–1825
V	Ilung a Cibang	ca. 1810–1820
	INTERREGNUM	ca. 1825–1830
IV	Ciam a Ciband	ca. 1830–1850
	INTERREGNUM	ca. 1850
VI	Binen a Mulaj	ca. 1850
VI	Kalend a Sabw a Ciband	ca. 1850–1860
	SCHISM	ca. 1860
VII	Ciam a Bukas a Ilung	ca. 1855–1870
	INTERREGNUM	ca. 1870
V	Sabw a Ciam a Ciband	ca. 1870–1875
	Kasongo Cinyama (Luba Interloper)	ca. 1875
V	Ciband a Ciam a Ciband	ca. 1875–1880
VI	Kabw a Sabw a Ciam a Ciband (Kabw Muzemb)	ca. 1880–1893
VI	Ciam a Sabw a Ciam a Ciband (Ciam Mateng)	1893
VIII	Kalend a Kalend a Kabw a Mulaj a Cibang (Kalend a Kabedi)	1893–1895

Shimat dynasty rulers at Katshisung

Generation	Name	Dates
	SCHISM	ca. 1860
VII	Kadyat a Bukas a Ilung	ca. 1860–1870
V	Kabw a Ciam a Ciband	ca. 1870–1875
	CHIEF'S CHAIR VACANT	ca. 1875–1880
VI	Kabw a Sabw a Ciam (Kabw Muzemb)	ca. 1880–1893
VIII	Binen a Kadyat a Bukas (Binen Kayeye)	1893–1898

Introduction
Failed feasts and deadly dances

According to the accounts of Kanyok storytellers, the two most important tales in their history describe emotions and aspirations, not actions. The one tale chronicles the feelings of Citend, a seventeenth-century Kanyok princess humiliated by the verbal abuse of her companions at the court of the Luba *Mulopwe*. Filled with anger and sorrow, she set off on a lonely journey to the land of her Kanyok grandfather, a man she had never seen, a relative she hoped would welcome her with kindness. Arriving in Kanyok territory, Citend lifted the spirits of the people who rejoiced at the prospect of a true princess in their midst. Expressing deep sentiments of loyalty, the people proclaimed her chief and, for the first time in their history, they felt secure. And for the first time in her life, Citend felt truly content. Everyone's happiness increased even more when Citend invited her people to a feast. The joy was dashed, however, when the feast failed because Citend's ill-timed menstrual cycle prevented her from offering food to her beloved Kanyok children. With sorrow, Citend turned the feast and her chiefdom over to her infant son Shimat, whose name means contentment and security.

The second Kanyok tale describes the bitter anger of Citend's nineteenth-century descendant Ilung a Cibang. Proud at the prospect of becoming Mwen a Kanyok (supreme chief of all the Kanyok), Ilung eagerly journeyed to the Luba Mulopwe's capital where he would perform a ritual dance, the *tomboka*, and then be invested in office by the Luba potentate. Although Ilung came as a chief, he was humiliated by the Luba lord who treated his Kanyok nephew with contempt and treachery. Instead of being invited to dance the tomboka forthwith, Ilung was forced to cut down and burn a living tree, drink huge quantities of palm oil, and prevent any Kanyok feces from touching Luba soil. Only because several of the Mulopwe's Luba subordinates took pity on the abused Kanyok leader was Ilung able to overcome the ordeal and receive permission to dance the tomboka. Even then the Luba ruler's haughty treachery threatened Ilung, for under one of the mats upon which Ilung was to dance the Mulopwe had constructed a deep pit filled with sharp, upright spears. Only a midnight warning from a friendly Luba loiterer alerted Ilung to the danger. Next day, by exposing the trap, the enraged and energized Kanyok leader transformed a dance destined for death into a ceremony of triumph. The ensuing hypocritical praise from the Luba Mulopwe only

intensified Ilung's anger and he promised never again to humiliate himself or his people by returning to the Luba court. Fearing further attempts on his life, he fled Luba territory at once and, reaching the Lubilash River which marks the Luba–Kanyok border, hurled his ceremonial axe into the water, thus severing relations with the Luba empire.

Such fanciful and value-laden tales, the stock of Kanyok oral tradition, may seem perplexing and even useless to scholars trained according to the principles of scientific historical analysis. Constantly reminded to focus on the factual and chronological, historians are told to write what happened, describe what people did, and avoid speculating about thoughts or feelings. Those words of advice learned in graduate school become canons of wisdom passed on to each new generation of practitioners. For African historians, scholars sometimes defensive about the quality of their documentation and constantly frustrated by the limited and murky nature of their data, such cautionary injunctions can become guiding axioms. As a result, African historians frequently avoid the study of ideas and values – topics best left to the more synchronically inclined anthropologists, folklorists, philosophers, or theologians – and focus instead on prosaic events and processes such as migrations, technology, agriculture, politics, or linguistics. Studies of ideas, when they exist, are commonly associated with the more recent past and generally deal with attitudes toward colonialism, the emergence of nationalism, and responses to modernization.

In contrast to works by historians trained in American or European universities and archives, stories of Africa's pre-twentieth-century past, when recounted by Africans themselves, often are cast as intellectual history. African oral historians present intricately patterned collections of myths and legends which are primarily statements about values. Often, scholars trained according to Western standards of historical accuracy attempt to strip away the mythical or legendary husk to discover the factual kernel hidden in the quaintly naive African stories. More recently, however, scholars working with oral accounts have recognized that the "factual kernel" is often a somewhat inconsequential malleable embellishment while the "mythical husk" contains consciously crafted assertions about crucial events or trends in the past.[1] Thus, African myths and legends become the subject of legitimate intellectual history and a portal from which one may view more "factual" events and trends.

Following my Kanyok mentors, men and women of memory who taught me both history and historiography, I believe that African oral traditions,[2] which are in their essence commentaries laden with value statements, provide the basis for a reliable reconstruction of Africa's past. Through careful analysis of myths and legends, Africa's intellectual history can be recovered with great chronological depth and with as much accuracy as the record of topics such as iron, cassava, and wars. The following description of Central Africa's Kanyok people, based on traditional tales of female chiefs losing power after failing to give feasts and of aspiring chiefs boldly dancing on mats concealing deadly traps of upright spears, is not mainly a story of tangible activities such as dinners and dances. Rather, it is an account of thoughts and attitudes, often from as far back in time as the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, this story often is a chronicle of ideas and perceptions concerning trends and transformations not directly reported by oral history, much less by written accounts.

The methodology used to write the story of the Kanyok was relatively simple and required more patience and persistence than it did complicated tools of literary or linguistic analysis. The first step in the process was to establish a very general and basic chronology of commonly understood and undisputed events, trends, or structural changes. For the Kanyok, these were the expansion and establishment of Bantu culture in the first millennium of the modern era; the emergence of agriculture, iron-working, and sedentary communities between ca. 500 and ca. 1000; the widespread acceptance of patrilineal political organizations sometime in the second millennium; the introduction of new world crops during the 1600s; the aggressive expansion of the Luba commercial and imperial system in the 1700s; a successful Kanyok political and military campaign to sever ties with the Luba just after 1800; the rapid penetration of Luso-African trade into the very heart of Central Africa during the 1800s; the brief interval in the 1870s when a "Luba" slave trader, Kasongo Cinyama, controlled the Kanyok capital; the restoration of stability under the Kanyok chief and slave trader Kabw Muzemb in the 1880s; the defeat of the Kanyok state by the Congo Free State in 1895; the domination of the Kanyok by a Belgian–Luba coalition (at least from the perspective of the Kanyok) in the twentieth century; and the exploitation of the Kanyok by a Kinshasa–Luba axis after 1960.

The second step in writing Kanyok history was to build a general portrait of Kanyok institutions as they operated in the distant past. Using previous collected linguistic evidence, it is possible to identify the oldest and most widespread titles in the Kasai–Shaba region. Although many of these offices are no longer very important, enough is known about their regalia, functions, and physical location in the chief's village to make broad generalizations about their role in the past. Using lists of villages, geographical markers, and tribute rolls contained in oral histories, it also is possible to reconstruct rough pictures of early chiefdoms in the Kanyok area. Furthermore, by extrapolating from twentieth-century population figures, one can make very broad estimates of the numbers of villages and people joined together in the regional polities into which the Kanyok were organized before the 1700s. Finally, by examining data from the history of neighboring peoples and by using information about current economic practices, it is possible to draw conclusions about how the Kanyok managed their economy and also their tribute or taxation system.

The third step, which constituted the main work of this book, was to uncover and examine ways in which Kanyok myths and legends commented on the activities and institutions which formed the skeleton of their political, social, and economic history. The irony of Central African history is that although the chronicle of events is often sketchy and speculative, the record of opinions about those happenings is rich. The historian's task is to examine oral accounts to discover and decipher the arguments and agreements contained in stories about the past. Thus, writing Kanyok history is a bit like taking a large box of

uncatalogued and undated editorials, attempting to correlate them with a terse record of events or institutions, and trying critically to analyze the issues which are debated, often in a polemical style which tries to conceal as well as to inform.[3]

The myths and legends claiming to describe earliest Kanyok history are collections of clichés and statements of value, rather than factual descriptions of what actually occurred in the past. Nevertheless, because these statements and clichés evaluate events, they also serve to point out the importance and nature of what happened. For example, a common Kanyok cliché describes how a stingy chief was deposed or abdicated after he refused to hold a feast. Because the story is repeated so frequently and in such a stylized fashion, it cannot be accepted as a reliable account of a failure to serve food to the masses. The story does, however, offer evidence that a political transition took place; it is important in much the same way that the American phrase "she threw her hat into the ring" is significant for politicians although it generates no interest among haberdashers. In addition to signaling an event, stories of failed feasts communicate judgments about why a chief or ruling family lost their hold on office. Providing food is a ritual symbolizing the proper functioning of the system in which subjects present tribute to the chief and the chief reciprocates by giving food to his people. Because tribute and reciprocity are at the very heart of the African political process, a cliché accusing the chief of not offering a feast suggests that for some reason the tax, tribute, and gift system had broken down.

Frequently, Central African political clichés are expanded into entire stories. Lengthy accounts of wandering hunter chiefs who seduce the daughters of existing rulers are so common and predictable that they cannot be taken at face value. Such stories, however, contain pointed assertions about the weaknesses of incumbent rulers and systems and about the seductive benefits of innovative challengers. These accounts, therefore, indicate that a political transition occurred and that it has been reported, presumably by the victors, in very favorable terms. While the scholar would be mistaken to examine the tale for clues about migrations or marriages, the mythical or legendary cliché should not be rejected as historically inconsequential.

At times, clichés have been dramatized as political rituals. The widely known tomboka dance, said to have been preceded by a series of prodigious ordeals, was a ritual marking the investiture of Central African chiefs. Whether or how the ritual was actually performed is not so important as the fact that stories describing the ceremony were legend's way of acknowledging the installation of a new leader and of indicating by whose authority the chief was invested. Furthermore, the tone of the tale betrayed the storyteller's attitudes about the relationship between the new client-leader and his patron. While most accounts explained tomboka in a favorable light, Kanyok stories of tomboka ceremonies after 1800 begin to describe the ritual as a form of humiliating punishment inflicted by the Luba on the Kanyok. The historian should not interpret this shift as a change in ceremonial practices so much as the emergence of a new attitude about the Kanyok–Luba relationship. After analyzing this transformation against the background of independently transmitted records describing wars and conflicts

between the Luba and Kanyok in the early nineteenth century, it is clearly evident that the shift in the tone of the tomboka cliché accurately reflected the opinions and even the feelings of Kanyok people almost 200 years ago.

By studying the meaning of clichés, including myths and legends, and by linking changes in political and social views with major turning points in the Kanyok past, it is possible to present an integrated intellectual history of the Kanyok. Furthermore, an understanding of ideas and values is powerful, independent, corroborating evidence of events, trends, and even structural changes which would be perceived dimly, if at all, through the use of conventional tools of analysis. Thus, African intellectual history, the tale of clichés, myths, and legends, is a foundation for examining any aspect of the past. Thus, the analysis of ideas is not just another facet of African history, it is an essential starting point and a stable platform for any exploration of events and institutions which have shaped civilization in Africa. This is what Africans knew all along.

1

Wood and wine, gardens and game
The Kanyok land and environment

The Kanyok live in Central Africa where the rim of the Zaire River basin joins the northern edge of the vast southern savanna plateau. The plateau and the central basin were separated more than 100 million years ago when the southeast half of Africa experienced a series of geological uplifts while northwestern Africa was flooded by advancing seas.[1] Today, the transition between the elevated south and the lower north is clearly evident in Kanyok territory where rivers and roads starting in the south drop, at times abruptly, as they wind their way north.[2]

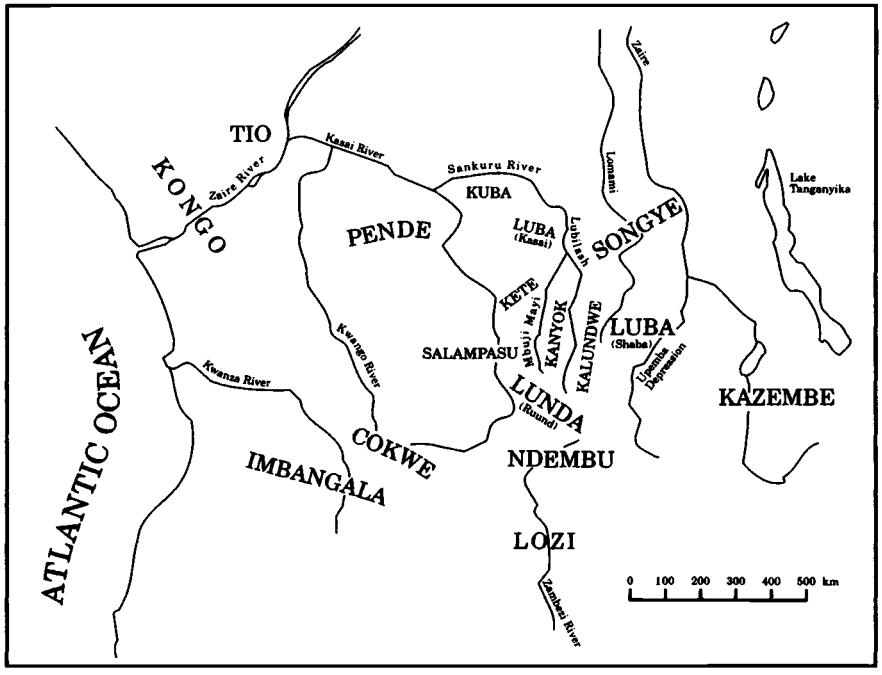
Two distinct deposits of sediment and glacial debris cover the region's ancient Pre-Cambrian base of metamorphic rock. One, the Karroo, dates back to about 250 million years ago when Africa was still part of Gondwanaland and when the south pole was in Africa. The other, the Kalahari, was created less than 100 million years ago after the breakup of the supercontinent. Both the Karroo and the Kalahari deposits formed thick horizontal layers of rock and sand. As the savanna rivers emerged and descended northward into the central basin, they carved a series of parallel valleys exposing and eroding the many layers of sediment compressed into sandstone, limestone, clayey shales, quartz, ferruginous rock, and sand.[3] Once the valleys deepened, cross-cutting secondary streams flowed from the higher surfaces between the rivers and wore down the land separating the valleys. At the source of these smaller streams, which are still at work carving the savanna plateau, small erosional amphitheaters ate into the gently rolling hills. The soil and minerals removed from the amphitheaters were carried downstream and deposited in the river valleys. Thus, the action of the rivers and streams over thousands of years has sculpted the periphery of the savanna plateau into a series of descending steps or terraces.[4]

As the terrace steps down, the savanna landscape and vegetation change. Pockets of riverain alluvial soil, bands of gallery forests, upland swamps, small lakes, and sandy grasslands break the region into a mosaic of ecological microzones. The land where the Kanyok live has a relatively diverse mixture of these areas. The Kanyok country is watered by three important rivers: the Mbuji Mayi in the west, the Lubilash in the east, and the Luilu in the center. Paralleling the Luilu and then turning to empty into it just north of the Kanyok capital Mulundu, the Kamutambai and the Yabui streams also carry substantial amounts of water

and alluvial soil. Winding their way through the Kanyok heartland, the Luilu and its two tributaries provide steady moisture for the gardens and gallery forests of the region.

Having withstood the effects of time, prominent segments of the Karroo rise more than one hundred meters above the Kalahari layers of the plateau surface. In the eastern Kanyok areas, the low Masuku mountains are Karroo remnants while in the center of the land, equally high but less extensive relics, the Mulundu and Katshisung buttes, stand on either side of the Luilu River. Between Mulundu and the Kanyok–Lunda border to the south, several patches of ancient Pre-Cambrian rock are exposed. Similar formations are located north of Mwena Ditu in the Luaba (Kanda Kanda) area.[5]

Most of the present Kanyok population lives at the base of these hills or in the river valleys. Cutting through not just infertile Kalahari sands, but also earlier geological formations, the rivers and streams expose, unlock, and transport the nutrients contributing to marginally richer soils in the Kanyok area. Also, the red gritty earth at the base of the rocky outcrops drains well in the rainy season and remains moist from seepage during the dry season.[6] While the weathered ferrous Kanyok soils are easily waterlogged and contain far too little organic matter, by Central African standards the Kanyok land is good. For a subsistence hunting, gathering, and farming people, the land provides rich quantities and varieties of



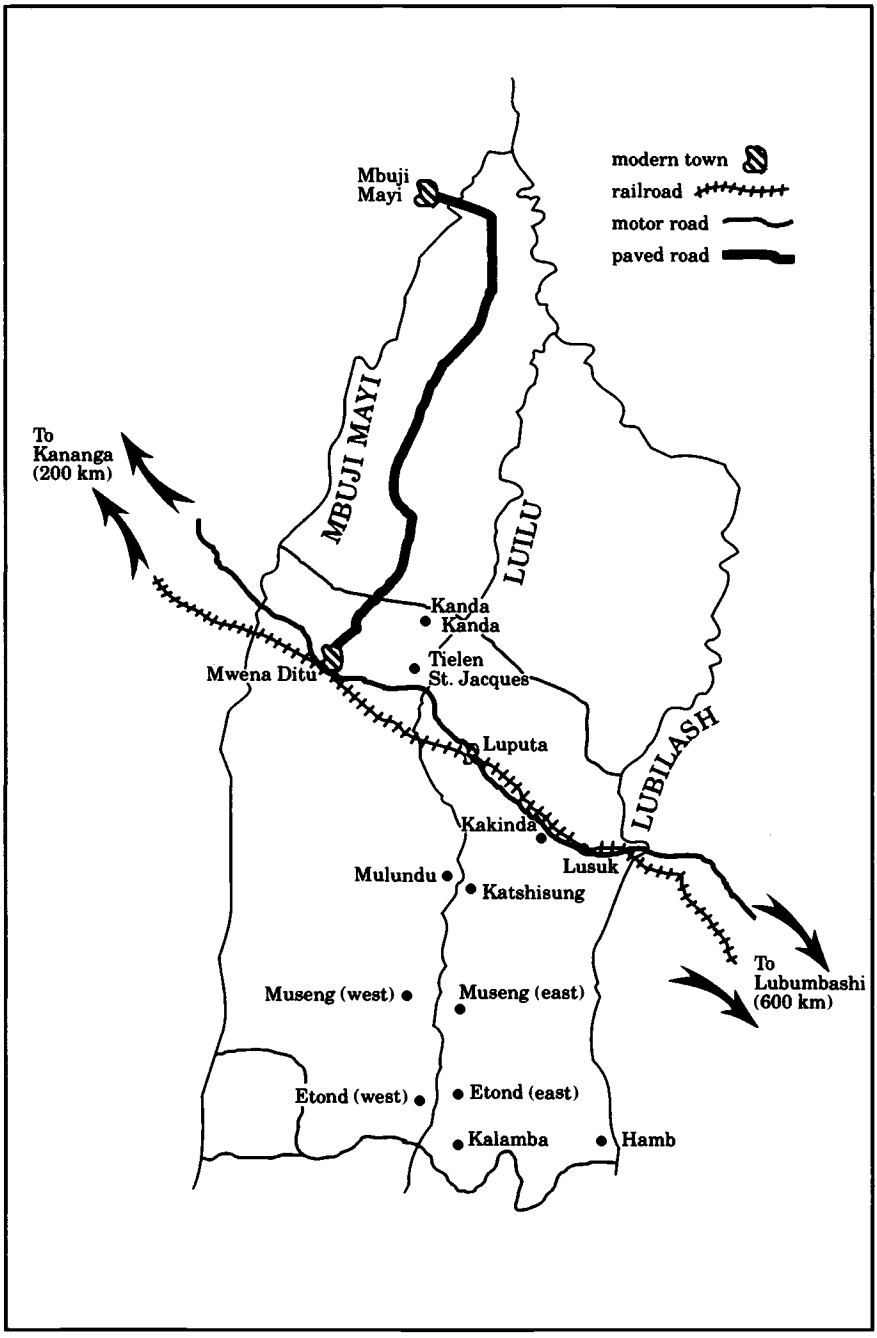
Map 1 The Kanyok and their neighbors

food, building materials, tools, and clothing. Relatively fertile and variegated, the Kanyok land supports a more productive agriculture and a higher population density than neighboring territories.

While the Kanyok occupy a favorable ecological niche on the edge of the savanna, differences between the Kanyok area and the lands of neighboring peoples are subtle. No prominent physical features such as mountains, lakes, deserts, or thick forests separate the Kanyok from their neighbors. A traveler crossing Zaire's southern savanna would observe slight, but not pronounced, changes distinguishing the Kanyok territories from those of nearby peoples. Going southeast from modern Kananga towards Kamina in the heart of the Luba domain, the terrain gets somewhat higher, reaching about 1,000 m above sea level at Mulundu mountain near the Kanyok capital and 1,115 m at Kamina. As the plateau rises to the east, the river valleys become broader and less profound while the forests become thinner. The last major non-gallery woodland southeast of Kananga is the Ditu forest in Kanyok territory. After one crosses the Lubilash River in the direction of Kamina, even the gallery forests become sparse while the savannas are covered only with grass, but not with trees.[7]

The Kanyok climate corresponds to that of the surrounding areas. Except for an increasingly longer rainy season to the north and a more extended dry season to the south, precipitation in the Kanyok lands does not differ from the rainfall in neighboring regions. Two distinct seasons divide the year for the Kanyok. The cool, dry, dusty, hazy season begins about May and lasts through August while the hot, rainy, rapidly clearing and bright season continues from September through April. Rainfall, totaling from 1,200 to 1,400 mm during the rainy season, begins with a few light showers in late August or early September, develops into almost daily downpours by November or December, and ends with violent rainstorms and lightning in April. This rainy season is interrupted annually by a short false dry season lasting about a week during the month of January.[8] While some double-cropping is possible, the second half of the rainy season ends abruptly and the ensuing drought can threaten immature plants.[9]

The relation between the Kanyok and their physical environment is complex and dynamic. As farmers, hunters, fishers, and collectors, the people utilize the streams, forests, and savannas of the region. In the dry season, men and women cut down trees and burn off the undercover to prepare for rainy season planting. When the first rains begin to fall, people plant corn and manioc, the major new-world staples in the Kanyok diet, plus beans, peanuts, and sweet potatoes. Near their villages, the Kanyok also cultivate bananas and tend the palm groves for which they are famous in the region. Palm oil, the basic ingredient in the usual sauce for meat and many vegetables, is an important source of calories in the Kanyok diet. For Kanyok men, the most honored productive activity is hunting. Through hunting the Kanyok are able to harvest protein from the otherwise unproductive grasslands. In addition to stalking and shooting game, hunters dig deep pits in which they trap unwary animals. Individual hunters capture wild pig, antelope, monkey, and rodents, while groups of men will sometimes kill an elephant or hippo. Gallery forests are the setting for collecting and fishing, two



Map 2 The Kanyok land in modern times

other important subsistence activities. Women and children forage for edible plants, grubs, and insects, and they gather firewood for cooking and heating. Also in the forests, especially during the dry season, men catch and preserve fish. Besides fishing, collecting, farming, and hunting, the Kanyok manufacture palm wine, practice metal-work, make tools and household utensils, weave raffia cloth, and produce salt from local grasses or palm trees. Metals and fibers which cannot be found in sufficient quantities in the Kanyok land are obtained through regional or long-distance trade.

Because the Kanyok land is somewhat more varied and fertile than that of neighboring people, the total past production per hectare may have been higher, resulting in turn in a slightly denser population. While demographic forces were not always positive, there is reason to believe that the Kanyok population has grown over the past millennium and especially during the last three or four centuries. The growing acceptance of domesticated agriculture after AD 1000, the introduction of American food crops in the late 1600s and early 1700s, and the purchase of outside women through increased long-distance trade in the 1800s should have contributed to moderate gains of food production and population growth. Kanyok family records and stories about villages and regional polities suggest a slowly expanding Kanyok population in the course of the last two hundred years. This growth, however, was neither steady nor uninterrupted. While the population probably increased throughout the nineteenth century, after 1850, the slave commerce, modern weapons, western diseases, and urbanization elsewhere in Central Africa limited the number of Kanyok people living in their homeland. But, by the twentieth century, modern medicines and an increased birth rate may have largely offset such losses and caused the population to resume its growth. Census data compiled in the 1950s indicate that the mid-twentieth-century Kanyok population was growing at a rate of about 1.2 to 1.8 percent each year.[10]

Census figures from 1918 to 1957 show the Kanyok population at about 70,000 to 80,000.[11] But because many of the potential inhabitants were living and working in other parts of Zaire, the total number of Kanyok individuals at the turn of the century may have reached 100,000.[12] Presumably, in the pre-colonial days before the slave wars, the railroad, labor migrations, the introduction of smallpox and influenza, and the spread of sleeping sickness, the Kanyok population had reached at least the present density of 5–11 people/km^2. This is somewhat higher than for the Luba Shaba, Lunda, and Kete neighbors to the east, south, and west.[13]

The physical environment has had a noticeable effect on internal Kanyok political developments and external relations. Because of the land's comparatively high population concentrations and because of the variety of ecological micro-zones, Kanyok families, villages and regions needed to devise ways of governing themselves, resolving conflict, apportioning land, and assuring defense. However, unlike the Luba people living in the Upemba area where the maintenance and management of waterways required carefully coordinated activity, the Kanyok had little economic incentive to develop centralized political systems required to mobilize collective labor. Clearing garden plots, gathering

wood, stalking animals, and snaring fish could all be performed efficiently by single individuals or families. Except for expeditions to manufacture charcoal and smelt iron and except for the dry season fire hunts assembling scores of people,[14] no task involved large numbers of people and no job required coerced or even highly organized labor.[15] Kanyok history seems to indicate that as the population grew, communities tended to split rather than expand indefinitely. The Museng, Etond, and Mulundu chiefdoms, polities which once straddled the Luilu River, all divided in the nineteenth century. Since the environmental micro-zones providing for people's basic needs were scattered relatively uniformly throughout these regions and because the unnavigable rivers and numerous gallery forests discouraged rather than encouraged intercourse, it was often easier for an expanding Kanyok population to divide than to devise more complex and cumbersome political structures.

The productive land enabled the Kanyok people to engage in trade and tribute relations with their Central African neighbors. Living in the rich Mbuji Mayi, Luilu, and Lubilash River valleys, the Kanyok were able to supply the Kasai–Shaba region with foodstuffs. Oral traditions and written records describe the Kanyok area as a source of palm oil, dried meat, chickens, goats, and fish. The Kanyok exchanged these items for metal, salt, cloth, and women. At times in their history, the Kanyok also offered these goods in return for political protection and clientship.

The openness and uniformity of the neighboring savanna regions also affected the Kanyok. Because movement across the lands to the south and east is relatively unobstructed and because soils, animals, and vegetation are roughly similar throughout the area, travel, migration, and borrowing were common. Not only were ideas and techniques from one savanna area easily transported to another place; usually they were appropriate to the new location and therefore easily accepted. The Kanyok drew from the general linguistic, political, material, social, and ideological stock of the savanna region. While their particular place in the savanna's broad human and physical context sets the Kanyok apart, they were never isolated from main currents of savanna history. The story of the Kanyok, therefore, both illuminates and is illuminated by the record of their neighbors: the Luba of Shaba, Luba of Kasai, Kalundwe, Lunda, Kanintshin, and Kete.

2

Stratification, symbols and spirits
Early matrilineal society in the Luilu valley

The Kanyok believe they inherited their land or rivers, forests and savannas from the distant, immigrant ancestors described in their oral traditions. While most tales of heroic migrations reflect economic, political, social, and linguistic transformations of relatively stationary populations and do not recall actual geographical movements, the Kanyok are indebted to the earliest Bantu people who settled the southern savanna. For besides the land, the Kanyok and their neighbors inherited basic cultural concepts and practices from the men and women who entered the territory many hundreds of years ago. While recent borrowing is responsible for some of the cultural similarity evident across the region, ancient concepts about social stratification, symbolic representation, and spiritual forces are also part of the common savanna legacy which has existed for many centuries.

Emergence of the Kanyok as a distinct ethnic group

The Kanyok are but one of the hunting, gathering, fishing, and cultivating Bantu peoples who expanded and consolidated their territorial claims over the southern savanna during the last several millennia. Although most physical clues about the Bantu peoples from before 1000 BC have either been lost or not yet uncovered, linguistic evidence suggests that by approximately 1000 BC, the ancestors of the Ruund (or Lunda), Pende, and Cokwe groups now settled in northern Angola, south central Zaire, and northwestern Zambia were no longer closely associated with the predecessors of the Luba and Luba-related peoples, including the Kanyok, who now live to the east and north. After another thousand years, by perhaps AD 1, the Cokwe and Ruund forebears had separated into two distinct groups while the Luba, Tabwa, Bemba, and Lamba ancestors no longer maintained enough contact among themselves to preserve linguistic uniformity. While no distinctive Kanyok people yet existed, the group of Bantu people, identified by Guthrie as the L group, was establishing itself west of the Lake Tanganyika region in the first millennium of the present era. Also about this same time, the use of metal was becoming somewhat more common and radiocarbon dating indicates that by the fourth and fifth centuries AD, people living in the copperbelt region of Zaire and Zambia had borrowed or developed metallurgy. Certainly, these people

still depended on their stone age tools, but new levels of material culture were emerging on the southern savanna.[1]

The transformation of languages and the introduction of metallurgy are only two of the changes evident on the southern savanna during the early years of the first millennium AD. Archeological research indicates that the evolution of distinctive linguistic communities and the modifications in technology were accompanied by slow but unmistakable adjustments in social structures which became more complex and hierarchical. While no professional archeologists have ever worked in the Kanyok area, findings by teams of researchers in the Upemba basin about 350 kilometers east of the Luilu valley shed light on general developments in south central Zaire.[2] Because those digs provide firm evidence about material, political, and economic trends in an area very near to the Kanyok (the Upemba sites are about a fifteen-day walk east from the river valleys where Kanyok society developed), and because the Upemba region was inhabited by people linguistically closely associated with the Kanyok (the Luba and Kanyok ancestors spoke very similar languages even after AD 800 when the Luba Shaba and Luba Kasai tongues began to differ), it is reasonable to assume that some of the major changes and trends apparent at Upemba affected the people who later became known as the Kanyok.

Data from Upemba yield a record of growing material prosperity, and by the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, evidence of iron-working becomes more abundant. Charcoal, burnt daub, and iron fragments indicate that at least small quantities of iron were being used at Kamilamba on the northern shores of Lake Kabamba. Such findings should not be interpreted, however, as evidence that Bantu people in the copper belt had abandoned stone tools or even that they used iron in great quantities. Also uncovered at Kamilamba were grindstones, charred palm nuts, and comb pottery, all indications of a more settled existence.[3]

By the ninth and tenth centuries, the large quantities of protein taken from the lakes in the Upemba area supported a relatively dense and advanced population, but there is little evidence that the Bantu people living in the Zaire savanna were practicing agriculture. Pierre de Maret, who has prepared the most detailed study of the Kisalian period (AD 700 to 1000), believes that the lake peoples, who lived in extensive villages, made iron, and used pottery, derived most of their livelihood from hunting and fishing, not from farming. De Maret and others caution against the once-popular notion of a Bantu migration made up of people all clutching an iron hoe and spear in one hand and holding a clay pot and domestic plant in the other. Only after AD 1000 is there evidence that agriculture became the main source of food for the Bantu people of the Zairian savanna.[4]

At Lake Kisale, the increasingly prosperous Luba society began to exhibit signs of social stratification. Graves, dated from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, contain small iron bells and other "sumptuous grave goods" such as copper and ivory.[5] While not the clapperless type commonly associated with chiefship in Africa, the bells and other artifacts show that some families were able to acquire luxury goods and to display symbols of social or political distinction. Although

rare, glass beads, cowries, and small H-shaped copper crosses offer evidence of trade, however indirect, with distant regions.[6]

Because of opportunities to gain wealth through trade or through taxing the surplus fish, game, iron, and salt and because of the need for cooperation in keeping the channels open in the shallow Upemba region streams, certain lineages and individuals achieved not only social and economic power, but also political ascendancy. Eventually, the Luba heartland became a major emporium along the Shaba–Kasai trade routes. This development enabled rulers to collect tribute, not only from their own people, but also from neighbors who came to participate in the exchange of commodities linking an extensive geographical and cultural region. While the Luba did not achieve dominant status until the time of the "Pax Luba" which began approximately 1700, by 1500 the Upemba area was emerging as a focal point in the quickening network of intercourse spreading across the southern savanna and eventually reaching the Zambezi and Limpopo regions.[7] The increased trade may not have significantly improved the material well-being of most people on the savanna, but the individuals who carried shells, beads, copper, and iron also transmitted social, religious, and political ideas from one settlement to another. In the long run, it was the exchange of ideas, not the introduction of luxurious trinkets, which had the greatest impact on the lives of the savanna people.

Unfortunately, the kind of archeological evidence available for the Luba people living in the Upemba region has not been recovered in the Kanyok area, but it seems certain that by approximately AD 1000 a moderately self-conscious and increasingly stratified group of people was living in the Luilu River valley. From linguistic research, it appears that by around AD 800 the Luba-related peoples in Kasai used speech patterns different from those of their Luba kin who remained in Shaba. By perhaps AD 1000 the prototypes of Ciin Kanyok and Tshiluba could be distinguished.[8] Extrapolating from linguistic differences, we can assume the Luba Kasai, Kanyok, and Luba Shaba were developing separate patterns of family life, trade, rituals, and politics. Thus, by AD 1000 we may begin speaking of the Kanyok people.

For hunting and gathering peoples, the Mbuji Mayi, Luilu, and Lubilash River valleys, with plentiful game, abundant water and wood, good fishing, and a great variety of plants, were ideal lands to settle. Although iron and salt were available in the area, a greater attraction of the Kanyok region was the presence of palm trees. Local records indicate that throughout the periods described by myths, legends, and oral history, the Kanyok land produced palm nuts and palm oil in large quantities. It is interesting to recall that digs from the Kamilambian period (about AD 500 to 800) have uncovered evidence that palm nuts were part of the diet of people at Upemba.[9] While modern historians are fascinated by materials such as salt and iron which figured prominently in later chronicles of trade and state-building, the earliest Bantu people living in the Luilu River valley were more concerned about the availability of food and wood which they could hunt, cultivate, or gather. Palm trees, gardens, game, fish, and water, not salt and iron drew the early Kanyok settlers to the region.

During the early centuries of the second millennium AD, the Kanyok and their southern savanna neighbors developed complex and hierarchical social, economic, and political arrangements which extended beyond the village and family and even began reaching across ethnic lines. While, around AD 1000, change and innovation were transmitted very slowly – percolating across the savanna village by village or region by region – by 1500, new ideas spread more rapidly because of more extensive military, trade, and political networks and interchanges. Building on a common Bantu foundation, peoples as far apart as the Pende in the west and the Luba Sanga and Kazembe in the east shared institutions and ideas. Located in the heart of the southern savanna, the Kanyok and their near neighbors, the Kalundwe, Kanintshin, and Luba of Kasai, served as key intermediaries and brokers in the transmission of things and thoughts.

Social stratification

Although their communities were not so economically complex as those of the Upemba region, like their Luba neighbors, the Kanyok accepted the premise that society was and ought to be stratified. Migration patterns, economic specialties, political opportunities, and language peculiarities all contributed to their perceptions and convictions about the unequal status of individuals and groups. Neither the Kanyok nor their neighbors lived or migrated as rigid ethnic blocs which maintained exclusive control of a region. Communities of sedentary farmers or fishers shared space with bands of itinerant hunters, gatherers, artisans, and traders. Throughout the centuries, adventurous individuals, displaced families, warrior bands, hunting groups, foraging parties, and even entire village units filtered through the Luilu valley area in search of land, food, security, profit, or booty. As they traveled, some people joined or imitated existing settlements, others established themselves in separate or unused territorial, cultural, or ecological niches, while still others passed through or abandoned a region. Over time, settlement and subsistence patterns reinforced social differences and contributed to the creation of myths of origin claiming fishers, farmers, hunters, artisans, and rulers had unique histories and ancestral heroes. Thus, the early Kanyok, along with their neighbors, developed two pervasive and somewhat contradictory views about migration, occupation, ethnicity, and social stratification.

First, the Kanyok believed that a stone-age hunting, fishing, and gathering people called the Twa had originally inhabited the land. Small in stature, economically backward, and politically unsophisticated, the Twa supposedly were pushed out or absorbed by the stronger Kanyok immigrants. Because they were weak, it was said, the Twa forfeited their right to occupy and exploit the land. A typical Kanyok account claimed: "When the Kanyok arrived here they found the Twa who were pygmies. The Twa did not cultivate, they did not make iron, and they did not build houses. They did nothing but hunt. The Kanyok chased them away."[10] Second, the Kanyok people contended they had a unique right to the land because they were the "original inhabitants." All later individuals or groups were seen as "strangers" who remained only at the pleasure of the

"original inhabitants." Furthermore, only the putative original settlers had any right to hold political office.

Oral history's attempt to distinguish and rank the defeated Twa, the Kanyok "original inhabitants," and the later arrivals reflects both historical fact and social perceptions. Certainly, people with different languages, economies, and technologies settled and lived in the area.[11] These newcomers sometimes introduced more advanced means of production and more efficient tools of political control. The explanation for stories about weak autochthonous peoples and accounts of more powerful interlopers who either defeated or absorbed existing populations, therefore, is as much cultural as racial. The tales betray a common African tendency to explain social, political, or economic differences and transformations by telling stories of ancient peoples and then by ranking the "ancestors" chronologically according to the current importance of their "descendants." In parts of modern Zambia, for example, the so-called Twa are genetically and linguistically indistinguishable from their Bantu neighbors. The only real difference between these "Bantu" and "Twa," is that the latter practice fishing and live along rivers and swamps. Likewise, the Kanyok probably regarded the Twa as a separate racial group because of their occupational role and residence pattern as much as because of genetic differences.[12]

Whatever the factual basis of stories describing migration, social mobility, or occupational differences, accounts about very early Luilu valley dwellers indicate that for centuries the Kanyok recognized and accepted social ranking. Whether these tales were based on occupational and residential distinctions or migrational and genetic differences, the stories reflected patterns of stratification on the savanna. The accounts may have also supported the notion that cultural dissimilarities were beneficial because they facilitated exogamous marriage, cooperative hunting and fishing endeavors, and exchanges of scarce economic goods.

Matrilineal social structures

Perhaps by AD 1000, about the point in time when the Kanyok could first be identified as a distinct ethnic group, the people living in the Luilu valley had developed or were developing matrilineal political and social organizations considerably more complex and extensive than even large extended families. Matrilineal in structure and monopolizing ancient Bantu emblems of authority such as the leopard skin and white clay (kaolin), these systems were but one step on a path which eventually led to consolidating the entire Kanyok people into a single polity.

Matrilineal organization was a dominant feature of the segmented and hierarchical society of the earliest Bantu groups living in the savanna region, both to the west and east of the Kanyok. Even today the Kongo, the Ruund, and Pende are matrilineal or bilineal. While the Luba Kasai, Kanyok, Kete, and Luba Shaba are now all patrilineal, historians and anthropologists believe they too were once matrilineal. Evidence for early Kanyok social structure is not abundant, but an examination of political titles and symbols, a reconstruction of the layout of

chiefs' courts, an analysis of political myths, and a summary of twentieth-century observations offer suggestive and consistent clues about the matrilineal leaders from previous centuries. Historical linguistics and the physical arrangement of chiefs' compounds indicate that matrilineal, not patrilineal, titles are the most ancient; rituals, symbols, and insignia offer clues about the function and relative rank of various matrilineal offices; and political myths about and recent descriptions of these titles provide information about how they have been understood by more recent Kanyok people.[13]

Historical and ethnographic studies both demonstrate that matrilineal and patrilineal forms of social organization are never rigidly inflexible or mutually exclusive.[14] Indeed, in Central African societies where the family guarantees access to wealth, legal redress, physical security, magical protection, land use, and social security, people rely on both maternal and paternal references and kin. As Wyatt MacGaffey has shown, even clearly matrilineal peoples such as the Kongo living in Lower Zaire recall and depend on their patrilineal as well as their matrilineal relatives and ancestors. Although the Kongo matrilineage, governed by the maternal uncles, controls the land, organizes cooperative labor, regulates marriages and funerals, settles disputes within the villages, and oversees relations with neighboring peoples, paternal links remain important. In any given matrilineage, a number of powerful uncles compete for wealth and power within the family. Since all the uncles have the same maternal lineage and since claims to seniority are generally confusing and contradictory, ambitious men search for additional and independent sources of support. An uncle whose own father was a strong warrior, a great hunter, or a powerful magic worker may attempt to use that association to gain ascendancy over his maternal counterparts. Powerful fathers, for their part, sometimes try to transmit some of their rank and wealth to their sons at the expense of their nephews as matrilineal protocol requires.[15]

Matrilineal organizations can function well over long periods of time, but economic, political, or military possibilities or stress may foster individualism and opportunism which erode the matrilineal side of the social equation. However, when resources are abundant, outside pressures moderate, and political control relatively unrewarding, a group of maternal uncles can watch over the affairs of the people and not face strong challenges. For the small group of hunting and gathering Bantu peoples living on the southern savanna, a small-scale matrilineal organization served their needs adequately. Even though food was sufficient, there would have been little or no surplus of goods suitable for storage, commerce, or hoarding. In such a society cooperation, not private effort, provided the most certain path to security and prosperity. For these hunters and gatherers, maternal uncles, concerned about the entire clan, served as effective leaders who organized the work and allocated the fruits of the hunts or foraging expeditions.

Historical linguistics shows that the most ancient and widespread titles in the savanna region reflect matrilineal principles of organization. *Inabanz* (mother of the enclosure), *Inamwan* (mother of the chief), *Kalul* (maternal uncle and high-ranking counselor), *Kanahumbi* (maternal uncle who oversees the slaves and acts

as the stakeholder during an interregnum), and *Talaji* (a magic worker linked to the maternal side of the family) are Kanyok terms for which cognates can be found all across the savanna region. According to Jeffrey Hoover, who has done the most exhaustive linguistic history of savanna titles, these are among the oldest titles used by the people living in the area near the Luilu River valley.[16]

In addition to linguistic evidence, the physical layout of chiefs' villages in the savanna suggests a long and prominent history for matrilineal offices. The enclosures of the Kanyok matrilineal titleholders are found within or near the inner circle of the chief's compound while the patrilineal and the purely functional titleholders are located some distance away. Furthermore, the Inabanz and the Inamwan, always identified by informants as female maternal relatives of the chief, are positionally linked with non-maternal males the *Shabanz* and the *Shamwan* who are the "official" husbands of the two women officials. Not only are the Shabanz and Shamwan less important members of the chief's court and have less imposing houses than their "wives," they are not kinsmen of the chief and they are seen simply as "studs" or consorts of the Inabanz and Inamwan. These spacial and social patterns reflect the matrilineal social arrangements once practiced by the Kanyok and their neighbors.[17]

Mwananga

One of the oldest and most important titles in early Kanyok society was that of *Mwananga* (also known as *Kamwanga*) who served as the leading warrior and as the senior administrative guardian over the village's affairs. The Mwananga may also have had important magical and ritual duties in the settlement. According to Kanyok legend, the first polity in the Luilu valley was that of Mwen a Ngoi (chief of the Ngoi), a man identified by his title Mwananga as well as by his personal name Kazadi. Modern renditions of Kanyok legend insist that Kazadi and his heir Kazadi a Kazadi (Kazadi son of Kazadi) were patrilineal leaders, but the title Mwananga indicates that Mwen a Ngoi was a maternal uncle and not a patrilineal ruler. This conclusion is strengthened by the claim of some Kanyok stories that the first Kanyok Mwananga actually had been one of the Luba Mulopwe's maternal uncles.

Describing the time when the original Kanyok immigrants pushed into the Luilu valley where they found the smaller non-Bantu Twa people, Kanyok informants say the Mwananga supervised the building of huts, led hunting forays, and directed military actions against the indigenous Twa and against the Bantu Kalundwe people to the east. In more recent times, the Mwananga's administrative duties have been overshadowed by patrilineal leaders. While he is still responsible for some tribute arrangements with other chiefdoms, he is mainly concerned for the personal well-being and safety of the Kanyok chief by serving as the primary official in charge of the wives and slaves who prepare food and carry water for the chief, and by making and guarding the chief's medicine. Although more limited, the Mwananga's contemporary function is consistent with his earlier role as a powerful senior village protector and leader.[18]

Kalul

A second prominent matrilineal title used by early Kanyok was Kalul, a diplomatic counselor dealing with judicial affairs, financial matters, travel plans, and marriage concerns. Expected to advise moderation and caution, the Kalul's function was to anticipate and prevent the eruption of internal or external conflict which might eventually escalate into schism or violence. In an age when political and family issues were not separate, if the villagers wanted to trade goats, terminate a marriage, or punish a lawbreaker, the Kalul participated both in the public discussion of options and evidence and in the private deliberations when the final decision was made. Modern informants describe the Kalul as a maternal uncle who frequently interceded to temper or reverse a judgment after other leaders had acted in haste or anger. Forbidden to carry a weapon in the presence of the chief and never involved in military affairs, the Kalul's contribution to village security was in preventing not in pursuing violence. While the title Kalul is found among the Kanyok, Luba, Ruund, and other neighboring peoples, historical linguistics suggest the title may have originated among the Kalundwe people living just east of the Kanyok across the Lubilash River.[19]

Kanahumbi

A third matrilineal uncle, the Kanahumbi, was responsible to monitor the lineage's movable wealth and to protect this property after the death of a prominent family member. The location of the Kanahumbi's house, his installation ceremonies, court etiquette, and official garb identified him as a peer of the Mwananga and Kalul. All three men were ritually washed in the Musengaie river by the Talaji and the Mwen a Kabiji, all three carried a chief's cane, all three rubbed themselves with white clay, and all three wore buffalo belts. Like his near neighbor the Mwananga, the Kanahumbi also displayed a chief's knife at important political occasions.[20]

Although the title Kanahumbi existed among the Luba and Kalundwe, who called the official *Kanapumbi*, and among the Ndembu and Cokwe, who labeled it *Kanampumba*, the title originated from the Ruund and Kanintshin, who knew the officeholder as *Kanampumb*. Ruund and Kanintshin informants emphasize the kinship nature of the office and describe a wide range of duties for the incumbent. The other peoples, however, explain the title as appointed and they list a more limited number of functions. The Ruund, who believe the first Kanampumb was a descendant of Karumbw the older sister of Ruwej, actually link the genesis of the office to their basic myth of political origins. According to Ruund legend, Karumbw lost her position of preeminence to Ruwej by arriving late at their father's deathbed. Ever since that time, claim the Ruund, Karumbw has headed an ancient but minor lineage while Ruwej's children rule the Ruund kingdom. Ineligible to become Mwant Yav, Karumbw's son the Kanampumb became a trusted subordinate who supervised the market in the royal capital, poured beer, made the crown for the chief, acted as the royal jester, managed the settlement

of slaves living behind the chief's compound, commanded the rear guard of the army, and served as stakeholder upon the death of the chief. Both the Kanampumb's close links to the Mwant Yaav and his inability to succeed or compete for power made his an ideal office to protect the life, judgment, property, and inheritance of the chief.

The geographical distribution of the title, the power and numerous duties attached to the Ruund office, and the Ruund story's elaborate explanation of why Kanampumb may not rule as Mwant Yaav suggest that the title of Kanampumb came to the Kanyok from the Ruund.[21] Linguistic evidence indicates that the Kanyok had incorporated the office before or during the 1600s. The Kanyok title retains the consonant *h*, a letter which eventually was transformed to *p* in the Ruund word Kanampumb. Because the transformation of *h* to *p* occurred around 1700 and affected a wide geographical area, it is evident that the Kanyok borrowed the office before other peoples in the Luba and Ruund world began pronouncing the title with a *p* instead of with an *h*.[22]

Shingahemb

A fourth matrilineal uncle, the *Shingahemb*,[23] was responsible for dealing with the *bakishi* (ancestors), whose presence, patience, and good will were essential for the security and prosperity of the people. Representing the wisdom and knowledge accumulated over countless generations of the Kanyok people's existence, the bakishi symbolized the forces of conservation and continuity. Although Kanyok material, intellectual, and cultural patterns changed over the decades, the people believed they were living as their ancestors had lived and that deviations from the ways and ideas of the past would have dangerous consequences. More than any other official, the Shingahemb concerned himself with maintaining harmony between the past and the present.

The title Shingahemb (from *kushinga* meaning to rub, and *luhemb* meaning white clay or kaolin) describes the official as a man who came before the ancestors in reverence, humility, and solicitation. Even today when the Kanyok implore a chief or the ancestors, they rub themselves with white chalk before entering the presence of authority. For generations, the Shingahemb covered with white chalk and dressed in raffia cloth has acted as an intermediary with the ancestors both for the ruling lineage and for the entire people.

As the Kanyok people's principal intercessor to the ancestral world, the Shingahemb's most important task was "feeding" the ancestors of the matrilineage, an activity which nourished the dead and sustained the living. Throughout the days set apart for this "feeding," the great ancestral drum the *mudidi* was played by the ritual drummer the *Muvuala*. The only other times the Kanyok people heard the mudidi was during the time of a great war or at the installation of a powerful chief.[24] By offering ceremonial portions of food and drink to the ancestors, the Shingahemb kept the departed members of the clan alive in the memory of the living and demonstrated to the living their dependence on those who had gone to the world of the spirits. "Feeding" the ancestors indicated that the

past generations could remain alive only through the memories and actions of the present generation. And in "feeding" them, the Shingahemb asked the ancestors to "nourish" the living by granting victory in battle, good fortune in the hunt, health for the chief, fecundity to the fields, and fertility for the women.

In approaching the ancestors, the Shingahemb did more than simply acknowledge the interdependence of the living and the dead. He also expected the bakishi to provide specific guidance for contemporary life. Before declaring war the Kanyok, through the Shingahemb, consulted the ancestors. If leaders of the village had a dream they could not understand or they believed was important, they asked the Shingahemb to explain what the ancestors were telling their children. While the Mwananga, a temporal decision-maker, had his eye on the present and the future, the Shingahemb considered issues in light of past experience. While the Kalul weighed the pragmatic consequences of decisions, the Shingahemb asked what the ancestors would have done in a similar situation. While the Kanahumbi protected Kanyok material wealth, the Shingahemb guarded the treasures of tradition and culture.

For the Shingahemb, the annual ritual hunt, the *cianza*, was the most important public demonstration of the connection between the living and the ancestors. Drawing together people from a number of nearby villages and taking place in late July or early August close to the end of the dry season, the cianza was led by the Shingahemb.[25] The evening before the hunt, the Shingahemb directed the villagers in ceremonies calling on the ancestors for good fortune and safety. With dance and drums, the ancestors were honored for their beneficence and were reminded of the needs and faithfulness of their children. Early the next morning after the women had rubbed themselves with white chalk, the Shingahemb led the hunters to a nearby savanna. Dressed in raffia cloth and wearing green leaves on his head to protect the hunters against danger, the Shingahemb positioned the men in a great circle surrounding perhaps 200 hectares of dry grass. When he gave the signal, the men lit the circle on fire by dragging bundles of burning grass and then pursued the fleeing animals which were restricted to an ever decreasing space. Following the hunt, the Shingahemb, representing the ancestors, distributed meat to the hunters and their families.[26]

Talaji

Another maternal uncle and a close associate of the Shingahemb, the Talaji, was concerned with the more technical aspects of the supernatural world. Although he, like the Shingahemb, rubbed himself with white chalk and was responsible for maintaining ties to the ancestors, the Talaji specialized in magical power. Whenever individuals from the matrilineage planned a journey, they asked the Talaji to prepare fetishes for protection. If one of the women of the village committed a ritual indiscretion by serving food during her menstrual period, the Talaji performed magic to safeguard the people against disaster.[27] The Talaji was probably instrumental in causing the rains to return, thus ending the parching heat and sterility of the dry season. Once the rains started to fall, the Talaji participated in

a ceremony of renewal in which the old mats were discarded and replaced with fresh new ones. It was the Talaji who brought out the mats, exchanged those showing damage or wear with new ones, and burned the old soiled or torn mats.[28]

While the Talaji used his magical power to protect the village, he was capable of inflicting great harm or even death on others. Presumably, his actions were justified as necessary to preserve the lineage, but at times he became involved in political intrigue and, by using magic, served as an assassin or executioner.[29]

Inamwan

Talaji's female counterpart, the Inamwan, overshadowed him in seniority, power, and prestige.[30] The title Inamwan, from *in* (mother) and *mwan* (child), existed before the Kanyok emerged as a distinct people. Jeffrey Hoover says the word *namwan* is from the proto-Ruund language and even today the Ruund use the word namwan while Ruund-related peoples have a similar title. The Kanintshin know it as namwan, the Ndembu as *nuamwana*, and the Kazembe as *nyimamwana*.[31]

A powerful female elder and an official sister within the ruling generation, the Inamwan was inaugurated by a ritual bathing in the most important stream in the region and by receiving beads, feathers, and raffia cords. Like other important ruling elders, the Inamwan had the right to sit on a leopard skin and had her own imposing house within a separate compound.[32] The Inamwan's duties, like those of the Talaji and the Shingahemb, revolved around her role as an intermediary with the world of the spirits and the ancestors. Rubbing herself with white clay, she prayed that the Kanyok enjoy good health, that their wives bear many children, that their fields be fruitful, and that the hunters return successful.[33]

As her title indicates, however, the Inamwan's greatest prestige came from her role as the mother of the chief. Among the Ruund, Ndembu, Kazembe, and Kanyok, the Namwan or Inamwan was honored not only as a leading matrilineal elder, but as the woman whose child served as political leader. According to the mythology of the nuclear Ruund, the most important Namwan was Rukonkesh, an early female elder and the biological mother of the first Mwant Yav.[34] Among the Kanyok, the incumbent Inamwan was regarded as the positional replacement for Citend, the mother of Shimat the legendary first chief of the Kanyok dynasty. Seen both as mother's sister and as mother, the Inamwan stood as parent and sister to the chief.[35]

Within the matrilineal savanna society, the Namwan's or Inamwan's husband the Shamwan was an outsider who had few economic, social, or political rights within the village or lineage of his spouse.[36] Thus, some modern informants refer to Citend's husband Mwamba Ciluu as "a man who paid no dowry: a mere stud who had no rights over his sons."[37]

Inabanz

A second powerful female official the Inabanz also had a subordinate male consort. As mother of the court from *in* (mother) and *banz* (court), the Inabanz was

the leading maternal aunt or sister of the chief. Allowed to wear *nsaka* (raffia cords) and a *kambuita* (necklace), and to carry a fly swatter, lance, and knife, the Inabanz wielded and symbolized the political authority of the ruling matrilineage. According to modern informants, the Inabanz watched over the affairs of the court and called on the ancestors for assistance. Furthermore, when she believed the lineage leaders were acting hesitantly, carrying her lance and knife she went into the presence of the male authorities and urged them to act with courage and decisiveness.[38]

Inabanz or *Nambanz*, a title known widely across the southern savanna region, consistently designates an official sister of the chief. Her consort, the Shabanz, frequently has a police or military function and is considered as a brother-in-law, an outsider to the ruling matrilineage. Because the Luba, Ciluba, Sanga, Ruund, Ndembu, Cokwe, Kazembe, and Sanga people have long used the titles and understand the kin relationships implicit in their use, Inabanz and Shabanz, along with Inamwan and Shamwan must be very ancient terms, known or invented by the earliest Bantu settlers in the area.[39]

Early Kanyok mythology and cosmology

In addition to their ideas about social stratifications and matrilineal family organization, another enduring legacy of the early Bantu-speaking peoples has been their mythology and cosmology. While the beliefs of present-day savanna peoples are different from those of their distant ancestors, the symbols, ceremonies, and stories of early people provided both the structure and the anecdotal materials for many later religious, social, and political concepts.

Recovering and reconstructing early intellectual history is a subject of intense debate and little agreement. The most ambitious, and perhaps the most error-prone, attempt to explain Bantu cosmology has been the work of structural anthropologist Luc de Heusch who links and juxtaposes the seasons, cycles of the moon, day and night, fertility and infertility, wet and dry, earth and sky, and civilization and barbarity as he attempts to recreate the faded tapestry of early Bantu cosmological understandings. In his bold and wide-ranging search for examples, de Heusch occasionally misuses his evidence. Minor details, which were casual embellishments in a myth, are marshaled to document major arguments. At other times, de Heusch joins unrelated stories together and then uses this artificial creation to demonstrate large structural themes and appositions. The greatest shortcoming in his book *The Drunken King*, however, is the tendency to overlook the historical evolution of myths and legends. Although de Heusch is well aware that the stories are ancient and have a complex history of transmission, he does not discuss the probability that myths of the nineteenth century were different from those of earlier centuries. A key function of the savanna myths, according to de Heusch, was to justify and glorify divine kingship. The structures of the myths, therefore, linked the king with positive values such as fertility, abundance, life, order, justice, and civilization. De Heusch then argues the beneficence of these elements was highlighted by comparing them with

competing and conflicting negative elements such as sterility, scarcity, death, chaos, cruelty, and barbarism. Certainly in the nineteenth century, divine kingship would have been intimately linked with positive concepts in the important myths of Central Africa. But, in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and perhaps even eighteenth centuries, before the emergence of kingship, such could not have been the case.[40]

It would be irresponsible to assume that the savanna cosmology and configuration of symbols have remained the same over the last millennium, but the widespread use of common ideas and the appearance of similar symbols in the earliest recorded savanna myths and legends do lend support to de Heusch's contention that Central Africa's cosmology and symbols, like other cultural elements, have an ancient, complex, and interlinked history. Although aware that clusters of symbols are often not used in exactly the same way from region to region, de Heusch argues that a common cosmology and symbology join peoples as widely scattered as the Ruund, Luba, Yombe (northwestern Zaire), Ruanda, and Venda (southern Africa). This unity, he contends, stems from a common regional or even Bantu heritage which has very ancient roots and which has been nourished by a long history of interaction among the savanna populations.

According to de Heusch, the basic savanna cosmology, embedded within its oldest and most widely known myths, was expressed by a series of bipolar – or at times tripolar – symbols which referred to the opposition between the rainy season and the dry season, the humid earth and the burning sun, the cool of the night and the heat of the day, the waxing moon and the waning moon, the cool water of lakes, rivers, and streams and the hot dry land, the beauty of women and the strength of men, the sterile blood of menstruation and the fertile blood of birth, and the destructive blood of murder and the productive blood of the hunt. These natural juxtapositions, never far from the mind of any hunting and gathering or agricultural people, were clustered and categorized in a way which allowed the savanna peoples to express and reflect upon deeply held anxieties, hopes, conflicts, and ambiguities. For example, the waxing moon, whose crescent points east, was seen as a symbol of good luck, health, and life while the waning moon, whose crescent points west, was associated with evil, hunger, sickness, and death. While the moral judgments about the moon's phases were purely arbitrary, the clustering of good luck, health, and life in opposition to the clustering of evil, hunger, sickness, and death reflected common concerns of the savanna peoples.

Besides investigating the basic values of the savanna people, de Heusch also asks how the people dealt with their concerns. How did they understand and accept the need for both the rain of the wet season and the parching drought of the dry season? How did they reconcile their desire for the light of day and their discomfort in the oppressive, and in their view, destructive rays of the sun? How did they protect themselves against the bad luck of the waning moon and prepare themselves for the good fortune of the waxing moon? How did they insure adequate food, fertile wives, and health and how did they cope with famine, barrenness, and sickness? Who, within their society, was most responsible for explaining the ambiguities of life, for imploring nature, the spirits, or the gods to

act with beneficence, and for restoring life, health, and plenty when evil had befallen the people?

Early Kanyok cosmological beliefs and concerns were expressed in stories and also through the ceremonies and rituals which punctuated the movement of the year, acknowledged the centrality of the bakishi and, at times, served to unite regional villages. One of the most important celebrations was the annual ritual hunt and feast, the cianza. Held across wide areas of the savanna where it was often linked to matrilineal leaders, the cianza was an institution with ancient roots. Among the Mbundu of Angola, matrilineal descent groups, which controlled the land, authorized and organized the communal fire hunts at the end of each dry season.[41] The Kalundwe, a Luba-related people living just east of the Kanyok, also held the cianza in August during the dry season. Gathering his warriors, hunters, and notables, the chief offered food to the ancestors and provided beer and meat to the people. Then the people sang the praises of the ancestors and invoked their blessing for the ritual hunt.[42] To the south, in Zambia's Kafue river area, the annual fire hunt was an event which attracted a large number of people – up to 300 men – from different villages. Thus the hunt fostered identities which extended beyond the local settlement and, in Zambia, regional village associations were defined by participation in the hunt.[43]

Among the Kanyok, as noted earlier, the Shingahemb, the matrilineage's chief liaison with the ancestors, was in charge of the hunt and feast. During the time of the year when the agricultural duties were light – in middle of the dry season between the labor of last year's harvest and the toil of next year's clearing and planting – the Kanyok people celebrated their unity, acknowledged their dependence on the maternal ancestors, and recognized the centrality of the hunter.

A second major festival was the *misoma*, the feast of the harvest held in April when the millet matured.[44] Prepared by the wives of the chief, the misoma emphasized the matrilineal leader's role as provider. Because the misoma was a symbol of plenty, productivity, and generosity, menstruating women, whose flowing blood suggested sterility, were not permitted to prepare or serve the feast.[45] Kanyok oral history claims that Mwananga Mwen a Ngoi and Citend, two of the very earliest matrilineal leaders, both held the misoma for their people. Kanyok historians also assert that the refusal or inability to hold a misoma has been the reason many ruling families were deposed by their people. Typical is the story of the chief Mulang a Kabw, one of the very earliest Kanyok rulers. According to the account, "When Mulang was chief he prepared a great feast. However, before the festivities began he became drunk and slept through the time of the feast. When he awakened the next morning he was greatly humiliated and the people hanged him."[46] The fall of Mulang, now recalled only as a stylized cliché about misoma, indicates the central importance of publicly distributing the spoils of the political process.

The Kanyok people looked forward to the cianza and the misoma, the elaborate annual festivals involving public ceremonies and feasts, but they also conducted monthly rituals to nurture their connection to the ancestral world. When the new moon – a sign of growth and good fortune – appeared in the sky, matrilineal elders

placed small wooden representations of the bakishi in a stream of running water which cleansed the statues from the social decay, ill will, immorality, and bad luck accumulated during the waxing of the moon. While the ceremony reminded the living of their dependence on the favor of the bakishi, it evoked more than vague sentiments of gratitude toward the ancestors. The monthly washing served as a moral admonition intended to prevent human misdeeds and imperfections such as drunkenness, theft, or adultery.[47]

Although the Kanyok people talked to the ancestors, the ancestors also spoke back to the people. Sound health or illness, plenty or famine, fertility or sterility, good luck or misfortune were interpreted as general messages from the bakishi. At times, however, the Kanyok needed more precise directives for recognizing a new chief, declaring an accused person guilty or innocent, going to battle, or beginning a journey. Oral history and Kanyok rituals indicate specific channels used by the ancestors to inform the living. When Citend, the founding Kanyok hero, entered the land, a very old woman, an individual whose age almost qualified her as an ancestor, first recognized Citend as a true princess. While the Kanyok regarded the old woman's testimony as important in identifying Citend as an authentic chief, magical divinations were crucial in validating Citend's right to rule. According to oral recollections, the old woman called for Mulaj Bandamayi who administered a trial involving eggs, a mortar, and a *disaka* (a basket-like percussion instrument containing dried seeds). Breaking the eggs in the mortar and shaking the disaka to the rhythm of the ancestors, Bandamayi determined Citend was a true chief because an impostor would have died when the eggs broke in the presence of the ancestors.[48] Another test to determine whether the ancestors accepted the people's choice of a chief was linked to the great ritual drum. Made and first played when a chief was installed, the quality of the drum's resonance indicated the approval or disapproval of the ancestors regarding the new ruler.[49]

Dreams were also a channel for the ancestors to indicate their will to the living. Before an important event such as a war, the chief or one of the elders would make an offering at a miniature hut consecrated to the ancestors. Later, after the bakishi had assessed the situation, they would appear in a dream to the individual and reveal the outcome of the battle. The intermediary could then inform the other people, telling them of imminent victory or preparing them for a very hard battle or even for defeat. Presumably the encouragement or warnings of the bakishi reflected valid and deeply held, but perhaps unarticulated, premonitions of respected leaders of the group. Even if impetuous officials disregarded ancestral words of caution, the bakishi would accompany their children to war; before a battle one could hear the sound of a powerful wind as the bakishi left their shadowy home to go with the warriors.[50]

The bakishi could be approached at the small ancestral houses constructed on the compound of the oldest male of each lineage, but the bakishi actually resided in an isolated and uninhabited area of the forest called the *cikok* located in the center of the Kanyok land near Etond. According to traditional lore, when an important man died, his spirit or *mukish* traveled to the cikok. As the man's mukish entered the forest, one could hear singing and drumming as the other

bakishi greeted the newcomer. The living were never to enter the sacred forest of the bakishi and, the Kanyok believed, an inattentive wanderer who stumbled into the area would become hopelessly lost. Only special rituals involving a white chicken or a white goat and the basket-like disaka could free the person who had strayed into the ancestral forest. Singing and rhythmically shaking the instrument, which resonated with the supernatural language of the ancestors, the village elders approached the forest chanting "We come to find the person who is lost, have pity and release him." After tying the white goat or chicken to a tree the elders departed. Several days later the lost person would return to the village or would be found by a hunter.[51]

Conclusions

While more work remains to be done and much will never be known, archeology, historical linguistics, ethnography, and twentieth-century oral accounts offer suggestive clues about the nature of early Kanyok society in the Luilu valley. By AD 1000, the hunting, gathering, and fishing Bantu people in the area could be distinguished from their Ruund neighbors and Luba relatives by location, language, and custom. Although familiar with metal-working, the early Kanyok made most tools from wood, bone, and stone. While they may have engaged in some indirect regional and even long-distance trade, subsistence economic activities occupied the people's time and provided for their livelihood.

Like other Bantu people, the Kanyok understood society as a composite of distinguishable and hierarchical groups. The Kanyok believed that racial identity and time of arrival into the land were the main identifying marks of social stratification, but in fact occupation and wealth were equally or more important distinguishing characteristics. Building their convictions upon these characteristics, the Kanyok believed that certain people had rights to the land, that others could dwell in the region only as resident aliens, and that still others were so weak that they had forfeited any claim to political office.

For the early Kanyok, the most important social, economic, and political reference group was the matrilineal family. Led by senior maternal uncles who were in charge of defending the people and their territory, managing the village's wealth, overseeing marriage and funeral arrangements, ensuring law and order, guaranteeing justice, protecting the people against dangerous spiritual forces, and maintaining good relations with the ancestors, the Kanyok lived in small, parochial communities. In addition to assisting male officials, important female titleholders represented the legal ancestors of the lineage and served as the real or symbolic mothers of the male leaders. Most political, social, economic, and religious activities took place at the village level, but occasionally activities like the annual dry season fire hunt gathered together people from clusters of neighboring settlements. Although the fire hunt provided an opportunity for people to arrange marriages, exchange goods, reunite families, and share ideas, such events also laid the foundation upon which more extensive regional political and economic institutions eventually would be constructed.

Early concepts about the moral and supernatural realm provided many intellectual structures inherited by the descendants of the first Kanyok people. Common natural phenomena such as the phases of the moon, changes in the seasons, the blood of slain animals, or newly harvested grain, linked symbolically to good luck, health, long life, fertility, generosity, and abundant crops, were embedded in rituals and myths where they were then juxtaposed with opposing symbols representing ill fortune, sickness, death, sterility, stinginess, and famine. Ceremonies and stories, which were informally recalled or officially performed, reinforced, interpreted, and transmitted the basic values and spiritual perceptions of the Luilu valley settlers. Although linguistic complexities, social hierarchies, economic differences, and overlapping lineage titles indicate Kanyok society accepted important transformations and innovations, the Kanyok people were conservative in outlook. Associating positive principles with the domain of ancestors, they envisioned an ideal world in the past and they consulted long-departed members of their families for guidance in the present. In a society which had to depend on rituals and oral recollections to preserve the memory and wisdom of the past, the Kanyok were able to maintain a constructive balance between change and order.

3

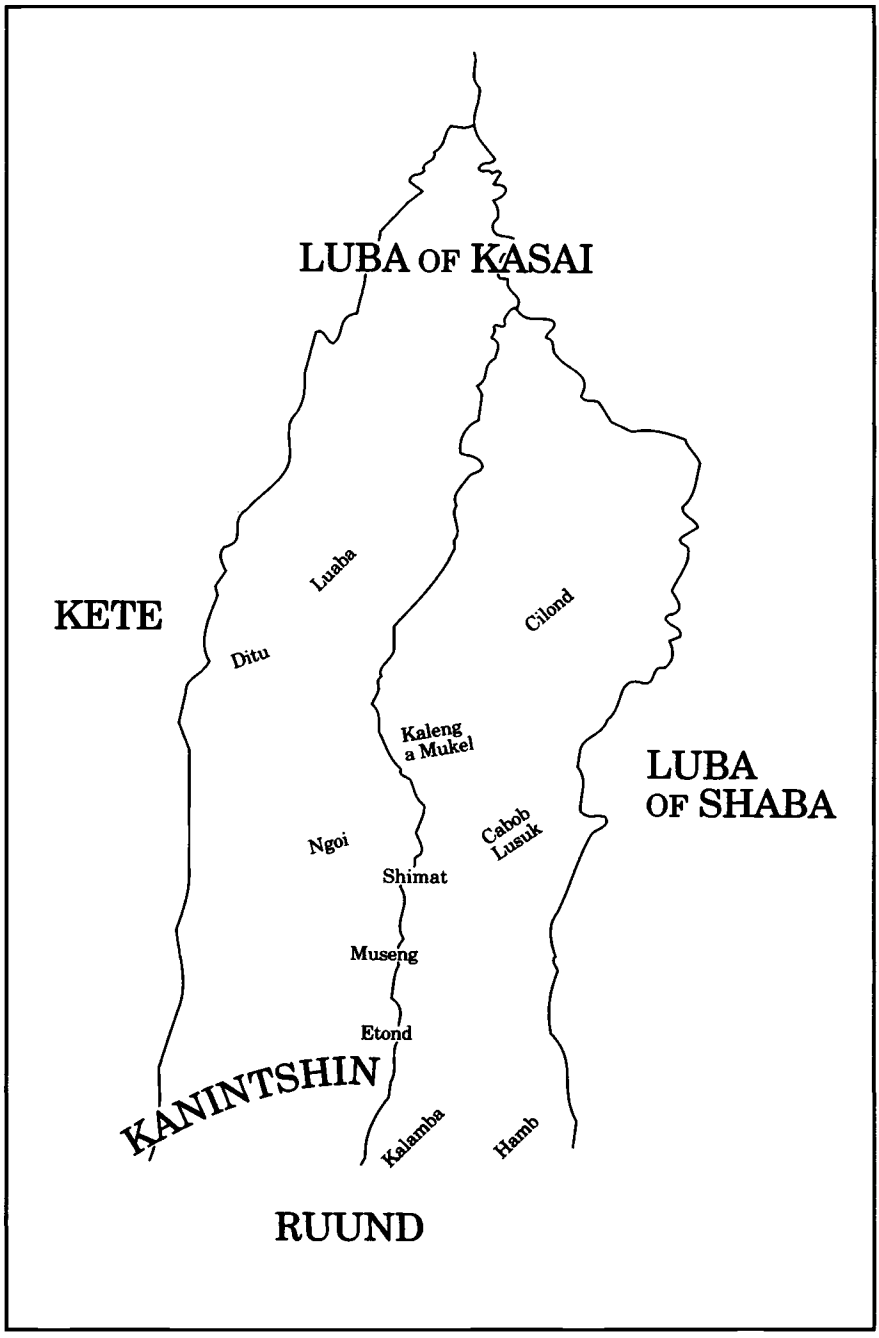
New legends for new leaders

Emergence of patrilineally controlled chiefdoms, ca. 1500 to 1700

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Kanyok, along with other people living on the southern savanna, experienced profound changes in their political, ritual, mythological, economic, family, and military life. These changes resulted in part from the accumulation of inevitable adjustments all societies make as they adopt a more sedentary existence, but outside forces and products, some from as far away as the Americas, also made this a time of transition and innovation. While the Kanyok and many of their neighbors had once been organized in small-scale matrilineal polities, by the end of the seventeenth century, ambitious patrilineally oriented big men gained control of most villages and regions.[1] (See Map 3.) Not only did the big men dominate military, political, and economic life, they or their supporters also transformed the rituals and legends which legitimized and perpetuated the new leaders in office.

New wealth, population growth, and insecurity

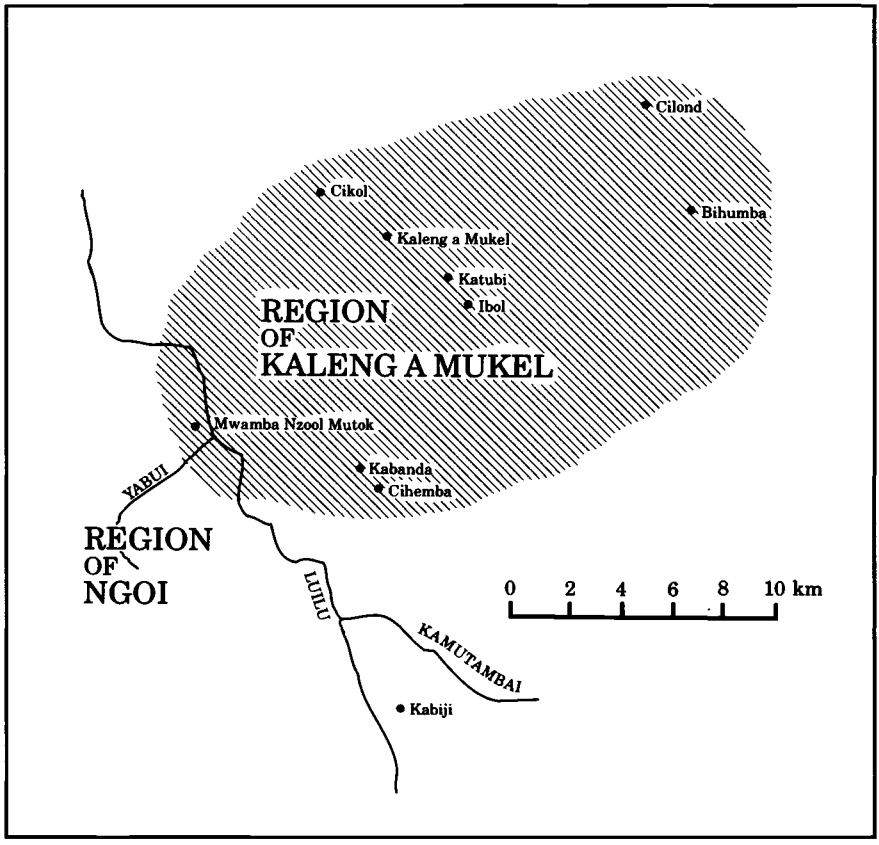
Evidence from surrounding peoples indicates that by 1500 the pace of local and regional commerce had quickened and that important centers for the production or exchange of traditional African products such as iron, salt, palm nuts, palm oil, dried meat and fish, and even copper had emerged across the southern savanna.[2] Before 1700, Kaleng a Mukel, a Kanyok region rich in palm groves, was known for the manufacture of salt. (See Map 4.) At Kaleng a Mukel, ash from burnt grass and palm branches was leached with water to produce a brine which was then boiled or allowed to evaporate until a form of salt remained.[3] Also, by the 1600s, the Kanyok people, who previously made iron ornaments and small tools, were producing metal in sufficient quantity to fashion larger implements and weapons. According to oral legend, Ngoi, near Mulundu, and Cilond, about 15 kilometers northeast of Kaleng a Mukel, were important centers for the forging of iron, a product replacing stone and wood in the manufacture of large tools such as hoes, axes, and knives. The modern residents of Cilond still point out the field near their village where Mwamba Mukadi Mut, a legendary associate of the first chief of Cilond, forged iron to make arrow tips.[4] Elsewhere in the Kanyok territory, villages were renowned for their supplies of fresh meat, dried fish, insects, or palm



Map 3 Early Kanyok regional chiefdoms

oil. The people who lived along the Luilu River near present-day Mulundu caught fish and traded them with their neighbors. Kabiji, one of the oldest fishing villages along the Luilu, derives its name from the leaves (sing. *mabiji*, pl. *kabiji*) used to wrap and carry the fish.[5]

Besides an increase in the production of salt, iron, and local foodstuffs, new food crops and agricultural practices changed the Kanyok economy. By about 1650 maize and cassava from the New World had reached the interior of Central Africa. Not only did these plants thrive on the savanna, but they were easy to store, transport, and prepare. Soon, therefore, they supplanted sorghum, millet, and other indigenous grains and roots as the foods of choice in the Kanyok diet. Although after 1000 agriculture began replacing hunting and gathering as the main source of food, the introduction of American crops in the 1600s quickened and completed the transformation. Because maize and manioc provided a more stable and generous supply of food, Kanyok population grew during the 1600s and



Map 4 Kaleng a Mukel in the seventeenth century

1700s. Fewer people, especially small children, succumbed to the diseases which accompany the chilly and hungry time at the end of the dry season.[6] Also, if nineteenth-century migration patterns reflect earlier practices, refugees from surrounding, less prosperous areas, entered the rich Luilu valley area during times of shortages in their home regions.

Even though the Kanyok people enjoyed increased economic prosperity, they were less secure militarily. By the early 1600s, the Kanyok and their neighbors engaged in periodic raids and battles. Although conflict with the Luba was minimal, oral records indicate that Ruund leaders constantly feared and frequently fought the Kanyok. Because the small Ruund chiefdom was located near the Nkalany River (upper Mbuji Mayi) and not at present-day Kapanga, it was vulnerable to attack from southern Kanyok villages whose warriors posed a grave danger to the Ruund.[7] Besides the Ruund, the Kanyok may have struggled with the Nkong living to the west. A people who today exist only as an ethnic group and not as a political entity, the Nkong were once greatly feared by the Ruund, and most likely by some of the Kanyok also. Perhaps the absence of a final vowel in the language of the Ruund and Kanyok can be attributed to the prestige and power of the Nkong people or polity that once dominated or threatened the entire region.[8] The Kete, who then lived near Kapanga southwest of the modern Kanyok, were also a source of danger for the small chiefdoms in the region. As late as 1700, the Kete were strong enough to capture the Ruund ruler Yav a Nawej when he attacked one of their fortified villages.[9] While oral records contain no suggestion of Kanyok–Kete conflict, the Ruund recollections point to a general climate of insecurity involving the Kanyok, Nkong, Kete, and Ruund.

As the wealth, food supply, and population of the Kanyok and their neighbors multiplied and as wars and raids became more intense, political, military, commercial, and lineage patterns shifted to take advantage of new opportunities and adjust to new pressures. Families and even individuals searched for new sources of authority to influence, allocate, or monopolize the wealth available from increased production, commerce, or booty. By gaining control over women, who produced both children and food; by dominating trade and tribute, the major channels for distributing surpluses and specialties; by building personal armies, crucial instruments of plunder or protection; or by achieving prominence in the magical and spiritual domain, a part of life no Kanyok could afford to ignore, some people were able to build the foundations of new economic, political, and religious arrangements which have persisted until the twentieth century. During this time when ambitious men and lineages sought ways to increase their power and wealth, the outlines of systems much larger than the small matrilineal village organizations began to take shape.

Warrior leaders emerge as big men

As both a destroyer of the old matrilineal system and as a harbinger of the new patrilineal polities, the *Kalamba* or big man emerged sometime before 1700. According to William Pruitt, an historian who grew up in the Salampasu region,

the process of transforming matrilineal structures progressed most among the Kanyok, who were subject to more pressure and influence from the Ruund and Luba, and advanced least among the fiercely independent Salampasu who retreated from their centralizing neighbors. While in the Kanyok state, Kalamba eventually became just another village name, to the west the title known as Kalamba Kambanji (pl. Tulamba Tumbanji) is still associated with powerful and opportunistic political leaders.[10]

Pruitt's description of pre-colonial Salampasu society offers a glimpse into a process which affected the Kanyok three centuries ago. The Salampasu, like the early Kanyok, vested authority in matrilineal clans which they called *mipanga* (sing. *mupanga*). These clans regulated marriage, guaranteed hospitality, administered tribute, and managed conflict. The rules and mores of the clans were enforced, however, by a secret warrior society (*mungongo*) which defended the land and ensured order at public functions such as dances, weddings, and markets.[11] Although young men joined a mungongo after their initiation at puberty, the mungongo unit was an ephemeral organization of thirty or forty people who grouped, separated, and regrouped in response to the level of internal or external threat.[12]

Around 1600 or 1700, when pressure from the increasingly powerful and ambitious Ruund forced the Salampasu to give more attention to defense, the mungongo warrior societies and their leaders the Tulamba Tumbanji began to challenge the matrilineages' monopoly of political and economic power. Gathering a group of unmarried men who ranged in age from fifteen to thirty, a Kalamba Kambanji offered his recruits training, experience in hunting and war, the spoils of battle, and access to concubines retained by the Kalamba. The Kalamba's village, says Pruitt, was a spirited settlement where young men competed for glory, women, and material goods.[13]

The Kalamba Kambanji's position as warrior chief and village administrator was demanding, rewarding, and tenuous. The main glue holding Kalamba's village or *ikota* together was the skill and generosity of its leader. Young men were free to come and go as they chose; what kept them was the Kalamba's expertise as a warrior and hunter, his ability to supply the recruits with material gifts, and his success in providing them with women during the years they worked to accumulate a dowry of their own. Although his task was challenging, an effective Kalamba could expect to gain substantial wealth and power. Success in the hunt and battle brought meat, booty, and women to the Kalamba's ikota. These, in turn attracted eager young warriors who insured the Kalamba's future success. While raw courage, strength, and bravado must have been valued characteristics of the Kalamba and his followers, the Kalamba also needed the qualities of shrewdness and diplomacy. In the competitive environment of the ikota, jealousy, rivalry, treachery, and disappointment always lurked ready to erupt and undermine the stability of the village. Frequently, the Kalamba would have been called on to settle disputes, resolve accusations of witchcraft, and encourage disheartened followers. Failure on his part resulted in the rapid and permanent dissipation of his mugongo.

In addition to these internal challenges, the Kalamba also had to contend with his matrilineal relatives. According to the rules of the matrilineage, the wealth the Kalamba so generously and frequently distributed to maintain his followers was wealth which should have been offered to his own maternal kin. To some extent, the Kalamba could circumvent the claims of his family by independently acquiring wives and concubines who cultivated his fields, satisfied his recruits, and produced offspring not controlled by any lineage.[14] Besides adding women to his village, the Kalamba also strengthened his position by welcoming refugees who offered themselves as clients or slaves in return for his protection. At times, through a ceremony in which these refugees revoked all ties to their former lineage, they became not only the clients but also the heirs of the Kalamba.[15] By acquiring children and clients not tied to the matrilineage, the Kalamba essentially acted as a powerful uncle ruling over a conglomeration of men, women, and children who were not controlled or claimed by any of the Kalamba's relatives. While the Kalamba tried to build an independent source of power, members of his own matrilineal family used the pressure of family loyalty or the threat of magic to limit the Kalamba's authority and to siphon wealth from his village. Unless a Kalamba had been very effective in establishing a firm base of support outside the lineage, once he became too old to lead or manage his tumultuous entourage, his wealth began to evaporate. At his death, many followers dispersed to join another Kalamba and his maternal relatives descended to claim any transportable property.[16]

Kanyok big men who built their power, wealth, and reputation on their ability to mobilize warriors for plunder and defense were especially active in the southern part of the land, the area most affected by conflict among the Kalundwe, Luba, Ruund, Kanyok, and Kete peoples. Not only do several southern Kanyok villages retain the name Kalamba,[17] legends about early southern chiefs suggest an atmosphere of opportunism, strife, and instability. The largest village named Kalamba, today a regional chief's capital and a town located a few kilometers north of the Ruund, supposedly was founded by Hian Musas whose origins and actions identify him as a big man. While Hian Musas is remembered as the first Mwen a Kalamba, no one claims he was an original inhabitant of the region. Stories of Hian Musas describe him as a Luba outsider who earned renown as a fighter and a rogue. Hian Musas' Luba origins seem doubtful – in the 1600s and 1700s every ambitious Kanyok chief claimed descent from a Luba hunter – but other tales of his deeds are consistent with his claims to have been an innovator and his exploits parallel those of the Salampasu Kalamba described by Pruitt.

Legends from Kalamba village describe their founder as a warrior for hire who was able to translate military might into political power. According to these tales,

> After Hian Musas settled in the Kanyok region, he gathered a group of warriors and fought as a mercenary for the neighboring Kalundwe [a Luba group just east of the Kanyok]. Hian Musas defeated his foes by constructing a magical snake bridge which descended into the water, drowning the enemy as they attempted to cross the bridge and attack Musas. Returning to what is now the Kalamba area, he aided a weak local chief Mwen a Kasheji to ward off attackers. Although Hian Musas had

> no difficulty attracting followers who were searching for profit or protection, he was seen as a threat by other area chiefs. Mwen a Kasheji, after accusing Musas of stealing his wives, forced the adventurer to relocate several kilometers to the south in the territory of a minor chief. Musas mustered enough strength to seize power from Mwen a Kasheji and force the deposed chief to perform the ritual washing at Musas' investiture. Not only was Musas washed in the river, but a special bridge was also constructed for the occasion. Unfortunately, the bridge collapsed and Musas and the people fell into the water. Musas still lacked legitimacy in the eyes of the surrounding people. Eventually, he attached himself to Etond, a powerful, neighboring village and gained recognition as Mwen a Kalamba.[18]

Thus, Kalamba men of memory, even today, recognize the source of the new chief's authority was not family and tradition, but his ability to exercise military power, generate wealth, and gain external support. Translating power into legitimacy was difficult and the cliché of the falling bridge points to the fragile character of a big man's constituency.

Other oral legends about Musas and the Mwen a Etond emphasize Musas' rootlessness, warriorly orientation, and dependence on Etond. Kalamba historians say "Hian Musas crossed the Luilu River where he met a village chief who in turn informed the Mwen a Etond that a lost stranger was wandering in the region. The stranger, said the village leader, could serve Etond as a slave or servant."[19] While in the minds of Kanyok storytellers, Hian Musas literally was journeying in the wilderness, his lostness actually was a literary cliché portraying political disconnectedness. Many early Kanyok leaders were described as lost or fleeing wanderers. Lostness served not only as a sign of separation from traditional lineage support, but also as a symbol of the freedom to innovate and create new political structures. Besides lostness, the symbol red, which is the color of blood and is a sign reminding savanna people of violence, battle, and conquest, was associated with Hian Musas. When Musas appeared before Mwen a Etond, the warrior big man made no claim to traditional sources of authority; legend says only that he came bearing a sword, that he was dressed in a red cloth, and that he wore a headdress of red feathers, all symbols of power predicated on force of arms. After informing Mwen a Etond of the danger posed by the presence of other interlopers like himself, Hian Musas agreed to serve as a sub-chief responsible to defend the area, to govern over three other villages, and to collect tribute for Mwen a Etond. Although a powerful chief, the new Mwen a Kalamba remained a subordinate of the Mwen a Etond and his descendants gained independence from Etond only after the arrival of colonial authorities.[20]

The power of a big man such as Mwen a Kalamba Hian Musas overshadowed the strength of many of the neighboring traditional matrilineal rulers, but his position was tenuous. Not only was there no way to assure that the big man's children would inherit his property and position, a big man was frequently the target of accusations that the ancestral spirits did not recognize his rule, and he was exposed to magical challenges designed to undermine his power. East of Kalamba at Hamb, the big man Katengul, who wanted to rule as Mwen a Hamb, easily wrested control from the ineffectual local chief Kashibu. Militarily unable

to confront the ambitious upstart, Kashibu then resorted to spiritual blackmail and forced Katengul to accept a compromise. Hamb oral historians recall the story as follows:

> Katengul, who had no traditional claim to political office, gained local prominence by assisting Kashibu to defend the territory against the encroachments of the Luba [probably the neighboring Kalundwe who lived just across the Lubilash River from Hamb]. Afterwards Katengul announced to Kashibu, "I am a stranger, but I won the war while you were too weak to defend yourself. Now I will be chief." In spite of Kashibu's protests and claims of legitimacy as an original inhabitant of the area, Katengul insisted on replacing him as chief. Although the defeated Kashibu then departed leaving Katengul to "eat from the land," the new chief's belly began to swell and he feared he would die. Recognizing that his illness was caused by an angry, jealous Kashibu, Katengul begged his defeated rival to return saying, "Why did you abandon me when I saved your life during the wars. I will remain chief, but you should stay and guard me." Eventually Kashibu invested Katengul as Mwen a Hamb by offering him a goat, giving him a drink of water and white clay, and by ritually washing him in a nearby river. In return, the new Mwen a Hamb gave Kashibu a woman, four goats, and a red cloth.[21]

Through this ritual exchange, Katengul acquired the symbols of traditional legitimacy, tribute in the form of a goat (probably white), white clay (signifying ancestral approval), and the ritual bath in running water (to remove any remaining trace of magical hostility). The gifts Kashibu received, four goats, a woman, and a red cloth, reminded participants at the investiture that Mwen a Hamb Katengul's power was rooted in wealth and the blood of battle. After this public transaction, which recognized that chiefly office now rested both on ancestral authority and on military and economic power, Katengul built his enclosure or compound and became the accepted ruler of the land.[22]

While some big men, such as Hian Musas, remained under the shadow of more prominent and powerful rulers and some, notably Katengul, were able to force the existing lineage leaders to hand over spiritual as well as political control, still others consolidated their position by seeking investiture from a prestigious neighboring chief who conferred permanent legitimacy on the pretender. Oral tradition suggests that the Mwen a Etond, a big man who won his office by bravery in war, became firmly established only after seeking ritual investiture from the Citend family. Legend from Etond says that the original chief at Etond, a timid man named Zongol, lived in constant fear of attack from another local ruler. Arriving at Etond, an outsider named Cish Mukul used his superior weaponry – bows and poison arrows – to bring peace.

> After the battle, Cish Mukul and Zongol traveled to the court of Citend to compete for investiture as Mwen a Etond. At Citend's village the contrast between the two men was apparent. While the hapless Zongol had no clothes, Cish Mukul dressed in the attire of a chief; while Zongol stayed at the house of the Kalul, Cish Mukul lodged with the higher-ranking female Inamwan.[23] To gain support from Citend, each man had to perform the tomboka, a ritual dance on a series of four mats laid down before the village elders who determined which man should be selected as chief. Before the dance began, Inamwan informed Cish Mukul that one of the mats

> concealed a dangerous hole filled with upright spears which would kill the unwary performer who stepped on the mat. During his dance, Cish Mukul danced on the mats, but he was careful not to step on the mat lying directly in front of Citend [the Inamwan]. Then, as he completed the dance, Cish Mukul leapt forward, hurled his lance into the mat, and exposed the trap. The people cried out that they had found a chief who could protect them in battle and, from that time on, Cish Mukul and his descendants have ruled as Mwen a Etond.[24]

On the surface, the ritual dance seems to have been a contest of agility, and courage, but the tomboka – whether real or a literary creation – was understood less as an ordeal of physical force and skill than as a measure of material wealth, social shrewdness, and political ability. Cish Mukul triumphed because he had gained the favor and confidence of the highest court officials through persuasion and tribute. Stories of the ritual investiture dance, common among the Kanyok and other southern savanna peoples, indicate that successful candidates gained the sponsorship of an insider through gifts and favors.[25] Nevertheless, the exchange of gifts at investiture should not be understood as a simple material transaction through which the wealthy were able to purchase and maintain political office. A candidate's ability to provide a large and continuous supply of gifts was not only an expression of his personal riches, but also of his constituent support.[26]

Once big men such as Cish Mukul consolidated their rule, oral traditions adjusted to and affirmed the new political reality by claiming earlier matrilineal chiefs had been uncivilized and rudely uncontrolled. According to legend,

> After the victorious Cish Mukul and the vanquished Zongol returned to Etond, Zongol's wives entered Cish Mukul's house carrying bundles of firewood. Defying Cish Mukul's explicit orders that wood must be set down gently and without noise, the unruly wives threw the wood loudly to the ground. Cish Mukul responded to this disruption by relocating Zongol and eventually deposing him as even a minor chief.[27]

In this tale, Etond oral tradition employed a standard savanna literary cliché equating noise and disobedience with chaos, and linking restraint and quiet with ordered security. The Etond assertion paralleled Luba stories in which the raucous laughter and uncouth eating habits of the matrilineal Nkongolo were contrasted with the refined courtly etiquette of the newcomer Mbidi Cilu whose son founded the Luba dynasty.[28] Like the innuendoes and half truths of negative campaigning in the twentieth century, the intent of such stories was to discredit opposing political systems, ideas, or leaders. The stories were recounted to evoke an emotional response on the part of the listener, not to present a plausible factual portrait. In the case of insinuations regarding uncivil laughter and eating, the emotional appeal touched worries about disorder, instability, and cultural inferiority.

In the southern Kanyok region, the big men Cish Mukul, Hian Musas, and Katengul not only challenged the authority of traditional matrilineal leaders, they also built alternative government organizations and patterns of acquiring power. While the new institutions relied more on a man's abilities and less on his lineage, the new leaders were not alien adventurers, as legend asserts, but rather local men

who found ways to circumvent or challenge the traditional authorities. In fact, the titles of these big men belie the claim of their descendants that the big men were outsiders. The name Cish Mukul or Cish the Elder suggests Cish was a maternal uncle who wrested control from other claimants within his own family. Nor far north of Etond, an early Mwen a Ngoi named Kazadi also bore the official title Mwananga, a name reserved for senior maternal uncles. In addition, the five sub-chiefs that oral tradition claims came with Kazadi Mwananga when he first entered the land had names identifying them with the local region. One was named Cioni, a mountain near Mulundu, and another Sasangal Nimukish, the *Basangal* (an original inhabitant) with his mukish (ancestral spirit). Furthermore, the families of all five sub-chiefs insist they are all Basangal, and not outsiders. Thus, stories about Cish Mukul, Hian Musas, Katengul, and Kazadi Mwananga should not be understood as factual descriptions of real Kanyok individuals, but as cliché-filled stories describing a process of political, social, and economic transformations that must have taken decades to complete.

Although the process which resulted in the emergence of big men cannot be dated with precision, it appears that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the greatest number of political innovations associated with the rise of big men. In Kanyok oral history, the legends of immigrant hunters stand at the beginning of long genealogies of rulers all tracing their legitimacy to these first big men. Because these genealogies reach back well into the eighteenth century or even before, big men must have been active by 1700,[29] and the surviving legends represent the completion of a political change which occurred between ca. 1500 and ca. 1700, an era when many big men sought power and wealth. Although in the end, the transformation from small-scale matrilineal village clusters to larger, patrilineally organized polities changed the entire Kanyok political landscape, the process of change was not uniform or irreversible. Some big men succeeded and even established dynasties and institutions which survived them. But probably others failed only to be followed by a return to years or even decades of matrilineal control.

Economic patrons emerge as big men

In the southern regions the rise of big men and the development of non-matrilineal political structures took place in a context of conflict, but in the north the redistribution of tribute and trade were more important factors in stimulating the process of innovation. According to legend, the big men in the north, also identified as outside hunters, came into empty and/or dormant lands. Reputedly, because their arrival brought life and prosperity to previously passive and sterile territories, the outsiders were installed as chiefs by grateful local inhabitants.

Stories from the villages of Luaba, Ditu, Cabob, Lusuk, and Cilond and tales from the nearby Luba Kasai people claim that for early chiefs the path to political advancement was through the institution of *Kuaba* (to exchange), the distribution of gifts and favors to kin, potential allies, clients, and patrons.[30] The name and the legend of an especially powerful northern Kanyok village, Luaba,[31] makes the

explicit claim that politics and chiefs began with kuaba. According to Luaba historians,

> A Luba hunter named Luaba Munkanya entered the area after hunting unsuccessfully in the Museng region. Coming north to the savanna of Kakoiyolo, he found plentiful game and built huts for himself and his two sons. When the minor local chiefs learned of Luaba's arrival, they came to investigate. Mwen a Yamb, a fisherman and the first to offer his greetings, received meat and yams from the hunter whose name Luaba was derived from the word kuaba meaning "to give" or "to distribute." Returning to his village, Mwen a Yamb reported he had seen a "godlike" hunter. When Yamb's friend Mwen a Citeng visited the hunter and received even more meat, he called all the people to meet the hunter who presented the local inhabitants with a buffalo. Pleased with the gift, the local people selected a savanna where Luaba could live permanently and rule as chief.[32]

The oral traditions from Luaba and other northern Kanyok regions assert the patrilineal newcomers introduced the tribute system and founded regional chiefdoms, but in fact they took advantage of a previously functioning political process and exerted control over an existing population. Many prominent matrilineages throughout the Kanyok land had already extended their political and economic influence over a number of nearby villages. The story of Citend's arrival at Kaleng a Mukel near modern Luputa indicates that the matrilineal Citend chiefdom collected tribute from the small surrounding villages of Ibol, Kabanda, Mafumba, Cikol, Bandamayi, Cihemba, Bihumba, Katubi, and Mwamba Nzool Mutok. Although the Citend domain was not large, it covered about 500 square kilometers, linked villages in about a 15 kilometer radius, and included perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 people living in villages of several hundred inhabitants each.[33] To the south, Etond served as the center of a similar tribute network linking about a dozen smaller villages by the time it was taken over by a patrilineal challenger.[34]

Some "outside hunters" may have been interlopers, but most were ambitious matrilineal leaders who monopolized economic and political power in their own villages and regions. These "newcomers" did not invent the concept of tribute, nor did they construct radically novel institutions. Since kuaba was a system based partially on principles of taxation, partially on concepts of the market, and partially on sentiments of family loyalty and respect, big men were able to elevate their own status and transform the system by encouraging a gradual shift away from the emphasis on family duty. A pattern emerged whereby powerful men, usually matrilineal rulers or pretenders but sometimes aggressive villagers or outsiders with no solid legal claim to office, were able to dominate the village or regional tribute and decision-making process. Taking advantage of existing tribute networks for the exchange of local products such as palm nuts, palm wine, fish, insects, meat, raffia cloth, salt, and iron, these individuals were able to control or even intensify the flow of tribute goods through their villages.[35]

The competition between the big man and the matrilineage or among rival big men resulted in occasional realignments as people shifted, first, their economic, and then, their political loyalty from one leader to another. Employing a common savanna cliché, legends from Cabob describe a contest which resulted in one

man's family gaining control of the village chiefship and in another's family surrendering its previous position of power and prominence. The Cabob elders recall that:

> Two men, Mbang and Kashal a Ngoi, came to Cabob from Kalundwe east of the Lubilash River. Although Kashal was installed as chief and people brought him offerings of meat, instead of redistributing the food, Kashal ate it all himself. On the other hand, when people killed an animal and brought it to Mbang, Mbang was generous and shared the meat with others. As a result, Mbang was loved but Kashal became sad and left Cabob to live elsewhere. Ever since that time, only Mbang's family has ruled at Cabob.[36]

This story about a struggle at Cabob indicates that the Kanyok regarded a leader's ability and willingness to maintain an active kuaba network as a crucial element for maintaining political legitimacy.

Oral traditions from nearby Lusuk indicate that a big man's standing in more extensive tribute/trading networks could also affect his local political status. Mulang, the putative Luba founder of Lusuk village, lost his chiefly position because he refused to pay tribute to the more powerful Citend matrilineage. "Saying he would die before offering tribute to Citend, Mulang took his entire family along with all their belongings and disappeared into the Lubilash River for ever."[37] Significantly, Mulang's replacement, a big man named Muhemb a Cikok, is said to have gotten along well with Citend; tradition recalls that he regularly took tribute to the polity she symbolized.[38] Other Lusuk elders suggest that Mulang's opposition to the more powerful and more aggressive neighboring Citend tribute system resulted in wars which led the people of Lusuk to depose their leader.[39] Although it is not clear if the people were unhappy because of their restricted exchange network or because of Citend's retaliatory raids on their village, oral tradition insists that the people of Lusuk turned against a chief who failed to maintain the extra-village tribute network.

Legends from Cabob and Lusuk, which simplify and personalize a complex series of events, both recall and obscure economic and political changes affecting the Kanyok during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Any reconstruction of what actually happened remains tentative and somewhat speculative. Because the tribute process was reciprocal – the people offering goods received gifts in return – some individuals could have been tempted to divide and even shift their tribute loyalties. Local villagers would have been obligated to offer tribute to their own matrilineal rulers or to an aggressive big man, but more distant people were able to exercise greater choice about how often they would visit and what they would take to the tribute center. Because such people could take advantage of alternative tribute emporia, the pressures of competition led big men to improve the quality and efficiency of their operation. An energetic leader who could guarantee security, insure regular supplies, and encourage product variety would have increased the size of his tribute exchange network. Able to offer a more bountiful and dependable supply of gifts, perhaps including some exotic items, effective chiefs attracted followers who preferred them over both the traditional matrilineal leaders and rival big men. Because the tribute system of kuaba was

reciprocal and not purely exploitative, some people, especially those living equidistant between two centers of tribute, may have begun offering gifts to several village leaders. It is even conceivable that enterprising individuals served as brokers or intermediaries by exchanging products among several local centers. Using the wealth generated from tribute to acquire scarce goods and to purchase female pawns not bound to a matrilineage, big men were able to increase their possessions, political prestige, and tenure. Occasionally, an especially prominent big man became so successful in attracting clients that he overshadowed the traditional leaders and was able to transmit his newly won power and wealth to his own household. Although the big man probably saw this as a gesture toward creating a new matrilineage, in fact it was a step toward establishing novel patrilineal arrangements.

Even in the late twentieth century, the process described in the personalized metaphors about big men such as Luaba, Kashal, Mbang, Mulang, and Muhemb continues to operate among the Kanyok. The most prosperous Kanyok villages are led by dynamic chiefs known for their generosity and extensive tribute networks. Hamb in the south, Museng and Mulundu in the center, and Luaba in the north boast strong chiefs, well-built houses, clean streets, numerous visitors, and plentiful supplies of food. Traders and tribute-bearers from outlying or even distant areas frequent these villages where they exchange gifts or compete for office. In contrast, other previously prominent villages betray signs of disrepair and material shortage.[40] Not surprisingly, the inhabitants and neighbors of the depressed villages regularly complain that the chiefs are selfish and that they "eat" all the tribute for themselves. While people living in the villages of these "stingy" chiefs have no recourse, unless they choose revolt, but to accept their leaders, people from more distant villages reduce their tribute to minimal, symbolic levels or take their gifts to one of the more generous and prosperous rulers. Once such a pattern begins, it accelerates leaving the rejected chiefs with less quantity and variety in the stock of goods they have to redistribute and with fewer clients willing to exchange gifts of tribute at their courts.[41] Similarly, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the military and economic power of big men enabled them to wrest political and spiritual power from the matrilineal leaders who, until that time, had managed the affairs of Kanyok villages.

New legends for new leaders: sterility and seduction

Their ability to mobilize bands of strong warriors and to generate an increased flow of tribute allowed the big men to challenge the traditional leaders, and their success in gaining political investiture or spiritual recognition from deposed or rival matrilineal chiefs enabled them to begin legitimizing their positions, but they and their families could not have been secure until the oral storytellers recounting Kanyok history acknowledged their right to rule. Reshaping the legends, a process which occurred slowly over several generations, both discredited the former political system and its officials and celebrated the new order and its leaders. In modifying oral history Kanyok storytellers emphasized the contradictory themes

of sterility and seduction. Not only did they label the ancient matrilineal societies as sterile, stingy, disorderly, and insecure, they also portrayed the new patrilineal polities as seductive, generous, orderly, and strong.

Modifications in the legend of Citend at Kaleng a Mukel illustrate how an accepted story supporting an established matrilineal chiefdom was revised and embellished to create a new legend underpinning a big man and his patrilineal descendants. Because the changes introduced into the narrative praised the new rulers and condemned previous leaders, it is possible to determine the general chronological framework of the story's development. Although little remains of the pre-eighteenth-century Citend story, tales of a tribute system and a matrilineal chiefdom at Kaleng a Mukel are remnants of legends from the ancient Citend lineage. Because the Kaleng a Mukel chiefdom has been defunct since about 1700 when the area was incorporated into the holdings of the more powerful Mwen a Kanyok's dynasty located 35 kilometers southwest at Mulundu, any reports about Citend and a functioning Kaleng a Mukel polity must predate that takeover. In fact, since the original Citend legend described Kaleng a Mukel at its height and not in its decline, the Citend story probably emerged by 1600.

The Kaleng a Mukel legends did not die completely with the Mulundu victory around 1700.[42] However, after Kaleng a Mukel was absorbed into the Mulundu territory, the stories were transformed to celebrate Citend's fall instead of her rule. After 1700, legends of Citend and Kaleng a Mukel were used by praise singers at the victorious Mulundu to show the seductive advantages of the new political order over the sterile and outmoded structures of the past. In this way, stories of a defeated or disgraced Citend paralleled accounts of Mwen a Kasheji at Kalamba or Kashibu at Hamb.

The revised Citend story, a cliché of seduction describing how the chiefdom succumbed to aggressive newcomers, was similar in structure to other tales of big men taking over matrilineal polities at Kalamba, Hamb, Cilond, or Cabob. After recalling an old account of a matrilineally organized tribute network at Kaleng a Mukel, the legend added the saga of several big men who challenged the Citend control of the area around modern Luputa. Kanyok historians claim that, "Even though Citend was carefully guarded in her house by several old women, she managed to have sexual relations with two wandering Luba hunters. One, named Mwamba Mukadi Mut, eventually established a chiefdom at Cilond, while the other, Mwamba Ciluu [Mwamba the hunter] married Citend and fathered a son Shimat."[43] Oral records records contain little else about Mwamba Ciluu and Mukadi Mut, but the two legendary outsiders symbolically represent big men who married into the matrilineage and then rivaled or replaced the traditional leaders.

Besides the claim that Citend was seduced by Luba hunters, oral accounts also contain clichés unmistakably discrediting the Citend family by asserting that the family's rule had become moribund and sterile. Legend says that for a while after her marriage to Mwamba Ciluu, all went well for Citend.

> Then it came time for Citend to offer a feast for her people. Manioc and meat were cooked in great quantities; many calabashes of palm wine were carried to her village. Unfortunately, after all the preparations had been made and all the people

> assembled, Citend began her menstrual cycle and became ritually unclean. During her time of impurity, which lasted six days, Citend had to remove her clothes and hide herself in the forest. Since she could not offer the feast, it was decided that her infant son Shimat [meaning to sit securely], who unlike Mwamba Ciluu was of royal blood, should distribute the food. Seated on a leopard skin and aided by his father Mwamba Ciluu, Shimat called out each person's name and gave them food. Realizing that a woman could not serve as an effective chief, the people deposed Citend and installed Shimat in her place.[44]

At the conclusion of the story, Kanyok men and women of memory always add that after that time, neither Citend nor any other female has ever served as chief.

For the Kanyok, as for other Central African people, the blood of menstruation has profound symbolic importance.[45] Although, when a young girl reaches puberty, menstruation is a sign of fertility and approaching motherhood, uncontrolled flowing blood for an adult woman is a mark of sterility. Menstrual blood indicates that a woman is not pregnant and, therefore, may be possessed by an unclean and possibly contagious magical power. During her monthly period, a Kanyok woman is not allowed to serve food, a nurturing act, and she must remove herself from the civilized settings of the village and retreat to the untamed natural surroundings of the bush.[46] If, even inadvertently, a Kanyok woman should serve a meal during her period, elaborate magical remedies are taken to counteract the effects her sterility could have on others who ingested the food. No one is more carefully shielded from this sterility than a Kanyok chief who is responsible for the fertility and prosperity of the entire land and people. Not only are the chief's meals prepared by just a handful of his most reliable wives, two slave officials, the Cikal and the Mwadi a Mbal, remain in the kitchen area to make sure no unclean woman touches the food.[47] If, through inattention or ignorance, a menstruating woman comes into contact with the chief's provisions, the Talaji's powerful magic is required to cleanse the ruler of sterile sympathetic forces.[48]

The claim that Citend was sterile and unable to offer feasts and maintain the tribute system was the most devastating charge oral history could level against the fallen matrilineal chiefdom. Although many twentieth-century Kanyok storytellers understand the tale as an etiological account of why women cannot serve as chiefs, when the story first emerged it was intended as a direct challenge to the recently fallen Citend matrilineage and not as a safeguard against non-existent female chiefs.[49]

Another briefer and less widely known story depicted the decay and fall of the Kaleng a Mukel chiefdom by describing the collapse of Citend's hut. According to the tale, "After Citend had lived at Kaleng a Mukel for a long time, her hut fell down and she decided to move south. The people, unhappy to see her leave and hoping to prevent her departure, used force to obligate Citend to remain. She prevailed, however, and relocated her capital southward across the Luilu river."[50] Although this oral cliché is cryptic, the account of degeneration and defeat reinforced the more dramatic story of Citend's loss of power and prestige.

In all, three clichés recounted the seduction, sterility, and fall of the Citend

matrilineage. The first, a common cliché recalling the conflict between ambitious big men and a matrilineage, only reported the results of the competition between Citend and her lover-rivals, Mwamba Mukadi Mut and Mwamba Ciluu. Although the cliché provided no clue about the dynamics of the process except to assert that Citend's female guardians opposed her liaisons with the wandering hunters, the tale was attached to the original stories about Citend and Kaleng a Mukel only after the completion of a long political struggle in which big men gained an advantage over the traditional matrilineal leaders. The second cliché, the most vivid, describing Citend's inability to offer a feast and practice kuaba, discredited Citend by characterizing her matrilineage as barren and infecund. The third cliché, an account of Citend's hut collapsing, repeated the claim that the matrilineage had lost its ability to rule. This cliché also suggested an atmosphere of conflict by stating that the people of Kaleng a Mukel "used force to obligate Citend to remain."

Although the story of Citend's infertility transferred authority to her lover-rival, the big man Mwamba Ciluu, his position was seen as precarious and temporary. Oral accounts went so far as to assert explicitly that Mwamba Ciluu was only a consort with no right to sit on the chief's chair. Today, all Kanyok storytellers portray Mwamba Ciluu as a transitional figure who wrested power from Citend but immediately recognized his infant son Shimat as the rightful leader. As a child of the now sterile, but once fertile, Citend, Shimat was not damaged by his mother's curse and he alone had the right to sit on the royal leopard skin, name the sub-chiefs, offer a ritual feast, and operate the tribute system. Thus, the story adroitly discredited the previous matrilineal rulers and legitimated a usurper by connecting him to positive elements in the Citend oral history.

Besides using the accounts about big men to mark a transition from moribund matrilineal systems to enticing patrilineal political arrangements, Kanyok storytellers employed the tales as vehicles connecting the Kanyok to the larger savanna world. For the Kanyok, as well as for many of their neighbors, Luba society offered the most prestigious political linkages, profitable economic opportunities, vivid symbolic representations, and powerful magical rituals. Thus, legends made explicit claims that the Kanyok big men such as Cish Mukul and Mwamba Ciluu were Luba hunters, many stories asserted the big men had been invested in office by a Luba chief, and the accounts stressed that the newcomers continued to offer tribute at the Luba court.

Men of memory at Museng, a prosperous regional chiefdom boasting a chiefly genealogy reaching back to the early seventeenth century, argue that the first Mwen a Museng, a man named Kateng Muswabengm (sometimes called Musas), was a Luba hunter sent to the area by the Luba Mulopwe.

> Arriving at Museng, the hunter discovered four minor chiefs already living in the area. Both Muswabeng and his son Lumb gathered tribute from the minor chiefs and then travelled to the Mulopwe's court where they exchanged gifts with the Luba leader and were invested as chiefs after performing the tomboka ritual dance. When Musas appeared before the Mulopwe, he led the group in singing, dancing, and in presenting gifts of tribute.[51]

According to official Museng history, the Mulopwe then expressed his satisfaction by appointing Musas chief over the other rulers in the Museng region. The connection between the Kanyok village of Museng and the Luba court is made even more explicit by the claim that the name Museng (from *basabeng mukaleng*, meaning to amuse or calm the king with singing, dancing, and gifts and, thus, a clear reference to tomboka) supposedly was given to Muswabeng's fourth-generation descendant Musas by a Luba chief.[52]

Legends from Ngoi, the region all Kanyok regard as the oldest Kanyok territory, also link early big men with the Luba. Some informants claim that the original Mwen a Ngoi Kazadi had actually been a Mwananga (maternal uncle) in the court of the great Luba Mulopwe.

> After emigrating to the area east of the Luilu River, Mwen a Ngoi Kazadi settled on the Yabui River near Mulundu hill where he founded the village of Ngoi. Although separated from his former ruler, Ngoi continued to send gifts of tribute to the Mulopwe. After Kazadi's death, his son Kazadi a Kazadi returned to the Luba capital to receive investiture as chief in his father's stead. At the Mulopwe's court, he performed a series of prodigious feats – cutting down and burning a green munkamba tree and not defecating in the Luba land. Afterward, Kazadi a Kazadi was asked to dance the tomboka. With the help of a Luba female official, Kazadi a Kazadi learned which mat concealed the deadly pit. Carefully avoiding the spear-filled trap, the Kanyok candidate completed his dance, threw his lance into the mat, and was invested as chief by the Mulopwe. Once he had won investiture, Kazadi a Kazadi returned to rule the people and lesser chiefs at Ngoi. Annually, after collecting local gifts of tribute, he travelled eastward to render homage and exchange gifts at the Luba court.[53]

This story of Ngoi is just one example demonstrating that by the time the process of recasting Kanyok oral legends to legitimize innovative big men had been completed, perhaps by 1700, all Kanyok leaders and heroes, even those of earlier matrilineal polities, had been transformed into patrilineal rulers who reputedly maintained close ties with the prestigious Luba regime.

Luba, Ruund, Ben'Ekie, and Kalundwe legends of big men

While the content of Kanyok legends explicitly claimed a link between the Kanyok and their Luba cousins, the structure of the legends provides even more compelling evidence of a significant early association involving not only the Kanyok and Luba, but also the Ruund, Kalundwe, and Ben'Ekie. Located on the periphery of both the Luba and the Lunda worlds, the Kanyok peoples were influenced by changes affecting both cultures. Living between the Lunda and the Luba, the Kanyok and their eastern neighbors the Kalundwe may have served as a conduit for ideas and products which spread across the entire southern savanna region. Thus, while later African and European observers considered the Kanyok as peripheral, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Kanyok occupied a pivotal place in savanna society.

In marking the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal politics in the Kanyok

territory, legends of Citend and Mwamba Ciluu from Kaleng a Mukel, Mwen a Kasheji and Hian Musas from Kalamba, Kashibu and Katengul from Hamb, Zongol and Cish Mukul from Etond, Mwen a Yamb and Luaba from Luaba, and Matshioni Mabiji and Kazadi Mwananga from Ngoi, replicate accounts from the Luba, Ruund, Kalundwe, and Ben'Ekie. Structurally parallel legends of matrilineal polities losing power to patrilineal founder-hero interlopers are common throughout the southern savanna. In every case, the sterility of the earlier matrilineal system was juxtaposed with the seductiveness of the patrilineal polity. The uniformity of these accounts indicates not only that similar social and political forces were influencing many peoples living on the southern savanna, but that the connection among distant individuals and groups was sufficiently active to enable the sharing of stories and legends explaining the changes.

The tension between seduction and sterility dominates the political mythology of the Kanyok's nearest linguistic relatives the Luba. Describing their earliest leader Nkongolo as an uncouth and cruel man who married his own sisters, Luba oral recollections claim Nkongolo's incestuous matrilineal chiefdom was sterile and uncivilized until Mbidi Cilu, a seductively attractive hunter from the east, entered the land and impregnated Nkongolo's sister-wives. Although Mbidi Cilu introduced chiefly etiquette to Nkongolo's uncivilized domain, he departed from the region before his exogamous wives gave birth. Mbidi's son, a prodigious warrior hunter named Kalala Ilunga, soon surpassed his maternal ruler/uncle Nkongolo in bravery, beauty, cunning, and magical power. Called by Nkongolo to dance on a series of mats, one of which concealed a spear-lined pit, Kalala Ilunga succeeded in exposing the lethal trap. Immediately after outwitting his maternal rival, Kalala Ilunga fled to mobilize an army which he used to defeat and kill the discredited Nkongolo. Only the patrilineal descendants of Kalala Ilunga, Luba legend asserts, are eligible to reign as Mulopwe; only they have sacred blood in their veins.[54]

Ruund legends recall a similarly structured story. According to the Ruund, they were once ruled by leaders who traced their lineage back to Iyal a Mwaku, variously identified as a god-like spirit or as a maternal uncle. The transition to a political system dominated by the office of Mwant Yaav began with Iyal a Mwaku's descendant Konde who lived with his daughter Ruwej the Inabanz, and his two lazy, drunken sons. One day, when Konde was weaving baskets, the sons came upon their father soaking fibers in water. Mistaking the whitened water for palm wine, they beat the old man for wasting a precious drink. As Konde lay dying from their abuse, he disinherited his sons and invested the authority of his chiefly office upon his only daughter Ruwej. Ruwej, the Inabanz, did not marry until she met a handsome stranger, a Luba hunter named Cibinda Ilunga who wooed the princess and taught her subjects how to hunt with the bow. The marriage of Ruwej and Cibinda Ilunga introduced happiness and prosperity to the Ruund people, but it brought jealousy and consternation to her cruel and worthless brothers who gathered their followers and left the country for ever. Although Ruwej herself never succeeded in becoming pregnant by Cibinda, she offered her servant, a woman named Rukonkesh or Inamwan, to Cibinda. The offspring of

this union, recognized as Ruwej's own, became the first Mwant Yaav or ruler of the Lunda.[55]

Several hundred kilometers north of the Kanyok, a Luba-related people, the Ben'Ekie, repeat similar accounts of how an ambitious patrilineal outsider replaced the incumbent matrilineal rulers. According to the Ben'Ekie, in ancient times the people were led by the nephew of a female chief named Kitoto. After the Ben'Ekie had settled in the land, a Luba hunter named Lubamba appeared in the forest near Mulemba village and offered the local inhabitants buffalo meat. Although some of the Ben'Ekie wanted to kill the stranger, the women and elders welcomed Lubamba. Not only was Lubamba generous – his praise name "Ena Kilolo" means "he who is generous" – he was also a cunning protector who saved the village from a dangerous leopard. Eventually, Lubamba settled at Mulemba village and married the daughter of a renowned sorcerer. Although his wife was difficult to impregnate (a symbolic indication of resistance to the new political and social order), Lubamba engaged the assistance of a powerful magician and eventually fathered a son named Nkole. Upon Lubamba's death, Nkole succeeded his father and, resembling the patrilineal heroes in Kanyok, Luba, and Ruund stories, after receiving ritual investiture and ancestral approval, Nkole reorganized the government, established a new patrilineal chiefship, unified the Ben'Ekie people, and expanded his domain.[56]

Perhaps the richest and most complicated legendary account of the transition from matrilineal arrangements to patrilineal structures is that of the Kalundwe, a people living just across the Lubilash River from the Kanyok. According to Kalundwe oral records, the region was originally organized as a matrilineal community of five villages ruled by the female chief Tshimbale Bande who lived at Tshifinga village. Eventually, however, Tshimbale Bande's regime was challenged and replaced by three ambitious male outsiders who began "families" and laid the foundations for a patrilineal chiefdom. The first "outsider" was a big man named Kongolo Mwana identified as Tshimbale Bande's nephew.

> A member of the Bena Basonge family living just west of the Luembe River, Kongolo Mwana assembled a troop of warriors which he used to subdue the small independent chiefs in Luba territory west of the Luembe. After one of his conquering forays to obtain booty and gather recruits from the defeated Luba villages, Kongolo Mwana stayed for a time with his aunt Tshimbale Bande. When he was ready to depart, many of his warriors elected to remain in Tshimbale Bande's territory. These individuals, still known as the Bena Basonge, established one of the three great families eligible to rule over the Kalundwe.[57]

The description of the legendary Kongolo Mwana indicates the Kalundwe remember one of their three patrilineal leaders as a typical big man, a Kalamba who organized a group of mercenaries which he used to attack small Luba villages east of the Kalundwe area. The account also admits that Kongolo Mwana was a local individual whose roots were within the traditional matrilineage. The story suggests that as the matrilineage expanded, aggressive and powerful men like Kongolo Mwana were able to insure that new matrilineal chiefs regularly were

drawn from their branch of the extended family. Technically, Kongolo Mwana may not have broken the traditional rules of succession, but he insisted they be interpreted to favor the Bena Basonge branch of candidates eligible to serve as Kalundwe chief.

The second Kalundwe founding hero was a Lunda hunter Mukunkwe Kabeya. The story of Mukunkwe Kabeya contains parallels to the Ruund legends of Cibinda Ilunga and Ruwej and is virtually identical to the Kanyok tale of Mwamba Ciluu and Citend.

> During the time of Tshimbale Bande, groups of Lunda hunters regularly entered Kalundwe territory. A particularly brave and skilful hunter Mukunkwe Kabeya courted and married the female Kalundwe chief. Tshimbale Bande continued as chief and one of her most important functions was to preside over the annual Tshianza ritual hunt. As supreme ruler, she dressed in her chiefly attire, sat on a leopard skin, distributed meat and drink to the assembled guests, and offered food to the ancestors. Unfortunately, one time when Tshimbale Bande was about to hold the Tshianza, she began her menstrual cycle. Ritually sterile and bound by custom to isolate herself from the village, she delegated temporary power to her husband Mukunkwe Kabeya who completed the festival by feeding the people and the ancestors. Because the Lunda hunter conducted himself so well, the assembled Kalundwe unanimously proclaimed him as their chief saying, "Tshimbale Bande refuses to remain chief, she has become a woman who desires a husband." Mukunkwe Kabeya's children, known as the Bena Kabeya, are the second great family eligible to rule the Kalundwe.[58]

The similarity between the account of Tshimbale Bande and the Kanyok Citend indicates the Kalundwe and Kanyok drew from a common stock of savanna ideas about the sterility of the discredited matrilineal organization and the seductiveness of the newer patrilineal mode, and also that the Kanyok and Kalundwe shared specific stories. The willingness to borrow indicates the savanna people were aware that tales of menstruating female rulers or of male usurpers distributing food and drink were not literal descriptions, but were symbolic clichés intended to interpret, explain, and legitimize a particular political and social order. Therefore, in adding the borrowed story of a sterile woman ruler and a seductive and generous male hunter, the Kanyok or Kalundwe were modifying or expanding a political philosophy. They were not rewriting the facts of history.

The third Kalundwe patrilineal founding hero was also a Lunda, a sorcerer named Poyo Gandu who succeeded in building an independent power base and establishing his descendants as one of the three ruling families.

> Supposedly the descendants of Mukunkwe Kabeya invited Lunda magic workers, including Poyo Gandu, into the Kalundwe territory. Both skilled and ambitious, Poyo Gandu claimed that a Kalundwe chief Kamasongo Mwamba promised him the throne upon the leader's death. Although Kamasongo Mwamba's children disputed the claim, Poyo Gandu was able to defeat them in battle and gain acceptance as the father of a patrilineal family entitled to share the Kalundwe chiefship.[59]

With the story of Poyo Gandu, a potent magic worker, the Kalundwe cycle is complete. Paralleling other savanna stories of the rise of big men, the series of

tales points to a transition from matrilineally organized rule to patrilineally oriented government.

Themes of sterility, seduction, and supernatural power which dominate the Kalundwe stories are the same elements evident in Kanyok, Lunda, Luba, and Ben'Ekie accounts. Thus, the structure, content, and symbols of southern savanna legends illuminate a dynamic period when small-scale matrilineal communities were transformed into patrilineally organized chiefdoms and when savanna peoples shared a common stock of stories and explanations about the changes impacting their world.

Conclusions

Constructed from symbols and clichés, the legends and myths of the Kanyok and their neighbors provide a record containing early interpretations and explanations of a major political transformation as patrilineal interlopers supplanted the ancient matrilineal leaders. The pattern of innovation across the savanna varied from village to village or region to region. At times a plundering warrior big man submitted to the social and political regulations of the matrilineage, only gradually to supplant the traditional system. At other times such an individual wrested control from his patron-protector, driving the incumbent leader from office and destroying existing political arrangements. In most places, however, change came almost imperceptibly as individuals and families responsible for tribute, trade, magic, or iron-working gained power and authority at the expense of the established leaders. As indicated by the stories of multiple hunter-lovers in the legends of Tshimbale Bande and Citend, some matrilineages were challenged by more than one rival individual or institution.

At times, specific details in the stories recall and condense patterns of political behavior from early times. Although stories about people like Hian Musas from Kalamba or Kongolo Mwana from the Kalundwe compress a lengthy political process into the life of a single legendary individual, the tales contain plausible and consistent impressions about the way big men conducted their affairs. Other stories, such as the cliché of Citend's menstrual period, represent conclusions and evaluations about events which are not reported in the legend. Such clichés indicate something important occurred, but give no useful descriptions of concrete events or individuals.[60]

While the process of change was threatening to many, eventually the innovations were accepted and even welcomed by most of the people and at least some of the former leaders. Of course, the legendary accounts of ancient matrilineages being seduced by attractive patrilineal newcomers offering enticing novel powers, products, and institutions represent the perspective of the winners in a struggle. Yet the stories reflect the eventual consensus of savanna peoples who benefited from the new wealth, technology, trade, magical power, and security introduced by the "outsiders."

The obvious uniformity in both the structures and symbols of the newly created legends, demonstrates that the process of change impacted a large geographical

region, that people over a broad area shared political myths and philosophies, and that the savanna region was remarkably interconnected. Not only were many peoples' economic, military, commercial, and political patterns undergoing similar fundamental transformations, the explanations and justifications of these changes were frequently the same. The cultural changes and the myths justifying innovation were probably carried by the same individuals and groups. The sorcerers, iron-workers, hunters, warrior big men, and traders identified in the legends as seducers and transformers of the old order, generally were mobile and ambitious men. Frequently living on the margins of society – either spatially, intellectually, politically, economically, militarily, or socially – these individuals became the founding heroes of a new savanna society.

4

Serpents and lightning
Kanyok images of chiefship in the 1700s

The eighteenth-century Kanyok were increasingly drawn into the expanding Luba economic, political, and cultural orb. Of all the Kanyok leaders, the chiefs at Mulundu were the most successful in profiting from the opportunities afforded by the enlarged Luba trade and tribute system and in avoiding the dangers presented by an aggressive Luba domain. The Mulundu regime owed its success to a series of dynamic chiefs who continued to borrow Luba political ceremonies and symbols, but who also maintained an independent base of authority. In part they relied on their own personal shrewdness and strength, and in part, they drew on traditional Kanyok or Bantu theories and rituals to improve their positions.

During the seventeenth century, when they had consolidated their wealth and political control, ambitious Kanyok rulers had emphasized and exaggerated their ties to powerful and prestigious neighbors. Not only had these Kanyok chiefs sought to enter the Luba trade and tribute network, claim Luba ancestry, borrow Luba titles, and tell stories about dancing the tomboka at the court of a Luba chief, they had even argued, anachronistically, that earlier matrilineal heroes such as Citend and Mwen a Ngoi had Luba connections. By the last decades of the eighteenth century, however, economic exchanges, once welcomed as opportunities to profit from the extensive Luba tribute system, frequently were interpreted as taxation or even extortion; the ceremonies of tomboka, initially performed as indispensable rituals of investiture, were sometimes viewed as marks of denigrating subordination; and legends of Luba hunters, originally fashioned to offer prestige and independence to patrilineal big men, increasingly were discredited as instruments of cultural and ideological oppression.

Three major factors accounted for this reevaluation and reorientation of Kanyok–Luba relations. First, by the end of the eighteenth century, Kanyok chiefs had become sufficiently powerful and secure that they no longer needed to purchase legitimacy at a Luba court. Already, by approximately 1750, the need to gain investiture or offer regular gifts of tribute in Luba territory east of the Lubilash River was considered a sign of dependency and weakness rather than a source of honor and prestige. In fact, regional chiefs such as the Mwen a Kanyok or the Mwen a Ditu, who were themselves attempting to establish centers of economic exchange with their their own clients, came into direct competition with

Luba tribute-mongers. A second factor, the increasingly energetic and burdensome efforts of an expanding Luba imperial system to pattern relations for its own advantage, also encouraged the Kanyok to seek separation. During the 1700s, after the Luba had moved their capital westward, their activities in Kasai became increasingly exploitative and coercive. Finally, the growing Luso-African trade network, oriented toward the Atlantic coast, offered alternative sources of wealth and political support. Therefore, by about 1800, Kanyok leaders tried to sever or reduce their Luba commercial links and increase ties to the Lunda economic system.

More powerful and secure than their ancestors, eighteenth-century Kanyok chiefs began a process of consolidating and enlarging their domains.[1] Although the previous centuries' patrilineal usurpers had replaced existing leaders without substantially redrawing the geographical borders of the matrilineal confederacies, the eighteenth-century rulers frequently sought to dominate the territories and resources of neighboring big men. Thus, putative brother Luba hunter chiefs began preying upon one another, forcing weaker leaders into new patron–client relationships. By the end of the century, one leader, the Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu, had gained a position of ascendancy over many northern and central chiefs and he was at least equal in power and wealth to the Mwen a Etond to the south. The record of these developments is contained in the clichés and legends of Kanyok and Luba tradition.

The Kanyok founder chief: Shimat a Citend

It was the eighteenth-century Mulundu chiefs who constructed the foundation upon which later leaders built a powerful Kanyok state, but oral tradition contains mostly stylized references to the first Mwen a Kanyoks and these brief descriptions are mainly political and spiritual assertions about chiefship rather than factual data about historical individuals. According to oral records, Shimat (a praise name meaning "to be secure") founded the Kanyok dynasty which has ruled at Mulundu until the present time. It is not clear if Shimat was a real person or a legendary creation and accounts of his deeds and significance are sketchy. Most Kanyok historians describe Shimat as the son – the political if not the biological heir – of the big man Mwamba Ciluu,[2] all say Shimat benefited from the decline of the matriarch Citend, and some associate the origins of the name Kanyok (small snake) with Shimat.[3] According to one storyteller,[4]

> When Shimat set out to establish his first chiefly residence, the men preparing to build the wall for his house were surprised to see many snakes lying in exactly the place they wanted to build. Because of this incident, Shimat was called the Mwen a Kanyok and his people were known as the Biin Kanyok.

Tales of snakes suggest the Shimat lineage shared the reputation and attributes of other early savanna leaders described as fearsome serpents. Even before the rise of patrilineal polities, the Luba associated the Nkongolo chiefship with the rainbow or the "monster snake of the sky," a creature symbolizing death, disaster, and

cruel power. The presence of the rainbow, and supposedly of Nkongolo, turned the landscape red with the color of blood.[5] The Lunda and Lunda-related peoples made the same symbolic connection between political leadership and serpents. Early Lunda-Moxico peoples spoke of rainbows, serpents, and dragons endowed with frightening power and authority, the Luba word Nkongolo may be derived from the Ruund term Nkongal (rainbow), and the title Mwant Yaav means "Lord of the Viper."[6] Nkongolo, Shimat, and the earliest Ruund leaders, whether legendary recollections of chiefly lines or mythical creations, personify the opinion, held since very early times, that a community's political stability is often purchased at the price of freedom, benevolence, and individual security. The story of Shimat indicates that leaders commanding the symbolic power of the snake were able to gain control over the Kaleng a Mukel region which had earlier been transformed into a patrilineal polity by rulers identified with Mwamba Ciluu.

Conquering chiefs: Kabw a Shimat and Ciband a Kabw

Supposedly, Shimat was followed on the chief's chair by his son Kabw a Shimat whose efforts to monopolize the regional tribute flow brought him into direct competition with the expansionist tendencies of the big man Mwen a Ngoi. Kabw was also troubled by raids carried out by Luba people living east of the Kanyok across the Lubilash River. Even before the rise of the Shimat family, leaders in the Kaleng a Mukel area, specifically the chief Mulaj Bandamayi, had come into conflict with the Mwen a Ngoi who was in the process of consolidating his control over a previously matrilineal domain. According to oral traditions from the Kaleng a Mukel area, the struggle between Ngoi and Bandamayi resulted from their efforts to monopolize access to the Luba trade and tribute network.[7]

> A dispute arose between Mulaj Bandamayi and Mwen a Ngoi concerning Mulaj's daughter Kazadi a Bwanang[8] whom Mwen a Ngoi wanted as his wife. Mwen a Ngoi took advantage of his neighbor by trickery. When the time came to go to the Luba Mulopwe with tribute, Mwen a Ngoi offered to accompany Bandamayi, but said he first needed to collect his own tribute. This, however, was a lie for Ngoi had already prepared his offering. Secretly, he hurried to the Luba Mulopwe while Bandamayi was wasting his time vainly awaiting Ngoi. Eventually, Bandamayi arrived very late and incurred the wrath of the Luba chief. As punishment, Bandamayi was ordered to give his daughter Kazadi to Mwen a Ngoi who had ingratiated himself with the Mulopwe.

The tale of Mulaj Bandamayi and Mwen a Ngoi suggests that, even before the titles of Mwamba Ciluu and Shimat were significant, the rulers of Ngoi had tried to assert control over the crucial salt-producing Bandamayi area of the Kaleng a Mukel region. The story of marriage indicates the Mwen a Ngoi insisted that Bandamayi accept a submissive alliance by offering Ngoi a female pawn or even that Bandamayi become Ngoi's subordinate or political "wife."[9] The legend further reveals that Mwen a Ngoi appealed to a Luba ally and fictive kinsman for help to enforce his claim over Bandamayi.

Modern Kanyok historians assume the Luba leader described in the story is the

powerful Mulopwe who ruled a vast empire, but most probably the Luba chief was a regional leader from the nearby Kalundwe region just east of the Lubilash River or from the Songye area northeast of the Kanyok land. The close connection between Kanyok and Kalundwe legends, political structures, official titles, and family genealogies suggests a long history of interchange between the two peoples. Alternatively, the two leaders may have journeyed to Songye, an important regional center in the Shaba–Kasai trading system.[10] While it is possible that relatively minor figures such as the village chief Mulaj Bandamayi traveled several hundred kilometers to the Mulopwe's capital to exchange gifts of tribute and to receive the Mulopwe's political blessing, it is more reasonable to posit that Mulaj Bandamayi and Mwen a Ngoi went to the Kalundwe or Songye seeking commercial and political rewards.

The rivalry between Ngoi and the Kaleng a Mukel region continued after the Shimat dynasty gained control of the latter area. Although Bandamayi had been forced to accede to the Mwen a Ngoi, the stronger Kabw retaliated and conquered Ngoi. Interpreting Mwen a Ngoi's demands for tribute from Cibond, a village midway between Ngoi and Kaleng a Mukel, as an encroachment into his domain, Kabw a Shimat launched an attack which ended with the death of the Mwen a Ngoi and the incorporation of Ngoi's territory into Kabw's chiefdom.[11]

> When the Mwen a Ngoi demanded that Cibond bring a tribute to him rather than to Kabw a Shimat, the Mwen a Cibond complained to Kabw who mounted an attack against Ngoi. The battle took place in the dry season when the people of Ngoi were fishing in the Lukudi River near Mulundu. Many Biin Ngoi were killed and the Mwen a Ngoi lost his life. The victors cut off the dead chief's head, but it miraculously flew through the air to the Mwen a Ngoi's compound. This ended the power of Ngoi, and the Mwen a Kanyok Kabw a Shimat became the undisputed ruler of all the people.

Although the story's final assertion recorded the transfer of Ngoi's domain to the Mwen a Kanyok, the claim that the Mwen a Kanyok failed to obtain his rival's head as a trophy, indicates that not everyone considered Kabw a Shimat as Mwen a Ngoi's legitimate heir.[12]

Kabw a Shimat's attempt to dominate the flow of tribute in the Luilu valley region also resulted in tensions with the Luba chiefs east of the Lubilash River. Kanyok oral historians describe the conflict with the cliché that "because Kabw did not go to the Luba Mulopwe (with gifts of tribute), the Mulopwe himself came here with warriors in a battle for the land."[13] Whether the "Luba" of oral tradition were Songye, Luba, or Kalundwe is not clear, but the rapid expansion of the Luba-controlled Shaba–Kasai trade system was bringing all these people into indirect, if not direct contact. As in the time of Mulaj Bandamayi, the Luba described in Kanyok legends may have been Kalundwe chiefs. During the 1700s, the Kalundwe were growing more powerful and by about 1800 their chief Kanonge Samba, a descendant of Mukunkwe Kabeya, had repulsed the mighty Ilunga Sungu's efforts to extend Luba suzerainty over the Kalundwe. The geographical proximity, the close cultural identity between the Kanyok and the Kalundwe, and Kanonge's dealings with the Mulopwe suggest that he may have tried to dominate

the Kanyok in the same way Kabw a Shimat attempted to incorporate Ngoi in an earlier period. If, in the past, Kanyok pretenders had come to the Kalundwe chiefs to exchange gifts and seek investiture, the Kalundwe would have grown accustomed to a regular flow of goods from many villages throughout the Kanyok land. Kanonge's wars against the Luba Mulopwe demonstrate that the Kalundwe themselves were strong enough to conduct local missions to plunder or coerce neighbors who attempted to withdraw from their sphere of influence.[14] Perhaps an attempt by the Kanyok to enter the more extensive Luba economic system resulted in retaliatory raids from the unhappy Kalundwe.

It is also possible that groups of Luba merchant-warriors were dispatched to the Kanyok region from the Mulopwe's capital or from the Luba-dominated Songye settlements north of the Kanyok.[15] In the eighteenth century, the aggressive Mulopwes Kadilo (died ca. 1750), Kekenya (died ca. 1780), and Kumwimbe Kanumbu (died ca. 1790) regularly raided as far as the Songye, a three- to five-day walk north of the Kanyok. These Luba rulers directed their expeditions to areas of high population density such as lake shores or river valleys, to regions offering specialized products, and to weak territories divided into small chiefdoms.[16] The densely populated Luilu valley with its abundant supply of foodstuffs and small chiefdoms would have been an attractive target for Luba armies and tribute-mongers and the Luba could have circumvented jealous Kalundwe leaders by entering the Kanyok land from the northeast.

Whatever the identity of the foreign invaders or traders, the reign of Kabw a Shimat marked the reversal of a long trend whereby ambitious Kanyok leaders uncritically identified with the power and prestige of the Luba and Kalundwe. Certainly, the expansion of the Luba empire was due, in part, to the fact that savanna people, including the Kanyok, valued the economic opportunities and political stability offered by the Pax Luba. Many Kanyok lineages, villages, and chiefs benefited because the Luba promoted and protected the commerce of copper, iron, raffia, beads, fish, and palm oil. But, in the eighteenth century, when Luba leaders became more aggressive and when they relocated their capital toward the west, the Kanyok–Luba relationship became increasingly burdensome. For leaders strong enough to organize their own regional tribute systems, for chiefs concerned about bands of roving marauders, and for ordinary people obligated to meet the demands of competing patrons, the Luba presence eventually became unacceptable.

On the periphery of the Luba empire, extortion and raiding were as common as commerce and fair exchange. Already, by the mid-1700s, Luba warriors came as far west as the Ditu region in northwest Kanyok territory in search of wealth. A simplified and compressed Kanyok tale of heroic individuals says when tribute relations could not be established, the Luba resorted to raw plunder.[17]

> The Luba Mulopwe learned that his son Matu ruled as chief at Ditu. Although the Mulopwe sent messengers to fetch his son, Matu refused to return home. Then, the Mulopwe became angry and sent warriors to fight. Three times the warriors came to Ditu; three times they were repulsed. In the last campaign, many Luba were killed and their heads were displayed on a wooden platform made of branches called

> a *citalang*. There were perhaps as many as twenty heads in all! After the heads had been exposed for several days, the flesh began to rot and swell. Finally, the weight became so great that the citalang collapsed and the heads fell, burying themselves into the ground. The resulting hole, which can be seen even today in the town of Ditu, is called the *cind ca mituu ya baluba* [the hole of the Luba heads].

The claim of victory for Ditu cannot hide the story's admission that Luba adventurers regularly penetrated deep into Kanyok territory where they pillaged and looted.

Perhaps as a result of his conflicts with Ngoi or because of threats from the Kalundwe and the Shaba Luba, Kabw a Shimat moved his capital south from Kaleng a Mukel to its present location near the Mulundu mountain in the territory of the fishing Kabiji people.[18] The shift allowed Kabw to control the newly conquered Ngoi region and to escape the intrusions of Luba warriors from the east and north.

Two of Kabw a Shimat's sons followed him on the chief's chair. Mulang a Kabw, the first to rule, held office before being deposed in favor of his younger brother Ciband a Kabw. In a stylized story describing his fall, oral tradition claims Mulang was about to give a great feast when, becoming inebriated, he fell into a deep stupor. When he finally awoke, all the guests had left in disgust and Mulang fled to the Mulundu mountain where he hung himself in remorse.[19] The cliché's message is that the undisciplined Mulang lost his office because he could not keep the system of *kuaba* (tribute) functioning.[20] Faced with bands of roving warriors who entered the region disrupting Kanyok economic life, Mulang may have had difficulty maintaining the flow of goods that subordinate chiefs had come to expect from Mulundu, or, confronted with an expanding Luba tribute network, he may have been judged unable to take advantage of the new challenges and opportunities before him.

Ciband a Kabw, who succeeded his rejected brother Mulang, was able to funnel an increasing percentage of Kanyok tribute goods through Mulundu and he was strong enough to protect regional Kanyok chiefs against outside raiding parties. Remembered by the elders of Ditu village as an aggressive conqueror who raided his neighbors and demanded gifts of tribute, Ciband a Kabw reversed the erosion of power and revenue which had occurred during his brother's tenure. Oral traditions from Ditu say that after Ditu's chief Kabakayi entered into an alliance with Ciband, the Mwen a Kanyok interfered in Ditu's internal affairs and eventually forced Ditu to submit to his authority.[21]

> Threatened by Luba warriors, the Mwen a Ditu Kabakayi repulsed the invaders. Kabakayi was not, however, able to resist the intrusions of the Mwen a Kanyok. Although Kabakayi had married Ciband a Kabw's daughter Cilomb, as a powerful warrior Kabakayi refused to present his sons before the Mwen a Kanyok [so the Mwen a Kanyok could designate Kabakayi's legal heirs]. Therefore, Ciband a Kabw dispatched his warriors to Ditu and killed Kabakayi. Kabakayi's son Mulang continued to resist Ciband's raiders, but he was eventually captured and taken to Mulundu.

> Angered, Mulang decided to hang himself, but his mother's younger sister, Inabanz Seya, dissuaded him. Mulang accepted her advice, put aside his anger, and offered tribute to the Mwen a Kanyok. Ciband a Kabw then gave Mulang goats and women. Saying they were of the same family, Ciband told Mulang to return as ruler of Ditu. "Eat what is given you," he said, "but also bring some to me." Mulang returned home and from that time, the chief at Ditu has always given tribute to the Mwen a Kanyok.

From the time of Ciband a Kabw until the arrival of European colonialists, Ditu remained one of Mulundu's most important economic and military assets.

Besides gaining control over Ditu, Ciband a Kabw also extended his influence to Museng south of Mulundu. Traditions from Museng indicate that, following a successful war against the Luba, an early Mwen a Kanyok turned against the Mwen a Museng, Musas Mukul.[22]

> After two years of indecisive fighting between Museng and Mulundu, the Mwen a Kanyok proposed a truce and offered his own daughter as a gesture of good will. The truce, however was only a ploy because the woman was actually a spy for her father. Learning that during a certain time of the year [the month of November] the entire population of Museng would be out in the forest hunting white ants, she told her father when to attack. Entering Museng, the Mwen a Kanyok found Musas Mukul unprotected and captured him easily. Musas Mukul was then taken captive by the Mwen a Kanyok who cut off the defeated chief's ears. Musas was allowed to resume his rule over Museng, but he was obligated to send tribute to the Mwen a Kanyok instead of to the Luba.

While the story about the Mwen a Kanyok's trickery cannot be accepted as factual – the tale is a cliché repeating a very common Central African explanation of defeat – the account's conclusion, that Museng was defeated by the Mwen a Kanyok, can be trusted. Having cut off Musas' unresponsive and useless ears, Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Kabw forced Museng to accept his control.[23] With the conquest of Museng, Mulundu's tribute network now included Kaleng a Mukel, Ngoi, Ditu, and Museng. Thus, at about the time the Mulopwe Kekenya was regularizing his commercial and political links to the general area – he was especially active in the nearby Songye territory of Ilande – the Mwen a Kanyok sought to monopolize regional access to the Kasai–Shaba trade system. To preserve his influence and to protect his wealth, the Mwen a Kanyok had to dominate other Luilu River area chiefs, maintain a good flow of products through Mulundu, and interdict competitors, including the Luba, from entering the Kanyok lands to plunder and diminish the available resources.[24]

Following Ciband a Kabw's death, perhaps around 1775, his sons Tang a Ciband, Cilomb a Ciband, and Cibang a Ciband vied for the chief's chair. Unable to gain office, Tang fled to Mukuna near Luaba where his descendants still rule as minor chiefs.[25] Only the standard cliché, that he failed to give his people a feast, is recalled to explain his lack of success. Cilomb also made an abortive attempt to gain power, but eventually retreated to Kadila, about 35 kilometers northeast of Kaleng a Mukel, where his family holds the chiefship.[26]

The chief who tamed lightning: Cibang a Ciband

Cibang a Ciband, the son who eventually gained power at the conclusion of the interregnum, is described by the clichés and anecdotes of oral tradition as an aggressive and tyrannical leader who expanded the Mwen a Kanyok's territory, wealth, and authority. While some of the stories about Cibang originally described other dynamic leaders, and thus, oral tradition exaggerates his place in history, accounts of Cibang a Ciband accurately chronicle the unmistakable ascendancy of eighteenth-century Mulundu chiefs.[27] Cibang a Ciband's career, real or legendary, parallels the stories of other eighteenth-century savanna leaders who were gaining power as they took advantage of new political structures and economic opportunities and as they remolded ancient myths and histories to justify their control.

Cibang a Ciband's first major task was to consolidate his hold on the chief's chair by reducing the threat from ambitious nephews and sons whose energies were consumed by attempts to unseat the incumbent Mwen a Kanyok. Having defeated his own brothers, Cibang then faced a challenge from his nephew Ciband a Cilomb. After Cibang's victory over this rival, the Kanyok elders attempted to reduce intergenerational conflict by issuing a legal pronouncement stating that "when the father is alive, the son cannot replace him."[28]

Besides fighting armed pretenders to his chair, Cibang also took draconic measures to reduce the number of individuals eligible to succeed as Mwen a Kanyok. Like the neighboring Luba, the Kanyok discovered the dangers of intergenerational conflict intensified when the chief expanded the size of his domain and increased the number of his wives.[29] As new territories came under the control of the Mwen a Kanyok and greater economic opportunities became available, more wives entered his household as pawns and as ambassadors from allies and subjected rulers. Their numbers multiplied for political and economic purposes; these women were expected to enter liaisons with the hunters, warriors, traders, and office seekers at the capital. Not only were these relationships a form of hospitality, reward, and patronage for the men and a source of information for the Mwen a Kanyok, they also produced many children who were visible proof of the virility and strength of the Mwen a Kanyok. Although he was not the biological father of all royal children living at his capital, all the sons of the chief's wives were considered potential successors to his office. According to Kanyok custom, the chief legitimized his heirs by naming them and, thus, accepting them as his lawful replacements.

Once the Mwen a Kanyok's sons reached adulthood, their matrilineal kin, themselves ineligible to rule at Mulundu, encouraged the young men to seek the chief's chair and reap political and economic spoils for themselves and their relatives. Theoretically, for months and years, the candidates and their uncles took gifts of kuaba to influential officials at the Mwen a Kanyok's court. Then, upon the death of the chief, the families brought even more gifts and the elders controlling the elections selected the candidate with the strongest base of tribute support. While the ideal pattern was peaceful, in fact, the election process was violent as pretenders and their maternal uncles staged direct military

attacks against other candidates and even against the incumbent Mwen a Kanyok.[30]

Cibang a Ciband's solution to the problem of increasing rivalry for the chief's chair was to kill his male heirs. Supposedly, instead of naming and recognizing his sons, Cibang climbed on the *cimeng* (raised earthen floor) of the chief's house and dashed the infants to the ground, breaking their necks.[31] Cruel as his actions were – and the story may be a stylized way to indicate that Cibang used vigorous methods to limit his heirs – they established a pattern for future Kanyok leaders and they may have played a major role in stabilizing the office of Mwen a Kanyok. Like his Luba contemporary Ilunga Sungu (ruled ca. 1790–1810) and Ilunga's successor Kumwimbe Ngombe (ruled ca. 1810–1840), Cibang a Ciband strengthened his domain by reducing the number of royal pretenders and limiting the length of the interregnum struggles.[32] Ideally, succession struggles were institutionalized periods of competition intended to eliminate all but the most valiant and vigorous leader and, therefore, should not be viewed as periods of chaotic disorder. Nevertheless, a proliferation of candidates could result in debilitating and protracted civil wars jeopardizing the existence of the chief's office and of the state. In the late 1700s, when their domains were expanding and the rewards of their offices were multiplied, the Luba Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu and the Mwen a Kanyok Cibang a Ciband took strong measures to prevent internal disintegration caused by excessive intergenerational conflict. The results of their efforts, however, were not permanent. Again in the late 1800s, when outside economic and military pressures undermined traditional savanna polities, both the Kanyok chiefdom and the Luba empire were seriously weakened by frequent and lengthy succession wars as regions, lineages, and even foreign rivals championed royal brothers, sons, and nephews in an effort to control the spoils of trade, war, and political office.[33]

Besides subduing his family rivals and limiting the number of potential royal pretenders, Cibang a Ciband enlarged his sphere of influence to the southwest. (See Map 5.) In response to military threats from that area, Cibang established an outpost west of the Mbuji Mayi River at Cibak in Kete country. Cibang then controlled Cibak through one of his maternal kin who received the title Kabw Katanda (dog of the bush) and who acted as Cibang's representative and front-line defender. Located very near the Lunda and Kanintshin, Cibak was well situated to take advantage of the Atlantic trade routes penetrating the region by the late 1700s.[34]

In addition to his political and economic achievements, Cibang a Ciband played a central role in protecting the Kanyok from spiritual and magical disasters. Remembered as the "chief who fought lightning," Cibang was revered as an almost mythological hero who struggled against natural and cosmic forces of danger, decay, and evil. According to the dimly understood clichés of oral history,[35]

> Cibang a Ciband battled lightning and drought, darkness and sleep, and hunger and thirst. When lightning threatened to strike, Cibang ran from his house waving his sword and ordering the lightning to cease. He also beat the *coonda* [talking drum] to

> call his people to arms and to shoot arrows into the sky. When the lightning stopped and the rains began, Cibang claimed victory and the people came to congratulate him.
>
> When night fell, he also beat the coonda to call his people into combat. Again, the people shot their arrows hoping to drive away the night. Late into the night, the people began to fall asleep and even the Mwadi a Museng [royal drummer] began to doze. Cibang cursed him, saying that if he slept the night would surely conquer. When morning came, only Cibang was still awake and all the people praised him for having conquered the night.
>
> Cibang also refused to eat or drink. After fasting for an entire week, Cibang was no longer hungry and, thus, he defeated hunger.

Although no modern informant could explain the meaning of these tales,[36] the stories describe Cibang's ritual power over the most frightening symbols and forces of nature. Lightning, associated with danger and drought, is a sudden and capricious phenomenon which kills villagers, destroys houses, and burns up the rain. At the end of the dry season, when dark storm clouds fill the sky, the forces of nature seem to struggle to prevent the life-giving rains which restore the savannas and revitalize the gardens. Using similar images, Bessie Head, a modern African novelist, describes the conflict which introduces the rainy season.[37]

> The rains were so late that year . . . Throughout that hot, dry summer those black storm clouds clung in thick folds of brooding darkness along the low horizon . . . Each evening they broke the long sullen silence of the day, and sent soft rumbles of thunder and flickering sticks of lightning across the empty sky. They [the sticks of lightning] were not promising rain. They were prisoners, pushed back, in trapped coils of boiling cloud.

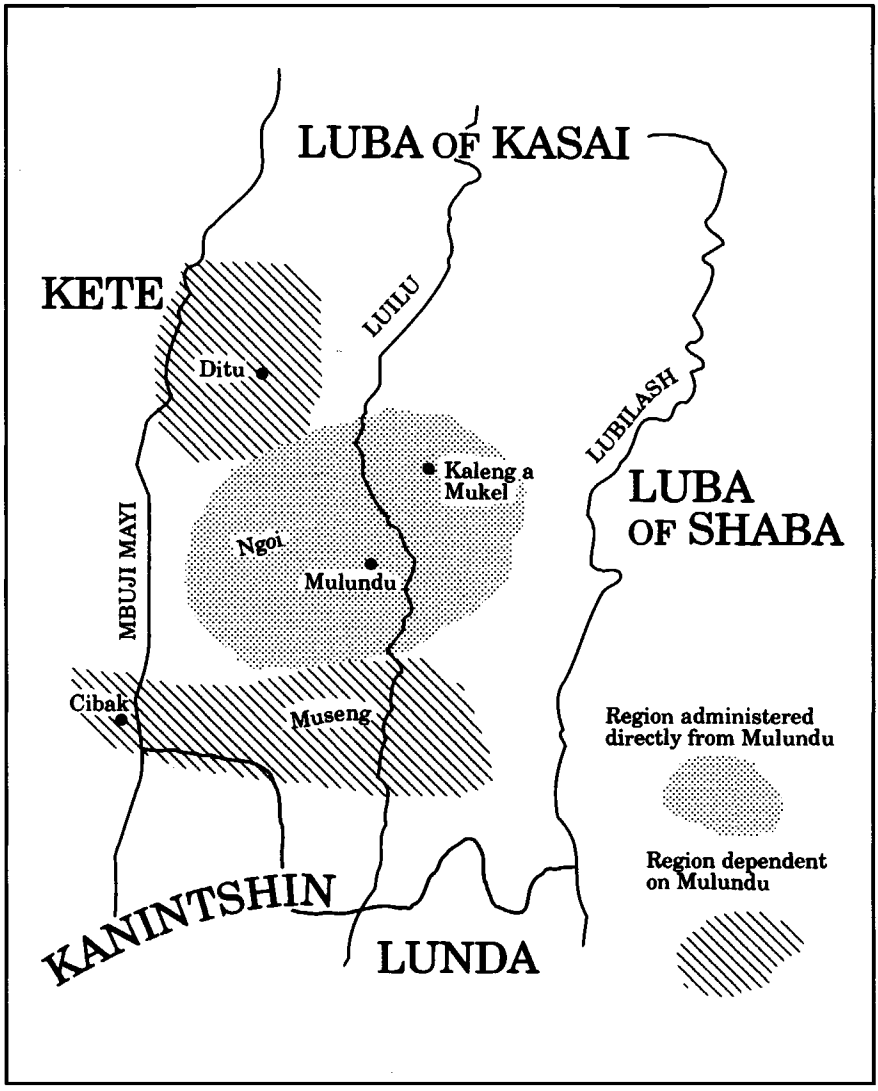
Although Bessie Head portrays the dark clouds, not the lightning, as the enemy of rain, the image of struggle is the same as in the Kanyok legend.

Along with lightning, night, identified with darkness and death, and hunger, linked to pain and famine, are very common and ancient negative savanna symbols. Cibang, then, was seen as the giver of rain, the guardian against death, and the guarantor of plenty.[38] The stories, which present clichés told to convey Cibang's awesome ritual power, may describe actual practices from the eighteenth century. Certainly, the story about resisting sleep and refusing food are consistent with the court etiquette of savanna area chiefs who claimed to be free from the power of normal bodily appetites.

Another tale, that Cibang organized people to "swim" in the fields of dry grass used to thatch houses, portrayed Cibang as a vigorous leader able to mobilize his people to follow his commands. Perhaps this was a practice the Kanyok learned from the Luba who commanded some tribute-bearers to swim in the dust of the Mulopwe's court to demonstrate obedience and to mimic the gifts of fish they offered.[39]

Cibang a Ciband's attempts to consolidate the Mwen a Kanyok's personal power and political domain came at the same time Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu was aggressively expanding the Luba empire. Both leaders benefited from similar economic and political forces which affected many people connected by the

extensive Shaba–Kasai trading network.[40] Ilunga Sungu, however, managed the center of this vast system while Cibang a Ciband struggled to carve out a place on the periphery. The ambitions of the Mulopwe and the Mwen a Kanyok chiefs brought them into conflict. Increasingly, the Luba used military force to insure a regular flow of tribute into the heart of the empire. Certainly, a powerful chief like Cibang wanted to trade with the Luba, but he did not wish to enter into a grossly



Map 5 Domain of the Mwen a Kanyok in the time of Cibang a Ciband, ca. 1750

unequal client relationship. Also, the Mulopwe and the Mwen a Kanyok competed, at least indirectly, for some of the same sources of trade and tribute in the regions north and east of the Kanyok. The Luba rulers Kekenya, Kumwimbe Kanumbu, and Ilunga Sungu were all active in the Songye region, in fact Ilunga's mother was Songye, a member of a Songye sub-group, the Ilande.[41] Therefore, by the end of Cibang a Ciband's reign, the Luba were viewed not just as prestigious and coveted sources of authority, but also as unfair competitors and exploiters.

The chief who failed to gain investiture: Ciam a Ciband

In the protracted interregnum following Cibang a Ciband's death, two of his brothers tried and failed to gain power. Specifically, Kanyok oral accounts say candidates for the chief's chair could not satisfy the Luba Mulopwe's demands for tribute and gifts during the election process.[42]

> After Cibang a Ciband died, his brother Ciam a Ciband went to seek investiture at the Luba court. Ordered to cut down a *munkamba* tree, Ciam was unable to complete the task for he brought no food or drink and, thus, made no friends among the Luba. Fearing an attack from the Mulopwe, he did not attempt to take office at Mulundu, but fled across the Yabui river. The Kanyok people then asked Sabw a Ciband to become the Mwen a Kanyok, but he refused because he feared war with the Luba monarch. The office at Mulundu was vacant for a long time.

Thus, for the first time, the story of seeking investiture at the Luba court was portrayed as a negative experience instead of as a challenging victory.

Other Kanyok accounts of cutting down a munkamba tree reveal that the tale refers to an investiture ordeal similar to the dance of tomboka. Originally the wood-cutting story may have described Kanyok expeditions to the Luba heartland to purchase or smelt iron. Iron production, involving the collection and burning of large quantities of wood, was an activity requiring the coordinated efforts of numerous workers who sometimes traveled many kilometers in search of raw materials. In the 1700s, making iron was an essential economic pursuit, and organizing the cooperative labor associated with smelting and transporting iron became a means of ethnic integration and a path of political leadership.[43] Besides providing opportunities for men and women from Kanyok regions to develop a sense of cultural identity and for aspiring chiefs to exercise leadership skills, the expeditions brought the Kanyok into contact with people and ideas from widely scattered regions across the savanna. During the 1600s and 1700s, the Kanyok would have joined the many other savanna people who visited the Luba iron-producing centers.[44] Such trips offered opportunities for ambitious Kanyok individuals to acquire Luba symbols and stories, participate in Luba ceremonies and rituals, and receive the support of Luba court officials.

In the case of the munkamba tree account, when described by Kanyok traders who had returned from the Luba territory, a mundane industrial activity was transformed into an exciting political ordeal. According to the story, candidates for office were required to cut down and completely burn a large living tree. Although, in theory, the winning candidate performed a prodigious feat, the story

asserted the shrewd and successful individual offered enough tribute to a court official who provided axes to fell the tree and who distracted the royal guards so the tree could be disposed of in a river. Whether the late eighteenth-century tale of the munkamba tree described an actual ritual or was a dramatic investiture cliché,[45] the stories of Ciam and Sabw indicate that, for at least several years, no Kanyok leader was able to satisfy Luba demands for tribute.

Conclusions

After almost a century of consolidation and strengthening, the Shimat dynasty and the new Kanyok state reached a major turning point. The Kanyok polity of the late 1700s was an increasingly centralized peripheral system within the larger Luba world. No longer was the Kanyok capital the focus of a restricted region such as Kaleng a Mukel where the "hunter chief" ruled only a few subordinate villages. Now the Kanyok state itself was developing central and peripheral areas linked to the Mwen a Kanyok by varying degrees of control or sentiment. Mulundu received the submission and tribute, extracted forcibly if necessary, from Ngoi, Ditu, Museng, and Cibak. Thus, in a land previously composed of numerous medium-sized independent polities, a dynamic chiefdom at Mulundu was emerging as the embryo of a strong Kanyok state and as the major broker in Kanyok–Luba dealings. As part of the Luba network, the Mwen a Kanyok now had indirect access to products and ideas from regions as distant as the copperbelt to the south, the rain-forest fringe to the north, and the Lake Mweru region to the west. By dominating the flow of tribute in the Luilu valley, a strong Mwen a Kanyok had the potential to dramatically increase the wealth, prestige, and political authority of the Mulundu regime.

However, serious challenges also faced the Mwen a Kanyok. Many individuals and regions resisted his attempts to extract tribute and to monopolize access to Luba products. Thus, subordinate chiefs from within his enlarged sphere of influence revolted, ambitious rivals from within his own family contested his right to rule, and aggressive neighbors from within the Luba empire raided his territory. Furthermore, the Luba political and cultural symbols – outside hunter ancestors, fictive kinship records, migration myths, and accounts about seeking investiture from the Mulopwe – were becoming less useful and, therefore, less attractive. Although they had once been effective sources of prestige and support, by the end of the 1700s, links with the Luba were of little value against neighboring chiefs also claiming Luba forbears; brothers, sons, or nephews drawing on extra-lineage support to revolt; and Luba rulers coming to extract tribute from their Kanyok "relatives."

5

Dances, moats, and myths

Ilung a Cibang rejects Luba imperialism, ca. 1800 to 1825

The prolonged interregnum at the end of the eighteenth century betrayed the uncertain prospects facing the Kanyok people and their leaders. Although the extensive Luba tribute system afforded new economic opportunities, it also presented novel dangers because the same channels of travel and information granting the Kanyok access to the Luba world allowed the Luba to interfere in Kanyok affairs. Luba warriors and brigands from east of the Luembe River attacked villages, seized hostages, plundered crops, and appropriated land. Luba chiefs, eager to siphon off Kanyok wealth, monopolized the flow of tribute from the Luilu valley area. By the late 1700s, feuding Kanyok chiefs were unable or unwilling to resist these incursions and public confidence in government weakened. The old legends glorifying Luba hunter ancestors seemed meaningless as eastern Luba neighbors raided the land, and as Kanyok leaders boasting fictive Luba descent fought among themselves.

Kanyok historians claim that in this context of uncertainty and instability, an improbable savior emerged to restore dynastic fortunes and renew the people's faith in themselves, their government, and their legends. Described by the Kanyok as the preeminent figure in their history, Ilung a Cibang is said to have reorganized the Kanyok military structure, expelled or controlled the Luba invaders, expanded his authority over other regional chiefs, and extended his influence over non-Kanyok rulers to the north and east of his domain. Although Kanyok fortunes are said to have been at a nadir when Ilung took office, supposedly when he died the land was at peace, the dynasty secure, and the neighboring chiefs recognized the supremacy of the Mwen a Kanyok.

Mulaj a Cibang dances the tomboka

Born as a royal son of Mwen a Kanyok Cibang a Ciband, Ilung grew up under the protection of the chief of Museng, the powerful regional leader just south of Mulundu. When two of Cibang's wives, Kaiba from Museng and Sekel from an unnamed village in the north,[1] discovered they were pregnant, they fled to Museng where, harbored by the powerful Mwen a Museng, they each bore a son and potential heir to the Mwen a Kanyok's chair at Mulundu. Kaiba, the first to

deliver, became the mother of a child named Mulaj while Sekel gave birth to Ilung.[2] Safe from the reach of the jealous and suspicious Mwen a Kanyok, the two brothers were raised at Museng. According to legend, after a number of years armed warriors from Museng conducted the two young men to Mulundu where the aged Cibang a Ciband recognized them as his legitimate heirs. Mulaj and Ilung were then returned to Museng where they could be shielded from the intrigue and strife at the Mwen a Kanyok's compound.[3]

Although most Kanyok historians believe Ilung was invested as Mwen a Kanyok following Cibang a Ciband's death, it is more likely that Mulaj became chief and that he appointed his brother to the post of Mwen a But (chief military leader). As a young man, Ilung was a pretender without kin support, a client and a dependent of the powerful Mwen a Museng. Although the story of the Mwen a Museng's earlier intervention into Mulundu politics suggests he had the power to act as a kingmaker, it is improbable that he would have placed Ilung, a northern fugitive, on the Mwen a Kanyok's chair when his own maternal "grandson" Mulaj a Cibang was available. The location of Mulaj's official compound at Mulundu provides further evidence that he, not Ilung, was selected as Mwen a Kanyok. After assuming office, Mulaj built a royal compound west of the Luilu River in the general area where all previous chiefs had lived. Ilung, on the other hand, established his residence east of the river at Katshisung where no previous Mwen a Kanyok had settled. Ilung's eventual ascendancy over his brother, however, came to obscure the memory of Mulaj's early reign as chief.

Having gained the chief's chair at Mulundu, Mulaj made the long journey to receive investiture at the Mulopwe's court. Mulaj was the last Mwen a Kanyok to perform the tomboka before a Luba sovereign. Oral accounts of this trek indicate that Mulaj was accompanied by his brother Ilung and that the ceremonies involved challenging tests of valor and cunning. According to Bukas Muzemb, a direct descendant of Ilung and an exceptionally knowledgeable Kanyok historian,

> When Mulaj grew to adulthood, he went with Ilung to the Luba Mulopwe to offer tribute and to be invested as chief. Mulaj, the leader of the party, gave food and drink to all his companions and to the Luba. Although the Luba liked Mulaj very much, the Mulopwe said that before Mulaj could become chief, he must cut down and completely burn a large hardwood tree. The Mulopwe also ordered Mulaj and his men to put all their feces into baskets and carry the contents home.
>
> At the Luba capital, some people called *bamaleng* came to eat the food offered by Mulaj. The bamaleng did not work; they were spies. But they also told Mulaj how the difficult task could be completed. The bamaleng said that since the Kanyok had no axes, they should obtain metal-workers to make axes at night. Then, the Kanyok could cut down the tree, throw the pieces into the Lomami River, and claim to have burned it entirely.
>
> Once the Kanyok had disposed of the tree, the Luba chief told them to remain until he could bid them farewell and feed them. The bamaleng then told Mulaj and Ilung they were going to be poisoned by the Mulopwe who had ordered a crocodile gall bladder mixed with their food. The gall bladder makes a very strong poison called *tulangand*. Mulaj and Ilung were instructed by the bamaleng to throw the food into the river and, then, after thanking the Mulopwe for his hospitality, present the skins on which the food had been served. The Kanyok followed this advice.

The final test came when the Mulopwe ordered Mulaj to dance on a series of eight mats. The bamaleng told Mulaj that the eighth mat covered a lethal trap. When the trial began, Mulaj began to dance. As he advanced toward the Mulopwe, he recited the following proverbs, one at each mat.

first mat: *Luafuila mumbal ikubula mat kwabo?* Am I going to die here in the bush instead of at home in the forest?

second mat: *Watombokel muzuk blin ngand bimumuangal.* I am a stranger dancing the tomboka in a foreign land and the inhabitants fear me as a strong chief.

third mat: *Tahasamb samb, waten bimung biow, tamb wikulut mbalang.* When I walk, I pass the wild cat washing himself and the lion scratching his mane. [Interpretation – The Mulopwe is a savage beast, yet I continue.]

fourth mat: *Dibu kambul wasua kudiangat wahon nadi.* I am a heavy rock, anyone trying to carry me will fall. [Interpretation – I am very strong, it is dangerous to interfere with me.]

fifth mat: *Nadi kabw kasek, kusek dua kabw ikubulok.* I am a dog who never laughs. Even in trying to laugh the dog barks. [Interpretation – I am very fierce.]

sixth mat: *Nadi sangat umamam ba mpat.* I am as a praying mantis who eats other insects.

seventh mat: *Nakakam nakufuil kwitut.* I do not want to die here, I will return to my own land.

Dancing to the eighth mat, Mulaj threw his lance into the hole and the crowd applauded. Then, the Mulopwe spoke, telling Mulaj to harbor no ill will. He bade Mulaj a safe journey and asked him to remember and revisit the Luba capital.[4]

The story of tomboka and of the munkamba tree indicates that although Ilung may have visited the Mulopwe's court, he went as an associate of his "brother" Mulaj, the Mwen a Kanyok. A man without matrilineal backing, Ilung would have been trusted as a reliable subordinate because his status was dependent upon the good will of Mulaj and Mulaj's sponsor the Mwen a Museng. Ilung, however, did not remain for long in the shadow of his more cautious brother. Aggressive, capable, and imaginative, Ilung steadily increased his authority at the expense of the more passive Mulaj.[5]

Luba raids and migrations threaten the Kanyok

Although Ilung's dynamic personal attributes enabled him to eclipse his brother, the unsettled years around the turn of the century provided the context which allowed him to succeed. In addition to stories of Luba raids against Ditu during the time of Ciband a Kabw in the mid-1700s, oral traditions from Lusuk, Museng, Mulundu, and Komb indicate that bands of warriors from the east roamed the land for several decades before and after 1800.[6] The Kanyok sometimes defeated individual groups of invaders, but they were unable to halt the larger flow of marauders who became such a menace that some local inhabitants were forced from their land. In 1885, Colonel von François, who was travelling with von Wissmann about 100 kilometers northwest of Kanyok territory, visited a group of

villages founded by "Kanjoka" refugees from Etond who had fled their homeland three generations earlier, thus about 1800. Mona Tenda (Mwen a Etond), the chief of the settlement, said his great-grandfather Kajemba Mukullu (Kayembe Mukul) had moved to the area because "his old land has been troubled constantly by the Baluba."[7]

Rich in dried fish, palm products, and people, the densely populated Luilu valley area was an enticing target for the Luba. Luba generals conducting attacks on the Kanyok could expect to win wealth, honor, and a place in historical lore. Lubamba Mwan a Maloba Bilema (Lubamba, Child of Maloba Bilema), who served under Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu (ruled ca. 1770 to 1810), became a military hero because of his campaigns against the Kanyok. The ritual belt, named Kikaya kya Kitapi kya Kanyoka (The Belt of the Slayer of the Kanyok People), which he received for his efforts, is still remembered 200 years afterward.[8] Possibly Lubamba Mwan was the Luba leader who fought Ilung a Cibang, but he certainly was not the only Luba leader to advance his career by fighting Kanyok chiefs and villages.

Bands of Luba invaders sometimes established semi-permanent base camps from which they launched attacks on the Luilu valley populations. At Komb village, not far from Kamina, a principal ford in the Lubilash River, the Luba built a dry moat fortification which the Kanyok called a *cihak*. Supposedly, after raiding the area for a number of years, the Luba built the structure which was bounded on the south by the small Cisunz River. Clearly visible today, the trenches are about four kilometers long and, although obviously heavily eroded and filled in, about one meter deep. According to the people at Komb, the cihak took most of a dry season to construct and, once completed, provided shelter for a village of Luba warriors.[9]

Over the years, some Luba warriors remained to settle in the Kanyok area, and a few were able to achieve political power. At times they became clients of the Mwen a Kanyok or of a regional ruler who used the Luba interlopers to oust disobedient local chiefs and to defend against invasions by other Luba plunderers. For example, at Lusuk soon after 1800, a Luba warrior named Muhafu was able to replace the sitting Mwen a Lusuk by winning support from the Mwen a Kanyok.[10] Placing Muhafu on the chief's chair at Lusuk, however, did not solve the problem of Luba pressure. Muhafu was unable to deal with the Luba who continued to demand tribute payments. Old men at Lusuk recall that he was eventually killed in a reprisal by his "former Luba comrades" who brutally beat him to death with the sticks used by women to pound corn and manioc.[11]

In addition to coming in raiding parties and establishing military camps, some Luba people infiltrated the land in a more peaceful fashion. Genealogies from Lusuk village, located near the Kamina ford, contain data suggesting that Luba groups and individuals were entering the Kanyok area with great frequency in the years around 1800. A detailed genealogy of Lusuk's chiefly lineage names ten people (seven men and three women) in the generation born closest to the turn of the century. Significantly, each of the three women married a man of Luba origin

who chose to live permanently in Lusuk. These husbands, however, did not come from the distant Luba empire, but from Lupata lua Ngoi and Bena Katshab from just east of the Lubilash River and from the Gandajika area about 40 kilometers north of Lusuk. Perhaps, these outsiders abandoned their own kin groups to settle at Lusuk because their villages were even more troubled by bands of roving brigands or by raiders under the command of Luba generals or regional chiefs.[12]

Increasingly, the Kanyok feared they were being overwhelmed by Luba invaders. Although they still recalled legends about Luba hunters founding Kanyok ruling dynasties, they now were terrorized by Luba warriors, and plagued by a flow of Luba immigrants. While these "invaders" came from many different areas and were propelled by a variety of motives, the Kanyok did not distinguish among the Kalundwe, Luba of Kasai, or Luba of Shaba. Nor did they see much difference between groups directed by a Luba regional chief, a free-lance adventurer, or by a general under the authority of the Mulopwe. By about 1800, therefore, the Luba were no longer seen as a prestigious group with which Kanyok chiefs, traders, and storytellers were eager to identify. And, as a result, in the political, military, economic, and mythological realms, the Kanyok sought to distance themselves from the Luba, a group they had once tried to emulate.

The Kanyok repudiate the Luba

Mulaj a Cibang and his brother Ilung a Cibang were the first Kanyok leaders decisively to sever their ties with the Luba empire and to organize an effective general resistance which neutralized and eventually expelled or subdued Luba warriors and immigrants. The clichés of oral tradition recall the rupture between the Luba and the Kanyok by claiming that the tomboka ceremonies at which Mulaj was invested Mwen a Kanyok had actually been a series of insulting trials inflicted upon the Kanyok. According to Kanyok historians, on the homeward journey from the Luba court, Mulaj and Ilung resolved never again to be humiliated and they threw their ceremonial axes and white clay into the Luembe River, the western boundary of the Luba state. By this bold act of defiance, the story asserted, the two Kanyok brothers severed their ties with the Luba. The ax, formerly regarded as a symbol of chiefly authority given by the Mulopwe, now became an emblem of separation, cutting the two people apart. The white clay, once rubbed on the bodies of Kanyok political supplicants, now was irretrievably lost in the cleansing waters of the Luembe. Thus, by reinterpreting clichés which formerly celebrated the relationship of the Kanyok and the Luba, court storytellers announced that the Luba were no longer a source of political legitimacy and a reference of cultural identity.

Kanyok resistance to the Luba was not limited to revising symbols or refusing to seek investiture at the Mulopwe's court. When the Luba dispatched envoys to demand homage and tribute payments from the Mwen a Kanyok, Mulaj convened his council which recommended an unambiguously harsh response. Following the advice of his officials, the Mwen a Kanyok executed some of the Luba and sent

the others home without their hands and ears. When, after several months, the Luba sent another delegation, the Kanyok responded by treating them in exactly the same fashion.[13]

Kanyok accounts of a break in relations early in the 1800s are confirmed by Luba men of memory who claim that late in the reign of Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu (ruled ca. 1770 to 1810) the Kanyok polluted the Luba capital by leaving excrement on the streets. According to a Luba cliché of defecation and decay,

> The great town at Katende (Ilunga Sungu's capital) began to break up when the king became old. It was so big that the "Lord of Hygiene" [Kikoto kya kaumba – so called after the kikoto or scavenger beetle] could not, even with the help of his sons and relatives, keep the wide avenues between the various sections of the town cleared of refuse and excrement, even though they worked all day scraping up the dirt with their special long-handled hoes. It is said that the old King himself complained that it was the Bene Kanyoka who were chiefly to blame and should take their dirt home with them. Therefore the people of this western tribe went home in anger and have never paid tribute since. To this day if there is an unclean smell around, men will spit and say "This is as bad as when Ilunga Nsungu told the Bene Kanyoka to take their refuse with them."[14]

Kanyok and Luba clichés about axes, ears, excrement, and white clay all point to a rupture between the two peoples late in the reign of Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu who died about 1810. The Kanyok refusal to observe the protocols of tomboka and to pay regular tribute resulted in a break in relations, and, according to the Luba, was part of a more general rejection of Luba imperial control. Early in the 1800s, the Kalundwe, who share the Lubilash River border with the Kanyok, also resisted the Luba attempts to extract tribute and impose political influence. Kalundwe and Luba oral records indicate that during the reign of Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu, the Kalundwe chief Kanonge Samba defeated Luba tribute-gatherers and, after having severed his links to the Luba, established economic and diplomatic ties with the Lunda.[15]

Ilung a Ciband drives out the Luba

The efforts of Mulaj and Ilung a Cibang paralleled those of their Kalundwe contemporary Kanonge Samba. According to Kanyok historians, the two brothers laid careful plans to drive the Luba from the Kanyok region. First, the Ilung and Mulaj organized the construction of two massive *ihak* (sing. *cihak*) whose scale may be without parallel in Central Africa. (See Map 6.) According to Kanyok oral historians,

> After returning home from the Luba court, Mulaj called all the regional chiefs to Mulundu and ordered them to build a cihak in preparation for war. The cihak consisted of a deep circular trench with a wall on the inside. This wall, made of branches and mud, had peepholes at the level of a man's knees, chest, and head so that standing, kneeling, or lying down, the Kanyok warriors could shoot through the holes and stop an attacker. The attackers, on the other hand, could see no one and

> their arrows and lances would plunge harmlessly into the mud wall of the cihak. After the people had constructed a cihak around Mulaj's compound west of the Luilu River, Mulaj announced that they would build a second cihak for his brother Ilung east of the Luilu.[16]

Although the mud and wood walls of the two ihak have fallen down long ago, the vast earthworks still remain relatively intact. Mulaj's cihak is located southwest of Kabiji village and lies about one kilometer west of the Luilu River. A trench measuring about 5.5 meters wide and about 3.5 meters deep forms a huge oval with a circumference of approximately 6 kilometers. The total area within the cihak, between 200 and 300 hectares, was sufficient to plant many gardens and protect numerous small animals. Large trees measuring 1 to 2 meters in diameter and from 10 to 20 meters in height grow in the trench and indicate the fortifications were built long before 1900. Mulaj's official compound (cihang ca Mulaj), covering a few hectares and located just inside the northern trench of the cihak, is now an impenetrable grove of giant tropical hardwoods, immense palm trees, and tangled undergrowth.

East of the Luilu River, at Katshisung, lies the even larger cihak of Ilung a Cibang. The depth and width of the trenches are identical to those of Mulaj's fortification, but the circumference measures about 11 kilometers in length. Unlike the cihak of Mulaj, which was built on a relatively flat plain, the stronghold of Ilung rests on hilly terrain. At many points, the ground falls away from the trench very sharply and an attack against the fortress would have been extremely difficult. Ilung's compound, located in the northwest corner of the cihak, is similar in appearance to the compound of Mulaj.[17]

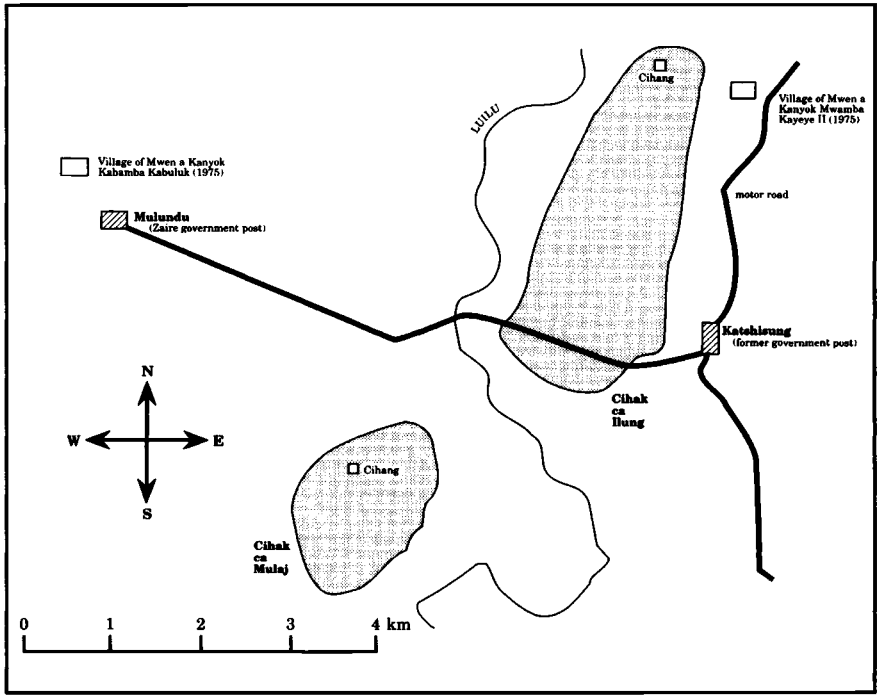
The amount of labor required for digging the moats, erecting the palisades, and supplying the workers indicates that by 1800, the Mwen a Kanyok exercised great authority over a relatively large number of individuals. The combined circumference of both fortifications is at least 17 kilometers. Therefore, assuming that a man using a basket and a hand-forged hoe could move one cubic meter of dirt per day, it would have required 1,000 men working steadily during four dry seasons to complete just the moat.[18] Presumably, an equal number of people would have been required to build the palisade and provision the laborers.

Protecting the villages with a dry moat and a palisade was a common practice in the central savanna region where people employed a variety of styles and techniques. While many villages were only enclosed by a wall, some people dug trenches and piled the dirt inside the moat as an additional safeguard or they incorporated dense vegetation, rugged terrain, or a river into the design of the fortification. In some particularly insecure areas, concentric circles of defense and booby traps along labyrinthine paths leading to the settlement added even more protection. Because surprise attacks, not sieges, were the greatest threats to most savanna peoples, the fortifications were intended to discourage and deflect enemies and not to withstand protracted assault. At the capitals of very powerful chiefs such as Ngongo Lutete, where prestige rather than protection may have been the main concern, imposing gateways guarded the main roads while the walls around the village were allowed to fall into disrepair.[19] The Kanintshin people liv-

ing southwest of the Kanyok were famous for their large ihak. Vulnerable to attack from the Lunda whose capital lay only 40 kilometers away, the Kanintshin surrounded their villages with at least one moat, and sometimes with two concentric trenches and walls.[20] Nineteenth-century Luba villages in Shaba also used extensive dry moat and palisade fortifications. One complex, located along the Lubudi River was guarded by a series of seven trenches, earthen walls, and wooden fences.[21] Late in the 1800s, Msiri, the East African invader who established his capital at Bunkeya in Kazembe's territory, built a fortified village surrounded by a moat and a palisade adorned with the gleaming white skulls of his victims.[22]

The cihak was an effective means of defense and usually could not be taken by warriors using pre-modern weapons and logistical techniques. South of Mulundu at Etond, an early twentieth-century cihak measuring 3 kilometers in diameter and containing a water supply, food stocks, and fields even enabled its occupants to resist a protracted siege laid by a colonial army. The Etond cihak withstood the assaults of Congo Free State soldiers who, in 1904, defeated the Mwen a Etond Ntutu Kabw only after requisitioning a cannon from Lusambo.[23]

In addition to constructing two gigantic ihak, the Kanyok prepared booby traps to thwart the Luba invaders and tribute-mongers. Under the directions of Mwen a



Map 6 The fortifications of Mulaj and Ilung

Katabayi who lived near Ditu, the Kanyok collected pots of poisonous insects and snakes. After having gathered the vermin, Katabayi took care not to ritually contaminate the civilized order of the village settlement while he brewed the poison. Taking only strong warriors who had no illness or physical blemish, Katabayi insisted that the men withdraw into the wilderness and, like menstruating women or a chief going on a journey, eat only uncooked food. Once the foul-smelling poison, called *mpondo*, was ready, the Kanyok smeared it on pointed sticks, lances, and arrows. The sharp sticks were planted on the paths and in the bush around the ihak while the projectiles were stored carefully within the fortifications.[24]

Although records from Mulundu, Ditu, and Cabob indicate that the struggle with the Luba lasted for years and affected much of the northern Kanyok region, most storytellers condense the entire period into one heroic battle at Ilung's cihak near the Luilu River. As told by Kanyok men of memory, who claim the Luba Mulopwe himself lead the invaders,

> When the Luba began to fight, they stepped on the poison sticks and died. Even those who managed to avoid one stick, stepped on another. Thus, instead of advancing, the Luba retreated. Many perished on the battlefield, while others made it back to camp only to die there. Because the battle was a disaster, the Mulopwe decided on a ruse so the Luba could escape. He collected all the lances and battle-axes which had been abandoned on the battlefield and propped them up so as to give the appearance of warriors waiting outside the cihak. The Mulopwe then ordered a secret retreat. When the Kanyok defenders inside the cihak looked out, they thought they saw men ready to attack. Later, however, when they cautiously left the stockade, they were amazed to discover there were no Luba warriors and even in the Mulopwe's camp, they found only empty huts. Informed of the Luba flight, Ilung then set out after the Mulopwe. By the time he reached the Lubilash, however, the Luba had already disappeared. Therefore, Ilung a Cibang gave up the chase, threw his *cilond* [ceremonial ax] into the river, and vowed there would be no further dealings with the Mulopwe.[25]

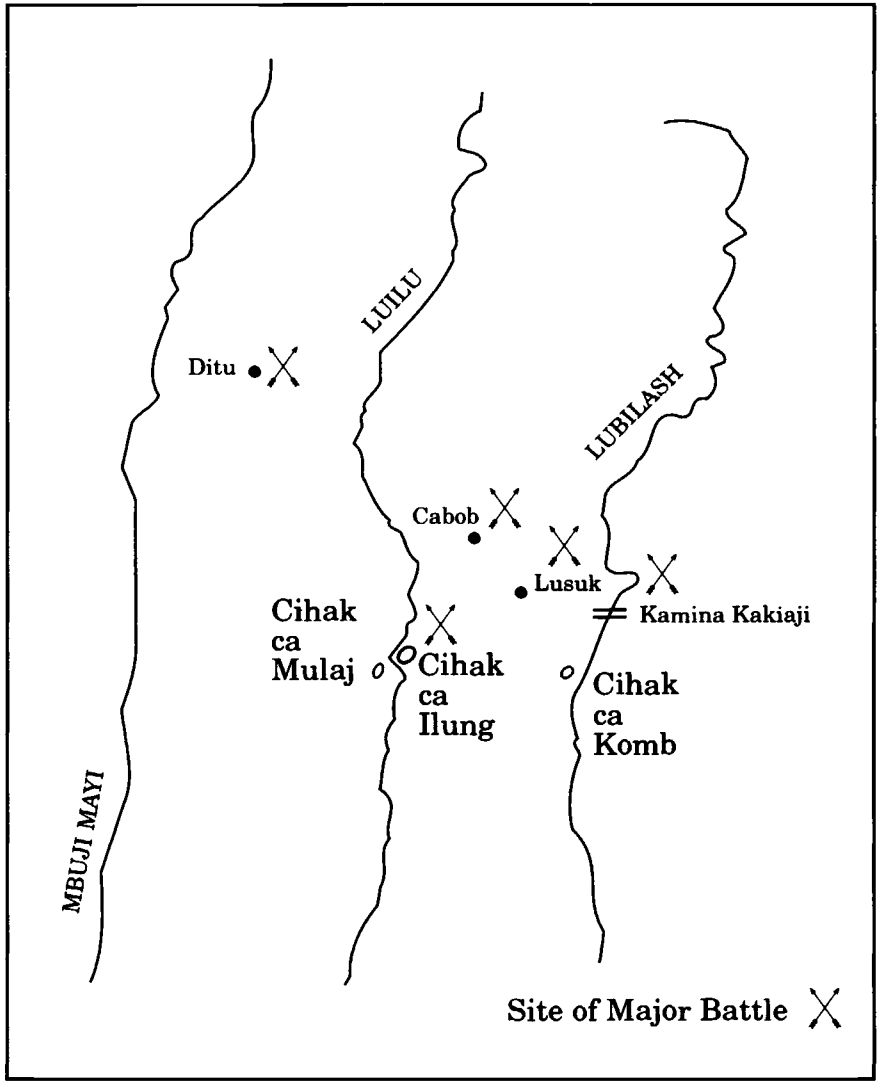
While Ilung a Cibang repulsed the Luba, one setback in the Mulundu area was not enough to convince the Mulopwe's warriors to stay out of Kanyok territory. Nevertheless, as Kanyok resistance became more effective, over time, Luba raiders found it harder to profit from their forays into the land and to retreat safely following their campaigns. Supposedly, the final battle between the Luba and the Kanyok took place at Kamina Kakiaji, a ford in the Lubilash River.[26] Now described by a series of clichés, the triumph has become so celebrated in Kanyok history that it is sometimes credited to the supernatural powers of a great serpent.

> As the Luba approached the Lubilash River near Lusuk, a giant snake stretched across the river to form a bridge. Although the Mulopwe led part of his army across the bridge, many people, including his own son, were drowned when the snake lowered itself back into the river. Seeing this, the Mulopwe threw his ceremonial ax into the water and vowed never again to return.[27]

Thus, in a contest between the Luba and the Kanyok, two peoples whose political origins are associated with the serpents Nkongolo and Nyoka, a supernatural

reptile gave the victory to the Kanyok (little snake). Recognizing the finality of the event, the Mulopwe, like Ilung in another tale, threw his ritual ax into the river and cut relations for ever.

While oral tradition compresses the past into personalized clichés of human heroes and supernatural beasts, the victory of Ilung over the Mulopwe and the miracle of the serpent signal a more prosaic, but broader contest. In the early



Map 7 The Kanyok–Luba wars in the early nineteenth century

decades after 1800, the Kanyok and the Luba were engaged in a conflict for control of the political and economic resources in a portion of the Luba empire's western region. Eventually, as the Luba lost their influence over the area, the Kanyok emerged as the dominant regional economic and political power.

Ilung a Cibang expands Kanyok power

Ilung's victory over the Luba enabled him not only to increase his stature among the Kanyok, but also to extend his authority beyond the borders of the growing Kanyok state. As one example of this reorientation, the Bakwa Kalonji, an eastern Kasai people who had previously gone to a Luba court in search of emblems of political office, now came to Ilung to win investiture and to offer tribute. A well-known story of Ilung's daughter Kabedi and Kalonji Milabi purports to describe the first time Bakwa Kalonji chiefs were confirmed in office at the Kanyok capital. Told as an epic of love and heroism, the account contains the usual savanna tales of a man going to the court of a prestigious distant ruler, of lessons on chiefly etiquette, of an impossible ordeal which the hero successfully completes by a ruse, and of the newly invested ruler's ascendancy over other local chiefs who were unable to gain ritual investiture. In every respect, the story parallels narratives about ambitious Kanyok chiefs competing in ceremonies of tomboka at the capital of a Luba ruler. This time, however, the rituals were held at the Mwen a Kanyok's compound, the esteemed ruler was the Kanyok chief, and the political hopeful offered homage and loyalty to the Kanyok. The Kanyok state, thus, had emerged from its position as a peripheral polity in the Luba empire to become the center of an influential regional political and commercial network.

According to a story told both by Kanyok and Bakwa Kalonji men and women of memory,

> Ilung a Cibang declared that the man who married his daughter Kabedi would not pay a dowry, but must survive an entire week without eating or drinking. Many men tried to pass the test, but none succeeded. Unaware of the ordeal required to win Kabedi, Cimanga Lusambuta of the Bakwa Kalonji sent his brother Kalonji Milabi [*milabi* means hoe handle] with a dowry to negotiate for Kabedi's hand. When he learned there was to be an ordeal instead of a dowry for Kabedi, Kalonji decided to become a candidate himself instead of acting in behalf of his brother. Before Kalonji presented himself for the test, however, he hid water, sweet potatoes, and manioc outside the royal compound. Once the ordeal to win Kabedi began, he asked Ilung for permission to go hunting during the daytime. Ilung granted the request, so each day Kalonji was able to leave the chief's compound and consume a part of his secret rations. After seven days had passed, Kalonji was able to claim Kabedi as his wife.
>
> When Ilung presented his daughter Kabedi to her new husband, he also gave Kalonji two male servants and two female servants. Although Kalonji took the two female servants as his wives, only the descendants of Kabedi are eligible to rule as chiefs over the Bakwa Kalonji. After Kalonji Milabi returned home, his brother Cimanga Lusambuta was very angry for he had expected to marry Kabedi himself. Since that time, the children of Kalonji Milabi and Kabedi have ruled over the Bakwa Kalonji and descendants of Kalonji's slaves have served as chiefs over lesser villages.[28]

Besides the Bakwa Kalonji, other northern people recognized the superiority of the Kanyok political system by seeking investiture at the Kanyok capital. Even people whose previous admiration of the Luba was so strong that they claimed to have migrated from Shaba, transferred their political loyalties to the Kanyok in the time of Ilung a Cibang. Links to the Mwen a Kanyok bestowed cultural prestige, economic advantage, and political authority on ambitious Kasai leaders. According to their own lore, the Bena Mbala, a group with putative Luba ancestry, were able to consolidate their rule over minor local chiefdoms by shifting their allegiance from the Luba to the Mwen a Kanyok.

> In the great migrations, Citatamba, along with his wife and younger brother, came from the land of the Mulopwe. Arriving at a place where someone had burned tall grass (pa bibalabala) in order to catch ants, they took the name Bena Mbala. Citatamba was not alone in this land for, while out hunting, he met a man named Kalunga who was also hunting . . . Kalunga, who then came to live (as a subordinate) near Citatamba, was given a wife by his new friend.
>
> Ambitious for power, Citatamba went to the Mwen a Kanyok's capital to receive political authority over his village and to obligate Kalunga to pour the water of authority over his head (kuewesha maya a bukalenge) in recognition of his superiority.[29]

These stories from the Bakwa Kalonji and the Bena Mbala clearly indicate the growing political, military, and economic influence exerted by the Kanyok over the Kasai Luba peoples. Having repulsed the Luba Mulopwe from the area, Ilung a Cibang was able to bring other Kasai chiefdoms into his orb and, by dominating the entire region, he transformed a former peripheral area of the Luba empire into a new regional center of wealth and power. Whereas previously, the Mulopwe had drained resources from the area, the Mwen a Kanyok, perhaps along with the Kalundwe chiefs, now became the dominant tribute-monger and commercial broker in the territories bordering the Lubilash River.

A key to Ilung's long-term success was his ability to bring the salt regions of Matamba (near modern Gandajika) into his sphere of influence. According to their own oral traditions, the Bena Matamba were former Luba warriors originally sent by the Mulopwe to fight the Kanyok. After the Luba–Kanyok wars, these soldiers remained to settle among the Bakwa Cisumpa who lived just west of the Lubilash River. Over the years, the Bakwa Cisumpa have almost lost their separate identity and today both people are known simply as the Bena Matamba. The Bena Matamba land is rich in salt marshes which have long served as centers for manufacturing and trade.[30]

Salt makers at Matamba began their work by clearing the vegetation from river banks in order to expose mounds where salt pushed to the surface. Then they dug up the earth and placed it in a cone through which they poured water. The liquid running out at the bottom was collected and boiled in a clay mortar. As the solution boiled, all the water evaporated leaving only a very hard, rock-like salt. At the conclusion of the process, they broke away the mortar to reveal a ball about 15 centimeters in diameter. Villagers in Kasai regarded this salt as the very best available and people came from all around the area to purchase salt at the Matamba.[31]

Although Kanyok informants have no notion of when people at Matamba began making salt, they unanimously agree that the Kanyok gained access to the salt in the era of Ilung a Cibang when Kasai people came to the Kanyok capital seeking the political blessing of the Mwen a Kanyok. In addition to office-seekers, private entrepreneurs organized journeys to Matamba where they purchased salt in exchange for palm oil, dried meat, chickens, fish, insects, and women.[32] Once Ilung a Cibang had repulsed the Luba, a Pax Kanyok emerged and the increased military security and the expanded state and diplomatic structures made it easier for people to travel long distances in search of scarce commodities.

The Kanyok sphere of interest was expanded southward as well as northward in the early nineteenth century. Continuing the efforts of his father Cibang a Ciband, Ilung attempted to dominate the regions south of the Kanyok land and tried to gain access to the lucrative Luso-African trading system. Although Ilung had been successful against the more distant Luba Mulopwe, he failed to carve off a section of the increasingly powerful Lunda empire. Describing Ilung's relations with the Lunda as an argument over tribute, Kanyok historians recall that Ilung was killed because of his efforts to control the flow of political and commercial revenue in regions between his territory and the capital of the Mwaat Yaav. Specifically, Kanyok men of memory interviewed by Father Casteleyn in about 1950 indicated the Lunda had angered the Kanyok by encroaching onto southern Kanyok territories in search of slaves which they probably sold to traders from Bihé or Kasanje.

> Ilung declared war on the Lunda and went with his brother Mulaj to Citanz not far from the Kanyok–Lunda border. When the Lunda saw the great numbers of warriors, they were afraid and resorted to a ruse to deal with the Kanyok. Promising the Kanyok tribute, they offered a feast to the visitors. After constructing an enclosure, they brought food and drink and invited the Kanyok to partake. Ilung a Cibang did not go himself, but sent his men led by his military commander, the Mwen a But. Seeing the men had come fully armed, the Lunda asked them to put down their weapons since the Kanyok had been invited to eat, not to do battle. Once the Kanyok laid down their arms, however, the Lunda attacked and killed many including the Mwen a But. When the few Kanyok who managed to escape informed Ilung, he heroically led his remaining warriors against the Lunda and was killed.[33]

Other Kanyok historians state not only that Ilung was killed in this assault against the Mwaat Yaav but that his body was never recovered. The story is plausible for Ilung has no grave in the royal compound just east of the Luilu River near Katshisung.[34]

Although the Lunda had taken slaves from Kanyok lands prior to 1800, until the time of Ilung a Cibang no Kanyok leader tried to prohibit or tax these raids. When, after strengthening the Kanyok state, Ilung insisted on payment for slaves taken from his land and the Lunda ignored his claims, Ilung a Cibang led his warriors south to enforce his demands for equitable trading relations. Not only did he want to be paid for the slaves, he also asked to normalize commercial and diplomatic relations with the Lunda. Ilung's request "for a place to install himself [*kushikat* –

meaning to sit or to rest] at the Lunda capital"[35] implied he hoped the Mwaat Yaav would designate a fixed place where Kanyok officials and traders could come to negotiate or exchange merchandise with the Lunda.

Following Ilung's death, his brother Mulaj reasserted his place as the supreme chief of the Kanyok. Having lived in the shadow of his more dynamic and assertive brother, Mulaj had gradually become a figurehead while Ilung made the key decisions and implemented government policy. The clichés of oral traditions describe Mulaj's return to active political life by saying as soon as Mulaj learned of his brother's death, "he built a hut of raffia and entered in to eat and drink. Thus [as a true chief] he was hidden from public view."[36]

Mulundu historians revise the Citend myth

The striking political, military, and economic realignment which took place during the time of Ilung a Cibang was accompanied by a profound revision of the Citend myth, the constitutional and social cornerstone of the Kanyok people. Originally told as the legend of a matrilineal polity at Kaleng a Mukel, the Citend narrative, like other Kanyok tales of origin, had later been recast as a story asserting close links with the prestigious Luba neighbor. In those accounts, probably completed before 1750, Kanyok hero founders such as Mwamba Ciluu, Cish Mukul, Ngoi ya Yanda, Mulaj Bandamayi, and even Citend were transformed into traveling hunters whose journeys to and from Luba territory mimicked the trips and fantasies of their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century children. By 1750, no Kanyok chiefdom, however small and insignificant, was without a founder hero who had visited the Mulopwe, danced the tomboka, and offered regular tribute at the Luba court.[37]

Besides being recast as Luba wanderers and hunters, the Kanyok legendary founder heroes were eventually united into a single extended family. Because this fictive kin group incorporated individuals from Kaleng a Mukel, Ngoi, and Mulundu, their story could only have emerged as a unified account after the close association, if not political integration, of the three originally separate regions. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – when the Luba connection was a source of cultural pride, political power, and economic advantage – storytellers at Mulundu modified the well-known tale of the Luba hunter Mwamba Ciluu and his Kanyok wife Citend. These storytellers asserted that Citend herself had been the granddaughter of the Mwen a Ngoi and the child of the Luba Mulopwe. Then, combining the once separate origin legends of Kaleng a Mukel and Ngoi, the two most important regions controlled by the new Kanyok polity, Mulundu oral historians gradually came to identify Citend as the daughter of the woman Mwen a Ngoi had long ago given the Mulopwe as restitution for his treachery against the Mulaj Bandamayi.[38] Thus, by the late 1700s, men and women of memory recounting the official Kanyok court history claimed that Shimat, the founder of the Mulundu dynasty, had been born of a union of Mwamba Ciluu, a Luba hunter, and Citend, the offspring of the great Luba Mulopwe. Ever since then, Mwen a Ngoi, Citend, Mwamba Ciluu, and Shimat

have been united as the main characters in the Mulundu legend describing the political origins of the Kanyok people.[39]

During, or soon after, the era of Ilung a Cibang, the myth was further modified to become a powerful anti-Luba composition. Instead of glorifying the Luba empire, the Citend story became a chronicle of Kanyok suffering and oppression at the hands of the Luba. Ignoring many details familiar to local Kaleng a Mukel and Ngoi historians, the Mulundu record of Ngoi, Citend, and Shimat was selective in its use of traditional information and bold in its willingness to inject novel commentary into the narrative.[40] While conceding that Kanyok political authority was derived from the Luba Mulopwe, whose blood flowed through Citend's veins, the recast tale admonished its listeners to remember the cost of this association. In the new Citend myth, tomboka was described as humiliating mistreatment, female pawnship was characterized as an exploitative loss of Kanyok women, and Luba attitudes toward the Kanyok were portrayed as condescending and degrading.[41]

As told by storytellers throughout the regions dominated by the Mwen a Kanyok, the account became a dramatic recitation of Citend's suffering at the court of the cruel Mulopwe and of her perilous journey to rejoin her waiting kin. Although the narrative began as a typical Luba hunter tale, it quickly shifted to chronicle the Mulopwe's unjust treatment of his Kanyok relatives. Thus, the new Citend myth, which focused on Luba oppression, categorically and explicitly rejected the fundamental assumptions of the earlier centuries' Luba hunter legends.

The Citend Myth, ca. 1825

Mwen a Ngoi came here from the Luba Mulopwe's land to found the village of Ngoi ya Yanda just west of the Luilu River. The hunting and gathering people living there recognized the newcomer as their chief even though he was not a member of the Luba royal family. As chief, Mwen Ngoi went to the Luba court with the people's annual tribute. Unfortunately, when he was at the Luba capital, a *citend* [calabash] from which he was drinking broke. Perhaps this was because of Mwen a Ngoi's carelessness; perhaps this was because the Luba had secretly cracked the cup beforehand. Angered by the destruction of royal property, the Mulopwe ordered Mwen a Ngoi to bring a woman as payment for the damage.

Mwen a Ngoi's daughter Bond or Bumam, the woman sent to the Mulopwe as restitution for Ngoi's misdeed, became one of the Luba sovereign's many wives and soon gave birth to a baby girl whom the Mulopwe named Citend as a reminder of the broken calabash. When Citend grew older, her siblings mocked her saying she was not the true daughter of the great Luba Mulopwe, but was only a slave since the name Citend referred to an object and not a royal child. Angered and saddened by these taunts, Citend confided in her mother Bond who then related the story of Mwen a Ngoi and the broken calabash. Learning for the first time that her maternal grandfather Mwen a Ngoi still lived west of the Luilu, Citend resolved to leave the Luba capital and return to her own family living in the land of the Kanyok.

In the course of her long and arduous westward journey home, Citend crossed the Luembe and the Lubilash Rivers before arriving during the night at Ibol near the modern town of Luputa. Having met no one along the way, she stopped to rest at a fire left by someone manufacturing salt from burning palm branches. When the

woman who was making the salt returned, she found Citend warming herself by the fire. Amazed at the great beauty and royal clothes of the girl, the woman ran to fetch the local chief Mwen a Ibol who in turn called a neighboring chief Mwen a Kabanda. Mwen a Kabanda, remembering the affair of Mwen a Ngoi, recognized the girl and told everyone her history. A third ruler Bandamayi planned a test to determine if Citend was a true chief. Placing eggs and a mortar in a basket, he broke the eggs in front of her so that if she was not actually a chief she would die. Citend survived the trial and Bandamayi said, "Mother, we come to welcome you, enter into the house to warm yourself." Bandamayi then beat the talking drum and called the people to come and behold the beautiful woman. Cilond, Mwen a Katubi, Mwen a Bihumba, Mwen a Cikol, Mwen a Cihemba, and Mwen a Kabiji were among those who came. Overjoyed to have a person of Luba royal blood in their midst, the people all accepted Citend as their chief. Then, all the local chiefs presented tribute or performed favors for Citend. In return, she gave them all new names [thus investing them in office].

Before leaving the Luba capital, Citend had engaged in sexual relations with a Luba hunter named Mwamba Ciluu [Mwamba the Hunter]. When Mwamba learned Citend had returned to her maternal relatives, he decided to follow her to the land of the Kanyok. Arriving at Kaleng a Mukel, he found her living in a house carefully guarded by several old women. Citend welcomed Mwamba and together they entered the house as man and wife. Soon Citend gave birth to a son who was named Shimat or Tuba Shimat [to sit firmly or we sit firmly] which signified security and independence. Because there was now a fixed capital and a male heir, the people felt safe and secure.

All went well until it came time for Citend to offer a feast for her people. Cassava and meat were cooked in great quantities; many calabashes of palm wine were carried to the capital. Then, after all the preparations had been made and all the people were assembled, Citend began her menstrual period and became ritually unclean. During her time of impurity, Citend had to remove her clothes and hide in the forest. Since she could not offer the feast, it was decided that her infant son Shimat, who, unlike Mwamba Ciluu, was of royal blood, should distribute the food. Seated on a leopard skin and aided by his father, Shimat called out each person's name and gave him food. Realizing that a woman could not serve as an effective chief, the people deposed Citend and installed Shimat in her place. Today, only the descendants of Shimat are eligible for the office of Mwen a Kanyok.[42]

Both the content and the tone of this new Citend story expressed sentiments of xenophobic hostility toward a people who had once been revered as an honorable social, political, economic, and cultural standard. This new message of the myth would have been unthinkable before 1750. But, by approximately 1825, there was great pressure to transform the Citend story as a polemic against the Luba enemies and as a means of support for Citend's putative heir, the Shimat dynasty at Mulundu.

While the great fortifications and Ilung's effective military strategies provided immediate relief against the pressures of the Luba empire, the restructured Citend myth has served the Kanyok until the present day. As one of the few tales known by everyone in all the northern and central regions, the narrative has reinforced sentiments of ethnic solidarity. Even today, when asked, "who are the Kanyok?," most people respond by recounting the cycle of Citend stories.

Conclusions

Undoubtedly one of the most significant leaders in Kanyok history, Ilung a Cibang lived at an unmistakable watershed in the development of Kanyok government and society. Nevertheless, his place in history has been magnified because he has become, for the Kanyok, the paragon of a warrior-leader. As a great warrior chief, Ilung a Cibang personifies an entire epoch and, over the years, historians and storytellers have attributed many warriorly deeds and ideas of other leaders to this great Kanyok military ruler. While they exaggerate Ilung's military significance, modern Kanyok men and women of memory are completely unaware of a profound constitutional and mythological shift, the restructuring of the Kanyok genesis myth, which occurred in his time and which contributed more to the continued existence of the Kanyok people than all of Ilung's military activities.

As an expression of xenophobic opposition to the Luba, the Citend legend has sustained the Kanyok during periods of intense outside pressure. In the late nineteenth century when Cokwe invaders terrorized the land and when the Luba slave trader Kasongo Cinyama occupied the Mwen a Kanyok's chair; in the colonial era when thousands of Luba railroad workers inundated the area, when better-educated Luba government workers, church leaders, and business personnel overshadowed the Kanyok; and in the period of independence when Luba soldiers looted the Kanyok areas and when government, church, school, and business seemed dominated by Luba; the memory of Citend's suffering and eventual triumph rallied the Kanyok people and leaders. Finally, as an account linking the almost religiously revered and venerated Citend with the Shimat family, the cycle of stories has glorified and legitimized the rulers at Mulundu. Only Shimat and his successors are the true heirs of Citend's tragedy and triumph; only the Mulundu leaders have been able to withstand Luba pressure and avenge the humiliation suffered by Citend and her children, the Kanyok.

6

Combat, classes, titles, and trade
Elements of Kanyok society in the nineteenth century

Nineteenth-century Kanyok society was a composite of ideas and institutions drawn from the common ancient Bantu heritage and of practices and concepts developed, shared, or borrowed in more recent periods of interchange with savanna neighbors. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, wars and raids, migrations and intermarriages, expeditions for trade or political office, Luba imperial expansion, growing Lunda cultural prestige, and the rise of the Luso-African commercial system, all played a role in facilitating the exchange and development of military, social, political, and commercial institutions upon which Kanyok society was built. Understandably, Kanyok society shared many traits with the cultures of neighboring peoples – both near and distant – who fought, governed, and traded across the southern savanna.

Military structures and strategies

The challenge of Luba invaders in the decades around 1800 encouraged a reorganization and strengthening of the Kanyok army under Ilung a Cibang. Although his military importance has been exaggerated by oral historians, although developments which took place under other leaders were attributed to him, and although offices and strategies borrowed from neighboring peoples were ascribed to his genius, the Kanyok military at the end of his life was more powerful and highly structured than when he took office as Mwen a But soon after 1800.

Biin Luhit

In the nineteenth century, the Kanyok fighting force was organized into three basic divisions known as the Biin Luhit, Biin Mazemb, and Biin Mund. The Biin Luhit (men of war) were a group of professional soldier-police led by the *Mwen a Mwilomb* and his adjunct, the *Mwadi a Mvit.*[1] While variations of the title Mwadi a Mvit were common among the Luba and known among the Lunda, the office of Mwen a Mwilomb was best developed among the Kanyok and Kalundwe who employed almost identical military structures and whose warriors lived in about

the same locations at the chief's compound.[2] (See Figure 1 for a typical Kanyok royal compound.) Recruited from all over the land, the Biin Luhit had no personal aspirations to high political office since they were not members of the royal family. Because any strong young man could volunteer for duty, entrance into the ranks of the Biin Luhit primarily was based on merit rather than on family ties. Nevertheless, sons of former Biin Luhit frequently followed their fathers as soldiers. Unlike the Biin Mund who fought for glory and political advancement, the Biin Luhit worked for pay. Besides the occasional booty of war – chickens, goats, male and female captives – which were divided among the warriors, the Biin Luhit received regular payments or gifts of meat, insects, vegetables, and cloth from the Mwen a Kanyok. The Mwen a Kanyok also assigned a forest garden plot which each member of the Biin Luhit or his family could cultivate.

Generally, the function of the Biin Luhit was not to fight in battle, but to enforce the law, to guarantee the capital's security, and to protect the Mwen a Kanyok. The Biin Luhit were used by the chief to arrest criminals, political dissidents, or local chiefs who failed to send their usual gifts of tribute. As the Mwen a Kanyok's personal police and protectors, the Biin Luhit lived in front of the entrance to the chief's compound and no one could gain admittance without their permission. Since nineteenth-century rulers may have had upwards of 200 Biin Luhit – by comparison the present Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu has only about 25 – their presence at the court was enough to intimidate all but the most ambitious or rebellious local rulers.

Mwen a Mwilomb, the commander, and his aide the Mwadi a Mvit, were appointed by the Mwen a Kanyok and the elders. Like their Kalundwe counterparts, in time of war they served as senior military advisors.[3] When armed conflict seemed imminent, the two leaders rubbed themselves with red clay, donned red parrot feathers, and danced before the chief as an indication of their willingness to fight. Without their support, the Mwen a Kanyok would have been foolish to risk a battle.[4]

Biin Mazemb

The second group of soldiers were drawn from the population of slaves called the Biin Mazemb (people of the rear). Information from the Lunda, Kalundwe, and Luba indicates that the dependent Mazemb people, supervised by a maternal relative of the chief, have long lived just behind the compounds of savanna chiefs.[5] Some estimates place the number of nineteenth-century Biin Mazemb at Mulundu as high as 500 or 600, numbers which made them the largest group at the capital.[6] As Kanyok oral tradition suggests, until the 1800s, the main function of the Biin Mazemb was economic rather than military. During a war, some Biin Mazemb fought in a separate unit under the slave officer the *Cikal*,[7] but many were assigned to commanders from the Biin Mund (royal officers) who led the slaves into battle.[8]

Once in combat, the Biin Mazemb were required to take the vulnerable front-line positions where they served as decoys for other warriors who lay in ambush.

Although in peacetime, slaves were treated well enough to prevent general dissatisfaction and revolt, in war, they were restrained from flight by the supernatural powers of the chief. The Kanyok believed the chief's magic would cause an escaping slave to encounter a wild animal and be devoured. Slaves were also discouraged from fleeing by the practice of cutting off all their hair, thereby distinguishing them from the rest of the population. Finally, as men without kin support they had no protector except the Mwen a Kanyok who acted as their legal guardian.[9]

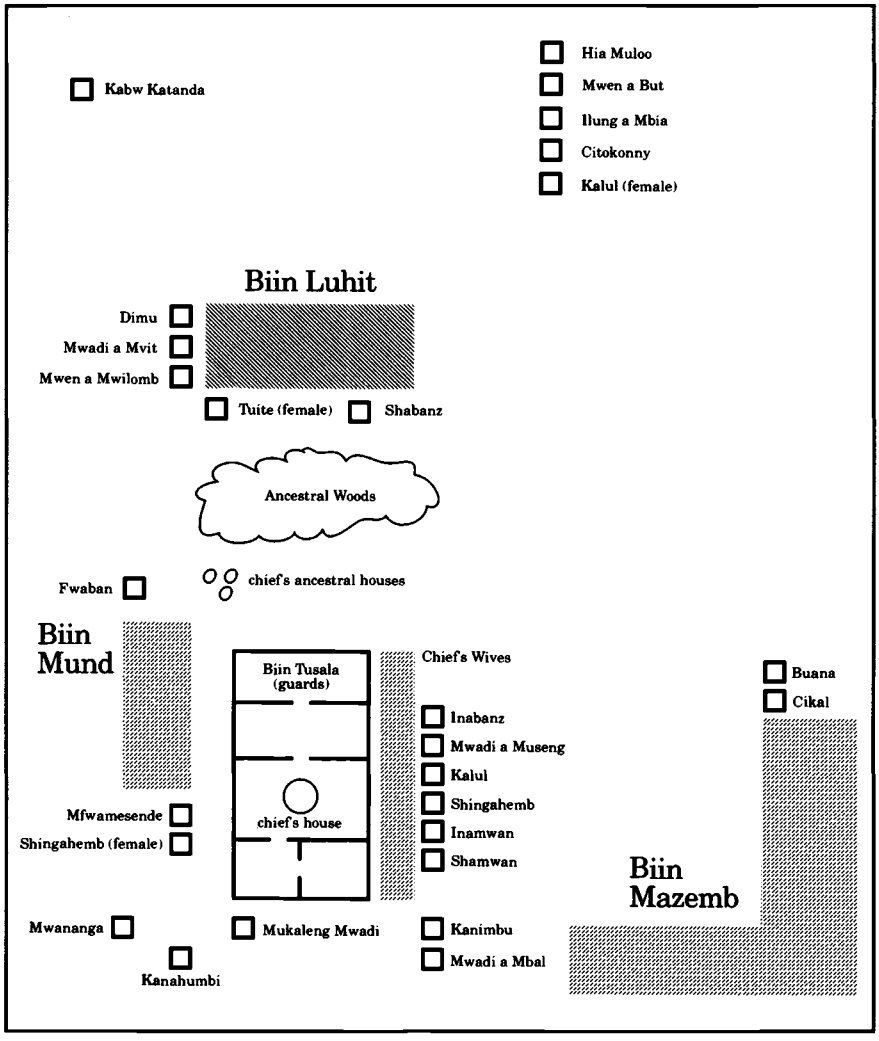


Figure 1 A Kanyok chief's compound in the nineteenth century

Biin Mund

The third group of warriors, the Biin Mund, were male relatives of the royal family. Living in the vicinity of the chief's compound, most had no specific government role during peacetime. Since some of these royal sons were paternal descendants of a recent Mwen a Kanyok, they aspired to high office and hoped to distinguish themselves in battle and gain the attention of powerful king-makers. The Biin Mund, composed of ambitious pretenders and frustrated ineligibles, were a rowdy, ill-disciplined group of young men who often conducted themselves as brigands and ruffians. Anecdotes about royal sons in the nineteenth century picture them as hooligans delighting in violence and tumult.

Sometimes, royal sons who caused problems in distant villages were inducted into the Biin Mund at the request of the local people. In the 1870s, when a young royal male Kabw Muzemb harassed the inhabitants of Luaba where his maternal family lived,

> the villagers complained to the Mwen a Kanyok saying that as a member of the royal family, Muzemb must live as Mulundu instead of causing trouble in the territory of Luaba. The Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Musumb sent men who forced Muzemb to return to Mulundu where he was ordered to live peacefully and to learn about royal customs and ceremonies. Muzemb then became a member of the Biin Mund.[10]

Muzemb was not the only troublesome royal son. Late in the nineteenth century, Mutomb Maleng, an unruly royal son living at Lusuk, frequently entered villages on market day and forced the people to flee in fright. Reportedly, Mutomb Maleng would then confiscate the abandoned merchandise.[11]

By organizing them into a military division, the Kanyok attempted to manage the tempestuous royal sons. *Fwaban*, the royal sons' guardian and field commander, was assisted by two titled adjuncts, the *Fwabiseb* and the *Luomb*.[12] When they were not at war, many of the royal sons resided just outside the royal compound where they were closely watched by maternal relatives and spies of the Mwen a Kanyok.[13] Rather than permit them to roam freely over the country, it was less dangerous for the Mwen a Kanyok to have the royal sons live nearby where they could be monitored, where their competitive energies could be expended against each other, where they could be mobilized to fight against the chief's enemies, and where they were cut off from the support of their maternal kin. By the late 1800s, the Biin Mund numbered as many as several hundred.[14]

Mwen a But

During war, the commander-in-chief of the Kanyok army was the *Mwen a But* (son of the bow), the highest ranking member of the Biin Mund. Widely known across the savanna, the title is reserved for a royal son eligible to become chief.[15] In nineteenth-century Kanyok government, the Mwen a But was the second most important titleholder, a man whose military duties and family ties cast him as both a protector and a potential challenger for the Mwen a Kanyok. Therefore, his

compound was located at least several hundred yards away from the chief's compound and, except for his specific military functions, the Mwen a But was not consulted about the daily affairs of government. In time of war, the Mwen a But decided on the battle plan, troop deployment, and distribution of supplemental royal weapons. He was advised in these matters by other high-ranking members of the royal family, the *Citokonny* and *the Kabw Katanda.*[16]

Techniques of war

While the Biin Mazemb took the most dangerous battle stations and the Biin Mund served as field commanders, most of the warriors were ordinary Kanyok men who were defending their land and families or who were fighting for spoils. Along with hunting, war was considered men's duty and glory. War was a sacred corporate obligation, sanctioned by the ancestors and pursued with courage and honor. A well-known Kanyok battle song describes Kanyok sentiments about war.

Our enemies are before us,
Weapons will judge the affair between us,
We fear nothing for the divine promises a favorable outcome,
Forward!
Come together, we will go forward,
Prepare ambushes in the bush and forest,
Let us be as numerous as caravans of ants,
Forward!
No man can remain in the village,
War, like the hunt, is man's work,
Only chickens, children, and women remain in the village,
Forward!
A Kanyok man loves war,
His lance is a tongue which loves to lick blood,
His arrow is the fang of a snake whose poisoned bite kills,
Forward!
Our ancestors are with us,
Follow our ancestors incarnate in our chiefs,
If we die, the earth will open to welcome us,
Forward!
The time for courage has come,
The sun shall see our valor today,
The force exuding from our skin makes our bodies glisten,
Forward!
Attack the foreigner, the enemy
Their wives will be our wives, their children our slaves,
Their heads and their livers will provide magical remedies for us.
Forward![17]

An activity requiring cooperation, courage, stealth, skill, ancestral assistance, and supernatural support, warfare shared many of the features of hunting. Like the annual ritual hunt, the decision to engage in war was made by high-ranking government leaders. Also, like the hunt, war required careful magical preparations. Once the council of elders had agreed to fight, the Mwen a Kanyok and several of his officials prepared magical substances to protect the warriors on the battlefield. Dipping leaves in water and rubbing the wet leaves over the bodies of his men, the Mwen a Kanyok rendered them invisible to opponents. Other rituals and incantations gave the soldiers special powers such as invulnerability to enemy weapons and the ability to fly through the air. Perhaps, as the battle song suggests, the most effective magical concoctions were produced from the bodies of valiant enemy warriors. Certainly all of these supernatural activities gave a euphoric confidence to the fighters and increased their valor in battle.[18]

The basic Kanyok battle formation, the ambush, also resembled tactics used in hunting. As the Biin Luhit took defensive positions in front of the Mwen a Kanyok's village, the Mwen a But and the rest of the army moved toward the foe. Approaching the battlefield, the Mwen a But deployed some warriors directly before the opponent. The rest of the officers with their citizen or Biin Mazemb warriors spread out in two wings to encircle the enemy. By creeping behind trees or through tall grass, they tried to surround the adversary before their own presence had been detected. Then, at a signal from the officers, all the warriors leapt out to fall upon the unsuspecting enemy who found themselves besieged from all sides. This typical nineteenth-century battle plan, as it is invariably described by present-day notables and military men, closely resembled a common African strategy sometimes known as the bull's horns.[19]

The instruments of battle were also the tools of the hunt. Until the introduction of firearms in the 1860s or 1870s, the Kanyok fought exclusively with bows, arrows, spears, and booby traps. Although the psychological effect of a gun could be enormous, the earlier barbed and poisoned wood and metal projectiles were highly effective in combat. In especially difficult battles, arrows were equipped with flesh-tearing barbs which could not be removed without doing great damage to the victim's body. When coated with a powerful poison manufactured from crocodile gall bladders and toxic insect juices, Kanyok spears and arrows were potentially lethal any time they punctured the skin. Relying on another hunting technique, the Kanyok also positioned small, sharply pointed poison sticks in the ground around their villages or battlefields. Anyone inadvertently stepping on such easily concealed devices would have suffered from a wounded foot and a dangerous dose of poison.[20] Even the great dry moat ihak were simply a variation of the commonly used pit traps and trenches used to snare, immobilize, or protect against elusive and dangerous wild animals.

Social classes

Just as increased military pressures brought changes in Kanyok defenses, the strengthening of patrilineal leaders, expansion of the Kanyok domain, evolution

of the economy, and intensified relations with surrounding peoples resulted in the emergence of more complex and stratified Kanyok social arrangements. While class differences became more pronounced in the 1800s, for the most part, the Kanyok extended rather than repudiated previous social concepts. Building on shared savanna notions about political rights, land use, inheritance, kinship, and status, the Kanyok, along with their neighbors, divided society into four distinct classes composed of rulers, commoners, clients, and slaves.

Rulers

At the pinnacle of nineteenth-century society, a minority of families claiming patrilineal descent from immigrant hunters dominated the political life of every major Kanyok village. While members of this group no longer journeyed to a Luba territory to reaffirm their "heritage," they continued to assert that the legends of "Luba hunter chiefs" contained both the story of their geographical origins and the justification for their political rights. Thus, this small number of people continued to monopolize the wealth and authority they had held since the ascendancy of patrilineal big men several centuries earlier. Living in or near the largest villages, members of the ruling class competed with one another for state and regional offices. Within this class, however, clear lines of stratification separated individuals eligible for the most important positions from those people merely able to serve in subordinate or advisory capacities. Only individuals able to trace unbroken and unblemished paternal connections to a hunter primogenitor could hope to become chief. Anyone whose ties to the first hunter depended upon a forebear who had suffered disgrace could not become a serious candidate for high office. Kanyok individuals reciting the history of dishonored persons always ended their account with the stock phrase, "his family can no longer rule here."[21] Individuals, whose ties to the original hunter followed female lines, often served as subordinate officials, but they could not be elected chief. Occasionally, ineligible members of the ruling class migrated to a village of lesser importance where they were able to become rulers of local stature.[22] Most, however, remained near their home where they accepted subordinate government posts or where they gradually merged into the class of common free people. A similar downward mobility also affected ruling-class people whose families were unable to gain a chiefly title after the passage of several generations.[23] Upward mobility into the ruling class was achieved through marriage. A woman who married into the ruling class was always treated as a member of her original group, but her children joined the ruling elite as full-fledged paternal descendants of the first hunter ancestor. A man who married into the ruling class retained his original status, but his children, as maternal kin of the chiefly family, sometimes could gain appointment to lower-level offices. Although the ruling class was exceptionally prominent and powerful, they accounted for no more than 10 percent of the total population.[24]

Free subjects

The overwhelming majority, perhaps 80 percent of the Kanyok people, believed they were descendants of the Basangal (original inhabitants) and they claimed to have been subjected by immigrant Luba hunters.[25] Thus, the common people's myths and legends of origin complemented the political assertions made by the ruling class who recounted tales of heroic Luba hunters.[26] The class of free subjects, living in small villages scattered throughout the land, were engaged in hunting, farming, fishing, trade, and artisanry, and they thought of themselves as the Bantu (the people). Exhibiting no firm class consciousness, the "Bantu" were not characterized by sharp economic or political differences within their own strata of society. Prestige was measured in terms of long life, large family, and local civic responsibility. These goals, to which almost anyone could aspire, benefited the entire community and were not subject to negative magical or social sanctions. Upward mobility making one an associate of the ruling class was possible through marriage or achievement. Since the Kanyok practiced exogamy, ruling-class men frequently sought wives from among the "Bantu" while ordinary Kanyok men sometimes married women from the ruling classes. Also, any man who exhibited unusual military valor or political skill could hope to be offered a position in the army or administration of a powerful regional chief or even of the Mwen a Kanyok.[27]

Semi-free clients

Besides the two free classes composed of rulers and subjects, a third stratum of semi-free clients lived in the land. Clients, who numbered perhaps 5 percent of the total society, originally had migrated from other areas such as Kete territory.[28] Seeking work or relief from famine and war, they became dependants of ruling class individuals who offered them land and protection. While these clients or "outsiders" had no political rights, they were under no legal obligation to remain in the land. Thus, they were considered free men and women who had chosen to give up some rights in return for economic security, military protection, and land tenure. Clients first entered the land in significant numbers during the reign of Mwen a Kanyok Ciam a Ciband who held office during the mid-1800s. Living in a symbiotic relationship with their sponsors, they provided economic support, technical skills, and political loyalty to any chief who allowed them to live in his territory. For client classes, time was the only factor allowing them to become integrated into Kanyok society as ordinary inhabitants. Nevertheless, members of the ruling class, eager to profit from their clients, and people of the common class, jealous to demonstrate their own superiority, made it difficult for people of foreign extraction to hide their roots. Thus, while outsiders did not wish to be identified as a class, other groups within Kanyok society continually reminded them of their origins.[29]

Slaves

Living in separate villages behind the chief's compound, the *Biin Mazemb* or *bahik* (slaves) made up a fourth class in Kanyok society.[30] Estimates place the number of slaves in the Mwen a Kanyok's enclosure at about 600 and a somewhat smaller number at the courts of powerful regional chiefs such as Mwen a Etond and Mwen a Museng. Lesser regional leaders such as Mwen a Hamb or Mwen a Kalamba had only several dozen slaves while Mwen a Lusuk and Mwen a Cabob had no more than a handful. In addition, a few wealthy nineteenth-century traders held slaves.[31] Thus, in a total population of 75,000 to 100,000, slaves accounted for no more than 5 percent of the total.

Kanyok slave villages, like those of the Kalundwe, Luba, and Lunda, were located at the rear of the chief's compound near the enclosure of the Mukaleng Mwadi (the chief's first wife). Under the control of the chief and his council, these slaves or Biin Mazemb were treated as wives or minor children of the Mwen a Kanyok. The military, economic, and court duties of the bahik, although prescribed by members of the ruling class, were supervised on a daily basis by a slave official holding the title *Kanimbu*. Directly accountable to the matrilineal Kanahumbi, the Kanimbu acted as a village headman for all the Biin Mazemb and his position was hereditary.[32]

In peacetime, the Biin Mazemb cultivated gardens, tended animals, hunted, fished, wove, and blacksmithed. While such work was no different from that of any other Kanyok person, slaves were obligated to present part of the fruit from their labor to the chief who retained the surplus to be distributed as political gifts or for entertaining visitors. Thus, a chief with a large slave and client population could insure the smooth functioning of kuaba, thereby protecting the stability of his office and government.[33]

A few slaves worked as the chief's personal servants. Their duties, which included chopping wood, drawing water, making fires, and maintaining an adequate supply of food at the court, were supervised by a male slave, the *Mwadi a Mbal* (kitchen wife).[34] Along with the slave *Buana*, the chief's valet, Mwadi a Mbal was the only male allowed in the royal kitchen.[35] Whenever the chief was absent from his court, the Mwadi a Mbal and the Cikal protected his possessions, including chiefly regalia. As a symbol of the temporary chaos and sterility caused by the chief's departure, the two men were forbidden to eat cooked food, drink water, or engage in sexual intercourse.[36] Other court slaves functioned as body-guards for the chief. Living inside the chief's inner enclosure, these ten or twenty men known as the *Biin Tusala* protected the ruler and his most important wives against intruders.[37]

In nineteenth-century Kanyok society, people fell into slavery because of legal punishment, political defeat, or military misadventure. Under Kanyok law, murderers, adulterers, and thieves were required to make reparation for their crimes. Criminals who were unable to pay the penalty could be subject to death if not rescued by their family. Such unfortunates often were reprieved by the Mwen a Kanyok or a regional chief who made the necessary restitution and then received

the offender as a slave. Political hopefuls who launched an armed attack against an incumbent ruler could also expect to become slaves in the event of failure. Finally, some people fell into slavery as a result of warfare. Probably, until the late 1800s, no Kanyok chief started a war with the expressed purpose of capturing slaves, but slaves were a by-product of wars fought for other reasons.[38]

Kanyok slaves could be described most accurately as people without kin support. Although a man or woman taken into slavery still revered the bakishi (ancestors) of their original family, slaves had no legal ties to their former lineage. Thus, a ruler accepted complete responsibility for his slaves. Even marriages among the Biin Mazemb were regulated by the chief who was expected to provide a dowry for male slaves marrying outside the slave villages and who received the dowry given when a free Kanyok man took a slave as his wife. Since there was no stigma attached to marrying a slave woman, female slave marriages to freemen were an important source of revenue for the Mwen a Kanyok and other powerful regional chiefs who retained slaves. As the slaves' surrogate kinsman, the ruler was expected to provide them with gardens and meat. Perhaps in the hope that they would derive great strength from the slain animals, Kanyok chiefs reportedly supplied slave villages with meat from powerful beasts such as the elephants and hippos. While women easily moved out of the slave class, men and their patrilineal descendants were always slaves. Even in 1975, descendants of former slaves were still considered as servants responsible to the chief and dependent upon his good will. Although many former slaves had migrated from the land or had been educated or westernized through the efforts of Christian missions, a handful of Biin Mazemb remained at Mulundu where they lived as wards of the Mwen a Kanyok.[39]

Although the daily routine of a slave was not much different from that of an ordinary Kanyok individual, the rituals marking crucial transitions in the life of the state and of the ruler indicated clearly the precarious nature of slave existence. When each new Mwen a Kanyok's great ritual drum, the mudidi, was constructed, a human skull (*kabamba ka mutu*) was required for the instrument's base. Presumably, the "unsuspecting victim" randomly killed on a forest pathway was actually a slave forced to walk down the path where the notables charged with obtaining the skull were waiting in ambush. Also, when high officials died, they were accompanied to the world of the dead by numerous personal slaves who were stunned and buried alive in the large earthen cave prepared for the departed leaders. These ceremonies dramatized the power of life and death exercised by the ruling class over all the Biin Mazemb.[40]

Political offices and systems

Nineteenth-century Kanyok government regulated and regularized affairs among the competing regional, clan, and class divisions which existed within the Kanyok ethnic group. While the political systems and structures were more complex at Mulundu, the same titles, councils, and patterns of government existed at every regional capital in the land.

The Mwen a Kanyok

Many ancient matrilineal titles remained important in the 1800s, but as the demands on government multiplied, patrilineal and non-kin offices became increasingly significant. The head of government at the regional or state level held the title *Mwen* meaning owner, lord, or son. Like his regional counterparts, the Mwen a Kanyok lived within the confines of his inner compound where he was protected by his most reliable slave bodyguards, the Biin Tusala, and fed by his four or five most trusted wives, the *Bumam* (silent ones). Seated in front of his tall conical house, the ruler met visitors, conferred with advisors, received or gave gifts of tribute, and admonished his wives. Inside the chief's house were his sleeping chamber, storage space for personal property and ceremonial regalia, a room where he could entertain high-level officials, and a place where he kept official possessions such as his double-gonged bells (*memba*) and his sacred ritual drum (mudidi).[41]

At court, everyone observed strict protocols designed to protect the ruler's health, spiritual power, and dignity. All of the Mwen a Kanyok's meals were prepared by his Bumam wives who communicated with the chief only by snapping their fingers, who wore animal skins, and who carefully protected themselves from ritual uncleanness. Visitors to the court showed elaborate respect to the Mwen a Kanyok by rubbing themselves with white clay, approaching him while bowing and clapping in deference, lying down in the dust in front of the sovereign, and humbly begging the ruler to give attention to their petitions.[42]

Achieving the office of Mwen a Kanyok or regional chief was expensive and dangerous. Because an individual's most reliable source of support was his maternal kin group, usually a man seeking high office left the capital to live in or near his mother's home village. By offering token gifts of kuaba, he attracted the attention of maternal uncles who began preparations for an eventual takeover of power. In theory, a candidate's uncles and friends collected gifts of meat, animals, palm wine, corn, manioc, and metal goods which they distributed to influential people at the capital. Afterwards, when the incumbent ruler died and the elders met to choose a replacement, the maternal kin presented their nominee along with even more substantial gifts of food, clothing, weapons, and women. The maternal group made these large expenditures knowing that once a new chief took office, his kin group would be rewarded by appointments to government positions, the spoils of tribute, and more lenient policy in matters of tax, justice, and corvée.[43]

In practice, succession to office in the nineteenth century rarely occurred so calmly and the interregnum frequently was a period of armed conflict as kin groups competed on the battlefield. Nevertheless, even the violent struggles paralleled the idealized peaceful pattern since the path to office was still to gain help from maternal relatives who then used their resources to promote a kinsman's cause. In the 1800s, gifts were given to attract military support to overthrow an incumbent chief or to destroy a rival pretender. Although the fortunes of battle, rather than a council's vote, determined who would sit in the chief's chair, kin

competition and kuaba remained the basic mechanisms underlying Kanyok politics.

Royal wives

Just outside the perimeters of the chief's inner court lived royal wives, children, and counselors. In contrast to the trusted Bumam, who prepared the Mwen a Kanyok's food, the second group of wives were important because of their diplomatic duties or productive capacities. As the Mwen a Kanyok's domain expanded in the late 1700s and early 1800s, the number of females at court increased proportionally. Daughters of local village headmen or of neighboring regional chiefs, these women acted as intermediaries and messengers between the Mwen a Kanyok and the subordinate chiefs. Although they lived at court, wives frequently returned home to visit kin and to inform their fathers of affairs at Mulundu.[44]

While at court, a chief's wives cultivated gardens, raised chickens and goats, chopped wood, carried water, hunted insects, gathered food such as mushrooms which grew in the forest, and cooked meals. Besides supplying the needs of themselves and their children, the ruler's wives provided food and drink for court visitors. Since hospitality was an essential feature of largesse and kuaba, it was essential that a chief's wives serve meals promptly, carefully, and generously.[45]

Royal sons

The increase in the number of royal wives multiplied the number of individuals born into the ruling class. To protect against assassination plots by ambitious mothers, sons of Bumam wives were ineligible to succeed to their father's office, but the sons of wives living outside the chief's inner court were considered as potential candidates for the chief's chair. Because these dozens or scores of wives were permitted, even encouraged, to take lovers and entertain visitors, most of their children were fathered by someone other than the Mwen a Kanyok. Since all the male offspring of royal wives could hope to replace their father, the royal sons were a jealous, ambitious, and unruly group of young men. In an effort to control this group of official "brothers," the Mwen a Kanyok required them to reside inside a special area adjacent to the royal compound where they could be supervised by a reliable relative, a matrilineal official known as the Fwaban (chief of the children). Besides acting as a Biin Mund military commander, the Fwaban monitored the activities of the royal offspring, tried to anticipate plots, and attempted to dissuade dissidents from threatening actions. Assisted by the Shingahemb, the Fwaban supervised the construction of houses and preparation of food for the patrilineal ancestors of the Mwen a Kanyok.[46]

The multiplication of royal children and the expansion of political mechanisms to control them was but one example of how Kanyok government grew larger and more complex in the 1800s. At times the system evolved by adding new duties to traditional matrilineal offices, but patrilineal titles or titles outside the kinship

structure became increasingly significant. Some individuals holding transformed, borrowed, or invented offices supervised Kanyok military affairs, others insured the smooth functioning of the ruler's court, and still others were charged with tribute collection.

The Bamavub council

While the Mwen a Kanyok and the regional chiefs were central forces in government, they shared power with two councils which could override the ruler's will in the affairs of state. The first council, the *Bamavub*, was a collection of traditional matrilineal titles and non-kin functional offices, and was similar to the Kalundwe group known as the *Banvubu*.[47] Unable to sit on the chief's chair in their own right, members of the Bamavub advised the chief, collected his tribute, monitored his private wealth, informed him of potential rivals, supervised his wives, disciplined his children, and directed his slaves. In this way, Bamavub officials attempted to protect the interests of the chief and of his maternal kin. The tenure of Bamavub officials was generally short – one or two years for even the most important persons – a pattern which allowed many people to share in the spoils of government. Although as many as twenty or thirty Bamavub members lived in a cluster around the ruler's inner court, only about one-third of this number were responsible for regular and crucial functions of government.[48]

Each male Bamavub official had a female counterpart with the same rank and usually with the same title. These female notables – older women who were divorced or widowed – lived in the same area as the chief's wives. They cooperated closely with their male associates, acting as witnesses to verify the word of the male official and to aid him in remembering the details of his work.[49]

Shingahemb

The Shingahemb, an official who in previous centuries had served as a key intermediary with the ancestors, was elevated as the most important member of the Bamavub. Although he continued his ritual duties, the Shingahemb also screened all the Mwen a Kanyok's visitors, watched closely for treasonous plots against the chief, and supervised the flow of official tribute. Furthermore, when the chief was gravely ill, the Shingahemb cared for him, and in the event the chief died, the Shingahemb protected the ruler's possessions, prepared the body for burial, and alerted the other high officials that a new chief must be appointed. Thus, the Shingahemb acted as the ruler's chief security officer, appointment secretary, intelligence-gatherer, diplomatic liaison, ritual surrogate, medical guardian, and legal agent in case of death.

Although the duties of the Shingahemb seem diverse, he had a singular goal: to insure that his maternal kinsman maintained an effective hold on office. By protecting his nephew the Mwen a Kanyok; by watching the flow of visitors, tribute-bearers, and potential rivals; by maintaining good relations with the ancestors; and by overseeing the royal estate after the chief's death, the

Shingahemb acted in the best interests of the ruler's most important constituency, his maternal family and village. These were the people who had helped the chief gain office; these were the people who expected to benefit from his position on the chief's chair. The male Shingahemb was assisted in his duties by a female Shingahemb, also a maternal relative of the Mwen a Kanyok.[50]

By 1800, the Mwananga had declined in importance, but the Kalul, Talaji, Kanahumbi, Inamwan, and Inabanz retained much of the prominence they had enjoyed in earlier years. Representatives of the ruler's matrilineal kin, they provided political counsel, ritual protection, economic oversight, and moral encouragement. Probably the matrilineally related Fwaban, as the official in charge of royal children, held a much more responsible position in the 1700s and 1800s than in previous centuries when the danger of intergenerational conflict had been less intense.

Mwen a Mwilomb

Other officials responsible to the Bamavub were appointed on the basis of merit instead of family attachment. The Mwen a Mwilomb, the police and security official who commanded the Biin Luhit, was not chosen from among the chief's maternal kin and may have actually been considered as a client or pawn. Like the Kalundwe Mwana Milombe, the Kanyok Mwen a Mwilomb resided in front of the chief's compound rather than beside or behind the royal residence. From his position at the entrance to the court, the Mwen a Mwilomb served as the official gatekeeper to the capital; anyone coming to the royal village was expected to greet the Mwen a Mwilomb, and if this protocol was not observed, the Mwen a Mwilomb sought out the visitor and inquired about his or her intentions. This information was then passed on to the Shingahemb. Since he served at the pleasure of the Mwen a Kanyok, the Mwen a Mwilomb was a reliable official who was not always replaced at the death of the Mwen a Kanyok. Nevertheless, he was closely watched by one of the chief's most important wives, the *Tuite*, who lived beside the Mwen a Mwilomb and reported any suspicious or subversive activities.[51]

Mfwamesende

The *Mfwamesende* (chief's blacksmith), an artisan who manufactured tools and weapons for the Mwen a Kanyok, also answered to members of the Bamavub. While many blacksmiths were local Kanyok workers, oral history indicates that the Mwen a Kanyok frequently employed client Mfwamesende who came from the Kete or Luba regions. Supposedly the court insider who helped Mulaj and Ilung a Cibang succeed at the Mulopwe's investiture ordeals was an iron-worker who then accompanied the two brothers back to the Luilu valley.[52] Ciam a Ciband, a powerful Mwen a Kanyok who followed Mulaj and Ilung, attracted Kete smiths who settled near his capital.[53] In the nineteenth century, the Mfwamesende at regional capitals such as Museng or Etond supervised twenty to thirty workers,

while at Mulundu the Mfwamesende was in charge of up to 150 men. Working under the Mfwamesende, workers dug the ore, smelted the iron, and manufactured weapons and tools. Although the Mfwamesende was required to supply the needs of the chief, he was given a monopoly over the manufacture and sale of iron products for the general population.[54]

Mwadi a Museng and Dimu

Other functional titles were responsible to the Bamavub and the Mwen a Kanyok. The *Mwadi a Museng*, a title common to the Ruund, Kanintshin, Pende, and Cokwe, was a mediator who worked to resolve disputes involving the court. Having no blood ties to the royal family, he may have been perceived as a neutral spokesperson, and, at times, the Mwadi a Museng cooled the wrath of an angry subject or settled a dispute by administering a trial by ordeal. After preparing a magical powder (museng means horn or cup for medicine), the Mwadi a Museng determined the facts in the case by having the plaintiff drink a liquid which soothed the individual's heated temper and proved the person's guilt or innocence. Among the Kalundwe and the Kazembe Lunda, the Mwadi a Museng assigned the residential locations for high court officials, a task which suggests his peace-making skills were used to reduce jealousy and competition among the royal family. As the royal drummer, the Mwadi a Museng also was trusted to dispatch messages across the land. During a war, therefore, enemy warriors sought to capture but not kill the Mwadi a Museng because only he could announce the end of the battle and persuade people to lay down their weapons.[55] The head executioner and chief bodyguard for the Mwen a Kanyok carried the title *Dimu*. Wearing black feathers, he was chosen for his physical strength, willingness to follow orders, and personal loyalty to the ruler.[56]

Tribute collection

Besides supervising court functionaries such as the Mfwamesende and the Mwadi Museng, the nineteenth-century Bamavub officials devoted much of their time overseeing the flow of tribute through the capital. As the Mwen a Kanyok expanded his sphere of control and influence and as Mulundu became the main conduit for goods from the Luba and Luso-African network, more local and regional chiefs sent annual gifts of tribute and more candidates for local office came to the capital in search of support for their cause. Thus, during the 1700s and 1800s, the Kanyok developed regular protocols governing the relations between each regional chief or neighboring ethnic group and the Mwen a Kanyok. Every regional chief, known as a *Mwen a Mukomb*, was linked to a specific Mulundu official responsible for entertaining that region's visitors at the capital, collecting the region's tribute, presenting the region's concerns before the Bamavub, and overseeing the region's political hopefuls who arrived at Mulundu with gifts and requests for support in their bids for office. Relations between Mulundu and the powerful region of Etond were administered by the Kalul who was also

responsible for the districts of Lusuk, Hamb, and Ngoi. The Inamwan, the highest ranking female official, handled affairs from the region of Museng. Mwen a Mwilomb represented the Kalamba, Cabob, and Katabayi districts while Kanahumbi and Shabanz oversaw the Masonz and Ditu areas respectively. With the exception of Cilond, which was under the Mwen a But, every regional chiefdom was linked to a member of the matrilineal Bamavub.[57]

When tribute-bearers or office-seekers arrived at Mulundu, they sought out the appropriate minister to explain their mission. After collecting any gifts of tribute, the minister gave about one-half of the sum to the Mwen a Kanyok while retaining the other half for himself. Revenues from regional chiefs were discussed in the Bamavub counsel and a subordinate ruler whose tribute was deemed insufficient was subject to reprisal or even removal from office. The council also evaluated gifts from office-seekers and Bamavub support for a given candidate depended largely on the size of his offerings.[58]

Law and justice

Legal cases also took much of the Bamavub council's time. Murder, theft, adultery, and violent personal attacks were cause for criminal prosecution. However, only cases involving different lineages ever reached the point of being adjudicated by Bamavub officials. Even serious crimes, when committed against one's own family, were left to the discretion of the lineage which punished the offender as it saw fit. While this policy resulted in local autonomy in most criminal matters, the large number of office-seekers, political parasites, and adventure-seekers who came from many areas of the country to live at Mulundu or one of the major regional capitals, certainly increased the legal load of the Bamavub.

Nineteenth-century Kanyok concepts of justice emphasized the importance of community welfare. Western criminal law attempts to uphold an abstract legal code by inflicting punishment or seeks to provide rehabilitation by offering education, but Kanyok principles of jurisprudence were designed to insure compensation for the injured party. If a person's child was killed, their spouse alienated or violated, or their property stolen, they could expect to have the loss repaid by the culprit or the culprit's family. While convicted defendants were required to pay a fine to the court, they were ordered to pay a much larger sum to the injured party. Although physical detention and capital punishment were not unknown, such forms of discipline were used sparingly since the real purpose of the legal process was restoration of loss to the victim.[59]

Besides being responsible to oversee the daily administrative, economic, and legal affairs of state, the Bamavub had important ceremonial duties. As in earlier centuries, the matrilineal family continued to supervise community ceremonies and rites of passage. The annual harvest festival, the misoma, and the annual dry season ritual hunt, the cianza, rituals led by the Mwen a Kanyok or by his maternal relatives, indicated that wealth and well-being emanated from Mulundu and that the ancestors were content with the incumbent administration.[60]

The Biin Men officials

The Mwen a Kanyok's inner council of matrilineal Bamavub advisors and his circle of aides, artisans, and servants was counterbalanced by a second group, the *Biin Men*. Known as *In Mes* (men of the eyes) among the Ruund and Kalundwe and as *Bena Menso* among the Bemba, these patrilineal officials lived in front of the royal compound.[61] Because many of the Biin Men were potential candidates for the chief's chair, their role in government generally was limited to military affairs. Purposely prevented from taking an active part in the administration for fear they would try to subvert the process and overthrow the Mwen a Kanyok, the Biin Men resided several hundred yards from the Mwen a Kanyok's inner court. Supposedly selected by the Mwen a Kanyok and the Bamavub, the Biin Men, once in office, were difficult to control or to remove from power.

Mwen a But

As head of the army, the Mwen a But was the highest-ranking member of the Biin Men and perhaps the most powerful man in the land after the Mwen a Kanyok. Holding a title used by many people across the savanna, the Mwen a But – meaning first son or son of the bow – was always a leading candidate to succeed the sitting chief.[62] The history of Ilung a Cibang, the most famous Mwen a But, illustrated the contributions and dangers represented by the man in this office. Ilung was his country's leading defender and military strategist, but he also undermined the authority of his brother, the Mwen a Kanyok Mulaj. As a check on the Mwen a But, the *Ilung a Mbia*, one of the Mwen a Kanyok's principal wives, lived near the Mwen a But's imposing compound in order to spy on the military leader.[63]

Citokonny and Kabw Katanda

The *Citokonny* and the *Kabw Katanda* were two other powerful military officials among the Biin Men. Probably, the Kanyok borrowed the title Citokonny from the Luba where the *Kyoni* (large bird) served as a stakeholder during the interregnum. Following the battle for office, the Kyoni of a victorious Luba candidate engaged in a ritual conflict to kill the Kyoni of the loser.[64] Along with the Kabw Katanda (dog of the bush), the Kanyok Citokonny commanded one of the two wings in the Kanyok military formation resembling the two horns of a bull.[65]

Hia Muloo

A fourth member of the Biin Men, the *Hia Muloo*, had neither military responsibilities nor administrative functions. As among the Kalundwe, Ruund, Samba, Kazembe, and other peoples, the Hia Muloo was the heir apparent to the chief's chair. Although derived from two Luba words meaning "heir to the Mulopwe," the title was not used by the Luba and probably originated in the Lunda system

from where it later spread to the Kalundwe and Kanyok.[66] As the presumed successor to the Mwen a Kanyok's position, the Hia Muloo was considered such a threat that he was guarded at Mulundu where, living in splendor, he was insulated both from power and danger.[67]

Interregnum

Although ostensibly organized around the same principles of kinship which, in Kanyok villages, provided stability and order through many generations, the community at Mulundu, because it existed as a political rather than family group, was competitive and transitory. The dominant matrilineal officials at Mulundu were secure in their positions only so long as the Mwen a Kanyok they championed lived. And at the death of the ruler, the patrilineal Biin Mund, all putative brothers became polarized into rival camps. Some of the royal brothers eventually returned to the capital to form the new government, others lost their lives in the interregnum battles, and many more slid back into a life of ordinary citizens because a new group of officials and royal "kin" had seized Mulundu and had claimed the spoils. While the lives of most common people, slaves, and clients were not affected by the change in government, some did lose their jobs and their lives in the ceremonies surrounding the change from one ruler to the next. Because the period between the old ruler's death and the new leader's inauguration was a time of profound social, economic, political, physical, and spiritual danger for most of the capital's powerful figures as well as for some ordinary individuals and slaves, elaborate rituals guaranteeing an orderly transition of power were carefully observed. Because the incoming Mwen a Kanyok represented a new group of matrilineal backers and a different collection of patrilineal colleagues, during the investiture rituals, the entire Kanyok community, including the ancestors, publicly endorsed the new leaders who had gained control of government.

As the chief's closest confidant, the Shingahemb prepared for the interregnum even before the incumbent was dead. Whenever the Mwen a Kanyok became dangerously ill, the Shingahemb kept people from entering the house where the sick man lay. Informed that the chief was resting, visitors were asked to return another time. Acting as the Mwen a Kanyok's personal doctor and ritual intercessor, the Shingahemb attempted to restore the ruler's health and, as executor of the chief's estate, the Shingahemb began arrangements to protect the Mwen a Kanyok's wealth in case he did not recover. After making an inventory of the Mwen a Kanyok's possessions, including the store of weapons, the Shingahemb placed them in safekeeping. Some movable property such as goats, chickens, and corn was spirited away to the chief's maternal village. Other items, such as weapons, ivory, cloth, and leopard and lion skins, were stored in the Shingahemb's compound. Even when the chief died, the Shingahemb did not announce the event until he had disposed of most of the ruler's property. Then, he officially informed the Hia Muloo (heir apparent) and together the two men made a public accounting of the remaining possessions which were divided among the Mwen a Kanyok's legal sons. Because each new Mwen a Kanyok attracted his own group

of supporters and relatives (maternal and paternal) to the court, many former "sons" were in danger of losing their positions of privilege. Thus, the public distribution of the Mwen a Kanyok's goods was accompanied by a great deal of rancor, much of it directed against the ruler whose death had disenfranchised his unruly putative paternal children.[68]

In a peaceful succession, the incumbent Bamavub council elected a new chief. In the nineteenth century, however, the selection of a Mwen a Kanyok was always made through armed conflict. Once chosen, the new ruler's first obligation was to bury his predecessor. Slaves, both male and female, were interred with the corpse which was laid to rest on a bed of raw ivory. After remaining at the grave for two days, the new Mwen a Kanyok was clothed in a traditional cloth (*madiba*), led as a captive by a cord tied around his waist, and conducted to a savanna which he purchased from a local Basangal headman. In remembrance of his hunter ancestor Mwamba Ciluu, the Mwen a Kanyok was then placed in a small hut called the *Mwamba Nzub* (Mwamba house). Just as Mwamba had once slept with the Kanyok princess Citend, the new chief had ritual intercourse with a woman presented by local headmen. By ritually enslaving the chief, selling him land on which he could build his compound, and confining him in a small hut where he had intercourse with a surrogate for Citend, the class of free Kanyok subjects reenacted the original "Luba hunter" chief's accession to power and reminded the new ruler that he held office as an outsider, as a man whose right to the chief's chair rested on the will of the people.

Not only the Bamavub and the ordinary subjects, but also the bakishi gave their assent to the selection of the new Mwen a Kanyok. During the several days when the new chief was inside the Mwamba Nzub, Kanyok officials constructed a ritual drum called the Mudidi. Accompanied by warriors, the officials left the Mwamba Nzub in search of a human head. After killing and decapitating the first man they met along the path, they returned with the skull which would serve as the base for the drum. Then the officials selected a tree which the slaves cut down while the Shingahemb and Inamwan sang to the ancestors. If the tree fell toward the east, the land of the first hunter chief's origins, it was taken as a sign from the bakishi that the proper man had been selected for office. Once the *Mwen a Mutomb dia ngomb* (sculptor of the drum) had carved a drum from the tree, the top was covered with a white goatskin while the base was fitted with the fleshless human skull. When the new chief was released from the Mwamba Nzub, he played the Mudidi and the powerful resonance of the drum indicated the approval of the bakishi. Besides the Mudidi, the memba (double-gonged bells) symbolized chiefly power and ancestral support. Acting in behalf of the bakishi, the Shingahemb presented the old ruler's memba to the new Mwen a Kanyok. Before the bells truly could be considered the property of the living chief, they were rubbed with a mixture of palm wine and chalk, two substances used when the Kanyok implored assistance from the ancestors.

Village chiefs, some living near Mulundu, others from the old Kaleng a Mulek territory, and still others from dependent regional areas, also signaled their submission by participating in the Mwen a Kanyok's investiture. Supposedly,

each time a new ruler was chosen, these chiefs hunted and killed a leopard whose skin, a symbol of royal authority, was presented to the Mwen a Kanyok. By offering the skin, they acknowledged the Mwen a Kanyok's right to rule over them. Finally, the same village chiefs, along with members of the Bamavub, washed the new Mwen a Kanyok in the tiny Kabundinda stream near Mulundu. In consultation with his matrilineal kin, the incoming chief already had selected a few of his highest officials, the Mwen a But, Shingahemb, Inamwan, and Kalul, and these individuals were also bathed in the Kabundinda. After this ceremony, the investiture was complete and the Mwen a Kanyok was heralded as chief. Instead of being led by a cord, he was carried triumphantly on the shoulders of a strong man who transported him to the chiefly compound. There, the traditional madiba was replaced by a new long skirt and red parrot feathers symbolizing power and dominion. Now the interregnum was over, a new Mwen a Kanyok held office, and the basic Kanyok social and political arrangements had been reaffirmed.[69]

Economic relations

In large part, the nineteenth century's elaborate, active, and competitive political processes and communities at Mulundu and regional capitals emerged because of and were supported by an expanded, increasingly complex economy. Throughout the 1800s, the Kanyok economic system functioned on two distinct but related levels. In the local domain, animals, foodstuffs, artisanal products, and women were redistributed at village markets, during kuaba, and through marriages or inheritance. These parochial exchanges, which generally involved people living no more than ten or twenty kilometers apart, allowed villages or individuals to compensate for temporary shortages, to profit from local specialties, and to cement social bonds. At the state level, tribute payments, investiture ceremonies, and trading expeditions permitted chiefs and other ruling class people to obtain exotic goods, political power, and human capital. During the first half of the century, important changes took place within the Kanyok economy. First, as they expanded the scope of their political realms, the Shimat dynasty and some regional chiefs accumulated significantly more wealth than their predecessors. Second, large markets developed along the northern and southern Kanyok borders. These markets, functioning as points of exchange between the Kanyok and their neighbors, indirectly linked peoples within the Luba and the Lunda trading networks. Third, private entrepreneurs, organizing medium-distance trading expeditions, emerged for the first time in Kanyok history.

The economy of the court

Kanyok economic exchanges, whether local market and family transactions, or regional and long-distance state-dominated tribute and trade arrangements, were dependent upon the surpluses generated by Kanyok farmers, hunters, fishers, and artisans. Living in the fertile land between the Lubilash and the Mbuji Mayi

Rivers, the Kanyok enjoyed better farming and hunting conditions than their neighbors. Palm trees, corn, peanuts, manioc, squash, and sweet potatoes grew well; goats, chickens, dogs (consumed as meat or used in hunting), pigs, and sheep abounded; while wild game and fish were plentiful in the Kanyok land. In addition to these sources of wealth, the work of potters, blacksmiths, carvers, and weapons makers, and the compulsory labor of clients, slaves, and citizens added to the material goods and time available for corvée, tribute, trade, or family exchange.

Without doubt, the Shimat dynasty and regional chiefs grew wealthier in the 1800s than in earlier centuries. In part, this reflected a general rise in productivity as all segments of society benefited from an end to the Kanyok–Luba wars, and in part this happened because Ilung and Mulaj halted or reduced the unequitable transfer of goods to the Luba domain. Allowed to plant, harvest, hunt, fish, craft, and trade in security, the Kanyok produced a greater flow of tribute gifts to important political officials and especially to the Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu. Besides tribute, the Shimat dynasty and many regional leaders derived income from the slaves, clients, and wives obligated to give their surplus production to the chief and from the common people required to perform corvée or offer part of the game or fish they caught.[70]

Not only a general rise in prosperity, but also an expansion of the Kanyok sphere of influence multiplied Mulundu revenues. Under Cibang a Ciband, Ilung a Cibang, and their successors, the Kanyok government consolidated its claim over regional chiefs and extended its control over neighboring peoples and states. The Shimat dynasty thus enlarged the geographical area over which it was able to demand tribute. Instead of Kanyok officials travelling to Luba capitals where they purchased political legitimacy, neighboring political hopefuls now came to Mulundu where they provided gift income for court dignitaries.

Long-distance trade

Although almost any product and many types of labor were useful commodities in local transactions, some forms of wealth were easier to store or more appropriate for regional or long-distance trade. While palm wine was highly perishable, palm oil could survive long journeys; while fresh meat or fish lasted only a few days, dried food was both compact and resistant to deterioration; while an individual's physical labor was limited to one location, slaves could be transferred to another owner and another place. Sometimes Kanyok products such as chickens were sold for palm oil, and at other times foreign items, especially copper, salt, and raffia cloth, were used as media of exchange, almost as currency, to facilitate long-distance or indirect transactions.

In the nineteenth century, the Kanyok maintained ties to the Luba trade and tribute domain, but increasingly, the Kanyok government managed its economic policies in response to Atlantic-oriented commercial opportunities rather than in accordance with traditional eastward directed diplomatic and political considerations. As a result of this shift, the Kanyok economy was greatly influenced by a

Luso-African network dominated by the Portuguese, Imbangala, and Lunda and ultimately controlled by forces in Europe and the Americas.

During the 1800s, Kanyok access to Atlantic coastal markets was indirect. Portuguese products arriving at Mulundu passed through the Imbangala *feira* (markets) at Kasanje and the Lunda capital Musumba before crossing the Kanyok border. The Imbangala, a Lunda-related people who had made contact with the Portuguese at Luanda in the 1600s, had established a state midway between the port of Luanda and Musumba. Until 1800, their capital Kasanje was the key point of exchange where African slaves and ivory from the interior were sold for European goods transported from the coast. Although after 1800, the Imbangala monarchy failed to maintain its monopoly over commerce between the Central African interior and the coast, the Portuguese and the Lunda were not able to make direct contact before the 1850s.[71]

As the Imbangala's major African trading partner in the nineteenth century, the Lunda purchased European-manufactured goods such as cloth, salt, liquor, weapons, gunpowder, pottery, and beads.[72] Except for guns and gunpowder which they retained for their own use, the Lunda resold many of their imports to vassals and neighbors in return for slaves since, during the first half of the century, the Lunda relied primarily on the slave trade to acquire European goods. In 1832, a French traveler J. B. Douville wrote an account claiming to chronicle his own visit to the Lunda capital in 1829. Although it is unlikely that Douville ever entered Lunda territory, he did reach Kasanje and his description of Musumba probably summarized information he gathered from Imbangala merchants who had traded with the Mwaat Yaav. According to Douville, in 1829, slaves were the most important product sold at Musumba. "Slaves arrive at Yamvo [Mwaat Yaav] from every part of the kingdom. This is the central market where a great number of merchants come. These merchants will later conduct the unfortunate [slaves] to many different places. The *mouata* imposes a tax on the sale of slaves destined for foreign countries."[73]

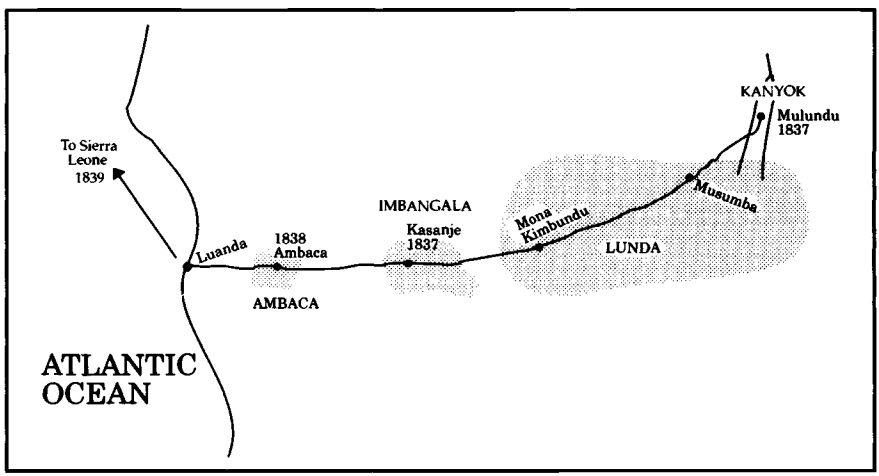
By the 1840s, as the Atlantic slave trade became more hazardous, the Angolan economy shifted, and slaves increasingly were employed within Africa instead of being sold for export. At the time when international pressure was discouraging the transport of slaves to the Americas, African ivory and beeswax were in great demand. In 1836, when the Portuguese lifted their artificially imposed ceiling on ivory prices, the market value of ivory rose a dramatic 300 percent. Higher prices stimulated production so that Lunda ivory exports, estimated at only 3,000 pounds in 1832, reached 105,000 pounds in 1844. From 1844 to 1859, Lunda ivory exports increased by an additional 80 percent. As the price of ivory went up, the price of slaves decreased. By 1854, Livingstone observed that in Luanda a slave youth who previously would have brought $70 to $80 was then selling for a mere $10 or $20. Therefore, in 1858, the Mwaat Yaav declared that future tribute would be collected in ivory instead of slaves. As a result of these changes, slaves who previously had been shipped across the ocean were now employed to collect products which could enter the world market as legitimate commodities.[74]

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Kanyok were among the Lunda's major

suppliers, and as early as the 1820s, Ilung a Cibang fought to gain more favorable terms for the sale of Kanyok products to the Lunda. During the first decades of the 1800s, slaves were the main Kanyok export to the Lunda who in turn traded them to the Imbangala. When the missionary-linguist S. W. Koelle interviewed freed slaves in Sierra Leone, he met a *Kanyika* (Kanyok) man named Mutomp (Mutomb). Mutomb, whose name means pawn or hostage given as tribute, had been sold as a slave in about 1836. (See Map 8.) Of Mutomb, Koelle wrote:

> Mutomb, or William Francis of Freetown, [was] born in the town of Mamunyikayint [Place of Mwen a Kanyok] where he was brought up and had one child when he was sold, on account of bad conduct, to Kambunda [Kimbundu] slave dealers, who sold him into Kasands [Kasanje] country, from where he was sold to the Baga [Ambaca] and the Portuguese. He stopped one year at Kasands, one year in Baga, and one month on the coast, and he had now been in Sierra Leone twelve years with only one countrywoman . . . The Kasands country is one month's journey from Kanyika.[75]

Mutomb, a young man of about twenty when he was sold into slavery for misbehavior, may originally have been a Kanyok slave, client, citizen, or even Biin Mund. Perhaps he was a troublemaker considered as a legal or economic liability by his kinsmen, perhaps he was an unsuccessful political activist who backed the wrong candidate in a succession dispute, perhaps he was an unruly Biin Mazemb whose existence had always been precarious. In any case, Mutomb was placed in the hands of traders from the Lunda town of Mona Kimbundu and then resold to the Imbangala at Kasanje. His year-long stays at Kasanje and Ambaca were not unusual since slaves were often put to work as servants or agricultural laborers in order to maintain the slave traders' extensive commercial operations. Once he reached Luanda, Mutomb remained only a short time – perhaps just long enough



Map 8 The journey of Mutomb in the years 1837 to 1839

to be loaded onto the first available ship – before his transport to Brazil. However, the ship was captured, its cargo released in Sierra Leone, and Mutomb took up residence in Freetown where he lived from 1839 until he met Koelle in 1851. According to Mutomb, a Kanyok woman, perhaps his wife, also lived in Sierra Leone.

Presumably, as the world need for ivory surpassed the demand for slaves, the Kanyok adjusted to the requirements of the marketplace and supplied other goods to the Luso-African market. Although it gives no indication of what products were involved, an 1847 report from a Portuguese agent J. Rodrigues Graça, who had visited Musumba, proved the Kanyok maintained their position as one of the Lunda's major commercial suppliers. In a list of vassal chiefs who paid "tribute" to the Mwaat Yaav, Graça named thirty-six rulers and estimated the amount of their annual tribute in *reis*, the Portuguese and Brazilian currency of the 1800s. Referring to the Kanyok as "Canhoca the powerful," Graça says the Kanyok and "Cassongo of the plains" paid the greatest tribute, surpassing even Kazembe's Lunda. Graça claimed the Kanyok and "Cassongo" both sent 16,000$000 (sixteen thousand milreis) worth of goods to the Lunda while nine other chiefs sent between 10,000$000 and 14,000$000 worth. Twenty-four lesser vassals each paid under 10,000$000.[76]

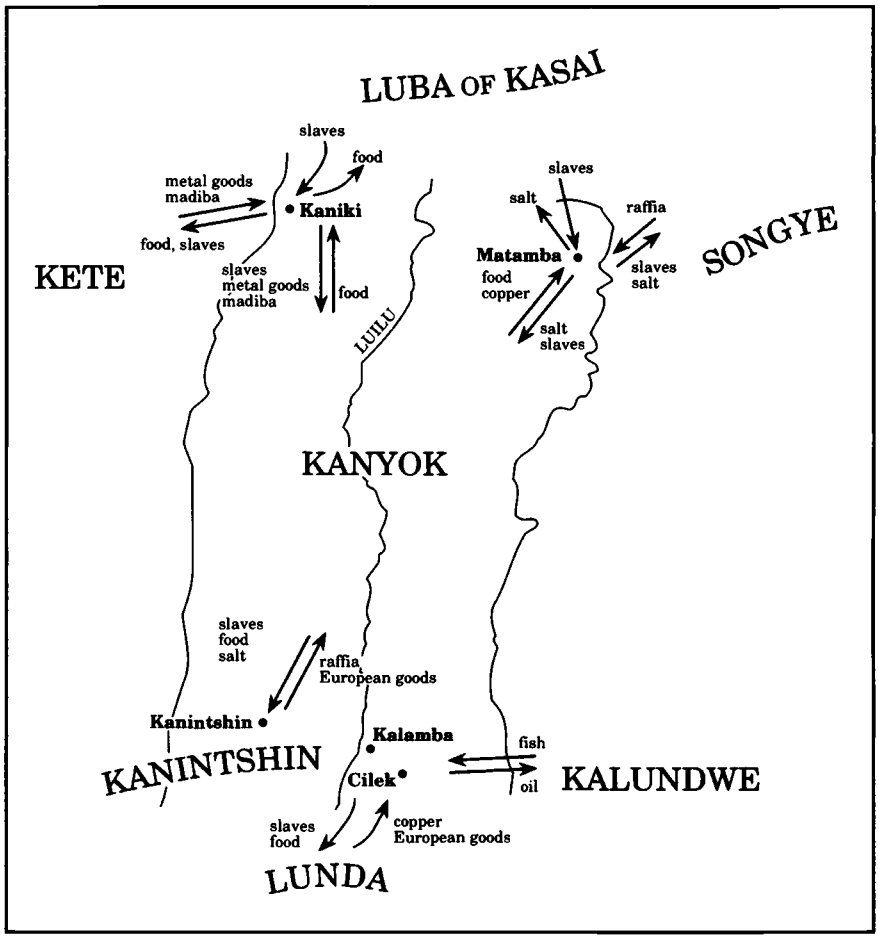
Although the Kanyok received merchandise in return for the ivory and other products they supplied to the Lunda, such payments were not always judged adequate or equitable. Because the Lunda regarded Kanyok trade as tribute, they expected the exchange to be unequal and they were willing to use military force to protect existing price structures. Unless the Kanyok wanted to be limited to the Luba market and tribute system, they had to accept the terms the Lunda offered. Nevertheless, the Kanyok sometimes boycotted the Lunda, an action which merely incited the Mwaat Yaav to declare war. In 1846, Graça reported that the Mwaat Yaav was fighting his two northern neighbors, the Kanyok and the Kanintshin, because they had refused to pay tribute.[77] The conflict was short-lived, however, for by 1855 Livingstone described the "Kanyoka" as one of the Mwaat Yaav's principal suppliers of ivory.[78] Probably the lack of an alternative market rather than an improvement in prices caused the Kanyok to reenter the Luso-African trading network.

Slaves and ivory were not the only Kanyok products sold to the Lunda. From Graça's and Livingstone's accounts, it is possible to detail other merchandise which passed through the Lunda–Kanyok system. According to Graça, the Lunda received copper, ivory, slaves, palm oil, iron, hoes, arrows, spears, pots, knives, food, domestic animals, raffia cloth mats, and animal hides from their African neighbors.[79] Except for copper, the Kanyok could have supplied any of these products although slaves, ivory, raffia, food, and animals were their most important exports. While ivory, food, and animals originated locally, most of the raffia and many of the slaves were purchased from the Luba Kasai and Songye peoples to the north. Livingstone indicated the Luba purchased European cloth, Atlantic salt, guns and ammunition, cheap dishes, and beads from Imbangala merchants dealing in Portuguese or coastal goods.[80] Although it is unlikely that the Lunda

resold guns to the Kanyok, the other coastal products reached Mulundu and other regional trading centers.

Regional market centers

In the early 1800s, Kanyok external trade was monopolized by the state. However, large markets, which were centers of regional and medium-distance exchange, began to flourish once the Luba–Kanyok wars ended. (See Map 9.) In the north, Kaniki and Matamba were the largest market villages. Lying on the border separating the Kanyok, Bakwa Kalonji, and Kete, the Kaniki market served as a nexus of trade among these three peoples. The Kete specialized in artisanal



Map 9 Important nineteenth-century markets in the Kanyok region

products – machetes, short ceremonial swords, hoes, and burlap-colored raffia cloth (madiba). These also sold fish and a high-quality salt obtained by burning marsh grass. For these goods, the Kete received goats, chickens, peanuts, palm oil, and dogs from the Kanyok and female slaves from the Bakwa Kalonji. The Bakwa Kalonji, having little surplus food, offered mainly slaves for sale at Kaniki. Frequently torn by internal wars or troubled by conflict with small neighboring ethnic groups, they had a constant supply of slaves which were the most profitable by-product of fighting. According to Kanyok lore, the Bakwa Kalonji even sold their own relatives into slavery. The Bakwa Kalonji also sold raffia cloth which they had originally purchased from the Songye at Kabinda in return for slaves or products they obtained at markets such as Kaniki. As excellent farmers and hunters, the Kanyok supplied food products for the Kaniki market. Palm oil, peanuts, dried meat, insects, manioc, corn, and vegetables were sold in exchange for slaves, raffia, and metal items. A traditional proverb describes the Kanyok trade with the Bakwa Kalonji and other Luba Kasai peoples with the words, "They sold women for squash and we threw in potatoes as a bonus."[81]

The Matamba market, near the modern town of Gandajika, was famous for mineral salt which the Bena Matamba produced by leaching the salty earth near streams in their land. According to both Kanyok and Bena Matamba historians, the Matamba market developed as a major emporium at the conclusion of the Luba–Kanyok wars. At the end of the conflict, Kaseba a Mpici, a Luba military leader, remained in the Matamba area where he subdued the local Bakwa Cisumpa. In addition to the relative peace and stability of the early 1800s, Kaseba's more extensive savanna connections permitted Matamba's commercial activity to increase and soon the town became the most important market for many kilometers around. Kanyok food, Songye mats and raffia cloth, and Luba Kasai slaves flowed to Matamba in exchange for salt. Along with salt, the Kanyok obtained slaves and Songye products at Matamba.[82]

Far to the south, near the Kanyok–Lunda border, other great markets grew in the 1800s. At Kanintshin, local merchants acted as intermediaries between Kanyok and Luso-African traders. Through Kanintshin, the Kanyok obtained beads, European cloth, and dishes.[83] Kalamba was another important market where the Kanyok exchanged palm oil for fish furnished by the river people of Kalundwe. Also, in the late 1800s, Angolan traders came to Kalamba in search of provisions and slaves. And, just inside Lunda territory, the market of Cilek supplied the Kanyok with copper from Shaba. To purchase copper – an item which had become an important part of many Kanyok dowries – the Kanyok offered palm oil.[84]

Markets were carefully organized and regulated. Most local villages held a small market on a fixed day in a five- or eight-day cycle so that in a given region at least one market would be operating each day. The great markets at Kaniki, Matamba, Kanintshin, Kalamba, and Cilek also opened on a regular schedule. Goods arriving at the market were taxed by the village chief who took a percentage in kind from each merchant offering wares. For large indivisible items such as slaves, the chief received part of the purchase price. The chief then resold his

revenue or brought it to his compound. In return for taxes, the chief was expected to police and regulate the markets. Although the major markets were located on the periphery of the Kanyok domain where they could benefit from important ecological, political, commercial, and technological differences and where they would not disrupt the political process at Mulundu, part of the revenue generated at these markets eventually flowed to Mulundu in the form of tribute to the Mwen a Kanyok.[85]

Traders and entrepreneurs

In contrast to the tribute network which was limited to politicians and political hopefuls, the market system was open to everyone. Farmers, hunters, fishers, warriors, and artisans all traded their goods. Chiefs and other politicians also brought the surplus from tribute and products generated by the labor of their wives or slaves.[86] Thus, through the markets many Kanyok people were linked to the larger flow of African and European commerce in the savanna region. As the economic and political conditions improved in the 1800s, private individuals, investing large amounts of wealth, began to organize medium-distance trade ventures in order to profit from the economic opportunities available in the region. Oral traditions recall the names and activities of some of these men. Cinish Katshiatsha was a very rich trader from Citong, a village between Etond and Kalamba.

> Cinish Katshiatsha was a man from Citong who led caravans north to Matamba where he sold palm oil and peanuts for salt. He then took the salt to Kanintshin where he purchased cloth which he used to buy more oil at Citong.
>
> Traders such as Cinish Katshiatsha hired from ten to twenty local villagers for their trading expeditions. Before departing, Cinish paid each man's family a calabash of palm wine and upon the successful return of the group, he killed goats and gave a feast for the carriers. Traveling during the dry season, the caravan going to Matamba went through Hamb, Masonz, Kakinda, Lusuk, and Malaj a Kanomb before arriving at Matamba.
>
> The trip to Matamba was very difficult and dangerous. Some people died of famine, others were killed by wild animals, many were attacked by hostile villagers. To protect themselves, the travelers made detours through the forest. Also they changed themselves into lions or elephants in order to disguise themselves from enemies, ease the transport of heavy loads, cover great distances rapidly, and facilitate the plunder of local gardens. Caravan leaders had special fetishes for the protection of their men.
>
> Cinish Katshiatsha was a very wealthy man who had at least twenty wives to cultivate his many fields. [Presumably they produced some of the palm oil, peanuts, and palm wine used in their husband's business.] Although Cinish had many wives, he never had any children. He also made local vegetable salt by burning palm trees. This, however, he did in secret because the chief had a monopoly on the product.[87]

At Hamb, Ilung a Mbia was another nineteenth-century entrepreneur who organized trading caravans.

> Ilung a Mbia was a trader who bought salt from the chief at Matamba. Before the trip, he gathered people together and offered palm wine to drink. At that time, he would engage five or six porters from among the families who attended. With these men, Ilung a Mbia went to Matamba carrying palm oil, meat, fish, hemp, and copper crosses. These items were traded for salt. Upon his return to Hamb, Ilung paid his carriers with salt, and he sold salt in the local market.
>
> Ilung a Mbia obtained his trade goods by purchasing them in the market with salt and by producing them himself. An excellent fisherman and hunter – he dug pits to trap animals – Ilung always had a supply of fish and meat. His five wives and two slaves cultivated palm trees and hemp. Ilung had purchased the slaves with salt. Ilung a Mbia also made several trips to Kayembe Mukul in Shaba where he traded palm oil for copper.
>
> Ilung a Mbia became a sub-chief under the Mwen a Hamb. To gain this office, he gave the Mwen a Hamb many gifts.[88]

One of the most enterprising merchants of the 1800s lived at Etond (west). Although he lived in the 1870s or 1880s, his commercial operations continued in the tradition of earlier entrepreneurs.

> Mwen a Ngoi Kabong a Malemb was a wealthy trader who lived at Etond when Kapolo was the Mwen a Etond. Mwen a Ngoi traded in oil, copper, salt, and cloth at Kasens in Shaba, Matamba in the north, and Kanintshin in the southwest.
>
> With chickens and goats, Mwen a Ngoi purchased palm oil and peanuts at the local market. Two chickens – a cock and a hen – would buy a large calabash of oil. After buying much oil, Mwen a Ngoi Kabong called several family heads together. He then offered palm wine to drink and contracted with them for about twenty porters to carry oil to Kasens near the modern town of Kolwezi. Each calabash contained about twenty liters of oil and at Kasens Mwen a Ngoi received one copper cross for each calabash. Upon his return to Etond, Mwen a Ngoi cut several crosses into sections in order to pay the porters. Depending on the weight of the load they had carried, porters received either a fourth or a fifth of a cross.
>
> After resting at Etond, Mwen a Ngoi Kabong hired six or ten men to journey to Matamba where he purchased six balls of salt for a copper cross. After coming back to Etond, Mwen a Ngoi paid each porter one ball of salt.
>
> Mwen a Ngoi continued on to nearby Kanintshin where he traded salt for raffia cloth. For each ball of salt, he received two madiba. The madiba were later sold at Etond for chickens and goats. One madiba was enough to buy two cocks. With the chickens, Mwen a Ngoi could trade for more palm oil, the product he always took to Kasens.[89]

The stories of Kanyok traders give detailed information about commercial operations in the nineteenth century and they contain evidence about popular attitudes toward wealthy entrepreneurs. Medium-distance trading operations were based on Matamba salt, Shaba copper, Kanintshin cloth, Luba Kasai slaves, and Kanyok palm oil, fish, and meat, all highly valuable and easily transportable regional specialties. Merchants who completed a safe and successful trading voyage made handsome profits. For example, Mwen a Ngoi Kabong from Etond realized a 600 percent return on the forty chickens he originally invested.[90] However, not every trip ended well since the journeys were long, hazardous, and uncertain. In part, the tales of men changing themselves into elephants indicate the

difficulties of traveling with heavy loads through areas infested with wild animals or inhabited by unfriendly villagers. To acquire enough trading capital for their trips, entrepreneurs relied on their own labor, the support of their lineage, the production of their wives and slaves, and the profits from previous commercial ventures. These surpluses and profits were reinvested into human capital (wives and slaves) or used to purchase more trade stock. Certainly the Kanyok traders who risked not only large amounts of wealth, but also their lives, merit the name enterpreneurs.

Stories of nineteenth-century merchants indicate that the Kanyok people did not respect or trust wealthy enterpreneurs completely. Great riches, like very long life, were often equated with selfishness, greed, and an anti-community spirit. Although the merchants distributed some of their profits among their own family members, to continue a viable operation, they had to reinvest much of their earnings into more trade goods or human production capital. Such reinvestment was viewed as miserly by others. The statement that Cinish Katshiatsha had twenty wives but no children may reflect the popular opinion that he had been punished by the ancestors for accumulating too much wealth. The common assertion that rich traders possessed the ability to change into elephants grew out of respect and admiration for the powers of these men, but the belief also expressed misgiving about the entrepreneurs' methods. The Kanyok thought that great power, like great wealth, was achieved by taking advantage of others. The rich or powerful person, it was believed, gained their position by "eating" or destroying others. In 1975, an old regional chief expressed this clearly when he said:

> I myself have the ability to change into an elephant, but I would never do so. Undoubtedly there are many advantages to becoming an elephant when one must carry heavy loads quickly over long distances. However, great harm results. To become an elephant, a man eats [the spirit or health of] another person. Also, when traveling, such "elephant-men" disregard others by trampling through villages, destroying huts, and eating from local gardens. That is why good people do not become elephants.[91]

Although the elephant stories are veiled symbolic or metaphoric clichés of opinion, oral history contains more direct assertions that some traders were unscrupulous. Cinish Katshiatsha acted illegally by dodging taxes and/or adulterating his trade goods. While he may have made vegetable salt in secret to avoid paying tribute, one suspects he might have diluted Matamba salt with his cheaper locally manufactured material.

Conclusions

The decades between 1830 and 1870 represent the apogee of the Kanyok state. In this period of relative calm after the defeat of the Luba and before the arrival of slave traders and European colonialists, the Kanyok established the basic framework of a strong savanna state. Mulundu, with its ihak, standing army, large slave population, and powerful Mwen a Kanyok was unsurpassed by any other Kanyok village. The traffic to Mulundu of regional chiefs who paid tribute, and of

neighboring non-Kanyok people, who sought investiture from the Mwen a Kanyok, demonstrated the Kanyok chief's stature and contributed to the state's wealth and strength. During this time, Mulundu became a complex administrative center where full-time officials, the Bamavub, directed the legal, financial, ceremonial, and political affairs of state while the Biin Men assured the military defense of the capital. Regional chiefs such as the Mwen a Etond and the Mwen a Museng remained very powerful, but they and their villages were clearly eclipsed by the Mwen a Kanyok and his capital Mulundu.

Kanyok markets and entrepreneurs also flourished in the mid-1800s. Foodstuffs, products by peasants, slaves, clients, and wives, were the mainstay of Kanyok exports, while salt, copper, cloth, metal products, and slaves flowed into the land. By selling food to their northern neighbors, and slaves and ivory in southern markets, the Kanyok began to profit from the Luso-African commercial network which had reached northeastern Angola and southern Zaire.

7

Schisms and slaves, ghosts and guns
The Kanyok face new challenges, ca. 1825 to 1880

The middle decades of the nineteenth century were politically challenging as civil strife, schism, and foreign invasions plagued the Kanyok people and the state. In part, these upheavals were the result of the new economic and political opportunities in the decades following the conclusion of Kanyok–Luba hostilities. The political stability which came at the end of the wars, the opening of trade with the Luso-African commercial system, and the growing Kanyok sphere of influence in the region all increased the stakes of politics at Mulundu. Initially, by drawing on loyal clients and terrifying supernatural powers, Mwen a Kanyok Ciam a Ciband (ruled ca. 1830–ca. 1850) was able to stabilize and strengthen the Mulundu regime. After 1850, however, when the impact of Western capitalism on the savannas and forests of Central Africa became more direct and more intense, competition for the office of Mwen a Kanyok grew increasingly bitter and divisive. Not only was the chief's chair at Mulundu constantly threatened by coups, but the Kanyok state eventually was divided into two antagonistic halves, as guns, not law and tradition, became the most important tools and symbols of political control. By 1875 the land was in such turmoil that a Luba slave trader Kasonga Cinyama was able to oust the sitting Mwen a Kanyok and seize the chief's chair for himself. Although his rule was brief, after his departure Cokwe slave raiders and Luso-African merchants introduced even greater chaos into the Luilu valley.[1]

Ciam a Ciband consolidates power

From 1800 to 1830, Kanyok leaders had been preoccupied with defending the people from eastern invaders, protecting the Shimat dynasty from the Luba Mulopwe's control, and gaining access to the Luso-African economic system. Following this period of external stresses, Ciam a Ciband turned his attention to the domestic challenge of strengthening the office of the Mwen a Kanyok. Specifically, making the Mwen a Kanyok's position less dependent on lineage support, eliminating rivals for the chief's chair, and silencing critics against his policies were the main tasks facing Ciam a Ciband when he took power sometime around 1830.

Ciam a Ciband's success in consolidating power earned him a reputation as an

evil and pernicious sorcerer. The opinions transmitted in the clichés of oral tradition indicate that Ciam a Ciband inspired awe as a wealthy, long-lived, and powerful chief and that he also was regarded as frighteningly selfish, cruel, and dangerous. While Ilung a Cibang is revered as the paragon of a warrior-chief, history has come to depict Ciam a Ciband as a ruler feared for his magical powers. In the same way the military exploits of less famous leaders have been attributed to Ilung, oral tradition has assigned other chiefs' supernatural deeds to Ciam a Ciband. Ciam a Ciband is not the only Kanyok chief to be remembered for his miraculous powers for, in the previous century, Cibang a Ciband (his putative brother) had been portrayed as a man who controlled lightning, sleep, and hunger, thus, as a magic worker who employed his supernatural gifts to defend and benefit the entire Kanyok community. Ciam a Ciband, on the other hand, was viewed as a man who used his magical strength to advance his selfish interests – both personal and political – at the expense of his rivals and subjects.

Ciam a Ciband, the generational uncle of Mulaj and Ilung a Cibang, originally had tried to gain office as Mwen a Kanyok during the long interregnum just prior to 1800. Again, after Mulaj's death in approximately 1830, Ciam failed in a bid for power. Instead of Ciam, his older "brother" Sabw a Ciband was selected to be the Mwen a Kanyok.[2] By this time, both men were well past middle age since the long reigns of their brother Ciband a Ciband and of their fraternal nephews Ilung a Cibang and Mulaj a Cibang had taken place within their lifetime. Except for the story that Kabw, the son of Mulaj, and Bukas, the son of Ilung, were his rivals, little else is known about Sabw a Ciband. His reign was only a brief interlude before Ciam finally won the office of Mwen a Kanyok.[3]

Clients

Although Ciam a Ciband used magic to augment his power, he also employed more prosaic methods to strengthen his position. In order to create a sizeable group of loyal and reliable supporters, Ciam actively pursued a policy of inviting non-Kanyok people to settle his land. These people, cut off from their traditional ethnic and lineage support, were highly dependent on the Mwen a Kanyok who gave them land and permitted them to establish their own villages. A present-day Kanyok merchant recalled how his own forefathers were invited by Ciam a Ciband.

> My ancestors, who were metal-workers, came from the Kete village of Ruadi west of the Mbuji Mayi River. Cibang, the chief at Ruadi, sent his son Bukasa to Mulundu with tribute of salt and machetes. Bukasa then returned home with gifts from the Mwen a Kanyok. Ciam a Ciband, who was very pleased with Bukasa, encouraged him to come back and promised him land. When Bukasa's father learned of this, he permitted his son to emigrate and he gave Bukasa some men to accompany him. He also gave Bukasa two women who were to be presented to the Mwen a Kanyok. Bukasa then settled in the land that Ciam a Ciband gave him. The land, called Kota a Kalenga, lay between the Kabonda and Yabui Rivers near Mulundu. Bukasa received the title of *Sende* (blacksmith) and he made knives and arrows for the chief.[4]

Kete families were not the only outside clients Ciam invited to live in the Mulundu region. Plagued by famine, two groups of northern people decided to relocate to Ciam's capital. Supposedly, after Mwen a Kanyok Ciam had withdrawn from a war against the Bakwa Temb northwest of Ditu, another people, the Biin Mung, were envious of all the food carried by the Kanyok warriors. Since they were experiencing hunger in their own territory, the Biin Mung came to Mulundu and petitioned Ciam a Ciband for a place to settle. In return for land, they agreed to cultivate some of their fields for the chief. Once the Biin Mung had immigrated to the Luilu valley, the Bena Hakong of the Bakwa Kalonji learned of their improved situation. They too asked Ciam a Ciband for a place to live and were placed near the Kabonda River where their descendants live today.[5]

The Kete, Biin Mung, and Bena Hakong were only some of the non-Kanyok people who became Ciam a Ciband's clients. Besides increasing the Mwen a Kanyok's wealth, they contributed to the stability of his power because they were, in a legal sense, his dependent kin. Located near Mulundu, they provided a buffer against the instability and insubordination caused by competition for the chief's chair.[6]

Magic

To contend with rivals within the royal lineage, Ciam a Ciband relied on the power of magic to intimidate and destroy his opponents. Using spells, magically manipulated animals, and walking phantoms, Ciam took secret but effective action against his enemies. One of Ciam's early challengers was Kabw a Mulaj who had competed in the interregnum following his father Mulaj's death. According to traditional sources, Kabw's threat ended when,

> [through the use of magic] . . . Ciam a Ciband made a beautiful phantom woman which he sent to entice Kabw a Mulaj. Seeing the woman, Kabw desired to sleep with her. Immediately, however, after he began to have sexual relations with the woman, Kabw realized she was as unresponsive as a wooden statue and that she was not a real woman at all. The next day, after becoming very fearful and feverish, Kabw told everyone what had happened and he lay down on his mat. Then, a lizard ran in, frightened all the elders, and bit Kabw in the eye.[7]

Having been injured by the lizard, Kabw's eye developed an ulcer and went blind. Kabw was then forced to relinquish all claims to political power because no Mwen a Kanyok may have a physical blemish.[8]

Besides using magic to disqualify or kill rivals for his office, Ciam a Ciband employed supernatural power to control and punish opposition to his policies. Periodically, throughout his unusually long reign, he exercised magic when he built royal enclosures whose construction required frightening magical rituals. Soon after he was installed, Ciam a Ciband – like other Kanyok chiefs – planted a row of trees around the compound where he lived with a few of his wives and most trusted maternal titleholders.[9] However, after reigning for a number of years – oral historians insist the number was the symbolically significant seven – Ciam

ordered that a fence called *kamaleng* be constructed to link these trees into a continuous wall.

Supposedly, building the Kamaleng involved the use of powerful magic and supernatural executions. Before making the fence, the chief called a sorcerer and gave him the names of a number of people who must die. The sorcerer then prepared knotted branches which he placed across the paths leading into the chief's compound. When the people chosen to die passed over the sticks, they became ill and eventually died.[10] While officially, the supernatural executions were conducted so that the dead could announce the construction of the Kamaleng to the ancestors, it is probable that the persons selected to die were regarded as enemies whose elimination was desired by the chief.

In addition to the Kamaleng, reputedly Ciam a Ciband was the first Kanyok chief to build two other structures, the *mikenz*, and the *kavungahat*. The mikenz, a raised platform with steps on which the chief's ancestral house was built, and the kavungahat, a fence around the entire compound in which all the chief's wives lived, both required prolonged preparation and rituals similar to those connected to the kamaleng. Supposedly, only two later Kanyok chiefs lived long enough to build all three structures.[11]

Ciam a Ciband died a very old man, so old that in his final years he had to be carried in and out of his house.[12] During the course of his life, Ciam had witnessed the reigns of his brother Cibang a Ciband (ca. 1775–1800), and of Ilung a Cibang and Mulaj a Cibang (ca. 1800–30). In addition, he himself ruled many years, perhaps until almost 1850. He died greatly feared, and probably intensely disliked by most of his subjects.

The Kanyok chiefdom is divided

Ciam a Ciband increased people's awe of the Mwen a Kanyok, but after he died the basic vulnerability of the central government quickly became apparent. Binen a Mulaj, a son of former chief Mulaj a Cibang (Ilung's brother), emerged as the winning candidate from among the many individuals who vied for the Mwen a Kanyok's chair following Ciam's death. After ruling only briefly, Binen was replaced by Kalend a Sabw a Ciband, also known as Kalend a Kenge (Kenge was his mother's name).[13] Striving to increase Kanyok influence over the salt-producing regions of Matamba, Kalend fought chiefs in the north. According to Kanyok historians, Kalend was successful and his wars resulted in the resumption of a regular flow of tribute in salt from Matamba to Mulundu.[14] Although there is no way of knowing how long Kalend ruled at Mulundu, oral history recalls that he did not continue in office until his death. When he contracted severe diarrhea – perhaps a symptom of cholera – the people, fearing dire consequences should a sick man remain as Mwen a Kanyok, expelled Kalend from Mulundu. Once Kalend had departed to the village of Buhumba to recuperate, his Citokonny Ciam a Bukas a Ilung seized power. Eventually, however, Kalend regained his health and regrouped his forces at Buhumba in an attempt to regain his lost chief's chair. Kalend failed, because Ciam, drawing on the support of his maternal relatives near

Ditu, repulsed and killed the former Mwen a Kanyok.[15] This battle may have occurred in the late 1850s.

Ciam a Bukas' hold on power was precarious and incomplete. Although the fact that he built a kamaleng indicates that he ruled for at least several years, Ciam a Bukas had to contend with constant threats from an older brother Kadyat a Bukas. Like Ciam, Kadyat had been a high official – the Hia Muloo – under Kalend a Sabw. Unlike Ciam, Kadyat remained loyal to Kalend[16] and, after Kalend's death, Kadyat continued the fight against the former Citokonny Ciam. By African standards, the battle, lasting a month, was very long and the supporters of the two brothers tired of the war. Faced with desertion by their followers, Ciam a Bukas and Kadyat a Bukas agreed on a truce which divided the land into two separate chiefdoms. Thus, Ciam remained as Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu while Kadyat settled near his grandfather Ilung a Cibang's old fortification between the Luilu River and the Katshisung mountain.[17] This accord, reached in approximately 1860, marked the beginning of a schism which has lasted, with only one interruption, until the present.

The establishment of two separate governments at Mulundu and Katshisung had ramifications that reached beyond the immediate territory surrounding the capitals. The important southern chiefdoms of Museng and Etond also split into two parts, one half giving tribute and loyalty to Mulundu, the other to Katshisung. Smaller regional chiefdoms in the north and south attached themselves to one or other of the rival state capitals. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, Katshisung controlled the regional chiefs east of Luilu River while Mulundu ruled the chiefs west of the river.[18]

Following the death of Ciam a Bukas, who sat as the Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu, descendants of Ciam a Ciband, Mulaj a Cibang, and Ilung a Cibang all tried to win the chief's chair. In a confusing succession dispute, at least five candidates gathered armed followers in an attempt to take control of the capital. Both the son and grandson of Mulaj a Ciband (ca. 1800–ca. 1830) sought to gain office. Kabw a Mulaj, whose earlier hopes of becoming Mwen a Kanyok had been thwarted by Ciam a Ciband (ca. 1830–ca. 1850), made a second bid for power and his son Kalend a Kabw also tried to become chief. The two men had to deal with other contenders to the chief's chair. Kabw a Mulaj defeated and killed Ciam II a Bukas, the grandson of Ilung a Cibang (ca. 1800–ca. 1825), while Kalend a Kabw destroyed Ciband a Ciam or Ciband Seya (Seya was his mother's name), the son of Ciam a Ciband. Nevertheless, neither Kabw nor Kalend was able to retain his hold on Mulundu.[19]

Kabw a Mulaj's candidacy probably was weakened by his advanced age and by his partial blindness, attributed to Ciam a Ciband's magic. Kabw's son Kalend judiciously withdrew from the race when Sabw a Ciam, another son of Ciam a Ciband, built a coalition of followers which clearly overshadowed Kalend's supporters. Unwilling to risk military defeat, Kalend capitulated to Sabw a Ciam who, in an unusual gesture, allowed his former rival to settle permanently beside the Witshimaie River near Mulundu.[20]

After emerging as the Mwen a Kanyok, Sabw a Ciam, like his father Ciam a

Table 1. *Rivals in the interregnum of ca. 1870 at Mulundu*

Family of Mulaj a Cibang	Family of Ilung a Cibang	Family of Ciam a Ciband
Kabw a Mulaj (blind, thus ineligible to rule)	Ciam II a Bukas a Ilung (killed by Kabw a Mulaj)	Ciband a Ciam (killed by Kalend a Kabw a Mulaj)
Kalend a Kabw a Mulaj (capitulated to Sabw a Ciam)		Sabw a Ciam (THE VICTOR)

Ciband, maintained himself in power by manipulating dependent subordinates and by encouraging people to fear his magical abilities. His generosity toward the defeated Kalend a Kabw suggests that Sabw surrounded himself with individuals totally in his debt while stories of his great and dangerous magical powers indicate he continued his father's use of supernatural forces to control his land. Supposedly two of his rivals, Kabw a Kabwik and Kabamb a Bukas, were stricken by a mysterious and fatal illness after Sabw performed magical rituals against them.[21]

Although Sabw a Ciam was a fearsome and astute ruler, he was unable to reunite the divided land. Kadyat a Bukas continued to rule at Katshisung and when he died in the 1870s, he was succeeded by Kabw a Ciam. Even though both capitals were governed by Ciam a Ciband's sons, the schism persisted, thwarting any efforts to reestablish the former central government.[22]

The civil war and schism demonstrated the fundamental fragility of the Kanyok central government. Rulers of the Shimat dynasty, especially Ilung a Cibang and Ciam a Ciband, had done much to join the various regions into a single state, but the Kanyok polity had always been a confederation, not a unified chiefdom. Therefore, in the interregnum disputes after 1850, the contenders for power were able to draw support for their causes from regional and family factions hoping to realize their own political ambitions. While the Kanyok people were united by a sense of ethnic homogeneity, they were not bound by a strong loyalty to one political center. As a result, there was little pressure to contain the centrifugal tendencies of political intrigue and competition.

Kasonge Cinyama introduces guns and slave trading

In the 1870s an ambitious Luba adventurer named Kasongo Cinyama took advantage of the Kanyok political situation and seized control over much of the land. (See Map 11 on p. 131.) Kasongo Cinyama's arrival marked a crucial turning point in Kanyok history because it brought Ovimbundu traders, firearms, and slave raiding into the Kanyok heartland. Until Kasongo Cinyama came to Katshisung and Mulundu in the 1870s, the Kanyok had been spared from full exposure to the slave trade's advancing wave of violence. Along with Msiri, Tippu Tib, Kalamba, Ngongo Lutete, and Mfwamba, Kasongo Cinyama was a middleman between coastal slave dealers and the weaker African peoples living in the central part of the continent. Although frequently acting as commercial

entrepreneurs who purchased their merchandise, these men also raided and plundered villages or chiefdoms which appeared unable to defend themselves against guns. Thus, Kasongo Cinyama and his counterparts were predatory and pitiless participants in the slave trade which supplied labor for African chiefs, American planters, and Arab sovereigns.

Born among the Bena Kamaie people living in the northwestern part of the Luba empire, as a young man Kasongo Cinyama left home in search of adventure and wealth. At about age fifteen, Kasongo Cinyama went to the Luba capital hoping to gain employment from Swahili Arab traders who had dealings with the Luba Mulopwe. Engaged as a servant, Kasongo Cinyama traveled with the Swahili Arabs to Msiri's capital Bunkeya and, at about the same time, he participated in a war against the Bena Cofa.[23] The ambitious Kasongo Cinyama soon caught the attention of the Luba Mulopwe Kasongo Kolombo (died ca. 1885) who provided him with guns and made him a territorial chief in the northwestern section of the Luba empire.[24] Such recognition by the Mulopwe actually gave Kasongo Cinyama a license to raid and plunder rather than an appointment to administrative office. Besides being aided by his apprenticeship with the Swahili Arabs, Kasongo Cinyama's rise to power was also based on his abilities as a hunter. An elderly Kanyok informant says Kasongo traded game (*cinyam*) for goats and chickens which he supplied to Angolan traders traveling in the Luba empire. While at first he accepted beads and cloth in payment for his goods, he soon expanded his trade to include guns and slaves.[25] The exact time of these activities cannot be determined, but they probably took place after ca. 1865 when the Luba Mulopwe Ilunga Kabale made a trip to visit the Bena Kamaie[26] and they certainly occurred before ca. 1875 when Kasongo Cinyama first visited the Kanyok.

Sometime in the early 1870s, Kasongo Cinyama moved back into the northwestern part of the Luba empire. Because of his links to the Luba Mulopwe, Arab–Swahili traders, and Angolan-based merchants, he had excellent access to slave markets where he could purchase guns, powder, beads, and cloth. Claiming to be the legitimate heir of the Bena Kamaie chief, he installed himself on the Lubangule River where he directed an extensive commercial and predatory empire.[27] Traveling constantly, he came to the Kanyok during the time when Kabw a Ciam was chief at Katshisung and Sabw a Ciam ruled at Mulundu.[28]

Kasongo Cinyama's first contacts with the Kanyok were peaceful. Staying briefly at Katshisung, he traded beads and probably cloth in return for slaves. Although armed with guns whereas the Kanyok had only bows, arrows, and spears, Kasongo Cinyama was careful not to arouse the suspicions of Kabw a Ciam by revealing the power of his weapons. In symbolic acts of submission, Kasongo Cinyama presented ivory and probably salt to the Mwen a Kanyok.[29] After ingratiating himself with Kabw a Ciam, the Luba chief left the land to continue his commercial activities.

In the meantime, a political upheaval involving both Mulundu and Katshisung removed Mwen a Kanyok Kabw a Ciam from office. The trouble began when the partially blind and previously defeated Kabw a Mulaj initiated an intrigue against

his protector Mwen a Kanyok Sabw a Ciam who ruled at Mulundu. Although only a pretender and technically ineligible to hold office himself, supposedly Kabw a Mulaj designated Kabw a Ciam at Katshisung as his legitimate successor and, thus, chief of all the land. In spite of the dubious nature of such a promise, after Kabw a Mulaj died, Kabw a Ciam crossed the Luilu River to claim his political inheritance. Of course Kabw met resistance from his brother Sabw a Ciam, the Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu. Sabw a Ciam defeated and killed his opportunistic brother, but he was unable to take advantage of his victory by reuniting the land. Binen a Kadyat a Bukas a Ilung, a descendant of Ilung a Cibang (1800–25), quickly seized the vacant chief's chair at Katshisung and ruled as a Mwen a Kanyok.[30]

When Kasongo Cinyama returned to Katshisung, he learned that Kabw a Ciam had been killed. Vowing to avenge the death of his "friend," he crossed over the Luilu to Mulundu and assassinated Sabw a Ciam. Kasongo a Cinyama had been encouraged to take this action by still another of Ciam a Ciband's sons, a man named Ciband a Ciam (or Ciband Musumb). Hoping to become chief, Ciband Musumb helped Kasongo Cinyama gain entrance into Sabw a Ciam's court by claiming the Luba hunter had come with tribute of salt for the Mwen a Kanyok. Almost certainly unaware of the power of Kasongo's guns, Sabw admitted the outsider, who shot the unsuspecting ruler. Kasongo Cinyama then installed his ally Ciband Musumb as the Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu.[31]

Kasongo Cinyama then aroused the fears of the Katshisung ruler Mwen a Kanyok Binen a Kadyat. Recognizing the political dangers of dealing with Kasongo Cinyama, Binen a Kadyat declared him a *persona non grata* and asked him to leave the land. As a result, Kasongo Cinyama turned against Binen, killed him, and placed Shimat Kalemba a Ciband a Cilomb on the chief's chair at Katshisung. The great-grandson of Cilomb a Ciband, Shimat Kalemba, had only a weak claim to high office and he, like his counterpart at Mulundu, was clearly a puppet of Kasongo Cinyama.[32]

Kasongo Cinyama's coups against the Kanyok probably occurred early in 1875. According to Cameron, during the months of March, April, and May of 1875, a detachment of a large plundering Ovimbundu caravan at the Luba Mulopwe Kasongo Kalombo's capital traveled northwest to the land of the "Kanyoka on the borders of Ulunda."[33] Because Kanyok sources identify Kasongo Cinyama as the first Ovimbundu-connected trader to enter their land,[34] he must have either led or invited the 1875 caravan to the Kanyok chiefdom. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by von Wissmann, who indicated that Kasongo Cinyama could have known of Cameron and by extension of the Ovimbundu trading party to the Kanyok. In *My Second Journey through Equatorial Africa*, von Wissmann wrote:[35]

> During my last stay at Luluabourg [in 1885] a Balungu caravan had arrived from the well-known chief Kasongo Ciniama, who lived north of the Mwat Jambo of the Lunda. The Balungu knew of a white man who coming from the north, had years ago passed near their village. This could have been no other than Lieutenant Cameron.

Thus, a convergence of Kanyok oral sources and written travelers' accounts places Kasongo Cinyama in Kanyok territory in early 1875.

Kasongo Cinyama had no intention of actually governing the Kanyok people and his army was too small to have done so. However, he plundered local villages for slaves and he demanded that Kanyok officials gave him tribute in the form of slaves. An old man from the village of Cihemba, fifteen kilometers north of Katshisung, recalls how his own father was taken captive by Kasongo Cinyama and sold to Ovimbundu traders, perhaps in 1875. After living many years as a slave in Angola, the father was finally freed in 1914 when he, along with his family, made his way back to their Kanyok homeland. His story provides a remarkable description of slavery in nineteenth-century Central Africa.[36]

> When my father was still a young boy, living at Katshisung, Kasongo Cinyama attacked the village and took him captive. Kasongo Cinyama tied the hands and feet of the captives who were marched through Mutomb Mukul (Kalundwe), Kafakumba (the Lunda capital), and the Cokwe territory until they reached Bihé in Angola. My father was then sold to a Cimbundu chief named Kanjundu. Other captives were taken on to the coast where they worked on plantations or were sold across the ocean. Still others died on route or were killed because they were sick, weak, or troublesome.
>
> The Cimbundu chief Kanjundu had several hundred Baluba, Luba Kasai, Lunda, and Kanyok slaves. All of the slaves lived together, but the chief ordered them to marry within their own tribe. My father married a Kanyok woman and I was their first-born child. The adults spoke the language of their native land, but the children began to speak the language of the *Tungomb*.[37]
>
> Occasionally, Kanjundu would sell a group of slaves to someone at Luanda or Lobito. There the slaves worked on coffee, sugar cane, or cocoa plantations. Those slaves were badly treated, but the English put a stop to that practice. Kanjundu's own slaves worked in the fields cultivating corn, manioc, peanuts, and beans or they went into the forest to search for rubber and beeswax. The slaves were also given guns to hunt game.
>
> To obtain rubber and wax, the men went in groups of about ten or twenty. They would go deep into the forest and they would be gone for months at a time. They had to carry flour, beans, and other food so they could eat during the stay in the forest. These groups were composed of both slaves and Tungomb, but the Tungomb were paid for their work. The slaves received nothing. They got rubber by cutting rings around the trees and collecting the liquid. They got wax by hanging hives in the trees and returning later to collect the honey and wax. The honey was made into a sweet beer which the workers consumed while the wax was made into balls which were given to Kanjundu. The wax was then sold to the Portuguese in exchange for plates, cloth, or powder. The corn, peanuts, manioc, and beans were eaten by the slaves or sometimes sold to the Portuguese. Slaves who didn't work well were punished by whipping, but a slave who worked hard sometimes received small gifts of cloth.
>
> Periodically, a caravan of slaves was organized to carry the wax and rubber to the coast. My father went on one such trip. The voyage lasted a month or more and the slaves had to march long distances carrying heavy loads. When they returned to Bihé, they weren't paid for they were only slaves.

Kasongo Cinyama's exploitation of the Kanyok was short-lived for he was soon defeated and driven from the land by Mwen a Etond Sekemb a Mukil. Oral sources vividly portray Sekemb a Mukil's bravery and resourcefulness in opposing and overcoming his powerful foe.[38]

> All regional chiefs were ordered to bring tribute to Kasongo Cinyama but the chief of Etond (east) Sekemb a Mukil refused to give offerings to a simple Luba hunter who didn't even have a fixed place to live. Sekemb a Mukil vowed to die like the Mwen a Kanyok before he would pay tribute. Hearing this, Kasongo Cinyama called all his men into a war against Etond.
>
> When the Mwen a Etond learned the Luba chief was on route, he resolved to fight even though he faced an opponent with greatly superior numbers and weapons. Sekemb a Mukil hid his men in a long line along one side of the road leading south from Katshisung to Etond. Two men who had guns were placed at the northern end of the line and they were given orders to fire once all of Kasongo's men had passed by them. The warriors of Etond had been instructed to fall upon the enemy as soon as they heard the shots. However, instead of shooting arrows and throwing spears, they were ordered to cut off the invaders' heads with machetes. Sekemb a Mukil knew his only chance for victory lay in a brief hand-to-hand combat.

Kasongo Cinyama's men were taken completely by surprise as they neared Etond. At least twenty were killed, while the others scattered to seek cover in the bush. Admitting defeat, Kasongo Cinyama abandoned any immediate hopes of establishing himself among the Kanyok and he retreated northwards in the direction of Gandajika where he eventually set up a new commercial empire. At Cilond, he stopped to confer with the puppet Mwen a Kanyok Shimat a Ciband and give him seven flintlock guns in return for slaves. However, even this had little long-term effect since Shimat a Ciband was soon driven from office.[39] Although Kasongo Cinyama continued as a powerful slave dealer until after 1890, he was never again able to dominate the Kanyok.

Kasongo Cinyama's intrusion into the Kanyok was made possible by his use of guns and by the decentralized nature of Kanyok government. With a relatively small number of men, he was able to overthrow both men claiming to be Mwen a Kanyok. While the surprise and terror of guns was one element in Kasongo's favor, rivalry and schism dividing Mulundu and Katshisung were other factors enabling the Luba outsider to seize power. However, Kasongo Cinyama's rule proved to be ephemeral for once the Kanyok overcame their fright of guns, they were able to defeat his forces. As the battle at Etond proved, in close hand-to-hand combat, the awkward flintlocks were not superior to traditional cutting weapons. Furthermore, although Kanyok political decentralization initially helped Kasongo Cinyama, eventually the lack of strong central institutions contributed to the interloper's failure. Kasongo Cinyama's victory in the Mulundu–Katshisung areas gave him no authority over other regions. Therefore, each time he entered a new part of the land he had to engage in battle and eventually he was beaten.

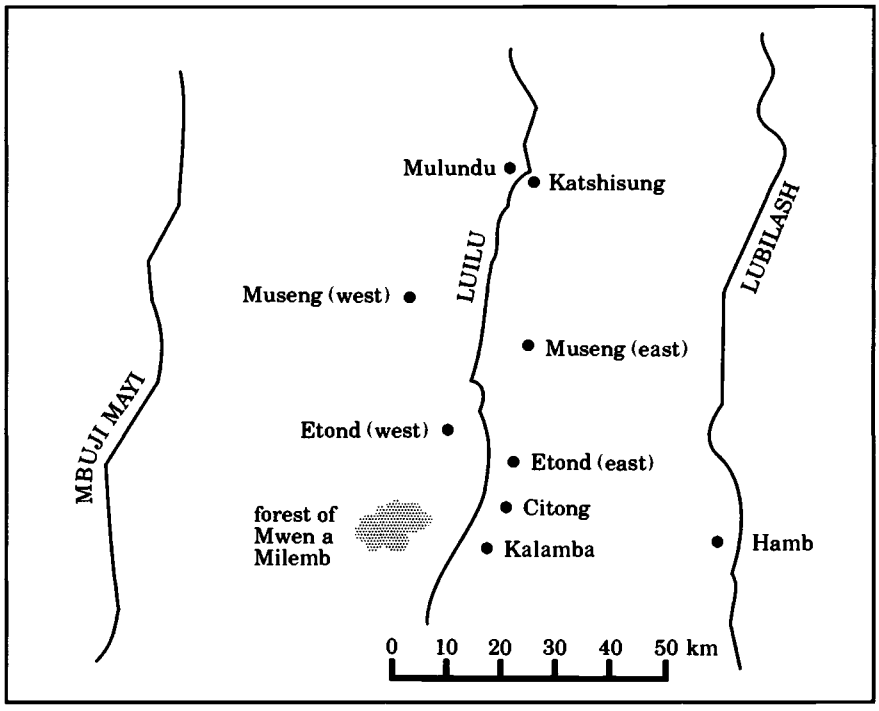
Cokwe slave raids

Kasongo Cinyama's expulsion did not bring peace to the land. In the 1880s, Cokwe suppliers for the Luso-African trading network began raiding Kanyok lands for slaves and booty. (See Map 10.) A small ethnic group prior to 1850, the Cokwe experienced a remarkable demographic and geographical expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century as peripatetic bands of Cokwe hunters,

traders, and warriors advanced northwards in search of beeswax, ivory, rubber, and slaves.[40] By the 1860s, Cokwe mercenaries had become deeply involved in Lunda politics as allies of various contenders for the office of Mwaat Yaav and by the 1870s and 1880s, vast numbers of Cokwe people had settled among the Lunda. From that time until several years after 1900, Cokwe warriors attacked and terrorized Lunda, Kete, Salampasu, Kanintshin, Kalundwe, Luba Kasai, and Kanyok villages.

One of the first major Cokwe incursions into Kanyok territory took place during the reign of the Lunda Mwaat Yaav Mbumb (1875–83).[41] Mbumb, who had gained power with the help of Cokwe warriors using guns, then sent his Cokwe allies against both Kayembe Mukul and the Kanyok region of Etond (west). Lunda sources say the campaign was a disaster in which Mbumb lost his best officers before retreating in humiliation to Musumba. According to Leon Duysters,[42]

> The Mwata Yamvo turned northwards to attack the Bene Kanyoka. He stopped at Tshibingu and sent his lieutenants Samuana Mulolo, Tshitanzu, Dininga, Kalala Kayembe, and Kambundu to attack the fortress of Mwene Tondo (Mwen a Etond). However, the Lunda defeat was total. Only Kalala and a few other chiefs escaped the carnage while the Mwata Yamvo fled to Mussumba.



Map 10 Southern Kanyok regions during the Cokwe wars

Old men at Etond (west) remember many important details of the battle which was described to them by their elders. Understandably, they thought the expedition's commander Samuana Mulolo was actually the Mwaat Yaav.

> The Mwaat Yaav Mulol, who was part Cokwe and part Lunda, demanded that the Mwen a Etond Kapolo pay tribute to him. As Mulol approached, Kapolo, saying he could not abandon his wives and children, decided to take a stand and fight.
>
> The war took place at the market town of Kakamb about five kilometers northwest of Etond. Kapolo won the battle and took much booty including guns and several trunks filled with powder. Many Lunda warriors fled to the forest during the battle so that when Mulol retreated they were left stranded with no idea how to return to their own land. After hiding in the forest for several months, they became so weak from hunger and exposure that women going into the forest in search of firewood sometimes returned leading four or five emaciated Lunda captives.
>
> Sometime later Mulol returned. He killed a dog and buried its head in the forest as one would bury a human. This act was seen as a sign that he would never again make war here because the people of Etond were so brave.[43]

The victory of Etond (west) over the Cokwe–Lunda forces took place in the late 1870s, just about the same time that the people of Etond (east) repulsed Kasongo Cinyama's warriors. The battle against the Cokwe was also won without the benefit of modern firearms. Evidently, the captured guns and powder were the first ever seen first-hand by the people of Etond (west). Unfortunately for Mwen a Etond Kapolo this unfamiliarity almost proved fatal.

> Kapolo was very seriously injured by an accident after the battle. As he examined the guns and powder taken in the war he lit his pipe to smoke. The powder ignited and exploded, burning Kapolo badly on the chest. Although he was carried to a fetisher for treatment, he had to remain there for an entire month until he was well enough to return.[44]

In addition to the mercenaries who fought against Etond, many other Cokwe entered the Lunda empire as traders, settlers, and slave raiders. In 1905 Willemoës, a geographer employed by the Congo Free State to survey the Congo–Angolan border, interviewed Cokwe individuals who had participated in the first of these migrations. Judging from the age of his informants, Willemoës estimated they came into the area between 1860 and 1875.[45] Certainly, by the 1880s, Cokwe people had invaded the Lunda empire in such great numbers that they caused serious political and social disruption. Unable to halt the flow of armed Cokwe bands, Mwaat Yaav Mukaza (1885–87) took refuge with his neighbor and former vassal Kayembe Mukul. Describing those troubled times, Duysters wrote: "The Luunda country was invaded by the Tutshiokwe. It amounted to a veritable migration of an entire people, a general invasion of the Kasai, Lulua, and Lubilash basin. The upheaval scattered the Luunda population and many, including Mukaza and his notables fled to Kayembe Mukul."[46]

After having overrun the Lunda, Cokwe bands spilled north into Kanyok and Kete lands adjacent to the Lunda and Kanintshin territories. Oral records from Kalamba near the Lunda border indicate that Kanyok village repeatedly was forced to relocate deep into the forest because of Cokwe invaders. In addition,

hoping to gain some military protection, the Mwen a Kalamba gave gifts of tribute and submission to the powerful Mwen a Etond who thereby extended the scope of his rule and increased the quantity of his wealth.[47] In spite of modern narrators' insistence that Mwen a Kalamba was always treated with the respect appropriate to a chief of high rank, their story cannot hide the fact that in the late 1800s, Kalamba was almost destroyed as a result of the Cokwe wars. During these years of trouble the original Kalamba village was abandoned and its fields left uncultivated. The only people who ventured into the area were hunters who lived in temporary huts while they searched for game. All the women and children had taken refuge deep in the forest of Mwen a Milemb west of the Luilu River.[48]

Insecurity reigned throughout the land. People at Hamb along the Lubilash River recall Cokwe attacks which obliged them to flee for refuge into a cihak (dry moat fortress) which they had constructed a few years earlier as protection against Kasongo Cinyama.[49] North of Kalamba, old men from Citong village describe the fear and hatred evoked by Cokwe raiders in the late 1800s.

> If we knew the Cokwe were coming, we hid until they had all arrived. Then we surrounded and fell upon them suddenly, killing many Cokwe. When a Cokwe was taken captive, he was beheaded. In wars with other peoples only troublesome captives were killed while the rest were retained as slaves. However, the Cokwe were always killed. To gain courage and strength, some of us smoked hemp. Even if we knew we would die, we fought on.[50]

Despite their terrorist tactics, the Cokwe treated their hostages relatively humanely. Since Luso-African trade now centered on wax and rubber instead of slaves, captives taken by the Cokwe were resettled in Angola or south eastern Zaire where they were integrated into Cokwe society as workers or wives. Only uncooperative individuals were resold to the Ovimbundu who themselves employed many slaves as porters or plantation workers. A Kanyok man from Kalamba described his father's experience as a Cokwe slave. Presumably, the capture occurred shortly before 1890.

> When my father Mwen a Kaseje Kabe was a boy of eight or ten years old, he was taken captive by a band of raiding Cokwe. They carried him to Kembo near Sandoa. In the Cokwe land, Mwen a Kaseje Kabe had to gather rubber, cultivate fields, build huts, and draw water. Slaves who refused to work or who were troublesome in other ways were sold by the Cokwe to the Tungomb in exchange for guns and powder. Slaves sold to the Tungomb never returned.
>
> My father was well treated by the Cokwe who gave him meat, a gun, and a Cokwe woman as his wife. He had three children by this woman. When the Belgians entered the land they freed all the Cokwe slaves. Learning my father was Kanyok, they told him he could return home. Father, however, said he did not want to leave since he was happy with the Cokwe. Nevertheless, the Belgians said because he was free, he must return to Kanyok territory. They gave him three Cokwe guides to conduct him back to Kalamba, but he had to leave his Cokwe wife and children behind.
>
> After my father came back to Kalamba he remarried and had four more children. I, the youngest, was born in 1926.[51]

Cokwe raids into southern Kanyok and Kete lands continued throughout the remainder of the 1800s and persisted after 1900. Reports by travelers,

missionaries, and Free State officials describe frequent Cokwe attacks against small villages and occasional wars against powerful regional chiefs. In 1896 Chief Kanda Kanda at Luaba asked the Free State for armed protection against the Cokwe,[52] while as late as 1907, state agents Willemoës and de Grunne reported seeing bands of Cokwe slavers. These Cokwe did not come through Lunda territory directly. Rather, skirting the forces of Etond and Kanintshin, they advanced into the Kete lands west of the Kanyok and from there they made forays into northern and western Kanyok regions.[53]

The Cokwe, like Kasongo Cinyama, were ancillary agents of Luso-African planters and merchants who supplied trade goods, including guns, in return for raw materials and slaves. Unlike Kasongo Cinyama's short-lived attacks, however, the Cokwe threats to Kanyok life lasted for a period of several decades and brought fear, insecurity, and disorder to a larger area. Attacking quickly and often without warning, the Cokwe took many Kanyok captives who were integrated into Cokwe society where they provided labor and produced children for their new "kinsmen." Because of their superior weaponry, organization, logistics, and market connections, the Cokwe were able to enrich themselves materially and to expand their group numerically at the expense of their weaker neighbors.

Responses to the Cokwe raids demonstrated the decentralized nature of the Kanyok polity. Before the late 1890s, the Kanyok never mounted a coordinated and unified resistance against the Cokwe. Instead, powerful regional chiefs such as Mwen a Etond Kapolo stood alone to fight the invaders. In this way, these chiefs emerged as protectors against the Cokwe and they increased their own strength and stature to the relative detriment of the Mwen a Kanyok.

Luso-African merchants

Accompanying or following the Cokwe, Luso-African traders entered the Kanyok land in great numbers in the 1880s and 1890s. Called Tungomb by the Kanyok and Lunda people because they owned and sold cattle (*ngomb*), they were actually Ovimbundu, Imbangala, Ambaquista, or mulatto entrepreneurs who acted as commercial middlemen between the Portuguese and the interior peoples including the Cokwe. By 1852, Luso-African traders had established themselves at the Lunda capital and in the 1870s and 1880s they journeyed east to the Luba empire and north into the lower Kwilu, Kwango, Kasai and Lulua River valleys.

At the Luba capital in October 1874, Cameron met one such merchant, the Ovimbundu Jose Antonio Alvez. Alvez dressed as a European, spoke Portuguese, and purchased slaves and ivory. Having entered the Luba state in 1873, Alvez returned to Angola in 1875 as the leader of a large caravan composed of many small independently minded Luso-African traders and their retainers. It was one of these smaller bands which visited the Kanyok in 1875, probably at the invitation of Kasongo Cinyama.[54]

Although warfare and increasing competition from Swahili-African merchants such as Tippu Tib made it difficult for Angolans to trade extensively in the Luba

state, Luso-Africans continued to do business with Kasongo Cinyama after he set up his commercial capital at Musakatshi north of Kanyok. Thus, from the mid-1870s until Kasongo Cinyama's death in about 1890, caravans of Tungomb left Musumba and passed through Mutomb Mukul, capital of the Kalundwe east of the Lubilash River, as they journeyed to Kasongo Cinyama.[55]

Luso-African traders also established commercial outposts northwest of the Kanyok. Traveling to the Lunda capital, Paul Pogge learned that the Angolan Saturnio Machado had set up a major trading center at Mukenge, Kalamba's capital on the Lulua River near the modern Kananga.[56] Luso-African traders continued to operate west of the Kanyok in the Kasai and Lulua River valleys until after 1910. Dealing in slaves, ivory, and rubber they were regarded as smugglers and slave traders by Belgian authorities who wrote frequent administrative reports about them. From these descriptions it is possible to present a detailed portrait of their numbers, products, and activities.

At central locations such as Kalamba's village near the state post of Luluabourg, well over 1,000 Angolans and their retainers commonly were in residence. In an 1887 letter to the Governor, Macar said he had counted 63 Angolan traders and 532 retainers of whom 192 were male and 340 were female. These did not include some Angolans who managed to avoid the census and perhaps 1,000 slaves who had just left for Angola.[57] In addition to the major concentrations of Angolans at important commercial centers, small outposts composed of a few Tungomb individuals and a handful of retainers were scattered along the length of the Kasai River.[58] As late as 1910 Belgian authorities estimated that fifteen "factories" were located along the Kasai north of Dilolo.[59]

At first Luso-African traders came to Kasai in search of ivory and slaves, but as ivory became scarce and as slaves became harder to export, rubber also emerged as a commercial mainstay. Although the Tungomb paid local Africans in cloth, beads, liquor, hardware, brass wire, and sometimes copper for their purchases,[60] all the major suppliers such as Kalamba demanded guns and ammunition. Describing the Tungomb trader Seso who was at Kalamba's village, a Belgian official wrote: "I encountered Seso at Kalamba's in the month of September 1907 when I received the chief's [Kalamba's] submission. Seso possessed a huge quantity of ivory and numerous slaves. He had already sold Kalamba 400 advanced guns [*fusils perfectionnés*] of various models. I saw numerous cartridges for these guns."[61]

The Kanyok did not live on the primary Luso-African trade routes nor were their villages selected as major outposts of commercial exchange. The first Luso-African traders who traveled to the Kanyok came from larger trading parties located at the Luba or Lunda capitals. These merchants came to buy slaves destined for plantations in Angola or São Tomé, and especially to obtain foodstuffs which the Kanyok had in large quantities.

Although they did not engage in battle or capture slaves themselves, the Luso-African entrepreneurs sometimes followed and encouraged Cokwe slave raiders. When Mwaat Yaav Mbumb sent his Cokwe mercenaries to attack Etond in about 1880, his forces were accompanied by Tungomb eager to buy any slaves taken in

the battle. Reputedly the Tungomb told Mbumb's general Mulol, "We are rich, if you capture slaves in the war we will buy them."[62]

Generally, however, the occasional Luso-African traders who visited the Kanyok came in bands of ten to one hundred and set up camp just outside important villages where they bought slaves and food from local inhabitants, political leaders, and commercial entrepreneurs. In 1975, several men from Lusuk described the time Tungomb came to Lusuk in the 1890s.

> The Tungomb visited Lusuk only one time but they stayed an entire year from one dry season to the next. They camped on the savanna near the village and the people of Lusuk sold them manioc flour, chickens, meat, eggs, bananas, sweet potatoes, and beans. The Tungomb also purchased slaves. In return for what they bought, the Tungomb paid the people in cloth, guns, powder, and copper crosses.
>
> The slaves acquired by the Tungomb were locked in stocks so that none would escape. However, the Tungomb fed them well and did not beat or mistreat them. There were perhaps several hundred Tungomb and about the same number of slaves. When the Tungomb departed, they left at night so that the slaves would not know the road and be able to find their way home.[63]

People at Etond (west) recalled a Luso-African trader named Yamba Yamba Mufulu who came regularly in the pre-colonial era.

> Yamba Yamba Mufulu, from Sandoa in the south, came to Etond [west] at the head of a large party of Tungomb, perhaps 500 to 1000, in search of slaves. At Etond he built a compound where he sold guns, powder, beads, and cloth for food and slaves. Anyone with a slave to sell went to Yamba Yamba's compound. The slaves were then locked in wooden stocks to prevent their escape. The Tungomb never captured slaves themselves, they only purchased them from others. Yamba Yamba came here frequently, perhaps once a year.[64]

Hamb, just across the Lubilash River from the Mutomb Mukul chiefdom, a major trading center, was also visited by Angolan merchants.

> The Tungomb came in small groups of about ten or twenty men, but sometimes as many as one hundred arrived. They came either from Mutomb Mukul to the east or from Etond to the west. The Tungomb were black and they wore clothes of different colors. They also wore hats which resembled those worn by the Cokwe. Because they could not speak Ciin Kanyok, they pointed or made hand signs to get what they wanted. The Tungomb purchased slaves and food in return for guns, powder, cartridges, trade beads, cloth, and copper crosses.[65]

Although the Kanyok had, at first, been on the periphery of the main Luso-African commercial routes, by the 1870s and 1880s, Angolan traders regarded the Kanyok as crucial suppliers of food. Peanuts, manioc, palm oil, chickens, goats, sweet potatoes, beans, eggs, and bananas produced by Kanyok peasants were purchased by the Tungomb to feed the scores and hundreds of porters and slaves in their company.[66] Although some of these items were perishable and therefore were used for immediate consumption, other things like peanuts, manioc flour, palm oil, beans, potatoes, and meat could be preserved and eaten on the long journey back to Kasanje or Bihé.

The Tungomb also bought slaves from the Kanyok. While Kanyok criminals or

unruly family members were sometimes traded to Angolans,[67] most slaves sold by the Kanyok were individuals purchased from the Bakwa Kalonji or other Luba Kasai people. For example, the Kanyok often sold foodstuffs at the Kaniki market in return for slaves. The slaves were then taken to Etond or Kalamba where they were resold to the Tungomb.[68]

The wares the Kanyok received from the Tungomb were of course no different from those received by other people in Kasai and Shaba. Guns and ammunition were in great demand, but unless a transaction involved slaves, most individuals were paid with beads, cloth, pots and pans, copper crosses, mirrors, and other easily transportable items.

Significantly, Luso-African traders entering Kanyok territory were permitted to trade freely with anyone. Chiefs, politicians, and rich entrepreneurs were involved in the majority of transactions, yet any person with something to sell could visit the Tungomb compound and strike a bargain. Probably the ruling class monopolized certain wares, for example guns and red cloth, but many ordinary people obtained trade beads, hardware, and curiosity items.

Paying only in fear and suffering, Kasongo Cinyama and the Cokwe forcibly extracted slaves from the Kanyok population. The Tungomb, on the other hand, purchased slaves and foodstuffs, thus introducing relatively large quantities of Western-manufactured goods into the land. Although some of these products filtered into the state treasury at Mulundu, much of the new wealth benefited regional chiefs and ambitious private individuals. As a result, the traditional political process based on kuaba was weakened since alternative sources of wealth and power were available through commercial dealings with the Tungomb. Diffused among many individuals in many parts of the land, the income generated through trade with the Tungomb was one more centrifugal influence on Kanyok political structures.

Conclusions

The mid-1800s were years of tumultuous economic and political change. Earlier, because Ilung a Cibang and other leaders had expanded the Kanyok regional sphere of influence, many small chiefdoms to the north and west began looking to the Kanyok as their means of access to the products and ideas of the larger savanna. Then, after they opened their commercial system toward the Atlantic, the Kanyok were able to take advantage of the Luso-African trading opportunities and, at the same time, maintain many of their ties to the Luba sphere linked to the Zambezi world. As the nineteenth century progressed, Swahili traders and their agents also penetrated the southern Zaire savanna. Therefore, in the nineteenth century, the Kanyok trading and tribute system grew more lucrative and private economic opportunities more enticing.

As a result of these changes, new tensions arose when political leaders tried to monopolize wealth, pretenders for office fought to benefit from the increased flow of material goods, individual traders sought to avoid channeling their profits through the traditional kuaba process, and external clients placed more demands

on the structures of Kanyok government. In an effort to preserve the Mwen a Kanyok's chair and counteract the divisive economic, political, and military forces threatening to fragment his domain, the malevolent sorcerer chief Ciam a Ciband called on supernatural forces for support. Although Ciam's frightening powers enabled him to control the land, people were tied to the Mwen a Kanyok out of fear rather than out of loyalty and respect for institutions or out of a need for services identified with Mulundu. Thus, traditional political systems and ideologies increasingly were unable to manage the mounting stress fueled by global industrial, military, economic, and political forces. After Ciam a Ciband's death, those forces magnified domestic rivalries, introduced civil war and schism to the land, and allowed plundering outsiders to ravage the Luilu valley.

8

Assassinations, alliances, and ambushes
A failure of the feast, 1880 to 1895

The changes which Kasongo Cinyama, Cokwe raiders, and the Tungomb (Angolan traders) brought to Kasai in the 1870s had a profoundly destabilizing effect on Kanyok society. These outsiders, who were actually auxiliaries of Western merchants, Arab traders, or distant African chiefs, threatened to undermine the Kanyok government and society. In a land where the mid-century schism had already divided the state into separate eastern and western sections, village life became less secure, economic patterns less predictable, and political structures less stable. During these chaotic times, Mwen a Kanyok Kabw Muzemb struggled to give security and direction to the Kanyok state. A ruthless, tyrannical, and arrogant individual, and also a cunning, violent, and pitiless slave trader, Kabw Muzemb was able to control and use the era's predatory economic and military tactics to strengthen his own political position, to stabilize Kanyok government, and to protect Kanyok frontiers. (See Map 11.) While in the end an unequal match for the Congo Free State, he was, however, able to meet the lesser challenges from the Cokwe, Kasongo Cinyama, and the Tungomb.

Kabw Muzemb's rise to power

When Kasongo Cinyama fled to Etond in the late 1870s, he left Kanyok politics in turmoil. Although his puppet Ciband Musumb ruled at Mulundu, no one sat on the chief's chair at Katshisung. To add further confusion, as Kasongo Cinyama withdrew north to reestablish himself in the Gandajika area, he gave seven guns to Shimat a Ciband a Cilomb who hoped to take power at Katshisung. Because of his links to the hated Kasongo Cinyama and because his claim to office ran through the disgraced family of Cilomb a Kabw a Shimat, Shimat a Ciband never gained control of the land east of the Luilu River. Nevertheless, for several years he roamed the country attacking his enemies before he eventually died while returning from Gandajika where he had gone to trade and confer with Kasongo Cinyama.[1] In the end, Shimat a Ciband's role was less that of a pretender to office than of a minor slave raider supplying Kasongo Cinyama by preying on his own people.

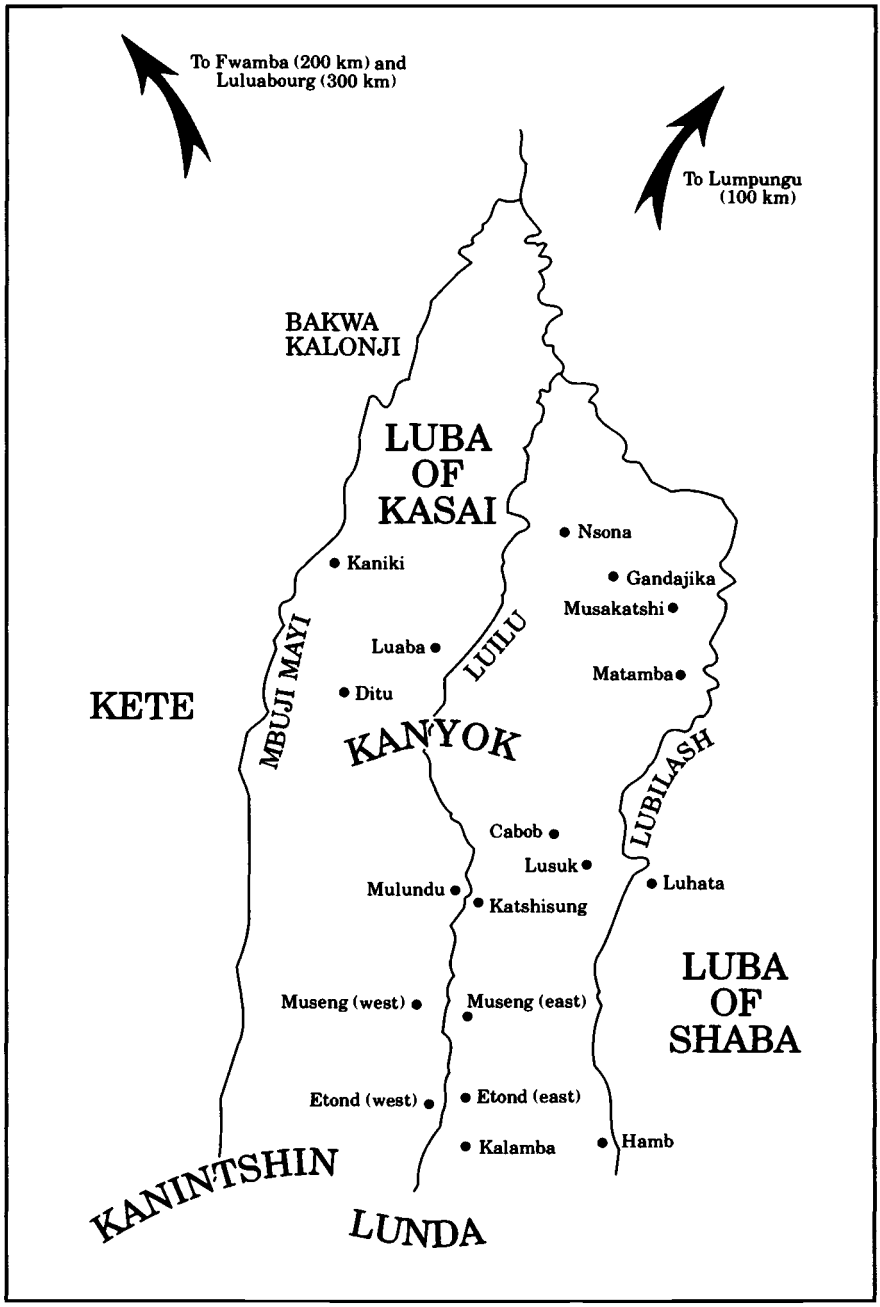
At Mulundu, Ciband a Ciam (or Ciband Musumb after his mother Musumb)

was able to remain in power for several years even though his rule frequently was challenged by rebellious chiefs and ambitious rivals. When Mulaj a Mwang, a local chief from Camb village near Ditu, revolted, Ciband a Ciam killed him and threw his body into a nearby river. Ciband then defeated and killed Ciband a Sabw a Ciam, also known as Ciband Cinyoka, and another dissident named Ilung.[2]

One of Ciband a Ciam's rivals, an ambitious young slave raider named Kabw a Sabw or Kabw Muzemb, eventually overthrew the weak Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu. The son of previous Mwen a Kanyok Sabw a Ciam, Kabw Muzemb had witnessed his father's assassination at the hands of Kasongo Cinyama in the mid-1870s.[3] Taking refuge with his maternal relatives, Muzemb spent his adolescent years at Luaba where he and his cousin Mutonj gained reputations as swash-buckling rogues who bullied local residents. Eventually, their antics became intolerable and the officials of Luaba called on Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Ciam to control his unruly nephew Muzemb. Following the established custom, Ciband dispatched police to Luaba where they forcibly inducted Kabw Muzemb into the Biin Mund, the army officer corps of royal sons. Apparently, Kabw Muzemb applied himself to the duties of military life, for eventually he was named Citokonny, thus becoming a prominent member of the Biin Men. Nevertheless, all was not well, for shortly afterwards Kabe Muzemb was accused of sleeping with the Mwen a Kanyok's wives. Arrested and sentenced to death, Kabw Muzemb was saved by the female notable Inamwan who pleaded with Ciband a Ciam to spare the culprit's life.[4]

Fearful of remaining at Mulundu, Kabw a Sabw returned home to Luaba where he began organizing his maternal relatives in a plot to overthrow Ciband a Ciam. First, he demanded that the people of Luaba cease to recognize their chief Cabwabwa, an ally of Ciband a Ciam and a man who had been installed with the help of Kasongo Cinyama. Muzemb said the people must offer tribute and kuaba to him as chief instead of supporting Cabwabwa. Hearing this, Ciband a Ciam sent troops to Luaba to confront Muzemb. Realizing he would be unable to withstand Ciband's forces, Muzemb fled with his supporters to Nkoma, a Kete village about 60 kilometers northwest of Ditu. After waiting at Nkoma until calm had been restored, Muzemb returned to Luaba where he recruited fifty warriors from among his relatives. In the first test of their fighting ability, he attacked and killed Cintu a Maseng, another contender for the chief's chair at Mulundu and a brother of Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Ciam. Muzemb was now ready to challenge the Mwen a Kanyok.

From the Matanda plain near Ditu where he had fought Cintu, Muzemb advanced towards Mulundu. In order to approach the chief's compound without arousing suspicion, his men carried bundles of roof thatch and posed as peasants on their way to perform corvée for the Mwen a Kanyok. Once inside Ciband a Ciam's compound, they threw down the bundles, drew out the guns they had hidden inside the thatch, and shot the Mwen a Kanyok. In spite of the facts that only the predatory Shimat a Ciband operated east of the Luilu and that Ciband a Ciam was now dead, Muzemb did not believe he could maintain his hold on the chief's chair. Therefore, for a second time he returned to Nkoma.[5]



Map 11 The Kanyok region during the time of Kasongo Cinyama and Kabw Muzemb

Kanyok oral tradition says Muzemb went to Nkoma not only for refuge, but also to acquire additional weapons.[6] Most probably he obtained these weapons from Kasongo Mfwamba, a powerful Lulua chief who dealt in guns and slaves. Like Kalamba at Makenge (near modern Kananga), Mfwamba had established regular trading relations with Cokwe and Luso-African traders who entered the Lulua valley in the 1860s. Living some 200 kilometers northwest of Kanyok territory, Mfwamba's reputation, if not his agents, had reached Luaba by the early 1880s when Kabw Muzemb made his bid for political power.[7] From Nkoma, Muzemb traded slaves for guns with Mfwamba who had already made similar deals with Kalala Kafumbe, the chief of the Bena Mulenge near Nkoma.[8] Since Kanyok oral accounts admit that Kabw Muzemb mistreated and expelled the Kete inhabitants of Nkoma, he would have had ample numbers of slaves for sale.[9] With the guns he purchased at Nkoma, Muzemb felt secure enough to be installed as Mwen a Kanyok.

During his reign, Muzemb gained lasting renown as an energetic man, a pitiless individual, a firm ruler, and a brilliant military tactician. Recalling stories told by their parents, twentieth-century informants describe Kabw Muzemb as a short, but very robust man with an extremely black complexion. Muzemb is also remembered as self-willed. Impatient with the accepted chiefly protocol, he disliked being carried on the backs of servants and generally insisted on walking instead of riding. Muzemb's stubbornness extended to the political domain, and men of memory accuse him of making unilateral decisions and refusing to heed the advice of his counselors. Contemporary opinions about Muzemb were expressed in the numerous clichés characterizing his deeds. Whether circulated by his supporters, adversaries, or victims, these stylized tales describe a leader whose demands were untempered by compassion or mercy. While some accounts of cruel and sadistic acts described actual events and practices, many stories about Muzemb expressed popular fears or reflected official propaganda calculated to frighten his subjects into submission. A number of the vivid tales may have been intended to encourage people to work diligently on corvée projects. According to popular lore, when Kabw Muzemb's subjects constructed or repaired his large conical house, he would sit nearby with a bow and arrows, taking shots at sluggish workers. Supposedly, a wounded man was obligated, upon pain of death, to descend carefully without damaging the royal arrow. His relatives were then told to heal the victim, clean the arrow, and return with gifts for the Mwen a Kanyok. Failure to carry out any of these tasks, it was said, resulted in severe punishment. Muzemb's claim to have hired Salampasu cannibals to eat law-breakers, and his reputed commands that fingerless lepers sow very small kernels of grain, enhanced his standing as a tyrant who demanded and received absolute obedience to his will. Stories of his alleged delight in torturing pregnant women by slitting open their bellies and exposing their fetuses, and assertions that he rose up from his bed by supporting himself with knives whose pointed blades rested on slaves' legs, portrayed Kabw Muzemb as a compassionless chief, a man unconstrained by the suffering he inflicted on others. While Kabw a Sabw and his aides may have invented or borrowed some of these stories in order to inspire fear and prevent

revolt, there is no doubt that popular notions about the Mwen a Kanyok pictured him as a man with little regard for the lives of his opponents or of his subjects. Tragically, in the late nineteenth century, Kabw Muzemb was not an atypical savanna leader.[10]

Muzemb's wars

Against Etond

Having come to power through the violence of a coup, Kabw a Sabw's first actions as chief were designed to still any domestic opposition. The most dangerous challenge to his rule came from the powerful western Etond region, whose chief Kapolo had earlier defeated the Lunda–Cokwe army under Mulol. Refusing to recognize Kabw Muzemb (Kabw a Sabw) as the legitimate Mwen a Kanyok, Kapolo harbored a rival named Cida Mabanz who was planning a war against the newly invested ruler. In an attempt to undermine Mwen a Etond Kapolo's authority, Kabw a Sabw sent four envoys with gifts of cloth for some of Mwen a Etond's subordinates. When knowledge of these gifts reached Kapolo, he ordered Mupal, a military officer, to arrest the four. Mupal complied by executing three and expelling the fourth who was given orders to inform Kabw Muzemb about the reception of his offerings.

Hearing of the events at the western Etond, Kabw Muzemb assembled his own forces, along with those of both Museng regions and of the eastern Etond chiefdom, to attack Kapolo. When Kapolo learned that Muzemb was marching on Etond, he summoned his brother Mwen a Lusuk Kazadi a Shambobo. As a ruse, Kapolo placed his brother in the chief's compound at Etond while he himself hid outside the village with the intention of encircling and surprising the attackers. Although Muzemb was deceived by the ploy, his forces so outnumbered the local warriors that Etond was stoutly defeated. Both the pretender Cida Mabanz and his protector Mwen a Etond Kapolo were killed. To replace the slain chief, Muzemb installed a puppet Neng Neng as the new Mwen a Etond.[11]

Against Lusuk and Cabob

After Neng Neng became Mwen a Etond, the southern part of the Kanyok state was securely in Muzemb's control. Northeast of Mulundu, however, Lusuk and Cabob remained areas of endemic discontent where chiefs harbored and encouraged rivals for the Mwen a Kanyok's chair. Binen a Cimbuyang a Kadyat a Bukas, a pretender whose maternal uncles lived at Lusuk, organized a group of followers to overthrow Muzemb. When Muzemb learned of this threat, he led warriors to Lusuk and chased Binen to an island in the Lubilash River where the usurper was killed. As Frederick Arnot learned in July of 1891, Muzemb then tracked Binen a Cimbuyang's followers across the Lubilash to Luhata where he inflicted revenge by looting local villages.[12] Kalend a Sabw, Kabw Muzemb's brother, also built a base of resistance at Cabob and Lusuk only to be pursued and

killed by Muzemb. An additional rival, Ilung a Binen a Mulaj, met the same fate at Lusuk.[13]

Against Luaba

Early in his reign, Kabw Muzemb strengthened his hold over Luaba, whose chief was Cabwabwa, an appointee of former Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Ciam and an ally of Kasongo Cinyama. When Muzemb became Mwen a Kanyok, Cabwabwa broke off relations with Mulundu vowing to become independent. Angered, Kabw Muzemb supplied arms to his maternal cousin Mutonj to overthrow Cabwabwa. After a two-day battle at Luaba, Cabwabwa was defeated and Mutonj took office as Mwen a Luaba.[14] Having subdued his rivals and consolidated his own land, Muzemb now held office as the undisputed ruler of the entire Kanyok state on both sides of the Luilu River. For the first time since Kadyat a Bukas and Ciam a Bukas had divided the region in about 1860, the Kanyok were governed by one man. Once he had conquered his internal rivals, Muzemb began a long series of wars against neighboring states.

Against Matamba

Muzemb's first external war, a campaign against the salt-producing region of Matamba, was designed to insure regular tribute payments. For decades, every Mwen a Kanyok considered Matamba as a special sphere of influence and, although Kanyok military superiority usually guaranteed Matamba's loyalty, each new Mwen a Kanyok mounted a military campaign to reinstate Kanyok dominance. Following the typical pattern, when Kabw Muzemb took office, the chief at Matamba ceased paying tribute, obliging Muzemb to take action. Muzemb's battles at Matamba occurred at about the same time he was fighting rivals who had taken refuge at Lusuk and Cabob.[15]

Instead of attacking Matamba directly, Muzemb led his army far beyond the village, camping near Gandajika.[16] From there, Muzemb began negotiations and seemingly was intent to resolve the conflict without fighting. After a series of reassuring messages and gifts – two women, a red blanket, and a gun – from Muzemb, the chief of Matamba finally agreed to visit Muzemb at his camp. But Muzemb, having no real desire for reconciliation, treacherously killed the Matamba ruler and looted his village.

> When the Matamba chief arrived at Muzemb's camp, he was welcomed by the music of drums and flutes. Muzemb was nowhere in sight for he had gone into his hut saying he didn't want to see the chief alive; he wanted only to see his head. Unaware of this and pleased by the fanfare, the chief of Matamba descended from his litter to greet Muzemb. However, he was met with drawn machetes and killed.
>
> In the meantime, the bulk of Muzemb's army had set out for Matamba where they attacked the village and destroyed the land. Although Muzemb had given orders to raze Matamba, he had also instructed his officials to take the Shingahemb alive. After the Shingahemb had been captured, he was commanded to find a surviving

> heir to the deceased chief. When such a man had been found, he was presented to Muzemb who installed him in office, gave him a wife, and ordered him to pay regular tribute.[17]

Kanyok oral tradition claims the slain chief was the famous Kabamba a Ngombe who ruled Matamba in the 1880s, but archival sources reflecting information collected at Matamba early in the twentieth century show that Kabamba a Ngombe was alive for several years after Muzemb came to the area. While these same sources indicate that Muzemb forced Kabamba a Ngombe to recognize him, the man killed at Matamba was a lesser chief from the area.[18]

Slave wars

Although Muzemb undertook the Matamba campaign to demonstrate his power and to insure a regular supply of salt, his subsequent wars were fought solely for the purpose of obtaining slaves, either through direct capture or in the form of tribute.[19] Oral tradition describes his incessant raids with the statement that,

> After returning home from a victory, Kabw Muzemb didn't want to sleep at Mulundu. Instead, he would leave immediately to make war. Muzemb made war so long that if one of his wives was pregnant when he left, the baby was already born by the time he returned. If a woman had a small baby when he departed, it had become a child when he returned. Muzemb didn't want his people to cultivate, only to fight.[20]

As a slave merchant, Kabw Muzemb mounted a long series of wars against neighboring states. Thus, he concentrated his attacks against the small, poorly defended peoples along the northern and western borders of his state. Politically fragmented and armed only with traditional weapons, ethnic groups such as the Kalenge, Kindu Kamimba, Mwilu, Sakadi, Kashinda, and Cahon became easy victims of the ambitious Muzemb and his ally Mfwamba.[21] While battles against these peoples were decided easily in Muzemb's favor, more cautious Kanyok officials feared the wars might antagonize Mutomb Mukul or Kasongo Cinyama who was beginning to establish his control over the area.[22]

Because of Muzemb's growing reputation as a military leader, many of the small chiefs north of the Kanyok capitulated without a struggle.[23] They concluded it was better to recognize Muzemb's authority with regular tribute payments rather than suffer the additional tribulations of war. For, as the Bakwa Cisumba who lived northwest of Ditu learned, opposition to Muzemb was futile.

> When Muzemb came to demand tribute, the Bakwa Cisumba fled and hid in the great natural caverns in the area. Because it was completely dark in the caves, it was impossible for Muzemb to follow them. However, Muzemb ordered his men to remove all the house roofs in the area and pile them in front of the caves. Then the thatch was lit, filling the caves with smoke. Crying they would surrender, the people came out of the caves with their hands in the air. From that time on they gave tribute to Muzemb.[24]

Besides pacifying the Luba Kasai chiefs north of the Kanyok, Kabw Muzemb also turned to the west where he subdued Kete and Luba Kasai villages between the Mbuji Mayi and the Lubi Rivers. Although many chiefs submitted without challenge, the rulers of the Bakwa Ntambwe and the Bena Cieji refused to recognize Muzemb. As with the Bakwa Cisumpa, however, resistance was useless for Muzemb pursued them to hiding places in the rocks of Ngoma Ditu where he smoked them out. Muzemb then placed the people under the rule of Kabuya wa Cibawa, a local chief who had collaborated with the Kanyok. Once Muzemb's forces departed, however, the Bakwa Ntambwe and Bena Cieji revolted, killing Kabuya.[25]

The terrible disorders among the Luba Kasai and Kete caused by Kabw Muzemb, Mfwamba, and the Cokwe slavers forced many weaker groups to migrate in search of security. Portions of the Bakwa Mbumba, Bakwa Ndumbi, Bakwa Ntambwe, and Bena Cieji fled to newly established Belgian outposts where they settled under Free State protection. Thus, they became part of the large Luba Kasai population which flocked to Luluabourg after 1885.[26]

Of all the groups Muzemb chose to attack, only the Kanintshin were able to repulse him. Located just southwest of the Kanyok, the Kanintshin had long been forced to deal with invaders from the Lunda and Cokwe. Like the Kanyok they had developed extremely effective techniques for defense. Most of their villages were surrounded by double ihak while their warriors used poison arrows and, in the nineteenth century, guns. So tenacious were the Kanintshin that their enemies believed they possessed great magical powers. Reputedly a monster Karung a Muez weakened attackers while Kanintshin fetishers had the ability to bring down heavy rains upon enemy armies. According to local lore the most feared weapon in the Kanintshin arsenal was a large swarm of aggressive bees which flew at and stung any foes. Inert for storage, the bees supposedly were revived for battle by means of a special liquid drawn from a *muyomba* tree.[27] Kanyok oral accounts claim when Kabw Muzemb attacked the Kanintshin ihak, he was forced to retreat in the face of the angry magic bees.[28]

Sources of Muzemb's power

Muzemb's military might was based on four factors: the availability of guns, the support of his Luaba maternal relatives, the loyalty of his slave troops, and his own tactical abilities. By purchasing guns from several sources, Muzemb was able to maintain a relatively constant supply of firearms. Some weapons he obtained from Tungomb traders who came to his capital. Although their visits were irregular and Mulundu never rivaled Kalamba's capital as a commercial center, the Angolan merchants sold Kabw Muzemb many flintlocks.[29] The Songye chief Lumpungu, whose links to Western arms dealers ran through the Swahili–Arab network, also delivered guns to Muzemb in exchange for slaves and ivory.[30] Very probably Muzemb also maintained some contact with Kasongo Cinyama who, by the late 1880s, had established a large slave market at his capital Musakatshi near Gandajika. Kabw Muzemb's most reliable supplier of guns was Kasongo

Mfwamba, who in turn received his weapons from the Tungomb or from Kalamba.[31] Although by the end of his reign, Kabw a Sabw had acquired a stock of at least 300 guns,[32] because of his dependency upon middlemen, most of whom were also his rivals, Muzemb had to be content with obsolete and outmoded flintlocks while chiefs like Lumpungu had more modern breech loaders.[33]

Another element contributing to Muzemb's strength was the support of his maternal relatives from Luaba. Unlike other Kanyok people who hated Muzemb for his cruelty and love of war, the inhabitants of Luaba backed the Mwen a Kanyok because, as family members, they received a generous share of the spoils of battle. As one Luaba informant stated, "The people here never tired of Muzemb's wars for they received booty: goats, manioc, guns, and women. My father, who was an officer in Muzemb's army, got male and female slaves, guns, and goats which in turn he redistributed to his men."[34] Because of their loyalty, Muzemb appointed many Luaba inhabitants to posts in his government and to positions in his army. For example, Mes Bukas Muzemb, Kabw a Sabw's maternal uncle and one of his very early supporters, became Mwadi a Mvit (chief of the arsenal) while another relative Ciband served as Kalul (counselor).[35]

While Muzemb's officers were drawn from among his own family, many of his ordinary soldiers were members of the Biin Mazemb, slaves who depended upon the Mwen a Kanyok for their livelihood and protection. Regional chiefs and important villages were expected to supply groups of soldiers who were free citizens, but the core of the army consisted of Biin Mazemb. Although ordinary subjects could desert and return to the sanctity of their home villages, slave warriors had nowhere to go except back to Mulundu. Thus, they had little alternative but to follow Muzemb as he marched about collecting additional captives from his neighbors.[36]

Perhaps Muzemb's greatest military asset was his own tactical skill. A clever strategist, he was careful to strike only when he had sufficient strength to win. Before attacking and overthrowing Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Ciam, Muzemb made sure he had enough men and arms for victory. To fight a formidable foe such as Mwen a Etond Kapolo, Muzemb organized warriors from Mulundu, Museng, and Etond (east). When engaging in external wars, Muzemb chose to fight in the heavily populated, but poorly defended lands to the north. Only rarely, for example as in the war with Kanintshin, did Muzemb miscalculate the strength of his opponent. An analysis of Muzemb's battles indicates that he adopted the well-known Kanyok technique of ambush to fit his aggressive purposes. Even in overthrowing Mwen a Kanyok Ciband a Ciam, Muzemb was able to introduce a type of ambush into the ruler's own compound. And when subduing the rebellious chief at Matamba, Muzemb succeeded in luring the unsuspecting man into an ambush set up in Muzemb's military camp.

Conflict with Kasongo Cinyama

Kabw Muzemb's growing power and ambition eventually drew him into conflict with Kasongo Cinyama.[37] After his flight from Etond, the Luba slave trader

moved north into the upper Lubilash River valley where he made Musakatshi his commercial and military base. Conquering the villages of Piana, Kaseke, Gandajika, Nsona, Kalala Museu, and Mpemba Nzee, he replaced their old chiefs with his own *balungu* (warriors), men loyal to his cause. Spending his time roving the area in search of slaves, Kasongo Cinyama assigned the administration of Musakatshi to his assistant Hiama Kakoba.

Sometime in the late 1880s, Kasongo Cinyama traveled to Mfwamba's village in search of guns. Learning of Kasongo Cinyama's long journey, Kabw Muzemb decided the opportune time had come to attack Musakatshi. As he marched north, Muzemb attracted many of Kasongo Cinyama's dissatisfied vassals to his cause although finally the Mwen a Kanyok's army was repulsed by Hiama Kakoba who had remained at home. Retreating quickly to avoid a confrontation with Kasongo Cinyama, Muzemb went back to Mulundu leaving Kasongo Cinyama's rebellious balungu subordinates to their own defense.

Returning from Mfwamba's village where he had conducted himself riotously, Kasongo Cinyama became enraged when he learned about his vassals' disloyalty. He went first to punish chief Ganda Mujondo at Gandajika, but Ganda had taken flight after being warned by Kabamba a Ngombe, the ruler of Matamba. Next, the Luba slave dealer turned on chief Kalala wa Cilembalemba Mwen a Mfwamba (he took the name Mfwamba out of admiration for Kasongo Mfwamba) of the Bena Nsona. Although he had also been warned of the risk, Cilembalemba decided to remain and take a stand. When Kasongo Cinyama arrived at Nsona, he found Kalala preparing a feast and war fetishes. Claiming the feast was intended for Kasongo while the fetishes were meant for the enemy vassals, Kalala tried to trick his master into complacency by promising to help fight the rebellious subordinates. Kasongo Cinyama ate the food and slept overnight at Nsona, but he nevertheless distrusted Kalala's intentions. When he confronted Kalala with his suspicions the next day, fighting broke out. At first, the Bena Nsona fled either in a frightened or feigned retreat. Then, resolving to fight, they turned upon Kasongo's warriors and pushed them back into the village. Thinking his men were returning in victory, Kasongo Cinyama came out of the hut in which he was smoking hemp. As he appeared in the open, he encountered Mbang Mabungi of the Bena Nsona who clubbed him to death with his own gun. Two of Kasongo's wives, Mwadi Cilemba and Mukulu wa Mpoyi survived their husband, and, according to a man whose stepfather had been one of Kasongo's slaves, the women gained revenge.

> Being very courageous and wanting to water her husband's grave with blood, Mukulu wa Mpoyi asked Lumpungu [at Kabinda] to avenge Kasongo's death. When Lumpungu refused, she went to the Mutetela Mpiana Mutomb who also refused. Finally, she begged Ngongo Lutete to help her. Asking what his reward would be, Ngongo was told he could "eat" as many of the enemy as he wished and that he could take the rest as slaves. Ngongo agreed and came to fight the villages around Gandajika. He killed many people, ate many, and sold many as slaves to Tippu Tib. Mukulu wa Mpoyi was content because her husband's death had been avenged.[38]

Ngongo Lutete's attack against Kasongo's vassals took place late in 1891, for when Oscar Michaux visited Kalala Kafumbe between August 1891 and January 1892, he learned that Ngongo Lutete was plundering villages in the area. Apparently, Ngongo had just come from the Gandajika region.[39] Since Muzemb was back at Mulundu by the time the first whites came to the Kanyok land in January 1891, the earlier Kanyok attack against Kasongo Cinyama probably took place near the end of 1890. Kasongo Cinyama's own revenge against his disloyal vassals, therefore, would have occurred in 1891.

Conflict with the Europeans and with Kanyok rivals

With the death of Kasongo Cinyama, Kabw Muzemb emerged as the most powerful political leader and slaver in the area. Able to purchase large quantities of guns from various suppliers, Muzemb had consolidated his power within the Kanyok state and had conquered or intimidated his neighbors. Nevertheless, while Muzemb was able to profit from the penetration of Western commercial auxiliaries into Central Africa, he was not able to meet the challenge of direct European intervention into his land. The story of Muzemb's last years has been documented by Father Marcel Storme in his meticulous work *Pater Cambier en de stichting van de Kasai-Missie* and the story is also well known by present-day Kanyok historians who confirm and supplement Storme's analysis.

Muzemb negotiates with the Europeans

Shortly after returning from attacking Hiama Kakoba at Musakatshi, Muzemb learned from his cousin Mwen a Luaba Mutonj that a group of white men had arrived at Luaba and were asking permission to cross Muzemb's land as they journeyed to Msiri's capital in Shaba.[40] The whites were members of the Le Marinel expedition which had left Lusambo on December 23, 1890. Besides the commander Paul Le Marinel, the group included officers Deschamps, Legat, and Edgard Verdick, whose journal described the trip. Accompanying the whites were a troop of 180 African soldiers, many of them Hausa, and several hundred porters.[41] Once he had received information about Le Marinel, Kabw Muzemb ordered Mwen a Luaba Mutonj to direct the party to Mulundu where he would negotiate with the whites. Responding to this command, Mutonj charged his brother Kabw Seya, who was the Kalul at Mulundu, to conduct the whites to Muzemb's capital. Mutonj also sent a message cautioning Muzemb that "it would be foolish to attack the whites because they were extremely well armed."[42]

When Le Marinel reached Mulundu on January 26, 1891, Verdick described the Kanyok capital as follows:

> The village was very clean. Large avenues led to a central place before the chief's residence which was composed of five large conically shaped houses with pointed bell-like roofs. Each house was about fifteen meters high. Each construction was surrounded by concentric rectangular enclosures whose entrances were at opposite ends . . . It was a true labyrinth.[43]

According to Verdick's journal, on the first day, Muzemb sent gifts to the travelers and on the second day, he came for a personal visit. Although he showed surprise when inspecting the soldiers and weapons, Kabw Muzemb expressed no fear. Once the initial protocols had been observed, Muzemb opened negotiations with the whites. Informed that Le Marinel wanted safe conduct through his land and canoes to cross the Luilu River, Muzemb asked for a gun in return. On January 29, Le Marinel obliged by giving the Kanyok chief a Winchester and cartridges.[44] Kanyok oral accounts indicate that Muzemb was dissatisfied with the gun.

> The whites gave Muzemb a twelve gauge gun. Since Muzemb did not know how to shoot it he thought his old flintlock was better. Calling for his own gun, Muzemb fired it and boasted that it was a real weapon. He also concluded that Kanda Kanda had been unduly intimidated by the whites whose guns appeared to be greatly inferior to his own.[45]

The Europeans sack Mulundu

Although by January 30, Muzemb still had made no effort to obtain canoes for Le Marinel, he made a new demand. Claiming that the Cokwe wars had halted the flow of Angolan traders to Mulundu, Muzemb asked Le Marinel to purchase ivory. Pleading that he had nothing to pay in exchange nor any way of carrying ivory, Le Marinel declined the offer. Frustrated at Muzemb's apparent delaying tactics, on January 31, six days after he had arrived, Le Marinel along with Deschamps put about a hundred soldiers through maneuvers in a display of force intended to frighten the Kanyok. There was no noticeable reaction.[46]

Finally, on February 1, tension escalated and broke out into open conflict when Muzemb ordered his subjects to stop selling food to the strangers. As told by Verdick, events occurred in the following sequence.

> The seventh day, about two-thirty [in the afternoon] the natives suddenly invaded our camp and chased away the women who sold food. At that moment we were resting on our cots. The commander [Le Marinel] gave the order to prepare for combat. He took fifty men, I took fifty, and the captain Deschamps took the same number. The rest remained in camp under the orders of Legat. At the first shot a half-hour later everyone panicked and scattered. I was the first to enter the palace where I took 500 kilos of ivory and many other useful items including twelve cows and bulls and one hundred barrels of powder. I then burned all the buildings. The rest of our soldiers returned with goats, sheep, chickens, etc.
>
> We took only a few prisoners and there were almost no deaths. One of our men was wounded.[47]

Political intrigues behind the scenes

Kanyok oral sources give the same story, but in addition, they explain how the battle was instigated. Ironically, neither Le Marinel nor Kabw Muzemb was directly to blame. Instead, Kalul Kabw Seya, Mwen a Luaba Mutonj's brother and

Muzemb's cousin, was responsible for the trouble. In the words of one Kanyok historian,

> The whites stayed at Muzemb's village for almost one week before they announced they were leaving on the following day. During the time they were at Mulundu, the chief's wives sold food to the soldiers. Giving them cloth and salt, the soldiers also slept with some of the women. Kalul Kabw Seya, who was expected to watch for danger, told Muzemb what was happening and he warned the chief that when the soldiers left the next day, they would take the wives with them. Muzemb then instructed Kabw Seya to separate all the wives from the soldiers and take them back to their own houses.
>
> Instead of following these orders, Kabw Seya alerted all the young men to take arms. Muzemb himself was unaware of this. When the young men had assembled, Kabw Seya led them to the whites who thought it was an attack. Taking up battle stations, they began to fire on the Kanyok who fled. The whites chased them to the chief's compound and burned it completely. Kabw Muzemb fled.[48]

A similar Kanyok account states:

> Someone warned Muzemb that the whites would take his wives since the women were with them all day long selling peanuts and bananas. Muzemb then sent Kabw Kalul to remove the women. Kabw obeyed, but when he arrived he shot into the air causing the whites to think they were being attacked. In return, the whites fired into the bakishi [ancestor] huts . . . The whites did not try to kill the Kanyok and only one man died in the ensuing battle. Muzemb's people all fled to Ngoi.[49]

Another Kanyok man of memory accused Kalul Kabw Seya of deliberately betraying Muzemb by starting the war with Le Marinel. In fact, said the man, Kabw Seya had been disloyal for a long time previously.

> When Mutonj became Mwen a Luaba, he sent his younger brother Kabw to Mulundu to gather information and warn him of any possible intrigues or rivals. Although Muzemb's capriciousness made it dangerous to be at the Mwen a Kanyok's compound, Kabw went and got a job as a messenger. Proving himself to be a brave warrior, Kabw was eventually appointed as Muzemb's Kalul. Besides learning much about political intrigue, Kalul Kabw was able to calculate the number of Muzemb's guns and to see how his warriors were deployed. Informing his brother of all he had learned, Kabw encouraged Mutonj to break away from Muzemb and collect tribute as an independent chief. Kabw Seya advised this action because he hoped both Muzemb and Mutonj would be killed in the ensuing struggle.[50]

Thus, from the Kanyok accounts, it appears that Kabw Seya betrayed both Mutonj and Muzemb. Probably, he hoped that eliminating the two most powerful Kanyok chiefs would leave him in a favorable position to assume control of the entire land.

Once they had looted and burned Mulundu, Le Marinel's men set about to build canoes in order to cross the crocodile-infested Luilu River. During the four days when the Free State forces prepared canoes, they met with almost no resistance from the frightened Kanyok. Only when Le Marinel's soldiers returned to the burned-out capital to search for more booty were they fired upon. Apparently, the resisters were merely isolated snipers for no one was hurt. On February 6, 1891,

two weeks after he had arrived, Le Marinel left a deserted Kanyok capital.[51] Journeying on to Shaba, he did not pass through Mulundu on his return to Lusambo which he reached on August 19, 1891.[52]

According to Casteleyn, as soon as Le Marinel had departed, Kabw Muzemb led his forces out of hiding to survey the ruined village. After assessing the damage, he ordered Mwen a Luaba Mutonj to Mulundu where Muzemb accused him of complicity in the affair since it was Mutonj who had sent the whites to Muzemb. Mutonj, of course, denied responsibility, reminding Muzemb that he had been warned not to anger the well-armed strangers. Then Mutonj returned to Luaba.

Following the meeting with Mutonj, Muzemb called his people to rebuild the capital. When the work had been completed, he instructed them to take their payment by going to Luaba and plundering Mutonj's village. Muzemb's people obeyed. The carnage was great, and reputedly even small children were killed by drowning in large beer pots.[53] At about the same time, Muzemb sent a delegation to Mwen a Luaba Mutonj demanding a hundred guns and male and female slaves. Mutonj complied. Believing he had acted leniently in sparing Mutonj's life, Muzemb reportedly commented that if Mutonj had not been a close relative, Muzemb's men would have pulled out his teeth and killed him.[54]

Although Muzemb's forces returned to Mulundu, the Mwen a Kanyok was not satisfied completely. Therefore, fearing further conflict, Mwen a Luaba Mutonj and his notables met at Kabemba Ditu, a village just outside Luaba, to determine a proper course of action. At that gathering, the Luaba officials decided to ask the Free State for protection against Muzemb and Kalul Kabw Seya was sent to Luluabourg with an appeal for help.[55]

Whether in response to Mutonj's appeal, as the Kanyok believe, or in reaction to Le Marinel's advice, as Father Storme posits, the Free State authorities did send soldiers to pacify the Kanyok. According to Father Storme, the first action against Muzemb may have taken place already in 1891. A short entry on officer Lienart in the *Biographie coloniale* states that he "explored the southwestern region between Luluabourg and Mazembe, and he made everyone recognize the state's authority."[56] If Lienart fought Muzemb on this excursion, the battle must have taken place before October 1891 when Lienart returned to Belgium on vacation.[57]

The real test between Muzemb and the Free State occurred in May 1892 when commanders Rom and Doorme led troops against the Kanyok. At that time the Free State removed Muzemb from office and appointed Mwen a Luaba Mutonj as the ruler.[58] Fearful of going to Mulundu himself, Mutonj proposed sending Binen Cifita, a man with legitimate blood ties to the Shimat dynasty, as his "governor" at the Kanyok capital. But even Binen was never accepted by the Kanyok people who said of him "mukata batoke, bafike kabamukatshila bende" (a marionette of the whites, there is no black in him).[59]

As Father Storme states, the basic issue in the Free State wars against Muzemb was the conflict between Muzemb and Mutonj. In truth, the Free State was being used by Luaba to gain power at the expense of Mulundu.[60] In addition, Kanyok

oral sources indicate that Kalul Kabw Seya also manipulated the arrival of the whites for his own personal political advancement.

Muzemb seeks a European ally

Realizing he was no match for the Free State forces, Kabw Muzemb set out with about 400 men to search for an ally. Fleeing Mulundu, he went to Mfwamba's capital in the direction of Luluabourg. Mfwamba told Muzemb he could offer no protection, but that a missionary named Nganga Buka (Father Cambier) at Malandi, a few kilometers from the Free State post at Luluabourg, might be able to help him.[61] Mfwamba, of course, was aware of Cambier's close friendship with Kalamba and thought the priest might be able to assist Muzemb. Entering into negotiations with Cambier, who was the head of the Scheut mission in Kasai, Muzemb offered him twenty slaves and three ivory tusks. Eager to win the confidence of African chiefs, Cambier came to Mfwamba's village, conducted Muzemb to Luluabourg, and interceded on his behalf with district commissioner Rom. Rom, who had considered executing Muzemb because of his actions against Le Marinel and Mwen a Luaba Mutonj, decided instead to reduce the Mwen a Kanyok's sentence to an initial six months' imprisonment at Boma in the Lower Congo and a subsequent induction into the Free State army as a simple soldier. In a letter written in July or August 1892, Cambier pleaded with Rom to lift even the reduced sentence. Eventually, Rom complied by relaxing Muzemb's penalty to confinement, as Cambier's ward, at the Malandi mission.[62]

As a result of Cambier's bargaining, Kabw Muzemb and several hundred followers settled at Malandi in July or August 1892.[63] Although Muzemb and his people constructed a neat village composed of about eighty huts, the Kanyok chief was not content to live in the Luluabourg area. Late in November 1892, Kabw Muzemb told Father Cambier that he (Muzemb) could stay no longer. Quickly alerting Clement Brasseur, commander of the Free State troops at Luluabourg, Cambier tried to detain Muzemb. Arriving secretly at Malandi about midnight of December 1, Brasseur intended to arrest Muzemb and put him in chains for three months. Brasseur and his men hid in a workshop while Cambier called Muzemb. Fully aware that soldiers had come, Muzemb answered the call in the company of fifty armed warriors.[64] Describing his own rash actions, Brasseur wrote:

> I went alone and came to the middle of these (armed) men. "Mosembe, come here," I said . . . I told myself, they could kill me with a gun shot, but they shall see the white is different from the black. I thought all these things in a minute.
>
> He [Muzemb] stepped out from among his men and came towards me saying, "Moio Mokelengue" [hello chief]. "No," I said, "call the interpreter." The fellow retreated three steps, his men opened a passage which closed instantly and everyone . . . fled the camp into the bush with myself, my soldiers, and several of Father Cambier's men behind them.[65]

The Kanyok chief's escape, however, was due not only to Brasseur's foolhardy ineptitude, but also to Muzemb's own cunning. Actually the man who came

forward to test Brasseur's intention was not Muzemb himself, but an impostor dressed in the chief's clothes. According to Kanyok sources,

> The priest told Muzemb to submit to the state without fighting and he asked Muzemb to pay his respects to the government administrator. For this visit, Muzemb dressed in ordinary clothes, while he put his chief's costume on the Shingahemb. Although the administrator was deceived, the priest indicated to him that the real chief was dressed in normal attire. A Kanyok man, Bukas a Mbuy, realized what the priest was saying and warned Muzemb that he would be arrested. Muzemb then drew his machete and all the Kanyok fled.[66]

Brasseur's correspondence of December 4, 1892 until January 6, 1893 indicates that Muzemb's escape caused panic among both the whites and blacks near Luluabourg. In addition, reports began circulating that Ngongo Lutete and 6,000 men were in the area near Mfwamba's village. However, as Free State forces recaptured many Kanyok prisoners, calm returned to Luluabourg. Afterwards, Brasseur speculated that the rumors about Ngongo Lutete had been started by Muzemb himself in the hope that the state would dispatch troops to Mfwamba and leave Luluabourg unprotected.[67]

Muzemb's death at Etond

Although Muzemb may have remained in the area briefly, he soon set out for Mulundu. Unlike on previous trips when he was accompanied by several hundred armed warriors, on this journey he traveled almost alone. Muzemb's soldiers long before had wearied of his wars. As one Kanyok informant said, "The warriors were tired of battle. They were unable to cultivate their fields or see their wives and children."[68] But because most of Muzemb's forces were Biin Mazemb, cut off from lineage protection and dependent upon the Mwen a Kanyok, they had little alternative except to follow Kabw a Sabw's command.[69] Now, the existence of the mission and government post at Luluabourg provided them with a potential protector. Thus, when Muzemb decided to return to his own land, the great bulk of his army remained at Luluabourg.[70]

When Muzemb arrived at Mulundu early in 1893, he still found enough supporters to rebuild his compound and kill the rival Mwen a Kanyok Binen Cifita.[71] However, as soon as Mwen a Luaba Mutonj learned of Muzemb's return, he gathered his forces to attack his former master. Muzemb realized his depleted army was no match for Mutonj, so once again he fled from Mulundu.[72] This time, Muzemb sought refuge at Etond (west) where his puppet Neng Neng ruled. In retaliation for the earlier attack against Mwen a Etond Kapolo, the people of Etond rose up and assassinated the weakened Mwen a Kanyok Kabw Muzemb. The story of his last day is recalled vividly by people at Etond.

> After passing by Museng, Kabw Muzemb arrived at Etond (west) where he informed Neng Neng he was asking each regional chief and also the Cokwe to help him regain power. Then Neng Neng beat the signal drum calling all the people together to

listen to Muzemb explain his plan. Once they had heard the Mwen a Kanyok, they encouraged him in his design.

However, two men, Mwen a Lonj and Mupal, who had commanded Kapolo's army, said to the people, "Already we have suffered much because of Muzemb." Then the people agreed, saying, "Muzemb killed Mwen a Etond Kapolo and we suffered. If he gets help to reassert his power, we will have more wars and more people will die."

The people plotted to kill Muzemb. They placed wine in a house and Muzemb entered to drink. Once the door had been closed, the people surrounded the house. Hearing the commotion, Muzemb stepped outside where he was struck dead by an arrow shot into his chest. This took place before mid-morning. After Mutonda a Busang had cut off his arms, the people said, "Now we have killed him, we will take him to the place where he killed Kapolo." Carrying the corpse to the spot where Muzemb's armies had killed Mwen a Etond Kapolo, the people mocked Muzemb saying, "When did you send us food and wine?" Then they gathered wood, piled it on the slain chief, and burned his mutilated body.[73]

The people's hostility towards Muzemb, the chief who had given them no feast, is also shown by other details from his last hours at Etond.

When Muzemb arrived at Etond, all the people wanted to kill him, but Neng Neng tried to stop them saying he could not kill his own father-in-law when his wife was pregnant. However, the people threatened to kill Neng Neng unless he acquiesced. The people hated Muzemb because he had killed Kapolo.

Deciding to trick Muzemb, the residents of Etond put water in a calabash covered with leaves and they put peanut shells in a basket. These things were carried into a house and Muzemb was invited in to eat. When Muzemb saw the water and peanut shells, he emerged from the hut for he knew the end had come. As he walked out, everyone mocked him calling him by his first name Kabw. Then they began shouting and Nsul Kazel Bwan killed the Mwen a Kanyok with an arrow.[74]

After Kabw Muzemb's death early in 1893, his brother Ciam Mateng (or Ciam a Sabw) claimed the right to rule at Mulundu while Binen Kayeye a Binen a Kadyat a Bukas took office as Mwen a Kanyok at Katshisung. The immediate concern of both men was the advance of the Cokwe who were threatening the very heart of the Kanyok state now that both Kabw Muzemb and Mwen a Etond Kapolo were dead. When the Cokwe reached the vicinity of Mulundu, Ciam Mateng dispatched his Hia Muloo Kalend a Kabedi to lead the battle. Although Kalend managed to repulse the formidable foe, when he returned to Mulundu, he discovered that Ciam Mateng, fearing the Kanyok had lost, had fled across the Yabui River to Mwen a Luaba Mutonj's village. Declaring Ciam Mateng unfit to rule, Kalend a Kabedi seized power at Mulundu and replaced the cowardly Mwen a Kanyok.[75] Realizing his position was not secure as long as Ciam Mateng lived, he marched northwards to attack his rival at Luaba. Although Ciam Mateng managed to escape, Kalend's forces killed Mwen a Luaba Mutonj and occupied the village of Luaba.[76]

Continued Kanyok resistance to Belgian incursions

Mwen a Kanyok Kalend a Kabedi defeats commander Pelzer

Learning of Kalend's action against Mutonj, Congo Free State authorities dispatched commander Pelzer, chief of the post at Luluabourg, to punish the new Mwen a Kanyok and to restore the fortunes of Luaba. In August 1894, Pelzer, along with officer Cassart and 143 of Ngongo Lutete's former soldiers,[77] left for Luaba, now renamed Kanda Kanda by the Belgians.[78] When Pelzer arrived at Luaba, Kalend had already retreated to Mulundu where he began preparing his defenses. Overconfident and poorly organized, Pelzer marched down the Luilu River valley to the Kanyok capital where, on September 10, his soldiers were ambushed by Kalend's warriors. Although Pelzer managed to escape, he suffered a humiliating defeat, losing guns, ammunition, and even his personal baggage.[79]

The Kanyok recall the battle as a great victory in which not only the Mwen a Kanyok, but also many regional chiefs, rallied to repulse the Free State army.

> Kalend a Kabedi wanted to punish Mwen a Luaba. When he arrived at Luaba, the local people went to alert the whites who were coming south on their way to Msiri's capital. (The Kanyok, of course were mistaken in thinking Pelzer intended to go into Shaba as far as Msiri's.) Kabw a Seya told the whites that the chief at Mulundu was causing trouble so they agreed to discipline him.
>
> Hearing the whites were coming, Kalend returned to Mulundu where he could organize a more effective defense. There were only two whites, Pelzer and Cassart, but Kalend was supported by all the regional chiefs. The whites crossed the Witshimaie stream (several kilometers from Mulundu) and they fought hard all day without eating. They fought hard on the second day, but Kalend won and the whites fled leaving their trunk full of arms. Kalend proudly boasted that he had won a great victory.[80]

With the whites in retreat and Mwen a Luaba Mutonj dead, Muzemb's treacherous former Kalul Kabw Seya took office as Mwen a Luaba and decided to settle the conflict between Kalend and Ciam Mateng. Probably reasoning that the ineffectual Ciam Mateng could only serve as an incentive for future attacks by Kalend against Luaba, Kabw Seya executed the former Mwen a Kanyok by tying him in a basket and throwing him into the Luilu River.[81]

For several months afterwards, Kabw Seya at Luaba and Kalend a Kabedi at Mulundu continued to rule their respective regions with no outside interference. Probably Kalend had come to regard the Free State armies as similar to the Cokwe: dangerous, but transitory and manageable enemies. As far as Kalend knew, the Free State was merely intent on raiding and looting, but had no expectation of actually controlling the land. However, in June 1895, the Kanyok learned that the Congo Free State authorities actually wanted to govern the land by extracting taxes, administering justice, regulating the African chiefs, monitoring commerce, and suppressing local wars.

Pelzer defeats Kalend

Hoping to stabilize the area, district commissioner Gillain decided to bring the Kanyok under his control by establishing a government post near Mwen a Kanyok Binen Kayeye's village at Katshisung. Therefore, on January 25, 1895, Pelzer along with lieutenant Bohler and adjunct Dehaspe left Luluabourg for Mulundu. Before departing, Pelzer gathered his Batetela soldiers to announce, "Several months ago, we were beaten by Kalend. This time it won't happen. Whatever the cost, we will take Kalend dead or alive. Be courageous. If we return victorious, I promise each of you two women, a 'boy,' and new blankets."[82]

In March 1895, Pelzer arrived at Luaba and continued on to Mulundu. Although Kalend fought hard, his subordinates realized they were no match for Pelzer's strengthened army. In a highly stylized account of the battle, Kanyok informants describe the people's growing awareness that the Free State could not be beaten. Because of this, Kalend's support collapsed, leaving him and a few faithful to hold off Pelzer.

> After two initial attacks which were beaten back, the Kanyok people said they were tired of fighting and suffering. The warriors Kalend had deployed along the route put down their arms saying that since Kalend was responsible for the trouble, he could do the fighting. Therefore, the Belgians advanced unhindered to Kalend. When Kalend learned the whites were near, he was very surprised for he had heard no advance fighting.
>
> Although Kalend was alone with only a small entourage, he fought well for an entire day. Because they were so few in numbers and Kalend didn't know what to do, he changed himself into a lion and went to spy on the Belgian camp. However, an enemy soldier saw the "lion" and shot it. Thus, Kalend's [spirit] was killed. The next day, when the battle began, Kalend was taken easily for he had already died.[83]

Van Zandijcke's less metaphysical account tells essentially the same story. Although they fought well, after it became clear that victory was impossible the Kanyok warriors wearied of battle despite Kalend's fervent attempts to maintain their spirits.

> When [Pelzer's] . . . expedition arrived at Mulundu, the Kanyok opened fire and an intense battle started. After three days of fighting, the outcome was still in doubt. The Kanyok, however, were the first to show signs of fatigue. Some wanted to withdraw, but Kalend would not hear of that. "Win or die," he cried as his most ardent supporters beat the war drum and shouted savagely. To inspire his soldiers, he gave his gun to his neighbor, keeping only his machete. Flanked by two women, each one armed with a gun, he advanced and fearlessly ran towards the enemy. Seeing this, all his men hurried to follow him into the final combat. The two armies would now confront each other.
>
> Kandalo, the Mutetela officer of the expeditionary forces, stepped out from the ranks, raised his gun, and fired a shot which hit Kalend in the face. The Mwen a Kanyok fell instantly. The Kanyok camp began clamoring. Stupefied, they returned; it was a debacle. Pelzer's troops began the pursuit; they had won the victory.[84]

Pelzer's victory results in the Batetela revolt

For the troops with Pelzer, the defeat of Kalend was significant for it was a major factor in triggering the Batetela revolt which swept Kasai in July 1895. Pelzer's refusal to reward his soldiers as he had promised was the immediate incident which caused the Batetela to kill Pelzer and mutiny at Luluabourg on July 4.[85] For the Kanyok, however, Kalend's defeat marked the beginning of Belgian colonial rule in their land. Before he left for Luluabourg in May 1895, Pelzer established the first state military post inside Kanyok territory. The Norwegian Bohler and the Belgian Dehaspe along with seventy Batetela soldiers were stationed near Binen Kayeye's capital at Katshisung.[86] A year later, in 1896, de Cock founded the state administrative post at Luaba, the village known to the Belgians as Kanda Kanda, while in August 1898, the Scheut Fathers started the mission Tielen St. Jacques and became deeply involved in Kanyok politics.[87]

Although Kanyok chiefs sometimes defied the Free State authorities, after Kalend's death they generally respected the government's overwhelming military advantage and they sought to accommodate to Belgian rule. Thus, when the fleeing Batetela mutineers from Luluabourg came to the post at Kayeye (Binen Kayeye's village at Katshisung) on July 17, 1895, they received no help from the Kanyok. While Mwen a Kanyok Binen Kayeye's description of the mutineers' brief stay was certainly self-serving, it reflected Kanyok recognition that they could not overthrow the whites. When Oscar Michaux visited Binen Kayeye on May 14, 1896, the Kanyok chief told him the following story.

> When the revolt broke out at Luluabourg, after pillaging and burning the mission at Kalala-Mafumba [between Luluabourg and Mulundu], the Batetela came to Kayeye which they destroyed completely.
>
> One of the whites [Bohler] escaped, the second [Dehaspe] having learned from the natives that the revolting soldiers had arrived, decided stoutly to take the government troops [who were Batetela] and fight. However, on route, his own corporal treacherously shot him in the back. Dehaspe took several steps into the bush, then he fell dead. Later, when [Binen] Kayeye's people found the body, they wrapped it in mats and buried it at the place where he fell.[88]

The Kanyok honor their own dead by wrapping them in mats for burial. Thus, in giving Dehaspe a decent burial instead of mutilating him as an enemy, the Kanyok symbolically acknowledged that they were now living within the scope of the Belgian empire.

Conclusions

The defeat and conquest of the Kanyok followed a typical nineteenth-century pattern which reveals that Africans themselves were key actors facilitating the Western penetration into Central Africa. Long before the first colonial agents entered Kanyok territory, African precursors to conquest had been active in the region. Throughout much of the century, ancillary agents of Western capitalism purchased slaves, ivory, foodstuffs, rubber, and wax in Central Africa. In return,

they supplied products such as cloth, beads, and guns. In an attempt to profit from the new opportunities or protect themselves against the dangers, African leaders adopted more aggressive military and political policies. Then, in the latter decades of the century, European explorers with their large companies of African guides, porters, and soldiers visited the center of the African continent. Although none came to Mulundu, Cameron reached the Luba capital in 1875, von Wissmann passed not far to the north of the Kanyok in the mid-1880s, and in 1891, Frederick Arnot traveled near the Kanyok border.

After the Berlin Conference in 1885, small official expeditions attempted to establish rights of transit and gain recognition from local rulers. These groups were led by European officers who commanded a troop of lightly armed African soldiers often recruited in West Africa. The Le Marinel expedition which left Lusambo on December 23, 1890 included 180 Hausa soldiers and several hundred Central African porters. Because of their small size and long distance from a secure base, these companies were seen as relatively weak by local African chiefs. The Europeans, therefore, had to negotiate with the Africans for food, passage, and information. The Africans, for their part, treated the interlopers as they had treated earlier commercial travelers. Thus, Kabw Muzemb tried to delay Le Marinel for as long as possible in order to extract the maximum amount of trade goods from the Belgians.

The Europeans entering Central Africa were drawn, often unwittingly, into local political intrigues. Verdick's journal indicates that none of the Europeans understood how the conflict with Muzemb started. Verdick, who offered no explanation for the sudden outbreak of hostilities, never realized that Le Marinel had been manipulated into attacking Kabw Muzemb by Kabw Seya, the man who had guided Le Marinel to Mulundu. Because the Europeans could be used by rival local political factions, Africans at times invited Europeans to their territory. Thus, when the angry Kabw Muzemb threatened Mwen a Luaba Mutonj, Mutonj dispatched messengers to ask for assistance. When the Free State routed Muzemb from Mulundu, he in turn went to the Luluabourg region to negotiate for European assistance. To his peril, Muzemb did not realize that his patron Father Cambier was allied with the Free State officials.

Repeated battles were necessary for the Africans to see that the Europeans' true goal was permanent conquest. Initially, Africans regarded each new expedition as a separate and somewhat unrelated intrusion into their lands. They had no way to know that the Europeans were not interested in occasional plunder so much as in long-term conquest. Even Kasongo Cinyama, the most destructive previous invader, had made little effort to govern by establishing political offices, collecting regular tax, administering justice, and appropriating land. Because the Kanyok were unaware of the strength or intentions of the Free State, the resistance continued for some time after Muzemb's defeat and death. Although the thinly deployed Europeans could sometimes be defeated, it eventually became clear they had come to stay, not just to loot, plunder, or trade.

In order to maintain their thin veneer of control, the Europeans had to rely on African allies and puppets. But since these local figures had their own agendas,

they could not be trusted to administer according to directives from distant colonial rulers. Furthermore, the African mercenaries used to dominate the indigenous peoples were prone to desert, defect, or revolt. Colonial officers such as Pelzer and Dehaspe who ignored the power of their African troops suffered severe consequences.

In spite of African resistance, the colonial state eventually triumphed. The assassination of Kabw Muzemb, the defeat of Kalend a Kabedi, and the establishment of a Free State post at Katshisung brought to an end the existence of an independent Kanyok state. Although, after 1895, the Kanyok were forced to share their feast with the colonial tax collector and their political dance was directed by the territorial administrator, the people never wavered in their resolve to maintain the office of Mwen a Kanyok and preserve their common cultural heritage. In this effort the Kanyok were sustained by the mythic memory of a reviled suffering princess and by the legends of her heroic warrior descendants.

Appendix
Methodology

Intended as a history of the Kanyok and not an explanation of scholarly theory, the text of this book gives only limited attention to a discussion of historical methodology. There are three reasons for this strategy. First, the study of African history has matured to the point where scholars should not be defensive about the tools and exegetical techniques of the discipline. Thus, each new book need not devote long sections defending and explaining method or legitimacy. In fact, having once studied the social values and institutions of pre-industrial America, I am convinced that African historians often are more cautious and demand more proof when drawing conclusions than their colleagues in either American or European studies. Second, I make no claims to have developed a new methodology. Readers will recognize my debt to scholars such as Jan Vansina, Joseph Miller, Victor Turner, and Clifford Geertz. Anyone interested in learning about methodology should turn to their studies for more comprehensive and elegant statements than I make in this work. Finally, I owe a debt to the Kanyok people to recount their story and not to fill the book with discussions on topics which are unneeded and incomprehensible to many readers. While I know that the stories of Citend, Ilung a Cibang, Kasongo Cinyama, and Kabw Muzemb will be worth telling for many years to come, I have less confidence that the manner in which their history has been recovered will be of enduring interest. Thinking back over the books, articles, and dissertations I have read, I know of nothing more tedious and quaint than now outdated, but once fashionable, studies which used historical or political data only as vehicles to support an intricate explanation of scholarly technique.

Thus, like a builder who puts away the blueprints and removes the scaffold once a house is complete, I hope to present the reader with a finished structure relatively uncluttered with the tools of construction. Nevertheless, both carpenters and historians know there are those who would check the plans, examine the materials, scrutinize the craftsmanship, and regard the underpinnings of an edifice. For those individuals, I have prepared this appendix which clarifies the logic and explains the evidence supporting the book's narrative and conclusions. Writing the manuscript involved, first, establishing a basic chronological record of the Kanyok past, second, identifying and describing key Kanyok political institutions, and third, reconstructing and analyzing Kanyok ideologies.

Chronological framework

The essential historical framework for the southern savanna has been fashioned by other researchers using oral tradition, written records, archeology, and historical linguistics. Although nothing has been written on the Kanyok themselves, much scholarly work documents the life of the Lunda and Luba, peoples living next to the Kanyok. The arrival of the Bantu, the development of farming, the introduction of New World agriculture, the emergence of patrilineal chiefdoms, the growth of long-distance trade, the expansion of the Luba empire, the invasions of slave traders, and the drift into slave wars are well-documented Central African trends which form the context within which the life of the Kanyok took place. Relying on the established chronicle of the Central African past, I attempted to explain how Kanyok history fits into the larger savanna pattern of events.

Guthrie's classifications of Bantu languages, Coupez, Evrard, and Vansina's efforts to determine approximately when Bantu languages diverged, and Hoover's work on the language families closest to Ciin Kanyok provided evidence as to when the Kanyok emerged as a distinct people (about AD 1000), which titles were the most important to the earliest Kanyok (matrilineal offices), which neighboring people had the greatest contact with the Kanyok (both the Luba and Lunda), and perhaps even the avenues of cultural transmission (before 1650, Luba political influences were sometimes filtered through the Lunda before arriving in the Luilu valley).

Archeologist Pierre de Maret's reconstructions of early Upemba society suggests that southern savanna people manufactured pottery and some iron after AD 500, made the transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture soon after AD 1000, developed clear hierarchical social and political structures about the same time, and were affected by long-distance trade several centuries before AD 1500. Developments in Kanyok society must have paralleled trends in the Upemba region, because the linguistic, political, economic, social, and religious accord between the Kanyok and the Luba suggests that the two peoples have maintained significant contacts over the last 1,000 years. Furthermore, the uniformity of political legends which describe changes taking place before 1700 proves the southern savanna peoples were exchanging not only trade goods, but also opinions about government institutions.

While archeology and historical linguistics provide a general framework of structural changes and historical trends taking place on the southern savanna, specific descriptions of Kanyok regions, individuals, trends, and events are available only from a study of Kanyok oral tradition. Fortunately, rich Kanyok accounts provide convincingly detailed records for seven or eight generations of chiefs at Museng, Etond, Ngoi, Lusuk, and Mulundu before the Belgian conquest in 1895. Also embedded in these accounts is scattered evidence about prior small matrilineal chiefdoms.

Generational averaging suggests a time depth of 200 years or more for pre-twentieth-century patrilineal rulers and, thus, implies that the transition from matrilineal polities was completed prior to 1700.[1] Since the transition must have

taken place over many decades or perhaps even centuries, the victorious patrilineal leaders celebrated in the chiefly genealogies stand at the end, and not at the beginning, of a process which started much earlier. The stories of immigrant hunter chiefs represent a triumph over matrilineal rulers who probably began to lose their dominance soon after 1500. This chronological reconstruction based on Kanyok oral traditions fits well with suggestions by Vansina and Reefe that many southern savanna people maintained matrilineal structures until after 1500.

The first Kanyok leaders who can be dated with some assurance are the brothers Mulaj a Cibang and Ilung a Cibang. The great-grandfathers of Kanyok rulers and pretenders who lived late in the nineteenth century, it is certain they came to power in the decades near to 1800. Luba oral records describing the time of Mulopwe Ilunga Sungu, who reigned from ca. 1780 ± 12 to ca. 1810 ± 8,[2] confirm Kanyok recollections about the last Kanyok tomboka at the Mulopwe's court, a rupture in relations between the Luba and Kanyok, and a final great war between the two people. According to Luba and Kanyok history, all of these events took place during the two brothers' tenure in office and in Ilunga Sungu's time. Finally, the presence of two vast fortifications with deep trenches containing huge tropical hardwoods is compatible with dates of about 1800 to 1825 for Ilung and Mulaj. Although approximate, the start of their rule cannot be moved more than about a decade either way from 1800. Thus, 1800 provides a secure chronological fulcrum from which to document both the activities of subsequent chiefs and to reconstruct the sequence of rulers and events prior to the life of Ilung and Mulaj.

Because Mulaj and Ilung were members of the fifth generation of vividly remembered patrilineal rulers in the Shimat lineage[3] and because the Shimat family is not considered by any Kanyok historian to have established the first patrilineal dynasty in the land, the brothers' reign very early in the nineteenth century strengthens the contention that the transition to patrilineal forms of government was completed sometime before 1700.

Institutional framework

Relying on the linguistic analysis of Jeffrey Hoover, I accept the assertion that the most ancient savanna, and also Kanyok, titles were matrilineal. Although I make no claims to expertise in the field of historical linguistics, the spatial organization of principal villages and the common features of ceremonies and regalia associated with Kanyok matrilineal titles support Hoover's conclusions. Even today, the men and women holding these titles, which Hoover says date back to proto-Bantu times, live just behind or beside the ruler who is located in the very center of the village. Like the core of modern European cities, the heart of politically significant Kanyok villages seems to reflect much earlier times. As would be expected if indeed they emerged later, patrilineal and non-lineage titles, many of which deal with complex tribute and military structures unknown and unneeded much before 1800, are generally located well beyond the inner circle of matrilineal titles. Furthermore, all three sets of titles – matrilineal, patrilineal, and functional or

appointive – have their own clusters of emblems, rituals, and relationships. For example, the Inamwan, Inabanz, and Talaji, all titles Hoover identifies as among the most ancient, share the same insignia and rites of installation. This similarity lends credence to the conclusion that they gained prominence during the same time period.

Probably the most tenuous part of the entire study on the Kanyok is the attempt to reconstruct political offices and institutions as they may have existed both before and after the emergence of patrilineal chiefdoms. Using twentieth-century ethnographic material, information collected by colonial officials, missionaries, or through my own field research, I describe the duties, ceremonies, and regalia associated with the many matrilineal, patrilineal, and functional titles used by the Kanyok and their neighbors. Although I made an effort to indicate how the tasks and statuses of Kanyok offices changed over the years, the reconstruction is decidedly synchronic. My goal was to assemble all the information available about each office. My hope is that future researchers, people with greater linguistic proficiency than I command, will study the comparative history and evolution of the many Central African titles and clusters of offices.

Ideological framework

If there is any novelty in this study of the Kanyok, it is in the area of intellectual history. I attempted to collect, and place in a proper geographical setting and in an accurate chronological sequence, the myths, legends, and clichés of oral tradition. My goal was to discover the meaning of these data and to analyze why they changed over the centuries and decades. Thus, while I was content to present a somewhat timeless portrait of Kanyok political institutions, I worked hard to offer a dynamic record of how oral traditions evolved.

The first task in this effort was to gather oral traditions from all across the Kanyok land. Instead of relying on historians and politicians based only at Mulundu or Katshisung, I recorded tales from every important Kanyok village and from each regional capital. Often like earthquakes, oral accounts have an epicenter from which they originate and travel. By going to the site of a battle or the home villages of historically significant chiefs, traders, and magic workers, I was able to collect stories whose vivid details often were vague generalizations only 25 kilometers away. For example, although almost every Kanyok historian knew something about Mwen a Ngoi, only the men of memory from the Ngoi area remembered both the personal name, Kazadi, and the title, Mwananga, of the earliest chief of Ngoi. Similarly, people all over the northern Kanyok land recited the basic Citend myth, but only people living at Kaleng a Mukel and nearby Cilond recalled tales of old women guarding the princess, asserted that Mwamba Mukadi Mut as well as Mwamba Ciluu had intercourse with Citend, and knew the names of each local chief giving homage to Citend. Such details are essential to identifying the villages and regions connected to a tale, unlocking earlier meanings of a legend or myth, and unraveling the history of how the story evolved over time.

Clichés

An almost immediate benefit of collecting stories over an extensive geographical area is that the political clichés become obvious. Because clichés are not necessarily implausible tales, only their repetitious use in an account betrays them as clichés. Furthermore, a comparative study of stories from neighboring peoples reveals that most clichés have a very broad distribution and use. Although modern informants are not always aware of a cliché's meaning – in fact Kanyok historians generally assume that clichés along with myths and legends are literally true – the way these elements of oral tradition are used clarifies their significance. Like words, whose intent can be ascertained by observing how they are used in context, clichés are best understood by recording the ways in which they function. The clichés described in this study on the Kanyok fall into the following use categories:

Clichés of political transition, innovation or investiture
- outside hunter (often from the east)
- tomboka
- the trials (cutting down and burning a living tree; consuming huge quantities, sometimes poisoned, of food and drink; living without food or water; or not allowing feces to remain in the land)
- lostness and wandering
- seduction of a chief

Clichés of scattering, failure, and defeat
- failed feast
- menstruation and sterility
- collapsing snake bridge
- collapsing house
- disgraced chief and family disappear in a river
- disgraced chief hangs himself

Clichés containing assertions of value
- disorderly noise
- uncouthness
- drunkenness
- incestuous relations within matrilineal lineages
- beautiful clothes signaling chiefly ability
- tattered clothes or nakedness demonstrating unfitness

Clichés about practices and strength of chiefs
- taming lightning, hunger, and sleep or darkness
- creating magical phantoms to inflict harm
- providing a generous feast
- wearing beautiful clothes
- killing and mutilating pregnant women
- massacring children by drowning or mashing them in mortars
- eliminating heirs by murder

Clichés about foreign relations and war
axes cast into river (severing relations)
journeys across rivers (dividing people)
treason by a chief's wife leads to defeat
tomboka as a punishment

After the recording and analyzing of clichés from the Kanyok and their neighbors, it soon becomes apparent that the only things remembered about some early leaders are contained in a small collection of clichés. For example, of Mulang a Kabw, the son of Kabw a Shimat, oral accounts say only that he hung himself after becoming drunk and failing to offer a feast. Thus, the clichés tells us that he was unable to maintain control (drunkenness), could not keep the tribute system operating (failure of the feast), and fell from power in disgrace (hung himself). These stories, which cannot be taken literally, were intended as negative assertions about Mulang's rule. While clichés contain no factual information about events, they are reliable vehicles for retrieving opinions from the past and it is these encoded messages that I attempted to catalogue and analyze.[4]

Myths and legends

In essence, myths and legends are extended clichés or collections of clichés. Although generally more easily identified because of their implausible content, like clichés they are also most effectively explained through comparative analysis. By examining the use of a particular legend or myth in context by comparing its structure and content with other accounts, and by asking what Africans themselves believe the tale means, it is usually possible to determine a story's significance. For example, the account of immigrant hunters, a common legend among the Kanyok and their neighbors, always explicitly marks a major political transition. The details of the story denigrate an old political order and glorify new institutions and leaders. Such tales of sterility and seduction, central to Kanyok, Luba, Ruund, Kalundwe, and Ben'Ekie oral records, are so powerful and pervasive that their meaning becomes inescapably evident.

Although the meaning of immigrant hunter stories is clear, it is difficult to establish their chronological setting. Because of their indisputable role as legitimizing tools for sitting rulers, anthropologists argue that the hunter legends should be seen only as synchronic emblems used to justify incumbent office-holders. Undoubtedly their current usefulness has been a key factor in their preservation, but the stories also betray a complex and ancient evolution. First, the anti-matrilineal message of the stories anchors them to a transition which was completed no later than 1700 and perhaps began several centuries earlier. Modern chiefs have no need for such propaganda and, in fact, the matrilineal–patrilineal polarities are muted in contemporary legends. Second, some of the immigrant hunter tales celebrate polities which no longer function. The Citend myth contains all the elements of a typical hunter legend (an existing matrilineal government, a sterile princess, and two handsome immigrant suitors) and claims Kaleng a Mukel

was the setting for the struggle between the matrilineal order and a patrilineal hero. Since the Kaleng a Mukel polity was absorbed into the Mwen a Kanyok's domain very early in the eighteenth century, the only plausible setting for the story's origin and use must be traced back at least to the seventeenth century. Third, the hunter legends of both the Kanyok and their neighbors stand at the beginning of long genealogies of patrilineal chiefs which incontestably stretch back well into the 1700s. Although it is conceivable that the legends were invented and attached to the genealogies after 1700, the more logical explanation is that the families of patrilineal big men circulated these supportive tales at about the time they had completed the transition from matrilineal political structures. Certainly, a date later than about 1780 for their origin is inconceivable because, from that time on, Luba–Kanyok hostilities precluded the emergence of a pro-Luba Kanyok ideology. Fourth, while the legends' positive attitude toward the innovative big men provides insight into political ideologies linked to the new patrilineal polities, the stories also offer some evidence about the earlier small-scale, matrilineal chiefdoms. Village names preserved in the accounts indicate the geographical extent of matrilineal control while allusions to tribute networks give insight into the dynamics joining the groups together.

Tracing the evolution of the larger Citend myth is much more complex than unraveling the hunter legends' chronologies. The myth's multiple, often contradictory, messages compel one to conclude that elements of the story, as it is told today, must have developed in three different locations and must have emerged over the course of several hundred years. First, as noted above, the story of Citend's seduction by the wandering Luba Mwamba Ciluu bears all the markings of a typical hunter legend commenting on a political transition at Kaleng a Mukel. Second, the account of a second Luba hunter chief, Mwen a Ngoi Kazadi Mwananga, would have originated elsewhere, in the Ngoi region. Only later was the Ngoi tale joined to the Citend–Mwamba Ciluu legend. Since Ngoi and Kaleng a Mukel are two distinct territories and since the people at Ngoi recall a much more detailed legend of origin, it is clear that the two hunter stories were grafted together some time after they had originally evolved to justify two separate polities. Because Kanyok oral records indicate that Mwen a Kanyok Kabw a Shimat relocated his capital to Mulundu, that he governed Kaleng a Mukel and conquered Ngoi, and that he claimed to be a descendant of the hunter Mwamba Ciluu, the most plausible explanation for the timing of the merger of the two legends is that it occurred soon after Kabw defeated Ngoi. The new combined legend, therefore, reflected the Mwen a Kanyok's efforts not just to conquer the land but also to merge the constitutions and to co-opt the ruling-class ancestors from Ngoi territory. Third, the explicit anti-Luba rhetoric coloring the enlarged Citend myth, which includes accounts of Citend, Mwamba Ciluu, Ngoi, and Shimat, could not have been a part of the original stories associating Kanyok big men with the prestigious Luba Mulopwe. Clearly, the anti-Luba content was added at a time when Kanyok–Luba relations were intensely hostile. Earlier positive tales of challenging trials, heroic tomboka ceremonies, and clever orations were transformed into chronicles of cruel ordeals, humiliating dances,

and bitter rebukes. This metamorphosis could not have begun before the sharp deterioration in Kanyok–Luba relations late in the 1700s. Probably the change was completed before 1850, but Kasongo Cinyama's nineteenth-century plunderings and continued Kanyok–Luba hostilities throughout the twentieth century would have preserved, nurtured, and intensified the xenophobic character of the myth. It is interesting to note that the basic Luba hunter legends of Museng, Etond, Hamb, and Kalamba, all southern Kanyok tales, lack the strong antipathy to the Luba so evident in the northern accounts of Ngoi, Mwamba Ciluu, and Citend. Significantly, the southern regions were far less affected by the raids and wars of Ilunga Sungu, were never overrun with Luba immigrants, dealt infrequently with Kasongo Cinyama, and did not have to contend with many Luba administrators or church leaders in the colonial era.

Conclusions

Joseph Miller refers to the "wigwam" method of writing history. Miller's term, which may become a guild cliché among African historians, reminds us that reconstructions of the African past are built upon the convergence of plausible hypotheses. No single element of the edifice can be defended with absolute confidence, but the entire structure stands as the most likely record of the past. The strategies described in this appendix explain the way the wigwam of Kanyok history was put together. Although I recognize the tentative nature of many of my claims, I know the story presented in this book is more satisfying than any of the other possible reconstructions I have considered. In the end, the account will be convincing if it is compatible with the larger wigwam of Central African history which continues to be constructed.[5]

Notes

Introduction

1 See Joseph C. Miller (ed.), *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Dawson, Folkestone, 1980), "Introduction: Listening for the African Past," pp. 1–59.

2 By way of a working definition, oral traditions can be divided into three categories: oral history, legend, and myth. Oral history is based on information which can be linked back to an eyewitness report. If an informant can trace the connection between him or herself and the original source, for example by saying, "my grandfather told me he heard the tale from his grandfather who witnessed the war when he was a small boy," the tale should be classified as oral history. While the account may be embellished, confused, or even untrue, it is more anecdotal than it is a stylized statement of values. A legend, on the other hand, has no clear genealogy of the sources listing the stages in the recension and, while it may describe an event or an individual that certainly existed, it contains a large element of cliché-type material which can be characterized as a reification or personification of opinions and sentiments. While oral tradition's descriptions of Luba-Kanyok wars in the time of Ilung a Cibang referred to actual conflicts, the lengthy accounts about giant serpents forming bridges across the Lubilash River to aid Kanyok warriors place some of these stories in the category of legend. Frequently legendary heroes such as Ilung a Cibang, who was a real and powerful chief, were credited with the heroic deeds of lesser-known figures or of other important leaders whose fame lay in different areas. Thus, the warrior chief Ilung gained stature by receiving credit for the military accomplishments of other leaders and the legendary character of his reign was accentuated. Although a legend is less securely tied to actual people and events than is oral history, myth has lost almost all anchor to actual people or happenings. Myth is a cliché or collection of clichés no longer in need of nor linked to factual descriptions. The people or places in a myth are vehicles for stylized statements of value and opinion. Even if they once existed, their temporal status now is of no real importance for the substance of the mythical story's assertions.

3 Although any history of the African past involves a certain degree of speculation, most of the "maybe's," "probably's," "we can assume's," "it is apparent's," and "undoubtedly's," terms which signal uncertainty to the scholar, have been removed from this manuscript for the sake of readability. I of course recognize that my reconstruction may be challenged both by historians desiring firmer factual evidence and by anthropologists claiming myths and legends have current meaning only.

1 Wood and wine, gardens and game

1 The geological rupture between the plateau and the central basin occurred following the fragmentation of the supercontinent Gondwanaland.

2 A. T. Grove, *Africa* (Oxford University Press, London, 1978), p. 6.

3 Ibid., pp. 1–6. A. Michiels and N. Laude, *Congo belge et Ruanda-Urundi: géographie et notice historique* (Edition Universelle, Brussels, 1957), pp. 10–14.

4 H. Nicolai and J. Jacques, *La transformation des paysages congolais par le chemin de fer. L'exemple du B.C.K.*, IRCB (Brussels, 1954). pp. 24–26. J. Jeffrey Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund History" (Ph.D diss., Yale University, 1978), p. 6.

5 Nicolai and Jacques, *La transformation des paysages*, pp. 7 and 22.

6 Grove, *Africa*, p. 39.

7 Nicolai and Jacques, *La transformation des paysages*, pp. 21–22.

8 *Encyclopédie du Congo belge* (Editions Bieleveld, Brussels, 1953), vol. I, pp. 286–96.

9 H. Beguin, *La mise en valeur agricole du Sud-Est du Kasai. Essai de géographie agricole et de géographie agraire et ses possibilités d'applications pratiques*, INEAC, Série Scientifique, no. 88 (M. Weissenbruch, Brussels, 1960), p. 19.

10 Mid-1950s census figures indicate the Kanyok population was growing at the rapid rate of 1.2 to 2.8 percent per year. See Nicolai and Jacques, *La transformation des paysages*, p. 40, and AIMO, "Enquêtes démographiques, Province du Kasai" (Luluabourg, 1958), fasc. 6, pp. 32–36. However, census figures from the 1910s through 1959 suggest the rate of population increase was substantially lower early in the twentieth century. While it is impossible to calculate birth rates for the first decades of the century, percentage ratios of children to adult women can be determined. The rates are as follows:

	Adult women	Children	Children per 100 women
1918	8,447	5,436	64
1933	22,144	18,544	83
1935	21,967	20,942	95
1940	25,209	27,819	110
1941	26,512	30,709	116
1942	24,764	30,615	124
1943	24,586	31,481	128
1944	21,973	30,138	137
1945	21,599	30,066	139
1950	24,708	32,939	134
1955	22,151	36,540	165
1959	27,234	46,993	173

The above figures are drawn from the Kanda Kanda Archives, "Registre des renseignements politiques." The AIMO records also indicate Kanyok family size increased in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Figures from the 1950s show that women over fifty-five years old, whose prime child-bearing years were in the 1920s and 1930s, had borne an average of about three live children during their lifetime. Women between forty-five and fifty-five, whose prime fertile years were in the 1930s and 1940s, had borne 7.6 children, while younger women aged twenty-five to forty-five were giving birth to 10 or more children on the average (AIMO, p. 34).

11 "Registre des renseignements politiques A-III," Archives de Kanda Kanda, pp. 26–44.

12 Beguin, *La mise en valeur agricole du Sud-Est du Kasai*, p. 36. Through a series of age pyramids for the Kanyok and other people of southeastern Kasai, Beguin demonstrates that perhaps 20 to 30 percent of the potential rural population had migrated to the cities. According to Nicolai and Jacques, *La transformation des paysages*, in 1942 10 percent of the population of Jadotville (now Likasi) was Kanyok in origin (p. 45).

13 P. Gourou, "Notice de la carte de la densité de la population au Congo belge et au Ruande-Urundi," *Atlas général du Congo*, IRCB (Brussels, 1951), p. 7. East of the Kete, where the river valleys are more numerous and gallery forests denser, the Salampasu also have a higher population density. See Jules Wilmet in "Essai d'une écologie humaine au territoire du Luiza, Kasai, Congo belge," *Bulletin de la Société Belge des Etudes Géographiques*, 27, no. 2 (1958), p. 131. Wilmet says Kete

population density is 2–3/km² while Salampasu density is several times higher. Wilmet, p. 131. Jan Vansina in *The Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1978), p. 172, and William F. Pruitt, Jr., "An Independent People: A History of the Salampasu of Zaire and Their Neighbors" (Ph.D diss., Northwestern University, 1973), pp. 7–8 and 60, all suggest that ecological variety is more important for subsistence people than vast expanses of fertile soil.

14 See chapter 2 for a discussion of the cianza fire hunt and chapter 5 for a discussion of expeditions to the Luba regions to make iron.

15 See Robin Derricourt, *Man on the Kafue: The Archeology and History of the Itezhitezhi Area of Zambia* (Ethnographica, London, 1985), pp. 36–45. Derricourt says that at Itezhitezhi, large-scale salt production, which required great quantities of work, and hunting, which involved the construction of long trenches, all encouraged political control. Subsistence agriculture, hunting, collecting, and fishing, however, did not.

2 Stratification, symbols and spirits

1 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," ch. 2, "The Linguist and the Historian," pp. 30–76, especially pp. 47–53. See also, A. Coupez, E. Evrard, and J. Vansina, "Classification d'un échantillon de langues bantoues d'après la lexicostatistique," *Africana Linguistica*, 6, MRAC, Sciences Humaines, no. 88 (Tervuren, 1975), pp. 153–54. Pierre de Maret and Y. Nsuka, "History of Bantu Metallurgy: Some Linguistic Aspects," *History in Africa*, 4 (1977), pp. 43–65.

2 Pierre de Maret, "The Iron Age in the West and South," pp. 77–96, in Francis Von Noten, *The Archeology of Central Africa* (Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria, 1982); Pierre de Maret, "New Survey of Archaeological Research and Dates for West-Central and North-Central Africa," *JAH*, 23 (1982), pp. 1–14; and Pierre de Maret, "Sanga: New Excavations, More Data, and Some Related Problems," *JAH*, 18, no. 3 (1977), pp. 321–37.

3 De Maret, "New Survey of Archaeological Research," p. 8; de Maret, "Sanga," pp. 331–32; and de Maret, "The Iron Age in the West and South," p. 87.

4 De Maret, "The Iron Age in the West and South," pp. 89–90; de Maret, "Sanga," pp. 323–24; and de Maret and Y. Nsuka, "History of Bantu Metallurgy," pp. 43–66. For a critical overview of scholarly opinion on the Bantu migrations, see Jan Vansina, "Bantu in the Crystal Ball," *History in Africa*, 6 (1979), pp. 287–333, and 7 (1980), pp. 293–325.

5 De Maret, "Sanga," p. 333.

6 Ibid., pp. 332–34.

7 Thomas Q. Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings: A History of the Luba Empire to 1891* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1981), pp. 69–71 and 101–3. See also Joseph C. Miller, "Equatorial Africa," American Historical Association Pamphlet no. 518 (Washington, DC, 1976), p. 14; and Brian M. Fagan, "The Zambezi and Limpopo Basins: 1100–1500," in G. T. Niane (ed.), *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (UNESCO, Paris, 1984), pp. 525–50.

8 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 47–52. See also, Coupez, Evrard, and Vansina, "Classification d'un échantillon de langues bantoues," pp. 153–54.

9 De Maret, "New Survey of Archaeological Research," p. 8.

10 Fieldnotes XLI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

11 For a discussion of the interaction between rainforest Bantu immigrants and the Twa (*tua*) autochthons, see Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1990), pp. 56–57.

12 Derricourt, *Man on the Kafue*, p. 42.

13 Data about titles and symbols of office were collected during my field research in 1975; by Father André Casteleyn, whose "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka" (Tielen St. Jacques, 1952) was written to inform new missionaries coming to Kasai; and by Belgian colonial administrators, especially Hugo van Beeck. Van Beeck's "Etude sur les notables Kanioka" (Mwena Ditu, 1953)

is a detailed description of Kanyok government officials' duties and insignia. In 1975, Kanyok leaders remembered Van Beeck as a diligent administrator who took an unusually keen interest in Kanyok affairs. During my field research, I prepared maps of chiefs' villages including those of the Mwen a Kanyok at Mulundu and Katshisung and of many regional chiefs. The matrilineal titles included in this chapter have been identified as very old by historical linguists, are located near the heart of the chief's compound, are believed to be matrilineal by modern informants, and/or share common rituals and insignia. Descriptions of the officeholders' functions are largely based on information provided by twentieth-century informants. Some of these titles, however, are considered insignificant by the modern Kanyok who have inherited another cluster of patrilineal and functional offices developed in the 1700s, 1800s, and 1900s.

14 For example, Mumbanza mwa Bawele discovered that some people in the Ngiri River region of northern Zaire have actually gone from patrilineal to matrilineal and back again to patrilineal systems. Mumbanza mwa Bawele, "Fondaments économiques de l'évolution des systèmes de filiation dans les sociétés de la Haut-Ngiri et de la Moeko, du XIXe siècle à nos jours," *Enquêtes et Documents d'Histoire Africaines*, 2 (1977), pp. 1–30. Robert Harms has documented a Nunu shift from matrilineal to patrilineal arrangements. Robert Harms, *Games against Nature: An Eco-Cultural History of the Nunu of Equatorial Africa* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987), p. 71. Jan Vansina notes that groups in Central Africa often modified lineage and descent systems as the people responded to changing economic, political, and military environments. Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, pp. 101–27.

15 Wyatt MacGaffey, "Lineage Structure, Marriage and the Family amongst the Central Bantu," *JAH*, 24 (1983), pp. 173–87. See also MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Congo* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1970), pp. 56–83.

16 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 528–45.

17 My fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975 contain a drawing of the Mwen a Kanyok's compound prepared by Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang during an interview at Luputa. See also, fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, map of chief's compound at Museng; and fieldnotes XXXIII, August 11, 1975, map of the chief's compound at Etond.

18 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 2. Fieldnotes LXI, September 23, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu. In 1975, Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas, a knowledgeable Kanyok man of memory, indicated that the entire Ngoi people are thought of as matrilineal kin of the Kanyok chief. And, in the early 1950s, some Kanyok informants told Father Casteleyn that Mwen a Ngoi Mwananga was one of the Luba Mulopwe's maternal uncles. See also, van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 1.

19 Fieldnotes IX, May 10, 1975, interview with Kadyata Denis at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXI, September 23, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu. Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 527 and 536; Thomas Q. Reefe, "A History of the Luba Empire to c. 1885" (Ph.D diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1975), p. 92 and footnote p. 360; and van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 19. Among the Luba of Shaba, the Kalul was also a maternal uncle recognized as one of the highest ranking advisors in the court.

20 Van Beeck describes the ceremonies and rituals surrounding the Kanahumbi, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 14. Father Casteleyn confused the Kanahumbi with his slave subordinate the Kanimbu. He identifies the "Kanyimbwe" (Kanimbu) as the uncle of the chief who concerned himself with the family of the chief's mother and the "Kanapumbi" (Kanahumbi) as the son of a previous Kanapumbi who guards the chief's water to prevent poisoning. Comparing Casteleyn to other nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources, it is clear that he simply reversed the titles. "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 35.

21 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 107, 152, 546, and 547. See also Edmond Verhulpen, *Baluba et Balubaïsés du Katanga* (L'Avenir Belge, Antwerp, 1936), pp. 191, 187, and 215.

22 Hoover attaches much chronological significance to the transformation of *h* to *p* which he argues

occurred after 1700 when Luba culture gained great power and prestige across the southern savanna. See Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," ch. 6, pp. 180–210.

23 For the sake of linguistic consistency, the title should be written Shing a Hemb. The Kanyok, however, always write and pronounce the title as one word.

24 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 4.

25 When I witnessed the cianza in 1975, the Kanyok sharply criticized the Mwen a Kanyok because he tried to participate in the hunt. Only the Shingahemb was to be in charge, the people said, and the Mwen a Kanyok was supposed to remain in his village until after the fire had started. Fieldnotes XXI, July 28 and 29, 1975, observations at Mulundu.

26 Fieldnotes XXI, July 28 and 29, 1975, observations at Mulundu.

27 Fieldnotes XX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok, Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu.

28 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 24.

29 Fieldnotes XX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok, Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu.

30 Fieldnotes XXI, July 28 and 29, 1975, observations at Mulundu.

31 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 528 and 544–45.

32 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 27. For comparative examples of the importance of emblems of legitimacy such as kaolin, leopard skins, and feasts, see Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests*, ch. 4, "The Trail of the Leopard in the Inner Basin," pp. 101–27.

33 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 27.

34 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 544–45.

35 Fieldnotes XXI, July 28 and 29, 1975, observations at Mulundu.

36 Fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok, Kabamba Kabuluk and Shingahemb Kalend.

37 Fieldnotes IL, August 29, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa. See also van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 27.

38 Ibid., p. 28.

39 For the geographical distribution of the titles, see Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 544–45.

40 Luc de Heusch, *The Drunken King, or, the Origin of the State* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1982).

41 Joseph C. Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976), p. 44.

42 Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 234–35.

43 Derricourt, *Man on the Kafue*, pp. 39–40.

44 Although today maize is used in the feast, before 1650, millet and other indigenous grains would have been the staple for the celebration.

45 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

46 Fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

47 Information about the monthly washing is very limited. I have seen dozens of elaborately carved and decorated statues of early twentieth-century chiefs' Bakishi and many small, simply carved representations of ordinary people's ancestors. Kanyok elders indicated to Father Herman de Vloo that, in the past, the figures were placed in water at the time of each new moon. Among the Ben'Ekie, a Kasai Luba people several hundred kilometers north of the Kanyok, members of a Bakishi secret society install fetishes in very visible locations in order to deter illegal or immoral activities. Nancy J. Fairley, "Mianda ya Ben'Ekie: A History of the Ben'Ekie" (Ph.D diss., SUNY, Stony Brook, 1978), pp. 62–64.

48 Fieldnotes IL, August 29, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa.

49 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 5–6.

50 Fieldnotes XXXII, August 11, 1975, map prepared at Etond (east).

51 Fieldnotes XXXII, August 11, 1975, map prepared at Etond (east).

3 New legends for new leaders

1 Jan Vansina suggests that the Luba groups remained matrilineal until sometime after 1500. Jan Vansina, "Equatorial Africa and Angola: Migrations and the Emergence of the First States," in G. T. Niane (ed.), *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (UNESCO, Paris, 1984), p. 557.
2 See discussion in the preceding chapter.
3 Fieldnotes II, March 7, 1975, interview with Ilunga François at Kakinda. Many other informants provided the same information.
4 Fieldnotes LI, August 30, 1975, interview with Mukadi Kamutambayi at Luputa. Mukádi's father was a former Mwen a Cilond. Although I could not find satisfactory genealogical records for Cilond, a village ravaged during the civil wars of the 1960s, both the people of Cilond and other Kanyok believe Mwamba Mukadi Mut was associated with the ancient Citend matrilineage which ruled at Kaleng a Mukel before 1700.
5 Fieldnotes VI, May 6, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kabiji Tsham at Kakinda.
6 See Jan Vansina's discussion in *The Children of Woot*, p. 237. See also, Marvin P. Miracle, *Agriculture in the Congo Basin: Tradition and Change in African Rural Economies* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1967), and Jan Vansina, "The peoples of the Forest," especially pp. 107–11, in David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa* (Longman, New York, 1983), vol. I, pp. 75–117.
7 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 208 and 374.
8 Ibid., p. 374.
9 Ibid., p. 295.
10 For a more complete discussion of Kalamba in Salampasu and Kete society, see Pruitt, "An Independent People," pp. 103–65.
11 Ibid., pp. 110 and 159–65.
12 Ibid., pp. 116–17 and 165–66.
13 Ibid., pp. 120–37.
14 Ibid., pp. 120–37.
15 Ibid., pp. 139–44.
16 Ibid., p. 137.
17 In the Lunda and Kaninchin regions just south of the Kanyok border, numerous small villages retain the name Kalamba. Personal communication from Jeffrey Hoover, September 1, 1978.
18 Fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, and fieldnotes XXXV, August 13, 1975, interviews with the chief and elders at Kalamba.
19 Fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, and fieldnotes XXXV, August 13, 1975, interviews with the chief and elders at Kalamba.
20 Fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975 and fieldnotes XXXV, August 13, 1975, interviews with the chief and elders at Kalamba.
21 Fieldnotes XXXVIII, August 15, 1975, interview at Hamb with Mwen a Hamb Lusanga and Mwamba Kayeye (principal informant) at Hamb; and fieldnotes XLI, August 16, 1975, interview with Kasongo Tongel a Lufu at Katong near Hamb.
22 Fieldnotes XXXVIII and fieldnotes XLI.
23 In other words, the story claims, Citend herself.
24 Fieldnotes XXXI, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Etond (east) at Etond (east); and fieldnotes XLIII, August 19, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Etond (west) at Etond (west).
25 There are numerous descriptions of the dance among the savanna peoples; see Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," p. 572, for a list of selected references. Also, for the Luba see E. d'Orjo de Marchovelette, "Notes sur les funérailles des chefs Ilunga Kabale et Kabongo Kumwimba," *BJIDCC*, 18, no. 12 (1950), pp. 355–58. For the Bena Mulenge see Malenge-Mubaya wa Kayembe Mpinda, "Histoire des Bena Mulenge, contribution à l'étude des chefferies chez les Baluba-

Lubilanji (c. 1655–1941)" (Mémoire en histoire, UNAZA, Lubumbashi, 1975), p. 81. The Bahemb living east of the Luba capital practice ceremonies very similar to those described by the Kanyok; personal communication from Pam and Tom Blakely, September 15, 1975. For the Kanyok see fieldnotes XXVII, August 3, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Museng (east); fieldnotes XXXI, August 10, 1975, interviews with the chief and elders at Etond (east); fieldnotes XLIII, August 19, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Etond (west); and fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. Information about which mat concealed the pit was transmitted to the dancer by the speech of the drum. While legend says Cish Mukul learned the secret of the mats from Citend, the drum was also thought to convey the instructions of the ancestors who signaled their approval.

26 Stephen A. Lucas, "Baluba et Arrunnd: étude comparative des structures socio-politiques" (Thèse de troisième cycle, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 1968), pp. 87–92 and 170–74. Reefe in *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 44 also describes the ritual. Reefe says *Kutomboka* (to dance) was performed as part of a chief's investiture ritual and involved the dangerous pit trap. See also Kalonji-Mashinda, "La dynastie de Mutombo-Katshi et le concept du pouvoir chez les Baluba-Lubilanji" (Mémoire en histoire, UNAZA, Lubumbashi, 1973), p. 135.

27 Fieldnotes XLIII, August 19, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Etond (west) at Etond.

28 See de Heusch, *The Drunken King*, ch. 1, "Kingly Manners," pp. 8–33.

29 John C. Yoder, "A People on the Edge of Empires: A History of the Kanyok of Central Zaire" (Ph.D diss., Northwestern University, 1977), pp. 396–435. This section of the dissertation lists and analyzes genealogies for many regional chiefs and for the Mulundu ruling families.

30 Kalonji-Mashinda, "La dynastie de Mutomb-Katshi," pp. 70–71. The literal meaning of kuaba is "to exchange."

31 During colonial times Luaba was renamed Kanda Kanda after an incumbent Mwen a Luaba. Many Kanyok still refer to the village and the region as Luaba.

32 Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 10, 1975, interview with chief Mutonj Lushoni at Luaba.

33 These population estimates are based on modern demographic figures which indicate the Kanyok population is between 3 and 5 people per square kilometer. Léon de Saint Moulin, *Carte de la densité de la population du Zaire établie pour le Service du Plan de la Présidence* (Kinshasa, 1973). See also P. Gourou, "Notice de la carte de la densité de la population au Congo belge et au Ruanda-Urundi," *Atlas général du Congo*, IRCB (Brussels, 1951), p. 7. Although there is no reason to assume that the population in earlier times was significantly denser than today, the modern Kaleng a Mukel region contains a larger number of villages than southern regions of comparable size. Thus, the Kaleng a Mukel population could have easily numbered several thousand people.

34 Fieldnotes XXX, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Etond (east). Kombo, Masul, Muleng, Citong, Mbond, Kabind, Kalamuk, Mwihah, Ivu, Nyok, Kalunda ka Muleng, and Kasheb are remembered as the twelve Basangal villages which paid tribute to Cish Mukul.

35 In *The Children of Woot*, Jan Vansina suggests that a more effective and aggressive tribute system encouraged or even forced people to intensify production and exchange, pp. 176–77.

36 Fieldnotes XVII, July 27, 1975, interview with Cilond Shimat at Cabob.

37 Fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview at Kakinda with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk, Sabw Kanyang, and Kazadi Mwan a Ngand, all residents of Lusuk.

38 Fieldnotes XIII.

39 Fieldnotes XVIII, July 27, 1975, interview at Kakinda with Ilung Kabibil a Mwit and Mulaj Tshingulung, both residents of Lusuk.

40 In 1975, Etond (east), one of the richest and most powerful Kanyok villages in about 1900, showed clear signs of decay. Local inhabitants, including some of the chief's entourage, attributed the decline to the selfishness of the chief. Although Katshisung was suffering from the same problem, the process hadn't gone on as long.

41 These comments are based on my conversations and observations in 1975 when I traveled to most Kanyok villages and to all the large regional centers. See for example fieldnotes XII, June 3, 1975, interview with Muleng Luang Muenda Kakes Lusuk; fieldnotes XXXV, August 13, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kalamba Ngoi Sabw at Kalamba; and fieldnotes XL, August 16, 1975, observations at Hamb.

42 Because Shimat's great-great-grandson Ilung can be dated with confidence to the first two decades of the 1800s, Shimat must have ruled soon after 1700. For chronological purposes, whether Shimat was an actual person or the fictive "original ancestor" of the Shimat family is not important. What is significant is the fact that by 1800, four or five generations of a family, which claimed Shimat as their ancestor, had ruled since the eclipse of Citend.

43 Fieldnotes XIV, July 3, 1975, interview with Mwen a Cabob Mulund Kadile at Cabob; fieldnotes XIX, July 27, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXIX, August 5, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Mwamba Kayeye II at Katshisung.

44 Every Kanyok individual living in the north central part of the territory knows the essential elements of the Citend legend. A record of the story can be found in fieldnotes II, March 7, 1975, interview with Ilunga Katuibionda at Kakinda; fieldnotes IV, March 2, 1975, interview with Binen Frederick at Masonz; fieldnotes XXIX, August 5, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Mwamba Kayeye at Katshisung; fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, interview with Kazadi Bakishi at Luputa; fieldnotes IL, August 29, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa; fieldnotes LXI, September 23, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu. See also Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka." At the end of his work, Casteleyn lists the names of several dozen Kanyok officials he interviewed.

45 De Heusch, *The Drunken King*, ch. 5, "Palm Wine, the Blood of Women, and the Blood of Beasts," pp. 144–86. See also Victor Turner, *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Process among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968), p. 58; and Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Nedmbu Ritual* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, 1967), p. 41.

46 The Kalundwe, who live just east of the Kanyok across the Lubilash River, have an identical custom and an identical story: Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, p. 235.

47 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 26. See also fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binene a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa.

48 Fieldnotes XX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu.

49 The story is open to several interpretations. For example, some Kanyok historians, especially those living near the Kaleng a Mukel area at Luputa, believe the story contains the explanation about how the rulers at Mulundu defeated and incorporated Kaleng a Mukel.

50 See fieldnotes IV, April 2, 1975, interview with Binene Frederick at Masonz; fieldnotes XIX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXI, September 23, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu.

51 Fieldnotes XXVII, May 3, 1975, interview with Mwen a Museng Matanda Katanda at Museng.

52 Musas Mukul was the son of Kabamba, the son of Lumb, the son of Kateng Muswabeng. Thus, he was Musas a Kabamba a Lumb a Kateng. The assertion that the Mulopwe was the first to name Musas' village Museng overlooks the fact that Museng is a contraction of Kateng Muswabeng, the name of the putative first ruler.

53 Fieldnotes LXI, September 23, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu. See also, Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 1–3. Along with the story of Citend, the tale of Mwen a Ngoi is the most widely known Kanyok legend.

54 D'Orjo de Marchovelette, "Notes sur les funérailles des chefs," pp. 354–55. A. van der Noot, "Quelques éléments historiques sur l'empire luba, son organisation et sa direction," *BJIDCC*, 4, no. 7 (1936), pp. 141–9. Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, p. 91. W. F. P. Burton, *Luba Religion and Magic in Custom and Belief*, MRAC, Sciences Humaines no. 35 (Tervuren, 1961), p. 7.

55 The Ruund political system, dominated by the Mwant Yav, has never been clearly patrilineal and, therefore, the tales of Iyal a Mwaku, Konde, Ruwej, and Cibinda Ilunga cannot be understood as

myths justifying a clear transition from matrilineage to patrilineage. The stories do, however, mark the introduction of the office of Mwant Yav. Thus, the Ruund accounts justifying a new political arrangement parallel similar stories sanctioning political innovations by their savanna neighbors. Léon Duysters, "Histoire des Aluunda," *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, 40 (1958), pp. 82–83. M. van den Byvang, "Notice historique sur les Balunda," *Congo*, 1, no. 4 (1937), pp. 426–38. Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, *Ethnographia e história tradicional dos povos da Lunda* (Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon, 1890), pp. 521–665. Victor Turner, "A Lunda Love Story and Its Consequences," *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 19 (1955), pp. 1–26. Jeffrey Hoover indicates that Iyal a Mwaku's place in Ruund legend is ambiguous and that Iyal is sometimes even identified as the father or maternal uncle of Ruwej herself. Hoover says, however, that except for Ruwej, the matrilineal Iyal a Mwaku is seen by the Ruund as the most important figure in pre-dynastic legend. "The Seduction of Ruwej," p. 173.

56 Nancy J. Fairley, "Mianda ya Ben'Ekie," pp. 110–11 and 131–33.

57 Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 233-34. My own translation and condensation.

58 Ibid., pp. 234–35. Translation and summary my own.

59 Ibid., pp. 235–36. Translation and condensation my own.

60 For a discussion of methodology about the use of clichés and the anecdotal information transmitted along with the clichés see Joseph C. Miller, "Listening for the African Past," pp. 1–60 in Miller (ed.), *The African Past Speaks*, and Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985).

4 Serpents and lightning

1 The three generations of chiefs described in this chapter are assigned to the eighteenth century. The reign of Ilung a Cibang a Ciband a Kabw a Shimat (Ilung son of Cibang son of Ciband son of Kabw son of Shimat), the most famous Kanyok leader, can be dated with confidence to the first two decades after 1800 (see next chapter). Kabw a Shimat, Ilung's official great-grandfather, therefore, would have ruled early in the 1700s; Mulang a Kabw and Ciband a Kabw, Ilung's grandfather and great-uncle, would have ruled in the mid-1700s; and Cibang a Ciband, Ilung's father who came to office after a brief interregnum, would have been chief near the end of the century. Since Kanyok chiefs had many wives and since any child born during a chief's tenure in office was eligible to succeed, a thirty-year generational average seems appropriate for calculating the chronology of the 1700s.

2 Men of memory at Cilond, located 15 kilometers north of Kaleng a Mukel, claim Shimat was the son of their founder-big man Mwamba Mukadi Mut. All other historians say Shimat was Mwamba Ciluu's son.

3 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 5–6.

4 Fieldnotes XIX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu.

5 Harold Womersley, *In the Glow of the Log Fire* (Peniel Press, London, 1975), pp. 17–19. See also de Heusch, *The Drunken King*, pp. 34–75 and Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 73–78.

6 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 188–89, 235–36, and 541–42.

7 Fieldnotes II, March 7, 1975, interview with Ilunga Katuibionda at Kakinda.

8 Bwanang may refer to Mwananga, the important matrilineal title described in the previous chapter.

9 Kanyok informants occasionally described male subordinates or vassals as "wives."

10 See Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, ch. 8, pp. 93–103.

11 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa. Father Casteleyn reports a similar story and identifies the Mwen a Ngoi as Kazadi and the battleground as "Mpadijiba Kazadi" (Kazadi's grave). Although the people of Ngoi deny ever having been defeated by a Mwen a Kanyok, they have long been subordinates of the Mwen a Kanyok and their

description of a battle with a "brother chief" from Kalundwe coincides in almost every detal with the Kaleng a Mukel story of Kabw a Shimat. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 6–7.

12 Among Central African people, a deceased ruler's head and genitals were important emblems of legitimacy. A crucial objective of competitors during the interregnum battles was gaining control of these trophies. The Luba of Shaba guarded these relics at sacred villages. See Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 30.

13 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis," p. 7.

14 Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 117–20. See also Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 100 and 289.

15 See Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 93–103.

16 Ibid., pp. 107–17.

17 Fieldnotes LXXI, October 15, 1975, interview with Kashal Tambwami and Cinkulu Cakay at Ditu. See also fieldnotes LXXII, October 16, 1975, interview with the elders of Ditu at Ditu.

18 Oral sources disagree as to which early Kanyok chief first established his capital in the south. There is a savanna at Mulundu which bears the name Kabw and supposedly he lived there. The first chief, however, to have built a compound at Mulundu was Kabw's son Ciband a Kabw. Two informants, Ciband Mushidi and Bukas Muzemb, were able to locate Ciband's compound and the compound of every other Kanyok chief who ruled at Mulundu since Ciband's time. These compounds are well remembered because the chief is buried there and because only his direct descendants can cultivate gardens within a compound's borders. Fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu and fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi and Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

19 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu; fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa; fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

20 For a discussion of drunkenness as a symbol of disorder and incompetence, see de Heusch, *The Drunken King*, pp. 177–80.

21 Fieldnotes LXXI, October 15, 1975, interview with the elders at Ditu.

22 Fieldnotes XXVII, August 3, 1975, interview with Mwen a Museng Matanda Katanda at Museng. Although the Museng story identified the famous Ilung a Cibang as the victorious Mwen a Kanyok, it is more logical to assume that his grandfather Ciband a Kabw was the chief involved. First, Museng chronological calculations based on generational averages would place Musas Mukul about seventy-five years before Ilung. Second, as the most famous Kanyok warrior chief, Ilung is credited with many deeds, especially military actions, undertaken by other Kanyok leaders. Third, some of the best oral historians indicate that long before Ilung's birth, the Mwen a Kanyok and the Mwen a Museng had established diplomatic relations and exchanged wives. See fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas and the elders at Mulundu. Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas is from Ngoi and is Ngoi's leading man of memory. Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa and fieldnotes LXVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa.

23 Cutting off the ears of recalcitrant opponents was a common practice across the savanna. At the court of Kazembe, Gamitto in 1832 observed: "If an order or speech of the Kazembe is not promptly understood (he often asks who has not heard him . . .) this is enough to make him order the immediate cutting off of the malcreant's ears." A. C. P. Gamitto, *King Kazembe and the Marave, Cheva, Bisa, Bemba, Lunda and Other Peoples of Southern Africa, Being the Diary of the Portuguese Expedition to that Potentate in the Years 1831 and 1832*, transl. Ian Cunnison, 2 vols., Junta de Investigaçoes do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Politicos et Sociais, Estudos de Ciências Politicas et Socias nos. 42–43 (Lisbon, 1960), vol. II, pp. 88–89.

24 Very possibly, Cibang a Ciband was a contemporary of the Luba Mulopwe Kekenya who established tribute-trade relations with the Ilande, a Songye group living very close to the Kanyok. Kekenya's Ilande wife became the mother of the powerful nineteenth-century Mulopwe Ilungu Sungu. See Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 113–14.

25 Fieldnotes IX, May 10, 1975, interview with Kadyata Dennis at Luputa. Kadyata was a very old man who had lived most of his life at Mukuna. The village was destroyed during the civil wars of the 1960s.

26 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi at Luputa; fieldnotes LXI, September 23, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

27 See Jan Vansina's *The Children of Woot* for an excellent description of how African historians select and assign stories to archetypical heroes. With the passage of time, a warrior chief becomes the repository for almost all tales of conquest, a founder chief is described as the inventor and originator of most changes, and a powerful magic worker is assigned stories about sorcery and the supernatural.

28 Fieldnotes LXVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

29 For a discussion of intergenerational conflict and royal infanticide among the Luba, see Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 45, 80, 111, 146, and 152.

30 Fieldnotes III, March 8, 1975, interview with Ilunga Katuibionda at Kakinda; fieldnotes XXX, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Etond; and fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb.

31 Fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes IV, April 2, 1975, interview with Binen Frederick at Masonz; fieldnotes XXX, August 6, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Mwamba Kabeye at Katshisung; fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

32 See Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 152.

33 Ibid., pp. 176–94.

34 As early as 1700, the Lunda were deeply involved in the Atlantic slave trade. See Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1988), pp. 145–46, and David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483–1790* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1966), pp. 133-34.

35 Fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. See also fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas and the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

36 Some informants said the stories proved Cibang was mad, others believed that, in pattern of ancient chiefs, he was capricious and dictatorial.

37 Bessie Head, *Maru* (Heinemann, London, 1971), p. 5.

38 See de Heusch, *The Drunken King*, especially pp. 34–75 and 109–43.

39 Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 133.

40 Ibid., pp. 93–128.

41 Ibid., pp. 111–20.

42 Fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

43 See Derricourt, *Man on the Kafue*, p. 37.

44 Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 95.

45 Parallel to older tales of winning the favor of court insiders to win investiture, the story of the munkamba simply adds the element of iron technology. See, for example, the story of Cish Mukul in chapter 3.

5 Dances, moats, and myths

1 Fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb and Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. Some informants surmised that Sekel's village may have been a Luba Kasai village north of the Kanyok land, see fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa. This opinion is supported by a 1939 study of the Bena Kayembe, a Luba people located north of Luputa. According to the administrator Crèvecoeur, the Bena Kayembe claimed Ilung a Cibang first lived in their land: see Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 10.

2 Since Sekel was from the northwest, not far from the Songye village of Ilande where the great Luba Mulopwe's mother lived, it is possible that the Kanyok Ilung a Cibang was named after the Luba leader Ilunga Sungu.

3 Fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb and Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXX, August 6, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kwamba Kayeye II at Katshisung; fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes XXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu; fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa.

4 Fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. Bukas, whose full name is Bukas Muzemb a Bukas a Bukas a Ciband a Ilung a Cibang a Ciband a Kabw a Shimat, is the great-great-grandson of Ilung a Cibang. Even though a descendant of Ilung and not Mulaj, he insisted that Mulaj had been the Mwen a Kanyok.

5 Almost all informants contrasted Ilung's dominant and aggressive character with the more phlegmatic and retiring nature of Mulaj.

6 Fieldnotes XII, June 3, 1975, interview with Maleng Luang Muenda Kakes at Luputa; fieldnotes XXVII, August 3, 1975, interview with Mwen a Museng Matanda Katanda at Museng; fieldnotes LV, September 16, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kabayi Cibang at Komb. See also Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 7–11.

7 Von François's account is contained in Hermann von Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas: Die Erforschung des Kassai, wahrend der Jahre 1883, 1884, und 1885, von Hermann Wissmann, Ludwig Wolf, Curt von François, Hans Mueller* (Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1888), pp. 264–93.

8 Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 123.

9 Fieldnotes LV, September 16, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kabayi Cibang at Komb; fieldnotes L, August 30, 1975, interview with Mulaj Mbamv at Luputa, and fieldnotes X, May 15, 1975, interview with Cibang Mwen a Komb at Lusuk. The Kamina ford on the Lubilash, while on the main road to the town of Kamina in the Kalundwe area, should not be confused with the later settlement.

10 Fieldnotes XII, June 3, 1975, interview with Muleng Luang Muenda Kakes at Lusuk.

11 Fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk, Sabw Kanyang, and Kazadi Mwan a Ngand at Kakinda.

12 Fieldnotes XII, June 3, 1975, interview with Muleng Luang Muenda Kakes at Lusuk. With the help of other villagers, Muleng Luang prepared an extensive genealogy of Lusuk. Although villagers privately came to me to challenge minor details in the very complicated and interlinked record, the entire document appears remarkably sound. Muleng Luang, who was about fifty years old, had learned much of the information from his grandparents.

13 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 10.

14 Harold Womersley, "Legends and History of the Baluba" (unpublished manuscript, Heysham, Morecambe, 1976), p. 60. Oral interviews conducted by Thomas Q. Reefe at Kimokoke village in 1973 yielded a similar cliché. I received a copy of the manuscript and of the interview in a personal communication from Thomas Reefe.

15 Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 100 and 289. Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 120.

16 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

17 Fieldnotes LVII, September 19 and 20, 1975 and fieldnotes LVIII, September 20, 1975. Personal observations at Katshisung and Kabiji.

18 The total quantity of dirt removed from the moats would have been about 325,000 cubic meters (17 kilometers × 5.5 meters × 3.5 meters). Pierre de Maret, an archeologist working in the Upemba area, suggested an average worker could reasonably be expected to move about one cubic meter per day. Personal communication, Lubumbashi, October, 1975.

19 Dr. Paul Briart, "Les fortifications indigènes au Congo," in A. J. Wauters (ed.), *Le Congo illustré: voyages et travaux des belges dans l'état indépendant du Congo* (Brussels, 1895), pp. 12–14, 22–24, and 28–30.

20 Musasa Samal-Mwinkatim Dizez, "Histoire des Kanintshin: quelques perspectives sur l'histoire ancienne des Etats-Lunda" (Mémoire en histoire, UNAZA, Lubumbashi, 1974), p. 96.

21 Briart, "Les fortifications indigènes au Congo," pp. 4–5, and p. 22.

22 Edgard Verdick, *Les premiers jours au Katanga (1890–1903)* (Imprimeries du Limbourg, Brussels, 1952), p. 33.

23 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 9. Casteleyn quotes an extensive report by Father Leo Vancoillie who visited the Etond cihak three weeks after it was destroyed by the Free State administrator Bradfer.

24 Ibid., p. 11.

25 Ibid., p. 12.

26 Kamina Kakiaji is located at the present-day bridge on the road between Luputa in Kanyok territory and Kamina in the land of Mutomb Mukul (Kalundwe).

27 Fieldnotes II, March 7, 1975, interview with Ilunga Katuibionda at Kakinda. See also fieldnotes XXX, August 6, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Mwamba Kayeye II at Katshisung and fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

28 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. See also fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi and Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. See also Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 17. The Bakwa Kalonji regard the story of Kabedi a Ilung and Kalonji Milabi as the most important tale in their oral tradition. See Kalonji-Mashinda, "La dynastie de Mutombo-Katshi," p. 103.

29 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 17. While many savanna peoples claimed to have migrated from the Luba or Lunda homeland, such tales of origin often are recitations of political respect, admiration, and good will, rather than recollections of actual journeys. According to Thomas Reefe, many genesis myths linking surrounding groups with the Luba empire emerged during the height of Luba influence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See Thomas Q. Reefe, "Traditions of Genesis and the Luba Diaspora," *History in Africa*, 4 (1977), pp. 183–206. Andrew Roberts draws a parallel conclusion regarding the relation of the Bemba to the powerful Kazembe state. Andrew Roberts, *History of the Bemba: Political Growth and Change in North-Eastern Zambia before 1900* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1973), p. 53.

30 Auguste Verbeken, "Historique de Kabamba-Ngombe," in the "Registre des renseignements politiques, A-II," Kanda Kanda Archives, April 18, 1921. The account is inserted between pages 90 and 91.

31 Fieldnotes LVI, September 18, 1975, interview with Kabong Bendel at Kakinda. As a young man, Kabong had often traveled to Matamba where he witnessed the manufacture and trade of salt. The same process is described by Cameron when he traveled across the Luba empire in the 1870s. Verney Lovett Cameron, *Across Africa*, 2 vols. (Daldy, Isbister & Co., London, 1877), vol. II, pp. 52–53.

32 Fieldnotes X, May 5, 1975, interview with Cibang Mwena Komb at Lusuk; fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with Mwen a Museng Matanda Katanda and the elders of Museng; fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk at Lusuk; and fieldnotes VIII, May 8, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kabiji Ciam at Kakinda.

33 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa. See also Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 12.
34 Fieldnotes III, March 3, 1975, interview with Ilunga Katuibionda at Kakinda, and fieldnotes V, April 30, 1975, interview with Binene Frederick at Masonz.
35 Fieldnotes V, April 30, 1975, interview with Binene Frederick at Masonz.
36 Fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. Casteleyn's informants asserted that Ilung had been the Mwen a Kanyok all along and that, as Hia Muloh, Mulaj took the chief's chair only after Ilung's death. See "Uit Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 13.
37 See chapter 3.
38 See chapter 4.
39 For a fuller discussion of how the previously separate legends were joined, see John C. Yoder, "The Historical Study of a Kanyok Genesis Myth: The Tale of Citend a Mfumu," in Miller (ed.), *The African Past Speaks*, pp. 82-107.
40 An examination of regional traditions from Ngoi and Kaleng a Mukel unmistakably shows the final Citend myth, which summarized and condensed regional histories, was created after the regional records had been developed.
41 See Yoder, "The Historical Study of a Kanyok Genesis Myth," pp. 99–104.
42 Except for dramatic embellishments, local insertions, or unintentional omissions, the Citend story is the same from village to village in the northern and central parts of the Kanyok territory. The tale is much less familiar to people from Museng, Etond, Hamb, and Kalamba where the Mulundu leaders have been much less successful in establishing their influence. The text in this chapter is a composite of many accounts collected during my fieldwork in 1975 and of stories recorded by Father André Casteleyn, who lived in the region from 1947 to 1952.

6 Combat, classes, titles, and trade

1 Literally, "warrior wife."
2 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 528 and 548; Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 43; and Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 271–77. Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.
3 See Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, p. 272.
4 Information about the Kanyok Biin Luhit and their leaders is drawn from the following sources: fieldnotes XXIII, July 31, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa; and fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Sabw Kaninda Mwen a But and Ilung Matudika Matulond Kalul munen at Mulundu.
5 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. For neighboring people, see Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," p. 535; and Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 76.
6 Fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Sabw Kaninda Mwen a But and Ilung Matudika Matulond Kalul munen at Mulundu.
7 Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa.
8 Fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Kaninda Mwen a But and Ilung Matudika Matulond Kalul munen at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa.
9 Fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb.
10 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

11 Fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk, Sabw Kanyang, and Kazadi Mwan a Ngand at Kakinda.

12 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 22-23. The Ruund know the Fwaban as the wan a wan (guardian of the chief's children) and select him from the Mazembe people: Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," p. 549.

13 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; fieldnotes LIX, September 7, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa.

14 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa.

15 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 550–51. Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, p. 129.

16 Fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Mwen a But Kaninda and Kalul munen Ilung Katudika Matulond at Mulundu. See also fieldnotes XXV, August 2, 1975, interview with Hia Muloo Ciam at Katshisung; fieldnotes LIII and LIV, September 7, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

17 Auguste Verbeken, "Chant de guerre des Kanyoka," *Jeune Afrique*, 3 (June 1948), p. 35. Translation my own.

18 Fieldnotes XIV, July 3, 1975, interview with Mwen a Cabob Mulund Kadile at Cabob. Used by all Kanyok regional chiefs, these tactics were most recently employed against the Luba during the civil wars of the 1960s.

19 Fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Mwen a But Sabw Kaninda and Kalul munen Ilung Katudika Matulond at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LIV, September 7, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa. Although the bull's horn strategy is sometimes attributed to the genius of the Zulu leader Shaka, it was a common tactic used by most Africans and probably began as a hunting technique.

20 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 10–11. See also Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 300–01 for a brief description of Kalundwe weapons and strategies. Kalundwe methods, which resembled those of the Kanyok, also appear to have incorporated tactics of the hunt.

21 For example see fieldnotes IX, May 10, 1975, interview with Kadyat Denis at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXII, September 24, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

22 Fieldnotes IX, May 10, 1975, interview with Kadyata Denis at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

23 These comments are based on an analysis of family histories and on current ethnographic observations. Although many families at Mulundu have clear and undisputed paternal ties to Shimat, most of them do not present candidates for political office. Isolated from life at the chief's compound, they have little more political power than lineages without links to Shimat. There is no reason to suppose that the situation in the 1800s was different.

24 The active ruling class lived only at regional capitals such as Ditu and Hamb or at Mulundu. Since the great majority of Kanyok people lived in outlying villages and because most non-ruling people such as slaves, clients, and soldiers inhabited the capital, 10 percent seems like a reasonable estimate.

25 The 80 percent figure is based on my own impressionistic observations in 1975. There is no question that the combined ruling, slave, and client classes comprised a small minority of the total population. Even at Mulundu, the slave and client population never reached 50 percent.

26 For example, see fieldnotes LX, September 22, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kabiji Ciam Kamonamona at Kabiji. Although the Mwen a Kabiji expressed great displeasure at the way the

Shimat interlopers had taken land and power from his ancestors, he did not challenge the veracity of the legitimizing legends.

27 These comments are based on general impressions drawn from my fieldnotes and on my observations of Kanyok social and political life in 1975.

28 Since the modern descendants of earlier clients attempt to hide their identity, any attempt to estimate their numbers is difficult. Nevertheless, in the 1800s they were concentrated in a few villages near Mulundu or regional capitals. Certainly, no more than one out of twenty settlements was predominantly client inhabited. Thus, 5 percent seems like a reasonable estimate.

29 Even in 1975, I found no one willing to admit to me that their ancestors had been clients. One informant agreed to tell the story of his family to Father Herman DeVloo, a close personal friend and confidant of the man, on the condition that his name not be disclosed. See fieldnotes LXXV, October 27, 1975, interview conducted by Father Herman DeVloo with an informant whose name was withheld.

30 Although the Lunda, Kalundwe, and Luba all have Mazembe people, both Hoover and Reefe believe the Luba borrowed the word Mazembe from the Lunda. Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 528 and 535; Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 75–76.

31 Fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Mwen a But Sabw Kaninda and Kalul munen Ilung Matudika Matulond at Mulundu.

32 Fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabaluk and Shingahemb Kalenda at Mulundu; van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 14. See also fieldnotes XXVI, August 2, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung.

33 Fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabaluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb.

34 Fieldnotes LXXX, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa; and van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 25. See also Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, p. 190. Verhulpen, who based his information on an earlier report from district commissioner A. Verbeken, mistakenly assumes Mwadi a Mbal prepared food for the ritual meals served to the ancestors.

35 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 26.

36 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 21–22.

37 Fieldnotes LXII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

38 Joseph Miller suggests that in Angola, wars launched for the expressed purpose of capturing slaves generally were unproductive. Quickly, the targets of the raids learned either to flee or mount an effective resistance. According to Miller, it was more efficient for a chief to use his domestic coercive authority to generate slaves than to engage in slave wars. Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 117–26.

39 Information about the Biin Mazemb is drawn from the following Kanyok sources: fieldnotes XVI, July 26, 1975, interview with Kabemba Mwen a Cabob and Kazadi Canya at Cabob; fieldnotes XVIII, July 27, 1975, interview with Ilung Kababil a Mwit and Mulaj Cingulung at Kakinda; fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXVI, August 2, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung; fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Museng (east); fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb; fieldnotes XLII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west); fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa; fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Mwen a But Sabw Kaninda and Kalul munen Matudika Matulond at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXXII, October 16, 1975, interview with the elders at Ditu. See also van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 20–21 and 26.

40 For a description of Kanyok investiture see van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 4-5. Father Bracq describes the escape of a slave after a royal burial was interrupted by rain. The

incident took place in the first decade after 1900. A.E. microfilm no. 72, R. P. Bracq, "Journal du R. P. Bracq," Tielen St. Jacques, 1897–1902, pp. 18–19.

41 This description is based on fieldnotes XVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa and upon observations of chiefs at Mulundu, Katshisung, and all major Kanyok regional capitals.

42 This description is based on my observations in 1975. In the early 1950s, a Scheut missionary wrote about the elaborate Kanyok forms of greeting. See K. Dillen, "De groet bij de Bena Kanyoka," *Kongo-Overzee*, 18, no. 2–3 (1952), pp. 243–48.

43 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 4–7. As a colonial administrator, van Beeck presented an ideal picture of how the succession mechanism was expected to function. His portrait ignored the frequent armed succession disputes of the 1800s. Mutonj Lushoni, the chief of Kanda Kanda (Luaba), gave a good description of how a chief relied on the support of his maternal village, fieldnotes, LXVIII, October 1, 1975.

44 Fieldnotes XXVII, August 3, 1975, interview with Mwen a Museng Matanda Katanda at Museng (east); and fieldnotes III, March 8, 1975, interview with Ilung Katuibionda at Kakinda.

45 These comments are based on information provided by many Kanyok and on my own observations in 1975.

46 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXVI, September 27, 1975, interview with the Fwaban at Mulundu. Van Beeck also describes the duties of the Fwaban in "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 22–23.

47 Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 270–74. While the Ruund use the term *nvubw* for any royal servant and the Luba have a word *lumvubu* meaning report or delegation, apparently only the Kanyok and Kalundwe use the word to describe a specific government council. See Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," p. 541.

48 Fieldnotes XXVI, August 2, 1975, interview with Shingahemba Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung; fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu. Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 4–7. Also fieldnotes XXXIII, August 11, 1975, diagram of the court at Etond (east); and fieldnotes LXXV, October 29, 1975, diagram of the court at Museng (east).

49 Fieldnotes XIX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu.

50 Fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Kalend at Mulundu; fieldnotes XX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes LIII and LIV, September 5 and 7, 1975, interview with Cika Shingahemb at Luputa, and fieldnotes XXVI, August 2, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung.

51 Fieldnotes XXIII, July 31, 1975, interview with Mwen a Mwilomb Bukas at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; and fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa. Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 11 and 17–18. For information about the Kalundwe Mwana Milomba see Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 272–74. The title is also used by the Kanintshin, Ndembu, and Kazembe, see Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," p. 549.

52 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 8–10.

53 Fieldnotes LXXV, October 27, 1975, interview at Luputa with a descendant of the client family (name withheld upon request); and fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

54 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 23. Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Museng; fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with chief and

elders at Hamb; and fieldnotes XXXI, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Etond.

55 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 20. Fieldnotes LIX, September 21, 1975, interview with Mwen a But Sabw and Kalul munen Ilung Katudika at Mulundu. For a description of the title among the Ruund, Kanintshin, Cokwe, Pende, and Kazembe, see Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 199 and 549. For the Kalundwe, see Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, p. 275.

56 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 26. Among the Kalundwe the chief's executioner was the *Djembo*: Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, p. 277.

57 Fieldnotes XXVI, August 2, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung; fieldnotes LIV, September 7, 1975, interview with Cika Shingahemb at Luputa; fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Museng (east); fieldnotes LI, August 30, 1975, interview with Mukadi Kamutambayi at Luputa; and fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa.

58 Fieldnotes LXV, September 7, 1975, interview with Cika Shingahemb at Luputa; fieldnotes XX and XXII, July 29 and 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Manyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXVI, August 21, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung.

59 Fieldnotes XVIII, July 27, 1975, interview with Ilung Kababil a Mwit and Mulaj Cingulung at Kakinda; fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with chief and elders at Museng (east); fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with chief and elders at Hamb; and fieldnotes XLIII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Mulal at Etond (west).

60 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; fieldnotes XX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; and fieldnotes XXI, July 28 and 29, 1975, observations of the cianza at Mulundu.

61 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 107–13 and 534–35.

62 Ibid., pp. 550–51.

63 Fieldnotes XXII, July 7, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk and Shingahemb Kalend at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXVI, August 2, 1975, interview with Shingahemb Mulaj and Kalul Ngoi at Katshisung; fieldnotes LIV, September 21, 1975, interview with Mwen a But Sabw Kaninda and Kalul Ilung Matudika at Mulundu.

64 Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 54, 80, and 82.

65 Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemb at Luputa; fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Kalamba at Kalamba; fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba and Shingahemb Kalend at Mulundu.

66 Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 543–44.

67 Fieldnotes XXV, August 2, 1975, interview with Hia Muloo Ciam at Katshisung. Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," p. 4. Although the Kalundwe had the title Piana Mulopwe, their heir apparent was the male Inabanz: Verhulpen, *Baluba et balubaïsés*, pp. 270–75.

68 Fieldnotes XIII, July 7, 1975, interview with Ciam Diagamain at Kakinda; fieldnotes LIV, September 7, 1975, interview with Cika Shingahemb at Luputa.

69 Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 4–7. Bracq, "Journal," pp. 18–19, A.E. microfilm no. 72. Fieldnotes XVIII, observations at the funeral of a minor Kanyok chief at Kakinda on June 11, 1975. For other information on royal burials and investiture ceremonies see fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb; fieldnotes XIX, July 29, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Shingahemb at Luputa.

70 Fieldnotes V, April 30, 1975, interview with Binen Frederick at Masonz. Van Beeck, "Etude sur les notables Kanioka," pp. 9–10.

71 Joseph C. Miller, "The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone," pp. 118–59 in David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa*, vol. I (Longman, New York, 1983). See also, Miller, *Way of Death*, ch. 7, "A History of Competition, Comparative Advantage and Credit," pp. 207–44.

72 David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1858), pp. 458–59.

73 J. B. Douville, *Voyage au Congo et dans l'Afrique équinoxiale, fait dans les années 1828, 1829, et 1830* (Jules Renouard, Paris, 1832), p. 82.

74 Miller, "The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone," pp. 151-55. See also Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 645–46, and David Livingstone, *Family Letters 1841–56*, 2 vols., vol. II (London, 1959), pp. 252–53.

75 Rev. S. W. Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana; or A Comparative Vocabulary of Nearly Three Hundred Words and Phrases in More Than One Hundred Distinct African Languages* (Church Missionary House, London, 1854), p. 14. Koelle interviewed Mutomb in 1851.

76 Graça's account is printed in an appendix to A. C. P. Gamitto's *King Kazembe and the Marave*, vol. II, pp. 206–08.

77 Graça in ibid., p. 206.

78 Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 495–96.

79 Graça in Gamitto, p. 206.

80 Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, pp. 458–59.

81 Fieldnotes, XVI, July 26, 1975, interview with Mwen a Cabob Kabemba and Kazadi Canya at Cabob; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda (Luaba) at Kanda Kanda; fieldnotes XXII, October 16, 1975, interview with Cibang Bwabakish at Kanda Kanda; and fieldnotes LXXII, October 16, 1975, interview with the elders at Ditu.

82 Fieldnotes II, March 7, 1975, interview with Ilung Katuibionda at Kakinda; fieldnotes VIII, May 8, 1975, interview with Ciam Mwen a Kabiji at Kakinda; fieldnotes May 15, 1975, interview with Cibang a Mwen a Komb at Lusuk; fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk, Sabw Kanyang, and Kazadi Mwen a Ngand at Kakinda; fieldnotes XVIII, July 17, 1975, interview with Ilung Kababil a Mwit and Mulaj Cingulung at Kakinda; fieldnotes XVI, July 26, 1975, interview with Kabemba Mwen a Cabob and Kazadi Canya at Cabob; fieldnotes XLVII, July 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binene a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa; fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Museng (east); fieldnotes XXXI, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Etond (east); fieldnotes XXXIV, August 14, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Kalamba; fieldnotes XXXVII, August 14, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb; and fieldnotes XLII, August 17, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west). The Matamba side of the story is contained in a short history of Matamba compiled by A. Verbeken in "Historique de la chefferie de Kabamba-Ngombe," April 8, 1921. Verbeken's text is inserted between pages 90 and 91 of "Registre des Renseignements Politiques, A-II," Archives de Territoire de Mwena Ditu. Verbeken based his account of Matamba, popularly known as Kabamba a Ngombe, on information he collected from Matamba elders.

83 Fieldnotes XXXI, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Etond (east); fieldnotes XXXVII, August 14, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Citong; fieldnotes XLII, August 17, 1975, interview with Kongolo and Bulal at Etond (west).

84 Fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Kalamba.

85 Fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Museng (east); fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Kalamba; fieldnotes IXL,

August 15, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb; fieldnotes XLIII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west); fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye I at Luputa. See also Frederick Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze; or Four Years' Further Work and Travel in Central Africa* (James E. Hawkins, London, 1895), pp. 99–100. In 1895, Arnot visited markets, including Kaniki, near the northwestern Kanyok border.

86 Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni, chief of Kanda Kanda (Luaba) at Kanda Kanda.

87 Fieldnotes XXXVII, August 14, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Citong.

88 Fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb.

89 Fieldnotes XLII, August 17, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west).

90 Starting with 40 chickens as capital, Mwen a Ngoi purchased 20 calabashes of palm wine which he exchanged for 20 copper crosses at Kasens in Shaba. After paying his porters 5 crosses, Mwen a Ngoi had 15 crosses which he used to buy 90 balls of salt at Matamba. After paying the porters, he still had 75 balls with which he obtained 150 madiba at Kanintshin. With the 140 madiba he retained after making payments to the porters, Mwen a Ngoi was able to buy 280 chickens. Subtracting the original capital of 40 chickens left Mwen a Ngoi with a 600 percent return on his investment.

91 Fieldnotes LII, August 31, 1975, interview with Mwen a Cilond Ilung Bakete at Cilond.

7 Schisms and slaves, ghosts and guns

1 Joseph C. Miller provides an excellent description of how the destruction of the slave trade advanced like an ocean wave across Central Africa: Miller, "The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone," pp. 118–59.

2 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. See also Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 13.

3 Fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

4 Fieldnotes LXXV, October 27, 1975, interview with an individual who requested that his name be withheld.

5 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

6 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

7 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

8 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 13. See also fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

9 The Kanyok term for the enclosure *cihang* is closely related to the common savanna words for the chief's compound. The Ruund use the word *rupang* for the fence and *chipang* for the entire enclosure. *Lupangu* is the term used by the Kete and Kalundwe, while the Kasai Luba, Songye, Sanga, and Ndembu use closely related terms. See Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruwej," pp. 187–89 and 568.

10 Fieldnotes LXVI, September 27, 1975, interview with the Fwaban of Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba at Mulundu.

11 Fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

12 Fieldnotes LXVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

13 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders of Mulundu at Mulundu; fieldnotes

XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

14 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

15 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders of Mulundu at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV and LXV, September 26 and 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

16 Since he was the heir apparent at a time when the Mwen a Kanyok was very ill, Kadyat a Bukas had everything to gain by showing loyalty to Kalend's government.

17 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 13.

18 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 13.

19 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazidi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 13.

20 Fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

21 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders of Mulundu at Mulundu.

22 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

23 De Clerck, "Chefferie des Bena Kamaie, chef Kasongo Kahiba," in "Dossiers des chefs" (Kabinda, le 16 avril, 1914). Thomas Q. Reefe provided me with a copy of this document.

24 Adrien van der Noot, "Complément à l'histoire de la chefferie du Kamaie," in "Dossiers des chefs," procès verbal 20 (le 4 septembre, 1922). Thomas Reefe gave me a copy of this report.

25 Fieldnotes LXXIV, October 20, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. Although he is the stepson of a slave official, the *Kanimbu*, Musas Paul is also a retired primary school teacher and a good friend of the Scheut missionaries. There is, therefore, a possibility that some of his story is derived from the published accounts of Kasongo Cinyama found in van Zandijcke, *Pages de l'histoire du Kasayi* (Collection Lavigerie, Namur, 1953), pp. 131–32. However, Musas Paul supplies numerous details not found in van Zandijcke. Since van Zandijcke also based his story on oral recollections, one would expect to find similarities in the two accounts.

26 Van der Noot, "Complément à l'histoire de la chefferie du Kamaie." Van der Noot describes this visit which occurred late in Ilunga Kabale's reign. According to Reefe, Ilunga Kabale's generational dates are ca. 1840–70. Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 145–56.

27 Ibid., p. 170.

28 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV and LXV, September 26 and 27, 1975, interviews with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni, chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

29 Fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi and Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni, chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

30 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa.

31 Fieldnotes XLVI and XLVII, August 25 and 27, 1975, interviews with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa.

32 Fieldnotes XLVI and XLVII, August 25 and 27, 1975, interviews with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa. See also fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 14.

33 Cameron, *Across Africa*, vol. II, p. 107.

34 Fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders at Hamb. The Hamb

informants revealed that even people as far south and east as Hamb were aware of Kasongo Cinyama's connection to the Ovimbundu or Tungomb (cattle people) as they were called by the Kanyok.

35 Hermann von Wissmann, *My Second Journey through Equatorial Africa from the Congo to the Zambesi in the Years 1886 and 1887* (Chatto & Windus, London, 1891), p. 85. Balungu simply means warriors or soldiers. Marcel Storme, *Pater Camier en de Stichting van de Kasai-Missie* (ARSOM, Brussels, 1964), footnote p. 92. Van Zandijcke also noted that Kasongo Cinyama's subordinate chiefs or assistants were called Balungu: *Pages de l'histoire du Kasayi*, p. 132.

36 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 28, 1975, interview with Binen Muntu Wakalb at Cihemba. The informant Binen Muntu Wakalb is himself a very interesting man. Born in Angola in 1904, he lived in Kanjundu's village until Kanjundu died in 1914. By this time Kanjundu had become a Christian and had freed all his slaves. After 1914, Binen Muntu's father went to Kapanga in Lunda where he worked as a carpenter for the Methodist missionaries. Binen became a mason. In 1923, the family moved again, first to Museng and then to Cihemba, a village composed of former slaves from Angola. Speaking a mixture of Ciin Kanyok, Ciluba, Aruund, and Civimbundu, Binen was almost unintelligible. Nevertheless, in 1960, he acted as an official translator for UN troops stationed in Kasai. Since neither I nor my research assistant could understand him, Binen's son translated his father's tale. The son, Ciband Lukay Tongoy, a 1975 secondary school graduate, hopes to become either a lawyer or a hospital administrator.

37 Tungomb is a word the Kanyok apply to any traders from Angola. Even the Cokwe are sometimes called Tungomb.

38 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. The reference to guns at Etond is probably inaccurate, although it is possible that the Mwen a Etond had managed to acquire a few modern firearms. See also fieldnotes XXXI, August 10, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Etond at Etond (east); fieldnotes XLIII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west); fieldnotes XLVI, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Kwamba Kayeye II at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIV, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; and fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Hamb at Hamb.

39 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975; and fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye II at Luputa.

40 Joseph C. Miller, *Cokwe Expansion 1850–1900* (Occasional Paper no. 1, African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1969).

41 Edouard Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian Rule: The Politics of Ethnicity* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 8–9. In his brief summary of pre-colonial Lunda history, Bustin provides a comparative listing of chief lists and chronological calculations by Dias de Carvalho, Duysters, Vansina and by two contemporary Lunda histories, Ngand Yetu and Nsaang Ja Aruund.

42 Duysters, "Histoire des Aluunda," p. 93. See also van den Byvang, "Notice historique sur les Balunda," *Congo*, 2, no. 2 (1937), p. 194.

43 Fieldnotes XLII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west).

44 Fieldnotes XLII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west).

45 V. d'Obry Willemoës, "Rapport provisoire sur les travaux géographiques dans la région de Dilolo," Katola, le 15 octobre, 1905, A.E. 323.

46 Duysters, "Histoire des Aluunda," p. 84.

47 Fieldnotes XXXV, August 13, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kalamba Ngoi Sabw a Muleka Bulong at Kalamba.

48 Fieldnotes XXXIV, August 12, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Kalamba at Kalamba.

49 Fieldnotes IXL, August 16, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Hamb at Hamb.

50 Fieldnotes XXXVII, August 14, 1975, interview with Kongolo Dieul at Kish Mwimb, Mulang Diumbi, and Cish Meji a Kaleng at Citong. See also the following early twentieth-century written

accounts of Cokwe activity: de Grunne, "Rapport spécial sur la prise d'une caravane d'esclaves conduite par des Kiokos, juin, 1907," Luluabourg, le 10 juillet, 1907, A.E. 65; Willemoës, "Rapport concernant les travaux effectués par la Mission Géographique du Lac Dilolo," Boma, le 16 mars, 1907, A.E. 323.

51 Fieldnotes XXXVII, August 14, 1975, interview with Mwamba Mwen a Kaseje at Kalamba.

52 Oscar Michaux, *Au Congo. Carnet de campagne, épisodes et impressions de 1889 à 1897* (Dupagne-Counet, Namur, 1913), p. 360. Michaux wrote that in May 1896, the Free State sent twenty soldiers to Kanda Kanda (Luaba) in response to Chief Kanda Kanda's plea.

53 De Grunne, "Rapport spécial sur la prise d'une caravane d'esclaves conduite par des Kiokos," A.E. 65.

54 Cameron, *Across Africa*, vol. II, pp. 57–58, 106–107, and passim.

55 When von François visited Mona Tenda (Mwen a Etond) in 1884, he encountered a man from Kasongo Cinyama's capital who frequently traveled the route from Kasongo Cinyama's village to the Lunda capital via Mutomb Mukul: von Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas*, pp. 264–293.

56 Paul Pogge, *Im Reich des Muata Jamvo. Beiträge zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Afrika's. Drittes Heft* (Verlag Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, 1880), p. 50.

57 "Macar à Monsieur le Gouverneur," Luluabourg, le 30 juin, 1887, A.E. 65.

58 "Scarambone à Monsieur le Commissaire de district à Lusambo," Katola, le 24 juillet, 1904, A.E. 65.

59 "Notice d'une lettre du gouverneur," le 10 avril, 1910, A.E. 72.

60 Constant de Deken, *Deux ans au Congo* (Clément Thibaut, Anvers, 1919), p. 144. "Lettre du Gouverneur Général, No. 1844, le 3 avril 1910," A.E. 72. Van Bradael, "Rapport politique de 1899," Lusambo, le 31 décembre, 1899, A.E. 65.

61 "Extrait du Rapport de M. le lieutenant Heide," annexé à la lettre du Gouverneur Général, no. 952 D, du 14 April, 1912, A.E. 72.

62 Fieldnotes XLII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west).

63 Fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk, Sabw Kanyang, and Kazadi Mwen a Ngand at Kakinda; fieldnotes XXVIII, August 4, 1975, interview with the chief and elders of Museng at Museng (east); and fieldnotes XXXVI, August 14, 1975, interview with Mwamba Mwen a Kaseje at Kalamba.

64 Fieldnotes XLII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west).

65 Fieldnotes XLII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west).

66 Fieldnotes XIII, June 12, 1975, interview with Kazadi Mwen a Lusuk, Sabw Kanyang, and Kazadi Mwan a Ngand at Lusuk.

67 Fieldnotes XXII, July 30, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kanyok Kabamba Kabuluk and Shingahemba Kalend at Mulundu.

68 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXXII, October 16, 1975, interview with the elders of Ditu at Mwena Ditu.

8 Assassinations, alliances, and ambushes

1 Fieldnotes XLVI, August 25, 1975; and XLVII, August 27, 1975, interviews with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa.

2 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu. See also, Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 15.

3 Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

4 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders of Mulundu at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

5 Fieldnotes IX, May 10, 1975, interview with Kadyat Denis at Luputa. Kadyat Denis was born at Mukuna, a village near Luaba. See also, fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXIV, September 16, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; and fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

6 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

7 Malenge Mubaya wa Kayembe Mpinda, "Histoire des Bena Mulenge," p. 96.

8 Ibid., p. 96.

9 Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni, chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

10 Fieldnotes V, April 30, 1975, interview with Binen Frederick at Masonz; fieldnotes XVI, July 26, 1975, interview with Kabemba Mwena Cabob and Kazadi Canya at Cabob; fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. The clichés describing Muzemb were not unique to the Kanyok, but circulated as common expressions of political opinion across the savanna and even into the forest region. See, for example, Vansina, *The Children of Woot*, p. 72 for a cliché describing Mbop Mabiinc maMbul's cruelty. In the Kuba case, the tale was circulated by his enemies.

11 Fieldnotes XLIII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulal at Etond (west). See also fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. The Lusuk referred to in the account is a small village just southwest of Etond (west). It should not be confused with the larger village Lusuk which is a regional capital in the northwest.

12 Frederick Arnot, *Bihé and Garenganze*, p. 99.

13 Fieldnotes LXVI, August 25, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 15.

14 Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemba at Luputa; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba). Mutonj Lushoni says Cibwabwa fled in the direction of Gandajika. This was the area where Kasongo Cinyama ruled during the 1880s.

15 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

16 Although several Kanyok informants referred to Muzemb's wars against Matamba, Ciband Mushidi gave the most detailed account. Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. See also fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 15.

17 Fieldnotes LXV, September 29, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

18 Two archival sources based on oral accounts speak of the conflict between Muzemb and Matamba. A. Verbeken, "Historique de la chefferie de Kabamba-Ngombe," April 18, 1921. This text is inserted between pages 90 and 91 of the "Registre des renseignements politiques, A-II," Territoire de Kanda Kanda. See also "Rapports politiques, Cahier I, 1908–1914," Territoire de Kanda Kanda, p. 142.

19 Fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi and Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

20 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

21 Fieldnotes XVI, July 26, 1975, interview with Kabemba Mwen a Cabob and Kazadi Canya at Cabob.

22 Fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda

Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

23 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

24 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

25 Fieldnotes VIII, May 8, 1975, interview with Mwena Kabiji Ciam at Kakinda; fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

26 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," pp. 15–16; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1966), p. 221.

27 Musasa Samal-Mwinkatim Dizez, "Histoire des Kanintshin," pp. 96–98. Musasa Samal writes that some of these bees have been preserved until the present and that the Kanintshin elders, who believe the insects could still be revived, place the bees in the sun each day.

28 Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka," p. 15.

29 Bracq, "Journal," A.E. microfilm no. 72. Bracq indicates that Muzemb was accustomed to having groups of Luso-African traders at Mulundu, p. 1.

30 Fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

31 Fieldnotes XVI, July 26, 1975, interview with Kabemba Mwen a Cabob and Kazadi Canya at Cabob; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVII, September 28, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi and Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

32 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. Ciband Mushidi estimated that Muzemb had about 300 guns when he went to Luluabourg in 1892. This estimate is confirmed by an 1892 letter which said that Muzemb had "more than 300 guns." Father Cambier to Rom, cited in Storme, *Pater Cambier*, p. 104.

33 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

34 Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

35 Fieldnotes IX, May 10, 1975, interview with Kadyat Denis at Luputa.

36 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu. When Muzemb went to Luluabourg with his warriors late in 1892, he unwittingly gave them the possibility of escape. Able to seek protection from the Catholic Church and the Congo Free State, several hundred Biin Mazemb remained at Luluabourg instead of returning to Mulundu with Muzemb.

37 Fieldnotes LXXIIV, October 20, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. In the 1920s, Musas Paul learned Kasongo Cinyama's history from his stepfather, the slave official Kanimbu Mbuyi who had been born at Matamba. In 1920, Kanimbu Mbuyi was an old man of perhaps eighty years.

38 Fieldnotes LXXIIV, October 20, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

39 Michaux, *Au Congo*, pp. 145–48. Van Zandijcke says this was the first foray Ngongo Lutete made into Luba Kasai territory. His second campaign came in April 1892, months after Muzemb had been defeated by Le Marinel. Van Zandijcke, *Pages de l'histoire du Kasayi*, p. 141.

40 Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemba at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

41 Edgard Verdick, "Cahier-premier séjour au Congo 1890," undated entry written just before December 23, 1891. See also Albert Chapaux, *Le Congo, historique, diplomatique, physique, politique, économique, humanitaire et colonial* (Charles Rozez, Brussels, 1894), p. 218.

42 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. Kabw Seya Kalul's son, Mutonj Lushoni also insisted that Mutonj had warned Muzemb of the whites' strength.

Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba). See also Storme, *Pater Cambier*, p. 95. Storme bases his discussion on two documents: "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint-Jaak" written by Casteleyn and "Nota's Over Muzemba," written by Karel Dillen. Both accounts, composed in the 1950s, are in the Storme collection at Louvain, Belgium.

43 Edgard Verdick, *Les premiers jours au Katanga*, pp. 25–26.

44 Verdick, "Cahier-premier séjour," le 28 et le 29 janvier, 1891.

45 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. Casteleyn also collected a similar story, "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint-Jaak," cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, p. 98.

46 Verdick, *Les premiers jours au Katanga*, pp. 25–26 and "Cahier-premier séjour," le 30 et le 31 janvier, 1891.

47 Verdick, "Cahier-premier séjour," le 1 février, 1891.

48 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

49 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu.

50 Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemba at Luputa. Cika Ciam was born at Luaba in 1920.

51 Verdick, "Cahier-premier séjour," le 3, 4, 5 et 6 février, 1891.

52 Michaux, *Au Congo*, p. 141. As Father Marcel Storme points out, van Zandijcke, Casteleyn, and Dillen are mistaken in thinking that Le Marinel had to return to Luluabourg to obtain additional forces before proceeding through Kanyok territory in February 1891. Although Free State forces under Lienart arrived in about May of 1891, Le Marinel continued his journey to Msiri's capital without further interruption. Storme, *Pater Cambier*, footnote p. 96.

53 Casteleyn, "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint-Jaak," cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, p. 97. See also fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with elders at Mulundu; LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

54 Casteleyn, "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint-Jaak," cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, p. 97. Reports from Luaba that Muzemb demanded and received 300 guns and Mutonj's Mukaleng Mwadi (first wife) appear to be exaggerated. Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba).

55 Fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes LXX, October 2, 1975, interview with Cibang Bwabakish at Kanda Kanda. See also Casteleyn, "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint Jaak," cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, p. 97.

56 *Biographie de l'ARSOM*, "Lienart," vol. II, col. 629. Cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier* in a footnote on p. 98.

57 Storme, *Pater Cambier*, p. 98.

58 *Biographie de l'ARSOM*, "Rom," vol. II, col. 823, and "Doorme," vol. I, col. 341.

59 Casteleyn, "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint-Jaak," cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, p. 98. Binen Cifita or Binen a Ciam a Bukas was probably the son of Ciam II a Bukas who was killed in the interregnum of 1870. Fieldnotes LXVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. See also Yoder, "A People on the Edge of Empires," Chronological Appendix I, no. 5. Binen Cifita was not the son of Ciam I a Bukas who ruled at Mulundu during the 1860s. Chronological Appendix I, no. 6.

60 Storme, *Pater Cambier*, p. 99.

61 Fieldnotes LXX, October 2, 1975, interview with Cibang Bwakabish at Kanda Kanda (Luaba). See also fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. In an 1892 letter, Father Cambier said Muzemb fled with 400 men. Cited by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, p. 100.

62 The best information about Cambier's dealings with Muzemb and Rom are contained in Father de

Clercq's diary and in an undated letter from Cambier to Rom. These documents are part of the Luluabourg–Mikalai archdiocese archives.

63 In a letter dated October 10, 1892, Father Cambier says "another chief Moana Niama, having heard of Muszemb's rescue, has already sent me – four times in three months – gifts of slaves," *Mission en Chine et au Congo*, cited by Storme, *Pater Cambier*, p. 107. Since Cambier's letter was written in October, Muszemb must have come to Luluabourg no later than August 1892 for the chief Moana Niama had already been negotiating with the priest for at least three months.

64 Casteleyn, "Geschiedenis van Tielen-Sint-Jaak," de Clercq, "Dagboek, 1894–1900," Pater Karel Dillen, "Nota's Over Muzembe," and Brasseur, "Lettres de 1891 à 1893," le 1 et 2 décembre, 1892, archives de Tervuren, section historique. All these documents are quoted at length by Storme in *Pater Cambier*, pp. 128–29.

65 Brasseur, "Lettres de 1891 à 1893," le 2 décembre, 1892, quoted in Storme, *Pater Cambier*, p. 129.

66 Fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu. This story is corroborated by fieldnotes LXVI, September 26, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXX, October 2, 1975, interview with Cibang Bwabakish at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); and fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

67 Brasseur, "Lettres de 1891 à 1893," le 5 décembre, 1892, le 4, 5, et 6 janvier, 1893, quoted in Storme, *Pater Cambier*, pp. 130–31.

68 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

69 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

70 Fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes LXX, October 2, 1975, interview with Cibang Bwabakish at Kanda Kanda; fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. With the exception of Cibang Bwabakish, who said Muzemb was able to retain about a hundred men, all the other informants stated that he returned alone or with only one or two personal aides.

71 Fieldnotes LXX, October 2, 1975, interview with Cibang Bawbakish at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa.

72 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes XLVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa.

73 Fieldnotes XLIII, August 18, 1975, interview with Kongolo Bulul at Etond (west). See also, fieldnotes III, March 8, 1975, interview with Ilunga Katuibionda at Kakinda; fieldnotes V, April 30, 1975, interview with Binen Frederick at Masonz; fieldnotes VII, May 7, 1975, interview with Mwen a Kabishi Ciam at Kakinda; fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII, October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba); fieldnotes LXX, October 2, 1975, interview with Cibang Bwabakish at Kanda Kanda; and fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu.

74 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. See also fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

75 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVII, August 27, 1975, interview with Kazadi Bakishi Zab Lang and Binen a Mwamba Kayeye at Luputa; and fieldnotes LXV, September 27, 1975, interview with Ciband Mushidi at Mulundu.

76 Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemba at Luputa; fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu; fieldnotes LXVIII,

October 1, 1975, interview with Mutonj Lushoni chief of Kanda Kanda at Kanda Kanda (Luaba). Also, "Registre des renseignements politiques, A-I," Territoire de Kanda Kanda, pp. 11–12.

77 After being defeated by Dhanis in April 1892, Ngongo Lutete became an ally of the Congo Free State in September 1892. However, on September 14, 1893, he was convicted of treason by Duchesne, Scheerlinck, and Lange who conducted a hasty court martial. Ngongo Lutete was shot the following day. After Ngongo's execution, his army was incorporated into the Free State forces. According to some government officials and historians, the Batetela revolt of 1894 was instigated by Ngongo's former warriors to avenge his death. A. Verbeken, "A propos de l'exécution du chef Gongo-Lutete en 1893," ARSC (Brussels, 1955), pp. 938–95. Verbeken provides a good summary of the revolt and its causes.

78 When the Belgians first came to Luaba, they asked Mwen a Luaba for his name. Replying "Mutonj kwat kwat," he was understood to have said "Mutonj Kanda Kanda." Fieldnotes LIII, September 5, 1975, interview with Cika Ciam Shingahemba. While Cika Ciam may be wrong about Mutonj's actual words, the name Kanda Kanda is a mispronunciation of some African phrase or title.

79 F. Flament, *La force publique de sa naissance à 1914*, ARSOM (Brussels, 1952), pp. 352–53. E. Janssens and A. Cateaux, *Les Belges au Congo*, 3 vols. (J. Van Hille-de Backer, Antwerp, 1908–12), vol. III, p. 113. See also "Cambier à Garmyn," fin. 1894, "Cahier: Suppression de Kalala," cited in Storme, *Pater Cambier*, pp. 236–37. A. van Zandijcke, "La révolte de Luluabourg (4 juillet 1895)," *Zaire Revue Congolaise*, tome IV (November 1950), pp. 942–43.

80 Fieldnotes LXXIII, October 19, 1975, interview with Musas Paul at Mulundu. See also fieldnotes LXIII, September 25, 1975, interview with Bukas Muzemb at Mulundu.

81 Fieldnotes XXIV, August 1, 1975, interview with the elders at Mulundu. Although Mulundu informants say Mutonj killed Ciam Mateng, they also agree the drowning took place after Pelzer's defeat. Because Mutonj had already been killed by Kalend and Kabw Seya was in power when Pelzer entered the area in September, Kabw Seya, not Mutonj killed Mwen a Kanyok Ciam Mateng. Early twentieth-century archives at Kanda Kanda say it was Kabw Seya who killed Ciam Mateng. According to these documents, Kabw Seya became angry when the weak Ciam Mateng tried to exercise authority over Luaba. "Registre des renseignements politiques, A-I," Territoire de Kanda Kanda, pp. 12 and 78.

82 Van Zandijcke, "La révolte de Luluabourg," *Zaire* (November 1950), p. 944.

83 Fieldnotes XVIII, July 27, 1975, interview with Ilung Kabibil a Mwit and Mulaj Cingulung at Kakinda.

84 Van Zandijcke, "La révolte de Luluabourg," *Zaire* (November 1950), p. 944.

85 Auguste Verbeken, *La révolte des Batetela en 1895, textes inédits*, ARSC (Brussels, 1958), p. 39.

86 Van Zandijcke, "La révolte de Luluabourg," *Zaire* (November 1950), p. 944.

87 "Registre des renseignements politiques, A-I," Territoire de Kanda Kanda, p. 1. See also Bracq, "Journal," A.E. microfilm no. 72.

88 Michaux, *Au Congo*, pp. 360–61.

Appendix

1 Relying on data from 737 dynasties throughout historical time, David Henige determined that a span of twenty-five to thirty years is the medium length for human generations traced through the eldest male line. Nevertheless, because the practice of telescoping or artificially lengthening family histories is so common when written records do not exist, Henige is justifiably reluctant to apply the results of his findings to societies where only oral records remain. David P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Traditions: The Quest for a Chimera* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974). Because chronological calculations based on generational information from oral history are inexact, I have used them only to provide rough estimates about the Kanyok past. For the sake of simplicity, I use four generations to equal approximately one hundred years. In spite of the

inexactitude of this method, I do believe that Kanyok historians have preserved the Mwen a Kanyok's genealogy with relatively few errors. First, the detailed and complex genealogical information I collected from several family historians at different locations all fits together in a fashion which suggests great accuracy. Second, the Kanyok use the mnemonic device of incorporating an individual's entire family tree into his name. Thus, the risk of confusion, omission, or expansion is greatly reduced. For example, the famous Mwen a Kanyok Ilung a Cibang (Ilung the son of Cibang) is never referred to only as Ilung. In fact, he is frequently called Ilung a Cibang a Ciband (Ilung the son of Cibang the son of Ciband), or even as Ilung a Cibang a Ciband a Kabw a Shimat, a name which recalls his entire lineage back to the inception of the dynasty. For later rulers, the multiplication of names becomes somewhat cumbersome and a man is often identified by the addition of his mother's name. Rather than saying Ciam a Ciam a Cibang a Ciband a Kabw a Shimat, the Kanyok will say Ciam Musok, Musok being his mother's name. However, if further clarification is needed, the entire genealogical list is recited with easy rapidity. Since Ilung a Cibang can be dated reliably to the first decades of the nineteenth century, I feel confident in arguing that Kabw a Shimat lived about 1700 ± 50 and that the political victory personified by Shimat took place no later than 1700.

2 Reefe, *The Rainbow and the Kings*, pp. 115–28.

3 Not only do Kanyok men and women of memory recall vivid legends commenting about the life and activities of Mulaj's and Ilung's father Cibang a Ciband and grandfather Ciband a Kabw, the sites of those two early Mulundu rulers' compounds are still protected by their descendants. The story of Shimat, a tale which personifies the victory of patrilineal leaders, stands at least two generations prior to Ciband a Kabw.

4 For a discussion of the historical usefulness of clichés see Miller, *The African Past Speaks*, pp. 24–31.

5 One place where such consistency already seems evident is with the rise of big men as challengers to the old matrilineal order. Although Jan Vansina's book *Paths in the Rainforests* appeared after my study of the Kanyok had been submitted for publication, I was pleased to note that his conclusions about big men and matrilineages were similar to my own. The parallels are especially significant since, in his research, Vansina relied on historical linguistics while I depended upon an analysis of myths and legends.

Bibliography

Archival sources

1 Archives du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères

These archives were formerly the Archives Africaines of the Ministre des Colonies. After 1960, most of the material was transferred to the Foreign Ministry, although some items were sent to other departments and some were lost in transfer.

A A.E. 65 (209), "Dossier: Traité d'esclaves: Zone du Kwango-Kasai (1888–1908)."
This dossier contains letters and reports about illicit trade across the Angolan–Congo Free State border. Relevant papers in A.E. 65 are:
De Grunne, "Rapport sur la reconnaissance effectuée du 12 juin au 5 juillet 1907," Luluabourg, le 10 juillet, 1907.
"Rapport spécial sur la prise d'une caravane d'esclaves conduite par des Kiokos, juin 1907," Luluabourg, le 10 juillet, 1907.
Legat, "Rapport politique du mois de juin 1896: Zone de Luluabourg," Luluabourg, le 1 juillet, 1896.
Macar, "Macar Commissaire du district de Luluabourg au Département de l'intérieur" (no place), le 20 décembre, 1887.
"Macar à Monsieur le Gouverneur," Luluabourg, le 30 juin, 1887.
Saut, "Avis et considérations du Commissaire du district à l'appui du rapport sur la reconnaissance effectuée, du 12 juin au 5 juillet 1907, par M. le sous-lieutenant de Grunne et de la prise d'une caravane d'esclaves conduite par les trafiquants Kioko," Lusambo, le 10 septembre, 1907.
Scarambone, "Scarambone à Monsieur le Commissaire de district à Lusambo," Katola, le 24 juillet, 1904.
Van Bradael, "Carte du district de Lualaba Kasai," Luluabourg, le 25 décembre, 1899.
"Rapport politique de 1899: District du Lualaba-Kasai," Lusambo, le 31 décembre, 1899.

B A.E. 72 (210), "Lettre du Gouverneur Général, No. 1844, le 3 avril 1910,"
Several documents attached to this document contain information about the illegal Portuguese slave trade in Kasai.
"Extrait du Rapport de M. le Lieutenant Heide," annexé à la lettre du Gouverneur Général, no. 952 D, du 14 avril, 1912.
"Notice d'une lettre du gouverneur," le 10 avril, 1910.

C A.E. 259 (293), "Dossier: Règlement des frontières: correspondance générale: 1887–1898."
This dossier contains correspondence regarding Free State–Angolan borders.

D A.E. 323 (268), "Dossier: Objet: Portugal-Lac Dilolo. Origine de la frontière litigieuse au lac Dilolo (1904–1907). Mission Willemoës (1904–1907)."
The geographer Willemoës led an expedition in hopes of finding the line dividing the watersheds of the Congo and Zambezi Rivers. His reports contain ethnographic data as well as information about his geographical work. Papers in this dossier include:
V. d'Obry Willemoës, "Rapport provisoire sur les travaux géographiques dans la région de Dilolo," Katola, le 15 octobre, 1905.
"Rapport concernant les travaux effectués par la Mission Géographique du Lac Dilolo dans la région Poste Dilolo-Kasai-Lac Dilolo-Tshiefu-Poste Dilolo," Boma, le 16 mars, 1907.
E A.E. 325 (269), "Dossier: Portugal: Frontière Lunda, Expédition Wissmann (1883–1885)."
F A.E. 326 (269), "Dossier: Objet: Portugal-Lunda-Expéditions Allemandes Belges."
G A.E. microfilm no. 72, R. P. Bracq, "Journal du R. P. Bracq," Tielen St. Jacques, 1897–1902.
H D 385, "Inventaire des Archives Historiques," n.d.

2 Archives du Musée royal d'Afrique centrale: section historique

Because most official government reports and correspondence are housed in the Archives du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, the Musée specializes in private papers of individual explorers, government officials, and missionaries.
A Archives Brasseur
B Archives Gillain
C Archives Verdick
"Cahier-premier séjour au Congo 1890."
"Rapport sur la fondation des postes du Sud: Katola-Dilolo" (1903).

3 Collection of R. P. Marcel Storme, Louvain

As the official historian of the Scheut mission (Congrégation du Coeur Immaculé de Marie Scheut), Father Storme had an extensive collection of reports, letters, journals, photos, and memorabilia from Scheut missionaries in Central Africa. A former missionary, Storme spoke fluent Ciluba and enjoyed the friendship and confidence of many church leaders who sent him great quantities of material. The following documents from the Storme collection are of direct relevance for a study of the Kanyok:
A André Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van de Bena Kanyoka" (Tielen St. Jacques, 1952).
B André Casteleyn, "Uit de Geschiedenis van Tielen Sint Jaak" (n.d., 1950s).
C Karel Dillen, "Nota's over Muzembe" (n.d., 1950s).

4 Archives du Territoire de Mwena Ditu

Most of the documents in this collection were located at Kanda Kanda until the administrative center was transferred to Ditu in the early 1950s. Records from the early colonial period are bound together in large volumes entitled "Rapports politiques" or "Registre des renseignements politiques."
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