

# TEARS OF RAIN

**Ethnicity and History  
in Central Western Zambia**



## Tears of Rain

Monographs from the African Studies Centre,  
Leiden

# Tears of Rain

Ethnicity and history  
in central western Zambia

Wim van Binsbergen



Kegan Paul International  
London and New York

INTERNET VERSION, 2004

the pagination in this version differs from that of the original printed version of 1992; the indexes have *not* been adjusted accordingly



## To Patricia

First published in 1990 by Kegan Paul International Limited

PO Box 256, London WC1B 3SW

Distributed by  
International Thomson Publishing Services Ltd  
North Way, Andover, Hants SP10 5BE  
England

Routledge, Chapman and Hall Inc.  
29 West 35th Street  
New York, NY 10001  
USA

The Canterbury Press Pty Ltd  
Unit 2, 71 Rushdale Street  
Scoresby, Victoria 3179  
Australia

Produced by W. Goar Klein

Set in Times  
by W. Goar Klein/Z-Work  
Gouda, The Netherlands  
and printed in Great Britain  
by T J Press (Padstow) Ltd  
Cornwall

© Afrika-Studiecentrum 1992

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Binsbergen, Wim M.J. van  
Tears of Rain: ethnicity and history in central western Zambia. –  
(Monographs from the African Studies Centre, Leiden)  
Title II. Series  
305.86894

ISBN 071030434X

US Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data  
Binsbergen, Wim M.J. van.  
Tears of Rain: ethnicity and history in central western Zambia / Wim van Binsbergen  
xxii + 495 p. 21.6 cm. – (Monographs from the African Studies Centre, Leiden)  
Includes bibliographical references and index.  
ISBN 0-7103-0434-X

Likota Iya Bankoya–Criticism. Textual. 2. Nkoya (African people)–History–Sources.  
3. Ethnicity–Zambia. 4. Ethnohistory–Zambia. 5. Zambia–History–Sources. I. Title. II.  
Series.

DT3058.N56B56 1991  
398.22'08996393–dc20

91-21009  
CIP

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## Preface and acknowledgments

This is a book about ethnicity among the Nkoya people in central western Zambia, and about the historical stuff out of which that ethnicity is made. It studies in detail the fascinating ways in which ethnicity both creates, and feeds upon, ethno-history. At the same time it assesses the possibility of reconstructing objective historical processes, in that region since the sixteenth century, on the basis primarily of one very extensive source, Rev. Johasaphat Malasha Shimunika's *Likota lya Bankoya*, whose production (as a compilation and processing of local oral traditions) is intimately related to contemporary ethnicity.

But most of all this is a book about that fundamental, and humble, condition of scholarship: *reading*. The main message I have to impart in my argument is what it means to read a text like *Likota lya Bankoya* (and by implication — since that text belongs to the genre of literate ethno-history — an entire category of sources of modern African historiography). In order to be able to scrape off layer after layer of the text, and to begin to understand its meanings, workings and preconceptions, we need the linguistics, the symbolism, the documentary and oral sources; we need also such insight in the local socio-cultural process as derives from prolonged participatory research, and an appreciation of contemporary political and ethnic structures in the region. And beyond even these academic tools of method, skill and knowledge, as I hope to develop in the course of my argument, such reading appeals to existential categories: patience, empathy, the excitement of discovery, sense of literary beauty, power of imagination, and love.

This volume consists of the following parts:

- Part I* An analytical study of the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript, sketching its political, ethnic and ideological background and the problems of editing and translation which it poses, and

proceeding to extract — in confrontation with other oral and documentary sources, and gradually perfecting our methodology — whatever information that text has to offer on the precolonial history of the region and, in that region, on the process of Nkoya ethnicization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries;

*Part II* A critical edition of the Nkoya text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, upon which the argument in Part I is largely based;

*Part III* An English translation of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, through which the materials of Part II will become available to non-Nkoya-speaking audiences;

*Part IV* Reference material, including genealogies, a bibliography, and indexes.

With all the care with which the Nkoya text has been prepared and embedded in a critical apparatus, I certainly do not claim to make an original, professional contribution to African linguistics. The conventions of editing and orthography as followed in this book reflect the concerns of contemporary Nkoya speakers and of an anthropologist-cum-historian, and these are not necessarily those of the international community of Bantuist scholars. If this edition will manage to kindle an interest in Nkoya among students of Bantu languages, inviting them to correct such linguistic errors as the present edition no doubt contains, I shall consider that part of my task to have been fulfilled successfully.

The Nkoya speakers who have contributed to the present edition, and I myself, take pride in the fact that — along with its companion volume, a popular edition for a local Zambian audience — this is the first publication of a major Nkoya text since the appearance of a Nkoya translation of the New Testament and Psalms in the early 1950s — which was also largely Rev. Shimunika's work.

Despite an early attempt such as Gervase Clay's *History of the Mankoya district* (1945), the history of central western Zambia which forms the main topic of the present book has long constituted a relative blind-spot in the study of South Central Africa. As Schecter wrote in his assessment of Lunda southward expansion:

'And somebody must ask the people of the Nkoya-Mbwela group, who now live south of the area of Lunda expansion, for their view of the whole process.' (Schecter 1980a: 320)

This is precisely what I have done in the research which led to the present book.

Similarly, a decade ago Gwyn Prins, making up the balance sheet of his Lozi oral-historical research, was so generous as to express the hope that my work in progress on the eastern Lozi periphery, among the Nkoya, would yield new insights into Lozi history (Prins 1978:

220). On this point this volume may be disappointing. Although prominent Lozi royal figures like Sipopa and Lewanika feature in *Likota lya Bankoya* with unexpected vividness and detail, the accepted picture of Lozi-Nkoya relations — in the sense of ‘Lozi’ domination over ‘the Nkoya’ since c. 1860 — is not going to be greatly altered by the present material and my analysis. Unless in the following sense: now that the precolonial history of state formation among the Nkoya has entered scholarly debate, it will help us to discern overall patterns and comparative models of state formation in western Zambia; in the light of these patterns the Lozi state, however much it has captured public imagination and scholarly attention, will lose some of its uniqueness and glory. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, processes of state formation throughout western Zambia, including the ancestors of the people whom we call today the Lozi and the Nkoya, appear to have displayed many parallels. The striking differences that were to develop in the nineteenth century were due, partly to historical accident (such as the invigoration of the Lozi state with the Kololo impulse), partly to ecological differences, partly to such internal ideological, social and political developments as the present analysis helps us to pinpoint.

Throughout Africa, state formation entails the imposition, upon a local social formation, of a more or less centralized socio-political structure representing a *total departure from*, or a *total transformation of*, the social organization and ideology prevailing in earlier, pre-state times. In the specific context of the expansion of the Lunda political culture in South Central Africa, the typical form of statehood emerging from that transformation had two salient features as identified by Schechter (1980a): *perpetual kinship* and *positional succession*. Together these made for the powerful organizational and mobilizational structure of the Lunda-ized states. Perpetual kinship expresses the political relationships between rulers and between aristocrats in terms of fictive kinship, so that the incumbent of position A is always identified as e.g. the younger brother of the incumbent of position B; political alliance and seniority are implied in this idiom. Positional succession, as the complementary device, stipulates a fixed order of incumbence and promotion encompassing all the senior political positions within a state, by virtue of which all incumbents move one place up when one incumbent in a more senior position dies or otherwise has to be replaced. The literature on the Lunda realm shows how these organizational formulae have strengthened state organizations; and while these states have seldom been examined from the point of view of a total transformation of the pre-state order, dynastic myths of origin at least bring out the element of a historic break, a rupture represented by the advent of statehood. Particularly among the Nkoya’s western neighbours, the Lozi, all these elements are very manifest, and brought out by the works by Gluckman, Mutumba Mainga, Muuka and Prins as listed in the bibliography.

Let us look at the following anecdote which was told by the hunter F.C. Selous about Sipopa, the Lozi king (1864-1876) who restored the Luyana dynasty after a quarter of a century of occupation by the Kololo from South Africa:

‘In Sepopo’s [Sipopa’s] time many people were executed for witchcraft and other offences, and their bodies thrown to the crocodiles. (...) One day, as he [Mr T., a trader, and friend of Selous] was drinking beer with Sepopo, a very old man crept up and begged for food. The king, turning to some of his men, asked who he was, and learned that he belonged to one of the slave tribes. He then said, “He’s a very old man; can he do any work?” and was informed that the old man was quite past work, and depending upon charity — a very, very scarce article in the interior of Africa. Then said the king, “Take him down to the river and hold his head under water,” and the old man was forthwith led down to the river. Presently the executioner returned. “Is the old man dead?” said Sepopo. “Dead he is,” they answered. “Then give him to the crocodiles,” said the king, and went on drinking beer and chatting to my friend T.’ (Selous 1893: 249f).

This is more than a simple tale of royal cruelty, although Sipopa’s reputation as a tyrant is well-established (Holub 1879). We see the Lozi king negotiating between three different social spheres:

- (a) the state, defining relations between the king, his court officers, an animal species (the crocodile) as a royal emblem, and his subjects including ‘slave tribes’;
- (b) peripheral mercantile capitalism whose penetration brings the king in contact with European traders, in the pursuit of mutual benefits;
- (c) and the kinship-based social order at the village level, where commensality rules and where the elderly (to whom all juniors are linked by ties of real, putative or fictive kinship) are to be supported and honoured, but at the same time are feared for their obvious powers of sorcery (also considered a form of ‘work’) without which they could never have attained their advanced age.

Seeking to entertain and impress the representative of mercantile capitalism, Sipopa’s action celebrates the absolute supremacy of his state over the village order, and the absolute rejection of the latter’s principles of seniority and commensality. The specifics of the episode are decidedly ironic: as we shall see in the present book, it was with a ‘slave tribe’, the Nkoya, that Sipopa had found refuge during Kololo rule, and it was among them that, through ties of fictive kinship, he had received his early training as a hunter. The king’s action amounts to a rejection of all this, confronting the kinship etiquette, sorcery connotations and Sipopa’s personal obligations of reciprocity vis-à-vis

a subjugated ethnic group, with the physical and symbolic power invested in the Lozi state: a power not only manifestly superior to the old man's but deriving, as it were, from a different universe — the state — and implying yet a third universe — peripheral capitalism and European penetration in general. As such, the anecdote is similar to standard tales of Lozi arrogance circulating among contemporary Nkoya; if told before a twentieth-century Nkoya audience it would immediately summon the resentment that Nkoya have built up in over a century of domination by the Lozi state under conditions of outside, European support. Patterns of Nkoya ethnicization are to be understood in the light of this resentment. However, the principal point I wish to make at this initial stage is that such total departure from the social and symbolic order of village society was never attained by the states which, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the Nkoya sought to establish for themselves.

Nkoya states failed to exploit to the full extent the Lunda heritage of perpetual kinship and positional succession; and they equally failed to build, out of the social and symbolic material available, a state that not only deviated from, but radically transformed that material, making such a transformation the basis for a viable new domain of exploitation hinging on the political structure. The Nkoya myth of state origin, which we shall examine in detail in this book, hints at transformation of the pre-state society but at the same time stresses considerable continuity with the past. Nkoya states did erode, but did not fundamentally surpass, the female-centred cosmological framework and the kinship structure that informed it, and hence remained *inchoate* states, always subject to the internal dynamics of the dynastic group, and to the vicissitudes of tribute and external pressure. It was therefore, probably, that the Nkoya states were no match, not for the Kololo, the Lozi or the Yeke, nor indeed for the colonial state.

It is to the growth of scholarship on this systematic, abstract level that this book seeks to contribute, more than to the detailed description of specific events in the Nkoya past.

Historians of South Central Africa may be persuaded, by this volume, that *Likota lya Bankoya* is indeed the goldmine I believed it to be when I set out to devote an irresponsibly large number of years to its editing, translation and analysis. Casting some surprising light on historical processes and evolving political, social and ideological structures in central western Zambia, Shimunika's text is particularly fascinating for the exercises in historical method and criticism to which it invites and which form the core of my argument. I have sought (in such fields as state formation, ethnicization, modes of production, gender relations, symbolic analysis — and the ideological implications of colonialism, Christianity and literacy) to formulate new problems and new solutions, whose applicability seem to extend beyond the parochial confines of Nkoya culture and central western Zambia. It is in this sense that I hope to contribute to the study of African history and ethnicity in general.

The precolonial history of central western Zambia, and the text of *Likota lya Bankoya*, confront us with a great many puzzles, some of which I have sought to solve in this volume. In order not to add another puzzle let me explain the volume's unusually poetic (or is it tear-jerking?) title *Tears of Rain* at this early stage. As my argument will make clear, Rev. Shimunika's text has the apologetic intention of asserting Nkoya ethnic identity in the face of twentieth-century political subjugation and arrogance to which the Nkoya were treated on the part the Lozi ethnic group, the dominant one in western Zambia. In this respect *Likota lya Bankoya* is very much an expression of ethnic conflict such as arose and intensified within regional and local-level arenas created by the colonial state. The Lozi challenge is met by Shimunika's evoking a glorious precolonial past of Nkoya kingship, revolving on the proud adage that resounds though *Likota lya Bankoya*:

'Our Kingship comes from the Raindrop.'

From raindrop to tear is only one step, — in fact the adage could be translated as 'Our Kingship consists of the Tears of Rain', where Rain is the personified demiurge Mvula who mediates between the Land (the visible world) and the Sky (the abode of the High God, Nyambi). Thus the adage conveys both cosmic legitimation, divine ancestry, and expanse — to the extent of fragmentation — in terms of number of royal titles (cf. *Appendix 7*) and numbers of subjects. In fact the contemporary Nkoya firmly believe that most of western and central Zambia would, in the last analysis, qualify as belonging to the Nkoya realm.

Tears, however, have a sorrowful connotation in most cultures and the Nkoya are no exception. Rev. Shimunika's argument is profoundly tragic. For while attempting to glorify the Nkoya past and to state the case for Nkoya political independence from the Lozi, his very data make abundantly clear that as from c. 1860, nearly half a century before the imposition of colonial rule, Nkoya states were losing their economic and political independence first to the immigrant Kololo, and subsequently to the Lozi as soon as the latter had managed to reclaim their state after a quarter of a century of Kololo rule.

This remarkable historiographic integrity on Rev. Shimunika's part indicates the status of *Likota lya Bankoya* as a contribution to history. As a student of and a participant in Nkoya life since 1972, I should add that this ironic twist in the constitution of their ethnic awareness appears to me to have in itself an eminently Nkoya flavour. The tension between pride and humiliation, submission and individual assertiveness may be a universal trait of human society, but it is particularly noticeable as a constant of Nkoya social and political life, where it often tends to be resolved by the studied adoption of the underdog's role. Those who today identify as Nkoya derive pride and hope from the fact that finally their vulnerable identity has managed to establish itself in the world of books, political participation and development

schemes — even if this does not alter the material hardship of life in central western Zambia today, and meant bringing out the somewhat humiliating truth, probing for its deeper meaning instead of hiding in antiquated myths.

It is to this process of illumination that I have committed myself in this book, and I am deeply grateful to all those who have enabled me to bring my contribution to completion.

## **Acknowledgments**

This volume forms the outcome of a long editorial and analytical process, in which the concerns of those in contemporary Zambia who identify as Nkoya have been combined with what I hope to be the international standards of scholarship. In the course of this process, which has enjoyed the patient support of the people from Zambia's Kaoma district (Western Province), their traditional leaders Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare, and the district's modern officeholders, the following people have contributed specific essential services:

- Mr Denis Kawangu Shiyowe, of Shumbanyama village, Kaoma district, who was the first to attract and stimulate scholarly interest in the Nkoya language and culture in the early 1970s; he taught me the language and was my research assistant in the years 1972-1974. Without his brotherly dedication, humour and love this book could not have been written, and the research on which it is based could never have been undertaken.
- Mr Hamba H. Mwene, of Lusaka, who preserved the manuscript of *Likota lya Bankoya* and passed it on to me in 1975 with the purpose of having it published; Mr Mwene has been most helpful throughout the various stages leading towards the editing and publication of the manuscript. To acknowledge this contribution, a preface and kings' lists by Mr Mwene have been included in the present edition — duly italicized in order to distinguish these writings from Rev. Shimunika's text itself.
- Mr Masuku Malapa, of Lusaka, who by making draft translations of the manuscript into English enabled me to penetrate the Nkoya text more fully and to create a scholarly context within which, as a by-product, a popular Nkoya version could be published as a separate volume: *Likota lya Bankoya: Nkoya edition*, Research Report No. 31 B, Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1988, 97 pp. That popular edition, without analytical study, English translation, footnotes or other reference material, but printed from the same computer files as the Nkoya text included in the present volume, made the *Likota lya Bankoya* text available to its immediate users in a simple and accessible form.



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- Mr Davison Kawanga, of Kaoma, whose companionship and guidance as from 1977 has enabled me to broaden and deepen my approach to the Nkoya language and the people speaking it, and who has made specific contributions to the editorial process.
- Mr Jackson Shimunika, of Luampa, who especially after his father's death in 1981 assisted the editorial process in various ways.
- The Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia, Lusaka, which has inspired, supported and facilitated my research on western Zambia ever since 1972.
- The African Studies Centre, Leiden, which as from 1977 made the most generous contributions conceivable towards this volume and towards my research on western Zambia in general: in terms of technical facilities and publication funds, my working time, and field trips in 1977 (three months), 1978 (one month), 1988 (one week) and 1989 (two weeks) — adding to my original field-work among the Nkoya from March 1972 to April 1974. Without the enthusiastic support and trusting patience of this institution's former General Secretary Mr G. Grootenhuis, its Bursar Mr J. Nijssen, its computer specialists Messrs R. Niemeijer, W. Veerman and M. Leopold, and its publication officer Mr D. Stelpstra, the present volume could never have been produced, nor its companion volume. I am indebted to the Editorial Board of the African Studies Centre for its wisdom to agree to the inclusion, however costly, of the Nkoya text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* in this volume — a requisite for the kind of meticulous editing and close reading on which my historiographic method depends. Without the stimulating intellectual environment which my colleagues in the Department of Political and Historical Studies helped to create, the final product would have taken even longer to materialize, and its treatment of issues of state formation and ethnicity would have been even more defective. Rob Buijtenhuijs, specifically, read the manuscript and made useful comments.
- In the editorial process, a decisive point was reached in 1985, when proofs of the Nkoya text and of an earlier draft of the English translation became available for circulation. Then Mr M. Malapa and Mr H.H. Mwene contributed their own full sets of corrections and queries. At the same time, in Kaoma, Mr D. Kawanga organized an editorial committee which submitted its own set of corrected proofs; the members of this committee were: Mr David Kapungu, Ms Ruth M. Kashompa, Mr Davison Kawanga, Mr Enock Mulando, Mr Powell Munengo, Mr Dominic D. Mupishi, Mr M.S. Mutupa, Ms Mary Nalishuwa, Mr Amon N. Njenjema, and Mr Moffat R. Tumbila. Similarly, Mr Jackson Shimunika organized, in Luampa, an editorial committee consisting of Rev. Shimunika's sometime associates in Bible translating: Mr H. Katete, Mr M. Kayoya, Mr H.M. Kazekula,

along with Mr Jackson Shimunika himself; this committee jointly contributed a set of corrected proofs, too.

- While expressing my thanks to all those mentioned here, I wish to include those who, in my personal life since 1972, in The Netherlands, in Zambia and elsewhere, have lived with me through the various phases of my research on western Zambia, sharing its delights and its burdens, and contributing to its final outcomes in more extensive and profound ways than could be spelled out in this scholarly context. The foundation for this book was laid in 1972-74 with the loyal support of Henny van Rijn, ‘Mandanèshima’, my first wife. My understanding of Nkoya politics and history made decisive progress through field-work in 1977 and 1978, when between Mukunkike and Nkeyema I found a fulfilment to which this book is perhaps a belated tribute, among other commitments. This book is dedicated, however, to my wife Patricia, ‘Mandashikanda’, not because the burdens of Nkoya-ness were so excessive in her case, but because she largely created the conditions which allowed me to finish what, ten years ago, or again in 1989 when the manuscript of this book was stolen during field-work in Botswana, appeared to me a hopelessly impossible task.
- Clearing up the dazzling complexity of names and places in *Likotlya Bankoya*, and doing justice to that complexity in the index, would have been nearly impossible if my brother, Peter Broers, had not taught me how to write the required computer programmes, even doing essential parts of the writing himself.
- Finally I wish to express my gratitude to Mr Marc Schoen and especially to the publisher’s copy editor for their work in the proofreading phase of the production of this book.

Earlier versions of my argument (particularly sections of chapters 4 and 5, and chapter 6) were presented to the international scholarly community on the following occasions:

- (1) The ‘Netherlands Early States Club’ ’s Workshop on the Position of Women in the Early State, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 14 June 1985; I am indebted to Hans Claessen, Martin Doornbos, Dick Papoeseck and Héleen Sancisi for useful comments made on that occasion;
- (2) A Dutch translation of that earlier version has been published as ‘De vrouwelijke kant van staatsvorming in prekoloniaal centraal westelijk Zambia’, in: H.J.M. Claessen (ed.), *Machtige moeders: Over de positie van de vrouw in vroege staten*, Leiden: Institute for Cultural Anthropology and Development Studies, University of Leiden, 1986, pp. 157-216; and benefited from the editor’s constructive remarks.

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- (3) 'Female dimensions of state formation in central western Zambia, c. 1500-1900: And the religious transformation of women's political power in the nineteenth and twentieth century', paper presented at the Conference on Culture and Consciousness in Southern Africa, University of Manchester, Manchester, 25 September 1986. I am indebted to Terence Ranger, Matthew Schoffeleers, Wyatt MacGaffey, Shula Marks, Ned Alpers, Marjorie Mbilinyi and John Peel for stimulating comments made on that occasion.
- (4) Chapter 6 was presented at the conference 'Mémoires, histoires, sociétés,' Department of History, Université Laval, Québec, October 1987, and appeared in essentially the same form as 'Likota Iya Bankoya: Memory, myth and history', in: *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, (1987) 27, 3-4: 359-392, special issue on popular modes of history in Africa; in this connexion the editorial suggestions made by Bogumil Jewsiewiecki and Henri Moniot are gratefully acknowledged.

# Part I

## Tears of Rain

Ethnicity and history  
in central western Zambia

## Chapter 1

# The contemporary point of departure: The Nkoya-speaking people and their chiefs

### 1.1. The Nkoya

Among the Nkoya people of central western Zambia, ethnicization and the production of history are inseparable processes. An analysis of their history is impossible without an assessment of the formation of their ethnic identity over time, and their present-day ethnic structure and functioning can only be understood against the background of their history. If then, in the present chapter, we set out to approach this Gordian knot with the blunt knife of synchronic political ethnography, this is mainly a heuristic strategy.

At the same time, it must be admitted that one could not very well start the argument of this book by a profoundly historical statement. For nearly one and a half centuries the area where the Nkoya are now concentrated has formed the periphery of a major state, that of the Luyana and Kololo. And since the creation, almost a hundred years ago, of the colonial state, and the advent of capitalist development along the 'Line of Rail' which connects the ancient capital of Livingstone to the Copperbelt, that very Luyana state has formed a periphery of the central state. As a result, the Nkoya have only been treated, in academic writing, as an appendix, a mere footnote to history.

The same pattern can be seen with regard to precolonial documentary sources, which for other parts of South Central Africa have often been far more abundant.

One of the first published references to a region adjacent to that of the Nkoya — notably the head-waters of the Zambezi, then called the Land of Levar or Loyal, from which no doubt the Luvale ethnic group takes its name — is by M. Botelho de Vasconcellos in 1799, as quoted by Sir R.F. Burton in the introduction to his famous edition of *The lands of Cazembe* (Burton 1873: 24, 25, n.).<sup>1</sup>

Nineteenth-century European sources on the Nkoya region are limited to a few explorers, hunters and missionaries, most of whom<sup>2</sup> are listed and have their itineraries marked on the 1964 *Map showing routes of the early European travellers in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland* (Director 1964).

In 1853-54 Silva Porto crossed the region from west to east, and coming from Naliele (the ancient Luyana capital on the Zambezi) allegedly reached the well-known trading capital of the ruler Kayingu on the Kafue; this makes Silva Porto a potentially unique source on nineteenth-century Nkoya history. However, only in 1942 an excerpt from his diaries was published; this work is not available outside Portugal and could not be consulted by me.<sup>3</sup>

Silva Porto's hopes of opening up Barotseland for Portuguese trade were partly frustrated by lack of financial support (Gann 1958: 16), yet in the 1870s there existed a substantial flow of Portuguese trade goods, which only after 1872 met with some competition from the South (Holub 1879: 166f). In the second half of the nineteenth century the easterly route from the Zambezi to Kayingu was no longer used for long-distance trade, due to Ila raids and to long-distance traders' bypassing Barotseland via a northeastern route to Kayingu. The best known missionaries, Livingstone and Coillard, therefore travelled close to the Zambezi and never came near the Nkoya heartland (cf. Livingstone 1971; Coillard 1971). The same limitation applies to the Portuguese Major Serpa Pinto, who having arrived in Lealui (the later Luyana capital) from Angola in 1878, was prevented from continuing his intended journey due east to Kayingu, and instead was confined by

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<sup>1</sup> Prins (1980: 255, n. 31) cites an even earlier, 1795 reference to Bulozí i.e. Loziland, contained in a late nineteenth-century Portuguese publication I could not trace.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., with the exception of a few authors I shall refer to in chapter 5.

<sup>3</sup> Silva Porto 1942. Cf. Gann 1958: 16, where reference is made to the published diaries but likewise with the admission that Gann had not seen them. According to Smith & Dale (1920, i: 47, n. 1) Silva Porto travelled from Naliele to Kayingu. An identical itinerary for Silva Porto appears on the map opposite the title page of Burton 1873: from *Naliele* to *Cahinga*. A different itinerary however is shown on the 1964 map (Director 1964), but then under the name of J. da Silva (1853-54), claimed at the back of that map to have been a 'bondsmen of *pombeiro*' with whom Silva Porto travelled through eastern Angola to arrive at Naliele together; Silva Porto's itinerary east of Naliele is not shown on the map. Obviously, further research is needed on this point.

Lubosi Lewanika I,<sup>4</sup> Sipopa's successor, to the southeastern route along the Zambezi (Serpa Pinto 1881).

After a successful expedition from Angola to Yakaland, Zaïre in 1877-80, the two Portuguese naval officers H. Capello and R. Ivens undertook another, more southerly expedition in 1884, which took them across eastern Angola to the Zambezi, then along an untracked route northeast along the Kabompo, to Katanga and from there back southeast through central Zambia and on to the Cape (Capello & Ivens 1881, 1886).<sup>5</sup> Thus they traversed the western and northern fringes of the Nkoya region, but their published account throws regrettably little light on the detailed historical issues discussed in the present book. The late nineteenth-century travelogue was a literary genre where ample introspection on the explorer's communion with the African landscape, historical retrospect, and mineralogical, botanical and zoological impressions, left room for only the most fragmentary and superficial ethnographic and political data; and the latter tended to be clad in evaluative terms. Therefore, while accidental reference to a specific ethnic group in a travelogue may yield significant information, the lack of such reference does not mean that the phenomena the travellers could have observed (considering other evidence) were not there. We are already lucky that at least Capello and Ivens's map (1886, i: opposite 333) of the relevant part of their itinerary shows, in the correct places, many hydronyms and other toponyms still in use in the Nkoya region today.<sup>6</sup>

To the same travelogue genre belong the works of the hunter F.C. Selous, who in 1877-78 with his companion L.M. Owen reached the Lukanga swamps from the southeast, and in 1888 returned for a trip due north to the Kafue/Mwembeshi confluence, on both occasions skirting the extreme easterly extension of Nkoya presence, on which topic however he has very little to say (Selous 1893). A few relevant observations are found in the notes of the trader G. Westbeech, who traversed Barotseland and surrounding areas intensively until his death in 1888 (cf. Tabler 1963; Sampson 1972).

A transition from the travelogue to a more professional ethnographic genre we find in the works of the Czech Emile Holub, who on an ill-fated expedition to the Kafue in 1885-86 visited the fringes of Nkoyaland. Both the narrative of his expedition (Holy 1975) and his earlier *Ethnographic sketch of the Marutse-Mambunda empire* (Holub 1879) contain some information pertinent to the Nkoya. However, the

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<sup>4</sup> Lewanika I reigned from 1878-1884, and again from 1885-1916; cf. Mainga Mutumba 1973; Prins 1980; Clay 1968.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Mr A.S. Bell, Librarian, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, and to Mrs D. de Lame, Royal Africa Museum, Tervuren, Belgium, for tracing Capello & Ivens's obscure 1886 book and making it available to me.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Lukulu (*Rio Lucullo*), Namilende, Dongwe (*Rio Zongué*), Luampa (*Rio Luampoa*), Lukahu (*Rio Lukáoé*), Luena, Lukolwe (*Lucolloe*).

reliability of that information is negatively affected not only by Holub's limited exposure in both time and place (his account of Loziland is mainly based on hurried observations in Sesheke), and by the fact that he was one of the pioneers of ethnographic method, but also by his personality; as Prins (1980: 253, n. 10) points out, Coillard and Westbeech both had a low opinion of Holub's abilities and good sense. But how else could these members of established professions have regarded an anthropologist *avant la lettre*?

Against this minimal background of precolonial documentary sources, it is little wonder that the Nkoya area became a fertile ground for the study of oral history — which started already with the publication of Clay's *History of the Mankoya district* (1945), under conditions which we shall consider in chapter 2.

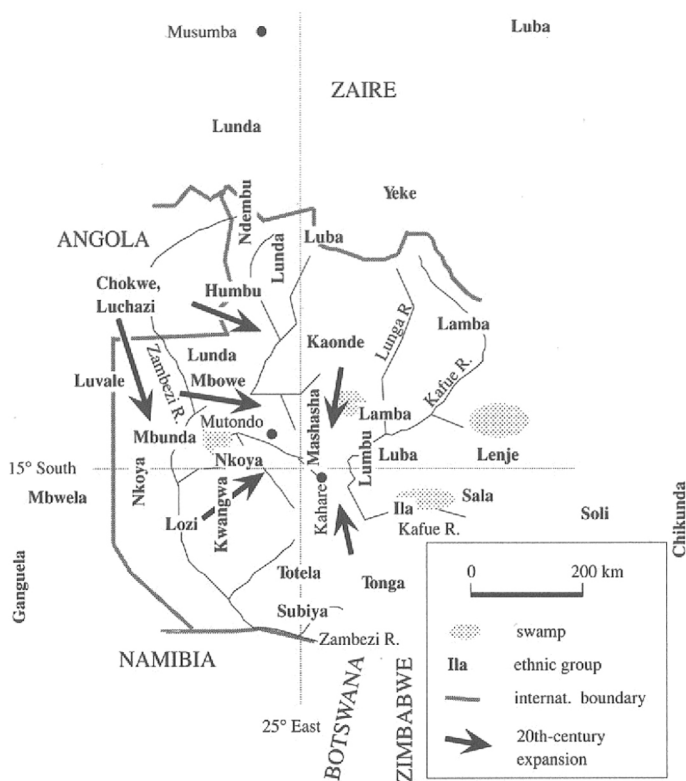
However, let us first present the outlines of twentieth-century Nkoya social and political organization.

The Nkoya people are primarily found in what today is Kaoma district, in the eastern part of Zambia's Western Province, the former Barotseland Protectorate which at Independence (1964) — when Northern Rhodesia became Zambia — remained incorporated in Zambia under special conditions stipulated by the Barotseland Agreement (Mulford 1967). When the boma (colonial administrative headquarters at district level) was established in 1906 (Clay 1945: 16), the district was named Mankoya — a name deriving from the word 'Nkoya', but with a plural prefix derived from the Lozi language. In 1969 President Kaunda revised the special status of Barotseland and, in an attempt to excise all ethnic connotations from toponyms in western Zambia, the district was renamed Kaoma, at the same time as Barotseland changed its name to Western Province (a name until then reserved for what then became Copperbelt Province), and Balovale became Zambezi district (cf. Caplan 1970).

In addition to those in Kaoma district, there are minorities of Nkoya-speakers and people identifying as Nkoya in all the adjacent districts and even provinces.

The Nkoya-speaking peoples number about 30,000 members. Estimates are rendered difficult by a number of factors: the frequent occurrence of bilingualism among Nkoya speakers particularly outside Kaoma district (so that perhaps a few thousand of speakers of Lozi, Kaonde, Lamba, Lenje, Totela and Subiya might also be classified as Nkoya speakers); and on the other hand the excessive claim by contemporary partisans of Nkoya ethnicity, who would insist that extensive portions of Zambia's Western, Northwestern, Central and Southern Provinces were 'originally' Nkoya. The linguistic data derived from the 1969 census (Kashoki 1978: 20) give a total of 31,000 Nkoya speakers or 0.8% of the Zambian African population.





*Diagram 1.* Ethnic groups in twentieth-century central western Zambia

In Kaoma district the Nkoya<sup>7</sup> live in a rather well-watered and densely-wooded savanna area between the Kafue and the Zambezi valley, in the west fringing on the Kalahari sands, and in the east artificially bounded by the large Kafue National Park, an uninhabited area since the 1930s. The region (cf. diagram 1)<sup>8</sup> is characterized by its

<sup>7</sup> On the Nkoya, cf. Brelsford 1965; Clay 1945; Derricourt & Papstein 1977; McCulloch 1951; Brown 1984; and my own publications as listed in the bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> This diagram is based on the author's field-notes, and on Surveyor General, n.d. [late 1960s], 'Tribal and linguistic map of Zambia', Lusaka: Surveyor General. The information in the latter map shows the situation as in the late 1920s, as is clear from the fact that exactly the same geographical distribution of ethnic and linguistic groups appears in

specific agricultural systems for subsistence crops (Schültz 1976), and until quite recently offered its population ample opportunities for hunting and fishing.

As the diagram indicates, the Nkoya are surrounded by a considerable number of other ethnic groups, outstanding among which are the Lozi to the west, the Kaonde to the north, the Ila to the east, the Tonga (and related groups such as the Subiya and the Totela) to the southeast. The linguistic boundaries are seldom sharp, bilingualism is a common occurrence especially near such boundaries, and the latter do not neatly coincide with the region's equally vague cultural boundaries.

In this fluid set-up, it is little surprising that local attempts to define Nkoya-ness in cultural terms (and such attempts were invariably the result of prompting by myself as an alien researcher) never yielded clear-cut and totally convincing indicators. Yet such self-definitions are worth looking at.

Thus, in a group discussion of at one of the Nkoya chief's capitals in 1977, the Kahare Royal Council,<sup>9</sup> being Nkoya was defined by the following five criteria:

- (a) mastery of the Nkoya language;
- (b) being born from Nkoya parents;
- (c) observing the institution of *kutembwisha kankanga*, the female puberty ritual;<sup>10</sup>

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Richards (1939), end map entitled 'Tribal areas Northern Rhodesia', and there said to be based on a 'map prepared by the Northern Rhodesian Survey Department, 1930'. In over half a century, the geographic location of established ethnic groups has not undergone great changes, but the official map's suggestion of ethnically homogeneous, virtually demarcated rural areas can no longer be sustained — if ever it was more than an administrator's fiction. Lozi and Luvale have expanded further eastward, into Kaoma district, and so have large numbers of Angolan immigrants. In the extreme east of the district, the Nkeyeme Tobacco Scheme has virtually grown into a rural town of over 20,000 inhabitants, most of them non-Nkoya and hailing from all over western Zambia. These dynamics are indicated in diagram 1 by arrows. By the same token ethnic clusters have been identified not by a demarcated area but merely by a loosely placed name, as in Ohannessian & Kashoki (1978), map 8: 'Languages of Zambia' (end map). A sophisticated approach would start with the notion of rural ethnic heterogeneity and would seek to depict percentages of ethnic affiliation per area or region. However, the data for such an approach are not available to me — they may have been yielded by the national language survey on which Ohannessian & Kashoki (1978) is based; however, such a quantitative approach would not greatly add to the present, historical argument.

<sup>9</sup> Oral source [18] 13.10.1977. Oral sources are identified in *Appendix 5*.

<sup>10</sup> As described in van Binsbergen 1987a.

- (d) practising the central expressive complex of song, music and dance known as *makwasha*,<sup>11</sup> and finally
- (e) the specification 'Nkoya' as tribal affiliation in an individual's colonial tax document (*shitupa*) as in use during the colonial period, and on the post-colonial National Registration Card.<sup>12</sup>

The point is that these criteria are either begging the question (b), or externally imposed (e), or not really distinctive: bilingualism creates borderline cases with regard to criterion (a); the dominant position of Nkoya music all over western Zambia<sup>13</sup> makes for a much wider distribution of the *makwasha* complex (d) than simply among the Nkoya proper; and forms of female puberty ritual (c) which only in detail differ from the Nkoya practice can be found all over central western Zambia and surrounding areas.

An attempt at even more stringent definition was made at another Nkoya chief's capital,<sup>14</sup> where a group of traditional councillors claimed that being Nkoya was simply dependent upon the presence of specific patterns of scarification:

- (a) *in men*: facial scars as in diagram 2; incisors filed to a slightly pointed shape (this is admittedly not general and might be a Lozi

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Brown 1984, ch. 5: 'Makwasha, the most ancient repertoire of Nkoya royal music', pp. 151-182.

<sup>12</sup> The latter part of this final criterion is certainly spurious: the Zambian National Registration Card specifies the bearer's chief, but not his or her tribe — in line with the general administrative aloofness (also manifest in e.g. national census questionnaires) of the Zambian bureaucracy vis-à-vis aspects of social life that could be regarded as 'tribalist'.

<sup>13</sup> Nkoya music, played by Nkoya musicians to the accompaniment of texts in the Nkoya language, is the established court music throughout Barotseland. Brown's (1984) excellent study of Nkoya music is not confined to Kaoma district but also deals with this form of cultural domination of the Lozi by the Nkoya in the Lozi heartland, which somehow counterbalances the political domination which has worked the other way around. Below (chapters 4 and 5) we shall repeatedly come back to the role of the musical instruments — drums, xylophones and *zingongi*, 'royal bells' — as principal regalia among the Nkoya. Nkoya oral sources and *Likota Iya Bankoya* trace the position of Nkoya music at Lozi courts to friendly exchanges between the Lozi ruler Mulambwa and the Nkoya *Mwene Kayambila* in the early nineteenth century. Royal orchestras are widely referred to in the literature on Barotseland (cf. Brown 1984). An extensive early description is by Holub (1879: 57, 135f), who offers perfect illustrations of the instruments, but makes no mention of the special role of the Nkoya in this connexion. Amusingly, he calls the double *zingongi*, 'of which the Lozi king Sipopa had two pairs', *Stahlhandschuhe*, 'steel mittens', which is perhaps what they look like to an explorer from a northern temperate climate (Holub 1879: 143). On African royal bells in general, cf. Vansina 1969.

<sup>14</sup> Oral source [19] 19.10.1977.



Diagram 2. Nkoya facial scarification in males.  
(the thick lines indicate scars)

- custom); pierced ears; three horizontal scars on the biceps; circumcised penis (this has admittedly become very exceptional);
- (b) *in women*: scars on the buttocks proving that the woman in question has gone through the female initiation rites — a criterion therefore corresponding with point (c) in the previous list.

However, never in my experience have I known a person to have been identified as Nkoya on the basis of an examination of these patterns of scarification.

In the perception both of the rural population and of the post-colonial state, being Nkoya is primarily defined not so much by these or other cultural traits but by allegiance to state-recognized traditional rulers, called ‘chief’ in Zambian English,<sup>15</sup> and *Mwene*, pl. *Myene*, in Nkoya. If the *Mwene*<sup>16</sup> is Nkoya, the vast majority of his subjects are counted as Nkoya — the main exception being very recent immigrants into the chief’s area, who have not yet been assimilated and who retain their original ethnic affiliation.

However, before we discuss the descriptive and historical details of chieftainship among the Nkoya let us have a look at the various subgroups out of which the contemporary ethnic cluster of the Nkoya is said to consist; these subgroups are, on their turn, mainly distinguished by reference to specific chief’s titles.

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<sup>15</sup> On the ambiguous nature of this term, cf. Apthorpe 1960; and van Binsbergen 1987b.

<sup>16</sup> In Part I of this volume I have italicized Nkoya concepts such as *Mwene* (‘king’, ‘ruler’), *lukena* (‘*Mwene*’s capital’), etc. I have however refrained from doing so when the word ‘*Mwene*’ is used in combination with a specific personal name, e.g. ‘*Mwene* Munangisha’. In Parts II and III, which present the Nkoya text of *Likota lya Bankoya* and its English translation, I have refrained from such italicization; and likewise in literal quotations, in Part I, from these and other Nkoya texts.

## **1.2. Nkoya subgroups and the recent process of their ethnic convergence**

### *the proliferation of Nkoya subgroups*

The Nkoya today see themselves as a people whose membership, while concentrated in Kaoma district, is dispersed: sizeable clusters are found in the Zambezi flood plain, i.e. in Mongu district (under Mwene Nyati, Mwene Njungu and Mwene Lowa); in Lukulu district; in Mumbwa district (under Mwene Kabulwebulwe); in Kabompo district; and in Kalomo district (under Mwene Momba). In Namwala district, the chiefs Kayingu and Shezongo are sometimes considered as Nkoya, along with part of their subject population which however is more often counted separately as Lumbu or Ila (cf. Rennie & Mubita 1985a, 1985b). Finally, the Nkoya claim pockets of their people as far east as Lusaka district (on the Mwembeshi river), Kabwe rural district (under headman Lilanda), and Ndola rural district.<sup>17</sup> In this connexion, specific mention is sometimes made of the Ngolobani group of Nkoya, at Mangula, near Lusaka; they are claimed to have remained behind after assisting, in the first decade of the twentieth century, in the building of the line of rail from the then colonial headquarters Livingstone to the then Belgian Congo.<sup>18</sup> However, most Nkoya residing in villages of their own (i.e. not as modern urban migrants) near the Line of Rail are considered to be descendants of elephant hunters venturing so far eastward in the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> According to one Nkoya tradition<sup>20</sup> even the name of Lusaka, the national capital since the 1930s, was derived from a Nkoya word: *rushaka*, a round fruit which because of its wooden peel is used for dancers' ankle rattles.

Below we shall analyse the historical emergence of the word Nkoya used as an ethnonym. As far as the internal composition of that ethnic group is concerned, people now identifying as Nkoya have a great predilection for summing up the many subgroups out of which their 'people' or 'nation' consists: not only the clans, which for centuries have ceased to be localized and whose respective members now live side by side in the various localities where Nkoya-speakers are found — but

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Brelsford 1965: 15f; Northern Rhodesia 1943, 1960.

<sup>18</sup> Oral source [5].

<sup>19</sup> Cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 359, n. 13; Nkoya immigrants in the city of Lusaka particularly refer, for their ritual and musical requirements, to a village named Kahare in Chief Mungule's area, Kabwe rural, not far from Lusaka's Matero township.

<sup>20</sup> Oral source [2].

particularly the localized ethnic subgroups.<sup>21</sup> Similar, largely converging lists crop up in many interviews and in correspondence. For instance, a fairly exhaustive list is given by Mr Katete Shincheta:<sup>22</sup>

- '(1) Nkoya Mbwera of Mwinilunga District
- (2) Nkoya Lukolwe of Kabompo District
- (3) Nkoya Lukolwe of Lukulu District
- (4) Nkoya Shishanjo of Kalabo District
- (5) Nkoya Lushangi [Lushange] of (...) Kaoma District
- (6) Nkoya Nawiko of Kaoma District
- (7) Nkoya Mashasha of Kaoma District
- (8) Nkoya Lumbu of Namwala District
- (9) Nkoya Mbwera [Mbwela] of Kasempa District
- (10) Nkoya Shibanda of Mumbwa District
- (11) Nkoya Shikalu of Chief Momba in Kalomo District
- (12) Nkoya of Chief Mungamba of Sesheke District
- (13) Nkoya Shibanda of Chief Lilanda in Kabwe District.'

Sometimes the enumeration of subgroups is given a linguistic, dialectical, rather than an ethnic slant, e.g. in a list of Nkoya dialects as compiled by Mr Nason Mushakabantu:<sup>23</sup>

'Nkoya has several dialects — Shililanda of (Mweene) [*sic*] Lilanda in Lusaka; Shukulumbwe of Mweene Kabulwebulwe of Mumbwa District and part of Namwala; Balumbu of Mweene Moomba [Momba] of Namwala District; Shimashasha of Mweene Kahare at Litoya Royal Establishment; Shiukalu [Shikalu] of Mulobezi, Nyambi, Shiyowe and Luampa areas; Shinkoya of Mweene Mutondo of Lukena Royal Establishment; Mbowela<sup>24</sup> of Mweene Nyati of Lukulu District, Kabompo, Kalabo and Mongu Districts.

Others can be located in Kabwe District under Chiefs Ngabwe and Kankomba who claim to have Nkoya orientation. I think the problem of having lost contact with each other over years, intermingling and marriages covering a stretch of well over 500 kilometres has led to disintegration and identical dialects mushrooming. However, it appears most can still and are able to trace their backgrounds to Nkoya clans.'

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<sup>21</sup> One such list is to be found in Parts II and III below, in the Preface which Mr Hamba H. Mwene wrote for *Likota lya Bankoya*. Another similar one is given in oral source [3] 19.11.1973.

<sup>22</sup> In a letter to the author, 25.10.1979.

<sup>23</sup> In a letter to the author, dated 21.10.1987.

<sup>24</sup> A contamination perhaps of the ethnonym *Mbwela* and the Lozi word *mboela*, which means 'south' and in particular refers to the Nalolo court.

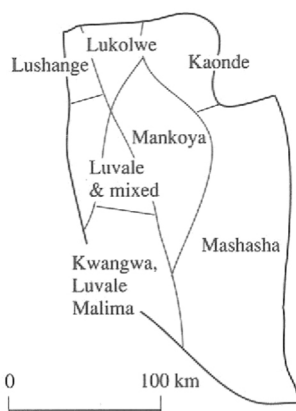


Diagram 3. Ethnic groups and subgroups in Mankoya district in 1933.<sup>27</sup>

Most of these ethnic subgroups are also discussed in the scholarly and popular literature on the area,<sup>25</sup> and in the district records.<sup>26</sup> The latter also contain an early sketch map of the main ethnic groups and subgroups in the district, reproduced here as diagram 3.

The nomenclature of these subgroups is neither stable nor consensual, and the various ethnic labels are often interchangeable. Thus Mwene Kabulwebulwe's people, now largely in Mumbwa district, are alternately claimed to be Mashasha,<sup>28</sup> Mbwela, Lumbu, Shibanda,<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Clay 1945; Brelsford 1965; McCulloch 1951. Of the Nkoya sub-groups, the following were mentioned in Holub (1879: 3f): Lushange (*Alushanga*), Nkoya (*Mankoja* or *Mankoë*; Holub counts them among the principal ethnic groups of Barotseland), and Shibanda (*Wassiwanda*).

<sup>26</sup> E.g. District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 30.4.1935, 'Tribal boundaries', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>27</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya district to Director of Surveys, Livingstone, 17.7.1933, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. in District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 30.4.1935, 'Tribal boundaries', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>29</sup> *Likota Iya Bankoya* (22: 4).

Since Rev. Shimunika organized *Likota Iya Bankoya* in chapters and verses, reference to specific passages of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is made by

Kaonde-Ila (Brelsford 1965), and even (as in Mr Mushakabantu's statement) Shukulumbwe — the latter designation equating them with the dreaded raiders of the early administrative reports and travelogues.<sup>30</sup> Normally, however, the Mashukulumbwe are assumed to be identical to the Ila, the Nkoya's eastern neighbours.

Interchangeability of ethnic nomenclature is also striking in the context of the name Mbwela. A case in point is Sandasanda's (1972) remarkably rich compilation of Kaonde oral traditions belonging to the same literate ethno-history genre as *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the text on which the present study revolves. Sandasanda discusses the Mbwela, whom he also calls *Mashasha* and *Nkoya*, as one of the four groups of original occupants of Kaondeland, northwestern Zambia. The other three groups are alleged to have been the 'Bushmen' (locally called *Bambwena Kulipi*, according to Sandasanda), the 'Mashasha of the Busanga area', and the 'BaSubya' (Subiya) (identified by Sandasanda as 'Hottentots'). The Busanga Mashasha<sup>31</sup> are claimed to be related to the Luyi or Lozi — the dominant ethnic group of the Zambezi flood plain and throughout Zambia's Western Province, and as such a referent in much of Nkoya history. In Sandasanda's description of early Busanga Mashasha society the extremely primitive economy is evoked which also other writers<sup>32</sup> have associated with the Mbwela and in general with the earliest Bantu inhabitants of western Zambia: in the absence of cultivation, their food is said to have consisted of fish, meat and raw birds, and they reportedly lived on floating dwellings in the water (Sandasanda 1972: 8f).

In contrast with many other sources, Sandasanda does not offer an etymology of the ethnic labels of Mashasha and Mbwela. A common explanation for the name *Mashasha* is that the name derives from the Lozi word *shasha*, equivalent to the Nkoya *manala*, 'a mat made of reed rushes'. According to widespread traditions, the Lozi gave this name to the group of people they saw leaving the Zambezi flood plain eastward, carrying their sleeping mats on their shoulders.<sup>33</sup> The Mbwela ethnic label, which is found all over western and northwestern

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citing chapter and verse numbers, separated by a colon, e.g. (12: 4). The edited Nkoya text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and an English translation, are included below in the present volume, as Part II and Part III respectively. Alternatively, reference to specific numbered sections of my own argument in Part I will take the form of two digits separated not by a colon but by a period, thus: (3.2). Reference to unnumbered sub-sections will be through quoting their titles.

<sup>30</sup> E.g. Tabler 1963; Holy 1975; Serpa Pinto 1881; Selous 1893.

<sup>31</sup> 'But these Busanga people it's known that some of them are Nkoya, the Mbwela people' [*sic*], Sandasanda 1972: 13; further on the Busanga of Mwene Kayingu, see Rennie & Mubita 1985a, 1985b.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. White 1949, 1962; Schecter 1980a; Derricourt & Papstein 1977.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. oral source [20]. Below we shall see that this etymology is not supported by *Likota Iya Bankoya* (41: 8).



Zambia but which is particularly associated with the earliest Bantu dwellers on the Upper Zambezi and further north of the Zambezi/Congo watershed,<sup>34</sup> is generally considered to mean ‘Westerners’, but interpretations differ as to the specific people whose western neighbours the Mbwela are: are they ‘west of the Lunda’,<sup>35</sup> which would fit in with their early association with the Zambezi/Congo watershed; or are they ‘west of the Lenje’, as claimed in another oral source?<sup>36</sup>

This might suggest that the use of the word Mbwela has a situational aspect, and that the group designated by this ethnonym in any specific case merely depends on the speaker’s geographical location.<sup>37</sup> Is Mbwela then no longer the designation for a specific cultural cluster? Twentieth-century Nkoya in or from Kaoma district scarcely recognize any historical or cultural links across the Angolan border. This is understandable in the face of an overwhelming immigration from Angola during this century, and hence the desire to insist on firm boundaries between the Nkoya identity and that of the immigrants. This state of affairs regrettably obscured the relevance of Angola-Zambian continuities for the interpretation of Nkoya history and culture until very late in my research. However, the affinities on the linguistic and cultural plane are unmistakable.<sup>38</sup> Serpa Pinto’s description of the Angolan Mbwela — whom he visited in 1878 on his way to Barotseland and the Indian Ocean — is reminiscent of the situation in the Land of Nkoya in the early nineteenth century, but remains too unspecific for far-reaching conclusions:

‘The Ambuelas [Mbwela], of far more favourable disposition, are not at all bellicose. They may well be the nicest indigenous people of Southern Africa. Great cultivators, they are no less active in the collection of wax. They are poor, but could be very rich indeed if they took to animal husbandry. They form a federation like the

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. White 1949, 1962; Derricourt & Papstein 1977; Papstein 1978; Schecter 1980a.

<sup>35</sup> ‘The name Mbwela was given to them by the Lunda, it means “Westerners”, namely west of the Lunda’; oral source [20].

<sup>36</sup> ‘The name Mbwela means “Westerners” and was given to them by the Lenje, who chased them to the west’; oral source [3], 19.11.1973.

<sup>37</sup> By comparison, the ethnonym Tonga is used in South Central Africa for at least five very different ethnic groups (Mitchell 1971: v), and it is possible to explain at least some of these cases in terms not of cultural specificity but of political relations — notably, the rejection of central political authority (Lancaster 1974); a similar explanation, incidentally, is given for the ethnonym Kwangwa in Barotseland: ‘those who have grown tired [*ku-kwanga*] of the state’. Kwangwa is the name for forest Lozi, who at one stage in their history voted with their feet and left the flood plain — without effectively leaving the sphere of Lozi influence; cf. Ikacana 1971; Brelsford 1965: 17f.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. McCulloch 1951; Derricourt & Papstein 1977; Papstein 1978; Serpa Pinto 1881, i: 248-301; Capello & Ivens 1886, i: 267f.

other[ people]s, but the chiefs retain a certain measure of independence. Throughout in Africa we see that the people governed by minor rulers are the more happy and free. Here we do not witness those horror scenes which are familiar from the great empires ruled by autocrats' (Serpa Pinto 1881, ii: 95f; my translation).

In the twentieth century large geographical gaps — filled by many other ethnic groups — exist between the Angolan Mbwela, the dispersed pockets of Mbwela identified in Zambia, and the Nkoya proper (McCulloch 1951: end map). But something of a missing link, which bridges these distances, is offered in the 1799 account by M. Botelho de Vasconcellos of the head-waters of the Zambezi, where the 'Land of Loyal', governed by 'the Soveta Caquica [Headman Kakenge]', is said to be

‘ “bounded by the Sova-ship [Kingship] of Luy Amboellas [Luyi of the Mbwela?]” ’

to the east, and

‘ “on the right (south) by the powerful Amboellas [Mbwela] chiefs of Bunda and Canunga [Kanongesha]; on the left (north) by lords, vassals to the great Sova [King] of the Moluas (the Miluas [Luba], or people of Muátá yá Nvo [Mwaat Yaamv]) (...). The traders were hospitably received, business was prosperous, and they found less robbery than in our territory — the more we advance the less villainous are the people.” ’

Thus we see the Portuguese, in 1799, pressing into the heart of the country visited by Dr Livingstone.' (Burton 1873: 25, n.)

Around 1800 the ethnonym Mbwela turns out to be in use on the Upper Zambezi for groups which are associated with Mwaat Yaamv and which in the twentieth-century will be known as Lunda (e.g. Kanongesha).<sup>39</sup>

Cultural and linguistic affinities unite the Mbwela (including the Nkoya) in Angola and Zambia under a common ethnonym which far from being merely situational points to an original, if fragmented, shared identity. This is also reflected in the material culture (e.g. patterns of hunting and collecting, the presence of the *munkupele* hourglass drum). And even beyond the designation 'Mbwela' these affinities extend over much of eastern Angola, including such ethnic groups as the Ganguela (also cf. Burton 1873: 17) and the Luchazi. The

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<sup>39</sup> On the significance of the use of the ethnonym Luba in this connexion, see below.

Ganguela word list as offered by Serpa Pinto<sup>40</sup> shows a great similarity with Nkoya as spoken today in Kaoma district, and this (against the background of the similarity between Nkoya and other non-Lozi languages of Barotseland, particularly Luyana) may have brought Serpa Pinto (1881, ii: 8) to claim that there were three principal languages spoken in Barotseland by 1878: *Ganguela*, *Luina* (Luena, i.e. Luvale and Mbunda) and *Sezuto* (Sotho, i.e. Kololo or Lozi). Of course, the actual linguistic situation is far more complex than Serpa Pinto suggested (cf. Fortune 1963), but his observation convincingly brings out the linguistic continuity which exists between the Land of Nkoya and much of eastern Angola.

McCulloch (1951) confidently — but not yet on the basis of personal field-work — discusses all these peoples as one cultural cluster, and only has difficulty fitting the Nkoya in; he reserves a special chapter for them. Much more work remains to be done on this point. What is particularly needed is the type of research as undertaken by Papstein (1978) for the Luvale: extending the field-research, from Zambia, into Angola and Zaïre, searching for continuities which have become obscured by the fact that three very different nation-states have emerged in this African region during the past hundred years, each studied by the remarkably self-contained national academic communities in the former metropolitan countries of Great-Britain, Portugal and Belgium, and thus involving publications in English, Portuguese, French and Dutch. Given the relative international isolation of the Zambian Nkoya today, and the political and military insecurity which has prevailed in much of the region, I did not yet venture on such a major exploration, but it has to be undertaken in the near future, though not necessarily by myself.

*pan-Nkoya convergence and its implications for the study of history*

The full history of the many separate groups now brought together under the umbrella of Nkoya-ness, and of the interrelatedness of these subgroups, remains to be written, and lies largely outside of the present book's argument. Our view is blurred here by at least two factors. First should be mentioned the tendency towards 'pan-Nkoya' unification as an aspect of the overall ethnic process in modern Zambia. As one oral source out of many puts it:

'The Nkoya came from Luba as one people, under one chief.

Mwene Manenga is the source of the kingships of both Mutondo and Kahare.'<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Serpa Pinto 1881, ii: 325-35; he claims that, with slight modifications, Ganguela is spoken by 'Quimbandes [Ovimbundu], Luchazes [Luchazi]e Ambuelas [Mbwela]' — 1881, ii: 95.

<sup>41</sup> Oral source [18] 13.10.1977; cf. Shimunika's statement:

Secondly there is the difficulty of unravelling the different strands of linguistic, cultural and political traits which by contemporary ethnic activists are seen as but one, holistically integrated package but which in fact may have been less coinciding. For instance, while in the contemporary Nkoya core land people listed as Nkoya tend to be united by a common language and culture under the two major chiefs (Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare) who are clearly identified as Nkoya, the Nkoya-ness of Mbwela in Mwinilunga and Kasempa is far less marked, and whatever their cultural and linguistic traits, the Nkoya headmen in those districts resort under Lunda and Kaonde chiefs.

Are the Nkoya really an ancient people, dispersed by the accidents of history in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and now struggling to reclaim some original unity? This is what those identifying as Nkoya today like to believe. The evidence in this book, and my specific arguments as based on that evidence, lead to a very different interpretation. Nkoya turns out to be a rather recent ethnic label, whose traceable historical referent was originally a fairly small polity (that centring on the Mutondo kingship) in what today is called Kaoma district. Largely because of the relatively prominent position of the Mutondo kingship, among other Nkoya royal titles, *once these had been incorporated in the Lozi state*, the Mutondo title has subsequently managed to emerge as a focus and a name for widespread cultural and linguistic affinities. These affinities may well predate the process of state formation which gave rise to that 'Nkoya' polity in the first place, but in earlier centuries this set of cultural traits was certainly not yet designated as 'Nkoya'.

Meanwhile, however, the word Nkoya has obtained such hegemonic qualities as to obscure the fact that the Nkoya are not so much a people, but rather a historically and geographically heterogeneous set of inhabitants of the western half of Zambia now *seeking to define themselves as a people*. Originating from the group which in the last few centuries was most consistently associated with the land of Nkoya (an ancient toponym), the word Nkoya thus features *both* as the name of one of the ethnic subgroups (namely Mwene Mutondo's subjects, also called the Nawiko), and as the name of the — newly invented — overall group.

Identity formation goes hand in hand with the construction of a common past, and therefore many of the oral traditions one can today collect among people identifying as Nkoya, seek to state the unity of Nkoya ethnic subgroups by tracing historical and political links between these subgroups. The most obvious way to claim such links is through the chief's titles associated with them. Often these links are conceptualized as genealogical ties between specific past rulers which ties then are supposed, by the participants in the local society, to be far

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'Even though the fruits may be scattered, we come from one and the same mukolwa tree' (4: 3).

from metaphorical but instead to correspond to actual historical fact. Another way of conceptualizing these links is by *perpetual kinship*: the metaphorical expression of political relations in a kinship idiom involving two royal or chief's titles A and B, so that every incumbent of title A stands forever in the same fictive kin relation (e.g. that of 'younger brother') to every incumbent of title B. Political relations of hierarchy and seniority, autochthonous versus immigrant status, and secular rulers versus ritual specialists, throughout South Central Africa are commonly expressed in terms of perpetual kinship (cf. Roberts 1976; Schecter 1980a), but among the Nkoya this idiom is little developed; yet we shall repeatedly come back to this point in the course of our argument.

In the scholarly study of the history of western Zambia, the ethnic and historical constructions of the local people are our obvious point of departure. It is essential that we seek to understand their conscious history in the context of their experience, identity and political concerns. The study of history involves, among other things, the study of a particular ideological idiom. In this sense, but in this sense alone, it is eminently meaningful to speak of 'the Nkoya' — for they certainly exist as a symbolic entity in the minds of contemporary participants. However, historiography proper would seek to take distance from that idiom, and use whatever understanding we have achieved, in order to trace back the actual course of events and the actual political and social relationships from under the smoke screen of a local ethno-history that particularly serves identity formation. An academic history which entirely concentrates on such decoding, and that misses or ignores the meaning with which the people endow their own constructed history, is not worth pursuing. In the course of the present argument we shall see that to some limited extent it is possible to unravel 'actual' historical process in a way that abstracts almost entirely from local consciousness, and thus to reconstruct processes of state formation, the economic and ideological basis of these processes, and the amazingly central role of gender therein. We shall also see that such reconstruction is only possible at the level of broad generalities — specific genealogical relations, deeds and movements of specific historical individuals can hardly be traced in detail on the basis of an ethno-history which serves identity formation. In that respect our analysis will be one of Nkoya (ethno-)history, but it will not produce an academic history of 'the Nkoya' — this ethnonym being an evasive category which belongs to the realm of ethno-history more than that of academic history.

### **1.3. The major Nkoya chiefs and their political environment today**

The two principal Nkoya *Myene* today, Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare, have managed to maintain at least the appearances of an intact traditional chief's court (*lukena*, pl. *zinkena*), with a number of state-subsidized traditional offices: the principal councillor or *Mwana-*

*shihemi* (usually referred to as Prime Minister in outside contacts), retainers, *kapasus* (uniformed chief's messengers with limited powers of law enforcement), and the court musicians whose task it is to announce the chief's presence and well-being by playing the royal music every day at sunrise and nightfall. The *lukena* population further consists of the *Mwene's* wife (*Lihano*, pl. *Mahano*), female kin, and clients (often of slave ancestry),<sup>42</sup> all of whom are not eligible for state subsidy.

In the course of my ethnographic and oral historical field-work in Kaoma district, I lived with my family at the *lukena* of Mwene Kahare Kabambi, from September 1973 to April 1974, and returned there for shorter periods in 1977, 1978, 1988 and 1989. My sharing in the day-to-day life of the 'royal establishment' (as the *lukena* is called in the official state terminology) not only yielded insights in its contemporary functioning (van Binsbergen & Geschiere 1985b: 261-70), and its underlying organizational and conceptual structure; it also created a context in which I could elicit oral data on the history of these courts and their subjects, and could begin to evaluate this information against the background of contemporary issues: increasing insistence on a unitary Nkoya identity in the face of regional and national political and economic processes, as well as local interests, factional conflicts within the Nkoya group and its neo-traditional political structure.

Nkoya chiefs today operate within four superimposed political complexes, each stemming from a particular phase in the historical genesis of the socio-political structure of central western Zambia. These complexes are:

- (a) a very vague association with the historical Musumban Lunda empire of Mwaat (King) Yaamv in southern Zaïre;
- (b) the internal structure of incapsulated Nkoya polities;
- (c) the remnants of the Barotse indigenous administration; and
- (d) the post-colonial state.

We shall discuss these four complexes one after the other, in the above, chronologically-inspired order. However, we should constantly remind ourselves that in actual fact, whatever their differential historical origin and reference, each complex in its own way informs the *current* socio-political structure of central western Zambia.

#### *the distant Lunda association*

The contemporary Nkoya political culture retains a lingering notion that ultimately, across the ages, Nkoya kingship derives (via an inter-

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<sup>42</sup> Some court clients are still alleged to hold the traditional office of *Tupondwa*, the *Mwene's* secret executioner.

mediate stage of dwelling near the Zambezi/Congo watershed) from the Musumban Lunda empire of the Mwaat Yaamv<sup>43</sup> in southern Zaïre. Although there appear to have been no actual contacts with Lunda courts for decades (cf. Mutumba Mainga 1973: 19, n. 43), members of Nkoya royal families still pride themselves on being from Lunda stock; they sometimes speak Lunda when among themselves.<sup>44</sup>

In this connexion a peculiarity needs to be addressed: the fact that the Nkoya oral sources as well as *Likota Iya Bankoya* insist on an origin, at the same time, 'from the Luba people' (2: 1) and 'from Mwantiyavwa'. Until a few decades ago it was customary, in synthetic academic accounts of demographic, cultural and political expansion from southern Zaïre southward, to speak obliquely of 'Luba-Lunda'. Meanwhile detailed historical and linguistic research by Hoover (1980) and Reeve (1981), among others, makes it impossible to maintain this indiscriminate use of ethnonyms. Reeve (1981: 73f) clearly distinguishes two parallel belts in Southern Zaïre, one (designated Luba) north and east to the other (designated Lunda); Mwaat Yaamv belongs to the Lunda belt and is usually identified as such in our days. Does this mean that the Nkoya claim a distant ethnic origin in the northeastern Luba belt, while only at a later point in time they (or more precisely, the ancestors of their ruling groups) were caught in the political sphere of influence of Mwaat Yaamv?

The problem with such an interpretation is that not the slightest collective memories appear to exist among the Nkoya as to what such a Luba connexion, as distinct from that with Mwaat Yaamv, might have consisted of.

An ethnonym however does not constitute a timeless and permanent datum, but is necessarily subject to constant redefinition in time and space. An easy solution to the Luba/Lunda puzzle, at least with reference to the Nkoya and to central western Zambia, is suggested by the fact that in the earliest Portuguese sources relating to the region, the term Lunda is not found and Mwaat Yaamv is identified as Luba. This is particularly the case in the oldest reference by M. Botelho de Vasconcellos in 1799, as quoted above (Burton 1873: 25, n.). Almost a century later, Capello & Ivens (e.g. 1886, i: 427) use the ethnonyms *Lunda* and *Lua* [Luba] as interchangeable, and refer to Mwaat Yaamv as *Lua*. This most probably reflects the local usage at the time on the Kabompo (along which they are trekking) and in adjacent areas. Much as Mbwela, the Luba ethnonym (which actually shades over into Mbwela) is associated, from the point of view of western Zambia, with the head-waters of the Zambezi and the country immediately north of

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Vansina 1966; Bustin 1975; and extensive references cited there. In Nkoya this ruler is called *Mwantiyavwa*, and this orthography will be retained in this book in Nkoya texts and their translation.

<sup>44</sup> In an undated, untitled manuscript notebook in the possession of Ntaniela Mwene Mulimba in 1977 (cf. oral source [16]), Mwene Kahare is listed as a Lunda chief, along with such well-known Zambian Lunda chiefs as Musokantanda and Kanongesha.

them across the Zambezi/Congo watershed, rather than with the far Zairean interior. Therefore, when the Nkoya identify as hailing from 'the Luba' they are merely repeating, rather than complicating, their claim of Mwaat Yaamv association.<sup>45</sup>

Capello & Ivens (1886, i: opposite 333, 412-19, ii: 12) also make clear that by the late nineteenth century Mwaat Yaamv's empire was still a presence on the Upper-Zambezi. They claim to have crossed the Barotse/Lunda boundary and entered his realm at the Lunda chief's Chilembe's capital, near the Kabompo/Zambezi confluence, i.e. as far south as 13 °20' and only 80 km north of the Lozi village of Libonta on the Zambezi. Clearly Chilembe's was a rather isolated outpost. It is only after trekking in a northeasterly direction along the Kabompo through 300 kilometres of forest (sparsely inhabited, as Capello & Ivens describe, by Lozi, Mbunda, Mbowe, Mbwela, Luena and Nkoya), that they claim to have crossed again into Mwaat Yaamv's territory. However, had they gone due north they would have reached a contiguous Lunda area within only about a third of that distance. These are important geographical parameters to keep in mind when, in the course of our analysis of Nkoya state formation, we shall discuss the Humbu war (c. 1790) as an attempt to force the Nkoya *Myene* back under the control of Mwaat Yaamv. This war was fought in the Upper Zambezi area, where a hundred years later Musumbar overlordship was not a distant nominal association (as it is today among the Nkoya) but still a living reality.

Ideas of Lunda links were rekindled in the time of the Mushala guerilla in Zambia's Western and Northwestern Province in the late 1970s: along with other major 'chiefs', Mwene Mutondo featured, at least on paper, in grand schemes that, after the envisaged abolition of the post-colonial state in its present form, stipulated a confederation of neo-traditional states extending over much of Zambia, Zaire and Angola (cf. Wele 1987: 153).

Significantly, in everyday conversation and in court proceedings, neither the very distant Mwaat Yaamv, nor latter-day Lozi rulers (whose generic title is *Litunga*) would normally be referred to by the term *Mwene*, although Nkoya traditions use it freely for Barotse rulers prior to Lubosi Lewanika I (1842-1916), under whose reign Lozi domination over much of western Zambia was consolidated and carried over into the colonial period. While references to the Lunda tend to be limited to a distant past, the Lozi are a main reference point in Nkoya ethnic and political identity: they are seen as an ethnically and historically closely related people, who nevertheless have politically dominated and socially humiliated the Nkoya ever since Lewanika's rise to power, and throughout the colonial period. If the Nkoya consider their historical experience as bitter, it is by exclusive reference to the Lozi (cf. van Binsbergen 1985a).

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<sup>45</sup> Probably a similar argument applies to the puzzling Luba group east of the Lumbu.



*chiefs, royal kin, and headmen: the internal structure of the neo-traditional Nkoya polities*

The relations between the *Mwene* (as recognized by the state and the Barotse system), royal kin, councillors and subjects are complex: embedded in ordinary kinship relations, they involve a multitude of dynastic titles, so that the only two *Myene* in Kaoma district who are still recognized as 'royal' by the outside world in fact are surrounded by a considerable number of other *Myene*, some of whom are hereditary councillors at the two royal courts and even contenders for royal succession. In Nkoya discourse today, the word *Mwene* (designating an incumbent of the institution of *Wene*: the kingship) is used not only for major Nkoya rulers past and present and most other ethnically foreign rulers of similar stature, but also for many members of the royal kin, for lesser nobles, for clan heads, and for every village headman. The title of *Mwene* carries various shades of formality, which reflect the various intermeshing political and administrative contexts in which Nkoya royal courts function today. Thus *Mwene* on the one hand means the unique incumbent of the highest political office among the Nkoya, and on the other hand has a more diffuse usage applying to a much larger number of people. The same applies to other terms for royal status, particularly: *Lihano* (pl. *Mahano*), female escort to a male *Mwene*; and *Mwana Mwene* (pl. *Bana ba Bamyene*), (classificatory)<sup>46</sup> child to a *Mwene*. The title *Mukwetunga* (pl. *Bakwetunga*), male escort to a female *Mwene*, these days has no longer living incumbents since for almost a century all Nkoya *Myene* have been male.

This tension between formal, unique versus more diffuse, multitudinous usage of these terms can also be detected in various passages of *Likota Iya Bankoya*. Royal kin who have clearly not or not yet acceded to the kingship may yet be called *Mwene*, and then the word would mean 'prince', 'royal' or 'lord' rather than 'king':<sup>47</sup> At one point greater clarity is achieved by speaking of the 'senior or principal *Mwene*', implying the existence of several lesser bearers of that title:

'When they arrived here in Nkoya they did not want *Mwene* Mutondo Kashina to be their senior *Mwene* any more.' (34: 5)

In the life at the *lukena* today, women are not very much in evidence. Not only the *Mwene* but also all court officials are men. The *Mwene*'s

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<sup>46</sup> The anthropological concept of classificatory kinship applies when kinship categories which could be biologically distinguished are pooled under the same general term, e.g. when the same term (such as the Nkoya word *mwana*, 'child') is used indiscriminately and without further qualification for Ego's biological children, brother's children, father's brother's children, mother's sister's son's children, etc.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. 6: 2; 44: 2; 44: 3.

sisters play a ceremonial role, e.g. as watching over the *Mwene's* beer and drinking vessel (the fear of poisoning is very strong among neo-traditional officeholders), and as singing with the royal orchestra. The *Mwene's* immediate female kin are among the very few people who have free and unlimited access to his chambers. As cupbearers they are often present at private meetings between the *Mwene* and his councillors. They are treated with deference by the *Mwene*, but there are no indications that they are considered as actively sharing in the *Mwene's* status and prerogatives. They play a role in the preparation of offerings (beer, meal) for the domestic shrine of the royal village, and feature in the enthronement ceremony there, but the important rain ritual at the graves of the royal ancestors is — at least at present — entirely in the hands of senior male courtiers.<sup>48</sup>

The rather humble and informal position of the Nkoya female royal kin today contrasts with the pattern prevailing in many parts of Africa.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the relative aloofness of women in traditional political relations today should not make one overlook the fact that in the rural economy, in day-to-day domestic and conjugal matters, and in non-royal ritual, Nkoya women display considerable power and initiative. Their economic and legal position and their gender solidarity (primarily achieved and expressed through female puberty rites) grant them considerable independence vis-à-vis men. Underneath a formal etiquette of female submissiveness, Nkoya culture tends to stress a considerable gender equality (van Binsbergen 1987a).

In chapter 5 we shall see the great extent to which the contemporary pattern of gender relations at the *lukena* differs from the situation in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Given the fact that, with regard to many aspects of socio-political dynamics, the distinction between chief and headman is mainly gradual in twentieth century Nkoya neo-traditional politics, a closer examination of Nkoya headmen and their titles not only throws light on fundamental local-level processes in Nkoya village society, but will turn out to be very illuminating for the analysis of Nkoya royal titles and political history in general.

My data derive from the Njonjolo and Kazo valleys of Mwene Kahare's area, in the eastern part of Kaoma district. In the 1970s and

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<sup>48</sup> Oral sources [2], [3] 21.11.1973, [21] 16.10.1973. The *Mwene* himself is not allowed to go to his ancestors' graves for reasons of symbolic avoidance: death and kingship are incompatible. This appears to be a fundamental difference between the Nkoya and the Lozi kingship: the Lozi royal graves feature prominently in Lozi court ritual and *Liungas* have been recorded to take offerings there themselves (cf. Coillard 1971: 217).

<sup>49</sup> Of course, the special ritual and political roles of female royal kin is a recurrent feature in African 'Early States'; cf. Claessen 1984; for a Zambian example, cf. Shimwaayi Muntamba 1970; Mukuni n.d. (both on the Mukuni Leya of Livingstone District, incidentally close neighbours of the southernmost Nkoya, those of Mwene Momba).

1980s cash-cropping, either within or outside the sphere of influence of the state's agricultural schemes, introduced the concept of 'the farm' (with fragmented and isolated settlement, mounting emphasis on the nuclear family, and some agricultural wage labour — in other words as an incipient form of participation in the peripheral capitalist mode of production) as an alternative to 'the village'. However, the village mode has remained the standard option in many outlying villages, and the personal and labour histories I collected in 1973-74 among two hundred adults of both sexes and various age brackets shows that its fundamental outlines have remained fairly constant since the 1930s and 1940s — if not much earlier. One important aspect of the village mode is a career model stipulating that a man by the age of forty or fifty should seek to establish himself as a village headman, after decades in which he would have attached himself as junior kinsman to a series of senior kinsmen/patrons, intermittently with spells of absence as a labour migrant.<sup>50</sup>

Villages are named after their headmen (although they may also have, in addition, a less formal nickname). The most honourable way to succeed to headmanship is by *ushwana*: to inherit a previous incumbent's name, social person, and selected material goods (cf. van Binsbergen 1981b).

A name inheritance ceremony is to take place up to a year after a person's death, and consists of a nocturnal musical festival attended by hundreds of people. After midnight elders come forth to implement their earlier secret deliberations as to who of those present at the festival should inherit the name. They scoop down on the person of their choice and literally try to catch him or her, while the one elected struggles and runs in order to avoid the dangerous responsibility inherent in succession: not only may the new name not agree with the candidate — which leads to the latter's illness, possibly death — but also does the successor attract the envy and malice of other candidates, often channelled through sorcery attacks, poisoning, or more open acts of violence. Theoretically, a chosen candidate who manages to run downhill from the village and reach the stream and plunge into it, before the elders can catch him or her, will go free<sup>51</sup> — but I have never come across actual cases: 'to be caught' is a very great honour. Once 'caught', the candidate — these days to be dressed in white

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<sup>50</sup> Van Binsbergen 1975. For similar dynamics, cf. Turner 1957; Fielder 1979. For the overall discussion in this section, cf. van Binsbergen, in prep.

<sup>51</sup> This is our first encounter, in this argument, with water symbolism, which occupies such a prominent role in Nkoya culture. Water is a catalyst in the contact between Man and the Supernatural, as is also clear from the fact that traditional prayers are to be preceded by taking water in one's mouth and spitting it out (1: 7 and author's field-notes). The more direct contact with the ancestors through the river — which throughout Central and South Central Africa is considered their abode — redeems the candidate from the ritual association, subject to human volition and choice, with one particular ancestor through *ushwana*.

clothes, in the past to be smeared with white koalin clay — is placed on a reed mat inside a half-circular reed windbreak, and welcomed by the electors and members of the community in general by clapping, praises and short speeches in which the merging of the social personality of the heir and the predecessor is stressed. While seated under a newly-erected shrine of the appropriate type, the heir's new identity is confirmed when members of the community line up to sprinkle meal over his or her head. Royal succession follows the same ceremonial pattern but in a grander form, and also involves secret medication at the hand of the court priests.

Usually the headman title thus inherited is a name which has circulated in the family group for some generations — but not necessarily as a hereditary title granting rights to exercise the village headmanship. The family group is a micro-political more than a genealogical or residential unit, usually extending — along with other such groups — over a number of villages, with rights to headmanship in only one or a few. Ever since the inception of labour migration more than a century ago, close kinsmen residing in distant places of work are still counted as 'members' of the village conceived primarily as a micro-political cluster. A central concern of the village group is the management and transfer to new generations of a repertoire of established, hereditary personal names (*lizina*, pl. *mazina*). Intragroup conflict is often interpreted in supernatural terms referring to difficulties in the transfer of such names (van Binsbergen 1977, 1979), and inter-group conflict in terms of the attempt to usurp or eradicate the other group's name.

In this fascinating dialectics of individuality<sup>52</sup> and group identity, demographic vicissitudes and survival as a group, some names may become latent for a few decades, only to be revived after some generations. Thus about one third of the names of village headmen<sup>53</sup> in the twenty-odd villages of the Njonjolo valley (where Mwene Kahare's *lukena* has been situated since the 1920s) goes back to the generation of the present Kahare's grandfather Shamamano and his siblings in the late nineteenth century, even if people are now unable (or, for reasons of partial slave ancestry, unwilling) to trace their precise genealogical links to that generation.

A particular name may accrue to a socio-political office such as village headman; but on the other hand the pool of a group's names is not unchangeable, and powerful and impressive individuals often manage to add their own chosen praise-names to that pool. Individual achievement is then encapsulated, and redeemed from its initial sorcery connotations (cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 4), to precipitate (as a collective good) a new name, which is subject to transmission to later generations.

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<sup>52</sup> For on one level *ushwana* celebrates the deceased incumbent and the latter's heir; cf. van Binsbergen 1987a.

<sup>53</sup> Some of these names appear below, 3.3, 'bias in the treatment of slavery'.

Likewise, if even after many years of waiting (in exile, or as a labour migrant in town) and politicking no village headmanship becomes available (and such office is heavily, sometimes murderously, contended), an ambitious man may go and found his own village, rallying his junior kinsmen, lending either his given birth name or his self-chosen praise-name to the newly established village, and hoping (but now more resignedly) that in later years one of the more prestigious names circulating in his kin group may yet be given to him through *ushwana*. Equally likely, his own name may be inherited by his successor as headman of the new village, and the wider kin group's pool of names will then have slightly altered its composition.

It is no exaggeration to say that, until the alternative career perspective of the individualized farm became available (and in most villages this is still only an option open to a minority), the process of individual mobility and group identity preservation constituted<sup>54</sup> the very motor of Nkoya village society, the central organizing principle of kin groups, factions, individual careers, and leadership outside the domain of neo-traditional *lukena* politics. The process was and is still articulated in serene or festive integrative collective rituals: not only *ushwana* but also the redress, at the village shrine, of illnesses interpreted in terms of defective name inheritance; and the process is also reflected in the no less frequent, deeply emotional outbursts of hostile gossip, sorcery actions and accusations, and inquests, where it provides the idiom for the expression of the kin group's anxieties, particularly in a context of grave illness and sudden death.

In this way everyday village life is to a considerable extent structured by the process of incessant waxing and waning of names and titles at the level of village headman, an interlocking process of ascription (through *ushwana*) as well as achievement through personal initiative, power games and the handling of public opinion and rhetorics. Given the diffuse and contentious nature of authority and the negotiable, situational nature of kinship roles in Nkoya village society, the formal status of headman is indispensable if one is to manage the social, marital, productive and ritual affairs of the small village group, and to arbitrate its numerous minor and major conflicts. In the process, the headman is usually aided by a junior kinsman acting as assistant headman.

It is very likely that the local-level socio-political processes described here have formed a constant in the society of central western Zambia, extending throughout the colonial period back into the last few centuries before the imposition of colonial rule. However, in at least one respect did the colonial state significantly alter the overall pattern. In line with the general bureaucratic remodelling of local polities, and while respecting the headmen's subordinate position vis-à-vis the chiefs, the colonial state accorded headmen a bureaucratic status of

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<sup>54</sup> That is, at the micro-political level; no doubt there are underlying economic and symbolic factors and constraints.

their own by issuing them with 'the book': the village register used for the administration of hut tax. Rural-based taxation was abolished at Independence. However, when the responsibilities of chiefs and headmen in the context of village registration and village productivity were redefined in the Zambian Village Registration and Development Act of 1971, the village register took the place of the earlier tax book. The public status of a new village headman has to be confirmed by his inheriting his predecessor's book or, in the case of a newly created village, his being issued with a book of his own. 'The book' is therefore still the much-coveted sign of office for the village headman, and as such the subject of numerous machinations within Nkoya village politics.

*the indigenous Barotse administration and the colonial state*

The Lozi state<sup>55</sup> had reached its greatest expansion in the late nineteenth century, after the Luyana dynasty had put an end to a quarter of a century (1840-1864) of immigrant rule by the Kololo, a Sotho military force immigrating from presentday South Africa. In this expansion process, many groups in western Zambia were relegated to the status of 'Lozi subject tribes', with their rulers incorporated in relatively junior positions in the Lozi indigenous aristocratic hierarchy, and eclipsed by Lozi 'representative *indunas*', which the *Litunga* had begun to station in the outlying areas of the Lozi kingdom after its restoration from Kololo rule. Clay (1945: 16) cites the year 1899 for the advent of representative *indunas* in Mwene Kahare's area, and *Likota Iya Bankoya* mentions the date of 1904, but also suggests much earlier dates (43: 13; 43: 15; 48: 4). In those initial years of British South Africa Company rule Lewanika's territorial claims were still in full expansion (Stokes 1966). The arrangement was formalized in 1917:

'As far back as 1917 the Lozi Paramount Chief felt that the two Nkoya chiefs were not in effective control of the district and so reinforced them with 14 Silalo<sup>56</sup> Indunas each of whom had a court and made people pay tribute to the Lozi Paramount Chief.'<sup>57</sup>

The number, geographical distribution, and power of these *indunas* was greatly expanded in the first two decades of colonial rule — much to

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. Mutumba Mainga 1973; Prins 1980; Gluckman 1943, 1968a, 1968b; Turner 1952.

<sup>56</sup> The *silalo* is a Barotse administrative district under an *induna*; each consists of several *sililanda* units, which in turn each comprise several villages (Mutumba Mainga 1973: 48).

<sup>57</sup> District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 10.5.1974, enclosure in Kaoma district files, ADM/12 'Chiefs and headmen'.

the resentment of non-Lozi populations, and to the increasing irritation of colonial administrators in these areas.<sup>58</sup> In the Nkoya case, their inferior status as ‘subject tribe’ was clearly brought out by the fact that the major, kettle-shaped royal drums (*liwoma*, pl. *mawoma*) of the Mutondo kingship, captured by the Kololo around 1860, after the restoration of the Luyana dynasty had never been returned; also the other royal titles among the Nkoya (especially Mwene Kahare) were never allowed to have anything but minor drums (*zingoma*).<sup>59</sup>

As the argument of this book develops, we shall have occasion to assess the extent of Lozi overlordship in central western Zambia in the *precolonial* period. With some minor qualifications, the emerging picture turns out to confirm the views held by both the Lozi establishment and the scholarly literature: Lozi control of what is now Kaoma district dates back to at least the middle of the nineteenth century. The Lozi viewpoint was for instance phrased, in 1977, by Chief Litia, son of Litunga Mbikusita and the most senior representative of the Lozi indigenous administration in Kaoma district. He claimed that Lozi representatives *indunas* were in Kaoma long before the Whites came,

‘partly in request of the Nkoya chiefs for protection against the Kaonde’.<sup>60</sup>

However, this state of affairs, far from humiliating to the Nkoya, merely allows them to share in the great Lozi identity, for in Chief Litia’s view

‘The Nkoya are Lozi — the Nkoya chiefs are Lozi chiefs.

Soka [Shihoka, a key figure in Nkoya traditions] Nalinanga was a Lozi prince, a brother of the Lozi prince Mwanambinyi.’<sup>61</sup>

The Nkoya sources are greatly divided on the point of Lozi overlordship: some<sup>62</sup> admit it as a precolonial reality, and the author of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is among them. Others vehemently reject this

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<sup>58</sup> Cf. Stokes 1966.; the irritation is e.g. very clear from the data contained in Zambia Archives ZA 1/13, Barotse influence.

<sup>59</sup> Drums of the *liwoma* type (semi-globular, and with a diameter of about 1 metre), which are now completely absent among the Nkoya, have since formed part of the Lozi royal orchestra (Brown 1984), and significantly enthronement of the *Litunga* on the principal *liwoma* is the climax of the Lozi coronation ceremony; cf. Zimbabwe National Archives, photographic collection, Barotse section, photograph 20143 (showing the coronation of Litunga Imwiko in 1946), and 6707 (showing the Lozi royal instruments in the 1910s).

<sup>60</sup> Oral source [9].

<sup>61</sup> Oral source [9].

<sup>62</sup> E.g. oral source [11].

interpretation, and claim that the Lozi only came to control Kaoma district as a result of their being favoured by the colonial state.<sup>63</sup>

The latter, Nkoya-chauvinist interpretations are often expressed by reference to Dr Mutumba Mainga's book *Bulozi under the Luyana kings*, which is strongly disliked by some Nkoya readers since they feel that the Nkoya material which Mutumba Mainga, a Zambian historian of Lozi background, collected at the *zinkena* of Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare, while duly acknowledged (Mutumba Mainga 1973: 240f and passim), has been misused to overstate the case of Lozi control of the Land of Nkoya in the nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup> I am convinced that such an assessment of Mutumba Mainga's well-balanced pioneering work is undeserved. Her use of the Nkoya sources is enthusiastic, respectful, and largely free of Lozi chauvinism.

Letting the precolonial political relations rest for the moment, under the colonial state's policy of indirect rule the Barotse indigenous administration was certainly allowed to control most of western Zambia including the Nkoya area. In this context the Nkoya *Myene* have functioned in a Lozi (neo-)traditional political hierarchy.<sup>65</sup>

Within Kaoma district, the central division among the Nkoya today is that between Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare. This moiety-like structure has emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare happened to be the only Nkoya chiefs who had managed to be incorporated into the expanding and encroaching Lozi precolonial state administration without total loss of royal status and power, and who in that process successfully withstood the machination of Lozi representative *indunas*.

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<sup>63</sup> E.g. oral source [4]. I regret that this interpretation has one-sidedly dominated my earlier published accounts of Nkoya/Lozi relations. Not only does the evidence as presented in this book prove beyond the slightest doubt that the Nkoya states were subservient to the Kololo and Luyana state as from the middle of the nineteenth century, but also we have to admit that strong rejection of Lozi overlordship has *not* been a constant ever since, and was nurtured by events and processes in the colonial period (e.g. the Lozi monopolization of political representation, development and party organization at the regional and provincial level, the dethronement of Muchayila, etc.) as much as by any animosity going back to the nineteenth century. If the Mutondo and Kahare titles survived into the twentieth century it was under domination by, but also under the protection of, the *Litunga*, and this must have created considerable sympathy at least among aristocratic Nkoya circles; cf. Timuna's statement in 1947, as quoted below. Prins summarizes my earlier position in the following words:

'W. van Binsbergen proposes a theme of consistent Nkoya enmity to the east' (Prins 1980: 256).

However, in the light of the present evidence such a position can no longer be supported.

<sup>64</sup> E.g. oral source [5]. Rev. Shimunika, too, admitted having read Mutumba Mainga's book and denounced it sharply in ethnic terms but without identifying specific points of error: oral source [22].

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Gluckman 1943, 1968a.



In asserting their royal status, the then incumbents of the Kahare and Mutondo titles did benefit from the fact that their court was of royal stature, and could boast of a royal orchestra, however curtailed. Some other factors in their political survival we shall discuss below: Mutondo was an important source of skins and ivory for the Lozi court, while Kahare had ingratiated himself with the Lozi king, and enriched himself in cattle, by services in the Lozi war against the Nkoya's eastern neighbours, the Ila. When the Lozi state became the Barotseland Protectorate under British South Africa Company rule and continued as such within the later colonial state of Northern Rhodesia, the incorporated status of Kahare and Mutondo in the Lozi state was carried over into the colonial context.

Another Nkoya royal chief, Shakalongo, of equal if not greater esteem and stature as compared to Kahare and Mutondo, did not survive Lozi and colonial incorporation, and was completely eclipsed by Afumba, the representative *induna* placed in Shakalongo's area.

Apparently, the downfall of Shakalongo was the most serious defeat the Nkoya chiefs sustained. One oral source indicates that in this case Afumba's subjugating efforts were facilitated by the internal strife over this title:

'When the Europeans came there was a quarrel between four brothers because of that name; and because of such lack of unity the name of Shakalongo was not recognized, abolished, replaced by a Nkamba.<sup>66</sup> Shakalongo did not protest. Timuna did protest and therefore the Kahare name did not disappear.'<sup>67</sup>

The royal claims continued to be cherished for some decades. One Nkoya historical text<sup>68</sup> relates a court case in the mid-1930s between the then holder of the Shakalongo title — already reduced to a mere village headmanship, as it still is today — and Afumba, in which Shakalongo sought in vain to assert his seniority.

A fate similar to Shakalongo's awaited almost all other Nkoya *Myene*: their titles lived on as those of simple headmen, without any formal recognition and remuneration from the colonial or the post-colonial state. The list of these *Myene* whose titles now only exist as titles of headmen or even as mere individual's names and who since the early decades of the twentieth century have had no official chief's status any more, is amazingly long:

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<sup>66</sup> *Nkamba* is the Nkoya term for Lozi representative *induna*.

<sup>67</sup> Oral source [22].

<sup>68</sup> Anonymous (a), n.d.; this is Rev. Shimunika's pamphlet *Muhumpu wa byambo bya mwaka* — *Nkoya*, to be discussed below.

‘Mwe<sup>69</sup> Shewana, Kamanisha, Shoma, Nyungu, Nyati, Shakalongo, Kangombe, Pumpola, Yawoka, Mwe Funjo, Shamawango (his overlord was Mwe Funjo), Mwe Tumbama, Mwe Tulisha, Mwe Shingongo, Mwe Kingama, Mwe Yuvwenu, Mwe Kafunguta, Mwe Lishenga, Mwe Kawango [Kawangu], Mwe Mboma, Mwe Kumina, Mwe Mulimba, Mwe Muleka.

Of these, Shakalongo was the only one to have a fully-fledged royal orchestra, but all these *Myene* possessed *zingongi* [royal bells] as proof of their royal status.’<sup>70</sup>

But even Mutondo’s and Kahare’s position remained precarious throughout the colonial period, and particularly Kahare continued to be threatened by the representative *induna* in his area, Simuliankumba Nkumbula.

The last Mwene Kahare whose reign had predated colonial rule, Mwene Kahare Shangambo Shamamano, died in 1913 (cf. Clay 1945). The next few years of the Kahare kingship were unstable:

‘After the death of Mphelembe [Mpelembe; reigned 1914-1921], Kubama assumed the chieftainship and rushed to the Lozi P.C. [Paramount Chief] for recognition. At this point in time it was established that for anyone to become chief in Kaoma district it was necessary to seek the recognition of the Lozi P.C. On his way back from Mongu Kubama died at Nkenge. His brother Timuna succeeded Kubama, 1921-1954.’<sup>71</sup>

One oral source attributes Mpelembe’s death to sorcery committed by Simuliankumba;<sup>72</sup> whatever the factual status of this allegation, it suggests that competition between *Mwene* and representative *induna* dated from even before Timuna’s accession. Simuliankumba’s attempts to destroy the Kahare title and supplant it by an exalted *induna*-ship for himself continued under Timuna’s reign. Shortly after Timuna’s accession he was actually threatened with demotion and replacement by Simuliankumba (cf. Gluckman 1968a). Among the allegations was the refusal to forward tribute to Lealui. Timuna was formally tried at the *Litunga*’s central court in Lealui, acquitted, and confirmed in his royal status. Around 1930 the extent of Simuliankumba’s power can still be read from the fact that the cattle at Mwene Kahare Timuna’s Litoya

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<sup>69</sup> *Mwe* is a shortened form of *Mwene*, suggestive of a diminutive which does not necessarily imply lesser status but might simply indicate intimacy or affection.

<sup>70</sup> Oral source [19] 20.10.1977.

<sup>71</sup> District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 10.5.1974, enclosure in Kaoma district files, ADM/12 ‘Chiefs and headmen’.

<sup>72</sup> Oral source [6].

capital<sup>73</sup> is partly attributed to Simuliankumba, thus following a general pattern among representative *indunas* in Mankoya district:

‘It appears that there is only one small herd of cattle at Litoya, owned partly by Daniel Kafuna (the Paramount Chief’s son) and partly by Simuliankumba, the local *induna*. (...) Between Simuliankumba’s and the Mulambwa stream (...) there is a fly area. (...) Afumba, a Mutotela-Murozi [Totela-Lozi] Nduna [*induna*] on the Luampa, to the north of Mutampwa, and Siwaliondo, a Mulozi Nduna still further north are reported to have heads of cattle belonging to the Paramount Chief in addition to their own.’<sup>74</sup>

However, Simuliankumba finally fell out with the Lozi establishment and was demoted in 1933. This was certainly a victory for Timuna, and one that would have been impossible without considerable support from the Mankoya district headquarters. But Timuna was soon to disappoint these allies. As the Mankoya District Commissioner wrote soon afterwards,

‘For many years Kahari [Kahare] had a Barotse *Induna* Simuliankumba in his area to look after him. This led to constant quarrel and Simuliankumba has recently been removed. I do not know if it is the Ngambela’s [the *Litunga*’s Prime Minister’s] intention to appoint another Murozi [Lozi] *Induna* in his place. In the ordinary course of events I should be opposed to the appointment, but in the light of the present attitude of Kahari,<sup>75</sup> and remembering

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<sup>73</sup> Nkoya oral sources (e.g. [6]) consider these cattle to derive from Shamamano’s raiding of Ila cattle in the course of Lewanika’s Ila campaigns and hence as the property of Timuna, Shamamano’s son and one of his successors.

<sup>74</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 22.1.1931, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, ZA 1/9/53/2/1 ‘Census of native owned cattle’. This report was produced in answer to an enquiry from the Acting Director Animal Health to Secretary of Native Affairs, 4.11.1930, enclosure in the same file. There the Litoya cattle are all attributed to the *Litunga*:

‘...vague allegations have reached me about Barotse cattle being smuggled across the border into Namwala district. (...) I understand that Chief Yeta has a habit of keeping a large herd of cattle at Retoya [Litoya] in the Mankoya district and perhaps you would be good enough to write to the District Commissioner, Mankoya, for a census of the Retoya cattle for the years 1928-29-30. It is probable that in the event of any movement taking place that the most likely route would be from Retoya to the headwaters of the Lwanagdu down (...) the L[w]anagdu to the Musa river which runs into the Kafue.’

<sup>75</sup> From the rest of this enclosure this — and also ‘his conduct’, below in the same quotation — is clear to mean: Kahare’s support for Watchtower preaching in his area, to which the colonial administration and the Barotseland indigenous administration were very much opposed; see below.

that he has been deposed on at least one previous occasion,<sup>76</sup> I should like to know what the khotla's<sup>77</sup> intention is in the matter. In any event I think it would be a good thing if Kahari be called in to Lealui, to explain his conduct to the khotla.<sup>78</sup>

The Lozi representative *indunas* at the time turned out to take the curtailing of their powers far from lightly. In the same period an *induna* Mutembanja had been ordered by the *khotla* to go and live under the more trusted Siwaliondo, but he failed to comply.<sup>79</sup> Simuliankumba, too, was

'refusing to obey the khotla's order and was still living at his old site near Kahari.'<sup>80</sup>

The District Commissioner requested stern action, fearing that this development would set a bad example, particularly

'among the many Mawiko tribes of this district, to whom the khotla is at the best of times only a very distant power whose authority is little felt.'<sup>81</sup>

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76 An unfair reference to Timuna's 1923 trial at Lealui, in which he was acquitted.

77 The Barotse central court at Lealui, and by extension the indigenous administration in general.

78 District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 18.8.1934, 'Induna Kahari', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

79 Mankoya tour report 2/1934, Annexure 6, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

80 District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, undated letter [1935], 'Lealui khotla and Simuliankumba and Mutembanja', Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35. Nkumbula (= Simuliankumba) village has persisted on the Njonjolo stream to this day.

81 District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, undated letter [1935], 'Lealui khotla and Simuliankumba and Mutembanja', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35; a 'Letter from Ngambela' (the *Litunga's* Prime Minister) is enclosed. The Lozi term *Mawiko* — later reserved for Angolan immigrants who flooded western Zambia from the 1910s — is here meant to loosely apply to all non-Lozi subject tribes, including the Nkoya, and perhaps particularly the Nkoya **Nawiko**, i.e. Mwene Mutondo and his subjects.

Unless otherwise stated, here and below **bold** type will be used to add particular emphasis to parts of textual material in quotations, the more conventional use of *italics* being reserved for specific editorial purposes spelled out in chapter 2.

In this period the dissatisfaction among the neo-traditional establishment converged with the popular ideology propounded by Watchtower preaching all over Northern Rhodesia, kindling hopes for a new heaven and a new earth. It is ironic that among the Watchtower preachers who were active in the southern part of the Mankoya district, was

‘a Watchtower preacher named Kayukwa who is the son of an ex-Induna Simulankumba.’ (...) Kayukwa had baptised people in four villages and was sent by sub-induna Kumina to baptise him and the people in his village.’<sup>82</sup>

Watchtower preaching in the district in the 1930s and 1940s represented a millenarian idiom with occasionally anti-Barotse and anti-colonial overtones;<sup>83</sup> and whatever the preachers’ specific pronouncements concerning the colonial or indigenous administration of Barotseland, throughout Northern Rhodesia they were being perceived as potentially dangerous trouble-makers and treated accordingly. In addition to Kayukwe, there was

‘Joseph Pili, Watchtower preacher arrived from Mumbwa District early 1934.’<sup>84</sup>

He was removed by the local *induna* and forbidden to enter Barotseland, but he returned none the less. The Paramount Chief sentenced him to one month imprisonment with hard labour, and upon completion of this sentence Pili was evicted from Barotseland.

‘His usual game is baptising people and discovering by his own methods if a man he baptises owns medicines which he then destroys. Fairly harmless at present, but he is in league with others’.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to Joseph Pili,

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<sup>82</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 2.5.1935, ‘Watchtower preachers Afumba and Fumina’, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Cross 1973; Fields 1985; van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 4.

<sup>84</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya to District Commissioner Mumbwa, 29.1.1935, ‘Joseph Pili, Watchtower preacher’, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35. The name ‘Pili’ [Phiri] has eastern Zambian or Malawian associations. The wave of witchcraft eradication then spreading over Northern Rhodesia started in the east.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibidem*.

‘two other Watchtower preachers had been arrested (...) but they escaped.’<sup>86</sup>

Watchtower preaching, even when totally devoid of political overtones, was understood by the colonial administrators as a reminder that the relatively peaceful colonial order might not last forever:

‘My impression is that this area is impregnated with Watchtower doctrine and that both Afumba and Kumina are shifty and entirely unreliable. (...) One other fact is that natives in this area have apparently not gone away to work in any numbers and it has been very obvious lately that, whereas natives from all other areas have been paying tax (...) lately in large numbers, almost no taxes have been paid by Afumba’s and Kumina’s natives. I am led to think it possible that the Watchtower preachers’ activities in these areas have something to do with this.’<sup>87</sup>

The Mankoya District Commissioner was understandably alarmed when he learned that also Mwene Kahare was in collusion with a Watchtower preacher:

‘I do not consider Kahari’s [Kahare’s] behaviour at all satisfactory. He allowed this man to preach in his area, encouraged him to do so and did not bring him in to me until he was told to do so. He admits that he knows that no native may preach without a permit, and he acknowledges that he is a Watchtower follower. He also said he believed in the existence of witchcraft.’<sup>88</sup>

In the mid-1930s Mwene Kahare Timuna, finally freed from the threat Simuliankumba represented, must have gone through a period of personal assertiveness in the face of the colonial and Barotse indigenous authorities. Not only did he encourage Watchtower activities in his area; at the same time he made remonstrations to have the drums of kingship restored to him. When he asked the District Commissioner Mankoya if he might resume playing his drums, the latter expressed his agreement, but

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<sup>86</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 2.5.1935, ‘Watchtower preachers Afumba and Fumina’, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>88</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 18.8.1934, ‘Induna Kahari’, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35. The use of the term *induna* for Mwene Kahare here is remarkable, and suggests that the colonial administrator saw him primarily as a senior member of the Lozi indigenous administration.

'I now find that the present Kahari [Kahare] has never been given permission by the Khotla to have drums, although his predecessor had them.'<sup>89</sup>

The District Commissioner asked for further information, on which I have no specific records. It is significant, from the point of view of Lozi domination during the colonial period, that the administrator should present the possession of royal drums as subject to the *Litunga's* permission. Apparently, Timuna succeeded in reviving a royal orchestra of sorts. However, half a century later, the royal orchestras of Kahare and Mutondo are still mutilated for lack of *mawoma*.

Meanwhile, during the 1930s the surviving Nkoya *Myene* in Mankoya district were to be affected by a development that threatened their position to a far greater extent than the individual actions of representative *indunas* and that led to expressions of self-assertion far more focused than those relating to Watchtower preachers and royal drums: the creation of Naliele.

At the imposition of colonial rule in the first decade of the twentieth century, the colonial administration (until 1924 the British South Africa Company) sought to streamline and 'rationalize' the existing patterns of political leadership according to North Atlantic models of territorial administration, clear-cut and mutually exclusive areas of jurisdiction, hierarchy, and fixed (preferably patrilineal) patterns of succession (cf. Chanock 1985). In western Zambia, this process of accommodation and redefinition to a large extent converged with the claims of the Lozi king (the *Litunga*) to extensive precolonial power, which fell in line both with colonial interests (mining claims, the international requirement to produce treaties with local rulers), and with the administrator's preconceptions of a Sudanic, splendid kingship heading a centralized African state. The convergence was not total, and even in the above cases concerning the representative *induna* in Kahare's area, and the restoration of his royal orchestra, we see that the boma retained its autonomy vis-à-vis the Lealui *khotla*, and was also approached by Mwene Kahare as a political agency in its own right.

A very clear case of the colonial authorities supporting local political aspirations in the face of Lozi claims of overlordship occurred in another outlying area, Balovale district, which after a careful and extensive consideration of the historical record was allowed to secede from Barotseland in 1940 and attain an administrative status similar to other districts in Northern Rhodesia.<sup>90</sup> Mankoya district continued to suffer under what was felt to be Lozi oppression, and what is more, at the same time as preparations were made for the Balovale secession, the

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<sup>89</sup> District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 17.4.1935, 'Chief Kahari's drums', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Papstein 1978 and references cited there.

colonial state allowed the Lozi presence in Mankoya to be stepped up dramatically by the creation, in 1937, of a new Lozi royal establishment, five kilometres from the Mankoya boma. The court was to be called Naliele, in reminiscence of the splendid capital near the flood plain which was visited by Livingstone in the middle of the nineteenth century (Livingstone 1971). Naliele was to function as an appeal court and as the seat of the Mankoya Native Treasury, and was to be headed by a very senior member of the Lozi royal family (the *Litunga's* son), with a higher subsidy from Lealui than any Nkoya *Mwene*, with more remunerated court personnel than any Nkoya chief, with judicial powers exceeding those of any Nkoya chief, and occupying a prominent position in a fixed structure of Lozi positional succession, only a few steps removed from the *Litunga*-ship. The colonial authorities were in favour of this arrangement, not only because the *Litunga's* overlordship over Barotse was taken for granted, but also because the need for an appeal court that could oversee the fragmented and segmentary judicial structure prevailing in Mankoya at the time was deeply felt.<sup>91</sup>

This new form of Lozi presence, with the unmitigated backing from the colonial state, was a source of great humiliation and resentment among the people of Mankoya district, which precipitated major conflicts between particularly the Mutondo *lukena* milieu and the *Litunga's* court at Lealui.

The events are described in the Kaoma district files:

'In 1937 Paramount Chief Lewanika [*sic*]<sup>92</sup> of the Lozi decided that he should be represented in each district within Barotseland Protectorate. He therefore sent his son, Mwanawina, to be chief at Naliele, thereby making the two Nkoya chiefs, Kahare and Mutondo, sub-chiefs of Mwanawina. It is said that appeals from Chief Mutondo's court and Chief Kahare's court were heard by headman Kapupa who was chosen by the D[istrict] C[ommissioner], Mankoya. The two chiefs were unhappy about this because headman Kapupa was under them and so he should not have been allowed to hear appeals from the chiefs.<sup>93</sup> (...) And so the presence of Mwanawina at Naliele strengthened the position of the Silalo Indunas. Establishment of a Native Authority at Naliele is also said to have influenced Lewanika's decision to send his son there. It is said that during the days of Sipopa, a Lozi Paramount Chief, and Munangisha, the father of the present Chief Mutondo of the Nkoya, the Nkoyas agreed to pay tribute to the Lozi Paramount Chief. From 1943 to 1948, when Muchayila was Chief Mutondo, he refused to

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<sup>91</sup> Gervase Clay, letter to the present author, dated: 31.1.1975.

<sup>92</sup> In fact, Litia III.

<sup>93</sup> The episode is treated at great length in Shimunika's *Muhumpu*, further [18] 14.10.1977, [19] 19.10.1977; the resentment of Kapupa's position is a recurrent theme in these sources.



recognise Lozi overlordship and so he was deported to Kalabo for ten years. In 1948 Mwanawina became Paramount Chief of the Lozi and so his brother Amukena Siteketu succeeded him at Naliele. In 1956 Amukena died in (a plane) an air crush [*sic*] when flying from Kaoma to Mongu. Amukena was succeeded by his brother Mwendaweli who was [later] transferred to Mwandu, Sesheke, to succeed Mukwae Nakatindi who died.<sup>94</sup> Mwendaweli was transferred in June, 1973. Mwendaweli was replaced by Litia Mbikusita, a son of Litunga Lewanika Mbikusita. (...)

The Naliele chief was to be regarded as senior to the local chiefs in the district. So when Muchayila succeeded Kanyinca he refused to recognise the Lozi overlordship so the chieftainship was taken away from him. He was chief from 1943 to 1948. In 1949 Kalapukila<sup>95</sup> became chief and is [*sic*] chief up to now.<sup>96</sup>

Muchayila's intransigent stance against Lozi arrogance and particularly against the Lozi chief of Naliele, was greatly influenced by the Balovale secession from Barotseland in 1940, and particularly<sup>97</sup> by Muchayila's friendship with the Luchazi chief Samuzimu, who must have had many contacts in Balovale. The latter had his headquarters in the northern part of Mankoya district but soon was to cross into Kasempa district — which brought him, too, outside Barotseland but against the high price that his subjects did not follow him.<sup>98</sup>

The episode of Muchayila's dethronement and forced exile to Kalabo district for ten years (1948-58) still looms large in the Nkoya consciousness and forms a dominant topic whenever the colonial history of Kaoma district is discussed among the Nkoya.<sup>99</sup> Its impact has been felt in Nkoya neo-traditional politics for many decades. As one informant claimed in 1977, the fear of being demoted like Muchayila was influencing the behaviour of the Nkoya chiefs to that day, making them defer to the Lozi even to an extent that was no longer necessary given the deteriorated relations between the Lozi aristocracy and the Zambian central state.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> On Princess Nakatindi, who died in 1971, see van Binsbergen 1987b: 171-174.

<sup>95</sup> Kalapukila was an educational officer before he became chief; oral source [4]. An irony of history is that when Kalapukila died in 1981, the aged Muchayila was still around to succeed him at his turn.

<sup>96</sup> District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 10.5.1974, enclosure in Kaoma district files, ADM/12 'Chiefs and headmen'.

<sup>97</sup> Oral source [13].

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Chipela 1974 [1976], according to whom Chief Samuzimu resided for seven years in the northern part of the then Mankoya district.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

<sup>100</sup> Oral source [4].

Over the decades, the Naliele court has very much continued to discharge the functions for which it was designed, although soon after Zambia's independence (1964) the 'Native Treasury' was taken over by a modern district administration revolving on the Mankoya, later Kaoma, Rural Council. To this day, Naliele takes care of many affairs of the other chiefs in Kaoma district. Lozi representative *indunas* are sworn in at Naliele; they still constitute the backbone of the neo-traditional administration in the district, and of the administration of justice since they preside over the Local Courts. Naliele also oversees the succession of the Nkoya chief's Mwanashihemi. And it handles delicate court cases — those in which chiefs are themselves the defendants.<sup>101</sup> Naliele is still very much the link between the district's neo-traditional structure and the central Lozi *khotla* at Lealui. At Naliele the Kaoma chiefs or their courtiers pay courtesy visits and take tributes in money whenever the developments at Lealui prompt such action — e.g. at the enthronement of a new *Litunga*.

My information on the presentday relationship between the Lealui *khotla* itself and the Nkoya *Myene* is limited. Letters bearing the characteristic letterhead of the *Litunga*, with its proud elephant logo, are often seen at the Nkoya *zinkena*. There is frequent correspondence between the *Ngambela* and the *Myene*, calling the latter to *khotla* meetings, and announcing important visitors to the province. For the 1973 general elections the *Ngambela* even sent the chiefs of Western Province, including the Nkoya *Myene*, a voting advice in favour of the United National Independence Party (UNIP). UNIP is the political party which, under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda and Simon Kapwepwe, in 1959 broke away from the then main independence party (the African National Congress, ANC); UNIP dominated the final phase of the Zambian struggle for independence, has constituted the ruling party ever since 1963, and in 1971 at the creation of the Second Republic under 'One-party Participatory Democracy' became Zambia's unique party, in which the former ANC was incorporated.

In recent times the correspondence between Lealui and the Nkoya *Myene*, although firmly authoritarian in tone, seems to lack the condescension or arrogance the Nkoya read so often in Lozi expressions directed at them; rather, the situation does seem to be as described by Chief Litia at the beginning of this section: the Nkoya chiefs are seen as part and parcel of the Barotse indigenous administration, and are approached as such by their Paramount Chief, the *Litunga*.

The neo-traditional structure of the province and its manifestations at the district and local level have considerably altered since the creation, in the 1970s, of the position of Member of the Central Committee (MCC), the principal representative of the UNIP-dominated central state in the province, and of such bodies as the Provincial Development Council and the Provincial Chiefs' Council, chaired by the MCC and counting among their members both Nkoya *Myene* and other senior

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<sup>101</sup> Oral source [9].

members of the Lozi neo-traditional administration. The situation underwent a major change again when, in the mid-1980s, the *Litunga* himself became an MCC (van Binsbergen 1987b: 142). These highly interesting and important developments at the provincial level offer much scope for further research.

Twentieth-century political issues, which are at the heart of Nkoya ethnicization, are hardly touched upon in Rev. J. Shimunika's *Likota Iya Bankoya*, which concentrates on the nineteenth century. Yet that book ends with an assessment of Nkoya/Lozi relations. Ethnic politics in the context of Lozi domination, meanwhile, have been treated in a more extensive, and controversial, manner in *Muhumpu wa Byambo bya Mwaka — Nkoya*, Rev. Shimunika's first historical text, which was to be published in a private, eight-page edition at Luampa Mission, Mankoya district, in the early 1960s.<sup>102</sup>

In Mankoya district, this was again a period of considerable confusion. The 1930s wave of witchcraft accusations and witchcraft eradication repeated itself (cf. Reynolds 1963). This may be seen as a drastic form of self-cleansing and sometimes self-destruction on the part of a society that was still largely incapable of analysing its disruption, anomie and powerlessness in other ideological idioms than those of witchcraft, cleansing and millenarianism. However, secular alternatives for the interpretation of recent social change, and secular blueprints for action, were rapidly gaining in importance. They took the form of a militant Nkoya ethnic awareness (very much expressed, and partly kindled, by Rev. Shimunika's work), coupled to the overall struggle for independence throughout Northern Rhodesia.

In that period Mankoya's alleged propensity to secessionism (from Lozi overrule) was even a major reason to refuse registration of a branch there of ANC, Northern Rhodesia's main independence party in the 1950s (Mulford 1967).

The spirit of the times in Mankoya district, and the extent to which Rev. Shimunika's work was a powerful factor in the furthering of Nkoya ethnic awareness, is clear from the comments made by Mutumba Mainga. She writes:

'The most significant forces at work between 1962 and 1968 [in Buluzi, i.e. Loziland, the Lozi core area of Barotseland] were all political, the main issue being how and whether Buluzi was to survive the transition from colonial rule to independence within a multi-tribal state of Zambia (...). In Mankoya the situation was different. The coming of Northern Rhodesia's independence offered a unique opportunity for the Nkoya, who were politically conscious,

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<sup>102</sup> A copy is in my possession. The title means: 'A discourse on past events — Nkoya'; the word *Nkoya* appears to be added much in the way the New Testament (Testamenta 1952) and smaller pious tracts identify their language on the front page or in their colophon.

to breakaway [*sic*] from Lozi domination. In 1964, for example, the African National Congress in Mankoya<sup>103</sup> published a vernacular history of the district which put much emphasis on Nkoya independence in the past. [Note in the original:] The Lozi aristocracy at Naliele kuta,<sup>104</sup> on the other hand, was showing great insecurity to the extent where they refused to tell traditions of the Lozi people in the presence of non-Lozi Indunas elected and nominated to represent local groups.' (Mutumba Mainga 1973: 227f)

Mutumba Mainga does not however appear to have had access to this 'vernacular history', which cannot be other than *Muhumpu*. If she had, she would have found half of the pamphlet taken up by a discussion, not of the past but of recent Nkoya/Lozi conflict in the colonial era. It must however be the same 'short written Nkoya history (in Nkoya)' which she mentions (Mutumba Mainga 1973: 242) when giving a brief write-up on her informant Rev. Shimunika. Mutumba Mainga goes on to quote an anonymous ANC secretary Mankoya<sup>105</sup> in terms highly suggestive of the ethnic overtones associated with Nkoya support for ANC at the time:

'A Nkoya, Anti-Lozi. "Nkoya is Nkoya: Lozi is Lozi." "The Lozi do not care for the land — only Nkoya vote for A.N.C. The Lozi do not want to improve the country." He opposes the kuta and wants to abolish it.' (Mutumba Mainga 1973: 242)

However, the specific hopes and aspirations with which the Nkoya joined the struggle for independence took many years to even begin to be fulfilled. ANC lost out to UNIP, and the latter party had, in the Wina brothers and Princess Nakatindi, a strong if controversial footing in the Lozi aristocratic establishment. For years therefore, ANC, even if increasingly powerless at the national level, seemed a more attractive option than UNIP from a Nkoya ethnic point of view. It was only by the late 1960s that the tide turned (van Binsbergen 1985a, 1986a). With the revision of the Barotse Agreement and President Kaunda's confrontation with the Lozi aristocracy in 1969 (cf. Caplan 1970), the temporary decline of Lozi power in Zambian national politics (Tordoff 1974), and the drive for reconciliation and mobilization following the ANC-UNIP merger when UNIP became Zambia's unique party in 1971, Nkoya ethnic awareness found positive venues of expression at

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<sup>103</sup> My data suggest a somewhat earlier date and a different publisher: the South Africa General Mission, Luampa, Mankoya district, where the anonymous author Rev. Shimunika was working as a pastor.

<sup>104</sup> *Kuta* is the Nkoya form for the Lozi *khotla*.

<sup>105</sup> Probably Joel Nalishuwa, closely related to the Mutondo royal family and nephew of Mwene Mutondo's Mwanashihemi; cf. Dickson K. Makiyi, 'Nkoya History — Kaoma, Western Province, Zambia', 58 pp, author's collection.

the district, provincial and even the national level. But this brings us to a discussion of the post-colonial state in the Nkoya context.

*the post-colonial state*

The post-colonial state recognizes and subsidizes only a handful of Nkoya *Myene*, along with their councillors and further retinue (retainers, court musicians): Mutondo, Kahare, Kabulwebulwe and Momba. The state has co-opted selected Nkoya *Myene* or their councillors as members of national and regional representative bodies such as the House of Chiefs, the Western Province Provincial Development Committee and the Kaoma Rural Council.

The attitude of the post-colonial state vis-à-vis chiefs in general has not been constant, but shows an oscillating movement, from repulsion and dismantling in the 1960s to restoration and substantial increase of chiefs' status and power in the 1980s (van Binsbergen 1986a, and for Zambia in general, 1987b).

The judicial field may illustrate this. In 1966, to the distress of the neo-traditional *lukena* milieu, state-controlled Local Courts were created which denied the *Mwene's* direct involvement in the judicial process.<sup>106</sup> The severance never became absolute: court president and assessors would be appointed in consultation with the *Mwene*; they were members of the *Mwene's* Royal Council; outside the Local Court, neighbourhood courts of senior village headmen, again members of the *Mwene's* Royal Council, continued to operate; and informally the *Mwene* himself would be called upon to settle family disputes (cf. van Binsbergen 1977). But despite these informal links, the *Myene* could no longer claim formal control over the administration of justice in their area. In the mid-1980s, this development was turned back by the installation, at the *zinkena* of both Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare, of so-called *muwambola* ('discussion', 'reconciliation') courts, once again presided by the Mwanashihemi and seeking to adjudicate minor cases outside the Local Court. Locally this move is seen as a restoration of the *Mwene's* prestige and power, and a return to cherished principles of justice.

One of the most remarkable aspects of neo-traditional structures among the Nkoya is the success with which the modern state and its district-level institutions have managed to retain a large degree of invisibility, and yet form the ultimate financial and organizational basis for the visible neo-traditional politics in the outlying areas.

Succession to high office and appointment to paid positions as councillor, retainer and musician at the royal establishments, are subject to constant intriguing and politicking at the local level, and to the superficial observer would appear to follow a neo-traditional logic entirely

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<sup>106</sup> The judicial role of the *Mwene* in the colonial period was described in oral source [1]; for Mongu-Lealui district, e.g. Gluckman 1967.

of their own — pursuing forms, one would be inclined to think, eminently inherent to the tributary mode of production of which the contemporary Nkoya *zinkena* may be considered a survival. The local villagers certainly look at the *Myene* today as independent representatives of a culture-specific, ethnic way of life which opposes or legitimates the institutions of the modern state. They do not realize that this state is the very life breath of modern chieftainship (van Binsbergen 1987b).

Neo-traditional chieftainship is reproduced in collusion with the colonial state to such an extent that the royal graves associated with the two major Nkoya chieftainships are now listed as national monuments, the colonial state and its bureaucratic institutions such as the National Monuments Commission taking the place of the royal gravekeepers and senior courtiers of an earlier period in the upkeep of symbols of chieftainship. As a letter<sup>107</sup> in the Kaoma district files reads:

‘Chief Mutondo would like to have the following *thino* [*sic*]<sup>108</sup> declared national monuments:

- (1) *sithino* of Mwene Mutondo Mate [Shinkisha] at Kalimba [Kalimbata], Lalafuta Silalo;
- (2) *sithino* of Mwene Mutondo Wahila at Nyango;
- (3) *sithino* of Mwene Mutondo Shiwowa [Munangisha] at Lukundi near She Kombwe [Shikombwe]...’

For the Kahare dynasty the following graves are proposed:

- ‘(1) *sithino* of Kahare Kabambi [Shamamano], 16 miles from Kahare Palace;
- (2) *sithino* of Kahare Mpelimbe [Mpelembe] at Yange Plain 10 miles southeast of Kahare;
- (3) *sithino* of Kahare Timuna at Litoya Stream.

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<sup>107</sup> Kaoma district files, ANT/2 ‘National Monuments’, Kaoma, District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 4.1.71 ‘Declaration of National Monuments’.

<sup>108</sup> I.e. *shizino*, royal grave. From the point of view of historiography these and other royal burial sites are of the greatest importance: their locations, and the names of the associated *Myene*, are generally known to local people, and this provides a rather firm and consistent framework around which historical data concerning these *Myene*, their capitals, genealogical relations, exploits, are loosely, inconsistently and manipulatively attached; also cf. H.H. Mwene’s lists of Nkoya royal graves at the end of Part II below.

The above *Thino* are in order of significance to the Nkoya people.<sup>109</sup>

One of the mechanisms of the persistence of chieftainship in Zambia is the very apt way in which chiefs have been transformed into petty state officials while retaining the cultural symbols of a royal status that have an independent existence from the state (van Binsbergen 1987b). The underlying logic becomes somewhat better understandable, once we realize that neo-traditional office does not only carry tremendous prestige among Nkoya villagers and even urban migrants, but also constitutes one of the very few opportunities for semi-literate villagers to gain a regular cash income without having to migrate away from the village sphere of life.

It is only when one is allowed a glimpse of the administrative and financial records at the district level, that one realizes the full extent to which the Nkoya royal establishments today are orchestrated by and conducted by the apparently distant boma: since the payment of the *Mwene*'s subsidy and of the *lukena* staff salaries is administratively and physically controlled from there, every dynastic quarrel, every appointment or dismissal of a retainer or musician, is approved or questioned by the boma, and the correspondence between the District Secretary and the *Myene* leaves little doubt as to who is in charge. Every so often the *Myene* are summoned to board government vehicles in order to be taken to meetings and functions at the district, provincial and national level; on the other hand they need the boma's formal permission to leave their areas on personal business.

Since 1969 the financial position of the Nkoya *Myene* has improved considerably. Before that time they only received a slight subsidy from Lealui. After that year they received a subsidy from the state, to the still modest sum of K40.<sup>110</sup> In 1975 remonstrations by prominent Nkoya

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<sup>109</sup> District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 4.1.71, 'Declaration of National Monuments', enclosure in Kaoma district files, ANT/2 'National Monuments'. With the phrase 'order of significance' this statement reproduces the claim of seniority of the Mutondo title over the Kahare title. With a significant understatement concerning the alien nature of Lozi overrule in the district, the letter concludes:

'Chief Mwendaweli explained that his important shrines and relics are as submitted by the Litunga [i.e. in the Zambezi flood plain, where the Lozi royal graves are situated; their secret cults reach their highest expression at the enthronement of a new *Litunga*]. His history begins in this district in about 1939, when he [i.e. his predecessor Mwanawina; the correct date for the creation of Naliele is 1937] settled at Naliele.'

<sup>110</sup> By that time, K1 equalled about US \$1.60. For an extensive discussion of the economy of Mwene Kahare's *lukena* in the early 1970s, cf. van Binsbergen & Geschiere 1985b: 261-270. At the time, the sale of ivory procured by the *Mwene*'s hunters still constituted a major source of income, and the basis for capital investment in the transport sector. Less than two decades later elephant and other big game have virtually

leaders brought to light that the revenue under the Barotse Treaty Obligations (dating from the early days of colonial rule but still in force) were only distributed within the Lozi royal family, and henceforth the Nkoya *Myene* have received their rightful share.<sup>111</sup>

By the same token, Nkoya have sought to redress the fate of their lost kingships through petitions to district and provincial administrators since the mid-1970s. As Minister Kalaluka MP, the only Nkoya Minister and Member of Parliament so far, declared in an interview with the author in 1977:

‘We try to lend new life to chieftaincies which have not been recognized: not only Shakalongo, but especially: Mwene Lishenga, Yuvwenu, Mwanatete, Fungo. We could well do with a larger number of chiefs here. In other provinces there are many more chiefs than here in Western Province.’<sup>112</sup>

Mr J. Kalaluka won his parliamentary seat in the general elections of 1973. His involvement at the district and provincial level is only one indication that the position of Nkoya *Myene* in the post-colonial state cannot be understood without looking at the political process through which people from central western Zambia sought access — not so much to the neo-traditional power structure of local chieftainship — but to the representative bodies of the political machine in the centre of the colonial and later the post-colonial state, in the face of almost total domination of the political process in the then Barotse land by members of the Lozi establishment.

Nkoya modern political emancipation was very much a process of trial and error, where one rallying cry and mobilization platform was easily exchanged for another, as long as it appeared to provide the means to by-pass the Lozi blockage to effective Nkoya representation in modern politics. The political career of Mr J. Kalaluka is very instructive in this respect. Before Independence (1964), he sought access to political leadership in the urban-based ‘Mankoya and Bantu Fighting Fund’ (1961) and by standing as a candidate for the ‘Mankoya Front’ in 1963. In the general elections of 1964 he stood as a candidate for Michello’s party, the People’s Democratic Party (cf. Mulford 1967: 311 and *passim*) and in the general elections of 1968 for African National Congress (ANC), then the main opposition party on the Zambian scene. Not being successful in any of these attempts, he retired for a while from active politics to be a national-level manager of a major petroleum company, only to find his ambitions of lifting the Nkoya and himself to the level of national representation fulfilled in the

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disappeared from the area. As a result the *Mwene* has become more dependent on the state subsidy.

111 Oral source [4].

112 Oral source [4].



1973 general elections. Then the spirit of reconciliation extended by the then unique party UNIP to former ANC partisans allowed him to stand and (in the face of the narrow ethnic claims of his Luvale and Mbunda contesters) win on a UNIP ticket as the candidate for part of Kaoma district. After a brilliant ministerial career, the ethnic rallying of Luvale and Luchazi in Kaoma district caused him to lose his parliamentary seat, and ministerial post, in the 1988 general elections.<sup>113</sup>

*Mutondo and Kahare: moiety-like structure and the struggle for seniority*

Above we have seen how Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare survived as the sole royal *Myene*, partly because of their stronger initial position in the process of Lozi incorporation, and partly because all the other Nkoya chieftainships disappeared under the encroachment of Lozi representative *indunas*. Despite the vicissitudes around Simuliankumba<sup>114</sup> and the Naliele establishment, the two Nkoya chiefs managed to hold their own throughout the colonial period, and when Lozi powers began to wane with Zambian independence, these Nkoya chiefs' stars rose both in the district and at the national level. In the process of Nkoya ethnic identity formation both *Myene* have occupied a central symbolic position.

Formally, neither the colonial and post-colonial state, nor the Lozi neo-traditional administration, has specified that either *Mwene* should be senior to the other. In the Zambian local government structure, both are officially designated as simply 'chief'.<sup>115</sup> Formally speaking, Kaoma district does not have any senior chiefs, although in practice the Lozi chief of Naliele is considered senior to both Kahare and Mutondo.

On closer analysis, the moiety-like pattern, dividing contemporary Nkoya society into two balanced halves, is far from stable in this respect that the subjects of Mwene Kahare and those of Mwene Mutondo are involved in constant rivalry lest either should claim to be the senior Nkoya *Mwene* — or would be considered as such by the outside world, particularly the central Zambian state. This is a recurrent theme in many discussions of Nkoya political history.<sup>116</sup>

The rivalry between the subjects of Mwene Mutondo and those of Mwene Kahare is largely articulated by contemporary concerns: the Mashasha and Nawiko are continually comparing each other's performance and success vis-à-vis the central state, the provincial and

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113 Oral sources [4]; [7] 8.10.1977; author's field-notes.

114 In this volume, word division of Nkoya words including proper names follows Nkoya conventions as set out in chapter 2 below, section 'Nkoya as a written language'.

115 Northern Rhodesia 1943, 1960; these lists of chiefs are still largely valid.

116 E.g. oral sources [4], [5] and [7].

district administration, and the Barotse neo-traditional administration. Even issues which to the outsider would add splendour to the emerging Nkoya 'nation' as a whole (such as Mr Kalaluka's election to parliament in 1973; or the first election to the national House of Chiefs of a Nkoya *Mwene*, Kahare, in 1970) immediately triggered resentment among that half of the district's Nkoya population that can identify less closely with the person or matter in question.

By contrast to such equality of the two *Myene* as springs from their similar position in the Lozi indigenous administration and the central state of Northern Rhodesia and later Zambia, there is the more specifically local, Nkoya perspective. Here there is a tendency for Mutondo to be considered senior: both Kahare and Kabulwebulwe address Mwene Mutondo as *yaya* (elder brother), while the latter calls them *mukonzo* (younger brother),<sup>117</sup> in an idiom reminiscent of perpetual kinship.

The local, largely informal recognition of Mutondo seniority today does not preclude that the subjects of Mutondo jealously watch such political advancement as Mwene Kahare and his subjects are making in modern Zambian society. Mwene Kahare Kabambi was not only a member of the national House of Chiefs through the 1970s, but also a UNIP Trustee, and a member of the Kaoma Rural Council (where Mwene Mutondo was, for much of the 1970s and 1980s, only represented by his court president and former Mwanashihemi, as well as by the granddaughter of a previous incumbent of this kingship). Mr Kalaluka grew up at the Kahare *lukena* as Mwene Kahare Kabambi's close kinsman.<sup>118</sup> Mutondo's subjects tend to see all this as a plot, on the part of the Mashasha, to wrench seniority from the hands of Mwene Mutondo.<sup>119</sup>

Between 1948 and 1980 the record of the Mutondo chieftainship was less impressive due to the relative aloofness of Mwene Mutondo Kalapukila vis-à-vis the Lozi neo-traditional administration; the latter had put him in office in the first place, after demoting his cousin Muchayila for opposing Lozi overlordship.

For the subjects of Mwene Mutondo today Muchayila's demotion, which made Kalapukila's accession possible, forms not only a source of continued animosity vis-à-vis the Lozi, and a reminder of what might be in store for any other chief defying the Lozi dominance — but also a major occasion when Mutondo/Kahare rivalry manifested itself. Mwene Kahare Timuna did not openly oppose Muchayila's demotion. In 1947-48, when the conflict occurred, he is reported to have said:

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<sup>117</sup> Oral sources [2] and [19] 18.10.1977.

<sup>118</sup> Mr Kalaluka is the FFZDS of Mwene Kabambi.

Here and below, the following abbreviations for kin relationships are employed: F = father; M = mother; B = brother; Z = sister; S = son; D = daughter; H = husband; W = wife. Classificatory links are indicated by the sign '#' before the letter symbol.

<sup>119</sup> Oral source [8].

'My father accepted the Lozi overlordship. I follow my father, I have no quarrel with the Lozi'.<sup>120</sup>

Shimunika, in his *Muhumpu* pamphlet, added fuel to the fire of Mutondo/Kahare rivalry by stating that Mwene Timuna paid the excessive tribute of a leopard skin in order to ingratiate himself with the Lozi at the time of Muchayila's dethronement. This allegation has been deeply resented by the Kahare subjects ever since *Muhumpu* was published. Shakupota, the then Mwanashiemi of Mwene Kahare who would have overseen such a payment of tribute if it ever took place, is quoted as forcefully denying that it ever did.<sup>121</sup> In an interview with the present author<sup>122</sup> Shimunika admitted that his allegation was based on 'just a rumour' and that he himself should have been more responsible than citing it in what was intended to be an objective historical account, and as a statement of (pan-) Nkoya ethnic identity at that.<sup>123</sup>

When after Kalapukila's death his aged predecessor once more acceded to the Mutondo throne, Muchayila's powerful and buoyant personality soon allowed him to reclaim such psychological seniority as his predecessor had lost to Kabambi's political instinct, cool and reticence. When *Kazanga*, a new Nkoya cultural society, was founded in 1982, and the annual *Kazanga* royal ceremony<sup>124</sup> was revived as a (hopefully) touristically attractive challenge to the time-honoured Lozi Kuomboka festival, it was self-evident that the first festival of this nature was to be held at the Mutondo royal establishment in 1988 — in recognition of that *lukena*'s precedence over Kahare's, Momba's and Kabulwebulwe's. As a piece of neo-traditional 'bricolage', the *Kazanga* festival today lacks virtually all ritual content — with the exception of a short dance of the members of the Mutondo royal family around the royal ancestral shrine which consists of a collection of stylized statuettes under a low shelter. The modern festival amounts to

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<sup>120</sup> Oral source [13].

<sup>121</sup> Oral source [5].

<sup>122</sup> However, in the presence of the informant of oral source [5]!

<sup>123</sup> Oral source [22]. Largely on Mr D. Kawanga's initiative, the editorial committees for *Likota Iya Bankoya* were set up partly to prevent a repetition of the internal friction among the Nkoya as caused by *Muhumpu*.

<sup>124</sup> Historically, *Kazanga* is the name of a traditional harvest ritual, in which the Nkoya *Mwene* was the main officiant; each *Mwene* would stage his or her own *Kazanga* in the local polity. The ceremony involved among other things the doctoring of an anthill through human sacrificial blood flowing in a furrow in the earth; oral source [17] 30.9.1977. In the middle of the twentieth century, selected unbloody remnants of this ritual were incorporated in a first-fruits ceremony belonging to the *Bituma* cult — adepts of the cult were not allowed to eat the year's new maize harvest without staging this ceremony (author's field-notes; cf. van Binsbergen 1981a).

a one-day presentation of the full range of Nkoya musical and dancing repertoire (streamlined, rehearsed, organized and even in part remunerated in a move towards 'folklorization'), before an audience of not one but *several* Nkoya *Myene*, guests of honour, and hundreds of local people assembled in the specially constructed festival grounds adjacent to the *lukena* fence. In 1988, Mwene Muchayila presided over the proceedings with compelling dignity, his hair shining with three *zimpane* royal ornaments,<sup>125</sup> while it was common knowledge that Mwene Kahare did no longer possess these regalia.<sup>126</sup> All the same, it was agreed that the *Kazanga* ceremony would alternate between Kahare and Mutondo, from year to year, but the 1989 festival was again staged at Mutondo's *lukena*, hosting this time not only Kahare but also Kabulwebulwe and Momba. At a few hundred metres' distance from the Mutondo *lukena* the three visiting chiefs — subject to severe rules of avoidance vis-à-vis each other — each had their own temporary camp erected out of reed rushes, poles and vegetable rope — where they were lodged with their people in a fashion which must have been similar to that of the nineteenth-century travelling *Myene* depicted in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

Further in my argument I shall come back to the question of the historical relationship between the Kahare and Mutondo title in centuries preceding colonial rule. At this juncture, having introduced the Nkoya people and their chiefs in their twentieth-century setting, let us turn to the text on which this study revolves, Shimunika's *Likota lya Bankoya*.

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<sup>125</sup> *Mpande*, pl. *zimpane*: the polished bottom of the Conus shell imported from the Indian Ocean; the convolutions of the shell have left a characteristic spiral pattern on its surface. With a string attached through a hole bored in the centre, the *mpande* is worn around the neck of the *Mwene*, as one of the regalia.

<sup>126</sup> On the occasion of the second *Kazanga* festival, 1st July 1989, Mwene Kahare was given a *mpande* from Malawi by the present author, in recognition of my great indebtedness since 1972. In all fairness it cannot be ruled out that our close relationship may have lent some slight partiality to my discussion of Mutondo-Kahare relations in the course of my argument below.

## Chapter 2

# The *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript

### 2.1. History of the *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript

Against the background of Nkoya ethnicization in the first half of the twentieth century, *Likota Iya Bankoya* sprang specifically from the grafting of Christian literacy upon the Nkoya *lukena* milieu.

After earlier abortive attempts,<sup>127</sup> the first successful Christian mission was established in the Nkoya area in 1923, by a fundamentalist Christian mission organization later known as the Africa Evangelical Fellowship — leading on to the Evangelical Church of Zambia. From the start (and in a way well documented by *Likota Iya Bankoya*) this undertaking enjoyed the patronage of the Mutondo royal family. One of its members, a close relative of several incumbents of the Mwene Mutondo title, was Malasha Shimunika (c. 1898-1981),<sup>128</sup> whose remarkable career (reputed to have started as a *nganga*, a traditional diviner-priest<sup>129</sup>), via conversion to Christianity (when he received the

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<sup>127</sup> The first attempt to establish a Christian mission in Nkoyaland was by A. W. Bailey, on the Lalafuta, in 1913. The project was abandoned in 1914; cf. Bailey (1913, 1914). For the second abortive attempt, see *Likota Iya Bankoya* (54: 1-4) and notes there (Parts II and III below).

<sup>128</sup> Mutumba Mainga (1973: 242-243) puts his year of birth at 1900, and adds that his mother, Shilandi, was a sister of Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca; similarly Brown (1984). A somewhat earlier date of birth was given in an extensive questionnaire which I administered to his son Mr Gideon Shimunika in 1976; Kaoma Research Project 1972-1976 questionnaire no. 46.

<sup>129</sup> Oral source [2] 30.9.1977.

baptismal name of Johasaphat) and work as a teacher, led him to be the first Nkoya pastor (as from 1950) and principal Bible translator. His Nkoya translation of the *New Testament* and the Psalms appeared in 1952 (Testamenta 1952); a draft translation of the Old Testament was completed shortly before his death, by a team under his supervision. Publication of the Old Testament translation is being delayed due to a shortage of funds; collections and subscriptions are currently being organized among Nkoya-speakers in Kaoma district and along the Zambian line of rail, largely within the framework of the Kazanga cultural society whose aim is the propagation of the Nkoya language and culture. In this connexion, workshops on Nkoya Bible translation were held in Luampa, 1986, and Lusaka, April 1987.

Besides his work as a teacher, pastor and Bible translator, Rev. Shimunika collected and collated Nkoya oral traditions all over Nkoyaland in an enthusiastic and conscientious way. In a personal interview<sup>130</sup> Shimunika claimed that he had started to collect Nkoya historical traditions in the 1920s, when he was working as a clerk at the Mutondo *lukena* and historical enquiries from the colonial administration could not be satisfactorily answered. These materials were committed to writing in the 1950s-1960s, under the title *Likota lya Bankoya*.

The title of the work poses a difficulty. The root *-kota* is not used in the Nkoya text except to indicate the title of the work. In Lozi, a language with which Rev. Shimunika was fully conversant, *likota* means 'tree', and thus the title already evokes not only the arboreal symbolism that permeates the book as a whole, but also the very Lozi domination it seeks to explode. In the course of my field-work, however, I found that the word *likota* (or the Mashasha form *jikota*), whatever its status as a Lozi loan word, was used by Nkoya speakers (most probably unaware of Rev. Shimunika's manuscript and its title) as a generic term for 'the group of people (perhaps best described as a bilateral kindred) centring on a village and on a hereditary title of village headmanship'.<sup>131</sup> Thus one could speak of *Likota lya Shipungu*, 'the people who are "members" of Shipungu village' — not only the actual inhabitants of the present conglomeration of about ten dwellings known as Shipungu village (on the Kabanga stream, some 35 km east of Kaoma), but also such potential inhabitants of Shipungu village as are living either in other villages or in towns, and in fact all the people who by virtue of patrilineal or matrilineal descent from sometime actual inhabitants of Shipungu village have a self-evident right to take up residence there, who are eligible to participate in ancestral ritual at the village shrine, who may in principle receive a share of any bridewealth paid for female fellow-'members', and who — if not themselves clearly eligible to the Shipungu title — could have at least some say in the election of a new incumbent.

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<sup>130</sup> Oral source [22].

<sup>131</sup> E.g. oral source [14]; cf. van Binsbergen, in prep.

In the light of this Nkoya usage of the word *likota* the title of Rev. Shimunika's work would simply mean: 'The Nkoya people'. What remains confusing, then, is that Shimunika applies a term which normally refers to only the small specific village group within the wider society of central western Zambia, to an entire 'ethnic group' — for which latter concept Nkoya usage would prefer the word *mushobo*, 'tribe'. Does this reflect Shimunika's awareness of the historical heterogeneity of the Nkoya, and the artificiality of his attempt to forge them into one unit? Or does the genealogical connotation of 'family tree',<sup>132</sup> on the contrary, convey the suggestion that, more than tribes in the usual sense, the Nkoya are united by ties of consanguinity? These questions were unfortunately not raised during my interviews with Rev. Shimunika, and the title remains puzzling.

Nkoya readers themselves have failed to offer an unequivocal translation of the title, wavering between 'people' and 'history' — in a way which is most significant considering the role of this book in the building of Nkoya ethnicity. I have adopted a translation which retains both shades: 'The History of the Nkoya People'.

The earlier mentioned *Muhumpu* pamphlet was a first installment of Shimunika's ethno-historical research which was to lead to *Likota Iya Bankoya*. In many respects it was a short draft for *Likota Iya Bankoya*, covering largely the same grounds: the Lozi ruler Mulambwa's request of Nkoya medicine and drums, which resulted in the first time that Nkoya drums were sent to Loziland; the second time the Nkoya drums went to Loziland — as captured by the Kololo; the exploits of the Lozi ruler Sipopa; his sending of representative *indunas*; the exploits of Shamamano; Mwene Mutondo Wahila's journey to Soliland; the arrival of the British and the founding of Mankoya boma, and the intervention of the Lozi *Litunga* Yeta III, Lewanika's successor, in the Mutondo succession in the late 1910s. However, half of *Muhumpu* (pp. 4-7) is taken up by a passionate account of the creation of the Mankoya Native Authority, the Naliele Appeal Court and the Mankoya Native Treasury in the 1930s, and the resulting conflicts between Mwene Mutondo Muchayila (during his first term of office, 1943-1947) and the Barotse Native Administration, which ended in Muchayila's demotion and ten years' exile to Kalabo, west of the Zambezi.

Rev. Shimunika also wrote a *Lwampa Mission short history from 1923*, of which I have not been able to trace a copy.

The original typescript of *Likota Iya Bankoya* was prepared at the Luampa Mission Bible translation office, and it is typed in a tradition

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<sup>132</sup> On Nkoya imagery of genealogical relationships, see below, 2.5, 'the handling of kinship terms and terms for social groups', and 4.1: 'the High God, Rain, and the Land'.

of Bible editions<sup>133</sup>, with large numerals inserted into the main text as chapter numbers, with units of a few sentences indicated by a number — like Bible verses, and with running heads specifying chapters and verses for each page. Clearly, the text was meant to be definitive, and to be published.

In 1975 I came into contact with Mr Hamba H. Mwene, an examination officer in the Zambian Ministry of Education, living in Lusaka and from Nkoya background, who gave me a copy of the Nkoya text (60-odd densely typed pages) of *Likota lya Bankoya*, with a request to have it published in the Nkoya language. That manuscript was a rather heterogeneous bundle of typewritten pages, heavily edited in handwriting, and bearing on the title page the names of J.M. Shimunika and H.H. Mwene, as co-authors (see below, *Appendix 1*).

When in the autumn of 1977 the intervention of Mr Davison Kawanga, a senior medical assistant likewise of Lusaka and from a Nkoya background, enabled me to personally interview Rev. Shimunika in his house in Luampa, Kaoma district, it became clear that the latter was the only author of *Likota lya Bankoya*. In Rev. Shimunika's opinion (confirmed by other readers and in due course by Mr H.H. Mwene himself), the latter's contribution had been agreed to consist merely of copy-editing Shimunika's typescript. While he had done so conscientiously, he had taken the liberty of adding a number of paragraphs, an introduction, and additional kings' lists. So part of my editorial task was reconstructing the manuscript as originally written by Rev. Shimunika — while at the same time acknowledging such real formal improvements as Mr Mwene's work on the manuscript represented. In this task I could rely on Rev. Shimunika's own master copy of the manuscript which I could peruse at length in Luampa, taking photographs of significant variants (reproduced in the present volume as *Appendix 2*). Another source of information, from Mr Mwene's manuscript itself, were the telltale patterns of variously coloured pencil and ballpoint marks, the systematic differences between the typewriters used, between typists' mannerism and orthography, and a growing acquaintance with Mr Mwene's handwriting. Details are given in section 2.3 below.

In Summer 1978, while the work on the editorial reconstruction of the original manuscript was in progress, Mr M. Malapa, an assistant pharmacist of Lusaka, at the combined request of Mr D. Kawanga and myself, and with some financial support from the African Studies Centre, Leiden, made a draft translation, which I checked and corrected word by word, sending him my extensive notes and queries in November 1978, on the basis of which he soon afterwards produced a second draft translation.

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<sup>133</sup> For a stimulating analysis of the ways in which Christian literacy may lead to the local production of pre-scientific ethnography and history, cf. Janzen 1985, with specific reference to the Lower Congo.



After work on the *Likota Iya Bankoya* edition had to be abandoned for some years due to the pressure of other work, the Nkoya text and the second draft translation were processed in the form of easily manipulable computer files, whose typography I subjected to systematic copy-editing, while continuing to work on the style, contents and both semantic and historical implications of the English translation. The move to ever more precise and consistent interpretation of the text, and to a growing awareness of the stylistic, editorial, linguistic, symbolic and historical problems arising in the course of that attempt, was particularly stimulated when I proceeded to an increasingly sophisticated decoding of the historical information *Likota Iya Bankoya* might contain. Concentrating, in this connexion, on gender relations in the process of Nkoya state formation, on Nkoya cosmology and symbolic structures, and on the structuralist-inspired methodology by which to crack *Likota Iya Bankoya*'s historical code, major progress was made in the years 1985-1987.

A decisive stage in the editorial process was reached when in August 1985 the first proofs of the Nkoya text and the draft English translation became available for correction. In the way set out in the Preface, I had soon four extensively reworked copies of the Nkoya text at my disposal. This remarkable response, across linguistic and geographical distances and despite pressures of time, money and wavering postal services, enables us to look at the final Nkoya text as more than one individual author's work and one foreign scholar's editing: *Likota Iya Bankoya* as it presents itself to the reader in Part II below, can to some extent be said to be realized by, and endorsed by, the Nkoya-speaking people themselves.

Meanwhile, the comments on the English translation (Part III below) were far less extensive: either the expert readers looked upon *Likota Iya Bankoya* as a text for exclusively local consumption, by members of the Nkoya language community, or — more likely — they did not feel sufficiently competent in English to criticise a translation on which Mr Malapa and myself had already worked for so long. During the years 1985-1988 I once again re-translated *Likota Iya Bankoya* word by word, on the basis of the now completely reconstructed Nkoya manuscript, Mr Malapa's second draft translation and my earlier queries, and especially of such methodological, philological, literary and historical insights as will be set out in this chapter and the next. In the process I also translated about 20% of the original text which Mr Malapa had left out of his drafts, while the final translation of the remaining 80% came to differ very substantially from these drafts.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Preparing the English translation for publication in 1987-88, I again, as in 1977-78, benefited from a 131 pp. typescript draft 'Dictionary Shinkoya-English', said to have been prepared by Rev. J.M. Shimunika and made available to me by Mr H.H. Mwene in order to settle certain details of interpretation and translation (Anonymous, n.d. (b)). The first published Nkoya word list (Yasutoshi Yukawa 1987) came too late to my attention to be used extensively.

The final text of the English translation was checked again between Mr Malapa and myself in Lusaka, May 1988; this cleared up (that is, to our personal satisfaction) most of the outstanding problems of interpretation and translation; the remaining few will be identified by specific footnotes below.

## 2.2. *Likota Iya Bankoya* as belonging to a genre of historiographic production

*Likota Iya Bankoya* does not stand on its own, but belongs to a genre of historiographic production. Following in Rev. J.M. Shimunika's footsteps, similar documents but of lesser scope and quality were prepared by educated Nkoya men of a younger generation: teachers and clerks. In the course of my research I have come across several manuscripts, of varying length and significance, often no longer than a few pages, normally written in dog-eared exercise books and held by family heads, teachers etc.<sup>135</sup> And of course, texts of this nature form a well-known genre throughout South Central Africa: that of 'literate ethno-history'. By analogy with 'ethno-botany', 'ethno-psychiatry' etc., the term 'ethno-history' (cf. White 1962) could serve to distinguish this image of the past as presented, without aspirations to modern scholarship, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and similar locally produced texts, from such history as a professional historian would write.

This genre is very popular among first-generation literate Africans. For western Zambia I could mention: Chibanza's Kaonde history (Chibanza 1961); Sandasanda's Kaonde history (Sandasanda 1972); Ikacana's Kwangwa history (Ikacana 1971, originally published 1952); the very influential Lozi history written by the missionary Jalla (1959);<sup>136</sup> Chief Siloka II Mukuni's Baleya history (Siloka II Mukuni n.d.); the Lala history edited by Munday (1961); and Sangambo's Luvale history as edited by Hansen and Papstein (Sangambo 1979). A Malawian

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<sup>135</sup> They include: Jackson Shimunika, *Mr Clay's history commentary. On the early [sic] of the Mankoya. (Kaoma)*, 2 pp., original typescript in my possession; the author is a son of Rev. Shimunika; Dickson K. Makiyi, *Nkoya history — Kaoma, Western Province, Zambia*, 58 pp., manuscript in my possession; Moses Masheka Mutondo, untitled grey notebook (A) on Nkoya history and political structure, 18 pp., only dated entry 21.10.1977 (p. 16), original in my possession; Moses Masheka Munangisha, [identical to the previous author] Mutondo Royal Establishment, another unpublished manuscript (B), dated 1.1.1977 and later entries dated 10.8.1977, 24.8.1977, 10.4.1956, 14 unnumbered pages of which 4 are blank, no title, first line runs: 'Shihemwa. Biheka bya Mwene Mutondo Mashiku 2.1.1942'; H.H. Mwene, *Kafunte ka Shibinda*, typescript, 68 pp., original in my possession.

<sup>136</sup> Originally published 1921; occasionally one finds a 1909 edition quoted which I have not been able to trace. Prins (1980) mentions a considerable number of Lozi texts of the literate ethno-history genre to which I did not have access.

example that comes to mind is Heintze's edition of Ntara's *History of the Chewa* (Heintze 1973; cf. van Binsbergen 1976).

*characteristics of the genre and methodological implications*

One would greatly misrepresent locally produced historical texts of this genre if one took them for simple compilations of oral traditions. Their being committed to writing (either in an African language or in English), and their attempts, with varying degrees of success, to develop a sustained and integrated historical argument encompassing a number of local political and ethnic (sub-)groups over a number of centuries, force their authors to find solutions for problems of complex historical narrative, the linking up of separate traditions and of the historical figures featuring in them, and the specific group referents of these stories and traditions, to an extent that is atypical for unprocessed oral traditions in this part of the world.

For oral traditions within a viable rural culture do not need to be purposely integrated, juxtaposed and anchored to a specific group: however kaleidoscopic in their emphasis and however contradictory in their contents, they are united and rendered meaningful by their constant implicit reference to the surrounding village society and its culture. By contrast, the relatively new genre of literate compilations of oral traditions does not operate within such a relatively self-evident, secure environment. Its frame of reference is the relatively intimidating wider world governed by competence in foreign languages, literate typographical and syntactic conventions, the awareness of a similar historiographic production by neighbouring and rival groups, and of historiographic products of an altogether different academic standard and authority. The latter include particularly the published books on local history and ethnic cultures, by European colonial administrators and both African and European academicians. Elders and court chroniclers may offer the crude building bricks for the products of this literate ethno-historiographic genre, but the final models that its producers aspire to derive not from the village, the court shelter and the storytelling at the fireplace.

Among the genre's sources of inspiration and the standards of aspiration, *published academic and popular accounts* of local affairs loom large (we shall return to them when we consider, in chapter 3, the recycling of such accounts within the body of the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*), but (as that text itself suggests, in its style and its typography) another such principal authoritative model may be furnished by the Bible. Besides being highly prestigious, the Bible could be termed inspiring in that it, too, and without apparent detrimental effect on its prestige and authority over the past three millennia or more, offers a practical combination of rambling and often totally disconnected or contradictory details incorporated into what yet appears (certainly to first-generation Christians in Africa) to be a unitary overall structure.

For the academic historian these characteristics of the genre mean that its products must be treated and analysed in a rather different fashion from oral-historical sources. A text like *Likota lya Bankoya* does not constitute raw data but it is rather a half-product, halfway between such traditions and reminiscences as operate within a strictly local frame of reference, on the one hand, and scholarly argument, on the other. Much more than as an informant, I came to look upon Rev. Shimunika as a colleague in the decyphering of the Nkoya past, and while we could only spend two days in historiographic debate, my own analysis of Nkoya precolonial history has greatly benefited from the initial structuring and weighing of extremely fragmented, contradictory and inconclusive oral evidence as available in central western Zambia. What is involved here is a creative restructuring on Rev. Shimunika's part, not a mere compilation. In chapter 3 we shall assess in detail to what extent this restructuring became laden, and to some extent perhaps biased, by Shimunika's own social and political position, and only after that assessment shall we proceed to use the elements of his argument for our own reconstruction of the Nkoya past.

In principle this restructuring by Shimunika and similar writers is similar to that which the academic analyst of oral sources does all the time, but there are two essential differences:

- (a) The creative process is in the hands of a native speaker, a fully-fledged member of the culture under study, and a participant in the history that is to be written; while this enhances the risk of specific particularistic biases such as we shall try to detect and compensate for, it dramatically reduces a much greater risk of Western scholarly projections across cultural, linguistic, political, class and historical divides. A restructured account like Shimunika's, merely by virtue of its having been written by him, is saturated with the, partly unconscious, assumptions, symbols and contradictions of Nkoya society and history — and if we manage to uncover them (as I shall attempt to do in the present argument) we have gained access to layers of ideological history few historians of Africa have sampled on the basis of unprocessed oral materials alone.
- (b) The analytical energy is not spent on the moment that a more or less coherent synthesis of the material is made, by someone like Shimunika, but that analysis is again processed — in the hands of an academician — in order to arrive at a more penetrating, more systematic, more abstract interpretation in generalized terms of scholarship — but only after the first synthesis has benefited fully from the African compiler's cultural and linguistic knowledge.

The dialogue thus emerging between the local historian and the cosmopolitan historian seems a fortuitous departure from the 'primitive appropriation' that has characterized Africanist scholarship of earlier decades (cf. van Binsbergen 1988b). The mode of research followed in

the present volume does problematize ethnic and local interests and Shimunika's historiographic dilettantism that springs from it, without however slighting the profound concerns of the African pursuers of literate ethno-history. The history we seek to create is theirs, not ours; and while their respect for the canons of scholarship may be sometimes undeserved, our circumspection and humility in handling their views may help us greatly along the way of reconstructing an African past that is both truthful, available and meaningful.

These considerations prompted me to engage in what must appear a rather unusual exercise: taking a twentieth-century Nkoya document as seriously as possible, treating it with what is essentially a philological-historical method, and making only selective reference to the more primal, unprocessed oral data at my disposal. Not only did this approach offer me the synthetic view of Nkoya history I had sought in vain to formulate entirely on my own impetus, in my first years of studying the Nkoya past; it also enabled me to situate this attempt at in precolonial historiography within the very processes of ethnic and political reconstruction that constitute Nkoya society today, and that both as a field-worker and a participant held me captive for many years. And thus I arrived at a point where I can present, and make sense of, my synchronic anthropological data — around whose collection my Nkoya research initially revolved in the years 1972-1974 — in a context where they are largely subservient to a historical argument spanning three centuries or more.

Of course, knowledge of the contemporary culture, language and politics is as essential for any oral historical research as it is for the analysis of literate ethno-history. But in our present endeavour we aspire to dialogue rather than academic monologue. We accept the lead of local people's own systematic structuring of their past, rather than immediately and from scratch imposing our own. Perhaps, in this way, an encounter is brought about that may be humanly more satisfactory because of its built-in equality, and from a scholarly viewpoint more rewarding and illuminating because of the input, through the compiler's (in this case: Shimunika's) mind, of local ideological and symbolic orientations that otherwise would be difficult to accommodate in historiographic discourse.

Finally, as for the *purpose* of the historiographic production within this genre, this always includes the quest for *identity*, after the latter has become problematic (as either a newly-invented, or as a threatened, entity) under the impact of twentieth-century political and economic incorporation processes. The colonial administrative structures have been most instrumental in creating and imposing boundaries between geographical areas and between groups, differentially allocating, to the fragmented spaces thus defined, prestige, political, cultural and linguistic recognition, means for participation in the wider economic and political structures of the colonial state, and scarce material resources (in the way of transport, medical and educational facilities).

Therefore it is far from surprising that the genre of literate ethno-history tends to take the colonizers' ethnic and geographical distinctions for granted, and seeks to force the (often far more diffuse, heterogeneous and contradictory) traditional data into that strait-jacket — rather than arriving, by its own impetus, at a historical critique of the administrative, ethnic and historical inventions and impositions of the colonial state.

*between colonialism, missionary influence and ethnic concerns*

The elements outlined above we do find back in Rev. Shimunika's *Likota Iya Nkoya*. Its principal aim is to claim and underpin the identity of the Nkoya people, as the inhabitants of the Land of Nkoya (which, amazingly in view of the arbitrary nature of colonial boundaries, under Shimunika's hands so very neatly coincides with that early colonial creation, the Mankoya district), and particularly in the face of Lozi domination. Shimunika's frame of reference is not the inward-directed contemplation of things Nkoya, but the operation of Nkoyanness within a wider setting involving rival and hostile ethnic groups in an overall context of the British-dominated colonial state.

This has interesting effects on Rev. Shimunika's style. On the one hand he organizes the entire universe from his actual vantage point, Luampa Mission. The immediate surroundings of Luampa Mission, the rivulets, villages and the location of some trading store which has now disappeared, are described with a sheer myopia which leaves even the other parts of the Land of Nkoya in blurred outlines, let alone the rest of western Zambia. Also, at the regional level, the district can simply and adequately be identified, in Shimunika's terms, by the word 'here':

'He returned to Loziland and he acceded to the kingship under the name of Mwene Sipopa. Then the Nkoya, along with Mwene Mutondo Kashina and his younger brother Kancukwe, returned *here, to Nkoya*. When they arrived *here in Nkoya* they did not want Mwene Mutondo Kashina to be their senior Mwene any more...' (34: 5; my italics).

'When he arrived in Loziland Sekeletu took him across the Zambezi to the Lukona area, to his elder brother Katushi. *Here* [, in Nkoya], meanwhile, the kingship went over in the hands of [Mwene Liyoka's] younger brother Libondo' (38: 4; my italics).

Fixation in place goes hand in hand with fixation in time, and the historiographic present which Rev. Shimunika observes is clearly that of the 1950s — when the Mankoya Native Authority was still a viable

institution,<sup>137</sup> when a great many ethnonyms and toponyms of colonial creation could be used as a matter of course even if they were meant to anachronistically refer to precolonial conditions, and when the use of selected English words in the Nkoya text could at least be hoped to further its clarity — at the same time confirming, perhaps, as a side effect, the author as a successful intellectual in control of the prestigious and dominant colonial language.

The belief (resented by contemporary Nkoya readers) that in certain respects the Nkoya language would be so imprecise as to necessitate the introduction of English words, can be seen reflected in the use of the word *chieftain* as an English clarification for the Nkoya phrase *Mwene wa mukazi*,<sup>138</sup> in the frequent insertion of English numerals, and of English words for the directions of the compass (which admittedly are confusing in Nkoya):

‘Our grandparents used to tell us that Libupe came from *ncelele*, ‘the north’ as we say today in the language of the English.’ (2: 1)

The word *wande* is accompanied, in the Nkoya text, by the translation ‘area’ (1: 6), and the Nkoya names of ethnic groups and subgroups are often accompanied by their better-known English or Lozi equivalents: e.g. ‘*Bakubu (Makololo)*’ (27: 10), or by such explanations in English as: ‘*Branch of Nkoya*’ (1: 2).

All these original clarifications are entirely unnecessary for the Nkoya reader, which raises the question as to what specific readership Shimunika actually had in mind. The apologetic thrust of the book, the intention to state the case for Nkoya identity and autonomy, was addressed as much to his fellow Nkoya speakers as to outsiders — but precious few among the latter would be able to read it in the original Nkoya.

That more is involved here than a fear to be misunderstood can be seen from the way the relations are described between Mwene Mutondo Wahila and the first two Britons living in his realm:

‘When Mwene Mutondo Wahila died in the year 1914, the Whitemen Mr Helm and Mr Brough went to attend the funeral of their great friend, together with all the people.’ (52: 10)

Is the purpose of this passage to show that the Nkoya, just like the Lozi, have their own independent share of goodwill with the colonial power? Are the British invoked as possible allies against Lozi domination — as they sometimes turned out to be in the case of Mwene

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<sup>137</sup> Soon after Independence to be replaced by the Mankoya — later Kaoma — Rural Council.

<sup>138</sup> I.e. *female Mwene*, which I have preferred to translate as ‘Lady *Mwene*’; cf. (10: 2). Like many other Zambian users of English Rev. Shimunika assumed *chieftain* to be the feminine form of the English word *chief*.

Kahare Timuna (see chapter 1)? The description of Mwene Kanyinca's early career as a boma messenger (again to the full satisfaction of the District Commissioner as Shimunika does not fail to point out), hardly suggests that a stigma attaches to colonial 'collaboration'. Only at the very first encounter with the colonial power (52: 1f) is local autonomy stressed by a symbolic act: Mwene Mutondo shoots an arrow into a tree as a sign of legitimate ownership of the land (cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 120), and he is at first claimed to refuse to pay taxes; however, this initial assertiveness apparently vanishes like snow before the sun.

But while on the one hand colonial power relations appear to constitute an overriding frame of reference, on the other hand Shimunika manages to partially reshape things colonial according to the logic of Nkoya culture. The District Commissioner is disguised as a Nkoya ruler: *Mwene Mangalashi*, whose 'dynastic' title is *Mubushishi* or *Kalela*<sup>139</sup> (ch. 51-52); *Ndona*, the (no doubt Portuguese-derived, and now general Zambian) honorific title of the missionary's wife (or any other European woman), is a term for exalted status very well comparable to that of *Lihano* (54: 5), and also such names as *Miloli*, *Muruti* and *Tokotela*, for early European colonialists in the area, somehow assume the connotations of Nkoya dynastic titles. In the same vein, missionary interrelations are depicted in the idiom of strife within royal families (54: 7). Yet when these missionaries visit the Lozi *Litunga* Yeta III, the latter is emphatically (and correctly, besides the spelling mistake of *Paramaunt*) called *Paramount Chief* — as if, when the Lozi are concerned, the colonial order and the English nomenclature it has created is incapable of being restructured in terms of the logic of Nkoya culture — so that one could not use a phrase such as 'Mwene Yeta'.<sup>140</sup>

For Shimunika, the universe of colonial power relations and of the attending conceptualizations was taken for granted, and even when he was himself engaged in an attempt to describe and glorify the nineteenth-century political structures that preceded it, he cannot resist the temptation of the colonial administrative terminology — as if the book was written by a mentally lazy British district officer who had managed to pick up Nkoya:

'Bankoya Shibanda bakutelela ku Mumbwa, Bankoya Wushanga bakutelela ku Kasempa, nibo:

(1) Nkoya Shibanda **Chief** Kabulwebulwe wa ku Mumbwa **Boma**.

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<sup>139</sup> This word literally means 'ruler', from the radical *-lela*, 'to reign', which is also used for incumbents of the Nkoya kingship.

<sup>140</sup> However, when in Shimunika's final chapter he refers to four *Litungas* from both the precolonial and the colonial period (56: 3) he does call them *Bamyene*.



- (2) Nkoya Wushanga **Sub Chief** Loto na Shihoka, baku Kasempa **Boma**, ku litunga Iya Kaonde **Land**.' (22: 4)<sup>141</sup>

In other passages the colonial administrative term 'District' enters Shimunika's discourse, even when he is referring to events occurring long before 1900. A colonial place name like Mongu is used with reference to very early Nkoya history:

'Likambi lived at Mongu with her mother Mulawa.' (10: 3)

And a typically colonial ethnonymic construct like 'the Kaonde-Luba' appears with reference to events from the mid-nineteenth century:

'...the Lalafuta. Here Mwene Mushima Mubambe, the Mwene of the Kaonde-Luba, was living with his people at that time.' (27: 3)

*The universe of colonialism is so inescapable that even in a historical account it assumes the quality of an a-historic, perennial fact of life...*

It is important to pinpoint this orientation in Shimunika's style, and to reflect on its implications. Yet it is entirely understandable that contemporary Nkoya readers resent both the anachronisms involved and the way these English insertions pollute what they consider a major monument of the Nkoya language. I have therefore tended to delete such colonial idiosyncrasies of Shimunika's style, particularly with regard to toponyms and ethnonyms, from the main body of the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* — but of course carefully acknowledging every such deletion in a footnote, so that it remains available for further interpretation.

While thus *Likota Iya Bankoya* and its author make ample allowance for the colonial framework within which the Nkoya came to be incorporated and their identity problems came to be generated, the author's ethnic and apologetic concerns could only be served to the extent he managed to identify with the collectivity of the people he seeks to evoke. Hence the merging between himself and the Nkoya,

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<sup>141</sup> **Bold** words as in original manuscript before editing. In its unedited form, the passage means literally:

'The Nkoya Shibanda fall under Mumbwa, the Nkoya Wushanga [or: 'Shangaland Nkoya'; see note to Part III below, 22: 2] under Kasempa:

- (1) The Nkoya Shibanda of Sub-chief Kabulwebulwe who falls under the Mumbwa boma.
- (2) The Nkoya Wushanga [Shangaland Nkoya] of Sub-chief Loto and Sub-chief Shihoka who fall under the Kasempa boma, in the land of Kaondeland.'

Cf. below, Part II, 22: 4, for the edited Nkoya text of this passage, and Part III, 22: 4 for the English translation of the edited text.

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resolving his individuality in a collective plural 'we', such as in the title to chapter 21:

'WE RETURNED HERE, TO NAWIKO IN NKOYA'  
(21: 1).

And in the final chapter, where the ethnic concerns of *Likota lya Bankoya* become most articulate, Rev. Shimunika significantly belittles his own working on the traditional data and invokes, no doubt for greater authority and appeal, a collective authorship:

'Those who have written this history *Likota lya Bankoya* and the earlier *Muhumpu* are asking all Nkoya to give their thoughts to the following problem' (56: 1).

As a writer, Shimunika is divided against himself, between the collectivity he wants to serve and the colonial frame of reference that both engendered that collectivity, and allowed it to be humiliated and threatened in its political and economic self-expressions.

#### *narrative structure and style*

In the narrative structure of *Likota lya Bankoya* we detect further peculiarities associated with the genre of literate ethno-history. Balancing between oral traditions and literate models, with a most serious ethnic message to convey, Shimunika as a narrator does not bind the heterogeneity of the many oral traditions at his disposal into one unified, captivating argument. It is not being over-critical to admit that *Likota lya Bankoya* is not a masterpiece of narration. The written form, with its standardized Nkoya vocabulary, deprived both the narrator and the audience from most of the usual rhetorical, dramaturgical and non-verbal instruments of orature. This made the text very dull at times — particularly when it degenerates into a mere summing up of names, residences, hydronyms and burial places, as it often does. On the other hand, many nineteenth-century events such as the capture of the Mutondo royal kin by the Kololo, the capture of Mwene Liyoka, the reign and downfall of Mwene Kashina, or the events relating to Shamamano and his brothers are described with convincing detail.

It is the fundamental disunity of the political organization of the Nkoya, and of their twentieth-century ethnic identity, which is reflected in the rambling narrative structure of the work. After a general introduction on clans and the origin of *Wene*, there are essentially four lines of argument which, although intertwined, hardly develop from a common source and are broken off at random: the stories of the four kingships of Mutondo, Kahare, Momba and Kabulwebulwe. The Shakalongo line (including Mwene Liyoka) and the way it is related to the other four remains very vague — in reflection of the peripheral

position to which the Shakalongo kingship, unrecognized by the colonial state, had been relegated in the twentieth century when Shimunika collected his data. But the treatment of Shakalongo is not the only allowance for political conditions wrought by the colonial state and the Barotse indigenous administration during the colonial period. Out of a great many Nkoya-related kingships which existed in precolonial western Zambia (see chapter 1 and *Appendix 7*), *Likota Iya Bankoya* has selected *only the four which made the grade of colonial and post-colonial recognition by the central state!* To those who did not survive into the twentieth century, Shimunika virtually denies any historical existence in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries! The amount of detail on the Mutondo line is very considerable, whereas for the Kahare line resort had to be taken to a thinly disguised mythical story (that of *Kapeshi ka Munungampanda* — the Ladder Consisting of Joined Forked Poles) which (as I shall argue below) remains an alien element inserted in what is basically a narrative of nineteenth-century historical events from Mwene Shihoka Nalinanga to Mwene Shamanano. On the Momba and Kabulwebulwe title details are lacking to such an extent that not even a tentative genealogy can be drawn on the basis of the information in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. This is the reason why some members of the Nkoya editorial committees of the book have pronounced their fears that, after *Muhumpu*, also *Likota Iya Bankoya* is going to stir up internal conflict among the Nkoya, this time because of dissatisfaction from the side of Mwene Kabulwebulwe's and Mwene Momba's subjects. As one informant said:

'As it is, *Likota Iya Bankoya* is full of problems and bones of contention. Momba and Kabulwebulwe are not going to accept it. A history which writes against each group within the tribe is not a good history.'<sup>142</sup>

Even within each of the four separate narrative lines it is clear that the compiler has not thoroughly reconciled the sources with one another: the book is full of false starts, abortive, repetitive and fragmentary lines of narration, and contradictory accounts involving the same sets of personal names. While this does not facilitate the analysis, it at least shows that the literate compiler has not tampered overmuch with his data in an attempt to seamlessly collate and streamline them — as happens so often in other specimens of this genre. In a way, he kept rather close to the nature of the local traditions — whose fragmentation and disconnection reflect the absence of enduring political integration and comprehensive political hierarchy in the Land of Nkoya, both in the nineteenth century and in its neo-traditional, colonial and post-colonial aftermath. The picture is however far from uniform. For on the other hand, the considerable consistence which the genealogical data in *Likota Iya Bankoya* display,

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<sup>142</sup> Oral source [7] 21.10.1977.

will lead us to conclude, in chapter 3, that there Shimunika effected more deliberate restructuring than the nature of his raw data warranted.

Shimunika's limited stylistic means include *repetition*, and of this he makes a use that again shows the proximity of the oral models. Just one example out of several:

'This kingship began when the Nkoya were living in the Lukolwe area on the Maniinga, a tributary of the Kabompo, of whom people say:

“The Kabompo has many canoes  
Just like the Mwene has many slaves,”

because the Mwene does have many slaves. The explanation of this expression is that here in the land of Nkoya there are two things truly plentiful: the Kabompo with its canoes, and the Mwene with his subjects.’ (10: 1)

*the uses of a religious education*

Such authors as Janzen and MacGaffey (cf. Janzen 1985 and references cited there), who have drawn their inspiration from the Lower Zaïre, have enlightened us as to the cultural mutation precipitated by the introduction of literacy: the emergence of models or genres (including biblical, ethnographic and historiographic ones) emulated by first-generation literate Africans; and the interaction between these more or less external genres on the one hand, and the modes of perceiving and conceptualizing the past as present in African cultures, on the other.

In this respect it is significant that Rev. Shimunika has conceived *Likota Iya Bankoya* primarily as a Bible, with all the outside signs of enlarged chapter numbers, verse numbers, and running heads. These typographical elements have been painstakingly added in his own manuscript and therefore faithfully rendered in the present edition as well (with the exception of the page-specific running heads which were technically too costly to reproduce).

More is involved here than Christian piety. For many years *Testamenta ya Yipya/Nyimbo* has constituted the only major text available in Nkoya; and Rev. Shimunika was its principal translator. If a book had to be produced on Nkoya history, obviously that book, in order to be a real book, had to look like a Bible. The typography here spills over into contents: the ethnic and political concerns, of identity formation and assertion in the face of Lozi arrogance, which was the main motive to write the book. Cast in the form of a Bible, *Likota Iya Bankoya* was conceived as a sacred text, eminently earnest and truthful; the biblical typography was one of the most powerful means within Rev. Shimunika's grasp to add meaning and authority, revelation and redemption, to the history of the Nkoya.

I have not been able to penetrate the logic governing the distribution of verse numbers over and across the Nkoya sentences of the *Likota Iya Bankoya* text. Often the insertion of a new verse number right in the middle of a current sentence or halfway through a list of numbered items is puzzling; I take it that its principal aim — in a clever emulation of Bible verse numbers — is to suggest some ulterior systematics imposed by an authority beyond ordinary human control; just like fundamentalist Christians might believe that the distribution of verse numbers in the Bible springs from divine inspiration. Of course, in the translation it was not always possible to retain the sentence structure of the original Nkoya, and then the verse numbers had to be moved slightly.

The influence of the Bible as a model does not stop at such relatively superficial typographical means. The handling of repetitive genealogical material virtually devoid of narrative interest does have biblical parallels, and so does the neat chapter structure with each new, emphatically numbered chapter devoted to a new episode or protagonist. As Shimunika himself said:

{[The writing of] history is something that needs to go into detail. It is like in the Bible: where people go there should be a title. [In other words, every new event or movement of the protagonists should be highlighted by a separate heading.] So also with history.<sup>143</sup>

The major biblical influence meanwhile lies in the use of slightly stilted, formalized language. Language use in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is reminiscent of the *lukena* rhetorics yet deviates substantially from it. The book is written in the partially artificial language which Shimunika and his associates devised for the Nkoya rendering of the Bible itself, and (in addition to such recurrent phrases like ‘in the time of...’) it occasionally shows the same Lozi-isms — to the horror of contemporary Nkoya readers.

A more careful study of language use in the Nkoya Bible might have enabled the translators to convey these biblical stylistic elements more systematically in the English translation of *Likota Iya Bankoya*. However, in order to do so one would have needed a deeper personal acquaintance with archaic biblical English than either of us could boast; which is one reason why we shrank from this further complication of our translation task. Another reason is that the artificial language Shimunika concocted in order to convey the exotic contents of the Bible into a language understandable to presentday Nkoya, was lexically and conceptually much further removed from the current Nkoya language, culture and experience, than the text in which he describes the Nkoya past. In other words, using an archaic English biblical language in the English translation would have been

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<sup>143</sup> Oral source [22].

unnecessarily estranging — a play at mirror images of mirror images, with very limited validity.

We have now gathered some initial appreciation of the *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript and the political and intellectual milieu within which it must be situated. Let us proceed to examine the various editorial and translatory problems which had to be overcome in its edition, as a necessary step toward historical criticism and analysis.

### 2.3. Reconstructing the original manuscript

The *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript as submitted to me by Mr H.H. Mwene in 1975 consisted of thirteen different parts — where each part is defined as a section characterized by unity of both typography and typing equipment used. A full description is given in *Appendix 1*.

On the basis of a repeated, most painstaking, examination of all these various components of the manuscript text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, it was established, beyond reasonable doubt, that the manuscript sections 5 through 8 (as numbered in *Appendix 1*) constitute the original manuscript as written by Shimunika, while sections 1 through 4 and 9 through 13 constitute later additions by Mr H.H. Mwene, which for that reason are here either omitted (sections 1, 2, 3, 13) or are only presented as italicized appendices to the present text edition (sections 4, 9, 10, 11, 12). Use of different typewriters, different handwriting, different pens and pencils,<sup>144</sup> and a different pattern of word division, make it possible to identify any part of the manuscript, and virtually all manuscript corrections in every part, as either Rev. Shimunika's or Mr H.H. Mwene's.

It is clear that the biblical typography was original, i.e. imposed by Shimunika and not by Mr H.H. Mwene.

The crucial story of the Cooking-Pot of Kingship, which Mr H.H. Mwene had tried to rewrite in minor details (now largely restored back to original in the present Nkoya edition) also turns out to be an authentic part of Shimunika's manuscript; the false start occurring in the manuscript at the beginning of this passage,<sup>145</sup> is therefore not due to any editing on Mr H.H. Mwene's part. Besides, the story is referred to by Rev. Shimunika in another part of his manuscript (35: 1).

The reconstruction of the original manuscript was further facilitated by the existence of the *manuscript variants* which Rev. Shimunika allowed me to consult in Luampa in 1977. These variants were on stray and duplicate pages included in the same folder as the author's master copy. They have been included in the present edition as *Appendix 2*.

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<sup>144</sup> Mostly Mr H.H. Mwene's: Rev. Shimunika's complete master copy as shown to me at Luampa in 1977 was almost entirely free of corrections in handwriting.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Part II below, the note preceding chapter 4.

Comparison with the main body of the reconstructed text offers a number of interesting observations concerning Shimunika's method of handling his materials. They make clear that the author continued to work hard on the presentation and style of his text, but that the contents themselves are rather fixed. When discussing the historical criticism of *Likota Iya Bankoya* (chapter 3), we shall have occasion to comment on the remarkable historiographic rigour and integrity of its author, which he managed to preserve even when this led to conclusions running against the grain of current Nkoya ethnic aspirations including his own. A similar rigour is detected here: the presentation, not the contents of the sources is at stake in these variants.

In some cases such difficulties of interpretation and translation as the main text posed could be resolved in the light of the variants. The variants have the biblical typography just as the main text, and form an extra argument for it being originally Shimunika's. What remains puzzling in these variants is their page numbering, which must relate to the practical routine under which the parts of the *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript were typed at the Luampa Bible translation office.

What the variants, and the inspection of the various constituent parts of the manuscript as submitted by Mr H.H. Mwene, particularly settle is the question of the final chapters of *Likota Iya Bankoya's* line of argument. The main manuscript as reconstructed proceeded to the death of Mwene Kanyinca shortly before World War II; then discussed the message of the book, the allegedly arrogant contemporary attitude of the Lozi, and the Lozi ruler Mulambwa's begging for Nkoya royal medicine in the early nineteenth century; and then (apparently with the sort of false start or abrupt transition the reader had by then learned to expect in this rambling narrative structure) the argument seemed to continue with a discussion of Mwene Manenga's exploits at Mushwalumuko and an account of the children of Mwene Manenga — after which would then follow Mr H.H. Mwene's additions on the burial sites of the Nkoya *Myene*, additions which we have already identified as non-original. The passage on Mwene Manenga does not have a proper ending, and moreover repeats, literally, an earlier passage in the book. The manuscript variants, particularly when confronted with Rev. Shimunika's reconstructed original table of contents, now make clear that this passage was never intended to appear as a separate chapter at that point in the book, where it destroys the envoy the author has been building up towards. The passage has simply got mislaid.

Once the original Shimunika manuscript had been restored, Mr H.H. Mwene's editorial and textual additions resumed a similar status to the comments and corrections that were proposed by other Nkoya readers. Thus some of Mr H.H. Mwene's editing has finally been incorporated in the present text edition, e.g. when Shimunika's inconsistent use of capital letters was standardized — even though it must be admitted that Shimunika himself, in his own handwriting, made a beginning with the editing of the original manuscript towards greater consistency in this respect.

A uniform procedure was followed with regard to Mr H.H. Mwene's and the other readers' commentaries and queries: a proposed change in the restored Shimunika manuscript text was only implemented if it represented a majority opinion among the four clusters of commentaries (Mr Mwene, Mr Malapa, the Kaoma editorial committee presided by Mr Kawanga, and the Luampa editorial committee presided by Mr Jackson Shimunika), with this proviso that I often invoked my own knowledge of Nkoya history and culture, and well as my concern for editorial consistency, as a fifth independent source of commentary. In many cases these consensual editorial alterations were none other than the editorial conventions that will be outlined in full below. Only such alterations as do not systematically spring from these editorial conventions will be specifically pointed out in footnotes to the Nkoya text.

Here we are only speaking of editorial, typographical alterations. In some cases the editorial commentaries, just like Mr H.H. Mwene's editing, would affect the contents of Rev. Shimunika's text. With the exception of a few isolated cases duly acknowledged and argued in the footnotes to the Nkoya text, such alterations of contents have not been entertained in the present critical edition, although the most significant proposals have been pointed out as such in footnotes.

This is all the more important since at crucial points Mr H.H. Mwene turned out to have essential differences of opinion with Rev. Shimunika, e.g. with regard to the gender of Mwene Manenga, which is almost unanimously considered to be female. Mr H.H. Mwene included Mwene Manenga in his discursive list<sup>146</sup> of the graves of the male Nkoya *Myene* and thus, despite the addition of the epithet *Manda Bankoya*, 'Mother of the Nkoya', implies her to be male:

'The following are the burial sites of the **male** Myene of the Nkoya:

- (1) Mwene Luhamba died at the Nkulo, a tributary of the Luena.
- (2) Mwene Kashina died at the Katetekanyemba, a tributary of the Nabowa. (...)
- (9) Mwene Kabazi died in the Mbuma valley near Shilumbilo.

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<sup>146</sup> Contrary to the tabulated lists, which have been reproduced in the present book, Mr Mwene withdrew the discursive lists in the course of the editorial process of *Likota lya Bankoya*. See the end of Part II below, and my extensive notes there.



- (10) Mwene Manenga Manda Bankoya died on the Kamano, a tributary of the Lwashanza.’ (my emphasis)<sup>147</sup>

## 2.4. Editing the reconstructed manuscript

A decision of principle had to be taken once I had managed to reconstruct, to my personal satisfaction, the original manuscript as written by Rev. Shimunika. Should I publish it exactly as it was, i.e. with its full range of anachronistically used colonial toponyms and ethnonyms, with English and Lozi words scattered through the Nkoya text, and with a number of other imperfections which to the Nkoya readers were sources of irritation? Or should I seek to produce a final text in which all these imperfections would have been corrected (but duly recorded in footnotes), taking into account the preferences and sensitivities of Nkoya readers, and therefore produce a text with which a modern Nkoya readership could truly identify and which they would accept as a major inspiration in their quest for ethnic identity and historical awareness?

The self-evident need to bring Shimunika’s text at least to the level of sheer copy-editorial consistency already tilted the scales in favour of the latter alternative. I felt it was imperative to apply rules of editorial consistency in such matters as: Nkoya orthography, the rendering of proper names (where a Nkoya spelling has been applied throughout), the exclusion of such English and Lozi words as Shimunika’s original manuscript contained, the identification (through quotation marks) of passages of direct speech, punctuation in general, word separation (which given the concatenative structure of this Bantu language is a subject of confusion even to ‘native speakers’), word division at the end of lines, etc.

The principal consideration for producing an aggregate ‘ideal’ Nkoya text however derived from the perception of the *Likota Iya*

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<sup>147</sup> Mr Mwene’s Nkoya text runs:

‘Bizino bya bamyene ba balume ba Bankoya aba: —

- (1) Mwene Luhamba wafwila ku Nkulo mwana Lwena.
- (2) Mwene Kashina wafwila mu Katetekanyemba mwana Nabowa. (...)
- (9) Mwene Kabazi wafwila ku litoya Iya Mbuma ku ncango ya Shilumbilo.
- (10) Mwene Manenga Manda Bankoya wafwila ku Kamano mwana Lwashanza.’

Perhaps, Mr Mwene’s inclusion of Manenga in this list was a mere oversight and was not meant to declare her male: how else can we explain his own use of the epithet *Manda Bankoya*, ‘Mother of the Nkoya’? The slight theoretical possibility of ‘Mother’s Brother of the Nkoya’ would not do here.

*Bankoya* manuscript by presentday Nkoya readers: not as the idiosyncratic text written by one individual, Rev. Shimunika, and edited by another, myself (and a non-native speaker to boot), but as a collectively owned and produced work that, in the process of those readers' production of an ethnic and historical identity, has assumed downright sacred qualities — its mystical aspects further enhanced by its biblical typography, its unavailability and (as I should add to my personal embarrassment) the delays attending its publication (however, cf. van Binsbergen 1988a). When the idiosyncrasies of the original manuscript, historically and ideologically so extremely interesting, could be accommodated in footnotes to a scholarly edition, while at the same time a text would be produced that could be recognized as adequate, pure and non-anachronistic by Nkoya readers, such a solution appeared to be preferable.

Of course I realize that any systematic editing means the regrettable and dubious imposition of alien consistency and tedious 'improvements' upon Rev. Shimunika's highly personal and effective style, in which the author single-handedly pioneered between Nkoya oral conventions and stilted biblical models, within a colonial frame of reference. However, the full range of these idiosyncrasies has been preserved in footnotes for scholarly scrutiny. Meanwhile, the initial exploration, in the previous sections, of the inconsistencies and mannerisms of Shimunika's style (before it was affected by such editing) has already told us a great deal about the logic of the historical and ethnic argument he is developing. That line of analysis will be continued throughout my argument.

### *Nkoya as a written language*

The real underlying problem at the editorial level is that Nkoya, as a written language, is still far too young to be in a position where consensual and practicable solutions have been found for the various orthographical, lexical and syntactic puzzles which arise whenever a spoken language is committed to writing. One cannot expect a language's orthographical and editorial conventions to have already fully crystallized by this time when the texts published in that language only comprise a few hundred pages in all.<sup>148</sup>

More definite standards of vocabulary and consistency have begun to develop in the Nkoya-speaking community in recent decades — an aspect of a growth of self-confidence and literary competence which has been partly a result of Rev. Shimunika's own impact. Some of the standards which he was so obviously still struggling to invent, are now expected to be applied, as a matter of course, by the Zambian readers who advised and shared in the editorial process. Yet it must be realized that when *Likota lya Bankoya* was copy-edited according to these new

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<sup>148</sup> Appendix 4 gives an overview of all printed Nkoya texts known to me.

standards, the price we pay for greater formal consistency is: a distortion of the very pattern of thought and discourse of Rev. Shimunika's text, and concealment of much of its symbolic richness and multi-interpretability. The discussion of Shimunika's style, method and logic in the present study is hoped to compensate such artificial smoothness and consistency as the reader would glean from reading the English translation alone.

Meanwhile the emerging consensus among Nkoya readers must not be exaggerated. Under the influence of the fact that the Nkoya language was committed to writing mainly in the context of the South Africa General Mission, which was more closely associated with the western part of Kaoma district and with the Mutondo kingship, an orthography evolved which reflected the Mutondo spoken usage. In *Likota Iya Bankoya* (41: 10) reference is made to dialectical differences between the western and eastern Nkoya speakers: where the former pronounce the equivalent of the English 'l', the latter pronounce 'r' or 'j': e.g. [*litala*], 'house', practically becoming [*jitarar*]. In their written documents (those listed in *Appendix 4*, and moreover unpublished manuscript histories and personal letters) present-day Nkoya tend to observe more or less the Mutondo usage, i.e. writing *l* instead of *j* or *r*. However, on other points, such as word separation between radicals and pronominal prefixes, and lexical purism vis-à-vis English and Lozi lexical material, there is much less consensus.

Considerable consistency exists with regard to word division, words being divided at the syllable ends, immediately after a (character representing a) vocal and regardless of whether that vocal is followed by just one or by a number of (characters representing) consonants. This usage has been adopted in the present volume, in Part II (the Nkoya text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*), and wherever Nkoya (or other Zambian) names appear in the English text.

### *Editorial conventions*

The following editorial conventions have been systematically implemented in my edition of the Nkoya text (and will therefore not be pointed out specifically in each individual case):

- Shimunika tended to capitalize all persons, offices and material objects (instruments, paraphernalia, fence, land etc.) relating to the kingship. In my edition of the Nkoya text, capitalization has been dropped for material objects. It has however been added for honorific titles such as *Manda Bankoya* ('Mother of the Nkoya', an epithet of several Nkoya *Myene*), operative words in praise-names, and all toponyms, ethnonyms and other proper names or nominal parts thereof.

- Shimunika's pattern of word separation is rather inconsistent, but in general tends towards the longest possible concatenations of prefixes and suffixes, such as *hibakwambishanga* etc. Other Nkoya-speakers (e.g. H.H. Mwene in his own additions to the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript as well as in his frequent correspondence during the editorial process) tend to dissolve most prefixes and suffixes into separate words. In the present edition an intuitive middle course is steered. Only those few cases have been specifically discussed in footnotes where a different word separation would affect the meaning of the original.
- Shimunika's pattern of word separation following the personal plural article *ba-* is very inconsistent: now it is connected to the next word, now it is not. Instead, the following rules of thumb have been applied here:
  - (a) word separation is dropped and an initial capital added in the case of ethnonyms (*Bankoya*, *Bakawonde*), clan names (*Bakankomba*), and of names of offices (*Bamyene*, *Babilolo*);
  - (b) word separation is dropped before a verb;
  - (c) word separation is dropped when *ba-* primarily serves to produce a plural form;
  - (d) in most other cases, word separation is applied.
- In general, word separation is implemented after the prefix *baka-* ('those of', 'those from'), except in ethnonyms and clan names; thus: *baka livumo Katete*, 'the members of the matrilineage of Katete', but *Bakasheta*, 'the members of the Sheta clan'.
- Shimunika's use of word separation when kinship terms are followed by a possessive pronoun is very inconsistent, in itself and also when compared with other possessive pronouns; e.g. he would write *kanyantu kendi*, but also *kanyantukendi* ('his mother's brother') and usually *lukena lwendi* ('his *lukena*'), rather than *lukenalwendi*. Here I adopted the rule that word separation is only to be effected — but then systematically — when the possessive pronoun contains a prefix that is governed by the preceding noun, and the latter is not morphologically affected by the following pronoun; therefore: *kanyantu kendi*, *tati yendi* (his father), but *mwanendi* (his mother).
- Word separation in personal names poses difficulties of its own. Shimunika tends to write compound names as one word: *Shikalamo Shamundemba*, *Lyovulyambuwa*, *Lipepomwendanankuli*. Even though to the modern Nkoya ear some of the underlying meanings will have worn out to virtually meaningless clichés (partly because the lexical material involved is archaic), the constituent elements in these names remain

sufficiently distinct to make their separation preferable; hence: *Lipepo Mwenda na Nkuli*, i.e. ‘Lipepo Who goes Around with a Tribute Gourd’ (or, puzzling, ‘with a Heart’, or, even more puzzling, ‘with a Strong Wind’). In the case of such epithets the disconnected orthography helps to bring out the underlying meaning.

The structure of a name like, in Shimunika’s rendering, *Shamundemba* or *Lyovulyambuwa* is rather different: in most cases these would appear to be patronyms or matronyms, and to bring this out the relative prefixes *sha*, *lya* etc. are separated from the capitalized noun that follows: *sha Mundemba*, *Lyovu Iya Mbuwa*. As we shall discuss below, this editorial convention has considerable implications for the historical analysis of the text, since the parent’s names thus identified are then incorporated in the genealogies as reconstructed on the basis of *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

However, the genealogical information in the text could only be processed if the patronym-like phrases have been properly deciphered; when we failed to do so (e.g. in the case of Mashiku, with her epithet *a Mangowa Shimenemene sha Ndumba*) the genealogical implication, if any, remains undetected (2: 2).

- In many passages it was necessary to add one or a few words to the Nkoya text, for greater clarity, consistency and syntactic purity. Throughout the edited Nkoya text, such editorial additions will be indicated by *contrasting* italicization or non-italicization as the case may be. A specific footnote will only be added if the addition has a significance beyond stylistic or syntactic concern.

With these italicized additions and alterations we arrive at an aggregate ‘ideal’ Nkoya text. The English translation that is included in the present volume as Part III is simply a rendering of the edited Nkoya text considered as final. Therefore the process of reconstruction and editing of the Nkoya text does not show any more in the English translation, and contrasting italicization is suppressed there.

In compliance with official Zambian usage today, most Nkoya readers favoured the addition, in the Nkoya text, of present-day toponyms (e.g. *Kaoma*), after the original, obsolete ones (e.g. *Mankoya*). Of course, these additions remain identifiable by contrasting italicization in the Nkoya text. However artificial, these additions, while perhaps justifiably reducing the ethnic particularism of the text in the context of international publication, do not really do violence to the spirit of Rev. Shimunika’s original; he tended himself to explain Nkoya ethnic names (e.g. *Bakubu*) by a more generally known term (e.g. *Makololo*), and used toponyms anachronistically throughout.

- The editorial addition of quotation marks will be indicated, in the Nkoya text, by one asterisk \* if unpaired original ones have merely been completed, and by two asterisks \*\* if there were none in the original. Shimunika's double quotation marks have been replaced by single ones except of course for quotations within quotations.
- Passages placed between quotation marks (original or added) and rendered in indented typography will always begin with a capital, irrespective of the original.
- Shimunika's spelling of proper names (names of persons, ethnonyms, hydronyms and other toponyms) is very inconsistent. With regard to proper names, the official colonial/English and/or Lozi spelling tends to prevail: *Sibitwane*, *Sipopa*, *Lealui*, *Kasempa*; although the Nkoya forms *Shibitwane*, *Shipopa*, *Lyalui* and *Kashempa* also occur in the original manuscript. However, Shimunika tends to write the Lozi name *Lewanika* as *Liwanika*.<sup>149</sup> In the edited Nkoya text, the Nkoya spelling has been used consistently, with footnotes giving Shimunika's alternative spelling, if any, the first time a proper name occurs.

In the English translation, the common Zambian English usage is adopted for names which have a wider circulation than just the narrowest Nkoya circles. Thus the Nkoya hydronyms *Lyambayi*, *Lwenge* and *Kabombo* are rendered as 'Zambezi', 'Kafue' and 'Kabompo'. Also in other names the Nkoya *-sh-* is commonly replaced by *-s-* in the English rendering. In accordance with time-honoured Rhodes-Livingstone Institute usage, plural personal prefixes (e.g. *Ba-*, *Ma-*) have been omitted in the case of English renderings of the names of ethnic groups, clans etc. Moreover, in the translation of clan names, the personal infix *-ka-* has been deleted, by analogy with such collective names as *baka livumo Shapita* ('those of the matrilineage of Shapita'), *baku Njonjolo* ('those of the Njonjolo area'), etc. Admittedly, in the case of clan names the deletion is not so obvious: most Nkoya readers would prefer to maintain *-ka-* and *Ba-* in the English translation, and even in Nkoya one may encounter a usage like *Kakalawve*: 'a member of the Lawve (or Kalawve) clan' (41: 4). In the same Rhodes-Livingstone Institute tradition, in adjectives denoting

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<sup>149</sup> Incidentally, the Nkoya form *Liwanika* (or *Jiwanika* in the eastern Nkoya pronunciation) may be more than just an adaptation to Nkoya phonology: it is reminiscent of Nkoya, from a root *ku wana*, 'to find'. Lubosi's adopted name *Lewanika* might therefore be taken to mean 'founding' or possibly 'finder'. Mutumba Mainga (1973:127) is uncertain of the literal meaning but says that

'in all accounts it was clear that the name could be loosely translated to mean "conqueror".'

ethnic groups or languages the prefix *Shi-* or *Si-* is omitted in the English translation.

- Shimunika has a predilection for numbered series in the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*. His typographical treatment of the device is inconsistent. The first and last items of a numbered series are not always specifically numbered, especially if the last item refers to a woman. In other cases no numbers appear at all although the list in form and function is similar to other, numbered lists in the book. In these cases the numbering has been completed or altered as necessary — italicizing the added editorial material and if necessary adding a footnote to this effect. Throughout, numerals which are clearly not meant to be verse numbers but instead mark the items in a numbered list, have been rendered between parentheses; a specific footnote to this effect will only appear when alternative interpretations might be possible. Sometimes numbers in a list eclipse verse numbers that should have been there; the latter will then be added in italics. Numbered items will be made to begin on a new line, even though the typographical conventions of the original are inconsistent in this respect. Likewise, lists will be followed by an indented new paragraph, whatever the usage in the original. Original lists tend to be preceded by the word *awa*, *aba* ('those') or *ebye* ('as follows'), followed by a dash; this dash has been deleted and in its place a colon has been inserted if not originally there. Figures between parentheses which do not mark the items in a list but merely explain, in Arabic figures, discursive Nkoya numerals as used in the text, have been distinguished by adding a '=' sign before the Arabic figure.
- In order to avoid confusion as to the original punctuation, no full stop will be added to notes ending on an original quotation.

## 2.5. Problems of translation

Having discussed the specific edited form in which the Nkoya text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is presented in Part II of this volume, we can now turn to some major problems which cropped up when preparing the English translation of Part III. These problems particularly concern the identification of gender of specific characters in the book; the translation of kinship terms and terms for social groups; the genealogies that can be constructed on the basis of the information on kin relationships; terms for court offices; toponyms; and the hermetic language of the praise-names and clan names.

Reading, translating and editing the *Likota Iya Bankoya* text against the background of my historical and anthropological research among the Nkoya people since 1972, I was for a long time unaware of the fact that the book had a wealth of information to offer on inter-gender dynamics in the process of state formation. Admittedly, it depicted some early rulers as female; but since colonial and post-colonial Nkoya *Myene* have been invariably male, I read the historical accounts on precolonial rulers in the way any presentday Nkoya reader would: assuming that also those rulers whose gender was not emphatically stated, would of course be male, just like their modern heirs, who still carry their dynastic titles and are still called by the same generic term of *Mwene*. It was only when I prepared for a conference on ‘The Position of Women in the Early State’ (van Binsbergen 1986b), rereading the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* in order merely to glean a few apt illustrations from it, that this tissue of contemporary male bias was suddenly rent, and I became aware of the full extent of female preponderance in early Nkoya history.

When introducing the term *Mwene* in chapter 1, I have already indicated its vagueness: it refers to political statuses in a number of different contexts. Neither is it gender-specific. In the light of male dominance in traditional politics today, Nkoya traditions may appear to discuss male *Myene* in the past, but in fact *Myene*’s gender remains implicit and often may well have been female. Of course we suspect systematic historical reasons to lie behind this ambiguity (in terms of men ignoring or covering up their usurping of female royal power — a leading theme in the later chapters of my argument), but much of the effect simply derives from the Nkoya language itself.

Just as spoken Nkoya, the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is usually ambiguous as to gender. Many (but by no means all) personal names may be borne by men and women alike. This is a useful device in a society practising inter-gender name-inheritance: it widens the choice of potential heirs, in a fashion very typical of Nkoya social organization. Personal pronouns are rarely used in the Nkoya language; instead, person and number are indicated by verbal pre- and suffixes. Verbal forms are indifferent to gender.

So is kinship terminology (see diagram 4), with only a limited number of exceptions: fairly gender-specific are the words for father (*tati*), mother (*manda/mawa*) and mother’s brother (*kanyantu*) when used for very close kin. Also, the term *mpanda* is almost exclusively used for — particularly elder — sister (and hardly ever for brother), but in general the gender-indifferent terms *mukondo/yaya* (younger sibling/elder sibling) are preferred for both brother and sister. Even such terms as *manda* and *tati* may lose their gender specificity: a father’s sister is simply a *tati*, and only for emphasis one would say *tati wa mukazi*: ‘female father’; likewise, a mother’s brother is sometimes called *manda*. Incidentally, the highly classificatory nature of the Nkoya



kinship system means that genealogical information retains a large degree of multi-interpretability while yet rendering (or rather: encoding) actual biological relationships correctly when assessed in terms of the system's specific logic; that logic however differs dramatically from the genealogical distinctions of North Atlantic society and Indo-European languages, or from the technical language of anthropological kinship analysis. This state of affairs does pose a major problem of translation and interpretation.

With these peculiarities of the Nkoya language and social organization, specification of gender for the purpose of translation tends to be a matter of interpretation. Yet the English language often compels us to specify gender: a *Mwene*'s son (*Mwana Mwene*) has to be either prince or princess; someone's child is usually specified in English as either a son or a daughter; the human subject, third person singular, of a sentence has to be either 'he' or 'she', etc. One can only sparingly circumvent the issue by using 'the former', 'this person', 'child of', etc.

It was through close reading for the purpose of translation that the female preponderance among early *Myene* in *Likota Iya Bankoya* became fully manifest. The word *Mwene* does not have a female form, but when emphatically a woman is meant the phrase may be used *Mwene wa mukazi*: 'ruler-woman' — which I have decided to translate systematically as 'Lady *Mwene*'. Similarly, gender-indifferent statuses can be specified to be filled by a man by the addition of *wa mulume*, 'male'. In addition to certain kinship terms when applied to closest kin, certain roles and statuses are gender-specific: *Lihano* (*Mwene*'s wife); *Mukwetunga* (*Mwene*'s husband). Thus, a person who has a *Mukwetunga* or is a *Lihano* must be a woman; a person who has a *Lihano* or is a *Mukwetunga* must be a man. Such rules would appear to be too simple to require spelling out. The point is however that the assessment of a person's gender in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is often a question of comparing various, mostly non-gender-specific, and occasionally contradictory, passages from different chapters.

These formal criteria shade over into more semantic and symbolic ones. Certain verbs tend to have female rather than male connotations, although this is a statistical rather than an absolute distinction. For instance, a person said to *ku hema*, 'give birth to' children, is likely to be a woman, whereas *ku beleka*, 'to have children', seems to be a capacity open to both women and men.<sup>150</sup>

A more profound semantic and symbolic analysis would look for clusters of gender-specific associations that constitute semantic fields.

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<sup>150</sup> At least one contemporary Nkoya reader, Mr M. Malapa, however claims that *ku hema* is not applicable to humans at all and only refers to animals; this is not supported by my observations, nor by the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*; e.g. the title of ch. 3:

*KUHEMUWA KWABO* — 'ABOUT THEIR [the Nkoya's] ORIGIN'.

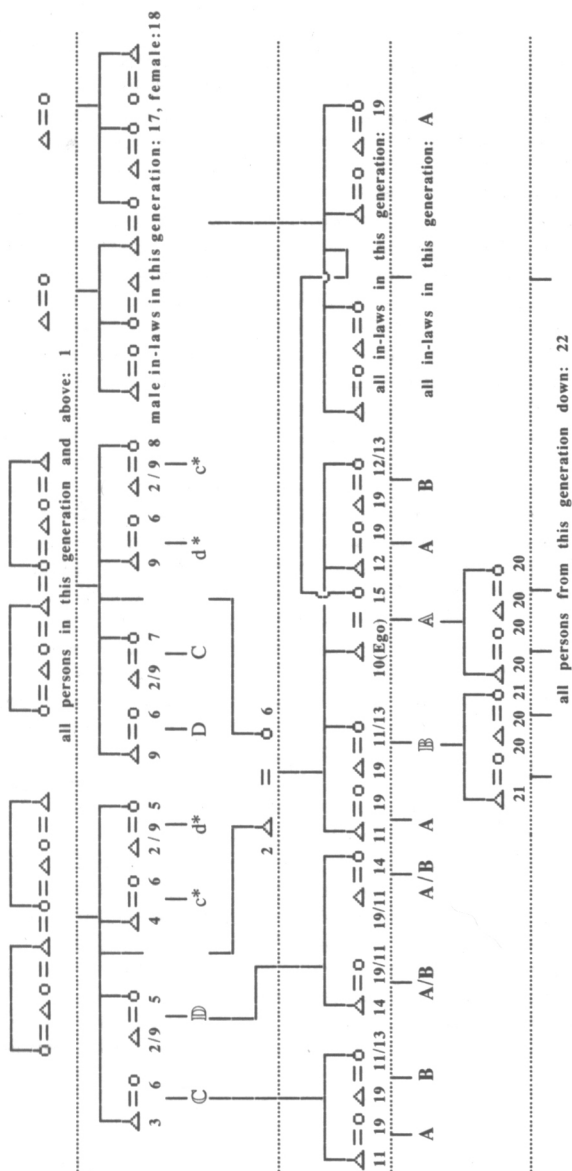


Diagram 4. Nkoya kinship terminology

### legend diagram 4

- the eldest member of a sibling group appears to the left, the youngest to the right.
- a slash '/' indicates alternative terms.
- dotted lines separate generations
- terms for descendants have only been spelled out in full for the descent lines marked by outlined capitals **A**, **B**, **C** and **D**; for the other cases non-outlined capitals indicate what terms are used for descendants: A as **A**;  
**B** as **B**; C as **C**; D as **D**.
- descent lines marked with '\*' use terms for descendants as according to the corresponding outlined capital (e.g. c\* as **C**), with this proviso that 'yaya' becomes 'mukonzo' because parent of descendant is junior to Ego's parent.
- compound terms are often shortened to the main word, e.g. 'tati wa linene' becomes simply 'tati'.
- Here and below the following symbols are employed for genealogical diagrams:
  - triangle = a man;
  - circle = a woman;
  - symbol filled out in black = deceased;
  - symbol outlined only = alive;
  - horizontal line = sibling relation;
  - vertical line = filiation;
  - dotted line = putative link.

### codes for kinship terms:

1. *nkaka* ('grandparent')
  2. *tati* ('father')
  3. *tati wa linene* ('senior father')
  4. *tati wa kanuke* ('junior father')
  5. *tati wa mbeleki* ('female father')
  6. *mawa* ('mother'; also used for mother's brother)
  7. *mawa wa linene* ('senior mother')
  8. *mawa wa kanuke* ('junior mother')
  9. *kanyantu* ('mother's brother')
  10. *ami* ('Ego')
  11. *yaya* ('senior brother/sister')
  12. *mukonzo* ('junior brother/sister')
  13. *mpanza* ('sister')
  14. *mufwala* ('cross cousin')
  15. *mukazi* ('wife')
  16. *mulume* ('husband')
  17. *mukowa* ('father-in-law')
  18. *mukokwa* ('mother-in-law')
  19. *mulamu* ('brother/sister-in-law')
  20. *mwana* ('child')
  21. *mwipa* ('sister's child')
  22. *muzukulu* ('grandchild')
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E.g. in many African settings (including the Nkoya case) hunting/court/violence might be considered to have male connotations, collecting/dwelling house/pacifism might have female connotations, and the gender of any person featuring in a traditional text might be guessed at if these associations appear in the context. But unless used with much sophistication, the danger of circularity is considerable here. One could try to construct such semantic fields on the basis of information external to the text under analysis. It would be tempting, particularly, to rely on anthropological information on today's gender symbolism; but whereas such information is available in my field data, its use is subject to methodological limitations. For in a historical context, we are investigating not stable patterns of gender relations but their transformations; the present-day end products of these transformations may differ considerably from their equivalents several centuries ago. One of the conclusions of our argument in chapter 6 will precisely be that *Likota lya Bankoya* is *not* a faithful image of Nkoya culture today, and that this state of affairs is our best clue for sophisticated historical analysis.

A simple example might make this clear. Today receiving and wearing cloth has female connotations; the gift of a *chitenge* — a piece of material worn as a skirt —, or a European dress, is considered a man's surest way to a woman's heart and favours; and alternatively, a married woman possessing cloth whose provenance she cannot account for, risks an adultery case. Yet there was a time — as recent as the nineteenth century — when textiles were a luxury particularly associated with royals involved in long-distance trade, and so valuable as to be used for ancestral offering, while ordinary women wore a few beads or a narrow strap of bark cloth tied around the loins.<sup>151</sup> In such a context, references to cloth in oral traditions may have connotations of entrepreneurship, maleness and ancestors, rather than of femaleness.

Similarly, if we believe, with contemporary Nkoya, that the status of *Mwene* is sufficient for any historical figure occupying that status to qualify as male, we would miss the many female *Myene* in earlier Nkoya history.

Clearly, an explicit method is needed here. The difficulty of anachronistic projection would be avoided if we consider the symbolic structure of the traditions themselves. They can be identified through a combination of a literary technique of close-reading and the anthro-

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<sup>151</sup> Relevant though rather more recent photographs from western Zambia, by Mr Brelsford, (1940s?) can be found in the photograph collection of the Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare: Barotse section, nos. 21212 and 21213. Their scanty attire is to be compared with, e.g. that of Lewanika I and his senior warriors, lavishly covered by cloth, as shown on photograph 2820 in the same series, depicting the *Litunga* during his Ila campaign in 1888. (The latter photograph is also included in Mutumba Mainga 1973: opposite p. 143.)

pological technique<sup>152</sup> of the analysis of symbolic deep structures. Next we assess if these traditions display systematic and consistent patterns of gender symbolism, and on the basis of this overall pattern infer a male or female identity for those characters whose gender is not explicitly stated but who appear in association with symbolic attributes that we have identified as gender-specific.

*gender and death from natural causes: an example*

As an example of these possibilities of gender identification, let us look at the three *Myene* who, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, are said to have died of *wulweli wa kalili*, 'the illness of the bed', in other words of natural causes; present-day Nkoya readers understand this to mean primarily gastro-enteritis, although in at least one case one source suggests that the cause of death was actually rabies.<sup>153</sup> The *Myene* thus claimed to have died from other causes than violence were: Mwene Libupe, Mwene Shikanda and Mwene Shinkisha Lushiku Mate, the first Mwene Mutondo.

The female gender of both Mwene Libupe and Mwene Shikanda is explicitly stated in the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

Clay's claim that Shikanda was a man must be distrusted (Clay 1945: 5-6); not knowing the Nkoya language, he may have fallen victim to the syntactic peculiarities with regard to gender. However, also one of my own oral sources presents Shikanda, in passing, as male: as a son of Kahare and incumbent of the Kahare title.<sup>154</sup>

I am satisfied that this claim is outweighed by the fact that the female gender of Shikanda is confirmed in one of our other oral sources,<sup>155</sup> which relates how she entered the contemporary Mashasha area (specifically the Kazo valley is mentioned) with her royal orchestra, and impressed and frightened the local headman Shiluwawa (alternatingly claimed to be Mashasha and Kaonde) with this royal music which was new to him, to the point that he consented to marry her. We shall come back to this story when discussing, in chapter 5, the male usurpation of female kingship, around which the story in this oral source revolves.

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<sup>152</sup> Cf. de Mahieu 1985; van Binsbergen & Schoffeleers 1985b; and references cited there.

<sup>153</sup> G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], 'Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district', 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — some important papers; the reference is to Mwene Shikanda.

<sup>154</sup> Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

<sup>155</sup> Oral source [3] 9.10.1973, 19.11.1973.

The story was absolutely rejected as apocryphal by a group of Nkoya elders in Lusaka;<sup>156</sup> significantly, however, in their rejection Shikanda's gender was not a point of discussion; it was again accepted to be female.<sup>157</sup>

Shinkisha's gender is nowhere specified, and the fact that this *Mwene* immediately follows the great and violent Mwene Kayambila, and managed to select, in the accession praise-name, the *Mutondo* tree emblem which was to remain with the dynasty ever since, somehow suggests that Shinkisha fitted a standard pattern and — on the basis of a twentieth-century projection — might well have been male. So, dying from natural causes instead of violence is not, after all, a cosmological attribute of exclusively female *Myene*? On closer reading Shinkisha however turns out to be female. The first sentence of chapter 26 is puzzling as long as one assumes Shinkisha to be male, but translation becomes easy once the opposite is assumed:

'Mwene Kayambila died on the Mangongi. The Nkoya elected Mate Lushiku, the last-born child of that generation, as Mwene Manenga or Lady Mwene.' (26: 1)

Then also the statement in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (27: 4) becomes understandable: that Mwene Shinkisha was the sister (*mpanzabo*, with a possessive suffix for third person plural) of the Ladies Myene Kabandala and Shimpanya. *Mpanza* is one of the very few Nkoya kinship terms to be highly (although never entirely) gender-specific, and the translation 'their brother', while not totally impossible, would be very odd. All this seems very straightforward once the connexions fall into place, but I can assure the reader that the male bias in Nkoya royal affairs, and the multi-interpretability of the *Likota Iya Bankoya* text, are such that for more than ten years I yet retained the assumption of Shinkisha as male — thus following, moreover, my co-translator Mr M. Malapa who is a native speaker of Nkoya.

#### *Shakalongo as female: another example*

Also something of a puzzle is the gender identification of Mwene Shakalongo, one of the most powerful Nkoya rulers of the nineteenth century: the one who not only counted Mwene Kumika among the

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<sup>156</sup> Oral source [20].

<sup>157</sup> An informant present at the Lusaka group interview later (oral source [7]) interpreted their refusal in terms of the all-pervading Kahare/Mutondo rivalry; the Lusaka elders had been predominantly from Mutondo, and they were supposed to have feared that the story, if accepted as historically valid, could be construed to make Mwene Kahare — Shikanda was an incumbent of that title — appear more splendid than Mutondo: introducing the central, awe-inspiring royal paraphernalia to Nkoyaland for the first time. We shall come back to this point.

retinue at the Kataba court, but who also extended sanctuary to Shambanjo and his brothers from the Ila blood feud, who became Shambanjo's principal parent-in-law, and who later saw to it that Shambanjo was installed as Mwene Kahare Shamamano under Lewanika's patronage. *Likota Iya Bankoya* suggests a female gender for the first Shakalongo as apical ancestress of a matrilineage of her own (35: 2). In another passage the link between the names Liwumbo and Shakalongo is stated:

'Mwene Liwumbo acceded to the kingship, adopting the following praise-name:

'I am Shakalongo  
Who Goes Around with the Xylophone'' (37: 1).

Chapter 38, verse 6 sketches the ancestry of Mwene Liwumbo Shakalongo and her relationship with Mwene Liyoka to whose exploits *Likota Iya Bankoya* happens to pay far more attention than to Shakalongo herself. Yet despite this gender identification, a number of questions remain (also see *Appendix 3*, genealogy 3): did the *zinkena* of Liyoka and Liwumbo Shakalongo really exist side by side at the Kataba river in the same period? Why is it that we do not hear about Shakalongo during the Kololo war on Mwene Liyoka, which ended in his capture? In the tale of Mwene Liyoka's exploits, his classificatory mother Shapita appears as a silent, possibly reproachful witness when Mwene Liyoka made a human sacrifice to his drum (36: 2); there, Shapita looks like a dependent member of Liyoka's escort, rather than a major female *Mwene* in her own right — even though she may have been the mother of Lady Mwene Liwumbo Shakalongo. Considering that the Kololo episode in Barotseland ended in 1864, these events must be dated around 1860. Shamamano's refuge with Mwene Liwumbo Shakalongo was considerably later, and the Ila campaign that, after living at the Shakalongo *lukena*, gained him Lewanika's patronage was one of three Ila campaigns which took place in 1878, 1882 and 1888 — most likely the last one.<sup>158</sup> With the prevailing external violence and internal tendency to regicide, it is somewhat unlikely that Lady Mwene Liwumbo Shakalongo's reign spanned a quarter of a century or more.<sup>159</sup> Her classificatory son Liyoka's appearance as a major ruler might reflect the shift to male, violent rulers which is so clear throughout *Likota Iya Bankoya* (see chapters 4 and 5). Was the Mwene Shakalongo who was Shambanjo's patron another manifestation of the same pattern: a male *Mwene* succeeding to, and transforming, the rule of Lady Mwene Liwumbo Shakalongo? Or yet a female *Mwene*? And, if female, had she perhaps succeeded

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<sup>158</sup> The extensive sources on these campaigns include: Coillard 1971; Mutumba Mainga 1973; Prins 1980; Selous 1893: 254f.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. 55: 8: 'Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca (...) was the only Mwene to rule the Nkoya for as long as twenty-six years.'

Liyoka, in the same Kataba region, rather than that her reign overlapped with his? These questions cannot be settled without additional, external historical data.

The pattern is further complicated since the Kaoma editorial committee suggests one of the *Myene* in Mr H.H. Mwene's discursive dynastic list for the Kahare title, Mwene Kasholongombe, to be replaced by Shakalongo — as if there were yet more incumbents of the latter dynastic name. *Muhumpu* however (p. 1) discusses Kasholongombe as a (classificatory) younger brother of Mwene Kahare, who against the payment of tribute (a gun and a slave) to Mwene Mutondo Lushiku (Mate Shinkisha) at the Kalimbata *lukena* on the Lalafuta river, obtained the right to settle at the Lunyati stream. The latter is a tributary of the Lalafuta, and very far away from the Luampa, Kataba and other rivers to the south, with which Shakalongo is usually associated.

Meanwhile, the accommodating attitude of Shambanjo's patron (offering sanctuary, a wife, and finally accession to the throne of Mwene Kahare) appears to be very well compatible with the image of a female *Mwene* realizing that the times have changed and that a powerful male incumbent, even if decisively backed up by Lozi overlordship, might be the best way to ensure some continuity for the declining Nkoya state structures. It is mainly for this reason that in the translation I have continued to treat Shakalongo as female. This view has been implemented in *Appendix 3*, but the footnotes there make clear that this was only one of several possible choices on the basis of the fragmentary and contradictory material offered by *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

### *the handling of kinship terms and terms for social groups*

What becomes clear from this discussion is that, in translating *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the problems of gender identification shade over into those of the definition and translation of Nkoya kinship terms, and the handling of fragmentary, and apparently contradictory, genealogical information. A very specific kinship logic is ingrained in the English kinship terms (father, mother, brother, sister, etc.) which present themselves as translations for the Nkoya terms, and the English terms particularly lack the extreme implications of classificatory use as inherent in their Nkoya counterparts. Even when studying, and living, the Nkoya kinship system for years in a setting of anthropological participation, it is only gradually that one realizes the full extent of the working of a classificatory system. In contemporary Nkoya villages the *concrete, specific* genealogical ties between individuals are not important, and (beyond the primary relations between very close kin) are seldom known to any degree of detail and exactitude. What matters in the definition of kinship-based claims, obligations and expectations are the broad general group categories in which individuals fall. In the



great majority of cases, a *manda* featuring in the text of *Likota lya Bankoya* would not appear to be her *mwana*'s biological mother but more likely the latter's distant matrilineal relative, not even necessarily of one generation up. By the same token, *bakonzo*, which theoretically could mean 'younger siblings of the same father and the same mother', in any specific passage much more likely means 'classificatory junior parallel cousins', and practically amounts to either

- (a) 'rather distant junior kinsmen who happen to belong to the same micro-political faction, with a tendency toward co-residence and joint productive and military action' (in other words, a section of the village group or *likota*), or
- (b) 'junior branch of a matrilineal segment'.

The latter reflects the fact that a major conceptualization of genealogical and/or political ties among the Nkoya is that in terms of *livumo lyalyinene* versus *livumo lyalyishe*: 'big womb' versus 'little womb', or technically speaking 'senior matri-segment' versus 'junior matri-segment'. The expression is supposed to correspond to some genealogical reality: if A is claimed to be in the 'big womb' vis-à-vis B who is identified with the 'little womb', one is inclined to consider A's ancestress X as an elder sister of B's ancestress Y, or alternatively X is regarded as a senior co-wife of Y. With reference to previous generations the genealogical distinction between sisters and co-wives is slight, since the most common term for co-wife is '(junior/senior) sister'. In fact however, the senior and junior lines that are thus conceptualized are shifting and ill-demarcated political units, which reflect the history of valleys, villages and village sections, their struggle for succession to major titles, and the success with which they have managed to direct and to counter allegations of slavery status among each other. In the last analysis, here as elsewhere, genealogies are primarily shorthand expressions for political relationships (cf. van Binsbergen, in prep.).

With such diffuseness and flexibility, the pasting together of genealogies, and assigning such specific kinship terms as the English usage forces upon us, is a very difficult and uncertain task, in which one constantly moves back and forth between interpretation, translation, drafting of contradictory genealogical fragments, re-interpretation, etc.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that the major terms the Nkoya text uses for social groups are far from defined with anthropological scientific rigour. Thus *liziko*, literally 'branch', and in terms of social organization meaning 'minimal matri-segment', is used in a loose sense in *Likota lya Bankoya*, and the main operative term to denote kin groups is *livumo*, 'womb', 'belly', 'stomach'. Used in a genealogical context its principal meaning is 'maximal matri-segment', which however seemed too technical to form an adequate translation in the context of *Likota lya Bankoya*. Instead the term 'matrilineage' is used, but with considerable reserve. Matri-segments are not, in the

Nkoya consciousness and social practice, pieced together so as to form impressive genealogical chains mounting over many generations — in other words they do not form corporate units that could be construed to be matrilineages in the academic technical sense. Beyond the indisputable core membership, the demarcation of the *livumo* is on micro-political and residential grounds and not on genealogical ones. The unit thus designated may include agnates, affines and even non-kin clients and slaves, in addition to cognates (van Binsbergen, in prep.).

In this respect the logic of Mr H.H. Mwene's kings' lists, suggestive of clearly demarcated lines of descent, streamlined and with duly attributed dynastic numbers, is far removed from past and present Nkoya practice, and clearly seeks to emulate academic examples deriving from a totally different discourse than Nkoya political culture. We shall come back to this issue. Matri-segments are distinguished mainly *in order to be juxtaposed with one another*, as senior and junior lines:

'These, finally, are the Nkoya known as the Shikalu but they are the same stock as the Nkoya of Mwene Mutondo; they are all from one matrilineage: the junior line of the Sheta clan.' (38:7)

Seniority in this context is presented, in the Nkoya genealogical logic, as deriving from the sibling birth order of the ancestresses involved; but the 'sisters' thus juxtaposed as ancestresses are only classificatory sisters, who in fact may have been distant matrilineal or even affinal relatives belonging to different genealogical generations, or mere co-wives, — or even non-kin presented as kinsmen because the social and political universe is primarily structured, and positions therein are primarily legitimated or contested as the case may be, in terms of genealogical relations. Thus, slave status, descent from successive husbands or from junior wives, may affect the perception of junior status as much as the ancestresses' real or putative sibling birth order.

### *genealogies*

Genealogies constructed on the basis of the principles outlined above are charters of group relations, of political claims, more than renderings of historical family trees involving real people in correct biological relationships. Nkoya genealogies are shallow and kaleidoscopic, both in a context of *Wene* and among commoners. The distinction is not too meaningful however since clan exogamy and ambilineal inheritance of clan affiliation effectively blurs the outlines and succession prerogatives of royal clans and makes dynastic groups into political factions rather than genealogically-defined matrilineal segments in the strict, technical sense.

Yet, in principle the abundant genealogical information in *Likota Iya Bankoya* invites us to paste it together into coherent genealogies. The

many specific problems which arise are discussed with reference to the actual data, in the footnotes to *Appendix 3*.

Here we encounter the full set of options for genealogical manipulation, with which the oral historian is familiar: telescoping (the collapsing of any number of adjacent generations); the spurious fusion of descent lines that in reality would be unrelated; the spurious fission of branches as unrelated whereas in reality they would be related; the placement of the same character in a number of contradictory genealogical positions; the reversion of a character's gender; the transformation of genealogical relations between close kin — parents changing positions with their children, nephews being represented one generation up, as cousins or brothers; the representation of descent in the dominant (matrilineal) line as patrilineal and vice versa; the representation of relations of political and social inferiority as relations between senior and junior kinsmen, or between adjacent generations, etc. The result is a most entertaining puzzle, which we can never hope to solve in terms of a reconstruction of historically accurate genealogical relations between specific individuals (for one thing, before the nineteenth century we do not even know if we are dealing with historical individuals, mythical constructs, or a mixture) — but which at best yields an awareness of the overall structural principles at work.

In the Nkoya case, the participants' genealogical manipulation is greatly facilitated by the institution of name inheritance (*ushwana*), which makes for the proliferation of personal names in successive generations. Namesakes in adjacent generations may tend to be merged as a result of telescoping, and in my genealogical reconstructions it sometimes proved helpful to assume that behind a particular name (the major example being Mwene Manenga) several characters were hiding, bearing the same name but belonging to successive generations.

The genealogies in *Appendix 3* demonstrate that often more or less acceptable solutions can be offered for the problems of kinship and genealogical interpretation and manipulation — without any claim to historical accuracy, yet managing to sum up the information in *Likota Iya Bankoya* with a lesser degree of internal contradiction than a first reading of the text would suggest. The genealogical relations thus emerging are the result of interpretation, cross-checking and re-interpretation of the Nkoya text; subsequently, they have formed the guidelines for the rendering of genealogical relations in the text of the English translation. *Their uses beyond those of making an internally consistent English translation are slight, their historical contents largely fictitious.*

*genealogical over-interpretation: the case of Mwene Kayambila Shishopa*

What kind of complex difficulties and spurious solutions may arise in the context of the genealogical interpretation of the material offered in the text of *Likota lya Bankoya*, may be illustrated by the case of Mwene Kayambila Shishopa.

Ascertaining the gender of this *Mwene* is not the major problem. Oral traditions consider him as male, which is in accordance with the connotations of prowess and cruelty which surround this figure. His praise-name characterizes him as a head-hunter:

‘When Shishopa acceded to the kingship he adopted the following praise-name:

‘I am Kayambila ka Matunga,<sup>160</sup>  
The Thatcher who Takes Care of the Skulls of People  
Like the Thatcher Takes Care of the Roofs of Houses —  
The Son of Manenga,  
Shishopa Mikende.’’ (23: 2)

His self-given praise-name *Kayambila* is a word play on the Nkoya verb *ku yamba*, ‘to thatch’. According to many sources, the Nkoya *Myene* used the upper part (‘the roofs’) of the skulls of their victims as drinking vessels — in this praise-name Mwene Shishopa compares the act of severing this upper part with that other form of roof treatment: thatching. Some sources take the thatching element more literally, and depict Kayambila as a *Mwene* who had the roof of his house thatched with human skulls.<sup>161</sup>

But what to make of the genealogical information concerning Kayambila as offered in *Likota lya Bankoya*?

According to (17: 4) and (23: 1) Kayambila was the ‘younger brother’ of his predecessor Mukamba. The puzzling element is the epithet *ka Matunga*, which follows the name of Kayambila, but is also employed in the name of Kayambila’s son Shipandu (1: 1), and in that of the great *Mukwetunga* Lwengu. Matunga does occur as a proper name among Nkoya today, and therefore a possible construction would be to postulate a person Matunga, male or female, (classificatory) sibling of Mwene Manenga I, and parent of both Shishopa (who therefore could call himself rightfully a — classificatory — son of Manenga provided Matunga were female) and of Mukwetunga Lwengu. Shishopa would then belong to a line of *Bakwetunga* rather than of *Myene*, and would be an example of the male usurpatory tendencies of *Wene* which we shall discuss in chapter 5; also see *Likota lya Bankoya*’s chapter (4: 7), where the tendency towards hereditary *Mukwetunga*-ship, and factional political clustering of *Bakwetunga* and their sister’s sons, becomes manifest. The following possibilities would present themselves for the genealogical reconstruction:

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<sup>160</sup> The phrase *ka matunga* is left untranslated in this quotation: the following discussion seeks to interpret it.

<sup>161</sup> E.g. oral source [17] 30.9.1977.

- (a) Assuming that the hypothetical Matunga was a woman, and Kayambila's mother, then Kayambila was not a biological but only a classificatory son of Manenga. He could still be a 'younger brother' of his predecessor Mukamba son of Manenga in the classificatory sense.
- (b) Alternatively, the hypothetical Matunga may have been male, in which case Kayambila's mother may still have been Manenga, but then, contrary to the emphatic statement in (17: 4),<sup>162</sup> with another man than *Mukwetunga Mulyata*.

In both cases a setback is that Matunga nowhere in the text of *Likota lya Bankoya* occurs as a person operating in her or his own right, but always as (what appears to be) a parental epithet. Moreover, one is surprised to see the son of Kayambila bear the same parental epithet as his father (Shipandu sha Matunga).<sup>163</sup> is the name Matunga so common that both Kayambila's parent, and spouse, could have borne it? This in itself would not be enough to reject any of the genealogical reconstructions suggested so far, particularly alternative (a), and to maintain the link between Kayambila and Lwengu through their hypothetical parent Matunga, and hence the perspective on a usurping group of *Bakwetunga*. However, one unrelated oral source from the Kahare line casts a totally new light on this entire reconstruction. It gives the praise-name of Mwene Kabimba, an ill-fated incumbent of the Kahare title, as:

**'Kabimba ka Matunga**  
Sinyonde sa milala vunda  
Kato kaleyaleya kafabantu.'<sup>164</sup>

In English translation as provided by the interviewee this is rendered as:

**'Kabimba of the Lands**  
A Bat who sleeps in the Hole of a Tree  
A Person who Goes to and fro  
Like a Boat on the Water,  
Killing the People.'

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<sup>162</sup> 'Their father however, Mukwetunga Mulyata, was a member of the Shungu clan, and it was this man who begot all the children of Mwene Manenga.' (17: 4)

<sup>163</sup> The article *sha* is governed by the noun class of Shipandu, and therefore differs from *ka* as in Kayambila's case.

<sup>164</sup> Oral source [1]; emphasis added.

The Nkoya word *matunga* does mean ‘lands’, and as such it also occurs in the name of one of the drums of kingship, the ‘Mboma luvunga matunga’ (27: 10).

Substituting the epithet ‘of the Lands’ in all cases where *sha Matunga* or *ka Matunga* occurs in the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, destroys our ingenious genealogical reconstructions around the hypothetical person Matunga, but at the same time draws our attention to the claims of territorial control that are central to the concept of *Wene*. The initial, simple genealogical reconstruction is maintained once *ka Matunga* is recognized as not being a parental epithet.

### *terms for court offices*

The translation problems outlined here are anthropological as much as they are historical; they stem from the fact that language, as a reflection of one specific culture, can reflect the intricacies and structural implications of a different culture only imperfectly and at the expense of either imprecision or excessive elaboration.

The same problem crops up in the translation of the central terms for court offices in *Likota Iya Bankoya*: *Mwene*, *Lihano*, *Mukwetunga*, *Mwana Mwene*, *Mwanashihemi*, *Shilolo*, *Mukambuyu*. In translating these terms one has to negotiate between avoiding awkwardness in the English text, and avoiding the projection of alien and anachronistic concepts upon the Nkoya text.

Suppressing the temptation to translate *Mwene* by either ‘king’ (somewhat too grandiose) and ‘chief’ (which has anachronistic colonial connotations of incorporation and subjugation), I decided that this title could just as well be left untranslated. For the abstract noun *Wene* however, ‘*Mwene*-ship’ would have been too awkward. ‘Reign’ was rejected; first because it would seem to stress the period of time spanned by a ruler more than the role she or he discharged, secondly because its closest equivalent in Nkoya is not *Wene* but the derivatives of the verb *ku lela*, ‘to reign’; and most importantly because it suggests a fixed dynastic structure through which specific incumbents merely pass — whereas in the Nkoya case *Wene* is very much in a state of constant transition, shaped and redefined by each new incumbent. ‘Kingship’ seemed a plausible, if far from ideal, compromise. Meanwhile, as we have seen, plenty of passages in *Likota Iya Bankoya* bear witness to the fact that the term *Mwene*, just as in contemporary everyday usage among the Nkoya-speaking peoples, is also used as a honorific title of address outside the highest political office, and then it would best be translated as ‘Lord’; cf. *Mwene Shiyenge*, *Mwene Kapupa*, even *Mwene Nyambi* (‘the Lord God’). But then, the shading over between general honorific and specific title for politico-religious office is in itself significant, since it goes to show the extent to which the Nkoya *Mwene* can be regarded as a *primus inter pares* among the notables, courtiers and members of the royal families in general — just

as the very flexible succession practice blurs the boundaries of royal families, and makes agnates and affines in principle eligible to high office — the latter being far from monopolized by ‘royal’ matrilineages or even matri-clans.

The same reluctance to impose such alien connotations as derive from northwestern European political culture has kept me from translating the term *Mukwetunga*. A translation ‘Royal Escort’ would have missed the implication that here we are dealing with a court office in its own right more than with an individual marriage bond. In the same vein, the female equivalent of *Mukwetunga*: *Lihano* (pl. *Mahano*), has not been translated by ‘Queen’, since that would obscure the fact that *Mwene* is not exactly ‘King’.

Another major court office is that of *Mwana Mwene*, pl. *Bana ba Bamyene*: a *Mwene*’s child, regardless of the child’s or the *Mwene*’s gender. It has been left untranslated, partly because any translation (as ‘Prince’ or ‘Princess’ — which would often overlap with the semantic field of the word *Mwene* itself) would force us to specifically interpret a gender which in the Nkoya text is often left undefined, and partly for the same reasons why I have refrained from translating the word *Mwene* itself.

### *toponyms*

Toponyms offered a major problem of translation, not only because of the existence of Nkoya forms side by side with more established Lozi and Zambian English forms, or because of the anachronistic use Shimunika tends to make of them, but also because of their sheer abundance. Much of the very detailed toponymical data could not be traced on the standard maps available to me. On this point extensive correspondence with Mr H.H. Mwene was especially enlightening.<sup>165</sup> At an early stage of translation and analysis I had to invest weeks in the writing of a computer program that enabled me to process and index all these data on toponyms — and on personal names, which turn the book into a veritable *Who’s Who* of Nkoya titles and family names.

Despite anachronistic use of such names as Angola (with reference to a period when this country was still known as Portuguese West Africa), Shimunika shows a remarkable historical awareness in reserving the colonial, Lozi-prefixed name of *Mankoya* (as distinct from the

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<sup>165</sup> Sources used to identify the numerous obscure topographical references include: ‘Mankoya district [MS map] by Sililo Munyandi, 1957-59’, author’s collection; Surveyor General, ‘Republic of Zambia, scale 1: 1,500,000’, Lusaka: Surveyor General, 1986 edition; H.H. Mwene, [manuscript materials on Nkoya toponyms], 1986, author’s collection; Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare, map collection: [114] BSACo. Territories, 1901; and Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare, map collection: AC Rhodesia, 1895.

Nkoya toponym *Nkoya*) for reference to the colonial period only. *Mankoya* is first used in a context of the imposition of hut tax:

‘Pe oho mutelo wakumine ku litunga lya Mankoya’ (52: 7).<sup>166</sup>

It was under this name that the district and its capital have been known from the creation of the district boma in 1906 until, five years after Zambia’s Independence, the name was changed into Kaoma. For pre-colonial reference Shimunika almost exclusively uses the name *Nkoya* or *Litunga lya Nkoya*, ‘the Land of Nkoya’, a name whose dimensions and implications we shall explore more fully in chapter 4.

A specific problem of translation is posed by the word *Wului*, which in Nkoya means simply ‘the land of the Lozi’, denoting the Lozi homeland in the narrower sense — *Bulozi* in the Lozi language, i.e. the Zambezi flood plain and its immediate environment, with its centres Lealui, Nalolo and Kalabo; and not the later, far more extended political units which were administratively known as Barotseland: the (real or alleged) territory of the Lozi state under the Kololo and Luyana chiefs or kings, the Barotseland Protectorate, and finally the Barotseland Province of the states of Northern Rhodesia and the Republic of Zambia. A translation ‘Barotseland’ would be anachronistic for a precolonial context. I have therefore normally translated *Wului* by ‘Loziland’, unless the specific administrative unit was meant under which western Zambia was known throughout the colonial period until its name was changed into Western Province.

*more specifically literary problems of translation*

Finally, specifically literary and linguistic problems crop up in the translation of praise-names, whose hermetic and archaic language offers layers of cryptograms which are exasperating even to presentday native speakers of Nkoya. A convincing example is Mwene Shinkisha’s praise-name, part of which we shall fortunately be able to unravel in the course of our argument:

‘You are the Wonderful Tree,  
Daughter of Manenga,  
With Branches only at the Top,  
Without any Scars from fallen-off Branches,  
Shinkisha who can Face the Cat,  
The Snuffbox of Nyambi’s Child.’ (26: 1)

Here and in other cases only certain aspects of the Nkoya implications could be rendered in English; by making the translated praise-names

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<sup>166</sup> ‘As soon as tax was introduced in the land of Mankoya...’



look like poems I have attempted to suggest the literary surplus value we could not capture in a more direct way.

Clan names are a similar case. All appear to have a meaning, and in some cases *Likota lya Bankoya* conveys their meaning or at least their popular etymologies: *Mvula* for the 'Rain' clan, *Shikumbawuyuyu* for 'The Bark Container Which Could Hear', *Bakonze* for 'Lickers', etc. Whenever available the meaning or association of these proper names is given in footnotes to the English translation of *Likota lya Bankoya* in Part III. In other cases however insistent questioning yielded no clear-cut meaning — perhaps for reasons of linguistic taboos such as are known to govern some other spheres of Nkoya life, possibly also because my informants' mastery of English was insufficient to render meanings both esoteric and precise, but probably for no other reason than that the actual meaning escaped contemporary native speakers.

The literary aspect of a text like *Likota lya Bankoya* is of course not confined to problems of translation alone. Towards the end of chapter 3 I shall come back to the literary contents and analyse them from a point of view of historical criticism, whereas chapter 6 will be devoted to the reconstruction of a symbolic deep structure on the basis of this type of material.

The text of *Likota lya Bankoya* now lies before us, we have edited and translated it and can begin to analyse it. Our next question is: *why* did the author write it, and how did this intention influence his writing? The next chapter will seek to address this question.

## Chapter 3

# Historical criticism of *Likota Iya Bankoya*

### 3.1. The apologetic intention of *Likota Iya Bankoya*

We have identified *Likota Iya Bankoya* as belonging to a rather flourishing genre of historiographic production in South Central Africa: that of literate ethno-history. We set out to identify the political and ethnic concerns which generally attend the production of such texts, within the context of colonial and post-colonial incorporation processes. Rev. Shimunika's intentions as the author of the book are very explicitly stated in the final chapter:

'Those who have written this history *Likota Iya Bankoya* and the earlier *Muhumpu* are asking all Nkoya to give their thoughts to the following problem. The people who have recently come from Angola say that they heard the Lozi say that the Nkoya are slaves. (...) 2 Is it true what the Lozi of today keep telling the strangers?' (56: 1f)

While we note the remarkably oblique and prudent way in which the allegation is phrased by Shimunika, his *Likota Iya Bankoya* has to make clear that the Nkoya are not the slaves of the Lozi, first by showing the splendour of the processes of state formation which have taken place in central western Zambia, in the Land of Nkoya, independently from the Lozi state; and secondly by showing the development of Nkoya/Lozi relations in the course of the nineteenth century.

The earliest mythical figures from Lozi dynastic traditions, like Mbuyu and Mboe, are absent from *Likota lya Bankoya*, but Mwanambinyi (whom tradition considers as Mboe's 'younger brother' — no doubt with all the implications of genealogical manipulation outlined above) is presented (4: 3) as a brother of that central figure of early Nkoya history, Shihoka Nalinanga (cf. Jalla 1921; Mutumba Mainga 1973: 26f). To the early-nineteenth-century Lozi ruler Mulambwa a crucial role in the argument has been assigned: rather than asserting Lozi overlordship over the Nkoya, he is depicted as the guest friend of the glorious Nkoya ruler Kayambila, and as begging from the latter the royal medicine and the royal drums. Thus the impression is created as if these central features of the kingship were, by that time, much more highly developed among the Nkoya than among the Lozi — in other words, as if the later splendour of the Lozi state was only due to early Nkoya generosity. Several generations later, with the Lozi ruler Sipopa, history repeats itself: Sipopa came to the Nkoya as a refugee from the Kololo who had taken over Barotseland, and

'Mwene Mutondo received him well, as it was the custom of the *Myene* of the Nkoya not to refuse strangers.' (32: 1)

The Nkoya/Lozi equality (or even Nkoya superiority) that is carefully evoked here constitutes one of the central arguments of *Likota lya Bankoya*. The fact that the Nkoya traditions contain so much information on the Lozi rulers is explicitly cited by Shimunika (56: 3) as if this in itself creates a hold on the Lozi and keeps them at bay.

Accessory to this argument is the linking up of the Nkoya kingship, not with Lozi overlordship at all, but with the highest source of authority the cosmos can provide: Mwene Nyambi, through the latter's child, the demiurge Mvula, i.e. Rain. Hence the proud Nkoya adage:

'Our kingship comes from the Raindrop' (4: 7; 28: 1).

The cosmological and ideological significance of this claim we shall further explore in chapter 4.

And finally, there is the claim of pan-Nkoya unity in the face of evident fragmentation:

' "Even though the fruits may be scattered, we come from one and the same *mukolwa* tree."

In other words we are all of the same stock.' (3: 3)

The present chapter will be devoted to an examination of the historiographic methods and techniques through which Rev. Shimunika sought to serve the central apologetic intention of *Likota lya Bankoya*. What the argument in this chapter amounts to, therefore, is historical criticism of the book, seeking to answer the following question: if the apologetic intentions of *Likota lya Bankoya* are clear and explicit, to

what extent can the author's handling of his material and construction of his argument be reduced to just such an intention (and hence be discarded as historically one-sided, biased, and void of genuine information content) — and, alternatively, to what extent does authentic, unadulterated historical information yet manage to filter through, despite these expressed intentions of the argument?

### 3.2. The quest for authority

The historiographic method in *Likota Iya Bankoya* largely revolves around the techniques by means of which the author sought to endow his text with the maximum amount of authority, thus enhancing its apologetic and identity-constructing potential.

#### *identification of sources*

Among these techniques the explicit identification of sources is remarkable in that it makes *Likota Iya Bankoya* stand out as a favourable exception amidst other representatives of the genre of literate ethno-history. The first chapter is devoted to a listing of the principal informants, and there also the reasons are given (in terms of favourable genealogical position with regard of prominent characters in Nkoya history, or leadership of clans) why precisely these persons could be deemed to be so knowledgeable. In addition, at crucial points in his text Shimunika states the specific oral authorities he has consulted:

‘All these *indunas* built their villages at Litoya Iya Mbuma. They said that they were there in order to protect Mwene Kahare's kingdom from Lubanda attacks. 16 These *indunas* came when the Whitemen had just arrived in this land of Nkoya but before the tax had started; it was the time of Mwene Sipopa, before Mwene Kahare had arrived here in this land of Nkoya. Mwene Kahare came during the time of Lewanika in the year 1849. This information comes from Mwene Mishengo, and was passed on to us by Matiya Kapuka.’ (43: 15f)<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> The same Matiya was still my informant in the 1970s (oral source [12]); having arrived in Mankoya as one of the Mbundu moving from Angola to Luampa Mission, Matiya became a teacher at Njonjolo and there closely befriended Mwene Kahare Timuna, to the extent that Matiya's daughter was allowed to inherit the name of Timuna's mother (oral source [3] 11.10.1977); none the less Matiya continued to be considered to be a non-Nkoya until his death in the early 1980s. Incidentally, the specific historical contents of this passage from *Likota Iya Bankoya* happen to be entirely wrong, as we shall presently see.

dates

Another feature which Shimunika borrowed from the arsenal of professional academic historiography is the use of clear-cut dates, which of course — especially when reference is made to the precolonial past — is a major departure from the forms and logic of the oral-historical materials which he derived from his informants.

The date of 1849 for the arrival of Lozi representative *indunas* and of Mwene Kahare in the eastern part of Kaoma district is a case in point. Not that that date can be taken at face value. The arrival of the Whites in Nkoya, c. 1900, far from coincided with Sipopa's reign (1864-1876). The Yeke<sup>168</sup> invasions and Lewanika's Ila and Kaonde campaigns occurred in the fourth, not the second, quarter of the nineteenth century; also, it would be inconceivable that Shamamano was already an efficient and violent leader of his junior kinsmen in 1849, if his son Timuna only acceded to the kingship in 1921, and his grandson Kabambi in 1955. In 1849 the Kahare kingship was in all likelihood still established in the northern Kayimbu region, outside of Nkoyaland proper. Another reason<sup>169</sup> for criticism of this passage is that Lewanika did not rule Barotseland in 1849. That date is still in the middle of the Kololo episode in Barotseland (1840-1864), fifteen years before Sipopa ousted the Kololo and restored the Luyana kingship to which Lubosi Lewanika I succeeded in 1878 and again in 1885. In western Zambia, however, the name Lewanika is often used as a productive category to denote any Lozi king or (in the colonial and post-colonial context) Lozi Paramount Chief; so reference here is not necessarily to Lubosi Lewanika I.

*Likota Iya Bankoya* contains several other instances of specific dates being given:

'Mukamba Shingole was born in the year 1817 and he grew up in Nkoya.' (25: 3)

'From the year 1817 to this very day.' (24: 7)

Shimunika is so insistent on this date, because he claims it to be the first time that the Nkoya royal drums were taken to the Lozi capital — that time, he claims, still as free gifts from the independent and slightly superior Nkoya Mwene Kayambila to the Lozi ruler Mulambwa, and not as the humiliating abduction of the central symbols of autonomous kingship — as occurred a few decades later, under the Kololo. Al-

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<sup>168</sup> After a few generations in Kayimbu, on the site of the present-day Kasempa boma, the Kahare presence there ended when Mwene Kahare Kabimba was chased by the Kaonde and met his death at the hands of Yeke warriors (42: 1f). On the Yeke or Nyamwezi, cf. Brelsford 1965: 122f; Reeve 1981: *passim*; Capello & Ivens 1886, ii: ch. xixf.

<sup>169</sup> Advanced, significantly, by Mr H.H. Mwene in the editing stage of *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

though the date appears to have been reconstructed by Shimunika personally, it must have been inspired by published accounts of Lozi history, such as the popular and widespread account by Jalla (1921), the brief discussion of the Nkoya in Brelsford's *Tribes of Zambia* (Brelsford 1965: 15-17), and Clay's (1945) *History of the Mankoya district*.

The year 1817 may well have fallen within Mulambwa's reign and therefore may be a fair estimate. Also some other dates given by Shimunika appear to be correct, e.g. those concerning the reign of Mwene Mutondo Munangisha, in so far as they tie in with Lozi historical dates which are well documented from the works of Livingstone, Jalla, Coillard and other missionaries and travellers:

'These were born before Mwene Mutondo Munangisha went to Loziland during the Kololo war in the year 1860.' (44: 5)

### *anachronisms*

Before we proceed to a discussion of the phenomenon of the recycling of published historical accounts as a general feature of this genre of South Central African historiographic production, it is timely to point out that Shimunika's attempt to emulate academic history in the production of dates does not prevent anachronisms. Some of these we have discussed in chapter 2. There are other instances, such as:

'The Humbu had come to take the land of Mwene Luhamba.' (6: 2),

referring to a time when Luhamba was still a mere *Mwana Mwene* and other, female *Myene* were still holding the land (6: 3); or the use of the title 'Mwene Mutondo' above (44: 5) for a situation when Shibuyi Likambi could not possibly have acceded to the Mutondo kingship. Another example is when the Ladies *Myene* Libupe and Manenga are referred to as 'Grandmother of the Nkoya' or 'Mother of the Nkoya' as if those titles were bestowed upon them in their own time — long before the word Nkoya had developed from a mere toponym into the name of the dynastic group around the Mutondo title — which title did not yet exist in Libupe's and Manenga's times.

### *recycling of published historical texts*

*Likota lya Bankoya*, like other such texts, has become contaminated with excerpts from published secondary sources. Wyatt MacGaffey (1970: 29), writing on the Lower Congo, was among the first scholars to draw attention to this disconcerting, but inevitable phenomenon. The literate ethno-historical texts draw on information referring to a precolonial past, but their very compilation, writing and publishing is

only meaningful in a colonial and post-colonial context of political incorporation, ethnic articulation, Christian missionary activity, and European cultural imperialism in general. In these contexts authority and truth are recognized to spring from new, literate, expatriate sources. Potential authors of the ethno-history genre are among the most avid readers of accounts of local history in Africa.

Such sources can then be handled in a number of ways. They could for instance be explicitly cited as offering the highest standard historiography could aspire to. This is not an option Rev. Shimunika took in the manuscript of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, although in our personal discussions he did make a point of referring to Gervase Clay's *History of the Mankoya district* as the highest conceivable authority on the subject.<sup>170</sup>

Mr G. Clay was District Commissioner Mankoya district in the late 1930s, and in that capacity conducted oral historical research in order to ascertain the existence, if any, of a seniority structure among local 'chiefs', and the extent of Lozi overlordship in the region — all with a view to justifying the Mankoya Native Authority, Native Treasury, and the Naliele Appeal Court. A similar recording of district history was to form one of the decisive stages in Balovale district's secession from Barotseland in 1940. Mr Clay, who later was to serve on the colonial administration of Barotseland in an even more senior capacity and who is the author of a book on Lewanika I (Clay 1968), conducted his oral-historical exercise so well that Max Gluckman, the then director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, invited him to submit his material for publication as a mimeographed Rhodes-Livingstone Paper (Clay 1945), since reprinted for local consumption mainly. While Clay's handling of the data was essentially unbiased and still meets with praise from contemporary Nkoya, in the light of the neo-traditional splendour and efficiency of the Barotse 'Native Administration' he was not impressed with the Nkoya kingship at the time, and particularly found that its lack of a centralized hierarchy binding the various *Myene* presented insurmountable problems when it came to legal appeal cases. He was therefore in favour of the creation of Naliele.<sup>171</sup>

In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, small parts from Clay's work appear to have been included without reference: particularly the passage on the flaying of Mwene Kabimba (42: 4) and the subsequent dispersal of the Mashasha (43: 1); and on Lewanika's hunting trip to Mwito (50: 13f; cf. Clay 1945: 7, 9), which is also included in *Muhumpu*. *Muhumpu* incidentally contains, on page 3, an explicit reference to Clay (1945). Admittedly, the overlap with Clay's text in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is slight. Conducting his own investigations in the course of a few decades both before and after Clay, it cannot be ruled out that Shimunika partly collected the same traditions independently from the European investigator. Most of the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* unmistakably draws on original oral sources retaining their original

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<sup>170</sup> Oral source [22].

<sup>171</sup> G. Clay, personal communication to the author, 31.1.1975.

implications and symbolism. Interestingly, Rev. Shimunika along with his son Jackson later wrote an unpublished commentary on Clay's book, which entirely consists of excerpts from both *Muhumpu* and *Likota lya Bankoya* and therefore, regrettably, does not add to our present argument.<sup>172</sup>

From the perspective of academic scholarship we might postulate that, when finalizing *Likota lya Bankoya*, Rev. Shimunika decided that omitting a reference to Clay's work would do greater credit to his own stature and originality. But I feel that such an interpretation misreads the nature of the genre of literate ethno-history. Recycling is endemic here, because such notions as copyright, an author's originality, and the non-existence of absolute historical truth are alien to the genre. Incorporating a published, European source simply means coming closer to established facts which, far from being the possession of individual authors, are looked upon as assets of universal mankind. Presenting these facts is what, from the point of view of this genre, history is all about.

Fortunately Mutumba Mainga's *Bulozi under the Luyana kings* (1973) was published too late to be recycled in *Likota lya Bankoya*. But Rev. Shimunika made it very clear he had read the book when I interviewed him in 1977.<sup>173</sup>

Nor does the recycling process end here. For instance, a more recent historical manuscript on Nkoya history written by Mr Makiyi (born c. 1945) turns out to be based on a mixture of generous borrowing from *Likota lya Bankoya* (with its own bits of recycled material) in the form in which it circulated for years among Nkoya before being published, and Mr Makiyi's personal interviews with key informants.<sup>174</sup> One can only guess how subsequent oral interviews among the Nkoya will be contaminated by these and other texts including the present volume. During one of my historical interviews with Mwene Kahare in 1977, he constantly clutched a copy of Brelsford's popular account of the *Tribes of Zambia* (1965), and insisted on reading passages from this book, largely a compilation of such texts as Clay (1945), Jalla (1921), and other secondary sources generated in the context of missionary work and colonial administration in the first half of the twentieth century.

Soon, oral sources from the area will only remain useful for the study of the local construction of ethno-history as a socio-cultural process, and will no longer hold any uncontaminated historical information in their own right.

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<sup>172</sup> Jackson Shimunika [the name of the co-author Johasaphat Shimunika does not appear], *Mr Clay's history commentary. On the early [sic] of the Mankoya. (Kaoma)*, 2 pp., original typescript in my possession.

<sup>173</sup> Oral source [22].

<sup>174</sup> Oral source [10]; Dickson K. Makiyi, 'Nkoya History — Kaoma, Western Province, Zambia', 58 pp., manuscript in my possession.



*dynastic numbers and the nature of the Nkoya royal titles: between ascription and achievement*

Another attempt on Shimunika's part to produce 'real', academic historiography can be seen in his use of dynastic numbers, to denote and order the various incumbents particularly of the Mutondo kingship. In his own additions to the *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript, Mr H.H. Mwene makes extensive and fanciful use of such numbers, and my first impression was therefore that also in the main text they had all been added by him rather than by the original author. However, in a passage like the following they turn out to be entirely original, i.e. Shimunika's:

'Mwene Nankuwa wahemene bana bendi

- (1) Kazikwa,
- (2) Kabongo,
- (3) Kalumbwa,
- (4) Shihoka II' (12: 3)

Arabic, instead of Roman, figures may also be used for this purpose:

'WENE WA SHIHOKA 2<sup>175</sup> KU KALWIZI MWANA NYANGO' (13: 1).

Here Shimunika's academic example was undoubtedly Clay (1945), who very generously allocates dynastic numbers to the various incumbents of the Mutondo and Kahare kingship from the earliest times onwards.

It is very important to realize that such dynastic numbering is much more than an innocent play at conventional academic models for the rendering of dynastic history. Essential to the Nkoya kingship is its flexible, inchoate dynamics, where (as we shall see below, chapters 4 and 5) the forms, structures and ideology of statehood are in a constant state of transformation and redefinition, and where the pressures between rival Nkoya states as well as those within royal families (clustering around a plurality of *Myene*) make for anything but a unified, stable and permanent dynastic structure which individual incumbents can then come to fill in endless succession. In this light the use of dynastic numbers is a radical departure from the logic of Nkoya kingship and the oral traditions that record it. It amounts to the imposition of a totally alien logic, in an attempt to glorify Nkoya kingship for the wrong reasons, rendering it more in line with international academic models as prevail in Zambia and internationally. It can even be seen as an attempt to present the Nkoya kingship as comparable, in splendour, to the Lozi kingship as expounded in so many academic and popular publications; the latter have often fallen

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<sup>175</sup> The number was subsequently changed, by me, into a Roman one for editorial consistency.

victim to the same Sudanic images of exalted kingship and dynastic rigidity as now threatened to invade the Nkoya kingship. *Threatened* only — for contrary to Mr H.H. Mwene's treatment in the kings' lists included in Part II below as his independent and original contribution to Nkoya history, Rev. Shimunika uses the dynastic numbers only sparingly.

A more fundamental issue becomes manifest here. *Likota Iya Bankoya* presents the dynastic line from Mwene Libupe as one essentially unbroken chain of matrilineal royal succession, leading on to the four dynastic clusters of the Mutondo, Kahare, Kabulwebulwe and Momba titles, which survived into the twentieth century. Below we shall analyse in detail how along this chain (which turns out to be far from unbroken, whose time dimension we can only estimate in the order of magnitude of three to five centuries, and which is partly mythical anyway) the kingship underwent major transformations — and only by virtue of those radical breaks with the past could give rise to fully-fledged states. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century this process appears to have been sufficiently under wing to allow for the crystallization of the Mutondo title and the Kahare title, as the centres of gravity of states.

*Now do we have reason to assume (as would be the rationale behind any assigning of dynastic numbers) that all incumbents of the kingship in Nkoyaland since the early nineteenth century laid claim to either the Mutondo or the Kahare title?* Mwene Shakalongo and Mwene Liyoka obviously did not assume either title yet were unmistakably royal. Moreover, the Kahare name was dormant for a generation before Shambanjo Shamamano revived it again. Also in some of the other praise-names as recorded in *Likota Iya Bankoya* reference to the Mutondo title is conspicuously lacking, although they are presented as belonging to rulers in the dynastic line owning the Mutondo title; this suggests that certain royals succeeding to the Mutondo kingship after their senior kinswoman Shinkisha did not assume the Mutondo title as such. Additional information could be gleaned from oral traditions not captured in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and from Clay (1945), where alleged incumbents of the Kahare title are mentioned whose link with that title is nowhere reflected in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. Mwene Kahare's subjects who have read *Likota Iya Bankoya* complain about this one-sidedness in the rendering of the precolonial Nkoya past. They suggested additional names of alleged incumbents of the Kahare kingship whom Shimunika should have discussed more extensively: Shilumelume, Likambi Mange, Shiwutulu, Kasholongombe, Katalanangenge and Ndendola.<sup>176</sup> These are precisely the *Myene* whom Mr H.H. Mwene added to those discussed in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, when compiling his kings' lists (as reproduced below, at the end of Part II) and with regard to whom Clay detected an apparently structural amnesia at the Kahare court in 1939 (Clay 1945: 7).

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<sup>176</sup> Oral source [7] 21.10.1977.

The precolonial dynamics of hereditary royal titles among the Nkoya appear to follow the same logic, at a more exalted scale, as that which still largely governs the titles of village headmen in the area, discussed in chapter 1. Here lies much of the fundamental orientation of Nkoya village society. Such patterns, however responsive to major changes in the wider political, economic and cultural environment such as occurred in the course of the twentieth century, are likely to belong to that part of the cultural stock whose own change is only very gradual, to be measured in the time span of the *longue durée*, of hundreds of years.

Even although *Likota lya Bankoya's* central emphasis on a glorified and allegedly unitary institution of kingship tends to eclipse some of the underlying pattern, we can still detect many of the elements: individual residential mobility, individual achievement in the face of a flexible system of succession to high office, the shifting and uncertain nature of kin groups, the role of shrine ritual and of sorcery (e.g. 47: 5f), etc. The Nkoya kingship does have competitive, achievement orientated aspects particularly in its more recent, male-centred nineteenth-century form (see chapter 5).

Also from documentary sources on central western Zambia from around 1900 one gets the impression of small and relatively ephemeral polities revolving *more* on the achievement opportunities which the long-distance trade and the access to firearms were affording their leadership, than on the incarnation of time-honoured ascriptive royal statuses. Similar indications can be gleaned from such classics dealing with central western Zambia as Melland (1967) and Smith & Dale (1920).<sup>177</sup> The reports on the Hook of the Kafue as generated in the course of the Gielgud-Anderson expedition to that area in 1900-1901, depict political and economic leaders who are basically Big Men, seeking to use the economic and military resources available in the area at the time, for the building of a name for themselves in the context of the *Mwene*-centred political culture which offered the most readily available models for the expression and consolidation of high status. Val Gielgud, the first colonial officer stationed on the Kafue, implies in his description the relative weakness of chief's rule, of law and order:

'...the people living in the Hook of the Kafue (...) are the disintegrated units of a nation or nations which have fled on the northeast from the Angoni [Ngoni], on the West from the Basutos [Sotho] and later the Makololo [Kololo] and on the South from the Amandebele [Ndebele]. The same remark applies to the inhabitants of the Hook of the Kafue between Chipepo and Mulyanga, especially those living under the induna Tshitanda [Shitanda]. (...) Very little stock is owned except by the Abatshukulumbwi [Mashukulumbwe], and if it is owned it is very carefully concealed for fear it may be raided. (...)

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<sup>177</sup> Cf. Melland 1967: 273 and *passim* ('by the power of the sword'); Smith & Dale 1920: i, 40, 46-7 on Mwene Kayingu.

The above remarks do not apply so much to the people living in the neighbourhood of my camp (...) who being on the boundary with the Barotse have a better idea of a centralized form of government.<sup>178</sup>

Anderson, Gielgud's companion, somewhat gullibly describes a visit to Mwene Kabulwebulwe (Mbulembule) in the following positive terms which would all fit in with the model of royal status through ascription:

'On my arrival opposite his island<sup>179</sup> the chief at once came to see me. He is an old man, and seems much more intelligent than the majority of the natives. The chief professed strong disapproval of the practice of slave-trading. He said that the Mambari do not visit his part of the country, but that, should they do so, he would at once send to inform you of their presence. The indunas of most of the neighbouring kraals are sons of Mbulembule, and the people seem to be on friendly terms. Without exception the people through whose villages I passed were well disposed, and showed no lack of confidence as to the friendliness of my intentions.'<sup>180</sup>

Within a few months however the less benign aspects of Kabulwebulwe's rule, his wealth in guns and obvious, aggressive involvement in the slave trade would manifest themselves in a way that makes clear the entrepreneurial, achievement-orientated aspect of his rule:

'As previously reported Bulibuli [= Kabulwebulwe], a local chief of some note living about 40 miles north of my camp, having sent an impi of his people in conjunction with some Bakondi [Kaonde] to murder a man at Muloa's was summoned by me to explain his conduct. Of my summons he and his people took no notice, and so Mr Anderson and myself started on 31 August for his kraal, accompanied by twenty-five Matabele natives of my escort. Bulibuli and his people had retired to their island, but we managed to procure a boat, a boy swimming across a narrow arm of the Kafue, and directly we commanded the [access?...] to the island Bulibuli surrendered and came in with his principal headmen. As the murder was conclusively proven to have been committed with Bulibuli's sanction and connivance, I fined him 20 guns and detained him and his headmen until they were paid. (...) I also recovered some of the

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178 Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 14.10.1900, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

179 Also the neighbouring chief Muyanga lives on an island, and in the same Zambia National Archives file BS 1/93 Gielgud describes Major Harding's arrival 'opposite Mbulembule's island'. These strategic island dwellings are an indication of the state of insecurity prevailing in the area at the time.

180 Anderson to Val Gielgud, 8.1.1901: enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

murdered man's relations and returned them to their lawful guardian.'<sup>181</sup>

There is no doubt that these captives were destined to be sold as slaves. By and large, Kabulwebulwe's style of leadership at the time seems pretty well comparable to that of another leader, Kapandula, in the same area; however, Kapandula is identified as non-Nkoya, and he is openly called a slave-raider, not a chief — despite the fact that his defiance of the colonizing force shows a political, more than a commercial stance:

'Mr Lewis [the manager of Silver King mine, 35 miles southwest of Kapandula] had complained of Kapandula,<sup>182</sup> and he was well known to me by name as a great slave raider; he is a Bakondi [Kaonde], and not of the same race as the majority of the inhabitants of the 'Hook'. (...) I remained for two days close to his kraal and on the third day marched on the kraal in two parties. We found the people had fled and removed all their belongings.'<sup>183</sup>

One of Gielgud's parties was threatened with firearms, but subsequently the attackers slipped away in the bush; there had been no fire contact, but

'armed natives watched us from a distance. I was annoyed at this episode as I knew it would be exaggerated into a defiance of and check to my party at Kapandula, so after waiting at Kapandula's kraal for some hours and no one coming in (...) I burned some of the principal huts in the village, and some grain, to punish them for their hostility, and passed on. The natives who did not run away informed us that Kapandula had stated he would not submit to the white men, but all native reports are entirely unreliable and I give this for what it is worth. As I pointed out to them, unless Kapandula can do something better than run away, he had better submit with the others.'<sup>184</sup>

Obviously Kapandula did not meet this challenge: while Kabulwebulwe continued as a recognized chief under the colonial and

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<sup>181</sup> Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 9.10.1901, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

<sup>182</sup> Also see *Likota Iya Bankoya* (50: 12): the eastward journey of Wahila, where a character Kapandula is mentioned as a court jester; it is unlikely that this is the same person.

<sup>183</sup> Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 9.10.1901, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibidem*.

post-colonial administration (although affected by the creation of the Kafue Game Reserve, later Kafue National Park, in his area),<sup>185</sup> Kapandula did not manage to assert himself as a chief. In the 1970s-1980s we meet his descendant Kapandula again as a Nkoya headman of Kaonde extraction in the Kazo valley, as subject now of Mwene Kahare.

The important point that these archival references make clear is that both the ascriptive, royal, aspect and the achievement-orientated, entrepreneurial, aspect can be detected in Nkoya kingship at the end of the nineteenth century, and that the two aspects stand in a certain tension to one another. The Kabulwebulwe of the archival sources would seem to have been one of the first incumbents of the name, and the fact that the name persisted seems due to his entrepreneurial success more than to an enacting of a perennial logic of dynastic succession.

It is likely that similar dynamics attended the creation and transmission of other royal names in that time as well.

The fact that the major title of Mutondo is claimed to have developed from the personal praise-name of one, far from mythical, *Mwene*, Shinkisha, points in the same direction. In the face of contemporary Nkoya village society, it is difficult to accept that titles, such as Mutondo and Kahare, could by their own impetus, in a precolonial setting, survive across centuries. Decades would be a more likely time scale — *unless there is an intervening, consolidating outside factor* in the form of the incorporation in a wider, less flexible administrative structure which is effectively detached from the vicissitudes of the face-to-face social process at the village and the *lukena*: a state structure like that of the Kololo, the Lozi under Sipopa and Lewanika, the colonial state of Northern Rhodesia, and the post-colonial state of Zambia.

It is therefore more likely that the Mutondo title became fixed and hereditary only at the incorporation of the rather fluent Nkoya political organization in the more hierarchical and bureaucratized administrations of the Kololo, Lozi state and the colonial state. This process started around 1860.<sup>186</sup> That would be the probable date of the death of the first Mwene Mutondo, Shinkisha (cf. Clay 1945: 2). From that point in time, and with the external state system of the Lozi as a frame-

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<sup>185</sup> Zambia National Archives, enclosures in file KDB 1/2/1: 'Kafue Game Reserve'; also KDC 6/4/1 and KSA 8/3/1: Mumbwa tour report May 1930. Incidentally, a report on the ethnic composition of Mankoya district in 1935 mentions 30-40 Kaonde villages in that district, without a local chief of their own, 'the Kasempa/Mankoya boundary therefore cuts off this small outpost of Bakaonde *raiders* from their tribe.' (my italics) District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 30.4.1935, 'Tribal boundaries', enclosure in Zambia National Archives KSX 1/1/1/ Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

<sup>186</sup> A quarter of a century later Holub found 'the Nkoya' to be tributary to Lewanika (Holy 1975: 28).

work and an anchorage point, the Mutondo title would then be projected backwards — as the name under which a relatively minor, subjected segment within the total Lozi state could be subsumed for internal administrative purposes. Similarly, the name of Mwene Kahare would have disappeared around the same time, had not Lewanika I's patronage and hence incorporation in the Lozi state enabled Shanga-mbo Shamamano to revive the name c. 1890 (see below, 5.1). It is in such incorporated form that the titles of Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare appear in the Lozi-centred studies of Gluckman (1943, 1968b). The next step in this dynastic streamlining would then be that the incumbents became numbered, after the patterns of British or biblical dynastic history with which educated Nkoya and Lozi were beginning to become familiar.

Even though this process is still in an initial stage in the original *Likota Iya Bankoya* manuscript, one can already see how these received, external models of dynastic history are seeking to reshape the traditional data, in a way not unrelated to the recycling of published historiography — and tantalizing to the modern historian who seeks to get to the historical truth and to the proper logic of political and ideological patterns, underneath the accrued sediment of external models and set interpretations of a later period.

#### *authoritative lists and biblical elements*

The assigning of dynastic numbers and specific dates, and the insistence on identified traditional sources are not the only devices by which Shimunika enhanced the authority of his text. The frequent *listing* of names and other items must be seen in the same light. For surely, information which can be retrieved and produced so systematically could not have been made up but simply has to be true! Especially the lists of people participating in a certain decision, or people being the children of a prominent character, or accompanying someone somewhere, contribute highly to the suggestion of historical accuracy of the account. Again, this technique does not seem to spring from the conventions of oral traditions among the Nkoya, where I have seen it very rarely used; instead, it smacks of the school class, and particularly of the Bible class and the pulpit, where concise and ordered lists of articles of faith and biblical characters represent a common mnemonic and didactic devise.

Thus the listing technique can be said to shade over into the other biblical elements, both typographical and stylistic. Stressing the author's side of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, I have so far discussed them in terms of models for historiographic production; however, when we shift the perspective to the readership of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the Christian elements also contain models of reception: a historical message which is clad in Christian forms has a greater chance of being taken as true and authoritative because Christianity in itself has come to

represent a dominant standard. In the course of a century, Christianity has spread widely throughout South Central Africa and has taken root — not so much uprooting and eclipsing historic forms of African religions and their contemporary transformations: cults of affliction and prophetic movements (cf. van Binsbergen 1981a), but upholding, in the consciousness of both the rural and the urban populations, the image of a more universal, ideal, Great Tradition that hovers above the autochthonous religious idioms. The knowledge of and implicit support for Christian forms and the authority they generate, extends far beyond the narrower circles of actual adherents of Christian churches. But the effect of Christian-derived sources of authority in *Likota lya Bankoya* would be even more specific than that, since the context of ethnic identity formation and inter-ethnic competition in modern Zambia is primarily that of the educated middle classes — whose members tend to participate much more actively and profoundly in Christianity than the national average. In contemporary Nkoya circles, the collective Christian prayer (into which some of the prayer style of the ancestral cult has been blended) is a major genre of ethnic self-expression: the prayer leader (usually a lay preacher who is also politically active) freely improvises to combine Christian clichés with ethnic and political topicality, mobilizing his audience and endowing the ethnic pathos with a measure of divine justification. In such a context *Likota lya Bankoya* literally amounts to a Bible, a Gospel, of Nkoya-ness, embodying the hope of ethnic rehabilitation and material betterment. It is for profound reasons that the apotheosis of *Likota lya Bankoya* is cast in a Christian mould:

‘Is it true what the Lozi of today keep telling the strangers? It is a pack of lies! When time comes Mwene Nyambi will reveal everything to His child.’ (56: 2)

*the spurious insertion of a mainstream event*

Our discussion in this section has identified Shimunika’s authority devices, but has also shown where his attempts to emulate academic conventions of historiographic production backfired, into sometimes nonsensical dates, anachronisms and excessively static dynastic models. In this respect the most bizarre episode in the book is that which evokes, with suggestive detail, a precolonial visitor of such stature that the mere mentioning of his name would have sufficed to plug in Nkoya traditions into the mainstream of African and world history:

‘Mwene Mutondo Wahila stayed in his Milombe capital with so many court priests. All the Bilolo said:



“When we were sitting in the court, hearing cases, we saw an Englishman (in other words a Whiteman from the tribe of the British) approaching along the road.”

The Bilolo went to welcome him, asking him who he was. He told them:

“I am Munali.” (50: 11)

Dr David Livingstone has been known in South Central Africa under the name of Munali; however, when Livingstone died, in 1873, the reign of Mwene Mutondo Wahila (whose *lukena* he is supposed to visit here) had not yet begun.<sup>187</sup> Moreover, Livingstone never seems to have travelled in the eastern fringes of Barotseland.<sup>188</sup> Most probably therefore, this lively story is an apocryphal invention on Rev. Shimunika’s part. Moreover, his insertion of Livingstone, far from unique, is rather a cliché of Central African historical traditions (cf. Roberts 1973: 25).

### 3.3. Shimunika’s possible biases

Now that we have come to appreciate the methods and techniques by means of which Rev. Shimunika sought to endow his message with the greatest possible authority, the next step is to ascertain to what extent the contents of his historical account can be demonstrated to have been influenced, and even biased, by the constraints of his personal situation. Rev. Shimunika’s idiosyncratic collation and transformation of the oral sources could be expected to suffer from a number of such biases: as a Nkoya nationalist, a Christian, a prominent member of the Mutondo family, and finally as a member of the male gender. Let us examine *Likota Iya Bankoya* in the light of these concerns. In the process we shall have occasion to consider the use of the name ‘Nkoya’ as a toponym, discuss Shimunika’s treatment of such rather sensitive topics as

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<sup>187</sup> The same point is made by our Kaoma editorial committee.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Clay 1945: 5. On an appendix map in Livingstone 1971, the latter indicates the ‘Bamasasa: they cultivate large quantities of Grain, Sweet Potatoes &c’. However, his itineraries as marked (also cf. Director 1964) never came near this people. Interestingly, Livingstone’s apparently hearsay information was subsequently copied, in a literal Portuguese translation and without reference to Livingstone, by Serpa Pinto when he, too, claimed that the *Machachas* [Mashasha] ‘cultivam cereaeas em abundancia’ (Serpa Pinto 1881, i: end map). Mutumba Mainga’s treating, in the index of her book, the Naliele of Livingstone’s time (‘Naliele or Narielle, chief town of Barotse (...) 15° 24’ 17” S, 23° 5’ 54” E [i.e. at the eastern edge of the Zambezi flood plain]; Livingstone 1971: 730) as undifferentiated from the twentieth-century Naliele court near Kaoma, 200 km to the east (Mutumba Mainga 1973: 276), might lead the uninitiated reader to the assumption that Livingstone was in Nkoyaland after all, but no doubt this confusion is to be blamed on an anonymous indexer of Mutumba Mainga’s book.

slavery and firearms, and examine his representation of the colonial period.

### *Nkoya nationalism?*

The nationalist concern is manifest and explicit. Shimunika's intention is to state the case of Nkoya identity, showing that today's Nkoya are all one, from a common stock and with a splendid history; and particularly to restore Nkoya pride in the face of Lozi overlordship.

Yet even here, at the very core of Shimunika's ethnic apology, we must admit that he shows himself a true historian, in that the data which he presents allow for a detailed check of his overall argument — and enable the reader even to reject the author's conclusions. The unity of the Nkoya people is argued — but the genealogical and historical data have not been pummelled into shape so as to conceal the actual underlying heterogeneity. This is never more manifest than when we attempt to construct genealogies on the basis of the information in *Likota Iya Bankoya*: one gets perhaps halfway in patching together the various strands, but the essential links between major dynastic branches cannot be traced with any degree of conviction, as I shall argue in detail in the later chapters. Likewise, the historical narrative starts with a plurality of clans which are not further reduced to a common unity other than that of an unnamed mythical ancestress (3: 2).

Turning to more recent historical periods, and particularly the extremely sensitive issue of Nkoya/Lozi relations, Shimunika's realism and love of historical accuracy very clearly outweighs whatever nationalist preferences he has. With tragic irony, a history that explicitly intends to show that the Nkoya stood their own vis-à-vis the Lozi right up to the imposition of colonial rule, turns out to contain numerous, detailed and convincing data on Lozi overlordship in the nineteenth century: the Lozi held on to the Nkoya royal drums as central symbols of kingship which the Kololo captured; they controlled royal succession of both the Mutondo and the Kahare kingship, in the cases of the accession of the following Myene: Shamamano (43: 10-12), Munangisha (46: 2), Wahila (49: 4) and Mushonto (53: 5).<sup>189</sup> The Lozi moreover forced Mwene Shakalongo to accept and be instrumental to this state of affairs; the Lozi arbitrated in succession

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<sup>189</sup> Interestingly, the installation of Mushonto instead of the district officer's candidate Kanyinca hints at a certain tension between the Lozi indigenous administration and the colonial administration — a tension which can be found repeatedly in the archival sources dealing with Lozi influence in the outlying districts of Barotseland (including Mankoya district) and, beyond, in Namwala and Mumbwa district (Stokes 1966; van Binsbergen 1985c). The fact that Shimunika calls Kanyinca's actual accession, in 1917, his 'second kingship' shows that, in line with his pro-colonial and anti-Lozi attitude, he took the first irregular installation of Kanyinca at Mwene Wahila's funeral, which was rejected by the *Litunga* in favour of Mushonto (cf. 53: 2), yet as lawful and valid.

disputes, placed representative *indunas* all over the Land of Nkoya, and extracted a significant stream of tribute from the subdued Nkoya *zinkena* to the Lozi court at Lealui.

Even the Kololo, who for a quarter of a century (1840-1864) occupied the Lozi state, considerably transformed it, and left their Sotho language to become its lingua franca, are not merely remembered as the hideous abductors of the Nkoya royal drums, but also as just a neighbouring group which was called in to intervene when the Nduwe of Kataba were sighing under Mwene Liyoka's excessive repression (37: 4), and whose attack on the Kalimbata *lukena* was partly instigated by Mwene Mutondo Kashina's preposterous marriage legislation:

'All the people failed to appreciate his law, since it greatly corrupted the people in their hearts. At the time of his reign, the Kololo of Mwene Mbololo, the Mwene of the Kololo, sent an army to the Kalimbata capital, to Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge.' (28: 4)

Considering Rev. Shimunika's ethnic concerns, the most obvious, and rather to be expected, form of historical manipulation could have consisted in an attempt to project the Nkoya ethnic identity back into the past to the very origin of the history of central western Zambia. Ethnic groups (uninhibitedly called 'tribes' in Zambian English) are a conspicuous element in the everyday social discourse of contemporary Zambians, they are taken for granted, patterned into ethnic stereotypes and joking relations (van Binsbergen 1985a). On the popular level, the history of Zambia is perceived largely as the history of the ethnic groups that are distinguished within the Zambian nation today; but the fact that these ethnic categories in themselves have not been in existence ever since the beginning of time but have a — usually quite shallow — history, is not generally admitted to consciousness.

However, although Shimunika could have been forgiven for treating the ethnic category of Nkoya as perennial and going back to the earliest days, this is not precisely what he does. The word 'Nkoya' occurs very often in the text, but not as the pan-Nkoya ethnonym which it has become in the twentieth century, but on the contrary in either of the following meanings:

- (a) as a mere toponym; or
- (b) as the name of a dynastic group centring on the Mutondo kingship.

#### *Nkoya as a toponym*

In this connexion one would speak of 'the Land of Nkoya' (*Litunga Iya Nkoya*) — much in the way early European travelogues would discuss the Land of Cathay, or, in the Central African context, in the way the

Lunda or Musumba homeland called ‘Kola’ crops up in many traditions, from Angola to Malawi.<sup>190</sup>

In fact, I am not convinced that as a toponym Nkoya is not simply a dialectical form of ‘Kola’. Some dynastic traditions among the Nkoya trace back to Musumba; moreover, it is, all over the world, a common feature that after migration toponyms from the homeland are being projected onto the new place of settlement. However, by contrast with Kola, the location of Nkoya in central western Zambia is fairly well defined: its centre was a forested area near the Kabompo/Zambezi confluence.<sup>191</sup>

With or without reference to this specific location, as a toponym the meaning or etymology of *Nkoya* remains obscure. I failed to identify other lexical roots with which it could be associated. Only one informant claimed to know what the word *Nkoya* means:

‘“Nkoya?” That means “soil” *litunga* (= land), “this country”’,<sup>192</sup>

but the circularity of such a statement does not bring us much further.<sup>193</sup>

The usage of *Nkoya* as a toponym in its own right, not secondarily derived from the ethnonym designating the people who proclaim to be Nkoya, is clear from many passages in the text of *Likota lya Bankoya*. Note, for instance, the careful phrasing in the following passage:

‘There are three sources from which the greatest Myene of the tribe of Nkoya spring’ (8: 1).

Here the Nkoya text has *mushobo wa Nkoya*: ‘tribe of [the land of] Nkoya’, and unmistakably Nkoya is here a toponym, not an ethnonym (otherwise the text would have read *mushobo wa Bankoya*). Further aspects of the use of the word Nkoya as a toponym will be discussed in chapter 4.

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<sup>190</sup> Roberts 1973: 39, 50, and *passim*; and references cited there.

<sup>191</sup> Oral source [9].

<sup>192</sup> Oral source [22].

<sup>193</sup> Meanwhile, another oral source ([22]) clearly distinguishes between the words Nkoya and Kola; interpreting ‘Nkoya’ as referring not to an area but to a group of people (see main text immediately below), it states:

‘They were already called Nkoya when they came from Kola. The meaning of the name is unknown.’

Yet even this statement could be read as suggesting that the name ‘Nkoya’ derives from ‘\*[N]Ko[l/y]a’.

*Nkoya as the name of a dynastic group centring on the Mutondo kingship, and its emergence as an ethnonym*

A transition to the second usage (Nkoya as a political group), to which we now turn, is clear in the title of chapter 18 of Shimunika's text, when the two meanings of the word are juxtaposed:

'SOME NKOYA LEFT FOR MULOBEZI AND OTHERS  
REMAINED HERE IN NKOYA' (18: 1)

Here, the latter word *Nkoya* is clearly a toponym, but the former word *Nkoya* is used in the sense of a dynastic group, featuring, in the original text, the plural prefix *Ba-nkoya*, instead of the unmarked toponymical *Nkoya*. Such usage can be detected in a considerable number of passages in *Likota Iya Bankoya*:

- (1) 'She was also called "Grandmother of the Nkoya" or again "Mother of the Nkoya"' (2: 2).
- (2) 'They came from Mwantiyavwa following his order:  
"Go and kill for me all the Nkoya Myene."' (6: 2)
- (3) 'When Mwene Mulambwa returned to his area in Loziland, he had a mind to scold his people, telling them:  
"I want the drums of kingship of the Nkoya, for they are splendid."' (24: 3)
- (4) 'I am Mwene Komoka  
Who has Surprised the Nkoya.' (27: 4)

Of course, for a contemporary Nkoya readership it is very tempting to project, onto these passages, presentday notions of the Nkoya ethnic group, with a fictitious corporate political identity encompassing the entire 'tribe'. But such a projection is unwarranted and is almost certainly not intended by Shimunika: in virtually all cases, the narrow dynastic cluster around the Mutondo kingship is the obvious referent of the word *Bankoya*.

These passages may even allow us to put a date to the emergence of the use of the name Nkoya for the dynastic group around the Mutondo kingship. For the quotations (1), (2) and (3) we have no way to assess whether the word *Bankoya* was projected back into time by the twentieth-century narrator, or (less likely) was already used in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contexts that are evoked. Quotation (4) however is a different case altogether: here the word *Bankoya* is enshrined in a praise-name, and we have every reason to assume that these relatively hermetic and archaic emblems have been handed down in their original form. Komoka's accession would have been sometime

around 1850. This is then the oldest established date for the use of the word *Bankoya* for the dynastic group associated with the Mutondo kingship.

There may be exceptions to this consistency in Shimunika's usage of the term Nkoya. The passage where Mwene Libupe, as apical ancestress of all Nkoya dynasties and not just of the Mutondo kingship, is called 'Grandmother of the Nkoya' or again, 'Mother of the Nkoya' (2: 2), could be construed to constitute such an exception. So does the title of the same chapter 2:

'THE NKOYA CAME FROM THE LUBA'

But in the body of the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* these are only two incidences. Their sheer paucity shows that Shimunika has not fallen victim to the temptation of projecting an ethnic myth of Nkoya-ness into the past.

As an ethnonym, encompassing all speakers of the Nkoya language and participants in the Nkoya culture, the name Nkoya only emerged in the course of the colonial period — as a Lozi 'subject tribe' and as the obvious referent of the Mankoya district and boma, Native Authority and Native Treasury. When Clay was writing, the name 'Nkoya' was apparently still largely reserved for the subjects of the Mutondo kingship (Clay 1945: 2). As was the case with so many other Central African ethnic identities, Nkoya-ness did not spring from the endogenous dynamics of cultural and political processes in the region, but from the incorporation of such processes in new, external arenas of domination, representation and mobilization.

What remains to be explained is why in this heterogeneous linguistic and cultural cluster of central western Zambia, where initially the name 'Nkoya' was only associated with a constituent fragment, that name evolved to ultimately become the label under which the entire cluster, in a twentieth-century process of ethnicization, sought to create its identity. What explains the transition from a term denoting a small polity, to one denoting an ethnic group (in *statu nascendi*) the great majority of whose claimed members, nor their ancestors, were never subjects of the historic polity around the Mutondo title? The answer lies partly (cf. chapter 5) in the geographical diaspora and politico-military decline of such other constituent fragments: the people of Momba, Shakalongo, Kahare, Kabulwebulwe, Shihoka; and partly in a rather accidental colonial nomenclature for an outlying part of Barotseland at the turn of the twentieth century: among the Nkoya *zinkena* the Mutondo *lukena* was relatively close to Lealui and Mongu, a relatively important source of tribute, and the site of the new boma was within the area of Mwene Mutondo. So the boma was named Mankoya, 'Mankoya' became the name under which the people of the district engaged in colonial politics at the level of the district and the Barotseland Protectorate as a whole, and it is in that struggle that the name of Nkoya spilled over from Mutondo's area to encompass all the

*Myene*, and their subjects, who culturally, linguistically and politically stood in a similar relationship with the centre of the Lozi administration.

*Christian bias?*

The fact that Shimunika was the first Nkoya pastor and principal Bible translator, who spent more than three decades (as from 1950) at Luampa Mission, did not prevent the author from describing Nkoya High God ritual (1: 6f), royal and ancestral ritual (47: 5; 47: 3), sorcery threats and actual attacks (33: 1; 47: 6), circumcision (6: 1; 48: 6), cases of extreme violence (47: 9), even human sacrifices to royal drums (36: 2), with a detachment that is amazingly free from Christian bigotry and moralizing. His remarkable career (from diviner-priest, via teacher, to Christian leader) made him treat African religious forms with an amazing lack of Christian prejudice, and with the pride of a Nkoya nationalist. Against the background of the prevailing, immensely strong Christian rejection of African medicine as diabolical, it is truly remarkable that Rev. Shimunika manages to bring out the vital role of royal medicine, not only in the upkeep of the Nkoya royal court (50: 10), but also as an essential aspect of Nkoya-Lozi relations.<sup>194</sup> Even when Nkoya religious ideas come in collision with central Christian dogma, particularly when God's (Mwene Nyambi's) Child is equated not with Jesus Christ but with Mvula (Rain), not the slightest attempt to recast these ideas into a Christian mould can be detected. Were they perhaps Christian projections to begin with, disguised as Nkoya ones in order to further glorify the Nkoya heritage? The answer is negative, as we shall see in chapter 4 — however prominent God's Child is in Christianity.

However, Christianity does seem to create a slight decency bias in Shimunika: he obviously did not want to dwell at length on the shifting amorous and marital relations for which Nkoya Lady *Myene* were well-known, as documented from oral sources.<sup>195</sup> All Shimunika says on this count is that Mwene Manenga, his own ancestress, was an exception to this pattern: all her children are said to have been begotten by one father... (4: 7; 27: 7).

*bias in favour of the Mutondo kingship and the aristocratic perspective, and against earlier occupancy by other ethnic groups*

As we have seen, Shimunika's earlier pamphlet *Muhumpu* created havoc among Mwene Kahare's subjects because of its allegedly biased

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<sup>194</sup> Notably, the exchanges between Kayambila and Mulambwa, (27: 6; 56: 5).

<sup>195</sup> E.g. oral source [3] 19.11.1973.

view of the dealings between Mwene Kahare Timuna and the Lozi central court at Lealui in 1947-48, at the time when Mwene Mutondo was subject to Lozi harassment. Such bias as a member of the Mutondo royal family is absent from *Likota Iya Bankoya*. On the other hand, there is a marked imbalance in that the passages on the Mutondo kingship are much more extensive. Perhaps Shimunika's precolonial data on Kahare were lacking, but this could hardly have been the case for the twentieth century. Considering the wealth of detail concerning the history of the Mutondo kingship in the early twentieth century, one would have expected some of the most salient aspects of the Kahare kingship since 1900 to have been included. In fact, after Shamamano not even one of the four twentieth-century incumbents of the Kahare title is mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya*: Mpelembe (1914-1921), Kubama (1921-1921), Timuna (1921-1952) and Kabambi (acting 1952-1955, reigned 1955-). In chapter 1 we have seen how Kubama's haste to reach Lealui and be recognized as the lawful heir revealed a succession dispute inside the chief's family (for a striking Mutondo parallel see 53: 4f). However, Timuna's accession also involved a succession dispute between Shamamano's descendants as a whole, and a kin faction clustering on the Kambotwe title, who claimed that they had been the owners of the Kahare kingship before Shamamano had revived it under Lewanika's protection. Below (chapter 5) we shall pay attention to this dispute in the context of the change from matrilineal to patrilineal dynastic succession among the Nkoya. At the present juncture it is important that Shimunika was clearly aware of the Kambotwe/Shamamano issue, but failed to discuss it in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and even in a personal interview was only prepared to touch on the subject in the most reticent manner.<sup>196</sup> Apparently the conflict over the 1947-48 episode in *Muhumpu* had made him very reluctant to discuss any further the Kahare kingship in the twentieth century.

Still, the coverage that *Likota Iya Bankoya* gives to the precolonial history of the Kahare kingship and of the dynastic line leading on to it, although patchy as compared to that of the Mutondo kingship, is far more extensive than the discussion of the many other royal titles which circulated in the district up to the nineteenth century (cf. *Appendix 7*), and which were eclipsed by the Lozi representative *indunas* in the manner discussed in chapter 1. The moiety-like structure of the Nkoya in Kaoma district, hinging on the two major chiefs, although largely an accident of Lozi and colonial incorporation, yet now has become an important aspect of Nkoya ethnicity. The effect of this state of affairs for Nkoya ethno-history appears to be that the Mutondo/Kahare opposition is projected back into the past, and endowed with perennial connotations which it most certainly does not deserve. In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, other kingships, such as Shakalongo's and Kambotwe's, are largely ignored. And a dynastic illusion of fixed permanent titles and a clear-cut pattern of succession is maintained, while in fact a much more

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<sup>196</sup> Oral source [22].



likely image would have been that of a structure of shifting and rivalling polities, each centring on a ruler whose title and royal status was often as much achieved, and ephemeral, as it was ascribed via the lawful inheritance of high office.

More in general, Shimunika's personal fixation on the Mutondo kingship made him fall into the common trap of popular historiographic production in Africa: the idea that 'real history' deals with kings and states only, while subjects and commoners do not really seem to have a history. As a result, we hear about the early migration from Lubaland, the transformation of kingship into statehood, and the vicissitudes of royal courts, but we are hardly allowed a glimpse of the processes of subjugation and extortion through which ordinary villagers were made to serve the establishment and reproduction of essentially non-productive royal courts in the Land of Nkoya. The flow of tribute, largely in the form of forest-derived produce, is presented as a matter of course, and justified by reference to the time-honoured redistributive and ecologico-ritual functions of the institutions of *Wene* — without admitting the fact that in the later, violent, male-dominated states this institution had been transformed almost beyond recognition, retaining mainly its name and symbolism. In the case of Mwene Liyoka's dealings with the local Nduwe people popular resentment of royal appropriation is admitted, and his reign is explicitly called cruel (37: 4f). But for the rest the flow of tribute even from non-Nkoya people, like the Ila paying tribute to Mwene Kayambila (23: 3), triggers no critical comment from Shimunika but obviously constitutes a source of pride also to him. *Likota Iya Bankoya* contains information on nineteenth-century popular resentment and on the possibility of articulating this in a more or less democratic way, through impeachment of the *Mwene* and even through regicide. But first this is presented in a political and legislative context,<sup>197</sup> rather than an economic context of exploitation of village surplus product and labour; and secondly, we may suspect that what is involved in this 'popular' protest is really rival factions within the dynastic group itself. The latter is also suggested to be the case with the regicide of Mwene Mukamba (21: 3). As a result, the clearest statement of popular resentment and rebellion in *Likota Iya Bankoya* comes to us in an oblique, mythical form: the subjects of the legendary Mwene Kapeshe (= Ladder) refusing to put in more labour towards his prestige object, the ladder into heaven (40: 4f).

That the ordinary producers of the Land of Nkoya were thus reduced to form a muted group is far from surprising and constitutes, in fact, a cliché of the literate ethno-history genre. Underneath is an attempt to negotiate a disunity which cannot be accommodated within contemporary claims of ethnic unity: *not the genealogical heterogeneity of various dynastic branches and matrilineages, but the distinction between rather immobile local commoner inhabitants, and immigrant ruling*

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<sup>197</sup> Mwene Kashina Shiyenge is pictured as a bad ruler, who fails to unite the people and declares unattractive marriage legislation (28: 2-4; 34: 5-6).

groups. Admittedly, the distinction is relative: the clan segments which claimed ecologico-ritual control of the land and developed ruler status in the Land of Nkoya — immigrating at probably a slightly later date — initially may have had much in common with other such tiny demographic fragments leaving — at probably a slightly earlier date — southern Zaïre and gradually crossing the Zambezi/Congo watershed. We do not know if these earlier immigrants (arriving from perhaps 1500 A.D.) were already speakers of Nkoya — perhaps more likely, they learned that language, as the local tongue, upon their arrival in northwestern Zambia, influencing it by their own Lunda background in the process. Such elements of the contemporary Nkoya culture as hunting and agricultural patterns, and female initiation, also may have a much longer history locally that predates the arrival of the dynastic groups.

The more original inhabitants are absent not only from *Likota Iya Bankoya*, but also from the great majority of oral sources from the area. What remains is an extremely fragmented and contradictory picture. Two sources<sup>198</sup> explicitly deny that there were any earlier occupants before ‘the Nkoya’, even though we shall have to consider, below, what traces Khoi-San culture appears to have left upon the culture of central western Zambia. Other sources however admit previous occupation of the Land of Nkoya by such relatively (as compared to the Khoi-San) related groups as the Kwangwa<sup>199</sup> and the Lenje.<sup>200</sup> The absence of previous occupants appears to be an ideological claim, part of the building of a Nkoya ethnic consciousness. As such it does not correspond with accepted local traditions in so far as these predate Nkoya ethnicization. Archaeological evidence also suggests that there were in fact such previous occupants, and so does the fact that such puzzling ethnic pockets as the Lushange and the Lima, usually considered as clans or subgroups of the Nkoya, are recognized even in documentary sources to go back much longer, locally, than the other constituent groups of the Nkoya cluster.<sup>201</sup> The most uninhibited of sources in this respect is Sandasanda (whose own status as a recent immigrant Luchazi in Kasempa district may make him particularly

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198 Oral sources [20] and [3] 11.10.1977; the latter source explicitly and emphatically denies previous occupation of the area by Khoi-San (Ba-Tushekele).

199 Oral source [14].

200 Oral source [3] 19.11.1973, according to which source the name Mbwela, said to mean ‘Westerners’, was given to the ancestors of the Nkoya when the latter came to chase the Lenje from their original territory. It is true that today the Lenje are among the eastern neighbours of the Nkoya. Cf. however the contradictory statement by the same oral source [3] on 11.10.1977 as cited above.

201 District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 30.4.1935, ‘Tribal boundaries’, enclosure in Zambia National Archives KSX 1/1/1/ Mankoya correspondence 1931-35; also cf. Clay 1945; Brelsford 1965.

prone to explode local myths of continuous occupancy of the other groups in his new home); as we have seen, he lists Mbwela, Khoi-San, Busangu Mashasha and even Subiya (now on both banks of the Zambezi around Kazangula on the border with Botswana and Namibia) as the pre-Nkoya inhabitants of central western Zambia (Sandasanda 1972) — at the same time implying that the names Mbwela, Mashasha and Nkoya originally were more distinct than we are led to believe on the grounds of their present merging under the pan-Nkoya umbrella.

The relatively immobile commoner occupants — not so much those of Khoi-San but certainly those of Bantu stock — of the Land of Nkoya left their traces outside the aristocratic oral traditions: their pottery has been dug up, and as Brown (1984: 104; cf. Roberts 1976: 39f) points out, it shows a remarkable continuity over almost two millennia. While much more historical, linguistic and archaeological research is needed before we can appreciate the admixture of local and immigrant patterns in the Land of Nkoya as from the sixteenth century, it is clear that some process of immigrant imposition and accommodation has gone on, involving the subjugation of local villagers of hunters, fishermen and perhaps incipient agriculturalists — to northern groups aspiring to ecologico-ritual and subsequently political domination. In *Likota lya Bankoya* as well as in Nkoya oral traditions in general, this process has been effectively suppressed from consciousness as a threat to contemporary ideas of unity and legitimate kingship. In this connexion it is useful to remember that the contemporary concerns of ethnic identity and a redefinition of Nkoya/Lozi relations, while perhaps capable of mobilizing people from all walks of life identifying as Nkoya, yet essentially are cherished by an educated middle class, who normally combines a measure of success in the wider modern Zambian society, and adherence to Christianity, *with close links with the Nkoya lukena milieus*.

Another such apparently history-less social category reduced to muteness is formed by women. Below we shall carefully explore the wealth of information that *Likota lya Bankoya* has to offer on gender relations and their impact on state formation. Yet this information will turn out to have crept in inadvertently: women, their reproductive and productive work and their rituals (particularly the female initiation that binds them to solidarity and that for many Nkoya today constitutes the hallmark of Nkoya culture; cf. van Binsbergen 1987a) are absent from the scene of history as Shimunika conceived it.

### *bias in the treatment of slavery*

Closely related to the aristocratic and pan-Nkoya bias is the reticence, in *Likota lya Bankoya*, concerning the issue of slavery. Intending to state the case for the oneness of all Nkoya people today, Shimunika, himself of royal stock, could hardly afford to touch on this question,

except by disclaiming the Lozi view that the Nkoya as a people are the Lozi's slaves.

So prominent a feature was slavery that to this day Nkoya parents justify the spacing of children by reference to the fact that in the past a mother should never have more than one infant to carry when slave-raiders came. Many arguments among kinsmen and neighbours in Nkoya villages today still contain insults and allusions referring to alleged slave origin.

Oral sources are considerably less reticent than *Likota Iya Bankoya* on the issue of slavery.<sup>202</sup> They specify — albeit not unequivocally — the conditions under which 'slaves' could lawfully be taken in compensation for major offences. The standard punishment for adultery with a *Lihano* (a likely offence considering the fact that the nineteenth-century *Myene* were highly polygamous)<sup>203</sup> was the payment of a slave.<sup>204</sup> In the case of adultery between commoners, the customary punishment was even to kill the offender, burn down his village and sell his fellow-villagers as slaves;<sup>205</sup> the slave-raiding episode of Kabulwebulwe as discussed above appears to have been a case in point. Interestingly the *Mwene* was entitled to the payment of a slave and/or a gun in case of adultery, sorcery, the killing of a sorcerer, and murder, even if the injured party was not the *Mwene* himself or herself.<sup>206</sup> Another oral source however<sup>207</sup> denies that in cases of murder any compensation could be paid: the only penalty was killing the offender.

While thus a certain flow of slaves was generated as a result of compensatory payments made in the context of a general rule of law in nineteenth-century Nkoya society, it could also be the failure of such rule of law which resulted in people being committed to slavery. Feuding between villages is frequently reported as an alternative to the payment of compensation. In such conflicts, village A would team up with village C in order to slave-raid village B with which A had its quarrel. Also, one could betray the village security system to professional slave-raiders. The *Mwene* would have spies and slave-raiders in his service; they were called *makombe*.<sup>208</sup>

The commercialization of slavery even entered into close kin relationships; it would not be exceptional for a man to sell his sister's son into slavery to the Mbali (Mbundu traders from Angola) in order to

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202 E.g. oral sources [8] and the oral sources specifically mentioned below, and Nkoya songs in: Davison Kawanga, 'Nkoya songs as taped by Wim van Binsbergen: translations and notes', songs no. 37 (slave trade) and 38 (slave marriage), manuscript in my possession.

203 E.g., according to oral source [6], *Mwene Shamamano* had ten wives.

204 Oral source [6].

205 Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

206 Oral sources [6], [19] 18.10.1977.

207 Oral source [20].

208 Oral source [20].

obtain the gunpowder and blankets necessary for the payment of bridewealth.<sup>209</sup>

With reference to the period around 1900, Mrs Katambula, a daughter of Mwene Shamamano, describes<sup>210</sup> the Kahare court as largely depending upon slave labour in agriculture: nearly half the people at the *lukena* were slaves, mainly of Lunda and Kaonde origin, and they would have been bought from white slavers in Angola in exchange for tusks. By that time, slaves would mix freely with freemen, and children would not realize they were slaves; however, they were forbidden to take up residence in another village. Marital and sexual ties between female members of the royal family, and male slaves, appear to have been common: in a society where maternal and paternal relatives were (and are) rivals constantly battling for kin support, such links produced offspring that was — deprived from any of the usual residential alternatives whose manipulation is so central to Nkoya social organization — bound to their mother's home, since the father had nowhere he could call his own any more. *Myene* themselves would sometimes marry slaves. The children from such a marriage could not inherit the throne.<sup>211</sup> But this was only a relative hardship: formally speaking any children born before accession could not inherit the throne either.

Katambula's account does seem to be somewhat affected by contemporary rejection of slavery and the attempt to deny African part responsibility for it: although she denies that slaves were *sold* by Nkoya *Myene*, other sources however claim that this did happen. War captives were sold by Nkoya *Myene* in exchange for gunpowder, guns and cloth, and in this context the Mbundu and Swahili middlemen are explicitly mentioned.<sup>212</sup>

The three statuses of domestic worker, pawn and commodity are all covered by the same Nkoya term: *ndungo*. *Likota lya Bankoya* does acknowledge the distinct pawnship pattern in passing: a domestic servant of the early Lady Mwene Likambi Mange is said to have been a *shiyumba*, 'human pawn' (10: 7); but that term is far from common. What seems to be involved here is a gradual transformation (under the impact of state formation and peripheral mercantile capitalism) of a more original, pre-state form of pawnship, into both domestic slavery and slave trading, after which the three types lived on, one superimposed upon, and shading over into, the other (cf. Douglas 1964; Roberts 1976). A rigorous distinction between the three forms appears to honour contemporary academic sensitivities more than historical patterns.

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<sup>209</sup> Oral source [3] 19.11.1973. According to Holub, the Nkoya were among several local ethnic groups allowing a husband to sell his wife into slavery (Holy 1975: 124).

<sup>210</sup> Oral source [6].

<sup>211</sup> Oral source [6]; also [18] 13.10.1977.

<sup>212</sup> Oral source [18] 13.10.1977.

In surrounding groups a similar pattern obtained. To the few archival sources discussed above, on slave-raiding and the slave trade on the Hook of the Kafue around 1900, we could easily add scores of similar references from the Gielgud-Anderson expedition alone. The same holds for the region north and northeast of Nkoyaland, which in the nineteenth century was the arena of slaving and trade operations by the Kaonde,<sup>213</sup> Yeke, Mambari and Swahili. The role of slavery among the Ila is discussed by Tuden (1958). The role of slaves in the Lozi state, whose economy also largely revolved on them, was analysed by Clarence-Smith (1979; also cf. Frankenberg 1978). And although slavery was abolished as part of the later agreements between the Lozi Litunga and the colonial administration,<sup>214</sup> the colonial files abound with documents on slavery in Barotseland including Mankoya district up to the late 1930s.<sup>215</sup>

It is especially at the Nkoya *zinkena* that accusations of having slave ancestry have been standard elements in verbal disputes to this very

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213 Cf. Melland 1967. In an extensive discussion of the ethnic composition of Mankoya district, 1935, the District Commissioner pointed out the existence, in the district, of 30-40 Kaonde villages, while the Kaonde do not have a chief in this district. 'The Kasempa/Mankoya boundary therefore cuts off this small outpost of Bakaonde raiders from their tribe. But it is unlikely that they want to go back to Kasempa.' District Commissioner Mankoya to Provincial Commissioner Mongu, 30.4.1935, 'Tribal boundaries', Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35.

214 Stokes 1966; Gann 1958, 1964.

215 Zambia National Archives, enclosures in Zambia National Archives, KSX 1/1/1 Mankoya correspondence 1931-35. Also see U1/2 Slavery. Among the enclosures are letters from the Assistant Magistrate Namwala to Native Commissioner Nalolo, 1917, concerning two slaves who had fled from Barotseland and had subsequently settled in Namwala without the required removal permit.

'One of the slaves hails from Kayingo [Kayingu]. (...) Both state they would never be allowed to return to their original homes unless they paid the slave owners compensation' etc. (Assistant Magistrate Namwala to Native Commissioner Nalolo, 1917, enclosures No. N351/2.0/1917, 30.6.1917).

Also in the same file is a letter from 1917 in which the Native Commissioner Mankoya posed the question:

'If a so-called slave left his owner without payment of £2, and (as sometimes happens) the owner comes to ask me if I can retrieve that slave, I should be glad to know if I have the power to do this? I take it that the request of the Paramount Chief that I should punish all unauthorized removals would cover this' etc.

The Native Commissioner, in other words, seemed quite willing to oblige and act on the slave-owner's behalf. Native Commissioner Mankoya to Resident Magistrate Mongu, 24.10.1917; enclosure in Zambia National Archives, U1/2 Slavery. He was flatly rebuked by the Resident Magistrate Mongu: Resident Magistrate Mongu to Native Commissioner Mankoya: 2.11.1917, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, U1/2 Slavery.

day. Being from slave stock, or being considered as such, carries an enormous stigma in this region (as in many other parts of South Central Africa).<sup>216</sup> It is not something one readily discusses in writing. It is therefore perfectly understandable that Shimunika limited his references to a few instances when a slave or human pawn was paid for compensation, or to broad general statements like

‘The Kabompo of whom people say:

‘‘The Kabompo has many canoes  
Just like the Mwene has many slaves,’’

because the Mwene does have many slaves. The explanation of this expression is that here in the Land of Nkoya there are two things truly plentiful: the Kabompo with its canoes, and the Mwene with his subjects.’ (10: 1f)

His main reason to refrain from a discussion of slavery is of course the fact, so central in the argument of *Likota lya Bankoya*, that the Lozi people consider the Nkoya to have been their slaves (56: 1f). Shimunika passionately denies any truth to this allegation, and so do other oral sources from the area.<sup>217</sup> Obviously, at the point in the construction of their ethnic identity the Nkoya had reached at the time of my research in the 1970s they could simply not afford to admit that there was an element of truth in the Lozi view of inter-ethnic relations.

However, the Lozi claim is not so easily dismissed. Holub uninhibitedly speaks of

‘the king’s slaves, i.e. those subjugated (e.g. Masupia [Subiya], Mankoë [Nkoya] etc.)’ (Holub 1879: 70; my translation).

Also Selous (1893: 249) mentions the Lozi’s ‘slave tribes’. And these statements are not merely European impositions. One of my most trusted informants not only admitted that Nkoya slaves went to Lealui, but described in detail how his own brother underwent such a fate, as late as the 1910s.<sup>218</sup> One archival source is quite explicit concerning a similar event in the same period:

‘...the following information was given to me by Messengers who had been making a tour of the Western border:

‘‘Two Barotse named Mutoka and Sinamali had visited Kahali’s [Kahare’s] village in Mankoya subdistrict and had demanded tribute 10/- from the headman Kahali and tribute from others of the village according to their means in the name of Yeta for

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<sup>216</sup> For a comparative perspective, cf. Miller 1981.

<sup>217</sup> E.g. oral source [15].

<sup>218</sup> Oral source [8].

Lewanika's Funeral Tributes. Kahali and many of his people paid according to demand. *But those who could not were taken by these two Barotse to villages to the West there they were exchanged for the required tribute — remaining, apparently, as slaves or to work off the debt...*'<sup>219</sup>

When the matter was further investigated

'No evidence was to be obtained of the rumoured slave-taking. Perhaps something more of this could be obtained from Mutonga, a village headman in Mankoya. There are said to have been some transactions between or about Silama and Nianike of his village.'<sup>220</sup>

The detailed statements by the witnesses, besides mentioning names which are still those of village headmen in the Kahare area, give a good impression of the type of tribute Nkoya courts used to pay to Lealui, and of the distribution of wealth within the local society — but they fail to confirm the original statement that triggered the investigation:

'I saw the Barotse (...) They asked for pots — iron saucepans of the whiteman and skins. Kahali [Kahare] said he had no money but they could take a lion skin and a pot. And Kangombe and Livumina each gave them a pot. Mukotoka gave a shell (= *mpande*). And the youths of the village gave skins. I was present at Kumbula's [Nkumbula's] village when Sikasakala killed an ox for the Indunas and also gave them a cow for Kumbula who was absent. And Kumbula's people also paid tribute in pots and skins. *I did not see any men taken because they had no goods to give.*'<sup>221</sup>

The statement by the second witness is remarkably similar:

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<sup>219</sup> Anon. (probably Acting Magistrate Mwendwa District) to Tagart, Secretary Native Affairs, Livingstone, 29.7.1919, letter 242/1.F/'19, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, ZA 1/13 Barotse influence; my italics.

<sup>220</sup> Acting Magistrate to Secretary of Native Affairs, 20.9.1919, 'Barotse exactions', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, ZA 1/13 Barotse influence. Nianika is probably Yanika — Mwene Kahare Mpelembe was his close matrilineal relative, which made Yanika an eligible — but unsuccessful — pretender to the Kahare throne; Yanika is still the title of a village headman on the Njonjolo near the Kahare *lukena*. Mutonga was a close affine of Mpelembe, and is likewise still a headman title on the Njonjolo. The name of Silama I have not been able to trace.

<sup>221</sup> Acting Magistrate to Secretary of Native Affairs, 20.9.1919, 'Barotse exaction: *Statement by Chipazo*', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, ZA 1/13 Barotse influence; my italics. The witness is said to be from Kahare's village, but I have failed to identify him. The then Livumina was the heir to Shamamano's brother of that name. For Kangombe, see below, diagram 6 and discussion there. Livumina, Mukotoka and Nkumbula (= Simuliankumba) are still headman titles on the Njonjolo; I have not been able to identify Sikasakala.



'About 6 months ago<sup>222</sup> I was visiting at Kahali's [Kahare's] village. (...) Three Barotse who said they were indunas bearing the word of Lewanika [Yeta]. Their names were Mutoka, Sinamali and Chilambeka (...) to collect funeral tribute for the deceased Lewanika. They took from Kahali a lion skin and an iron pot of European manufacture. Kangombe gave them a European pot. Mukotoka a shell, Livumina a European pot. These things I saw given to them. Younger men who had no pots paid tribute in small skins. At Kumbula's [Nkumbula's] village close to Kahali — Kumbula was absent — they told Kumbula's son to kill an ox for them — and this he (Sikasakala) did — and the 'Indunas' ate the meat, [appropriating] also a beast to take, iron pots and skins. *I do not know anything about these indunas taking away any men who had no goods to give them.*'<sup>223</sup>

However, the important issue is not whether slaves were taken by the Lozi on that particular occasion in 1919, but that at that late date such taking was still considered so likely that it deserved ample investigation. We can safely assume that in the second half of the nineteenth century, and well into the twentieth century, slaves were part and parcel of the tribute relations between Nkoya *zinkena* and the Lozi state.

*bias in the treatment of firearms?*

One is tempted to interpret Shimunika's treatment of firearms in the light of his systematic biases. While praising the Nkoya's skills of fighting and hunting, *Likota lya Bankoya* consistently mentions poisoned arrows as their main weapons. Firearms are mentioned only twice: in a twentieth-century context (53: 1) and as part of a compensatory payment made by Shamamano to Mwene Kayingu (43: 6). Nowadays firearms function as paraphernalia of traditional office, among both royal *Myene* and headmen, and they have constituted labour migrants' principle investment for retirement. Only three decades after the imposition of colonial rule as many as 1,157 firearms were registered in the district.<sup>224</sup> The preponderance of muzzle-loaders among this number suggests that most of these guns were not

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<sup>222</sup> The present statement is dated 8.9.1919.

<sup>223</sup> Acting Magistrate to Secretary of Native Affairs, 20.9.1919, 'Barotse exactions: *Statement by Liboma*', enclosure in Zambia National Archives, ZA 1/13 Barotse influence; this witness is said to be from Lishimbika's, Mwengwa, on which I have no data. My italics.

<sup>224</sup> Barotse Annual Report 1932, enclosure in Zambia National Archives ZA/7/1/15/2; of this number, 22 were modern rifles, and 1,135 were muzzle-loading guns. The district population at the time was 35,311, which means one gun to every five or six men above thirty years of age!

purchased outside from the proceeds of labour migration during the colonial period, but dated from before 1900. Clay related how Kaonde raids were withstood within the fortified *lukena* of Mwene Mutondo, 'shooting with *guns*, bows and arrows' (Clay 1945: 14; my italics). Other sources<sup>225</sup> claim that there were gun manufacturers among the Nkoya; still others however maintain (at variance with *Likota Iya Bankoya*) that the Nkoya had no blacksmiths and had to import iron implements from the Totela (Miracle 1959).

The Nkoya people whom Capello and Ivens came across near the Kabompo/Zambezi confluence in 1884 were those of an otherwise undocumented '*Muene Chingocella*'. They had no firearms:

'This narrow corner of the lands of Ianvo [Mwaat Yaamv] to the east is pressed against an area occupied by a tribe of horrible appearance, with no fire-arms but only spears and bows; we were told they are called the Mangoia [Nkoya]. Here we made a short-cut with the intention of reaching the Kabompo at a higher longitude than [i.e. east of] [Mwene] Chilembi, avoiding as quickly as possible the tsetse fly and the muddy banks of other [rivers]...' (Capello & Ivens 1886, i: 419; my translation).

These Nkoya, although near Mwene Chilembi's Lunda outpost, were clearly under Lozi rule: a minor local Mwene met the expedition in Nkoya style, with his retinue in single file headed by his orchestra, and claimed allegiance to

'Mwene Oianda, the brother of Lobossi [Lubosi Lewanika I] of the Genji [Mwenyi, i.e. Lozi]' (Capello & Ivens 1886, i: 419; my translation).

Nearly 200 kilometres upstream along the Kabompo the expedition came across *caçadores Vam-Booé*, i.e. 'hunters identifying by the ethnic label of Mbowe'. This group's scanty coverage in the literature<sup>226</sup> stresses hunting and affinities with 'the Luba language', and although they do not feature in the lists of Nkoya subgroups and clans this is where they probably belong. Although Capello and Ivens suggest, for the Mbowe, an affinity with the *Luinas* (i.e. Luena: Luvale and Mbunda), the use of the plural personal prefix *ba-*, and fragmentary ethnographic details also point in the Nkoya direction: teeth filed to a pointed shape, tobacco addiction, insertion of a large bead in the *labia maiora*, tying down of women's breasts. These Mbowe were clearly not without firearms, since their Mwene Kaheta charged the explorers, who were starving for vegetable food after weeks of a carnivorous diet,

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<sup>225</sup> E.g. Mr Dickson K. Makiyi, *Nkoya history — Kaoma, Western Province, Zambia*, 58 pp., manuscript in my possession.

<sup>226</sup> Brelsford 1965: 12, 18, 34 and references cited there.

twelve Snider cartridges for a handful of groundnuts (Capello & Ivens 1886, i: 443f).<sup>227</sup>

The limited data are contradictory. At any rate, it is well established that — despite the general paucity of firearms in much of Zambia in the nineteenth century (Roberts 1971) — in the second half of the nineteenth century some of the enemies of the Nkoya possessed firearms, and one would be tempted to attribute the downfall of Nkoya states partly to a relative disadvantage in this respect. In that case the paucity of firearms among the Nkoya, as implied by Shimunika, would reflect a historical reality.

A case in point is the rendering, by the Kasempa District Commissioner Copeman in the first decade of this century, of Chief Kasempa's account of the military operation which caused Mwene Kahare to give up the *lukena* in Kayimbu, on the spot where throughout the twentieth century Kasempa boma has been situated:

'Chief Kasempa came to pay his respects (...) [He] has crossed into Northern Rhodesia with most of his people. Here he encountered the Mankoya whose chief Kahari [Kahare] had his kraal on the site of the present Kasempa, and after a fight drove them some two hundred miles to the south into what is now the Mankoya district. Lewanika, who was Kahari's suzerain, then sent a force to deal with Kasempa, but owing to the superiority of the Kaonde in guns it was forced to retire.'<sup>228</sup> (...) At this time the western portion of the Kasempa district was the happy hunting ground of the Mambunda or Mambari, half-caste Portuguese traders of guns, powder and slaves.'<sup>229</sup>

227 In the main text of their book, nor on the map of the relevant section of their itinerary (1886, i: opposite 333), Capello & Ivens offer hardly any more information relating to the Nkoya. We would of course have hoped the Lukwakwa *lukena* to be identified along the Maniinga, but no locality is mentioned except, c. 70 km from the Kabompo/Maniinga confluence, the capital named *M'Pire*; the main ethnic groups marked alongside *M'Pire* are *Man-Bunda* [Mbunda] and *Ba-Lui* [Lozi], which tallies with Sipopa's association with Lukwakwa (cf. Mutumba Mainga 1973: *passim*), but is not enough to identify *M'Pire* with the Lukwakwa *lukena* of *Likota Iya Bankoya* (31: 1f and Appendix 7). Other ethnic groups along Capello & Ivens's itinerary near Nkoyaland are *Amboella* [Mbwela] (notably the locations *Canganhama*, 40 km east of the Zambezi/Kabompo confluence, and *Furumana*, 90 km upstream from the Kabompo/Maniinga confluence). However, their only ethnographic description of Mbwela refers to eastern Angola (Capello & Ivens 1886, i: 267f). Finally relevant for our present context is that the ethnic group of the *Ba-Sanga* [Sanga] is indicated, on the sources of the Mulando, Kamikamo, Kabako: tributaries of the Lunga river; the Sanga (cf. Brelsford 1965: 59, 122) are most likely the ultimate referents of the Nkoya toponym *Wushanga*, 'Shangaland' or more appropriately 'Sangaland', although the Nkoya situate this area much more to the south (cf. diagram 15a).

228 Obviously, this is the Kaonde war also mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (37: 1; 41f).

229 Zambia National Archives, CO 3/4/2, box 6 of Copeman's papers. There is still a village of gravekeepers near Kasempa, attending to the grave of

By the same token, the Gielgud-Anderson expedition revealed the abundance of firearms in the Hook of the Kafue and surrounding areas, particularly to the northeast. Gielgud refers to a Mr Lewis, working for the Bulawayo Mining Company, and living on the Kafue, who

‘also speaks of the activity of slave traders in his vicinity, about Kayimbu’s,<sup>230</sup> and the great quantity of powder and guns they have already brought and are bringing into the country. Mr Lewis’s camp is not so far from the junction of the Lukanga and Kafue...’<sup>231</sup>

Somewhat later Gielgud discusses the

‘natives to the East, in the vicinity of Lukanga and Kafue junction who are under Mombari [Mambari] influence and appear to be what can be concisely termed “a hard lot”. (...) I am at present of the opinion that when it is decided to establish an effectual government post in the Hook of the Kafue, to make it effective it will be found necessary to station military police here...’<sup>232</sup>

‘One of the most beneficial measures that could be taken in this country would be the disarmament of the natives.’<sup>233</sup>

But there is a snag here. Above we have already discussed some of the relevant references in the Gielgud-Anderson reports, and they reveal that around 1900 not only the enemies of the Nkoya, but also a Nkoya *Mwene* like Kabulwebulwe, and a Nkoya-related trader like Kapandula, possessed impressive quantities of guns.

Shimunika’s descriptions of the military aspects of Nkoya states in the nineteenth century do have, in their absence of firearms, a consistency which cannot easily be dismissed. Even when he describes how the first colonial officer enters the Mutondo *lukena*, he makes a point of stating that the *Mwene* meets this representative of the new

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‘Kahare-with-One-Hair’; oral source [2]. The flight from Kasempa is also discussed in many other sources, including Smith & Dale (1920); Melland 1967; Chibanza 1961; below we shall come back to this topic.

230 Note that here this word is used as the name of a headman or chief on the Kafue, and not (as in *Likota Iya Bankoya*) as a toponym denoting the area of the latterday Kasempa boma.

231 Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 21.11.1900, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

232 Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 26.1.1901, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 1/1 Mumbwa outletters [copy of reports Gielgud-Anderson Hook of the Kafue expedition — cf. Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93].

233 Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 14.10.1900, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

political order not with his royal guns, but with a ceremonial bow and arrow! When ownership of the land had to assert itself in the face of rival claims on the part of the colonial power, guns are either truly absent or (because of their recent introduction?) fail to meet the symbolic requirements of the situation:

‘When the Mwene saw the Whiteman entering the capital, Mwene Mutondo came forward with his drums and his bow, and with many people, men as well as women. 2 He came to formally welcome Mubushishi; and when Mubushishi saw that the Mwene had brought his drums and xylophones and his bow, Mubushishi was greatly pleased. 3 He asked the Mwene:

‘Mwene, shoot with your bow so that we can see it.’

Mwene Mutondo Wahila then shot an arrow into a tree, before the eyes of Mubushishi.’ (51: 1f)

Another source claims:

‘The people had no firearms, only spears, when Shipungu and Kamotwe were still living in Wushanga, under the name of Mashasha, before they were chased by the Kaonde.’<sup>234</sup>

One interpretation could be that the firearms were in fact there, but that Shimunika’s desire to depict the Nkoya as innocent victims of Lozi expansion did not allow him to describe the Nkoya as equally well equipped; but this is unconvincing, since he repeatedly boasts of the effectiveness of Nkoya poisoned arrows, and (as translator of the Old Testament) is not exactly prone to prudishly denouncing violence in general.

A more likely explanation is arrived at when we take the geopolitics of the situation into account. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the Mutondo *lukena* was effectively incorporated in a network of tribute centred on Lealui (50: 4f). This certainly limited, as from that point in time, the Nkoya opportunities to engage in long-distance trade.

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<sup>234</sup> Oral source [11]. Also for Holub a superior type of bow and arrows was — along with matted hair — the hallmark of Nkoya-ness, and a main item of Nkoya regional trade: Holy 1975: 5, 184f, 191 and *passim*.

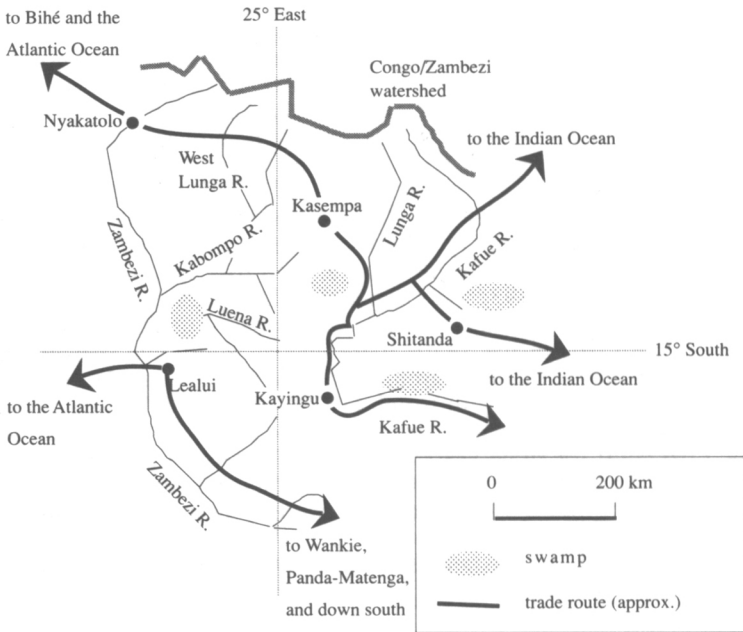


Diagram 5. Approximate trade routes in central western Zambia, second half of the nineteenth century<sup>235</sup>

The Lozi state was relatively closed to the Mambari and Swahili traders. The slave trade to the Atlantic and Indian coast which prevailed at the fringes of the Lozi state and outside, in Barotseland had its counterpart in the flow of slaves from the outlying areas to the Zambezi flood plain where they provided the labour essential for the Lozi economy. In addition to the direct west-east trade route to Lealui, there was a more northerly one which bypassed Barotseland and met with the trade route from the east, via the Kafue, in the capital of Mwene Kayingu, just outside the Lozi sphere of influence (cf. diagram 5). Such trade goods as the Nkoya *Myene* under effective Lozi control could none the less obtain, were likely to be subsequently claimed as tribute and whisked off to the centre of the Lozi empire. Guns were items of wealth *par excellence*, and it would be little surprising if only

<sup>235</sup> Sources include: Burton 1873; Capello & Ivens (1886, i: 397f); Flint 1970; Director 1964; Holub (1879: 166f); Serpa Pinto (1881); Smith & Dale (1920, i: 47, n. 1); Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare, map collection: [114] BSACo. Territories (1901), and AC Rhodesia (1895).

a few of them arrived and fewer still were retained in the *zinkena* of Mutondo and Kahare. Holub (1879: 174) sees the firearms in Barotseland as concentrated in the hands of the state elite and of the groups on the banks of the Zambezi; these groups he specifically enumerates, and of course the Nkoya, who live up-country, are not included. Selous (1893: 237) comments on the paucity of firearms among the Ila at the time (1880s), as compared to their abundance among the Lozi. In the 1870s there was an additional reason why firearms should be extracted from the tributary *zinkena* to the centre of the Lozi state: according to Holub (1879: 171f), after Sipopa's death (1876) most of his guns were thrown into the Zambezi, which<sup>236</sup> denied the Lozi court for some years the principal means of procuring ivory for trade. Remarkably, guns were not among the many specifically enumerated articles of wealth that were claimed as Lewanika's funerary tribute at Kahare's *lukena* in 1919 (see above). Guns were even absent at the distant Kayimbu *lukena* which, by several accounts,<sup>237</sup> was well under Lozi influence until the advent of the Kaonde.

In the light of this evidence we can partly reconcile the contradiction between the paucity of guns according to Shimunika, and the abundance of guns at the Hook of the Kafue also in the hands of the Nkoya Mwene Kabulwebulwe: Kabulwebulwe was on the very edge of the Lozi sphere of influence, at the eastern boundary of Lewanika's sphere of influence which has been subject to considerable academic discussion.<sup>238</sup> The extent to which this boundary created ambiguities can also be gauged from Gielgud's reports:

'The above remarks [on the relative lawlessness of the Hook of the Kafue society] do not apply so much to the people living in the neighbourhood of my camp (...) who being on the boundary with the Barotse have a better idea of a centralized form of government.'<sup>239</sup>

On the other hand, the Ila in the same area were practically outside Lozi control:

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<sup>236</sup> Apart from representing a massive destruction of royal wealth whose parallel in Nkoya royal funerary practices would be the burial alive of royal slaves: a slave was thought of as equivalent to a gun.

<sup>237</sup> Cf. the above archival source on Chief Kasempa, and *Likota Iya Bankoya* (29: 1f); also cf. Shaloff 1972.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Coillard 1971; Mutumba Mainga 1973; Prins 1980. Cf. E.M. Shimantale, 'The history of the Mbwela people', photocopy of typescript of an interview by J.K. Rennie, 6 pp., s.l., 1976, author's collection; Shimantale claims that Kabulwebulwe only came under Lozi control after settling at Mayukuyulo-'Makuji', an island in the Kafue river, shortly before 1900.

<sup>239</sup> Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 14.10.1900, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

‘the Abatshukulumbwi [Mashukulumbwe], although perfectly friendly,<sup>240</sup> shewed in their behaviour a marked contrast to their neighbours above mentioned (...). I feel convinced that he [the Abatshukulumbwi, sing.] does not believe or is ever able to conceive that the white man will be able or even attempt to enforce a new regime in his country and refuses to regard him seriously. This I am of opinion (*sic*) also partly arises from the fact that a section of the Abatshukulumbwi nation after three years indecisive fighting tendered submission to Lewanika who has however been content with receiving a nominal tribute of skins and no attempt to govern them has been made, the Barotse, I imagine, fearing to provoke further hostilities.’<sup>241</sup>

The situation was unclear, and shifting. Only a few years later the colonial officer Nicholls was to report on Kabulwebulwe’s area that

‘Every man possesses a gun and is a hunter, and a good deal of the ivory which finds its way to Lealui comes from the Bankoya.’<sup>242</sup>

In other words, there were guns, but the local people were subservient to Lozi overlordship none the less.

What appeared to be a bias on Shimunika’s part, most likely is a faithful rendering of the historical situation concerning the distribution of firearms, even if the underlying causes escape Shimunika’s awareness.

### *Shimunika as a laudator temporis (colonialis) acti*

At first glance, the image of Nkoya society as evoked by *Likota Iya Bankoya* is one-sided: not only in its emphasis on dynastic history (as if the precolonial past, especially the early nineteenth century, was the only time when the Nkoya really lived and commanded respect) but also in its suggestion of essential continuity between the nineteenth and the twentieth century, as if the advent of colonialism and capitalism did not produce a total transformation which in fact dealt a formidable blow to Nkoya culture and Nkoya political institutions. Colonialism and the English language form positive reference points in *Likota Iya*

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<sup>240</sup> Ironically, within a few years the Ila would stage a minor uprising leading to bloodshed among the local Europeans; Rotberg 1967: 73f.

<sup>241</sup> Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 26.1.1901, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 1/1 Mumbwa outletters (copy of reports of Gielgud-Anderson Hook of the Kafue expedition — cf. Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93).

<sup>242</sup> G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], ‘Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district’, 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — Some important papers.



*Bankoya*, association with which is thought to enhance prestige. On closer scrutiny however the treatment of the colonial period is more adequate than the limited space allotted to it would suggest; moreover, there is in this respect a simple division of labour between *Likota lya Bankoya* and the earlier pamphlet *Muhumpu*, half of which is devoted to neo-traditional political conflicts in the colonial period. Within these limitations, the colonial administration and the changing patterns of economic circulation through the creation of trading stores can be said to be reflected in the argument of *Likota lya Bankoya*. The fact that the author takes the colonial life-world for granted and makes it his principal frame of reference is of course not conducive to an analysis of the radical transformation of Nkoya political institutions under colonial rule. But the disrupting influence of labour migration (for many decades the Nkoya's principal source of cash) is eloquently stated (chapters 51 and 52). The main omission appears to concern cash crops, whose cultivation however gained some impetus (mainly in the western part of the district) after World War II, outside the period covered by the book.

*male sexist bias?*

Along with a larger number of male informants, Shimunika explicitly mentioned a number of women as sources for *Likota lya Bankoya*; of other named informants it is said that they married a chief's daughter, implying that this fact enhanced their value as a historical source. Shimunika thus implicitly acknowledges the importance of the female perspective for Nkoya history. On the other hand, he shares in the male perspective of Nkoya *Wene* which leads to such distortion and translation difficulties in the face of the predominance of women among early *Myene*, and nowhere in his account he explicitly raises the question as to why presentday *Myene* should be all male.

When I questioned him personally on this point at Luampa Mission in 1977,<sup>243</sup> his only answer was the story of the male incumbent of the Kahare kingship who took over from his mother when people suddenly and to their dismay realized that the chief's drums had to be silent when the female *Mwene* was menstruating... It took me hours of arguing before even a fine historical mind like Shimunika was prepared to accept (and even then only perfunctorily?) that, since female *Myene* had always menstruated, this explanation of the shift to male kingship was hardly convincing, and that behind the mythical explanation lay historical changes of a political, economic, military and ideological nature — such as we shall explore in chapters 5 and 6.

Another indication of Shimunika's male bias is the complete absence, in *Likota lya Bankoya*, of any references to female puberty rites which form, however, a very central institution of Nkoya society, the

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<sup>243</sup> Oral source [22].

very basis of female identity, solidarity, symbolism and power, and whose history appears to be older than state formation in western Zambia.<sup>244</sup> In view of the very liberal treatment of other non-Christian elements in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, however despised and persecuted by Christianity, it is unlikely that the omission of female initiation ritual from *Likota Iya Bankoya* is due to any Christian prejudice. Instead, other systematic factors influencing Shimunika's perception and historical argument are involved here. Perhaps that for ideological reasons deriving from the aristocratic perspective and the insistence on ethnic unity in the face of the *local commoner/immigrant ruler* opposition, Shimunika could not afford to enter into his historical account the totality of contemporary Nkoya culture (assuming that female initiation belongs to the 'local-commoner' pole of the opposition), but had to concentrate on such elements as could be accommodated in the perspective of male-centred dynastic history. I shall come back to this selectivity in chapter 6, where I attempt to develop a systematic, structuralist-inspired method to retrieve the historical information from *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

I would maintain that although *Likota Iya Bankoya* does provide remarkable insights into the female dimension of Nkoya kingship in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the relevant information has crept in *despite* the author's male bias. Rev. Shimunika was in every respect as much a supporter of male dominance as contemporary Nkoya culture and Christianity allowed him to be. His text was written for totally different purposes than stating the case for female rights past or present. This state of affairs could only enhance the value of such glimpses of female power as are to be found in his book, but of course does not facilitate our task of decoding these bits of information. Whatever vision of gender relations crept in, must be attributed to unconscious mechanisms stemming from the author's subconsciously sharing in the Nkoya culture and collective historical experience.

Thus the historical criticism of *Likota Iya Bankoya* yields an uneven, but by and large positive assessment of Rev. Shimunika as a historian. His historiographic techniques have their weaknesses, but these can be detected and compensated for. His intentions lead to specific identifiable biases, but other biases that lie well in the line of expectation are reasonably avoided, and his handling of the data never becomes totally determined by them. Although clearly not a professional contribution to academic historiography, *Likota Iya Bankoya* is genuinely historical and could not be considered as merely an empty expression of ethnic,

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<sup>244</sup> Considering both oral sources at my disposal, and the extremely wide distribution of this institution all over South Central Africa — including the pre-Lunda, Tonga-Ila substratum. In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, female *Myene* are obliquely associated with fish symbolism. Fish taboos dominate presentday Nkoya menarche and female puberty training. This suggests some historical link, through intermediate symbolic transformations, between female *Myene* and female puberty rites, but the precise nature of this link requires further research.

aristocratic and sexist preconceptions. It deserves to be taken seriously. But there is still a more fundamental test which *Likota Iya Bankoya* is now to undergo.

### **3.4. The ultimate test: the confrontation of *Likota Iya Bankoya* with unprocessed oral data from central western Zambia**

If in the course of this chapter we have identified Shimunika's method and possible biases, and have reached the conclusion that he shows himself to be a genuine historian of remarkably sound judgment even if sometimes given to biases and literary excursions, there remains of course one final test to which we should subject the material presented in *Likota Iya Bankoya*: the wealth of unprocessed oral data from central western Zambia and surrounding areas. Shimunika was shown to be careful, dextrous and rather consistent in the handling of his raw oral data — enabling us for instance to draw skeleton genealogies on the basis of his discursive text, yet without over-stressing and over-streamlining the data from various kingships and subgroups. But even the most intelligent handling of data cannot in itself change the nature and the quality of these data. Therefore it is useful to reconsider, in this section, the type of data that served Shimunika as his raw materials.

Remaining within the overall argument of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, one of the results of such a confrontation could be greater historical precision, particularly where sensitive issues are concerned. Above we have already seen how the sketchy treatment of slavery in the book can be much enlightened by the considerable evidence on nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century slavery in raw oral data. Similarly, the oral traditions help us to interpret specific details in the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*. For instance, the fact that the phrase *ka matunga* features in the praise-name not only of Kayambila but also of Kabimba, and then is specifically explained as an expression of territorial control,<sup>245</sup> rules out the possible interpretation of *ka matunga* as a parental epithet ('son of Matunga').

More important is that an appraisal of the nature and quality of the historical information in raw oral data from central western Zambia can help us to pinpoint the extent, and the limits, of historical information in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. Shimunika spent a lifetime collecting oral evidence, rethinking the history of central western Zambia, and building, out of it, the history which that newly-emerging ethnic group, the Nkoya, needed most. What qualitative changes did the material undergo under his hands? Is the relative convergence and consistence as found in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, a reflection of the historical potential as contained in the unprocessed sources, or simply the result of Shimunika's intellectual efforts?

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<sup>245</sup> Oral source [1].

The nature of the problem is contained in the following amusing passage from Ernest Brown's excellent study of Nkoya music:

'Once while visiting [the *lukena* of Mwene Mutondo] (...) I asked, "Who was the first chief of the Nkoya?" Present were the chief's Prime Minister, some of the royal musicians, a translator, and a Mr Shaukalo, an excellent singer from another village who had travelled there to record some songs with the royal musicians earlier in the day. Mr Shaukalo owned a copy of the Nkoya history written by Reverend Shimunika.<sup>246</sup> When I posed my question, at the same instant Mr Shaukalo said, "Libupe," while the Prime Minister said, "Shihoka." Then Mr Shaukalo left, saying that if the others were going to promote incorrect history, he could not be part of it and would have to leave, which he did. The difference of opinion on this point is very real and it is very widespread within Nkoya society. If Nkoya society was originally decentralized, much like Lozi society was, this difference of opinion might reflect the existence of rival centers of political power among the Nkoya.' (Brown 1984: 99f)

Making a creative and illuminating use of such generalizations on Nkoya history and society as are contained in my earlier publications, Brown (1984: 100f) pinpoints the large amount of divergence in Nkoya royal traditions and genealogies, and explains such convergence as occurs after the establishment of the Mutondo dynasty (starting with Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha) by the increasing political centralization:

*'These oral traditions are themselves part of systems of symbols tied to the political and economic relationships existing at specific points in time. Therefore, the high degree of correspondence may be a reflection of the political unification of the Nkoya people. The above differences in Nkoya royal traditions seem to reflect ancient political cleavages within Nkoya society.'* (Brown 1984: 101; my italics)

It is important to realize that with Mwene Shinkisha we are well into the nineteenth century — that Mwene's reign would have been sometime around 1830. This would mean that before that period, Nkoya royal traditions are so contradictory as to be devoid of specific historical information — unless we could manage to reconstruct the cleavages in Nkoya society before 1830, and on the basis of that reconstruction decode the contemporary contradictory evidence by compensating for group bias.

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<sup>246</sup> Probably *Muhumpu*, since *Likota Iya Bankoya* had not yet been published. *Muhumpu* was indeed circulating at the village level in Kaoma district in the 1970s. Note that this is another instance of recycling!

My own oral historical research corroborates Brown's views,<sup>247</sup> and makes me very pessimistic as to the possibility to use the area's oral traditions referring to periods before the second quarter of the nineteenth century for the reconstruction of specific historical information — names, events, in short for anything but the most generalized pattern of political and economic structural relationships.

While Brown's oral-historical research concentrated on the Mutondo dynasty, mine did on the Kahare line. My informants in this connexion were mainly people in eastern Kaoma district, or inhabitants of Lusaka but originating from that part of the district. In general genealogical knowledge among these eastern Nkoya, or Mashasha, did not go back further than one or two generations immediately preceding Mwene Kahare Shamamano, who died on the Kamano river, just east of Kaoma district, in 1913. The parents of Shamamano and of his brothers Shibanda, Livumina, Shalunganda, his sister Nahonge, and others, were Mishengo Kabambi, male, and Mutolwa or Mutolo. From that generation down to the present, genealogical information is in general fragmented, but fairly consistent. Above that generation, however, the genealogies do little but offer *free permutations and variations of virtually all possible genealogical links between a handful of protagonists* (such as Shihoka, Manenga, Shakalongo, Kahare), often with less well-known characters thrown in who feature prominently in the contemporary informant's own specific family traditions without having attained general historical significance throughout the district.

A typical genealogy of this sort is presented in diagram 6 below. The informant himself is a collateral descendant of Kangombe.<sup>248</sup> We see how Kapeshi, in line with the centrality of the Ladder story as discussed above, is placed at the apex of the royal genealogy, and both the Kahare and the Mutondo line (with four major *Myene* of the late eighteenth/ early nineteenth century) are combined in one elegant genealogical statement: through the figure of Shihoka.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> It has to be admitted that Brown (1984) is not a totally independent study from mine in this respect that much of his view on precolonial Nkoya society is based on, duly acknowledged, passages in my own publications on the subject.

<sup>248</sup> Because of slave connotations of part of his ancestry information as to the exact genealogical link was not volunteered but had to be ascertained from other sources.

<sup>249</sup> A similar argument is repeated in the same informant's contribution to the group interview with the Royal Council of Mwene Kahare, oral source [18] 13.10.1977. Incidentally, [16] is the one occasion in my oral sources that Mwene Shikanda was claimed to have been male, contrary to my reconstructions in chapter 2.

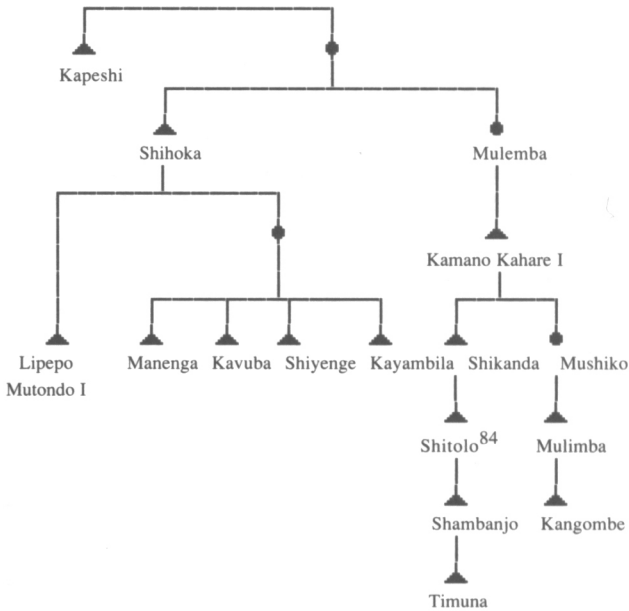


Diagram 6. One oral source's genealogy of Nkoya Myene.<sup>251</sup>

Genealogical convergence of the Kahare and the Mutondo kingships is also found in the modern official version of Nkoya royal history, as compiled at the district headquarters on the basis of information made available to the District Secretary by the royal councils of Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare, and represented in diagram 7.<sup>252</sup>

In other genealogies, Shakalongo is made into the mother's brother of Shihoka so as to express the former's seniority.<sup>253</sup> In yet another variant,<sup>254</sup> an otherwise unknown Lady Mwene Tete<sup>255</sup> is called upon to form the apex of a genealogy once again uniting most protagonists into one genealogical scheme as in diagram 8.

<sup>250</sup> Most probably equivalent to Mutolwa or Mutolo.

<sup>251</sup> Oral source [16].

<sup>252</sup> District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 10.5.1974, Kaoma district files, ADM/12 'Chiefs and headmen'.

<sup>253</sup> E.g. oral source [14].

<sup>254</sup> Oral source [20].

<sup>255</sup> Perhaps her name lives on in that of the headman Mwanatete, one of the unrecognized Nkoya chief's titles now subject to petitioning for official state recognition and promotion to full chief's status; cf. oral source [4].

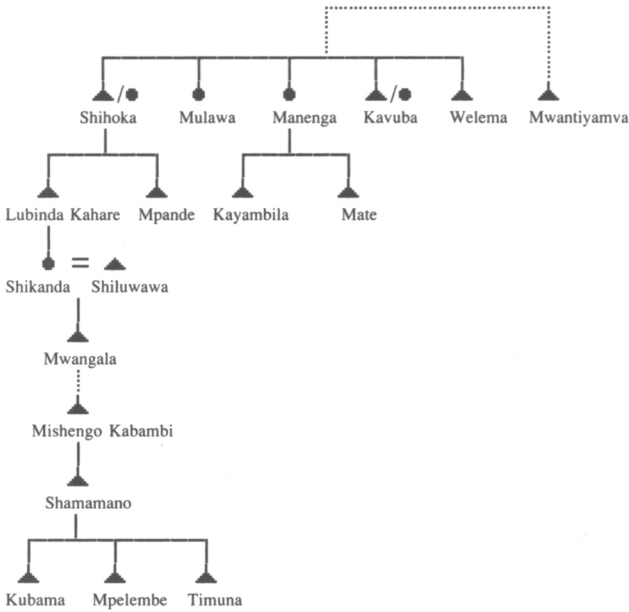


Diagram 7. Official royal genealogy of the Nkoya Myene.<sup>256</sup>

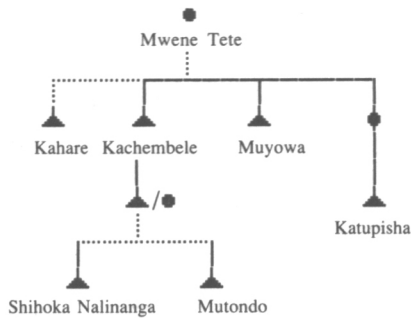


Diagram 8. Nkoya royal genealogy according to elders in Lusaka.<sup>257</sup>

<sup>256</sup> District Secretary Kaoma to Permanent Secretary Western Province, 10.5.1974, Kaoma district files, ADM/12 'Chiefs and headmen'. In this source, Shihoka's gender is claimed to be uncertain, but 'probably male since Shihoka travelled over such large distances'! Kavuba's gender is likewise claimed to be uncertain. Mate's (Lushiku Shinkisha, the first Mwene Mutondo) gender is here claimed to be male, contrary to my

The variation as is already clear in these examples goes to show that here we are not really dealing with historical information, but with the informants' intellectual attempts to create links of unity and seniority between political titles whose referents, in the last analysis, are *contemporary*.

Scores of similar examples could be cited. The permutational principle is clearly seen at work when we compare the Nkoya kings' lists as given by Brown (1984: 101 and 509-510) with those implied in *Likota lya Bankoya* and written out in full (and again with a great number of additions and alterations of his own) by Mr H.H. Mwene; the latter are included in the present volume at the end of Part II below, with my extensive analytical footnotes. Radical deviations from the dynastic order and the connecting genealogical relationship as given by Shimunika in *Likota lya Bankoya* can also be found in a short manuscript Nkoya history by Mr Moses Masheka, who puts the following three *Myene* at the apex of the Mutondo dynastic list:

- (1) Lyovu lya Mbuwa;<sup>258</sup> succeeded by
- (2) Libupe, whose gender is claimed not to be female but male;
- (3) Shilayi, who is claimed to be a sister's son of Libupe, and by implication is also suggested to be male!<sup>259</sup>

Finally, as some of the footnotes to Mr H.H. Mwene's kings' lists below will demonstrate, the principle of free permutation operates not only between sources, but also between various statements derived from the same source at different times. This effect can even be seen in such a meticulously consistent statement as Rev. Shimunika's himself. In an interview in 1977 he placed Shiwutulu at quite a different position from the one occupied by that figure in *Likota lya Bankoya* (11: 1): in the former case belonging to the Mutondo line, Shiwutulu is in the latter case situated more to the Kahare/Kapeshi side.<sup>260</sup>

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reconstructions. Shikanda is here claimed to be female. In *Likota lya Bankoya* (43: 2), Mpelembe is claimed to be a younger brother of Shamamano, but no mention is made of the historical fact of his accession to the Kahare kingship in 1914. Oral source [6] states that the Mpelembe who preceded Timuna as Mwene Kahare was Timuna's younger brother. The contradiction is immaterial however with regard to the present argument.

<sup>257</sup> Oral source [20].

<sup>258</sup> The manuscript has: *Lyopu Lyambuwa*.

<sup>259</sup> Untitled manuscript (B) on Nkoya history by Moses Masheka Munangisha, Mutondo Royal Establishment, dated 1.1.1977 and later entries dated 10.8.1977, 24.8.1977, 10.4.1956, 14 unnumbered pages of which 4 are blank, no title, first line runs: 'Shihemwa. Biheka bya Mwene Mutondo Mashiku 2.1.1942'.

<sup>260</sup> Oral source [22]. Note that (11: 2) makes mention of 'another Lady Mwene Shiwutulu'; however, in 1977 reference was made to the one in (11: 1).



The detection of the principle of free genealogical permutation also lends a new perspective to the fact, as discussed above, that in a group interview with the Kahare royal council, a very emotional and confusing discussion which reiterated the entire history of Mutondo/Kahare rivalry throughout the colonial period, finally reached but one general agreement: *that between the kingship of Kahare and Mutondo there is absolutely no genealogical connexion whatsoever!*<sup>261</sup> The pressures at the district and provincial level necessitating Nkoya unity to be expressed in terms of genealogical links between the major contemporary Nkoya *Myene*, were obviously not present in that situation where I, an outsider researcher whose Nkoya contacts so far had been almost entirely Mashasha, was interviewing a uniquely Mashasha group of elders. Then the genealogical fictions were irrelevant and could be dropped.

What type of conclusions do we arrive at when we confront the argument in *Likota lya Bankoya* with the raw oral data from central western Zambia?

In the first place, the oral traditions are richer and less restrictive than *Likota lya Bankoya* with regard to the less ceremonious aspects of nineteenth-century Nkoya life: slavery, violence, trade. As far as the reconstruction of specific historical events and relationships between actual individuals is concerned, the raw oral data make us deeply distrust the apparent consistency which *Likota lya Bankoya* has managed to retain, e.g. in its genealogies.

There is no reason to assume that the raw oral data Shimunika collected as from the 1920s, were of a fundamentally different nature from those Brown and I myself collected in the 1970s, or which Mutumba Mainga collected in the 1960s. The fact that surprisingly consistent genealogies can be drawn on the basis of the information offered in *Likota lya Bankoya*, far from suffices to consider that information factual and historical in the objective sense; it only indicates Shimunika's powers of reasoning and synthesis. Of the thousands of possible genealogical combinations that could be made between the protagonists of Nkoya history, Shimunika has chosen to adopt a few, — no doubt with sound reasons as far as the internal contradictions of his data were concerned, but *ignoring the fact that his data did not lend themselves to any such genealogical reconstructions in the first place*. In other words, Shimunika applied an impressive historical method and intuition upon material that by its very nature did not deserve such treatment. The transition from myth to history cannot be made by simply ordering and streamlining the traditional material, without breaking its built-in codes and symbolism, and by doing so radically transforming the data into something new, into an academic statement. It is here that we reach the limits of Shimunika as a historian; and that the need for a far more sophisticated method of

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<sup>261</sup> Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

historical analysis, such as will be sketched in the remaining chapters of my argument, becomes eminently clear.

The extreme divergence of genealogical information in the raw data shows us that political and ideological factors have been at work for too long a time than to enable us any longer to compensate for them and to trace back such historical facts as may underlie them. The genealogies, both in and outside of *Likota lya Bankoya*, largely belong to the realm of politically-inspired fiction, and even when they happen to relate to real people, the latter's actual relationships cannot be reconstructed further back than beyond the relatively recent past of the mid-nineteenth century.

Finally, the confrontation with the raw traditions helps us understand *the extent to which the images of Nkoya history* as propounded by contemporary informants including Shimunika, *are greatly censored, transformed and endowed with strong ethnic emotions in the light of the political history of Kaoma district in the twentieth century.* To a large extent the survival of the royal titles of Kahare and Mutondo in the late-colonial and post-colonial state was an accident of modern history — yet the Nkoya precolonial past is presented as if these two titles have dominated the history of central western Zambia for centuries. One can only wonder what sort of precolonial Nkoya history might have been produced by someone like Shimunika if the creation of Kafue National Park had not forced Mwene Kabulwebulwe to move away from his area, or if the move had been westward, into Mankoya district, rather than eastward; would we have had a tripartite Nkoya precolonial history? What central part would Shimunika have reserved in *Likota lya Bankoya* for Shakalongo, or Kambotwe, with reference to the nineteenth century, had not these titles been eclipsed in the process of Lozi incorporation?

Thus *Likota lya Bankoya* turns out to form a half-product, between raw oral data and scholarly analysis. The further back it goes into the past, the less historical in the academic sense it becomes, and the other way around. As a statement on concrete specific protagonists and their exploits it only becomes more or less reliable as from the middle of the nineteenth century; but on a more abstract level than Rev. Shimunika himself envisaged, as a statement-yet-to-be-decoded on structures and their dynamics, its significance extends also over the earlier periods of state formation in central western Zambia, and even before. Our main task then would be to find a level of discourse, method and analysis where we can benefit from Shimunika's synthesis without naïvely taking his text at face value.

### 3.5. *Likota lya Bankoya* as literature and as myth

*Likota lya Bankoya*, however much a remarkable piece of historiographic production, is at the same time a work based on African oral

literature. It contains folk etymologies ('the Basket Which Could Hear' (7: 1f), the name Kaoma which from the generic term for a royal drum (*liwoma*) became that of a river (36: 3), etc.; hermetic royal praise-names that in their archaic phrasing and esoteric symbolism appear to be unadulterated pieces of ancient rhetoric art;<sup>262</sup> myths of origin (the story of the Big Pot of Game Meat (4: 1f)); and a myth evoking a ruler's quest to retrieve the moon as a *mpande* pendant for his child (41: 1f). Finally, underlying the book is a consistent and dynamic symbolic structure, whose outline and significance will keep us occupied in the remaining chapters. No historical criticism of *Likota Iya Bankoya* could be complete without an examination of this literary aspect. For even if our inspection of historiographic methods and biases has largely vindicated the author as a genuine historian (albeit that he remained the prisoner of the limitations of his data), it remains possible that the input of oral-literature elements in the book is so large that it cannot be treated as a contribution to history but must be accorded the — equally lofty — status of a work of art.

### *Kapeshi ka Munungampanda*

The literary and mythical aspect of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is nowhere clearer than in the passage that deals with Mwene Kapeshi ka Munungampanda — apparently an incumbent of the Kahare kingship as recent as the early nineteenth century, but bearing a name which means 'Ladder consisting of Joined Forked Poles', and said to have engaged in the entirely unrealistic exploit of building precisely such a ladder into heaven...

Kapeshi's gender is not defined in the text. The interpretation as male in our English translation derives from the symbolic analysis of the story: Kapeshi acquires male connotations because, in the story, the Ladder is the means through which violent males (as represented by Kapeshi's father) seek to usurp the cosmological legitimation underlying female kingship. However, given the wide spread, throughout South Central Africa, of the story of the cosmic ladder or tower into heaven,<sup>263</sup> it would appear as if Mwene Kapeshi's historical status is altogether different from that of the dynastic figures that surround Kapeshi as parents and children, within the Kahare dynastic line. One has the strong impression of the insertion of much older mythical material, the Kapeshi/Ladder theme, into a dynastic account which, referring to the first half of the nineteenth century, otherwise could be considered as fairly factual: the migration of what was to become the Kahare dynastic line from the Maniinga river to the Tumba plain, the subsequent move to Kayimbu, the confrontation with the Yeke, etc. Significantly, Mr H.H. Mwene in his discursive account of the burial

<sup>262</sup> E.g. 2: 2; 9: 2; 9: 3; 23: 2; 26: 1; 27: 4; 32: 2; 33: 1; 37: 1; 50: 12; 52: 10.

<sup>263</sup> Roberts 1973: 346 and references cited there.

sites of Nkoya *Myene* admits that Kapeshi's grave is nowhere to be found.<sup>264</sup> When Kapeshi is so clearly a mythical character, it would be meaningless to seek and reconstruct Kapeshi's gender — except for the syntactic requirements of English translation. That Kapeshi is an alien insertion in this otherwise perhaps quite factual genealogy relating to the mid-nineteenth century, is also clear from the fact that he is made to bridge the gap between Kahare I and Kahare II, but is claimed to do so through two instances of patrilineal succession — whereas matrilineal succession is dominant in Nkoya precolonial dynastic relations as reflected in *Likota lya Bankoya*. On the other hand, the contemporary succession practice has come to be patrilineal, which might lead us to assume that Kapeshi's insertion dates not from the original traditional sources, but was effected in the twentieth century, by Rev. Shimunika among others.<sup>265</sup> In this way he could make use of a beautiful story, and at the same time brush up his account of the Kahare kingship which otherwise was quite meagre as compared to the rich data he had on the Mutondo kingship.

The situation is only made more complicated and enigmatic by the fact that Sandasanda, in his Kaonde history cited above, discusses a Chief Kapeshi Kamununga Mpande [*sic*], of the ants totem, whose reign extended from 1922 to 1937 (Sandasanda 1972: 12). Nothing in that discussion suggests (but nothing contradicts either) that this chief revived a title that had been in existence for a long time.<sup>266</sup>

Perhaps more is involved here than merely an anachronistic play of the imagination. In the version of the tower story as quoted by Schecter,<sup>267</sup> the location of the story is Musumba — the Lunda capital —, the requesting child is not Mwana Mwene Kapeshi but the first Mwaat Yaamv, and instead the tower itself is called *Kaposhi*. The entire episode is presented as the occasion for the exodus of humiliated

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<sup>264</sup> See his kings' lists below and footnotes there.

<sup>265</sup> If the insertion was *entirely* Shimunika's work, the apical position as given to Kapeshi in oral source [16] and other sources to be cited below, could only be explained as a case of recycling of *Likota lya Bankoya* back into Kaoma rural society, which I think is unlikely.

<sup>266</sup> In July 1989, when this book was already written but theft of the manuscript forced me to write it again, I interviewed a Mwe Kapeshi in Shipungu village, Kabanga stream, Kaoma district (oral source [25]). Of obviously very advanced age, the informant claimed to be a contemporary of Mwene Munangisha (died 1898, cf. 48: 2). This informant's fellow-villagers consider him to be a close relative of the Kapeshi who had the tower built, or even as that very same person himself, suggesting (perhaps with symbolic implications of dynastic conflict) that merely 'by stepping aside had he escaped death when the tower collapsed'. But despite the great expectations which the identification of this informant kindled, extensive questioning could not penetrate the mists of time and senility. As was perhaps to be expected, the informant's link with Kapeshi ka Munungampanda turned out to be more and more distant and mythical as the interview proceeded.

<sup>267</sup> Schecter 1980a: 41; collected outside a contemporary Nkoya context.

Mbwela from Musumba — perhaps the very first phase in the dispersal of Lunda offshoots all over South Central Africa. The Nkoya today claim for themselves a glorious, central place in the history of Zambia; is it possible, after all, that this claim is more than merely a megalomaniac compensation for the historical trauma the Nkoya have suffered at the hands of the Kololo and their political heirs the Lozi, since the middle of the nineteenth century? Particularly the analogy between the titles of Mwaat Yaamv and Kahare is intriguing. Do the seemingly preposterous transformations (especially ‘Kaposhi as tower’/ ‘Kapesi as requester’) point to just a literary, rather than a historical, link between the two versions? The emphatic mention of the Mbwela in the Schecter version suggests otherwise. Is it at all possible that the ancestors of the later dynastic group around the Kahare kingship, in ways lost to contemporary Nkoya collective memory, did play an exceptional key role in Musumban out-migration and the early spread of the Lunda political culture south across the Zambezi/Congo watershed? In that case Shimunika’s insertion of this mythical element in the nineteenth-century history of the Kahare kingship, however anachronistic, would suggest a significance for Nkoya history beyond the wildest ethnic dreams of the Nkoya today.

The story of the ladder or tower into heaven is of great significance, not only because it has a link with traditions of early Musumban history, but also because throughout South Central Africa it is associated with the origin of ethnic heterogeneity: a widespread variant of the story has it that mankind formed only one ethnic group when the Ladder was built, and that only after the Ladder’s downfall, when the people dispersed in discord and confusion, the many languages and ethnic groups of the present came into being.

Even though this point is not made explicitly in the *Likota Iya Bankoya* rendering of the Kapesi myth, contemporary Nkoya readers yet see that account as proof that ‘the Nkoya’ were actually the first of the ethnic groups to arrive in Zambia from the Zairean homeland, and perhaps the origin of all the other ethnic groups.<sup>268</sup> As one oral source puts it:

‘Before Kapesi there were only Nkoya. Through the episode of the Ladder all the other tribes came into being.’<sup>269</sup>

Moreover, contemporary Nkoya readers who are subjects of Mwene Kahare see the myth, as situated by Shimunika in the history of the Kahare kingship, as proof that, among the Nkoya *Myene*, Mwene Kahare was certainly the most senior and ancient, particularly taking precedence over his contemporary counterpart Mwene Mutondo.<sup>270</sup> The

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<sup>268</sup> Oral source [18] 13.10.1977.

<sup>269</sup> Oral source [22].

<sup>270</sup> Oral source [7] 22.10.1977.

story and its interpretation thus becomes charged with the political rivalry between the contemporary Nkoya 'moieties' — the subjects of Mwene Kahare and Mwene Mutondo. To streamline this type of argument, informants are inclined to disagree with Shimunika as to the specific genealogical position of Mwene Kapeshi: they tend to situate him at the top of the Kahare dynastic genealogy.<sup>271</sup>

Towards the end of chapter 5, when we shall have gained far greater understanding of Nkoya history, we shall come back to this point and bring it to bear on the question of the seniority contest between the Mutondo and the Kahare kingship.

*symbolism and history: the case of gender relations*

It is the attention for the literary and symbolic dimension that marks the increasing sophistication in the treatment of oral sources, from the first naïve assumptions of more or less literal truth (as in Vansina's highly seminal early statements: Vansina 1965, 1966), through the severe criticism by researchers only too aware of the symbolic structure underlying the traditions (de Heusch 1972, 1984; Henige 1982), to recent attempts to salvage, with the aid of a complex and explicit methodology, what little remnants of history the traditions might yet contain, while acknowledging the amount of a-historical cosmological projections therein (Miller 1980; Schoffeleers 1985; Willis 1976).<sup>272</sup> Much of recent precolonial historiography of Zambia and neighbouring areas can be seen to struggle with this problem.<sup>273</sup> However, in these works another dominant concern is: to subject both oral and documentary data to a historical criticism that stresses the latter-day functioning of historical knowledge in a changing political and ethnic context, — a line of analysis that (more than the sophisticated handling of oral sources against the background of a-historical cosmological and semantic structures) has been a constant in Zambian historiography ever since the early days of Rhodes-Livingstone research (cf. Cunnison 1951, 1959).

For a proper reading of *Likota lya Bankoya*'s mythical contents, we shall need all the inspiration which this scholarly literature can offer us. For underneath such surface mythical and literary material as the story

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<sup>271</sup> Cf. oral source [16].

<sup>272</sup> Similar attempts to thresh history out of data which initially would appear to be a-historical or synchronic reflections of structure, and to confront the methodological problems inherent in such a task, can be found in my own work, e.g. van Binsbergen 1981a, 1985b; van Binsbergen & Schoffeleers 1985b.

<sup>273</sup> E.g. Hoover 1980; Papstein 1978, 1980, 1985; Prins 1978, 1979, 1980; Reeve 1981; Roberts 1973, 1976; Schecter 1980b. A sophisticated, comprehensive effort to apply a symbolic and literary perspective to the analysis of Zambian culture and expressive tradition can also be found in Moyo et al. 1986.

of Kapeshi and the myth of origin of *Wene*, from the Large Cooking-Pot of Game Meat, Shimunika tells us a myth that is both more comprehensive and more revealing: a myth that presents the whole of Nkoya history as a process of changing gender relations, from pre-state female *Myene* to male-headed states. We know that we should not take such a myth at face value — as a statement of Nkoya history. To the extent to which *Likota lya Bankoya* is a work of African literature, the work's apparent narrative content may well be a function of essentially contemporary, unconscious literary, symbolic structures emulating a timeless, static and unchanging world-view, rather than that this content is determined by actual historical processes. Yet on the other hand, what *Likota lya Bankoya* has to say on the evolution of gender relations in the process of state formation, is too impressive, too detailed and altogether too rich to be dismissed as a mere (oral-)literary statement of cosmology. The analysis of this central message in the book, and the attempt to distil a history of state formation out of that myth, will take up much of my argument in the remaining chapters.

How then to salvage the possible bits of history in *Likota lya Bankoya*?

One line of approach, pursued in the preceding pages, is to confront the message in *Likota lya Bankoya* with sources of information external to Shimunika's argument. Having made that assessment, I would now rather concentrate on internal evidence: trying to make history not out of the book's static surface symbolic structure but out of the unconscious, dynamic and systematic transformations that can be detected in that symbolic structure.<sup>274</sup> In chapter 6 I shall argue that these transformations appear in literary and symbolic form in *Likota lya Bankoya*, because they once appeared in historical reality — even if we cannot yet periodicize that reality.

Whatever our historical verdict on *Likota lya Bankoya*'s hidden message concerning the transformation of gender relations in the process of state formation, we can only assess it after examining it in detail, in the next two chapters. This involves a large amount of decoding. Trying to assess the gender of characters featuring in the book already raised the point that gender symbolism is likely to have led to all sorts of spurious projections of presentday gender connotations into the past, onto real or fictitious actors. The book's hidden message as regards changing gender relations (a development from pre-state female leadership to male-dominated statehood) might just amount to a timeless statement of a cosmology or world-view, in which a Golden Age of peace and harmony with Nature happens to have female connotations (and therefore is presented in terms of a spuriously projected female leadership), while the Iron Age (in Ovidian, not archaeological terms) with all the nastiness of the human condition takes on male connotations.

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<sup>274</sup> Cf. de Mahieu 1985; van Binsbergen & Schoffeleers 1985b.

The specific context of Central African political structures and their history offers us yet a second possibility: that of symbolically interpreting gender relations as 'perpetual kinship'. This idiom can be one of consanguinity (where title X is called the 'younger brother' of title Y), but it may also be one of affinal relations, where title A is the 'wife' of title B. A sacred form of the latter is that the secular title B has as its complement the priestly title A: his 'spirit wife'. In such cases one could expect — especially with reference to a distant, mythical past — the incumbents of title A to be represented as women, and those of title B as men, regardless of their actual biological gender. Towards the end of chapter 6, again, I shall explore the extent to which this offers a revealing perspective upon historical gender relations among the Nkoya.

But we have sufficiently prepared the ground, and spent more than half of our argument. It is time to start actually reading *Likota Iya Bankoya* as a historical narrative.



## Chapter 4

# State formation in central western Zambia as depicted by *Likota lya Bankoya*

The present chapter will be largely taken up by a presentation of the specific surface content of *Likota lya Bankoya*. Using analytical language, the insights of modern anthropology and historiography, and a general background of other sources, in order to illuminate the statements in *Likota lya Bankoya* and bring out their implications, yet remaining close to the text, we shall follow the book in its mythical discussion of the pre-state situation, trace the emergence of the institution of *Wene* in that context, and see how that institution served as a condensation point for actual states. Gender relations were redefined under the influence of male usurpation of female royal power, such as was made possible by male-dominated economic changes.

### 4.1. The pre-state situation

*Likota lya Bankoya* stipulates two major elements in the pre-state situation in central western Zambia: a cosmological system revolving on the High God, the latter's child Rain, and the Land; and the clan system as the framework of social, economic and political organization from which later Nkoya states were to spring forth.

*the High God, Rain, and the Land*

The High God, Nyambi,<sup>275</sup> is called by the epithet:

‘The Creator Who Created Trees and Man’ (1: 6).

There is no reason to interpret this formula as a Christian imposition. The formula is still frequently used to indicate the High God in Nkoya songs, ritual formulae pertaining to the traditional religion, and everyday conversation. The formula evokes the central cosmological and symbolic role of trees in Nkoya culture, of which *Likota lya Bankoya* contains many other examples, including the names of two of the four major Nkoya royal titles (Mutondo and Kabulwebulwe), and various royal praise-names. The forest, and every individual tree, is still considered the divine epiphany par excellence: *bitondo wa Nyambi*, ‘the trees of God’, is the Nkoya expression for the forest and by extension for the visible world as a whole. Therefore the village shrine has to be arboreal: a live shrub or a forked pole (cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 3).

By evoking the prayer formula:

‘Twakabomba, obe Mpandashilanga’ (1: 6),<sup>276</sup>

*Likota lya Bankoya* casts an interesting light on the rain ritual that under the influence of the great prophet Mupumani of Nanzhila spread over much of western and central Zambia in 1914-15: the white pole, the ecological ritual focusing on it, and the prayer formula *Twakabomba*: ‘We are humble’, which have so far been taken to be original innovations by Mupumani,<sup>277</sup> are suggested by *Likota lya Bankoya* to be a straightforward application of standard cultic material available in central western Zambia at the time. If the earlier, innovative interpretation of these elements is to be retained we must assume that Shimunika, although already in his teens at the time of Mupumani’s movement, much later, when writing *Likota lya Bankoya*, confused such innovations with time-honoured elements of ritual culture; however, the way the entire ritual scene of central western Zambia (not only that of the Nkoya) is saturated with these elements, suggests them to be of much older date and much wider distribution than the innovation hypothesis assumed.

Due to the grammatical peculiarities discussed above, the gender attributed to Nyambi remains unspecified in *Likota lya Bankoya* — as

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<sup>275</sup> *Nyambi*, and the various phonological transformations of this word, is the name for the High God in a vast region extending south from Cameroon; it has also been adopted as translation for the English word *God* in Nkoya Bible translation.

<sup>276</sup> ‘We are humble, O You, Creator of Victuals.’

<sup>277</sup> Cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: ch 4 and references cited there.

in everyday Nkoya conversation. The conception of the High God as the origin and the first incumbent of the institution of *Wene*, kingship,<sup>278</sup> would lead contemporary Nkoya readers to interpret the expression Mwene Nyambi to refer to a male personage, — not only because of a merging with Christian notions of ‘the Lord God’, but also because for about a century Nkoya *Myene* have invariably been male. It is likely, however, that such male connotations are alien to the original concept of Nyambi *precisely because* in the Nkoya conception Nyambi was the first *Mwene* — in just the same way as, underneath the contemporary projection of male *Myene*, the most ancient layer of incumbents of *Wene* can be reconstructed to have been female.

Besides connotations of kingship, Nyambi has bird-like connotations — and so has Nyambi’s child, *Mvula*: ‘Rain’.

‘The kingship of the Nkoya is said to have started with the large cooking-pot full of game meat. Many of the Nkoya in the past said that Mwene Nyambi is a bird; and that Mwene Nyambi has a child, Rain (Mvula), also a bird; and that two clans in this world are the relatives of Rain: the Nkwehe [Hawks] on the part of the birds, and the Mbunze [Buzzards] on the part of the people.’ (4: 1)

The prominence of this demiurge Rain who links the sky and the land has economic implications: the cosmology evoked in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is no longer that of mere hunters and gatherers — but already that of agriculturalists, for only the latter have a vested, positive interest in rain.

Rain, whose gender remains implicit,<sup>279</sup> is presented as the source and the divine approval of kingship. The events related in the myth of the origin of kingship (the Cooking-Pot of Game Meat), end — as in divine sanctioning — with a heavy downpour, and with the statement:

‘Our Kingship comes from the Raindrop’ (4: 7).

On the one hand this formula states the incomparable cosmological significance of *Wene*: kingship emanates directly from, is perhaps nothing but, the vital link between the Sky and the Land. Meanwhile this formula reappears in a slightly different context in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (28: 1), and then it takes on the following connotation: ‘our political institution of *Wene* has such a cosmological and religious anchorage that it is inconceivable that it could be made subservient to any neighbouring political system’.

Rain specifically as Nyambi’s child comes back in the praise-name of the first Mwene Mutondo, Shinkisha Lushiku Mate, who among other esoteric epithets is called

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<sup>278</sup> Oral source [24] *passim*.

<sup>279</sup> Its essential wetness certainly carries predominantly female connotations in the Nkoya symbolic universe — cf. chapter 6 of this Part I.

‘the Snuffbox of Nyambi’s Child’ (26: 1).

Nkoya Christians would automatically read ‘Nyambi’s child’ as ‘God’s Son’: Jesus Christ. But can the phrase really be taken as an embellishment inserted by Shimunika in his capacity of Christian pastor? In general I would maintain that these formalized praise formulae have been handed down to a later period practically unaltered. Their archaic and dense language, which often poses insurmountable problems of translation even to native speakers, testifies to this. There is a remarkable merging of ideas here. Diffuse and distorted, Portuguese-derived Christian ideas have, of course, percolated through Central Africa for centuries before colonial rule. A ready nineteenth-century example from what later became the Lusaka area is Mwana Lesa — again ‘Son of God’ (Smith & Dale 1920). The fact that the murderous twentieth-century witch-hunter Tomo Nyirenda<sup>280</sup> was also nicknamed Mwana Lesa is likely to have deep local historical roots predating formal Christian missionary influence. And also in the Nkoya case, I refuse to consider the beautiful conception of Rain as Child of God as a mere Christian projection. Had Rev. Shimunika fallen victim to the temptation of pious Christian projection, he would have left out the bird theme, and would have shown far less open-mindedness vis-à-vis other aspects of Nkoya religion.

The Land which Rain, in her humid and life-giving embrace, unites with Nyambi, is nowhere in *Likota lya Bankoya* the subject of explicit general discussion. A few general patterns however emerge.

The land that is the scene of the historical and mythical events recounted in *Likota lya Bankoya*, is a land almost exclusively defined by its rivers, streams and tributaries — as if it is, again, its feminine wetness which counts most. Hydrography provides virtually the only landmarks for the extensive toponymical detail in the book. Rivers often lend their names to *zinkena*, royal graves<sup>281</sup> and individuals (e.g. 9: 2; 13: 2; 36: 1; 50: 6). Toponyms referring to land areas instead of rivers, like Nkanda (the dry land of the Kafue/Zambezi watershed; 29: 3), and Tumba (the new homeland which was established at the headwaters of the Kabompo), are isolated and represent a puzzling, contentious toponymical logic of their own.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Rotberg 1967: 142f; Ranger 1975; Fetter 1971.

<sup>281</sup> Admittedly, royal graves provide another set of landmarks, but they are, in their turn, only identified by hydrographic references, instead of being used as toponymical points of reference in their own right.

<sup>282</sup> In chapter 6 I shall argue that such incompatibilities of various internal logics are likely pointers to historically significant information, as in the case of mutative transformations. More reflection is needed as to the historical implications of the existence of a minority of non-hydrographic toponyms in central western Zambia.

While such hydrographic toponymy is in complete agreement with the mental geography of the region's inhabitants today, it is remarkable in this respect that although relatively well-watered, central western Zambia can by no means be said to form one vast water-land of marshes, wetlands, flood plains etc. — as is the centre of Barotseland, or like the smaller Mbuwa area that plays a considerable part in Nkoya history. Streams and rivers organize the natural and social space of the village clusters around them, and structure such economic activities as fishing and fetching water for domestic purposes, but they are rarely through-ways for water transport (major rivers like the Kafue and the Kabompo are obvious exceptions).

One therefore wonders why there should be this emphasis on rivers in the geographical conceptualization of the region.

There are likely to be longstanding economic factors, such as the dependence on fishing, or an agricultural system in which wet riverside gardens are very important for their rich yields (Schultz 1976). And the river valley, however inarticulate considering the low rise of the land between the rivers, yet forms the most significant unit of the social process — most of the day-to-day productive life takes place within the confines of the valley, one out of two marriages are contracted within the valley, and both these functions are reflected in the fact that each valley has its own ecological cult (around the grave of a major *Mwene*) and informal neighbourhood court of law (van Binsbergen 1977, 1983). Moreover I suspect that the emphasis on rivers contains an important historical message: that it contains reminiscences of the riverain, almost aquatic primitive state of Mbwela society a few centuries ago, with dwellings floating on the water, and most food derived from the river and its banks.

On a symbolic level, the Nkoya conceptualization of the land by means of the rivers is extremely significant. Rivers have no extension, they are one-dimensional lines and not two-dimensional areas, and they convey movement, passing and boundary-crossing much more than localization, geographical fixation and entrenchment. One would not be surprised to find this sort of geographical world-view among people like the Nkoya. Nkoya individuals do not have strong attachments to particular land areas at the village or the valley level, and even the more comprehensive concept of a Land of Nkoya seems to have carried little emotional attachment and identification prior to recent processes of ethnicization. The Nkoya have a long tradition of collective and individual displacement. Given an ecology of shifting cultivation, hunting and fishing, the Nkoya's relation to the land is pragmatic rather than ritualistic. They would rather bite off their tongues than litigate over land. Beyond observances in the first years after burial they do not venerate their ancestral graves except in the case of *Myene*.<sup>283</sup> These

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<sup>283</sup> This is not to deny the prominence of the ancestral cult among the Nkoya; however, the cult focuses not on ancestral graves but on the village shrine, a shrub or forked branch planted in the middle of the village near

*Myene*'s graves constitute the only type of territorial shrine — unless one wants to include shrines whose life span and geographical scope do not exceed that of the village (i.e. a few decades, a few acres): the simple arboreal village shrines, or the tops of anthills placed during a small ritual by means of which the chthonic spirits of a new village site are placated prior to building.

It is only in the most recent years that land shortage is forcing the Nkoya to reconsider their fundamental cultural orientation.<sup>284</sup>

The Nkoya terminology for tributaries (*mushinzi K mwana L mwana M*: 'river K child of river L child of river M') produces downright genealogical statements, and suggests that rivers in themselves constitute a local model for genealogical thinking — as if people, like rivers, flow rather than take root, — as if people are, more than anything, the *Drops*, or *Tears, of Rain!* However, this aquatic imagery is complemented by an arboreal one, not only in the title of *Likota* ['Tree'] *lya Bankoya* but also in Shimunika's frequent use of the term *liziko*, 'branch'; and by the gynaecological imagery of *livumo*: 'womb', '[more or less] matrilineage'.

Beyond the toponymical fragmentation of scores of streams and rivulets that abound in *Likota lya Bankoya* with — why not admit it — irritating monotony, there is yet one uniting concept of Land: *Liunga lya Nkoya*, 'the Land of Nkoya'. The boundaries of Nkoya are not defined, but remote royal establishments, like that of the Momba dynasty, and Mwene Shikanda's at Kayimbu (today's Kasempa), are implied to be outside of it. And so is Loziland, — by which in the context of *Likota lya Bankoya* is mainly meant the presentday districts of Mongu

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the headman's house. When the village is moved to a different place — as frequently happens — a new shrine is erected in the new site. With the exception of *Myene* (the veneration of whose graves is a form of a royal, more than of an ancestral cult), ancestors are remembered not by their graves — which within a few years dissolve irretrievably into the surrounding forest — but by their names, which are specifically mentioned in praying at the shrine, recited one by one during divination sessions seeking to ascertain the identity of an inflicting ancestor, and commemorated by the name-inheriting institution of *ushwana*. Cf. van Binsbergen 1981b and in prep.

284 This pressure is particularly felt around the Nkeyema Scheme in the eastern fringe of the district. In 1988 Mr Stanford Mayowe, the Nkoya councillor for Nkeyema Ward — an educated person who before retirement had been the director of a Zambian parastatal company — began to persuade local fellow-Nkoya to earmark certain outlying valleys, then temporarily unoccupied, as the specific hereditary territory of each of the Nkoya villages in the area. This move was certainly timely in the face of alarming developments: the massive influx of enterprising migrant farmers from all over western Zambia, the generosity with which Mwene Kahare granted agricultural land to non-Nkoya newcomers, and the lack of legal protection of collective ownership rights in fallow land under the Zambian national legislation. However, Mr Mayowe had great difficulty driving his point home — local concern and indignation at stranger encroachment did not mean that one was prepared to change one's time-honoured attitudes towards land overnight.

and Kalabo, at the heart of Western Province. While this somehow defines the eastern, western and southern limits of the Land of Nkoya, its northward extension remains undefined, and this probably reflects a gradual shift of the centre of 'Nkoya' history from the northwest (the Mwinilunga and Zambezi districts on the Upper Zambezi) to the south-east (the Kabompo, Lukulu and particularly Kaoma districts). This Land is the earthly space within which Nkoya history will be set.<sup>285</sup>

Finally, this Land is implied to have been available, even (since no previous occupants are acknowledged in *Likota lya Bankoya*) to have been *empty*. We do not hear about non-Bantu, Khoi-San predecessors although they must certainly have been there. Nor does Shimunika's conception of history as dynastic history allow us more than a glimpse of those people who appear to have formed the fairly stable occupants of the Land of Nkoya for a number of centuries — both before, and after the arrival of, the dynasties on which *Likota lya Bankoya* concentrates. With the exception of the painful subjugation of the Nduwe people by Mwene Liyoka (37: 4), the book leads us to believe, quite wrongly, that the entire contemporary population of the Land of Nkoya descends from Mwene Libupe and her followers.

The mental image of the Land of Nkoya as the Promised Land of the Nkoya people — a transformation involving considerable ethnic manipulation and biblical projection — is certainly part of the contemporary Nkoya ethnic consciousness, whose most vocal expressions are put forth by literate people with a solid grounding in fundamentalist Christianity, using Christian prayer in the Nkoya language as a mobilizing ethnic idiom at social, political and family gatherings. The image can be detected, for instance, in Mr H.H. Mwene's introductory description (cf. Parts II and III below) of Mwene Libupe (cf. Moses) leading the Nkoya people across the rivers (cf. the Red Sea) from Zaïre (cf. Egypt) to 'this land of Zambia' (cf. the land of Israel). There are even indications<sup>286</sup> that this is not mere contemporary Christian rhetorics: that the departure from Zaïre, of the dynastic core that was to become the Mbwela, aimed in fact at the liberation from

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285 I cannot resist the temptation to point out that, according to H. Rider Haggard's detailed topographical directions, the Land of Nkoya is directly adjacent to a mythical landscape that has captivated generations of readers: Kukuanaland, and particularly — leading to it — the stretch of land northwest of Shitanda's capital, as depicted in *King Solomon's Mines* (Haggard 1967, first published 1885). Needless to say that (by contrast to the evoked mineral wealth of the region, which happens to be a reality) the desert, the snowcapped peaks and the presence of a Zulu-related people established there for half a millennium or more are all figments of Haggard's imagination. They reflect not only stereotypes of imperialist romanticism, but also the fact that by the time *King Solomon's Mines* was written (the period of Lewanika I and of Munangisha), what is now Zambia's Central and Northwestern Provinces was still effectively outside the domain of imperialist expansion. For a reading of Haggard's geographical imagery in terms of gender symbolism and gender conflict, cf. McClintock 1990.

286 In Musumban oral traditions; cf. Schecter 1980a: 41 as discussed above.

humiliation at the hands of the Mwaat Yaamv. However, in Rev. Shimunika's own main text of the *Likota Iya Bankoya* this final dimension of the Land theme is little manifest.

Yet even he stresses the Nkoya *Mwene's* legitimate ownership of the land. This is expressed by Mwene Mutondo in the time-honoured symbolism of hitting a tree with a weapon at the very moment that colonial occupation became effective (51: 3).

### *clans*

The clan (*mukoka*) receives a great deal of attention in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, not only with reference to before the period of state formation (when the clan was the main form of socio-political organization), but also when later periods are concerned. In the opening chapter, where Shimunika lists his chief informants, the impression is conveyed that clan leaders are the principal guardians of oral history (1: 1f). Likewise, when the training of Lutangu/Sipopa as a hunter is described (33: 2), great emphasis is laid on the clan membership of the hunters concerned, suggesting a pattern of hunters' associations cutting across clan lines. Clan affiliation is often specified when royal personages and their ancestry are discussed (e.g. 35: 1; 40: 2).

In presentday Nkoya life the significance of clans is not immediately obvious. This is partly due to their high degree of dispersal and intermingling in modern times. Yet on further analysis clans turn out to be still rather important on the level of the marital system, joking relations, rural support systems in times of individual destitution, and funerary arrangements. In all those respects the clan structure offers interlocal ties which largely regulate that part of the social process that extends beyond the immediate daily face-to-face context.

Joking relations exist between specific pairs of clans. Such relations were and are expressed by stereotypical reference to the natural relations between clan totems; e.g. between members of the Bees clan and the Smoke clan a joking relation exists, they call each other 'grandfather', abuse each other, may take sexual liberties with each other (if from opposite sexes), and appropriate each other's possessions without actionable offense, since it is through Smoke that Bees are chased when wild honey is being collected in the forest.

The clan structure provides an extensive and dense network of consanguinity, affinity and putative kinship spreading all over the countryside. *Likota Iya Bankoya* contains several examples (although not necessarily referring to the pre-state phase) of the effectiveness of this network.

By contrast with clan structures in many other societies, Nkoya clans are not necessarily exogamous.<sup>287</sup> Nkoya clans are even ideally

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<sup>287</sup> Oral source [10] and author's field-notes.



endogamous,<sup>288</sup> since such a marital strategy would most effectively bind junior kinsmen, through marital ties, to senior kinship-based patrons. Of course in cases of clan endogamy, when both parents have the same clan affiliation, the question of the clan affiliation of their offspring does not arise. It does in cases of clan exogamy, and then<sup>289</sup> clan affiliation is ambilineally inherited, the offspring claiming both the father's and the mother's clan.

Also in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is clan membership reported to be transmitted through both the father and the mother — with perhaps a suggestion that for sons their father's clan affiliation may be stressed, for daughters their mother's:

'When Shilemantumba died she left her two sons in the branch of kingship. They were from the Mbunze clan, for Mukwetunga Lyovu Iya Mbuwa, the one who begot the Myene, belonged to that clan.' (5: 2)

The clan emerges as the original form of social organization:

'After creating everything else in the world Mwene Nyambi created Man. 2 Our grandparents used to say that we, all the people in the world, were born from the same great-grandmother. She was fertile, and from her womb came forth all the clans, notably:

- (1) Lavwe,
- (2) Mbunze,
- (3) Shungu or Le,
- (4) Ntabi,
- (5) Nkomba, and
- (6) Nyembo.' (3: 1)

The extensive geographical distribution of a limited number of clan names (all through their nicknames associated with animal species and other natural phenomena) points to a cosmologically-supported social-organizational continuity throughout the region and far beyond — a far wider scope than the presentday distribution of rather small ethnic and linguistic clusters in the area would suggest. It also corroborates the now general view that the precolonial movement of people was far from massive nor within a limited time period, but very gradual and largely realized at the level of small clan segments.<sup>290</sup> However, while clans today are dispersed and any residential community (a village; a valley comprising a dozen or more villages) contains members of any number of clans, pre-state clans were rather localized:

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<sup>288</sup> Oral source [14].

<sup>289</sup> Oral source [14].

<sup>290</sup> Vansina 1966: 88; Cunnison 1951, 1959; White 1949.

‘When Luhamba and Katete were being hidden by the Mbunze — Luhamba in a bark container, Katete in a mat —, 2 the Humbu came to the village of Lyovu Iya Mbuwa’ (7: 1f).

The clans occupied a contiguous, rather well defined area, in which they had exclusive rights over the natural resources present.<sup>291</sup>

These clan rights were realized through such economic activities as fishing, hunting and the collection of forest products: fruits, tubers etc.

‘Mwene Libupe (...) and her people ate fish, game meat and wild fruits collected in the forest, for at that time there was no porridge.’ (2: 3)

The reference is to *ncima*, a stiff porridge (prepared out of water, salt, and the meal of maize, cassava, or millet) which today is the staple in the region and throughout Zambia. However, it is not clear yet whether its absence refers to an unusually severe famine period; as elsewhere in South Central Africa (e.g. cf. Richards 1939), extreme annual seasonal food shortages have formed a constant feature of the agriculture-based economy. The alternative interpretation is that this passage refers to an economic phase in which agricultural food production was relatively unimportant, at times perhaps even negligible. Unlikely as this may seem in the face of the diffusion history of food crops, including American ones, in Africa, this possibility was also reflected in sources<sup>292</sup> which stress the importance of the collecting of wild fruits and tubers in early Mbwela society. As late as the 1930s, villages located east of the Kafue/Zambezi watershed were reported to rely largely on meat consumption, involving truly amazing quantities of smaller and larger game as killed per head of the human population:

‘The Bambwela in common with their cousins the Bankoya are great hunters and game meat occupies a more prominent part in their diet than with most tribes. They are prevented from owning domesticated stock on account of tsetse fly and, although they do eat insects and other small animals with their porridge, they would be genuinely distressed if deprived of game meat; especially so because the ground in the area (...) is for the most part very infertile, and it is only because of the presence of plentiful game that it supports even the sparse population which inhabits it. (...) Each village of Bambwela was said to account for 30 buck smaller than a reed buck and 20 buck bigger than a reed buck including reed buck (*sic*), every month. If we estimate the average number of inhabitants at 45

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<sup>291</sup> Oral source [19] 18-20.10.1977.

<sup>292</sup> White 1949, 1962; cf. Sandasanda 1972; Schechter 1980a.

(probably too high), this would amount to one buck per person per month!<sup>293</sup>

Although this source suggests that the clan-based ecology was still rather viable in the beginning of the twentieth century, in fact it has undergone considerable changes since the arrival of the present clans two or three centuries ago. Named rulers from the period of statehood, when clans were no longer the dominant principle of socio-political organization, are credited with innovations in the field of elephant hunting and the introduction of new crops which have persisted to this day (15: 1f). Agriculture, therefore, seems to have been rather limited in the pre-state period. Hunting, with bow and arrow, spear, and traps, must have been for food and skins rather than for ivory. Today fishing in this region is merely a welcome seasonal addition to a diet largely based on other economic activities. There is a division of labour along gender lines: men enter into the water, engaging in spear-fishing and setting fish traps, whereas women remain at the banks and from there scoop the fishes out of the water with baskets.

In so far as the control over natural resources was both vital and uncertain, on the religious plane the clan engaged in ecological ritual<sup>294</sup> directed to the High God, Nyambi. Throughout South Central Africa, such ritual had moral and social connotations in addition to meteorological and economic ones: such major social evils as sorcery, murder and incest were supposed to 'tie up' the rain, and thus the typically collective rain-calling ritual had the function of cleansing the community at a point in the annual cycle (the end of the dry season) when, due to famine and relatively high morbidity and mortality rates, community morale would be at its lowest and fears of evil (foremost sorcery) would be paramount.

In pre-state central western Zambia, the clan's economic rights and religious duties seem to have been vested in the clan head, who would initiate rain ritual, first fruit ceremonies, collective fishing parties, etc. The ecological ritual was dominated by women:

'When there was a drought in the land, the Mwene or any Mukambuyu<sup>295</sup> in that area gathered the people and told them that they were going to have a prayer day. Two men would go into the forest to cut down a tree of medium size. They would remove its bark and cut off all the branches except two; these two would be

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<sup>293</sup> Zambia National Archives, District Commissioner Mumbwa to Provincial Commissioner Lusaka, 12.7.1933, 'Kafue Game Reserve: Recommendations', enclosure in KDB 1/2/1 Kafue Game Reserve.

<sup>294</sup> Cf. Schoffeleers 1979; van Binsbergen 1981a; Ranger 1985.

<sup>295</sup> *Mukambuyu*: 'notable'; a significant addition: as if the rain ritual was older than the kingship, and/or as if *Myene* did not really control rain-making nor the territorial cult in general — in line with the general argument in van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 3.

shortened so as to leave a fork, and bark rope (procured from the *mukwe* tree) would be tied around the fork. 7 Two old women would be appointed to go and clean a spot around an anthill and two furrows would be drawn in the ground so as to form a cross: one longer furrow from the east to the west, and a shorter one from the north to the south.

An old woman would be asked to bring water in a gourd; that water ought to have been brought into the village the day before the ceremony. In the morning two or three old women would bring maize meal in a container and onto it they would pour cold water until a very fluid solution was obtained. The oldest woman of all would take that solution into her mouth. Looking upward she would blow it out with force, to her right side, her left side, in front and behind her, and after that she would pour the solution into the furrows, praying:

“Bring water, You our Lord, Nyambi of Glory,”

and all the people would ululate and start singing’ (1: 6).<sup>296</sup>

There are indications that clan heads were female:

‘Shawaya became the leader<sup>297</sup> of the Shikumbawuyuvu clan.’ (12: 2)

The account is silent on the point of the judicial powers of clan heads, but since no other legal authorities are specified for this period, it is safe to assume that clan heads fulfilled at least such judicial roles as village heads today: presiding over village moots, with an emphasis on persuasion and consensus, and few formal sanctions.<sup>298</sup> The extent of the social group within which arbitration is possible in the case of

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<sup>296</sup> This is the rain ritual that was temporarily revived by the Ila (more precisely Lumbu) prophet Mupumani, who in 1913 incited forked poles as described here to be planted all over central western Zambia and far beyond; cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 147f and references cited there. Today the ritual is no longer performed, as far as I know, but Mupumani’s ritual formula, *Twakabomba* (‘We are humble’) has survived; cf. (1: 6).

<sup>297</sup> Nk.: *Mukulwane*. Shikumbawuyuvu is another name for the Lavwe or Sheta clan. Since Shawaya is situated in a period for which already male *Myene* were recorded, this passage may also indicate that after the rise of *Wene*, clan heads retained some ritual status (as indeed they still have today), and that members (particularly female ones?) of the royal family who did not make it to *Wene* status could be compensated with such ritual office. Similar ritual compensation can also be reconstructed for other processes of state formation in South Central Africa (cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 119-124 — on Bemba priestly councillors — and references cited there).

<sup>298</sup> In fact, early Luvale ‘chiefs’, who as stranger dynasties imposing themselves on a Nkoya-speaking population are historically closely related to — if not identical to — the clan leaders we are dealing with here, are primarily mentioned in their capacity as judges and arbitrators; cf. White 1949, 1960, 1962; Papstein 1978.

murder is often taken as an indication of the size of the effective juridico-political group. However, we have no means of ascertaining how the clan functioned in this respect: for the earliest period there is no mention of violence, nor of a military apparatus and its exploits. Such cases of murder and arbitration as *Likota lya Bankoya* mentions, all refer to a later phase, that of statehood.

It is likely, none the less, that the clan-based social organization provided a framework for a social and moral order out of which no juridico-political specialty yet seems to have articulated itself, in the way of secular rulers. This would leave the clan heads to have been primarily land priests,<sup>299</sup> incarnating a total cosmological order whose ritual and organizational keepers they were. Through their role in ecological ritual (perhaps already foreshadowing later, exclusive royal claims to fishing pools and game animals) they would occupy a central place as mediators between the population and Nature: not in order to monopolize and hoard Man's proceeds from Nature, but to redistribute them over, and share them with, their subjects, over which they held not so much juridico-political but primarily symbolic or ritual authority. In other words, they formed an example of Sahlins's (1965) redistributive chief, at a very incipient stage of political centralization.

As we have seen, *Likota lya Bankoya* suggests clans to be internally segmented in junior and senior branches, much like matrilineages (38: 6-7). Do we witness here a transition from the clan as a unit of social organization, to the clan as a principle of political and dynastic organization? For in the same vein, the existence of clan leadership with ecologico-ritual and economic prerogatives suggests that before the emergence of states, clans formed not just localized named groups and immigration cores, but also rudimentary political cores: the very growth points for later states. This ties in with the myth of origin of Nkoya kingship — the myth of the Pot of Game Meat cooking on the fire, which we shall discuss below.

#### 4.2. The emergence of the institution of *Wene*

The clans were composed of matrilineal segments, the most important of which is claimed to spring from the first Lady Mwene Libupe:

'THE NKOYA CAME FROM THE LUBA  
LIBUPE

**2** 1 Our grandparents used to tell us that Libupe came from *ncelele*, 'the north' as we say today in the language of the English. She was the first Lady Mwene. She came with the Nkoya across the Zambezi near its source. They were known by their old name of Mbwela.' (2: 1)

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<sup>299</sup> On the great significance of this category throughout Zambian precolonial history, of the present millenium, cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 3.

*Likota Iya Bankoya* consistently avoids using the word *Mwene* for clan leadership, but claims that it was upon such a structure of clanship that the Nkoya institution of *Wene*, politico-religious leadership at the supra-clan level, developed: as the outcome of a contest between the clans, with representatives of each clan trying to lift a big pot with game meat off the fire. When Shilayi Mashiku, the daughter of Mwene Libupe and her *Mukwetunga* Shikalamo sha Mundemba, completed the task successfully, she gained the leadership for herself and her clan:

‘The kingship of the Nkoya is said to have started with the large cooking-pot full of game meat. (...) 2 Shikalamo sha Mundemba was therefore the one who prepared the large pot with game meat he had bagged; he put the pot on the fire and started cooking the meat. The meat had been cooking from the early morning till midday, and when the pot of meat was still on the fire Mpungumushi sha Mundemba called all the people. He said to them:

‘Anyone who can take the large pot of game meat off the fire will become Mwene of all the people in this area.’

All clans in that area tried very hard to take the pot of meat off the fire. 3 Some went to cut poles long and strong enough to take the pot of meat off the fire, but they could not go near, for the fire was very large (...). 4 All the clans: Mbunze, Lavwe, Ntabi, Nkomba, Shungu and Nyembo, tried to the best of their ability but they failed to take the pot of meat off the fire. Then the daughter of Shikalamo sha Mundemba fetched water in a tight basket; with the aid of this basket she managed to go around the fire, pouring water and extinguishing the fire. 5 With great efforts she got near the pot of meat and using her pole she managed to take the pot off the fire. Then she called her relatives and all the people, saying:

‘Let us eat.’

After they had eaten one of her relatives shouted:

‘Come so that you can lick the plates of the Sheta who have gone around the pot of meat which was on the fire.’

Then Shikalamo sha Mundemba told all the people:

‘You have all failed to take the pot of meat off the fire, but my daughter Shilayi Mashiku has managed to do so. She has eaten the meat with her relatives. She is ‘the bird that takes good care of its young ones’ and she becomes your Mwene. You who have licked the plates are the junior Myene henceforth known as Nkonze. The Sheta and the Nkonze are the same people, all Myene’.

7 When all the clans heard this they said to the people of Shilayi:

‘You are from now to be called Sheta, for you have gone around and around the pot of meat when it was on the fire.’

To the others they said:

“You are from now to be called Nkonze for you have licked the plates of the Sheta.”

At the end of the ceremony it rained so heavily that the fire was extinguished. The people said :

“Our Kingship comes from the Raindrop.” ’ (4: 1f)

The fact that not Libupe, but her daughter Shilayi Mashiku is the protagonist of the myth of origin of *Wene*, suggests that Libupe’s *Mwene* status was only incipient, even though she is consistently called by that title. At a structural level — for all we know Libupe herself may well be only a mythical personage — this seems to mean that the *model* of *Wene* could have been imported from Musumba, but not by people who themselves were *Myene* already: the opportunity to apply that model to themselves only arose in a new, distant land, away from the sphere of influence of the Mwaat Yaamv. But the non-immigrant contribution — on the paternal side, Shikalamo’s — to the development of *Wene* is at least as much stressed by the story.

While presenting the outlines of a symbolic structure whose characteristics in terms of gender relations we shall explore below, this story on the surface suggests that the early Nkoya Lady *Myene* largely emulated the still earlier clan head: combining the socio-economic task of redistribution of local produce in an economy largely based on hunting and gathering (associated with the father, Shikalamo), with symbolico-ritual mediation between her people and nature, in the context of a cosmology that forms the basis of her legitimacy and power. The story of the Big Pot of Game Meat poses that through the institution of *Wene* the various clans were incorporated into a wider, super-clan socio-political framework, and that in this process an increasing monopolizing of the control over Nature in the hands of a few played an important part. For in the myth, Shikalamo sha Mundemba controlled both the proceeds from Nature (game meat), and the means to process them into food fit for human consumption (the cooking pot, the fire), in such a way that the members of other clans had to submit to him. It is likely that this differential control was related to such *ex officio* rights over certain fishing pools and certain game animals or parts thereof,<sup>300</sup> as were to characterize *Wene* till today. These rights were the basis of royal tribute (*ntupu*), on which the economy of the royal courts was to be based — later to be supplemented by slavery and long-distance trade. They provided an obvious supply of commodities for the *Mwene* to trade with or entertain tribute relations with superior royal courts; as one oral source insists:

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<sup>300</sup> In the colonial period, these rights had been preserved virtually intact in the case of the Lozi Litunga, and it is as such that they have been described by Gluckman (1968a).

‘The Mwene kept all skins, he did not redistribute them among his subjects.’<sup>301</sup>

The nature of the *Mwene*’s rights was so absolute that

‘There was a death penalty on violating royal rights to animals.’<sup>302</sup>

The animal rights were complemented by royal fishing rights over pools and streams, as documented in various passages of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, e.g.:

‘Nearby is also Lake Nkombalume, which together with Lake Mukondoloke (or Matuka) belonged to Mwene Kalumbwa.’ (14: 4)

Or again in chapter 43, where Mwana Mwene Kalumpiteka is killed when, on the basis of his royal ancestry, he claims fishing rights in the land of Lubanda (now Namwala district), but meets his doom when these claims are utterly unsupported by the local Ila.

Other sources differ from Shimunika, claiming that special fishing rights were peculiar to Lozi chiefs but not to the Nkoya *Myene*,<sup>303</sup> or again that among the Nkoya not the *Mwene*, but his *Lihano* possessed such rights.<sup>304</sup>

The royal game rights had continued to constitute central symbols of royal status. Thus by the end of the nineteenth century, Mwene Wahila’s democratic stance of delegating royal power to the Bilolo (50:10) is summarized as ‘sharing out tusks’ to them.

However, *Wene* is more than economic power: it is a form of divine kingship (cf. de Heusch 1984). It was only Shikalamo’s daughter Shilayi Mashiku who had a very special relation to Rain — the origin and symbolic consummation of her leadership (‘at the end of the ceremony it rained’), and with which she is identified (‘she is the bird...’). Libupe’s part in the story is not explicitly stated, but there is a suggestion that the mythico-ritual link with Rain is her personal contribution to Shilayi’s status. The bird-like connotations of Shikalamo’s Luba name Mpungumushi<sup>305</sup> suggest that the paternal, non-immigrant side contributed not just the hunting and clan complex, but also another link with Mvula via ornithological imagery. Whatever the case, the ecologico-ritual elaboration of leadership may have been the main

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<sup>301</sup> Oral source [20].

<sup>302</sup> Oral source [18] 13.10.1977. The same source states that the chief’s rights also extended to *dagga*, a narcotic crop. Smoking of *dagga* was a royal prerogative and infringement of this right cost the offender a fine of an axe or a spear.

<sup>303</sup> Oral source [20].

<sup>304</sup> Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. below, Part III, note to (4: 2).



innovation at the root of pre-state *Wene*. We shall come back to this point below, when we discuss the differential significance of rain for various branches of production.

According to this myth, the Nkoya acquired the institution of female-dominated *Wene*, but we are still in a pre-state situation. I would agree with de Heusch (1972, 1984) that in South Central Africa, 'kings' like the original *Myene* are older than state-like structures, and relate not to a political organization but to a specific cosmological and symbolic order.

The image of a continuing Golden Age of peace evokes this order adequately:

'Mwene Libupe did not wage war on any other Mwene and she reached a high age.' (2: 3)

But that situation was soon to end with the Humbu war, as we shall see in the next section of this chapter.

The mythical language of *Likota Iya Bankoya* when speaking on the emergence of *Wene* from a substratum of clan leadership, inevitably lends a strong element of conjecture to our analysis on this point. However, oral sources outside *Likota Iya Bankoya* cast a much brighter light on the connexion between clan leadership and later political leadership. Thus in a group interview with the Mutondo Royal Council<sup>306</sup> it was clearly stated that in the past *all* clans had their own *Myene*, and a detailed list was produced (*table 1* below).

One was well aware of the fact that some of these chiefs are now sub-chiefs, and have no orchestra. Some titles (those marked with an asterisk in table 1) were claimed to have been 'killed by the Nkamba', i.e. their royal status was eclipsed by the action of the Lozi representative *indunas* posted in their area as from the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>307</sup>

This evidence is extremely interesting because it corroborates two ideas which have emerged on the basis of analysis of other traditional materials and passages in *Likota Iya Bankoya*: not only the emergence of latter-day *Wene*, as a structure of political domination in the hands of males, out of the much more ancient clan organization; but also the idea that the contemporary moiety-like bifurcation of Nkoya society in Kaoma district between Mutondo and Kahare is spuriously projected back into the past. What the above list shows is that the clan connotations of *Wene* persisted right to the twentieth century, and that even at the onset of incorporation in the Lozi state Kahare and Mutondo were rather *primi inter pares* among a whole array of Nkoya *Myene* — more exalted than most of them because of the elaboration of Mutondo's and Kahare's regalia (foremost the elaborate royal orchestra — the other clan chiefs only had *zingongi*, royal bells, a symbol of

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<sup>306</sup> Oral source [19] 18.10.1977.

<sup>307</sup> Oral source [19] 20.10.1977.

<b>'clan</b>	<b><i>Mwene</i></b>
Nyembo <sup>308</sup>	Mwene Kahare
Sheta	Mwene Mutondo
Lavwe <sup>309</sup>	Mwene Kabulwebulwe
Nkonze	Mwene Shakalongo*
Mbunze	Mwene Nyati*
Ntabi	Mwene Kingama*
Shungu	Mwene Nyungu*
Shihombo	Mwene Shilulu
Nkomba	Mwene Mukambe
Le	Mwene Yuvwenu.*'

*Table 1. Clans and Myene among the Nkoya.*<sup>310</sup>  
(for the meaning of the asterisks, see text)

royalty throughout Central Africa), but all the same completely on a par with Shakalongo, who also boasted a full royal orchestra. The latter-day moiety-like structure partly stems from some sort of survival of the fittest, on the part of Kahare and Mutondo, in the process of incorporation into the Lozi state and the colonial state by the turn of the twentieth century.

### **4.3. The emergence of states**

#### *the beginning of violence*

The first violent test to which the emerging, *Wene*-centred organization was put, is said to have been the Humbu war:

‘The Humbu war was the first war the Myene of the Nkoya fought, as a result of a request from a Lihano to the effect that the Mwene should go to *Mukanda*, along with the entire land which resorted under the kingship. 2 The Nkoya refused to adopt that custom, and the war started. The Humbu were at first defeated, for the Nkoya outnumbered them. The Humbu had come from the north, crossing the Zambezi and the Kabompo. Another, greater army came and many of the Nkoya were killed. The Humbu had come to take the land of Mwene Luhamba. They came from Mwantiyavwa following his order:

‘Go and kill for me all the Nkoya Myene.’”

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<sup>308</sup> Also called Kamanisha.

<sup>309</sup> Also called Shihondo.

<sup>310</sup> Oral source [19] 18.10.1977.

3 The Humbu went all over the land killing the members of the Sheta clan, including Mwene Shilayi Mashiku and all the other Myene, with the exception only of Luhamba and his sister Katete Mashiku. When the war intensified Luhamba fled with his sister Katete Mashiku to hide among the Mbunze. 4 The Mbunze hid Luhamba in a bark container and Katete Mashiku in a mat. The war continued and the Nkoya defeated the Humbu. The Humbu said:

“We did not want to fight against the entire tribe — all we want is the Sheta of Luhamba son of Shilayi.” (6: 1f)

The Humbu or Amahumbu constitute an ethnic group in northwestern Zambia and eastern Angola. It is remarkable that in that environment, where historical links with the empire of the Lunda dynasty of the Mwaat Yaamv in what is now southern Zaïre are stressed as a source of political and cultural prestige, the Humbu, more than any other group, have Mbwela connotations. *Likota Iya Bankoya* puts the Humbu in a very different position: that of the most conspicuous exponents of a Lunda expansion that went at the expense of Mbwela autonomy on the Upper Zambezi.<sup>311</sup>

What is puzzling about the present passage of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is the suggestion of anachronism: the use of the word *Lihano* (male *Mwene*'s consort), and the insistence on circumcision of the *Mwene* who therefore is implied to be male, both point to a later phase in Nkoya politico-religious organization: when violent men had already usurped the female-dominated kingship and created states on that basis.

*Likota Iya Bankoya* suggests that, along with more obvious reasons of territorial expansion, the Humbu war was triggered by Lunda irritation at the emergence of independent rulers among the Nkoya — asserting their independence by a rejection of the Musumban Mukanda. That would at least be a likely reason why the Sheta, the clan which (from the Mutondo-centred perspective of Shimunika) owned *Wene*, were singled out for battle by the Humbu. A fuller discussion of male circumcision we shall reserve for chapter 5.

Although the Nkoya are claimed to have come out victorious, the Humbu war brought home the great vulnerability of their underdeveloped socio-political system (consisting of clans upon which the ecologico-ritual institution of *Wene* was superimposed) in the face of military attack. Also, many *Myene* (emphatically not all of them female, which is further brought out by the fact that circumcision in this part of Africa is an exclusively male affair) are said to have been killed. This cleared the way for Luhamba as the first male *Mwene*.

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<sup>311</sup> Cf. Verhulpen 1936; McCulloch 1951: 6 and appendix map; Schecter 1980a: 293f, specifically on the Lunda/Mbwela confrontation; Papstein 1978: 78, and references cited there. The Mbwela wars are also discussed in detail in Sangambo's (1979) *History of the Luvale*, another Zambian specimen of literate ethno-history, whose geographical coverage (including the areas of the Maniinga, Kafue, Kabompo and Lukolwe rivers) partly overlaps with the region dealt with in Nkoya traditions.

What happened meanwhile to Luhamba's sister Katete? She is remembered as a mother and grandmother of (male) *Myene*, but not as a *Mwene* herself — although there appears to have been another Katete, who in the kings' lists added to the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript by Mr H.H. Mwene features as the third Nkoya *Mwene*, while Luhamba is only the sixth. Lipepo, mentioned as brother of Luhamba and Katete, later also became a *Mwene*, but it is doubtful if he was of the same generation: he does not feature in the account of hiding during the Humbu war, and is only reported as succeeding to the successor of his alleged brother Luhamba. This is again an indication that, due to the principle of free permutation of names, titles and even exploits as discussed in section 3.4, a source like *Likota lya Bankoya* does not allow us to reconstruct early history down to the point of specific personages and specific events.

### *the first royal courts*

The Humbu war is a watershed in Nkoya history: it marks the emergence of fully-fledged states. For whereas *Wene* is already described for an earlier phase, it is only with reference to periods after that war that all the characteristics of Nkoya states appear in *Likota lya Bankoya*. It traces the emergence of male leadership, and its taking on secular and military overtones, to this dramatic event.

With reference to the period after the Humbu war, the book begins to make mention of what until today constitute the central characteristics of a royal establishment or court: the royal village, distinguished from other villages by a generic name (*lukena*), a peculiar appearance and spatial arrangement (a reed fence supported by pointed poles), and regalia reserved to *Myene*: the *mpande* — a shell ornament —, and further primarily musical instruments: xylophones, iron bells, and various types of drums.

The fenced royal court with pointed poles is to this day the prerogative of only a handful of 'traditional rulers' in western Zambia. The movable royal paraphernalia have a less restricted distribution: along with such ceremonial ironware as bow stands and axes (the latter are found among the Nkoya but are much less emphasized than the musical instruments and the *mpande*),<sup>312</sup> they form the standard ceremonial

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<sup>312</sup> Oral source [20] emphatically denies that the *zimpane* derived from long-distance trade in the more recent centuries:

'before the *Myene* arrived in Zambia from Zaïre, they had already *zimpane*.'

The same source proclaims that only the following people could wear *zimpane*: the *Mwene*, the *Mwana Mwene*, and the *Mwene*'s sister. However, due to the parallelism and transformation that exists in nineteenth- and twentieth-century western Zambia between *Myene* and (predominantly female) leaders of cults of affliction (see below, 6.5), *zimpane* can now be found to circulate freely (and apparently without

equipment of ‘traditional rulers’ throughout much of Zambia and in surrounding countries.

From a point of view of the development of the Nkoya royal symbolic apparatus it is remarkable that although the earlier *Myene* are reported to have dwelled in a well-defined, named place, Tumba, at the head-waters of the Kabompo, no mention of a *lukena* is made in that context<sup>313</sup> — it seems to be a spatial component of exalted court life typical of a later period; likewise, hardly any praise-names are recorded for these earlier *Myene*.

In the Nkoya language the word ‘drums’ (*zingoma*) is used indiscriminately for the entire Lunda-style royal orchestra, which besides big drums (*liwoma*, pl. *mawoma*) and small drums (*ngoma*, pl. *zingoma*) comprises one or more xylophones (*njimba*, pl. *bilimba*), at least one hourglass drum (*munkupele*),<sup>314</sup> and royal bells (*ngongi*, pl. *zingongi*).

The drum, as an individual instrument or metaphorically as the royal orchestra in general, appears in *Likota Iya Bankoya* as the central symbol of kingship:

‘Take over the drum because your elder brother has died.’(13.1)

Also compare (14: 3f):

‘The fortification of Mwene Kabongo was near the source of the Shitwa. 4 When he died on the Shitwa the Nkoya elected his younger brother Kalumbwa to take over the drum.’

Elsewhere in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (41: 3) it becomes clear that not the title of *Mwene* (which we see also employed, loosely, for non-ruling kinsmen of rulers) but that of *Mwene wa zingoma* (‘*Mwene* of the drums’) is the title which characterizes kingship. Mwene Kahare II is said to be dethroned because during her reign the drums could not glorify the kingship to the full extent (*ibidem*). Mwene Liyoka brings a human sacrifice to his drum, and names a river after an (unspecified) incident in which his drum got broken (36: 2f).<sup>315</sup> More generally, the

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offence to royal privilege) in the cultic milieu, even when a major *Mwene* like Mwene Kahare until recently did not possess even one *mpande* among his regalia.

<sup>313</sup> H.H. Mwene, in his discursive kings’ lists as quoted in the notes to his lists of royal graves at the end of Part II below, misses this crucial point when he claims that the earliest *zinkena* were in Tumba.

<sup>314</sup> A standard item in the Lunda musical regalia, also reported by for instance Papstein (1978) for the Luvale.

<sup>315</sup> That river, thus called the Kawoma or Kaoma, was close to the spot where the Mankoya district headquarters were finally built in 1906, so that, when President Kaunda in 1969 decided to remove all ethnic connotations from toponyms in western Zambia — changing Barotseland into Western Province, and Balovale into Zambezi — the Mankoya district, renamed Kaoma after Mwene Liyoka’s river, through a fortuitous

fate of Nkoya kingship in confrontation with the Lozi and the Kololo also hinges on the issue of drums, which takes up much of the argument of *Likota lya Bankoya*. However, there are other, not necessarily secondary symbols of kingship: the royal name or title, the praise-name, the *mpande* shell ornament, and other material regalia. The prominence of the drums, and of the royal orchestra in general, must be interpreted against the increasing prominence of the Lunda court culture, whose introduction seems to have greatly transformed the already existing institution of sacred kingship (*Wene*).

The movable regalia were symbols not so much of an individual ruler, but of a royal name, a dynasty, and the state as a whole. As such these paraphernalia inspired awe and fear in subjects and enemies; their capture by enemies spelled doom for the dynasty involved and is a cause of ethnic shame to this very day.

So much did the *lukena* (a repository of the regalia as much as a dwelling place and the centre of state administration), become the spatial expression of this apparently new style of leadership, that upon a *Mwene*'s death the *lukena* would turn into the royal grave: it would be deserted and — with the exception of the royal shrine in the form of a pole — left to be swallowed up by the forest, while the successor (who could not risk contamination with the predecessor's death) sets out to construct a new, specifically named *lukena* elsewhere, typically at a distance of scores of kilometres.

As sign of a ruler's individual identity, the *lukena* was complemented by a verbal emblem: the ruler's praise-name (*lizina lya ku litanga*), many of which have been preserved by tradition; their archaic and dense language makes them precious sources, but difficult to decipher.<sup>316</sup>

The *lukena* was in the first place the dwelling of the immediate royal kin. For the early decades of the nineteenth century, female *Myene* are still reported, and male *Myene*'s close ties of descent and affinity with the female leaders of an earlier period are still emphasized. In fact these men's sisters (likewise called *Mwene*) occupy such prominence in the accounts that one gets the impression that the brothers only rule on their sisters' behalf (and sometimes hardly with the latter's blessing). At any rate, *zinkena* emerged as the relatively stable, fixed spatial centres of the emerging state structure. In principle, every *Mwene* would construct her or his own *lukena* upon accession, and this central place would only be given up after that *Mwene*'s death. It is important to realize that only the court would be moved at a *Mwene*'s death: the surrounding villages of freemen on which the court fed for its labour and tribute would not follow suit, the peasant population would remain considerably immobile despite the wanderings of courts, and every

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irony of history could continue to boast a name that in terms of Nkoya political culture was highly significant.

<sup>316</sup> For northern Zambian parallels cf. Chiwale 1962.

term of office a different part of the realm would be most directly exposed to the demands of a nearby royal court.

Meanwhile a number of exceptions to this pattern should be mentioned.

First, several *Myene* are reported in *Likota lya Bankoya* to have entertained smaller hunting *zinkena* in addition to their major establishment. These hunting *zinkena* show the extent to which primary production (in the form of hunting) rather than extraction (in the form of tribute and slave labour) continued to form an important element in the upkeep of royal courts. In other words, if after state formation royal courts among the Nkoya came closer to constituting a distinct, tributary mode of production, the reproduction of that mode was not entirely relegated to a subservient peasant community of primary producers — the tributary mode had to compromise through engagement in hunting: a branch of direct production pursued and propagated by the royals themselves.

Secondly, there is ample evidence of *Myene* having built, and moved to, subsequent *zinkena* after the first one which they originally established upon accession:

‘Mwene Luhamba begot Kashina, who acceded to the kingship, at first remaining in the same capital on the Nkulo. Later on, Kashina son of Luhamba moved his capital from Nkulo to Nabowa, and built his capital on the Katetekanyemba, a tributary of the Nabowa. This is where he died.’ (8: 2)

Considerable royal spatial mobility can further be detected in the generation of Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha and her sisters (17: 4f).

*Likota lya Bankoya* contains a few pointers as to the reasons for these displacements of *zinkena* during a *Mwene*’s reign. In the case of Shihoka I, his move first to the northeast, and westward again to the Maniinga area, is said to be prompted by hunting considerations, but since this was a major formative period of the Lozi state, external political and military pressure may have been a major factor for Shihoka’s departure from the Kabompo (cf. Mutumba Mainga 1973). For good reasons Shihoka’s capital on the Maniinga was a fortified one, a *kembi* (10: 5). A similar factor (Kololo pressure) is shown to be behind the succession of *zinkena* of Mwene Liyoka. In other cases internal strife within the dynastic group appears to have been a major factor for moving — like those unspecified conflicts giving rise to the Momba and Kabulwebulwe dynasties.

The rule concerning the evacuation of the *lukena* upon the *Mwene*’s demise constituted another reason for movements. However, it was not always adhered to. In *Likota lya Bankoya*, the Kalimbata *lukena* turns out to have been in operation in a period extending over the reign of several *Myene* (cf. *Appendix 7*).

Underlying all these specific, often political and ceremonial reasons for displacement there may have been economic necessities such as we shall discuss in section 4.5.

Whatever the specific underlying reasons, in a way only implicitly and obliquely documented in Shimunika's book the spatial movement of royal courts virtually came to an end at the beginning of the colonial era. Since then, the successive incumbents of both the Mutondo title and the Kahare title continued to live in close proximity — in fact, the very same valley — of the *lukena* of their immediate predecessor; Mwene Mutondo Muchayila, who re-acceded to the throne in 1981 after the death of Mwene Mutondo Kalapukila, even lives in the same palace building as Kalapukila. Accessibility from the point of view of the district headquarters became a major consideration in the location of *zinkena*, and some pressure was exerted (rather in vain) to move the *lukena* closer to such services as schools, rural health centres, and the main road.

#### *court officials*

*Likota lya Bankoya* gives the impression that gradually, in the early centuries, the *zinkena* became peopled with other functionaries than the immediate royal kin.

The offices of royal musician and praise-singer can be taken for granted from as soon as the royal instruments appear on the scene. The high value which initially was attached to their services is suggested by the fact that they were paid in cattle and slaves;<sup>317</sup> their status must have declined considerably over the centuries, for at present it is conspicuously low.

The office of *Mwanashihe*<sup>318</sup> (Principal Councillor, the *Mwene*'s spokesman in front of the people as well as the people's spokesman in front of the *Mwene*, and emphatically a commoner) is first mentioned in a context referring to the mid-nineteenth century (27: 7). The *Shamanga* (a commoner, also called *Shikombwa sha Mwene*) and, as his assistant, the *Livumina*, were the court stewards, supervising the *Mwene*'s wives, slaves, and in general the production and reproduction going on at the *lukena*.<sup>319</sup> The *Shamanga* also functioned as royal priest, responsible for the royal medicine upon which the well-being of the *Mwene* largely depended.<sup>320</sup> Moreover there were senior

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<sup>317</sup> Oral source [15].

<sup>318</sup> Oral source [19] 19.10.1977; oral source [20] gives the alternative form of *Mwene Shihenya*.

<sup>319</sup> Oral sources [6]; and [19] 19.10.1977.

<sup>320</sup> Shimunika in the original manuscript uses the plural term *Bya-Manga*, which on the advice of Nkoya readers has been altered into *Bashamanga*. The translation is problematic. Shimunika's typescript dictionary (Anonymous n.d. (b)) contains on p. 57 a double entry for the word



councillors with the titles of *Mushakabantu*, *Kangongwe* and *Nanyundo*.<sup>321</sup> There is confusion concerning their specific roles: according to some sources the *Mushakabantu* was a war leader, according to others a judge; *Kangongwe* and *Nanyundo* are often considered as judges, but another source<sup>322</sup> claims that the *Nanyundo* was again assistant to *Livumina*. The precise nature of these functions cannot be detected from a study of contemporary conditions at Nkoya *zinkena*: the original court offices have turned into hereditary titles of headmen and names of villages, and the incumbents do no longer discharge any specific court office. Finally there was the court jester: *Kayoni ka Mwene* or *Shiyoni ka Mwene*,<sup>323</sup> who is also mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (50: 12). Moreover, throughout the nineteenth century selected male rulers are reported to have divided up their territory over their male kinsmen, who served them as councillors and territorial representatives (*Shilolo*).<sup>324</sup> These offices, of an obvious political and military nature, were complemented by those of the ruler's much-feared secret executioners (*Tupondwa*).

The set-up is reminiscent of Lunda court arrangements,<sup>325</sup> although the principal structural features of these courts according to Schecter (1980a: vi-vii) were hardly developed among the Nkoya — perpetual kinship, and positional succession. It is very likely that the virtual absence of these features had a negative influence on the political survival of the Nkoya states: their structure remained brittle and fragmented. Moreover their emphasis on more or less democratic procedures (see below, ch. 5) repeatedly checked such autocratic tendencies as certain Nkoya *Myene* displayed in the course of the nineteenth century, and which, if they had been allowed to persist, might have given rise to more enduring state structures or a wider geographical scope. Instead, the nineteenth-century history of the

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*shamanga*: 'one who present people to king' (*sic*), or, a few lines lower, 'steward' (*sic*). The translation as ritual specialist is adopted on the authority of Mr M. Malapa, and converges with my personal impressions of this office whose specific tasks however are surrounded with considerable secrecy.

321 Oral source [20].

322 Oral source [19] 19.10.1977.

323 Oral source [17] 30.9.1977.

324 From the Lunda *cilool*, political chief (Vansina 1966: 333); cf. Cunnison (1967:120) on the use of this term on the Luapula, among the eastern Lunda:

'*Cilolo* on the Luapula means an elder particularly skilled at giving political advice, as distinct from *cikolwa* [clan head, *ibidem*, p. 72 and *passim*] who is an authority on lineage affairs. Court assessors, for instance, are frequently referred to as *bacilolo*.'

Apart from dialectical differences, the same would apply to Bilolo among the Nkoya.

325 Cf. Vansina 1966; Hoover 1980; Papstein 1978.

*zinkena* is full of cases of regicide, impeachment, abdication, of *Myene* who had lost their subjects' support.

Neither can the central Nkoya regalia be characterized as Lunda in the narrower sense. Nkoya *Myene* did and do possess some of the more strictly Lunda paraphernalia (cf. Papstein 1978: 91, 104, 137), such as the *chimbuya* (a miniature battle-axe), the *mukwale* (the double broadsword) and the *muchamo* (crown), but they have lacked the central Lunda symbol of kingship: the *lukano* (a bracelet of human penises and sinews). It is the *mpande* and the musical instruments, much more than the Lunda paraphernalia, that dominate Nkoya royal symbolism and ceremonial, and as such the Nkoya paraphernalia largely belong to a series that has a much wider distribution over South Central Africa than have the Lunda items. The origin and history of selected Nkoya regalia will be discussed when we trace the evolution of the Nkoya political culture in chapter 5.

However, Lunda connotations can be detected in the pattern of ritual separation between ruler and subjects among the Nkoya, which to this day is reflected in a great many taboos and observances surrounding *Wene*. Just one example is the judicial procedure at the *zinkena*, whose basic pattern appears to have been constant throughout the nineteenth century and the colonial period: the *Mwene* would remain in the inner recesses of the palace, and the councillors, with the *Mwanashihemi* in the chair, would try the case up to the final verdict, which — especially in appeal cases — was the *Mwene*'s, but communicated to the public by the *Mwanashihemi*.<sup>326</sup>

The court priests were in charge of the royal medicine without which no *Mwene* could hope to survive the attacks (through both physical and magical means) that rivals and enemies would level against the ruler's life and fertility. The priests would also be in charge of the shrine inside the royal village (the place where a new incumbent would be enthroned upon selection), and would make regular offerings at the more distant burial shrines of the dynastic ancestors. Powers over the natural environment were claimed for the latter shrines, in such a way that the earlier, pre-state cult of the land, at the clan level, was supplanted by a royal cult venerating deceased members of the one royal clan.<sup>327</sup>

### *a new style of kingship*

The new style of *Wene* (male, violent, dynastic, organizationally structured: *Wene* in a context of statehood) sought to find ideological

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<sup>326</sup> Oral source [19] 19.10.1977.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 3 for parallels all over Zambia. However, among the Nkoya the cult of royal graves, and its ecological connotations, remained rather limited, as compared with other, larger states in South Central Africa, including the Lozi state.

support by such 'ecological' claims, but even more so by the terror and violence, both manifest (as through the actions of the *Tupondwa*) and symbolic: human sacrifices to the *lukena*'s fence, to the drums, and at the occasion of a *Mwene*'s burial; royal medicine procured from hideous magical substances including human brains; head-hunting, so that the *Mwene* and his courtiers could drink from human skulls; notions of *Myene*'s incomparable skills of trickery and magic (*malele*), including invisibility and travelling through the air...

Although still the incarnation of the cosmological order of an older period, and as such the embodiment of all that is positive and ideal in Humanity, the new style of leadership seems to have added a Janus image to this ideal: the *Mwene*, guardian of morality and sociability, at the same time becomes the greatest sorcerer, the greatest evildoer, of all. The institution of *Wene* changed from an idiom of ecological concern into one of societal power. It is this redefinition that allowed the older institution of *Wene* to become the focus of states.

Meanwhile it would be likely that the dual nature (benevolence/terror) as found among the later *Myene* as political rulers, could build upon a dialectical contradiction already inherent in pre-state *Wene*, as is suggested by de Heusch (1972, 1984), whose distinction between sacred kingship and statehood is very much to the point here. Ever since Durkheim (1912) we have learned to appreciate both well-being and terror as essential aspects of the sacred, and by extension, of sacred kingship.

Thus we are beginning to identify a number of ways in which the emerging state structure of the Nkoya can be said to be truly a departure from pre-existing social, economic, political and ideological relationships — *and defining itself perhaps through nothing so much as through that drastic and revolutionary departure*. While the institution of *Wene* and thus the office of *Mwene* predates statehood and as such continues to suggest a fundamental continuity legitimating the state structures that were to emerge, we see in actual fact the radical shift from ecological priesthood to secular ruler status at the hub of a courtly culture whose incumbents in their many specific roles were increasingly others than the royal kin; from redistribution of local produce to exploitative appropriation (through tribute, manorial services<sup>328</sup> and slave labour), courtly accumulation and interregional distribution in the form of long-distance trade and higher-order tributary relations with distant superior courts (like that of the Lozi); from supernatural intervention to military and financial protection of the subjects: the tasks of the new-style *Mwene* included shelter in times of war and the ransom of those of his subjects who had been captured in raids;<sup>329</sup> and finally from female-centred cosmologically-underpinned order to male-centred violence and manipulation. Some of these processes we have already

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<sup>328</sup> Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

<sup>329</sup> Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

documented to the extent *Likota Iya Bankoya* allows us; others we will pursue presently.

#### 4.4. Male usurpation of *Wene*

Two out of scores of similar passages in *Likota Iya Bankoya* may give some idea of the initial continuity of female leadership, and of the relations between female *Myene* and their male children who were to succeed them:

‘Mbuyu [Muyeke]’s daughters were Mulawa and Shiwutulu. Mwene Shiwutulu lived on the Nkulashi, a tributary of the Dongwe. Her capital and her grave were near the Nkulashi-Dongwe confluence. 2 Her children and grandchildren (Mwene Kinga, Mwene Pumpola, and Mwene Tumbana) remained in Shifuwe, between the Kabompo and the Dongwe.’ (11: 1f)

‘Nawato was the daughter of Katete, Luhamba’s sister; Katete and Luhamba were both children of Shilemantumba. As sister’s daughter of Luhamba, Nawato acceded as Lady Mwene. Mwene Nawato had two daughters called Mulawa and Muhoba. Mulawa was living in the west and 3 she had the following children:

- (1) Likambi daughter of Malovu
- (2) Shihoka Nalinanga
- (3) Mwanambinyi also called Silumesi, and their sister
- (4) Mbuyu Muyeke.

Likambi lived at Mongu with her mother Mulawa.

4 Mwanambinyi crossed the Zambezi right into Kalabo, taking the Nkoya there. Shihoka and his sister went north crossing two rivers, the Luena and the Kabompo, to the valley of the Maninga.’ (10: 2f)

After the Humbu war, in which his mother was killed, the male Mwana Mwene Luhamba took over *Wene*. No explicit explanation is offered as to why his sister Katete, who escaped with him, did not accede to the throne, but the context suggests that the war experience called for a male leader, and that there were already some male *Myene* at the time. With his brother and his sister Katete, Luhamba had been brought up to be *Mwene*, emphatically after the example of their mother and grandmother who had been female *Myene*:

‘When Shilemantumba died she left her two sons in the branch of kingship. They were of the Mbunze clan, for Mukwetunga Lyovu Iya Mbuwa, the one who begot the *Myene*, belonged to that clan. He ended up with Luhamba and his other children, and brought them up well:

“Our children are to follow the example of the kingship of their grandmother Shilayi Mwene Mashiku and their mother Shilemantumba.” (5: 2)

And so a situation develops where the narrator feels he has to justify the position of female *Myene* by reference to their male royal relatives, instead of the other way round:

‘Another Lady Mwene called Shiwutulu was the mother of Mwene Yaboka and a number of younger children including Ncamanga. 3 Mulawa gave birth to Mwene Welema and Mwene Nzinzi; the latter became Lady Mwene, **being Welema’s sister.**’ (11: 2f; my emphasis).

There are however several indications that at first succession by male incumbents was not considered a matter of course, and needed some additional (though not quite convincing) justification, as if in fact there was a serious succession dispute whose arguments still reverberate across the centuries:

‘When Mwene Kazikwa died Mwene Shihoka acceded to the kingship. All the Nkoya elected him after Mwene Kazikwa’s death:

“Take over the drum because your elder brother has died.”

Shihoka II was born in their family just after Mwene Kazikwa.’ (13: 1)

Also in other ways male *Myene* continued to justify their position by reference to female predecessors:

‘Mashiku was also called “Manenga the mother of Mukamba”, for Mukamba adopted the following praise-name:

“I am Mvubu ya (son of) Manenga. I am Mwene Mvubu ya Manenga,”

which can be explained because Mvubu was indeed a son of Manenga.’ (12: 4)

Moreover, so often are early male *Myene* accompanied by their mothers or their sisters, and so often are these women mentioned without any obvious reason in the context, that one gets the impression of some sort of mystical bond, or as if the male *Mwene* needs his sister and/or mother as a basis for his own legitimacy:

‘Fighting started and the Kololo defeated the Nkoya. Mwene Liyoka was captured along with his sister [Nankuwa]. Most regalia were taken by the Kololo (...). The Kololo took Mwene Liyoka to Loziland. On their way to Loziland, on the road near Lake Ngoma, his sister Mwene Nankuwa died and she was buried there.’ (38: 2)

Initially, female *Myene* still maintained prominence, like Mwene Shinkisha and her sisters:

‘Mwene Kashina Lishenga’s sister Mwene Shimpanya lived at the Makubikufuka with her Mukwetunga Mabizi. 4 Mwene Kabandala lived in the valley of the Miluzi near the capital of their sister Mwene Shinkisha at Kalimbata. Lady Mwene Kabandala had brought her<sup>330</sup> children, whose names were: Kashina Shiyenge; Mukamba Kancukwe; and their sister Shihoka. When Shihoka acceded to the kingship she adopted the following praise-name:

‘I am Mwene Komoka  
Who has Surprised the Nkoya.’ (27: 3f)

The theme of the dynastic relationship between brother and (classificatory) sister relates of course to the theme of royal incest (cf. de Heusch 1958), which is prominent in Luyi myths of origin of the Luyana dynasty,<sup>331</sup> but which is not at all present in the Nkoya myth of origin of *Wene*. As we shall see, the symbolic pair wife/husband is the most obvious and drastic transformation of the sister/brother opposition characteristic of this phase of the struggle for *Wene*; the fact that among the Nkoya this transformation was not explicitly elaborated is only one of several indications that ultimately male usurpation of *Wene*, and thus fully-fledged state formation, has remained less definitive here than among the Lozi. Even in the hands of men Nkoya *Wene* could not break out of the confines of a kinship-based social organization whose most powerful rule was the incest taboo; therefore Nkoya statehood could not surpass, but largely remained controlled by, the pre-state socio-cultural structures.

Meanwhile, a very fine and unmistakable case of male/female sibling rivalry in the struggle for royal power is to be found in the story of Shihoka and his elder sister Likambi:

‘Mwene Shihoka had very many people and they learned how to make canoes which they used on the Kabompo; there were many large trees suitable for the construction of canoes. Mwene Shihoka’s capital was called ‘Lukolwe’ and so was the area as a whole. (...) When Shihoka’s elder sister, Likambi Mange,<sup>332</sup> heard about the canoes and wooden dishes that Shihoka’s people were making, she

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<sup>330</sup> Classificatory use.

<sup>331</sup> Cf. Jalla 1921; Muuka 1966; Mutumba Mainga 1972; the very word *Luyana*, a common name for the Lozi dynasty, means ‘incestuous’, both in Nkoya, and in Si-Luyana, the Luyi court language (cf. Givon 1971; Fortune 1963). For comparative parallels on incest in ethnic and dynastic origins in South Central Africa, cf. Roberts 1973: 346 and references cited there.

<sup>332</sup> Nk. Mange = ‘Wizardess’.

sent her people to Shihoka in order to request such products as were being made in the Lukolwe area. Mwene Shihoka chased them from the land. Likambi Mange sent a woman who had been pawned to her, to fetch a diviner-priest. 7 He cut medicine from the poisonous *mubulwebulwe* tree. Then he made a *nankishi* in the shape of a woman, with breasts and all. When this was doctored it turned into a living woman, and she went to Maniinga. 8 When the people of Mwene Shihoka's capital saw the beautiful girl standing just outside the capital, they went to report to the Mwene:

“We have seen a most beautiful young woman.”

9 When Mwene Shihoka heard this he said to his people:

“Go and bring her here into the capital so that she can be Lihano.”

They went and brought her into the capital. And she became Lihano. This was the cause of the illness from which Mwene Shihoka died in Lukwakwa on the Maniinga.’ (10: 5f)<sup>333</sup>

We note that the transformation from sister/brother to wife/husband is performed in this story, but only via the mystifying link of the *nankishi* (idol, fetish, elaborate medicine container).<sup>334</sup> Representing the elder sister, the magical doll herself becomes the royal wife, and — most significantly — the male *Mwene* does not survive the transformation.

As a Nkoya version of Morgana la Fay in England's Arthur legends Likambi claimed her right to the throne, which her younger brother had usurped. The account is the only one of its kind in *Likota lya Bankoya*. Although many scores of *Myene*, both male and female, are discussed in Shimunika's work, and although contemporary male *Myene* are reputed to be sorcerers, Likambi is one of the few *Myene* actually depicted as using sorcery (*wulozi*)<sup>335</sup> against a rival. The other cases are Mwene Fumika (the later Lozi ruler Sipopa, and therefore hardly a Nkoya *Mwene* from the perspective of *Likota lya Bankoya*) killing his rival Imasiku with sorcery (33: 1); and Mwene Mutondo Munangisha promising not to harm the temporary incumbent Kashunkani (47: 6).

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333 The story does not occur in my oral sources, but one of them deals with a conflict between Shihoka and his sister Likambi Mange over cattle: [3] 9.10.1973.

334 In line with Wyatt MacGaffey's (1977, 1986a, 1986b) penetrating analyses of *nkishi* in the Lower Congo context, also among the Nkoya the *nankishi* can be defined as a deliberately intricate medicine container, taking a great variety of shapes and subject to free variation and individual experimentation.

335 The orthography (but not the pronunciation: ≈ *woo-róthi*) spuriously suggests a link with the ethnic name Lozi; in the Nkoya language, the Lozi are associated with political rather than with supernatural evil, and they are referred to as Luyi (≈ *Rooyi*).

Other *Myene* are reported to have magical powers, but these belong to the neutral or positive category of *malele*.

The story of Likambi reflects considerable male bias: in the historical sequence offered by *Likota Iya Bankoya*, it is the first time that a woman appears no longer as exponent of the politico-religious cosmic order, but as morally and politically opposed to that order — now epitomized in male political power. Sheerly by opposing the latter, a woman acquires the connotations of utter evil. The confrontation between male and female political power must have been grim indeed, at the time.

Nor was the struggle for male succession decided once and for all, without resilience of female claims. The powerful and formidable male Mwene Kayambila<sup>336</sup> was succeeded by Mwene Shinkisha Lushiku Mate, whom we have reconstructed to have been a woman. This reverting to female *Wene* is all the more remarkable since Kayambila's reign is pictured as the heyday of Nkoya statehood, with tribute streaming in from all directions and the Lozi king Mulambwa almost humiliating himself to get a share of the Nkoya royal medicine. A similar oscillation between male and female *Myene* can be seen in the nineteenth-century succession pattern of the Kahare kingship.

Soon however the *Myene* turn out to have become predominantly male. Their accession is no longer exclusively justified by reference to a female kinsman; and there is never any specific mention of the reason why not a woman should be selected. The male *Myene* are then accompanied by their sister's son (the heir apparent) as much as by their sister or mother:

'Mwene Shihoka, his uterine nephew Mwene Kahare and their people went to the valley of the Lunga (...) in order to hunt elephant, and they came across the valley of Wushanga.' (39: 3)

While the first Royal Escort, the *Mukwetunga* Shikalamo sha Mundemba, used his influence to have his daughter installed as *Mwene*, later *Bakwetunga* appear to have played an important role in the ascendancy of male *Myene*:

#### 'THE GREAT BAKWETUNGA

- (1) The oldest *Mukwetunga* was called Shikalamo sha Mundemba and he begot a daughter with Mwene Libupe, by the name of Shilayi Mashiku. When he died his uterine nephew Lyovu Iya Mbuwa succeeded him in the *Mukwetungaship* by marrying Shilayi Mashiku.

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<sup>336</sup> Cf. 2.5, 'genealogical over-interpretation: the case of Mwene Kayambila Shishopa'; and *Appendix 3*, genealogy 2.



- (2) Mukwetunga Mulyata, in his turn, begot six Myene with Mwene Manenga, the Mother of the Nkoya. His younger brothers were: Mulambo, Mwitila Kamamba, and Liyowa.
- (3) Mukwetunga Mukena Kakwasha lived at Mankumbwa with his uterine nephew Mukwetunga Lwengu.' (4: 7)

Note that the status of *Mukwetunga* appears to run in the family, in a way which offers the only suggestion, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, of perpetual kinship, since invariably a *Mukwetunga* would have, as a feminine counterpart, a Lady *Mwene*. If several generations of *Bakwetunga* live in one *lukena*, as Mukena Kakwasha and Lwengu did, a powerful faction is likely to emerge, creating a challenge to the *Mwene*. The status of Royal Escort appears to have developed into a formal position within the royal hierarchy, which did not completely coincide with the social role of husband of a female *Mwene*:

'Mukwetunga Mulyata was the father of the Myene born descending from Lady Mwene Manenga the Mother of the Nkoya. 8 Mulyata married the Mwene and that is why he received the title of Mukwetunga.' (27: 7f)

The separation between political role and kinship role is perhaps understandable in the light of the unstable nature of marital and amorous relationships of female *Myene*, but might also be seen as an implication of perpetual kinship. The fact that *Bakwetunga* have *zinkena* of their own (instead of living at their wife's *lukena*) suggests that the political office of *Mukwetunga* was more important than the conjugal aspect. Sometimes the position of the Royal Escort as a counterpart and perhaps structural rival of his royal wife receives a symbolic expression: thus the father of Shihoka, one of the first male *Myene*, was called Linanga: while *Wene* stems from Rain, his name means 'Drought' (*Linanga*).

Remarkably, all traces of perpetual kinship (that powerful binding force of Lunda-inspired state systems in South Central Africa) disappear from *Likota Iya Bankoya* as its argument proceeds to periods when the imposition of male dominance was well advanced. In the process, there are indications that the Royal Escorts began to strengthen their power by increasing control of and innovation in the realm of ideology. Or how else must one interpret the following passage:

'Mukwetunga Shikalamo, who also lived a long time ago, knew the origins of the creation.' (2: 4)

This marks the beginning of a male ideological perspective, whose gradual elaboration we shall discuss below, in chapter 5. Let us first look at the material requirements for male ascendancy.

#### 4.5. Changes in local branches of production under male initiative

An impression has been given above of the pre-state economy of the region. Under the male *Myene* gradually a different picture emerges. An early male *Mwene* like Lipepo still acts as redistributor, but his royal rights to tribute are so elaborate that he can dispense with other productive activities. He

‘was well-known for his benevolence. 2 The Nkoya were fond of him, blessing him with the following words of praise:

‘‘You, Mwene Lipepo Mwenda na Nkuli,  
You Who Feeds the Orphans like Your Elder Brother Did:  
Luhamba son of Shilayi.’’

(...) 3 Because the Mwene was liked very much by the people they would bring plenty of tribute, calling him:

‘‘Receiver of Gifts,  
Who lives by Tribute only.’’ (9: 1f)

We are indeed approaching a tributary mode of production, where royal centres for their reproduction largely rely on the material exploitation of surrounding village communities.

Under conditions of statehood the institution of kingship began to take the form of a distinct mode of production, defining a central exploitative relation of production (between productive village communities and essentially non-productive royal courts), and having as a central ideological tenet the stipulation that the *Mwene* in no way could engage in productive work. We see this in Lipepo’s praise-names as quoted above, and in several others, e.g.

‘You Mwene Shikongi Son of Mulawa  
The One on Whom Leisure Thrives  
As Forests Thrive on the Soil,  
The One who Feeds the Hungry.’ (52: 10)

Emphasis on the *Mwene*’s absolute dependence on the production of others is also the essence of the punishment of Mwene Kashina: when the people deserted him for his bad leadership, cowardice and appalling marriage legislation,

‘They did not pay him tribute any more, not even food, and so he died on the Shimano, a tributary of the Nyango. The ants buried him.’  
(34: 5)

A *Mwene*, not supposed to engage in productive labour, must receive tribute or else he or she simply dies from hunger!

Much later, faced with a total redefinition of economic, political and ideological relations under colonialism and Christianity, it became pos-

sible — nay almost imperative, it seems — to suspend this taboo and make the *Mwene* productive once more:

‘During the month of July the Mwene called all his people and told them that they were going to build a school. The Mwene himself, with his own hands, and Mwene Lishenga, with his own hands, contributed immensely to the work.’ (55: 4)

Much as we can appreciate the authentic Christian enthusiasm of the two *Myene*’s participation in school building, more is involved here than piety alone. Christianity genuinely takes the form of a liberation from a fossilized ideological position, which has become untenable in the face of changing political and economic reality. In the 1930s, when the Nkoya kingship was *de facto* no longer a viable mode of production, Christianity provides a setting for the celebration of productive labour in order to mark that transformation. Only in the face of this new ideology, immensely powerful (for backed up by the colonial power and the Lozi Paramount Chief), the *Mwene* need no longer to be ashamed of having become something totally different from a non-productive, exploitative agent.

However, in the time of the early male *Myene* the flow of tribute is still felt to be in accordance with the established world-view and cosmology, and does not represent a sinful denial or breach of Nature. These are still *Myene* who live in harmony with the environment, to the benefit of their people:

‘Mwene Kazikwa lived in his capital on the Mukunkike near the Namasheshe-Mukunkike confluence; 6 in that old time there was plenty of water in the Namasheshe and people caught plenty of fish in their traps.’ (12: 5)

The political order imposed by a good *Mwene* is beneficial in ecological terms: both aspects pertain to the same cosmological order.<sup>337</sup>

Even so, *Myene* already begin to develop a taste for forest products for purposes other than food and shelter:

‘Mwene Kazikwa built his capital along the valleys of the two rivers. 7 He was surrounded by an abundance of waterbuck, or [as they are called in the Lozi language] *bitutunga*. (...) The people brought him plenty of tribute: elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, antbear, honey from the forest, and new varieties of food crops.’ (12: 6f)

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<sup>337</sup> Or is this a symbolic reference to female power (water), held to underpin — as we have seen — Kazikwa’s reign as a (most probably) male *Mwene*? See chapter 6 below, where the gender symbolism of fish will be discussed.

*Likota lya Bankoya* suggests, for the period coinciding with the emergence of male-headed states, a marked development of hunting (for meat, skins and ivory — both for external circulation as objects for trade and tribute, and for local use as food and royal hoards), and a concomitant shift away from fishing — in other words a relative shift from economic activities that both women and men engage in, to economic activities that are exclusively male.<sup>338</sup>

In a context of state formation, we should realize that hunting is much more than a source of food and marketable commodities. Like elsewhere in South Central Africa, to be a hunter is a paroxysm of manhood, and as such a central expression of a male-centred ideological system featuring violence, arms, control, blood. Moreover it is an activity that entails secluded male group activities in the forest: the exclusively male hunting camps in which the activity is organized, are also places of instruction for boys.<sup>339</sup> Besides, hunters have their own elaborate rituals and magic.<sup>340</sup> Thus hunting provides men with a basis of gender mobilization, solidarity, expertise in physical violence and in magic, and regional networks: it is a considerable source of power, even in excess of the social power generated by the circulation of game meat within the local community and beyond. As such the social and political implications of hunting are comparable with the male circumcision complex (see below, chapter 5), as well as with — outside the scope of *Likota lya Bankoya* — the female puberty complex (whose central taboos refer to fish and fishing!).

Not surprisingly, therefore, the early female Mwene Shilayi Mashiku is said to have derived part of her position from the fact that her father

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338 Speaking about the Luvale but with reference to the area (northwestern Zambia) where today's Nkoya dynastic groups used to live prior to their migration to Kaoma district and surrounding regions, Papstein (1978: 84) argues a production shift in exactly the opposite direction, from hunting to fishing. He comes to this view mainly on archaeological grounds: the variation in arrowheads suggesting an early emphasis on hunting; further research appears to be required on this point. Below I shall argue the ambiguous gender symbolism of fish and fishing, articulating the way in which the female domain (water) is set off by the male domain. If this makes sense, a symbolic equation would seem to hold:

$$\text{female/male} = \text{water/fish} = \text{Mbwela(Nkoya)/Luvale,}$$

and the shift away from fishing might be historically related to the intrusion of Musumban elements and the subsequent out-migration, from the Upper Zambezi, of the Mbwela element, henceforth coming to specialize in hunting in a different part of western Zambia. However, in the final analysis (6.3, 'from contemporary Nkoya culture to *Likota lya Bankoya*: examples of transformations') it will be argued that fish cannot be simply equated with one pole in the male/female opposition, but in a liminal, ambiguous fashion stands for the very opposition itself.

339 Not necessarily in a context of male circumcision.

340 For a study of a contemporary Zambian hunting group which in many ways resembles the Nkoya hunting complex, cf. Marks 1976; also White 1956; Turner 1957.

was a hunter: his was the game meat that was contested in the big Pot of *Wene*. The emergence of *Wene* as pictured in *Likota Iya Bankoya* in relation with, but distinct from, hunting thus echoes — in fact, inverts — a passage in the Inkalanyi epic, a basic tradition of the Lunda diaspora: there, during her menstruation seclusion the female ruler Ruwéj is robbed of her regalia by her husband, the *hunter* Chibinda Ilunga.<sup>341</sup> Evocations of male dominance are not limited to the hunter theme: by the same token, the fire from among which the pot of meat had to be procured, has male rather than female connotations. This suggests that state formation among the Nkoya amounted not just, negatively, to an adulteration of pre-state female elements (in the ecologico-ritual sphere of *Wene*), but must also be seen, positively, in relation with a development of male economic and symbolic elements.

Hunting was undoubtedly men's work:

'The capital of Mwene Shihoka I was in that area, before he left to go to Kayanga in order to hunt elephant. He went with the following people:

- (1) Kahare,
- (2) Shihoka III, (...)
- (9) Shamawoma,
- (10) Mbuma.

5 There were also women among his escort.' (39: 4)

Rather to my surprise, *Likota Iya Bankoya* does not present the hunting of elephant and other big game (a well-documented speciality of Nkoya hunters in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century) as a timeless constant of Nkoya culture, but as something improved and propagated by male *Myene* after the men took over *Wene* from the women. The digging of pits to catch big game is presented as if it was a great technological innovation at that time.

The male *Myene* had good reasons for these activities:

'When a person became Mwene he would think of a way to expand his kingdom, adding to his regalia and his land. He would teach the people how to hunt elephant and other game, or how to clear anthills in order to grow oil seeds, tobacco, kaffircorn on *chitemene* fields, *mankazi* yams, *ntamba* yams, and ordinary yams, climber yams, sweet potatoes, 2 sorghum, groundnuts, peanuts, kaffircorn and oil seeds from which body ointment was prepared.' (15: 1f)

The fundamental shift in production associated with state formation is here depicted not as from hunting to agriculture (in Nkoya society today hunting skills still exceed agricultural skills), but as from fishing and collecting to both hunting and agriculture: in other words to

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<sup>341</sup> Cf. Papstein 1978: 104; Hoover 1980; Turner 1955.

economic activities associated with men, and claimed to be introduced by male rulers who take on the characteristics of economic innovators. One would almost use the term culture heroes,<sup>342</sup> if the period in which *Likota Iya Bankoya* situates them had had more of a mythical ring about it; but instead, in this context names, genealogical relationships and deeds are specified as if we are approaching historical times — but that might of course be a narrative device.

The gender symbolism is far from clear on this point. Rain, an association of *Wene* which has female connotations, is the agriculturalist's ally, much more than the fisherman's (whose dwindling pools in the dry season contain more fish than in any other season), the collector's and the hunter's. In this respect the emergence of *Wene* could be said to be connected with the increasing economic importance of agriculture, but then it is remarkable that *Likota Iya Bankoya* associates innovations in agriculture primarily with male *Myene*. Or do these economic innovations simply refer to adaptations of a pre-existing pattern in some later phase of increasing male dominance, and was early agriculture, after all, both a primarily female undertaking, and the origin of *Wene*? There appears to be a dialectical interplay here between two distinct processes: on the one hand, on the economic plane, the evolution of production factors as affecting the various branches of production, and on the other hand, on the political plane, state formation out of a female-centred politico-ideological institution of *Wene*. Only evidence of a non-traditional nature (e.g. from documentary sources, archaeology or linguistics) will enable us to disentangle this dialectic.

Immediately after the above quotation, *Likota Iya Bankoya* continues:

'The commodities which people sold in the past and through which they gained great wealth were:

- (1) slaves,
- (2) Portuguese beads, Mwene's ornaments (*zimpane*), ivory bangles, copper bangles, 3 spears, axes, hoes, bows and arrows. In the old times there were people at the courts of the Nkoya who were able to make steel, and out of it they manufactured many types of implements, including axes and hoes. Today the Nkoya have entirely lost the knowledge of making these objects themselves. As raw material for their steel the Nkoya in the old days used iron ore from the river beds.' (15: 2f)<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Here again we see *Likota Iya Bankoya* reiterate a cliché of South Central African legends of ethnic origins; cf. Roberts 1973: 346-7 and references cited there.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. oral source [10]: 'The Nkoya made steel in kilns. They traded in axes, hoes, spear heads and knives.' Nkoya activities in regional trade are also repeatedly mentioned by Holub in similar terms; in addition he stresses their trade in tobacco (Holy 1975: *passim*).

Thus, in addition to petty-commodity production, another mode of production appears: the male-dominated economic activities came to be connected with long distance trade, i.e. the outmost periphery of a world-wide system of mercantile capitalism. This incorporation also involved a transformation of slavery from kin-based pawnship and domestic slavery to a commoditized form.

The idealization of *Wene* in *Likota Iya Bankoya* does not create a favourable environment to admit that there are also, admittedly inconsistent, indications that in the process (notably in the early nineteenth century, when royal expansion was unchecked by the Kololo and Lozi) the redistributive role of the *Mwene* was transformed: trade goods and non-perishables like valuable skins were increasingly hoarded in storehouses, and considerable quantities of them were forever withdrawn from circulation by being buried along with the *Mwene* (and a few slaves).<sup>344</sup>

Shimunika merely allows us a few glimpses of the volume of trade going on in the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Our discussion, in chapter 3, of slavery and the distribution of firearms in the region has already shown that Shimunika did not appreciate the specificity of the long-distance trade patterns and their differential effects on the Nkoya states inside and beyond the Lozi sphere of influence. He does however mention the important trading capital of *Mwene Kayingu* just west of the Hook of the Kafue (43: 1), in the heart of the continent, in its strategic position as link between the east-bound and the west-bound long-distance trade across the African continent.

From the oral sources outside *Likota Iya Bankoya* the picture of the Nkoya economy in the nineteenth century becomes richer, but at the same time internally contradictory. E.g.

‘The Luvale trade in meat for Portuguese gun powder started before Shamamano.

The Nkoya chiefs visited Angola to buy salt, gun powder, and maize.’<sup>345</sup>

The fact that the Nkoya *Myene* travelled to Angola to buy not only gunpowder but also salt and particularly maize, suggests that either agricultural production in the Land of Nkoya in the nineteenth century was in general stagnating<sup>346</sup> or that more specifically the *zinkena* themselves were facing great economic difficulties — that they did not really succeed in extracting from the local population the surplus crops needed for the upkeep of the royal establishment, and therefore had to

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<sup>344</sup> Oral source [2] 21.3.1973; oral source [20].

<sup>345</sup> Oral source [10].

<sup>346</sup> Which is not in accordance with Livingstone’s notes (Livingstone 1971: ‘Detailed map’) concerning the abundance of crops among the ‘Bamasa’ [= Mashasha], whom he did however not visit personally.

buy outside. Significantly, food crops were claimed by Shimunika to have been luxury food, consumed by the *lukena* courtiers while the slaves (and women) who were supposed to produce them themselves had to feed on wild tubers and other produce collected in the forest.<sup>347</sup> This does shed a different light on the innovative activities in agriculture that Shimunika credits the *Myene* with in *Likota Iya Bankoya*; while we might be tempted to stress the development potential and the productive dimension of the introduction of new food crops, their being luxury food almost makes them comparable to the other new symbols of royalty the *Myene* utilized to underpin their vulnerable new states: the royal orchestra, regalia in general, *Mukanda* at times, a male ideology of violence and terror, etc.

Perhaps there was some conjuncture in this respect in the course of the nineteenth century — a reflection of the general social, constitutional and economic decline in the second half of that century, of which we hear the echoes in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. The increasing subservience to the Lozi state whose economy was based on slave labour (Clarence-Smith 1979; Frankenberg 1978) and which therefore created a dislocation of labour from the peripheries of the Lozi realm including the Nkoya areas, must have been a factor in this. Perhaps the disagreement in the oral sources as discussed in chapter 3, on the flow of slaves either into or away from the Nkoya capitals, can be explained in this light: before effective Lozi incorporation the Nkoya states, in full expansion, produced slaves through raiding and internal strife, and sold them to the Mbundu and Swahili middlemen; later in the nineteenth century this flow of trade might then be transformed into tribute to Lealui, while the *pax Lewanika* to a considerable extent precluded the further slave raiding within the effective Lozi state — so that late nineteenth century accounts on actual slave raiding were confined to the outer fringes of Lewanika's realm, e.g. Kabulwebulwe's area on the Kafue. This state of affairs might have provided the Nkoya *zinkena* with a desperate lack of productive labour, which they then tried to respond to by the purchase of both slaves and food in Angola, making the detour north and east along the centre of the Lozi state, and surreptitiously paying with some of the local forest products which the Lozi claimed as tribute for themselves.

If there was such an economic crisis at the Nkoya *zinkena* in the second half of the nineteenth century, one is tempted to look for other evidence concerning the difficulty to locally support these rather unproductive settlements. Shimunika, in an interview quoted by Brown (1984: 109) suggested that at the background of the frequent movements of Nkoya *Myene* over considerable distances, not only upon accession but also during their reigns, were not only military threats, supernatural fears of harm inflicted by a deceased predecessor, and dynastic conflicts, but also the economic need to find new hunting grounds and new land for agriculture.

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<sup>347</sup> Oral source [22].



In terms of economic processes, *Likota Iya Bankoya* allows us to pinpoint what increasing Lozi domination in the second half of the nineteenth century amounted to: not just political interference in royal succession and, in general, through the presence of representative *indunas* all over the Land of Nkoya, but also a change in the economic position of the *zinkena*. From centres of royal accumulation in their own right the Nkoya *zinkena* became mere shunting points for streams of tribute ultimately heading for the Lozi court at Lealui. Thus, during the reign of Mwene Wahila,

‘Mwene Mutondo Wahila built a splendid capital along the valley across the Luena, in the south, at a place called Kazembe, where Mwana Mwene Mwangala resides today. He sent many tusks as tribute [to Lealui]. 5 Ngambela Katuta, or in other words his Mwanashihemi, along with his Bilolo, collected the tusks of Mwene Mutondo Wahila. (...) 9 Mwene Mutondo Wahila was a great hunter and during his reign he killed plenty of elephant and other game. He used to go hunting elephant and other game at Kayanga. He would stay there for one month, sometimes two months. 10 Before the Whitemen came to Nkoya, the Nkoya would hunt elephant on a larger scale than in later years.’ (50: 4f)

Meanwhile, it is in slavery and tribute labour that the exploitative nature of the *zinkena* found its clearest expression: it enabled the *zinkena* and their *Myene* to thrive at the expense of the surrounding communities. The female-centred world-view, dating at least from the time the *Myene* were merely coordinators and redistributors of production, could no longer legitimate or conceal the increasing exploitation, and a new ideological system was needed, one that justified the exploitation by male *Myene* through reference to their exalted status.

Of that status the regalia were the most obvious tangible expressions. A further exploration of their significance will open our next chapter, on the political culture of the states whose emergence we have traced in the present chapter.

## Chapter 5

# State and society in nineteenth-century central western Zambia: Regalia, legal aspects, ideology and gender

We have now discussed, in so far as *Likota lya Bankoya* and our additional sources have allowed us, some significant aspects of state formation in central western Zambia. In this chapter we shall look at the major features of the states that thus came into being. We shall proceed to examine regalia, constitutional and other aspects of the states' legal structure, the ideological patterns governing their underlying violence, and the changing place of gender relations in that ideology and in the kinship structures which these Nkoya states sought to surpass, but without lasting success. This will lead to an assessment of the specific effects of these processes on the Kahare kingship around 1900, after which the chapter concludes with a final examination of the presentday Mutondo/Kahare rivalry in the light of the historical processes illuminated in our argument.

### **5.1. Regalia: A male prerogative?**

Above we have seen, with reference to the male Mwene Kazikwa, the first time that ceremonial court paraphernalia are mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*: as possessions of a male *Mwene*, and many generations after the rise of female *Myene*. If these possessions are so stressed by

Shimunika in this context, does that mean that this type of regalia was only introduced by that time? It looks as if Nkoya *Myene* at first lacked the Lunda characteristics, and that they only obtained them in the course of a process of change also involving the shift to male-centred kingship. Also note the interesting phrasing of the relevant passage in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (12: 7); the instruments almost legitimate Mwene Kazikwa's position as a ruler.

Possession of these regalia imposed requirements of purity which apparently one of the last Lady *Myene*, Kahare II, could not meet:

'Mwene Kapeshi had a daughter Kahare II. When she grew up she gave birth to a son who was also called Kahare; he was a grandson of Kapeshi. 3 When Lady Mwene Kahare II was Mwene of the drum, the people said:

'Mwene, why is it that when you go into seclusion<sup>348</sup> the drums should be silent? That is very bad. Let us therefore elect her son Kahare Wa Luhuki Lumweya, for he is a man.'

4 Mwene Kahare was *Wa Luhuki Lumweya: With One Hair.*' (41: 2f)

There exists a variant of the above story, featuring not Mwene Kahare II but Mwene Shikanda (who according to *Likota Iya Bankoya* was the daughter, not the mother, of Kahare Wa Luhuki Lumweya...):

'Mwene Shikanda, arriving from Shangaland<sup>349</sup> in the North, impressed the local headman Shiluwawa to such an extent with her royal orchestra, that he had no option but to marry her. The child of this marriage was Mwangala,<sup>350</sup> who was always kept inside the *lukena*. After some years the people, irritated that the drums should be silent when the Lady Mwene was menstruating [and in that connexion would leave the *lukena* for the female seclusion hut outside the royal village] decided to elect him to the kingship in the absence of his mother.'<sup>351</sup>

In both variants the historical paradox, in the light of our discussion of female *Wene*, is truly amazing: after a long period of female leadership, women, on the grounds of their physiology, were suddenly considered unfit for association with royal paraphernalia.<sup>352</sup>

348 In order to spend the days of her menstruation in the female seclusion hut outside the capital (or any other village).

349 For this toponym, see Part III, note to (22: 2).

350 From oral source [3] 19.11.1973, one would get the impression that Mwangala is identical to Shihoka Nalinanga — another example of the spurious free variation of names and exploits.

351 Oral source [3] 9.10.1973.

352 The parallel with the Inkalanyi epic is again very clear. If we tried to pinpoint the differences between that epic and *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and

The most likely explanation is that the regalia (because of any male associations they already had in the Lunda context? or because of symbolic innovation in the hands of male Nkoya? or because of some new regional cultural influence?) could conveniently function as a focus for the newly emerging male claims to power and authority — as the focus of a new male-dominated world-view.

Although it is attractive to interpret mythical materials in terms of broad, general historical processes, abstracting from ethnic and geographical specificities, let us briefly explore to what extent the latter, more specific perspective might illuminate the two versions of the menstruation story.

The circumstance that, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, this emergence of an anti-menstrual male ideology is situated only one generation removed from the character of Mwene Kahare With-One-Hair, faintly suggests a possible additional factor: increased 'Ila' influence in the Kahare branch of *Wene*. The hair style rendered as 'with-one-hair' in the Nkoya context appears to be similar to the 'Ila' *isusu* hairdress, a conical construction of hair and clay which may stand over 1 metre in height.<sup>353</sup> Historically, the distinction between Ila and Kaonde is much more vague than contemporary socio-cultural traits would suggest.<sup>354</sup> It is remarkable that both the themes dealing with dramatic gender confrontations (that of Kapeshi/Ladder, and the present menstruation theme) seem to refer to a dynastic branch, and to a geographical area, where Ila influence was relatively powerful.<sup>355</sup> This is not to say that

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systematically interpret these as transformations, such an analysis might shed much needed further light on the Nkoya/Lunda connexion. However, I shun from extending the already complex argument of the present study into a discussion of an epic and of a cultural and linguistic environment I only know from secondary sources.

353 Smith & Dale 1920. M. Malapa described this coiffure which is no longer practiced among the Nkoya: all hair would be shaven leaving only a small tuft right in the middle, which would then be plaited.

354 Cf. Smith & Dale 1920; Melland 1967; a detailed assessment of Ila heterogeneity and the Kaonde connexion also in Zambia National Archives, 'A paper on the origin of the Baila, A Suggestion — to accompany Annual report on Namwala subdistrict, 1917-18' (by J.C. Hall), enclosure in KSF 3/1; also cf. van Binsbergen 1985c.

355 In this connexion it is relevant that oral source [5] claimed the tribal boundary between Nkoya and Ila to be far from sharp, whereas oral source [18] (13.10.1977) claimed that Chief Shezongo, often counted as Ila, was a *mwipa* ('uterine nephew', 'sister's son') of Kahare — apparently in an idiom of perpetual kinship. Holub, who only travelled in the southeastern periphery of the Land of Nkoya in the 1880s, repeatedly implies that the difference between the Nkoya and the Ila was unmistakable from hairstyle and weaponry, but at the same time admits that there were extensive trading contacts between the Ila and the 'northern Nkoya', whom we can identify as the Kahare group at Kayimbu (Holy 1975: 84, 125, 166, 180, 184f, 191, and *passim*); missing the point concerning the Kayimbu connexion, Holy (1975: 288, n. 15) wrongly claims that Holub should have considered the 'Northern Nkoya' as Ila. Yet the confusion in itself shows how close the Kahare group and the Ila

by that time there existed already a clearly defined ethnic group named 'Ila': various authors<sup>356</sup> admit the very considerable historical and ethnic heterogeneity of what came to be known, in the early colonial period, as the Ila-speaking peoples. In the nineteenth and presumably late-eighteenth century, 'Kaonde' elements (which may have included the very Kahare presence in Kayimbu) have both confronted, and contributed to, the 'Ila' cultural and demographic stock, and it is possible that in this interaction process earlier 'Nkoya' ideas on the compatibility of *Wene* and the female gender came to be negatively affected. In the Shikanda variant, the story suggests that the transition from female to male *Myene* coincided with the introduction, from Shangaland, of the Lunda-style new paraphernalia among a new local group in southeastern Nkoyaland. Perhaps the specific geographic or cultural factor we are looking for simply consists in the fact that this local group's culture did not accept women to be *Myene*?

However, I prefer the dynamic thrust of a historical process moving towards increasing violence, exploitation and therefore male-headed states with a male-chauvinist ideology, over a mechanical 'diffusionist' argument presenting gender relations and their ideological aspects as fixed datums of a specific culture (Nkoya, Ila or Kaonde as the case may be).

Yet the female element in political leadership, and its symbolic expression, was not ousted so easily, and initially more of a compromise between female and male elements seems to have been reached than is suggested by the case of Kahare II. A description of the Nkoya drums that were demolished by the Kololo c. 1860 still shows a very balanced gender symbolism:<sup>357</sup>

'The instruments had the following names:

- (1) One was the male drum, and it was called "Mboma luvunga matunga", because the image of a python was cut in the wood;
- (2) the other was the female drum, and it was called "Mbulu" because it bore the image of a big lizard — the "Mbulumwene" (27: 10)

Before men acquired the monopoly of *Wene*, there appears to have been a period of transition, when female *Myene* were allowed to adopt

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really were. Kalumpiteka's taking refuge among the Ila after the flight from Kayimbu is another case in point.

<sup>356</sup> Including Smith & Dale (1920), Melland (1967) and G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], 'Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district', 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — some important papers.

<sup>357</sup> It has no parallels in the contemporary symbolism of the Nkoya royal orchestra (cf. Brown 1984).

the royal paraphernalia donned by their male colleagues. Such a case was Shakalongo:

‘Mwene Liwumbo acceded to the kingship, adopting the following praise-name:

‘I am Shakalongo  
Who Goes Around with the Xylophone’.’ (37: 1)

While Lubosi Lewanika was already in power in Barotseland (after 1878), Mwene Shakalongo is reported as giving shelter to Shamamano and his brothers after their maternal uncle Kalumpiteka (a son of an incumbent of the Kahare title) had been killed by Ila from the Lubanda area east of the Kafue. As reconstructed above, it is likely, but not certain, that by that time Mwene Shakalongo was a woman — perhaps still the first incumbent. But whatever the gender then, it is significant that the Shakalongo title, whose most splendid first incumbent was certainly a woman, had to yield to the (henceforth male) Kahare title as a result of increasing Lozi domination over Nkoya polities. In 1878, 1882 and 1888 Lewanika I made war on the Ila, and Shamamano took part in one of these campaigns, probably the 1888 one (cf. Clay 1945: 6-7). Many Ila were killed, and Shamamano showed to Lewanika’s satisfaction that he was ‘really a man’ (43: 8), by mutilating their dead bodies; being informed of Shamamano’s family relationship to Mwene Kahare,

‘Lewanika told him to accompany him to Loziland; however, Shamamano went [only later] to Lewanika at Lealui. 11 Lewanika covered him with a large blanket and told him:

“Go and succeed to the kingship of Mwene Kahare.” (...)

Upon his return from Loziland, before he acceded to the kingship on the Yange under the name of Mwene Kahare IV, Shamamano reported to Mwene Shakalongo what Mwene Lewanika had told him. Thus informed, Shakalongo gathered all the Mashasha, so that she could have Shamamano installed as Mwene Kahare IV.’ (43: 10f)<sup>358</sup>

Under Lozi protection, both the Kahare and the Mutondo title, with male incumbents, were carried over into the colonial period, while the Shakalongo title, with its female connotations, fell victim to the oppressive presence of the representative *induna* Afumba.

In the light of the Nkoya’s trauma as caused by the taking of the royal drums to Loziland, the accession of Shamamano as Lewanika’s protégé had more than one ironic aspect. The essential aspect of Shamamano’s reviving the kingship of Kahare was that he started to operate a royal orchestra. However, when the court musicians

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<sup>358</sup> Also see footnotes to the English translation of this passage in Part III.

committed adultery with the *Mahano*, of which Shamamano had a considerable number, he maimed the musicians so cruelly that (after intervention from Lealui) his orchestra was discontinued, only to be revived once again by his son Mwene Kahare Timuna in the 1930s.<sup>359</sup>

## 5.2. Some legal aspects of Nkoya states

The regalia however constituted only one of the several ideological devices by means of which the male-centred Nkoya states sought to strengthen themselves. *Likota Iya Bankoya* offers us some insight into the constitutional and otherwise legal framework which supported the emerging state structures. We see (50: 11) how a court of law is part of the *lukena*.<sup>360</sup> We encounter the *Mwene* as legislator: in family law, and with disastrous effects, in the case of Mwene Kashina (28: 2f; 34: 3f), and with regard to the imposition of male initiation and circumcision in Mwene Munangisha's case (48: 6). Here we shall specifically discuss three legal aspects of Nkoya states: royal succession; delegation and democracy; and the interstate rule of law.

### *royal succession*

Royal succession in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is normally a matter of election by senior courtiers, subsequently confirmed by a wider circle:

‘Munangisha was elected to be Mwene Mutondo by the Nkoya, notably by:

- (1) Mwene Lishenga Shonena Luhamba,
- (2) Mwene Kancukwe Mukamba,
- (3) Mwene Shikongi,

and all the Nkoya people, electing him with the words:

‘Munangisha for Mwene Mutondo.’ ’ (47: 4; my italics)

Of course, the phrase ‘and all the Nkoya people’ should not be taken to mean ‘all the members of the Nkoya-speaking people’ or ‘all bearers of the Nkoya culture’, but simply ‘all members of the royal family associated with the Mutondo kingship’.

In the selection of the candidate, Nkoya constitutional law allows for a considerable freedom, and this is amply reflected in *Likota Iya*

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<sup>359</sup> Cf. Clay 1945; oral sources [2], [3] and [6]; ch. 1.3, ‘the indigenous Barotse administration and the colonial state’.

<sup>360</sup> According to oral source [20], the *Mwene* did not try cases himself or herself, but only heard appeal cases against the verdicts of the senior councillors, some of whom (cf. 4.3, ‘court officials’) were specifically entrusted with the administration of justice.

*Bankoya*. In principle, an adelphic system was followed: all siblings of a generation succeeding each other until that generation is exhausted and the eldest sibling of a new matrilineal generation takes over. The ramifications of classificatory and (with regard to joking relationships between clans) fictive kinship spread so widely that succession amounted to the selection, by a council of elders, of a suitable candidate from among a rather numerous pool of possible incumbents: members of a previous (not necessarily the last) incumbent's consanguineal kindred in the widest sense of the word. Therefore, specific political processes limiting down this wide range are involved at the same time as the enactment of constitutional rules. The complex succession patterns brought out by our tentative genealogies in *Appendix 3* (even if historically utterly unreliable in their details) suggest these same factors of flexibility and choice. If Mwene Komoka upon accession claims to 'surprise the Nkoya', it is perhaps because her victorious outcome was far from expected.

In addition to a number of ways to terminate a current incumbent's term of office through regicide, impeachment or abdication, *Likota Iya Bankoya* shows us some short-cuts to accession: appointing oneself after killing a predecessor, or (like Mwene Liyoka's sibling Libondo) taking over the place of a predecessor in forced exile. The fact that a Mwene upon accession inherits not only a royal office but also a name owned by the kin group, introduces the possibility of a consolation prize: the name, but not the office. This stratagem seems to have been invoked among the puzzling bundle of children and/or grandchildren of Mwene Manenga;<sup>361</sup> it is still practiced in Nkoya politics of kinship, and might form an additional argument for my plea<sup>362</sup> against identifying, for the earlier periods, the office of *Mwene* too closely with the major dynastic titles (Mutondo, Kahare) under which they have been known for over a century now.

The reader is referred to *Appendix 3* and the accompanying footnotes for a discussion of the problems that arise when we try to reconstruct, through genealogies, specific instances of succession on the basis of *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

While constitutionally the operative term appears to be *ku yaka*, to elect, the attending ceremony revolves on the terms *ushwana* ('to take the name — *lizina* — of', 'to succeed'), and *ku kwata* ('to catch': to publicly point out as heir or new incumbent).

Although the *Likota Iya Bankoya* text does not go into detail on this point, there is no reason to assume that the form of *ushwana* it envisages differs essentially from what was still Nkoya cultural practice in the 1970s and 1980s, as described in chapter 1.

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<sup>361</sup> Cf. 27: 1; 47: 6; 49: 3.

<sup>362</sup> Cf. above, 3.2: 'dynastic numbers and the nature of the Nkoya royal titles'.



*Likota Iya Bankoya*'s account of Kanyinca's accession shows a case in which this pattern is partly followed yet corrupted under colonial and Lozi influence: the white garment is there all right, but a colonial messenger has usurped the role of the electors, and no time whatsoever was allowed to pass between the predecessor's funeral and *ushwana*. But then, this haste appears to have been prompted by the desire to prevent the more senior pretender, Mushonto, from acceding to the throne; this fell through when Mushonto appealed to the *Litunga* (53: 5), but after Mushonto's suspiciously swift demise Kanyinca acceded anyway.

*delegation and democracy*

The impeachment and subsequent death through starvation of Mwene Kashina (34: 3f; 47: 2), the dethronement of Mwene Kahare II upon popular protests of menstrual impurity (41: 3), the factional divisiveness around Mwene Mukamba (21: 1f) — such examples, whatever their specific historical factuality, at any rate demonstrate that a fair amount of democratic feedback and support was an essential element in Nkoya kingship under conditions of statehood. The cosmological model of *Wene* had not been entirely eclipsed, but when, under male initiative, it had to function as an idiom of power and appropriation rather than as one of order and redistribution, its legitimating force was definitely limited, and it needed constant political support from court circles, and from the people at large. This democratic dilemma, in fact, can still be detected in Nkoya kingship today.

One passage in *Likota Iya Bankoya* suggests that the extent of royal autocracy underwent some changes in the course of the nineteenth century:

'Mwene Mutondo Wahila did not keep the kingship all to himself. He followed the custom of Kayambila and Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha by sharing out tusks to the following Bilolo:

- (1) Katuta, who bore the title of Mwanashihemi;
- (2) Shilanda, who bore the title of Nanyundo;
- (3) Mundendemi, who was the Mwene's maternal uncle;
- (4) Lwando, also called Sikota;
- (5) Mwitila Kamamba;
- (6) Nalishuwa;
- (7) Liholola, also called Mubonda;
- (8) Muyani Lintwike, also called Lyomba;
- (9) Lyomboko, also called Mushakabantu;
- (10) Mafuka also called Namamba.' (50: 10)

May we interpret this as a gradual centralization of the Mutondo state after the reign of Mwene Kayambila and Mwene Shinkisha (i.e. in the period from Kashina Shiyenge, via Kashunkani and Munangisha, to

Mushunga), only to revert to decentralization under Wahila? Widely rejected attempts at centralization (which might have enhanced the chances of survival of the Nkoya states in the face of mounting external military pressure) may well explain why the *Myene* of the period in between appear to have been rather unpopular with their people. The Nkoya adage *Ba Mwene ndungo wa bantu* — ‘The Mwene is the slave of the people’ thus takes on a significance beyond perfunctory respect for serving the common interest: the limitations to royal power have remained substantial. Had the institution of *Wene* been capable of establishing itself upon a truly new footing, not merely transgressing, but also surpassing and effectively supplanting the old female-centred cosmological idiom — and had it, in the process, used (like the Lozi did) such Lunda inventions as perpetual kinship and positional succession in order to restructure and invert the kinship pressures on the king — changing kinship from a challenge of to a resource for the kingship — then the fate of the Nkoya over the past hundred years might have been far less tragic and humiliating than it has now been perceived by the Nkoya people themselves.

*the extent of interstate rule of law and the geographical extent of Nkoya-ness*

*Likota lya Bankoya* does not speak of states but individualizes them into royal titles and their successive incumbents. The titles are shown to ramify and gain a considerable autonomy vis-à-vis one another — but questions concerning the spatial extent of Nkoya states, their boundaries if any, and their interstate relations are not specifically posed nor answered. If many known Nkoya royal titles disappeared under the impact of the Lozi representative *indunas*, this means that a veritable proliferation of such titles occurred in the nineteenth century; did their number correspond with so many states?

The geographical extent of the area effectively controlled by a specific royal court may be gauged from the distance between one *Mwene*’s court and his or her predecessor’s: although the annexation of new land cannot be ruled out, it is likely that a newly acceded *Mwene* tended to create his or her first new capital well within the boundaries of the state. Diagrams 15a and 15b in *Appendix 7*, which show the location of the numerous Nkoya *zinkena* in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, suggest that territories in the order of magnitude of thousands of square kilometres were quite usual. This is also indicated by a passage like:

‘Mwene Kabongo’ s kingdom extended all the way along the Lalafuta, the Shilili, the Lunyati, as far as Makunzu. The fortification of Mwene Kabongo was near the source of the Shitwa.’ (14: 2)

Projecting the colonial existence of four recognized Nkoya royal chiefs back into the nineteenth century, *Likota lya Bankoya* traces, with greater or lesser detail and consistency, the precolonial history of the titles of Mutondo, Kahare, Kabulwebulwe and Momba.

The book is particularly vague on the Momba and Kabulwebulwe titles, and suggests that here a gradual growth of autonomy vis-à-vis the Mutondo title occurred.

The extent of autonomy of Mwene Kabulwebulwe vis-à-vis the two main titles of Mwene Mutondo and Mwene Kahare has been a bone of contention ever since the onset of the colonial period; the creation of Kafue Park, in the course of which Mwene Kabulwebulwe with his people was moved eastward into Mumbwa district, has further complicated the situation. At the *lukena* of Mwene Mutondo continued close relationships are claimed with the Kabulwebulwe title, in line with the picture sketched in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

There are indications that at the Hook of the Kafue Kabulwebulwe's people largely still identified, as Nkoya, with the Mutondo kingship around the turn of the twentieth century. The written evidence is however a bit of a puzzle, in which the ethnic names used locally must be considered in conjunction with such other cultural traits as hair styles, dental practices (!) and circumcision, if we are to identify the specific groups we are dealing with.

Val Gielgud wrote:

'I have been unable to discover a generic name for the people living in the Hook of the Kafue and have been told they are, Monkoia [Nkoya] and Abalenji [Lenje] but am of [the] opinion that neither of these names can be applied to them collectively. (...) [In] most place[s] [they] knock out the front teeth as a tribal mark.'<sup>363</sup>

These characteristics return in Gibbons' account of the same area, a few years earlier:

'The *Mankoyas* [Nkoya] are a race of hunters, are shorter than their neighbours, and, though generally supposed to be inferior, I must confess I was agreeably surprised with them. They use poisoned arrows, which are also carried by every Mashikolumbwe [Mashukulumbwe] warrior. The physique of the Mashikolumbwe is (...) their only good quality. (...) They knock out the four upper central teeth and the back lower ones (...) [A] few Mankoyas on their borders [and some others do the same]. (Gibbons 1897: 143)

A decade later G.H. Nicholls, administering the Baluba sub-district, was to distinguish the following four ethnic groups in his area of juris-

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<sup>363</sup> Val Gielgud to Administrator Northeastern Rhodesia, 14.10.1900, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, BS 1/93, Gielgud-Anderson expedition.

diction: the Ila, Lumbu, Luba, and Nkoya. He insisted that Nkoya, inhabiting the western banks of the Kafue,

‘...are a race apart and have few or no dealings with the Baila. The Balumbu are indistinguishable from the Baila. (...) The Bankoya have mixed up with these Balumbu to some extent, but they still preserve their independence as a race[;] *their custom of circumcision tends to this*, and they always wear their hair long and matted.’<sup>364</sup>

The essential indicator as to a continued link with the Mutondo kingship among these eastern Nkoya is the fact that they observe circumcision, which among the Nkoya-speaking groups is a distinctive feature of the Mutondo group. We are sure to be dealing here with Mwene Kabulwebulwe’s people, at a phase in their history when their original links with the Mutondo dynasty (as described in *Likota Iya Bankoya*) were still particularly strong. The ethnonym Nkoya in this context does not yet have the pan-Nkoya connotations of the colonial and post-colonial period, but still refers uniquely to the Mutondo kingship, even though at the time its *lukena* was situated nearly two hundred kilometres to the west of the Hook of the Kafue.

As we have seen, the cultural and ethnic continuity has its counterpart in an economic one. The Nkoya on the Hook of the Kafue continue to share in the tribute network that links the Mutondo *lukena* to the centre of the Lozi state:

‘Every man possesses a gun and is a hunter, and a good deal of the ivory which finds its way to Lealui comes from the Bankoya.’<sup>365</sup>

Kayingu, although virtually Kabulwebulwe’s neighbour on the Kafue, in the same region, is a different case. For most purposes (except twentieth-century administrative divisions) this kingship could be counted as a Nkoya one. Kayingu’s historical links with Barotseland are clear:

‘Chief Kayingu of the Mwengwa district insists that his people came in from the West — some from Lealui — many from Bankoya and

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<sup>364</sup> G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], ‘Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district’, 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — some important papers; my italics. The matted hairstyle as a distinctive feature of the Nkoya in this area is confirmed by Holub (Holy 1975: 184f), who also mentions a superior type of bows and arrows, but not circumcision.

<sup>365</sup> G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], ‘Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district’, 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — some important papers.

found Mashukulumbwe on the river to the far east. Namalyao's people hold they are closely allied to Kayingu.<sup>366</sup>

The same information is given by Nicholls:

'The Balumbu are indistinguishable from the Baila. (...) They speak Chila. (...) They are supposed to have come from the West, and they may have been the original inhabitants of the Barotse valley before the Sikololo invasion.'<sup>367</sup>

Yet despite this Zambezi connexion, Kayingu's strategic location on the continental trade routes had earned him a remarkable autonomy, which is also clear from the absence of the use of the ethnonym Nkoya in the context of Kayingu. This ruler can impose his own fines and enforce their payment. Apparently because he had committed bloodshed among the Ila in Kayingu's sphere of influence, Shamamano had to pay a high compensation to Kayingu and did so (43: 6). Here Kayingu appears somehow as a higher power of arbitration, standing above parties and forcing them to accept a common rule of law (and thus the avoidance of bloodshed) across ethnic, linguistic and political boundaries.

The extent of this autonomy, which led to defiance vis-à-vis the Lozi state is also clear from Gibbons's vivid account:

'Passing out of the Edzombe country, I came to that of Kayingu. This chief ostensibly received me well. (...) The interior of a strong stockade, inside which his people and cattle were mingled on the evening of my arrival, had a picturesque effect, which was somewhat enhanced (...) by the appearance of a dreamy-looking native draped in a flowing blue and white check robe, who seated himself opposite and sung out an impromptu song in my honour, to the accompaniment of a large native piano, which gave out by no means unpleasant music through the medium of ironwork and various-sized calabashes.' (Gibbons 1897: 138)

Gibbons is not allowed to leave, for he has become Kayingu's main purveyor of game meat. The captive threatens that Lewanika will raid Kayingu, and in response all his possessions are taken away from him, but

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<sup>366</sup> 'A paper on the origin of the Baila, A Suggestion — to accompany Annual report on Namwala subdistrict', 1917-18, p. 5, enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KSF 3/1; for converging, more extensive information on the Kayingu title, cf. Rennie & Mubita 1985a, 1985b.

<sup>367</sup> G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], 'Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district', 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — some important papers.

‘Finally, with the help of a few friendly Mankoyas, whom I fell in with, I reached the Nkala Mission station in safety.’ (Gibbons 1897: 140).

Back to safety, that meant back to where the rule of law prevailed, under Lozi dominance:

‘The *Marotse* [Lozi] are the ruling tribe. Each Barotse is a chief by birth.’ (Gibbons 1897: 143)

As far as Mwene Momba is concerned, he would at first glance appear to have been sufficiently remote from the Land of Nkoya to allow us to speak of a distinct ‘state’. Yet (much as Kabulwebulwe’s people on the Kafue) towards the end of the nineteenth century also Momba’s people at the Mashili river and surrounding areas are reported to still identify as Nkoya:

‘Population is scarce (...). Several tribes that go to form the Barotse nation inhabit the district. They cultivate several sorts of cereals and pulses, as well as tobacco, pumpkins, and several sorts of roots. They are clothed, if at all, in skins, and use skins to cover themselves at night. They are all armed with assagais, a very few have guns, still fewer have ammunition, and one tribe, the Mankojas, all carry bows and poisoned arrows. They are nearly all adepts at trapping game, either in pitfalls or snares. They are quite peaceably disposed, shy by nature (...) They are destitute of pluck, and would be of no use in a time of danger.’ (Reid 1897: 145)

‘After crossing the Mania (...) we reached a collection of huts on the boundary between the districts of Mankoia and the Matotela. The latter, whose territory we now entered, are a decidedly superior tribe to the former.’ (Reid 1897: 145; also cf. Bertrand 1897)

All this suggests that the ties between Mwene Momba and the Mutondo court were far from severed. So much is also clear from the story, in *Likota lya Bankoya*, of Mwene Munangisha finding a slave replacement for his daughter Makomani among Mwene Momba’s people. Of all the *Myene* we have so far discussed in this book, Momba is the only one to be explicitly mentioned by Holub (as ‘venerated far and wide’), and there too he is identified as Nkoya (Holy 1975: 261f).

The only clear-cut case for the consideration of more than one Nkoya state, therefore, lies in the juxtaposition between the Mutondo and the Kahare title. Here *Likota lya Bankoya* leaves little doubt that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, two distinct states had evolved, entirely separate in international relations (for instance with the Kololo state), internal legislation (e.g. Mwene Mutondo Kashina’s controversial marital legislation), and maintaining contact only at the level of diplomatic emissaries; offenders in one state (like the Kololo

travelling ambassador Munyama, who abducted a Mashasha woman from the court of Mwene Shikanda; 29: 1f) could expect sanctuary in the other state (as Munyama did with Mwene Mutondo Kashina). For, as also Mwene Lutangu Fumika, the later Lozi king Sipopa, was to experience, Nkoya kings had the right to bestow sanctuary, and

‘it was the custom of the Myene of the Nkoya not to refuse strangers.’  
(32: 1)

Later, after Mwene Shikanda had died and Mwene Kabimba had started on his tragic flight from the Kaonde only to end up being flayed by the Yeke, did it transpire that such welcome strangers did not include their distant cousins, the incumbents of *Wene* in other Nkoya states. Kabimba heard Mwene Mutondo’s drums at a distance, yet rather than seeking refuge there, turned away to his doom and to the temporary eclipse of the Kahare title and state.

We must conclude that at least the two royal lines of Mutondo and Kahare had crystallized into two different states. The statement requires three qualifications: it remains uncertain whether these two kingships were as superior to other Nkoya kingships at the time as a projection of the colonial situation might suggest; we do not know if all incumbents of *Wene* in both lines really identified explicitly with the Kahare or Mutondo title; and we do not know whether both titles had a common origin. And even if there were then two separate states, only a limited number of generations before, the regional mobilization for the Humbu war — which seems to have precipitated Nkoya statehood in the first place — had hinted at possibilities of interregional cooperation and identification which used the potential of the clan organization to the full, involving a plurality of clans and *Myene*, and being triggered perhaps by the latter’s very aspirations of autonomy vis-à-vis the Mwaat Yaamv’s Musumban state. Such aspirations would at least be a likely reason why the Sheta clan, who owned *Wene*, would be singled out for battle by the Humbu.

After Kabimba’s death Shikanda’s children and grandchildren, led by Kalumpiteka, found initial if incomplete refuge among the Ila with whom the Kahare state appears to have had already, at that time, some affinity for several generations. When the Ila did not accept Kalumpiteka’s claims to royal status and killed him, the ensuing blood feud (for such it appears to have been) grants us a glimpse of conflict settlement across ethnic and state boundaries in central western Zambia in the 1870s. On the one hand Shamamano, Kalumpiteka’s sister’s son and avenger, sought and found refuge, with his junior kinsmen, at the court of Mwene Shakalongo. It is largely through her tutelage that Shamamano was capable of converting Lewanika’s distant support into political leadership, reviving the Kahare title.

In the process Shamamano came in conflict with Kayingu, and submitted to him. However, when Shamamano subsequently took a major part in one of Lewanika’s Ila campaigns, this went to show that

Kayingu's exacting compensation had far from settled the conflict triggered by the Ila killing of Kalumpiteka, and that the rapidly expanding Lozi state represented viable principles of interregional control (with military, missionary, European, and ultimately colonial backing) as compared to which the trading circuits that Kayingu controlled, however extensive and time-honoured, were becoming obsolete.

Interstate arbitration was a fading option, with increasing state hegemony of the Lozi, and the colonial state about to be established.

Towards the end of the period covered in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, we see Mwene Mutondo Wahila engage in one other form of interstate contact — probably neither unique nor the first of its kind: his state visit to Soliland, across a distance of over four hundred kilometres (50: 12f)! This suggests diplomatic relations to have existed between Mwene Mutondo and Nkomeshya, the senior Soli ruler. They are likely to have been embedded in other types of contacts. The small isolated groups of Nkoya now living in Central and Copperbelt Provinces go back to long-established east-bound hunting and trading links. Contemporary evidence (genealogies, oral sources, even use of the Lenje language in cults of affliction) shows that raiding, marital and cultic relations between the Nkoya and the Lenje and Lamba were quite extensive in the nineteenth century. The archival evidence we have already discussed reveals the Hook of the Kafue and surrounding areas as a veritable crucible of ethnic, commercial and cultural influences from all directions of the compass in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

### **5.3. Towards a male ideological perspective**

The story of Lady Mwene Kahare II suggests how men were developing an ideological perspective which further eroded the symbolic and conceptual basis female *Wene* had once had. Views of *Wene* must already have shifted towards a dominant male perspective for notions of menstrual pollution to acquire legitimating force. Men claimed the regalia as a male prerogative on the basis of pretexts which women were *de facto* (given the concomitant rise of hunting, trade, military exploits, patriliney) no longer powerful enough to ignore. The men, for their part, were not so much discovering a physiological fact they had always known, as banning it from a new set of symbols they had just come to explore.

*limits to male ascendancy: the ladder into the sky*

There is an interesting link between the story of Kahare II, and that of Kapeshi's (her alleged father) crying for the moon:

'[Mwene Kahare] had a son called Kapeshi, nicknamed Kapeshi ka Munungampanda.



One day, when Kapeshi was still young, he saw the moon in the sky. Thinking that the moon was a mpande (for he was only a child), he told his father:

“Father, give me that mpande which is shining in the sky.”

3 Mwene Kahare called his people and told them:

“Cut forked poles and join them to a Ladder, in order to capture that mpande for the Mwana Mwene to wear.”

They started to cut forked poles and made the ladder, and it was so tall that when they climbed it, it collapsed; many people fell down and died. 4 They tried to construct another Ladder and to climb that one, but again it collapsed and more people died. Those who remained said among themselves:

“Come on, folks, let us stop and call it a day. Let us tell the Mwene:

‘We are near our end, don’t you see that there are only few of us left.’ ”

5 Then all the people said to the Mwene:

“Mwene, this will be the end of the people, for that mpande many people can see there in the sky, that thing is not a mpande, it is the moon.”

The Mwene told them to stop the construction of the Ladder. Many people died on the Ladder.’ (40: 2f)

The link with the story on pollution of the regalia by a menstruating *Mwene*, is that the moon which features in the *mpande* story, is also the standard symbol of menstruation in polite Nkoya conversation.<sup>368</sup> As we have seen, the story of people building into the sky is widespread in South Central Africa, but here we find it adapted to Nkoya history — and situated not in the very first, obviously mythical layers of that history, but to a middle period deceptively few generations away from living memory, so that Kapeshi becomes genealogically a contemporary of other *Myene* featuring in the mid-nineteenth century history of neighbouring peoples.

When introducing the mythical Kapeshi theme above (chapter 3) I have hinted at its possible historical significance, in so far as the role of the Nkoya dynasties in Musumban out-migration is concerned. At the present point in my argument, additional layers of interpretation present themselves. While on the more manifest levels the story moralizes about tyranny (‘a ruler should not make impossible demands on the people’) and parental responsibility (‘Kapeshi’s wish ought never to have been taken seriously’), on a deeper level the message of the story is about a relatively unsuccessful male struggle for symbolic legitima-

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<sup>368</sup> Nk. *wali na ngonda*: ‘she has the moon, she is menstruating’.

tion. It pictures a male *Mwene* who in order to ensure the continuity of his position of power (through his son — a usurpatory construction in a matrilineal context anyway), stretches his power over his people to breaking point in a vain attempt to violate an essential cosmological arrangement (the distinction between the Land of the living, and the Sky — which the Ladder was to join) in order to snatch a symbol (the Moon) that for two reasons he should not touch: it belongs to the Sky (i.e. the High God, Nyambi), and to women. The outcome of the story is the reinforcement of boundaries: the people put a democratic limit to the *Mwene*'s power, and the Sky and the Moon remain out of reach. Politically, the male *Mwene* retains the initiative but he has to resign himself to a situation where his exercise of power is peripheral to, and limited by, the central cosmology.

The symbolic significance of the moon here touches upon an entirely different perspective in the ideological history of South Central Africa. While Rain features prominently in Nkoya notions concerning the supernatural, and veneration of the sun has been described for the Lozi who are culturally so closely related to the Nkoya (Mutumba Mainga 1972), religious emphasis on the moon would appear to be primarily related to a pre-Bantu Khoi-San substratum (cf. Barnard 1986).<sup>369</sup> There are diffuse indications of a certain incorporation of Khoi-San elements in Nkoya life. Some of these indications are somatic (the occurrence of light-skinned people — the inhabitants of central western Zambia are of course aware of the difference between Portuguese and allegedly Khoi-San ancestry). Other indications are in the cultural sphere. Thus conspicuous features of one of the most central Nkoya institutions, female puberty ritual (cf. van Binsbergen 1987a), can be interpreted as an attempt to imitate two major physical characteristics of the Khoi-San: steatopygia (at her 'coming out' dance the girl's behind is padded with thick layers of cloth wraps), and the 'Khoi-San apron' of elongated labia: anticipating on, or as part of, their initiation training, Nkoya girls from the age of about ten years spend hundreds of hours handling their labia in order to increase their natural size. In the sphere of music (prominence of the thumb piano), dance (where the central feature is a circular movement called *ruhnwa*), healing ritual and hunting many more parallels might be traced.

Was the link between pre-Bantu and Bantu elements primarily provided by local women having pre-Bantu connotations, with men as the importers of a Bantu cultural heritage from the north? Would such a view not be in contradiction with both the role of women as transmitters of culture through child-rearing, and the agricultural dimension that would suggest a linkage between Rain and emergent *Wene* through women? Or does any hypothetical Bantu/Khoi-San confrontation in the western part of what is now Zambia predate by any number of centuries the processes of cultural and/or demographic south

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<sup>369</sup> For a general discussion of Khoi-San reminiscences among the Bantu-speaking peoples of Zambia, cf. Colson 1964; Clark 1950.

migration that are at the root of the emergence of the Nkoya as a distinct ethnic identity in the nineteenth and twentieth century? Obviously we have not reached the end of our quest yet. Anyway, when situated in a context of Bantu/Khoi-San confrontation, Kapeshi's story could also be interpreted along the following lines: in search of cosmological legitimation, an invading ruling group seeks to gain control over a central deity (the Moon) of a pre-existing local group; this attempt fails repeatedly; but instead an alternative and morphologically analogous symbol of legitimation is adopted and confirmed (the *mpande*).

*male circumcision and the Mbwela connexion*

In their search for a male ideology, the men also attempted to exploit the institution of male circumcision. Circumcision, and in general male puberty ceremonies (*Mukanda*), have formed a common practice among Mwaat Yaamv's Lunda and among groups who were related to this people and who immigrated — as from perhaps the fifteenth century — from Zaïre and/or Angola into Zambia: the ancestors of today's (ruling groups of the) Ndembu Lunda, Luvale, Kaonde, Mbunda, etc. As we have seen, *Likota lya Bankoya* claims that the Nkoya rejected circumcision at an early stage of their history (the Humbu war). Likewise unsuccessful was a later attempt by Mwene Mutondo Munangisha (a contemporary of the Lozi ruler Sipopa who reigned 1864-1876) to introduce *Mukanda*:

'During the reign of Mwene Mutondo Munangisha, he revived the custom of Mukanda at Lizuna. The Mukanda which Munangisha organized at the Lizuna capital was the last to reach here in Nkoya, [even though] Munangisha wanted to stage Mukanda again at his Mabala capital near the Mangango.' (48: 6)

The actual development of male circumcision among the Nkoya turns out to be less straightforward than *Likota lya Bankoya* suggests. The Nkoya today abhor and ridicule male circumcision, but in fact the rejection of *Mukanda* was less than total in the period prior to the massive twentieth-century immigration of circumcising non-Nkoya groups into Kaoma district. *Mukanda* is consistently claimed, by such authors as Stirke (1922) and Clay (1945: 4), to be a practice associated with the Mutondo *lukena*. Moreover, from oral sources a handful of members of the Mutondo royal family are known to have been circumcised as late as the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>370</sup> Circumcision as a practice of the Nkoya on the Kafue is also stressed

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<sup>370</sup> Oral source [2], [17] 30.9.1977

by Nicholls.<sup>371</sup> The insistence on *Mukanda* by Mwene Munangisha as related by *Likota Iya Bankoya* is explained by the Mutondo Royal Council by the dubious fact that his mother came from Lunda.<sup>372</sup> Another source inverts the parent's gender:

'Kambotwe came just after Lipepo. Kambotwe introduced Mukanda, for his father, a Mukwetunga, was from Lunda.'<sup>373</sup>

Other oral sources even sought to explain the fundamental cleavage in Nkoya socio-political structure today, that between Mutondo and Kahare, by reference to *Mukanda*: 'Kahare' rejected the institution whereas 'Mutondo' insisted on it.<sup>374</sup>

Although *Likota Iya Bankoya* only reports a confrontation between Humbu and Nkoya, and claims that the Nkoya came out victoriously, investigations at the Luvale and Lunda end of the precolonial history of western Zambia have established beyond doubt that in the Lungwebungu/Zambezi area Luvale and Lunda immigrants<sup>375</sup> partly chased, partly subdued, both culturally and politically, the ancestors of today's Nkoya (called Mbwela in the Upper-Zambezi context).

This aspect of Nkoya history is virtually absent in presentday Nkoya traditions from Kaoma district. A group interview with the Kahare Royal Council did not come further than the information, volunteered, that originally the Nkoya had villages in the Mwinilunga district, near the source of the Zambezi.<sup>376</sup> The only extensive treatment at my dis-

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371 G. H. Nicholls, 'Notes on natives inhabiting Baluba subdistrict', 1906, p. 1, in Zambia National Archives, enclosure in file number KTJ 2/1: Mumbwa — some important papers.

372 Oral source [19] 19.10.1977; the same information in oral source [10]. According to *Likota Iya Bankoya*, Munangisha's mother was Mwene Shihoka Komoka, by no means a Kaonde immigrant; however, his father Mukwetunga Lwengu may have had Humbu, and hence *Mukanda*, connexions — cf. below, 6.4: 'an alternative explanation: perpetual kinship on the Upper Zambezi?' Oral source [18] supports the Lunda connexion through an in-marrying *Lihano*, but makes no specific reference to Munangisha. His principal *Lihano*, Liziho, came from Kaondeland (44: 2) and hence from an area where *Mukanda* has been practised for centuries (Melland 1967); but she specifically came from the village of Kalembeleme — a Mbwela ruler who, as we shall see below, was related to the Kahare kingship and might well have shared that kingship's rejection of *Mukanda*.

373 Oral source [16] 16.10.1977. Through the reference to Lipepo, Kambotwe is situated in the context of the Mutondo kingship; see below, where the Kambotwe name becomes crucial in succession conflicts around the Kahare title.

374 Oral sources [10] and [16] 16.10.1977.

375 Cf. Papstein 1978; Derricourt & Papstein 1977; Schecter 1980a: ch. 8.

376 Oral source [18] 13.10.1977. The existence of Nkoya in Mwinilunga district was also acknowledged by Mr Katete Shincheta, letter to the

posal of the Upper Zambezi and eastern Angolan connexion in Nkoya history came from Mr S. Mulowa, summarized here:

‘The Nkoya came from Kola, from Mwaat Yaamv. [In this connexion the name Nkomba is mentioned, probably a clan name.] In the early days the Nkoya were ruled by Lady Mwene Tete. From Kola the Nkoya were led by Mwene Kachembele. Their journey went via eastern Angola; then to Chavuma, then to the Kabompo, and onwards to the Lundazi and the Lufizi. My father was born in Chavuma.

Kahare remained in Lukolwe, whereas Kachembele went to Namitome (ten miles north of Mongu). The Nkoya name for the Bulozhi flood-plain was *Ngula ya Mikaka*, ‘valley of the day journeys’, for they could not cross it in one day. Mulambwa Notulu, the Kwangwa Mwene,<sup>377</sup> found Kachembele there. *Luyi* means ‘foreigner’ in the Nkoya language. Kachembele left one of his grandchildren, Shihoka Nalinanga, at Mongu. Mwene Mutondo was also left there by Kachembele. Then Kachembele died at Jididi [= Jizino, a small tributary of the Luena].

Kachembele was succeeded by his younger brother Muyowa. Muyowa was succeeded by his uterine nephew Katupisha. Katupisha died in Angola, after a misunderstanding with the Lozi. His grandson Mutondo then came to take over.<sup>378</sup>

Significantly, Angola and Kachembele as reference points in early Nkoya history were angrily rejected by another informant.<sup>379</sup>

The causes of this collective amnesia require further investigation. One obvious set of reasons ranges from embarrassment to historical trauma; another is geographical distance: it is only under Luhamba, after the Humbu war, that the Nkoya *Myene* are claimed to have reached the presentday Kaoma district, hundreds of kilometres from the presumable scene of the confrontations between the ‘Mbwela’ and Luvale/ Humbu/Lunda.

Meanwhile the following reconstruction would appear to fit the data available. It is likely that these Mbwela initially rejected *Mukanda* — also other sources than *Likota lya Bankoya* suggest that *Mukanda* was in fact an important concrete reason for the Mbwela to reject the Lunda political system and to leave the Lunda sphere of influence. However

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author, 25.10.1979; cf. above, ch. 1.2, ‘the proliferation of Nkoya subgroups’.

<sup>377</sup> Note that this is the same personage as the Mulambwa who features in *Likota lya Bankoya*; but he is here represented on a much more modest scale, as the ruler of a minor Lozi subgroup.

<sup>378</sup> Oral source [20].

<sup>379</sup> Oral source [17] 1.10.1977.

the Mbwela could not permanently escape re-Lunda-ization<sup>380</sup> by later groups from the Lunda core area. In the process of mutual cultural accommodation between the Mbwela and these later groups, the Mbwela groups which remained on the Upper Zambezi adopted *Mukanda*. But also among the Mbwela who left the Upper Zambezi and whose descendants are now found in Kaoma district as Nkoya, the rulers, operating within the same general context of selective re-Lunda-ization, time and again sought to explore the political potential of *Mukanda*. Probably in Kaoma district *Mukanda* remained limited to the aristocratic clans, and never spread to the population as a whole. At any rate the source of *Mukanda* appears to be to the north of Kaoma district; there is no reason to follow Luc de Heusch's suggestion (de Heusch 1978) that male puberty ritual reached western Zambia after a detour via South Africa.

In due time, Nkoya politics came to be incorporated in the Lozi state and the colonial state. Since the early nineteenth century the Lozi had tolerated the custom of circumcision (notably among the Mbunda), but they considered it alien to Lozi culture.<sup>381</sup> In recent decades, at the national level in urban situations, the Nkoya, while emphasizing their political distinctness from the Lozi, have attempted to pose as culturally very closely related to the Lozi — hoping thus to trade their despised status as Nkoya for the much greater prestige of the Lozi, and freeing themselves from humiliation by the Lozi themselves. It is for instance significant that successful Nkoya politicians at the district, regional and national level often have a mixed Nkoya-Lozi ancestry. Even though the two languages are very little related, passing as Lozi is one of the strategies employed by Nkoya in town when involved in upward social mobility. But such a cultural *rapprochement* vis-à-vis the Lozi could scarcely be combined with an insistence on circumcision. In the twentieth century, the circumcising groups, as Angolan immigrants, came to compete with the Nkoya for scarce resources at the district and provincial level; also, at the national level, these groups had acquired very low status connotations, through their urban professional specialization of night soil attendants. In this context it was not surprising that the increasing ethnic articulation of the Nkoya among other things expressed itself in an exaggerated juxtaposition vis-à-vis the Luvale, Chokwe and Luchazi. *From a partly*

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<sup>380</sup> Hypothetical as the notion of re-Lunda-ization appears to be as yet, the process of cultural and ritual interaction in the destination area between various waves of immigrants from the same area of origin may have been somewhat parallel to the process of Bena Ngandu accommodation in early Bemba history; cf. Roberts 1973; van Binsbergen 1981a: 119f.

<sup>381</sup> Cf. Gluckman 1949. Holub (1879: 56) claims that he has not heard of circumcision in the Lozi empire. However, in Sesheke he witnessed *makishi* dances (Holub 1879: 64f), whose performance and symbolism is inseparable from *Mukanda*; according to Holub, women were excluded from the performances, and the elaborate costumes belonged to king Sipopa himself who, we should remember, had lived at Lukwakwa as Munangisha's senior kinsman.

*shared custom, in the course of half a century circumcision became an indicator of ethnic distance.*

Again, male puberty ritual is more than meets the eye. Much like hunting, it brings men to identify and be solidary on a gender basis, to seclude themselves spatially and socially, and to build extensive regional organizational structures and leadership. It, too, is an important source of power in the societies of the savanna. That men repeatedly failed to establish or at least to consolidate male puberty ritual among the Nkoya, might be attributed partly to the fact that they had already in the developing institutions of hunting a very similar functional alternative. However, absence of male puberty rites put the men at both an ideological and an organizational disadvantage, as against the rich development of Nkoya female puberty ceremonies.

*shattering the female cosmos*

The data so far presented suggest that the men had great difficulty in eradicating the female strands of cosmology and symbolism even from the political sphere of life they had increasingly monopolized. Despite the rejection of female physiology and the emphasis on unpolluted maleness, men continued to legitimize their positions of power partly by reference to female predecessors, and they were unable to impose male circumcision as a central institution of male identity. But if the old cosmological order was not so easily redefined, adapted or supplanted so as to accommodate a male perspective, one could always try to forcibly break out of that order, in an effort to shatter it even if a suitable, integrated alternative was not yet available.

In the pre-state and early state world-view of South Central Africa,<sup>382</sup> incest, bloodshed and sorcery were the three main breaches of the cosmological order, to be punished by natural disaster: drought, locusts, cattle pests. A breach of the *incest taboo* does not constitute an important theme in the history and mythology of state formation among the Nkoya; but Mwene Mutondo Kashina (28: 3f) tried to effect a rather similar breach by upsetting marital laws that form a major regulating force in gender relations in general (of which incest taboos are a specific part). Royal *sorcery* is present in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, but it is far from presented as a specifically male innovation: the most elaborate case discussed is Lady Mwene Likambi's. In this cosmological scheme, drought is an effect rather than an independent variable, but it is certainly in line that pre-state female *Myene* are associated with Rain, and their husbands and male successors with Drought. Finally, as a breach of the old cosmological order, *violence* appears to have been the most effective, destructive, truly male option. Therefore I am inclined to consider the contrast, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, between the peaceful pre-state period and the violent period of

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<sup>382</sup> Cf. Schoffeleers 1979; van Binsbergen 1981a; Ranger 1985.

statehood as a reflection of a relative (not, of course, an absolute) difference in historical reality, and not as a mere reference to the Golden Age.

References to violence abound in *Likota Iya Bankoya*'s descriptions of male *Myene*. Thus when the male Mwene Kayambila ascended to the throne, his self-given praise-name was:

'I am Kayambila of the Lands,  
The Thatcher who Takes Care of the Skulls of People  
Like the Thatcher Takes Care of the Roofs of Houses —  
The Son of Manenga,  
Shishopa Mikende.' (23: 2)

Head-hunting and drinking from human skulls were customary at Nkoya courts in the nineteenth century and were described not only in oral sources<sup>383</sup> but also in the journal of the hunter and trader George Westbeech,<sup>384</sup> although we do not know for sure that these customs derived from exclusively male *Myene*, or preceded the latter. Also some ancient songs belonging to the repertoire of royal music still being performed at the Nkoya *zinkena* speak of the cruelty of the *Myene* and of young children who disappeared in this connexion.<sup>385</sup> Another oral source<sup>386</sup> dwells on human sacrifices brought to the royal drums, to the royal fence upon completion, and as part of the burial procedures of the *Mwene*.

Sometimes women may have been considered as spoil-sport censors of violence committed by the male rulers associated with them:

'Mwene Liyoka and his mother Shapita continued along the Luampa. When they reached the Lwamanzambo, Mwene Liyoka killed someone and put the blood of his victim onto his large drums. The next morning his mother Shapita looked at the large drum and saw that it was red with blood.' (36: 2)

The (classificatory) mother appears not as someone condoning her son's cruelty or taking part in it, but as someone who only after the deed has been committed is confronted with the horrible effects — as if Mwene Liyoka did not dare to commit the killing in front of his mother, and was in the morning chided by her for it...? Her reaction has not been recorded, and her main function in the passage of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is perhaps to suggest that essential information has been

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383 Oral source [5] relates how 'Kahare' and Shamamano used to engage in head-hunting and to drink blood from human skulls.

384 Cf. Tabler 1963.

385 Manuscript: Davison Kawanga, 'Nkoya songs as taped by Wim van Binsbergen: translations and notes', songs 38 and 39.

386 Oral source [2].



censored out — by narrators with a male bias, no doubt. Still, the passage makes sense in depicting the mother as a critical representative of the cosmological order the son tries to destroy by bloodshed.

There is plenty of conflict and tragedy in Nkoya political leadership during the nineteenth century: people abandoning their (male) *Mwene*, regicide, violent rivalry over royal titles, *Myene* being forced to abdicate. From a balanced cosmological system *Wene* became an idiom of violence, terror and exploitation — the central institutions of a male-headed state, one is inclined to add.

Part of this terror was internal and directed at the *Mwene*'s own subjects, as shown by the above passages featuring Liyoka. Shamamano's record, outside *Likota lya Bankoya*, is particularly negative in this respect (Clay 1945: 7). Such terror (through sorcery, open violence, and the *Mwene*'s secret executioners) has been part and parcel of at least the conceptual set-up — and perhaps also the secret practice — of Nkoya *Wene* to this day, in a way that is only implicitly indicated by *Likota lya Bankoya*. A twentieth-century example is the following:

'When Mwene Mutondo Wahila died in the year 1914, (...) [he] was mourned for one year, as 'Mwene Mutondo, the Receiver of Gifts.' (...) All the Nkoya shaved their heads upon his death; that was the Nkoya mourning custom for *Myene*. If anyone did not shave his or her head that person would meet death in the forest.' (52: 10)

The implication is: at the hands of the *Tupondwa*, the *Mwene*'s secret executioners.

*Likota lya Bankoya* certainly gives the impression that as Nkoya states developed under male *Myene*, the amount of internal violence increased to keep in step with the mounting external violence, directed at outsiders and in response to outside pressure. A different pattern of power relations emerged: power was no longer based on legitimation in the light of a local cosmology (something equally open to both genders, but primarily favouring women), but on the manipulation of people and relationships through trade, tribute, diplomacy, raiding and war — something eminently male. The later, male *Myene* increasingly took to violence precisely because they could not rely on the legitimating and consensus-creating force of a local cosmology. Moreover, their power increasingly derived from successful relations with the outside world; and it is from there that they derived both the incentives and the means to rely on violence: guns and ammunition; other much-coveted commodities, such as iron pots, beads, cloth; and the notion that human beings could be commodities and sold as slaves.

Besides this commercial activity, there was the increasing external military pressure on the Nkoya states. *Zinkena* were turned into real strongholds (*kembi*), and were situated close to one another for further security. Kololo were pressing from the west and south, and after the restoration of the Lozi state the latter's military exploits, although not

directed at the Nkoya, involved the Nkoya in operations further afield, such as those against the Kaonde and the Ila; Ndebele and Chikunda were pressing from the south and east; Lunda and Luvale, and later Kaonde and Yeke from the north.

The immediate effect of Kaonde pressure was that the Kahare kingship was chased from Kayimbu, from the *lukena* built at the hill which later was to become Kasempa boma. It is remarkable that this traumatic event is not itself reflected in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. We have seen Chief Kasempa's version in chapter 3; the episode, which is a standard item in the oral traditions at Mwene Kahare's court today, is furthermore related in several accounts of the history of the Kasempa district.<sup>387</sup> Another account derives again from Nicholls; in its complexity of the ethnic relations depicted it has a strong suggestion of authenticity and moreover confirms the intimate relations between the Kahare dynasty and the non-Nkoya or non-Mbwela inhabitants of the Hook of the Kafue and the area around Mumbwa. Nicholls describes how the Baluba inhabiting the northern part of the presentday Kasempa district were dispersed in all directions by

'Musokatanda [Musokantanda], a Mweyeke [Yeke].<sup>388</sup> One party of Baluba [Luba] settled at Kasempa while other parties settled to the east of Kasempa. At this time there was living at Kasempa a tribe of Bambwela [Mbwela]<sup>389</sup> under a chief named Kahari [Kahare]. The Baluba and Bambwela seem to have got on well with each other for some time and Kapidi, the Baluba chief, married the daughter of Kahari. But an inevitable quarrel arose, and as a result, the Baluba were driven south by the Bambwela under Kahari. They crossed the Kafue near the site of Mushuma's present kraal, with the Bambwela in hot pursuit. On reaching the river, Kahari was bitten by a mad dog in the heel and died, his body being taken back to Kasempa for burial by his people.<sup>390</sup> After a time, Kapidi collected his scattered warriors and made war on the new Kahari. As it was a surprise visit, he succeeded in driving the Bambwela away from Kasempa to the place where they are at present, living in the Mankoya [Nkoya] country.

About this time, a further raid was made by the Bayeke from Garenganze on the Baluba living east of Kasempa. As far as I can learn, Kahari had agreed with Msidi to make a clear sweep of the Baila [Ila], and Kahari's attack on the people at Kasempa should

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<sup>387</sup> Cf. Smith & Dale 1920; Chibanza 1961; Sandasanda 1972: 14. Jaeger 1972: 18 also deals with Chief Kasempa's war on groups identified as Mbwela, Mashasha and Nkoya.

<sup>388</sup> Musokantanda, however, is the name of the most senior Lunda ruler in northwestern Zambia; the Yeke ruler's name at the time was Msidi.

<sup>389</sup> Note that the word 'Nkoya' is not used here.

<sup>390</sup> Cf. the discussion of Shikanda's gender above, 2.5: 'gender and death from natural causes: an example'.

have taken place at the same time as the Bayeke attack on these Baluba living to the East of Kasempa. These Baluba fled on the approach of the Bayeke and followed the party under Kapidi. (...) They arrived in Ila country, there engaged in heated armed combat with the Ila, the Baluba suffered famine, but ultimately the Baluba's poisoned arrows turned out to be superior to the Ila's assegais. This resulted in a truce between Baluba and Ila.<sup>391</sup>

Much of this seems to echo the death of Mwene Kabimba and the subsequent exploits of Kalumpiteka and his followers, as related in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. However, Nicholls's account revolves on the distinction between Mbwela (owning the Kahare kingship) and the small Luba group in central western Zambia,<sup>392</sup> whereas in the *Likota Iya Bankoya* version this distinction is not made. Yet some of the contradictions in the *Likota Iya Bankoya* version (particularly the lack of continuity between the Kasempa branch, the branch that remained settled in Ilaland, and finally the branch that revived the Kahare kingship) could be resolved in the light of this distinction.

What Shimunika's account of the episode certainly conveys is the sense of aimlessness, defenselessness and loss that must have prevailed in the Kahare group in that period:

'[whereas] Shikanda had been very brave and without fear of the Kaonde army, Kabimba absconded, fleeing towards the south. 2 When they crossed the Dongwe near the Dongwe-Lalafuta confluence, they heard the sound of large drums in the night; the elders said that the sound they had heard might be that of the drums of Mwene Mutondo I Shinkisha at Kalimbata. They went back 3 eastward and crossed the Lufupa. Mwene Kabimba and his people saw a tribe of people who were called Yeke; these were murderously fighting among themselves. Mwene Kabimba and his people feared them and fled at night. 4 They went to the Lunga, a tributary of the Kafue. The Yeke followed them. They caught up with them between the Lunga and the Kafue. They killed Mwene Kabimba and flayed him! The Yeke took the skin of Mwene Kabimba with them to their land.' (42: 1f)

The silent passing at night of the *lukena* of a related ruler, the desperate trekking all over Nkoyaland finally to be skinned by foreign invaders — it conveys a sense of hopelessness in the light of which

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<sup>391</sup> G.H. Nicholls [Collector, Baluba sub-district, March 1906], 'Notes on natives inhabiting the Baluba sub-district', 22 pp., enclosure in Zambia National Archives, KTJ 2/1 Mumbwa — some important papers. A very similar account in Smith & Dale 1920: i, 25f.

<sup>392</sup> A discussion of their relationship with the Zaïrean Luba is outside our present scope; cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 126-137 and references cited there.

increasing state violence among the Nkoya becomes both understandable and tragic.

*Lady Myene of a later period*

A women's world (symbolically female ecological and ritual power: fishing, collecting, fertility and rain ritual, concentrating on the local clan territory) had become a man's world. Yet even so, Lady Mwene Shikanda managed to counter the Kaonde, regardless of her gender, and she died not by Kaonde arms but in her bed:

'After the death of Mwene Kahare, Shikanda took over the kingship. By that time the Mashasha were established in the Kayimbu area, which we call 'Kasempa District' today, and which in the past we used to call 'Kayimbu', 'in Kayimbu'. 7 In this place Mwene Kahare the Elder had lived, a few years after he and Mwene Shihoka had left the valley of the Maniinga. Mwene Shikanda died in her area, which had also been her father's; he was buried there and she was buried there too. In her time, while she was ruling the land, the Kaonde of Mwene Katotola came; Mwene Shikanda fought them until her death. (...) Mwene Shikanda died from natural causes. (...) Shikanda had been very brave and without fear of the Kaonde army' (41: 6f).

However, compare the contrasting account of Shikanda's reign by Clay:

'During Shikanda's reign the Ba-Kaonde came down and raided his [*sic*] people, and finally Shikanda was wounded, and died at Kasempa. (Shikanda, by taking medicine, was able to fly, and it was while flying over the heads of the enemy that he [*sic*] was wounded by an arrow.)' (Clay 1945: 5-6)<sup>393</sup>

It is just possible that it was this Mwene Kahare Shikanda who was referred to as bitten by a mad dog in Nicholls's account; probably, along with the free permutation of genealogical links between dynastic figures we must also count with the possibility of free permutations of exploits which are attributed to them. At any rate, Shikanda demonstrates that even at the height of Nkoya statehood some women managed to adopt and effectively exercise a male style of leadership. But they remained exceptions: partly because the increasing male bias in the Nkoya social and political system made them obsolete, partly because of the incorporation of that system in the male-centred Lozi state and colonial state. Shakalongo's case as discussed above may have been comparable to Shikanda's, and so may have been, further

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<sup>393</sup> For the spuriousness of Clay's claim of Shikanda being male, cf. above, 2.5, 'gender and death from natural causes'.

east, the female rulers Naumba and Longo on the Mwembeshi river (Brelsford 1935). Their reign, in the mid-nineteenth century, marked the emergence of the Sala ethnic identity, but both descriptions of the local culture, and extensive marital links with the Nkoya mainland in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century, suggest them to be closely related to the Nkoya stock, much like (in the same general area) Mwene Lilanda near Lusaka.

Nor are these female rulers of the statehood period confined to the Nkoya. They are also reported among the Luvale (with the trading queen Nyakatolo just north of what is now Zambezi district as a famous case; Papstein 1978); in eastern Angola as studied by Joseph Miller (with Queen Temba Andumba as the most famous exponent; cf. Miller 1976); and among the Lozi: the *Litunga la Mboela* or 'Queen of the South', whose Nalolo court has formed a complement to that of the male *Litunga*.<sup>394</sup> Jaeger relates how the first incumbent of the chieftainship of Kapiji, now in Kasempa district, was a woman, and she has a double significance for Nkoya history since she fought the Mbwela already at the Lualaba river, still in Zaïre (Jaeger 1972: 18). Much further afield, yet perhaps pertaining to the same politico-symbolic complex, we have that textbook example of southern African ethnography, the Lovedu rain queen (Krige & Krige 1943), who may have been just one example of a more widespread complex.

These female rulers could be regarded as survivals from a pre-state, female-dominated system of sacred kingship. In fact, their existence, often well into the nineteenth and twentieth century, adds further plausibility to the idea of female leadership in an earlier age. The female rulers functioned in a period of statehood, in a context where they had become anomalies in a male-restructured political system. They indicate that state formation, on the political plane, and the increasing male-centredness of the ideological system, however intimately related, still remained two separate phenomena which maintained a certain tension and did not develop at exactly the same pace.

#### 5.4. The changing kinship roles of women

The increasing male-centredness of the political system, and the concomitant ideological changes, cannot have remained without effects on the kinship roles of women.

*Likota lya Bankoya* claims, as we have seen, that until well into the nineteenth century male *Myene* would continue to justify their positions by association with or reference to mothers and sisters. In this respect the following domestic scene is very telling:

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<sup>394</sup> Mutumba Mainga 1973; Gluckman 1943, 1951; Brown 1984.

‘When [Mwene Kayambila’s daughter] Mwana Mwene by the name of Mashiku had grown up she gave birth to a son. According to the Nkoya custom at the time, she took the baby to her father Mwene Kayambila, so that he could name him. 3 In the morning, in the first light of the sun, the Mwene took his grandson in his hands and named him with the following words:

‘‘You are Mukamba Kuwonga, a son of Manenga’’.

Mukamba Shingole<sup>395</sup> was born in the year 1817’ (25: 1).

Another example from *Likota lya Bankoya* showing the intimate relationship between a male ruler and his daughter concerns Mwene Munangisha, an incumbent of Mwene Kayambila’s throne a few decades later. The Kololo had occupied Barotseland. From there they had taken the Mutondo royal family into captivity. After ousting the Kololo, the Lozi ruler Sipopa allowed most of them to return:

‘Munangisha went back to Nkoya with his younger brother Mushunga. However, he was not allowed to take his daughter Makomani with him, for she was very beautiful. 4 Sipopa told Munangisha:

‘‘If you want to take your daughter, then go and bring a slave who resembles her, to take her place.’’

Munangisha failed to find a beautiful slave woman in that area, so he went to Kabuzu, to Mwene Kasheba Momba. There he found a slave woman who was beautiful. 5 He took her to Mwene Sipopa and then he was allowed to take his daughter Watunga Makomani with him.

After their return Makomani was married to [ **beter: at; Nkulashi is the name of a river** ] Nkulashi.’ (46: 3)

Meanwhile, the rise to power of the *Bakwetunga* entailed a marked change in royal conjugal matters. Of Lady Mwene Manenga it was still worth noting that all her children were from one father: in other words, she might have chosen otherwise. The free sexual morals of Lady *Myene*, their freedom to take and change lovers, comes out in the oral sources outside *Likota lya Bankoya*.<sup>396</sup> However, with one of Mwene Manenga’s successors, the male Mwene Kayambila, the roles seem to be reversed:

‘Mwene Kayambila had many children and [some of] their names have been mentioned at the beginning of this book. Mwene Kayambila had many children because he married many Mahano.’ (25: 1)

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<sup>395</sup> *Sic*, and not Mukamba Kuwonga; most probably Shingole was his father’s name.

<sup>396</sup> E.g. oral source [3] 19.11.1973.

Women appear to have become valued more as daughters than as wives. *Likota Iya Bankoya* reports how Mwene Mutondo Kashina, Munangisha's predecessor, initiated legislation which amounts to the institutionalization, in the field of marital law, of the men's increasing dominance over women:

'He proclaimed a bad law:

"There will be no court cases concerning women any more, and the Mwene will no longer respect the Shilolo's wife.'" (28: 3)<sup>397</sup>

However, Kashina did far from succeed in thus formalizing female subjugation, and he met with so much popular protest that it meant the end of his reign:

'All the people failed to appreciate his law, since it greatly corrupted the people in their hearts. At that time of his reign, the Kololo of Mwene Mbololo, the Mwene of the Kololo, sent an army to the Kalimbata capital, to Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge. (...)

Many Nkoya had refused to follow Mwene Mutondo Kashina to Lukwakwa, to Fumika (...). When the Nkoya reached Lukwakwa they said to Fumika:

"The Mwene is telling lies: it is not as if we reject the Mwene, but the Mwene has rejected us, for he is not ruling the land. 4 That is why the people have turned away from him."

(...) When they arrived here in Nkoya they did not want Mwene Mutondo Kashina to be their senior Mwene any more, saying:

"He has brought unrest to the land and has failed to unite the people. That is why we do not want him any more."

They did not pay him tribute any more, not even food, and so he died on the Shimano (...). The ants buried him.' (28: 2f; 34: 2f)

*Likota Iya Bankoya* implies that moral disorder in the land, in other words the breach of the cosmological order including gender relations, brought about external disasters such as war. It is a bit hard to believe that Mbololo deliberately sent his troops in order to restore Nkoya marital laws he was no party to. At any rate, also the negative response of his own people told Kashina that there were limits to the extent to which he could redefine gender relations in the direction of male dominance.

But although Kashina's legislation was revoked, sexual prowess has remained to this very day an important expression of the male *Myene's* exalted position. Thus Mwene Munangisha, Kashina's successor and a

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<sup>397</sup> Interestingly, also Sipopa is reputed to have claimed a royal sexual right to whatever woman he might fancy (Holub 1879: 14).

contemporary of the Lozi ruler Sipopa, is reported to have committed adultery with his 'elder brother's' wife:

'The daughter of Kancende; she became the Lihano of [Munangisha's] elder brother Shikongi. Mwene Shikongi had a conflict with his younger brother Munangisha because the latter trespassed in his elder brother's house. Then Mwene Shikongi said to his younger brother:

'You committed incest! Just pay me a slave and marry her [Kancende's daughter] so that she shall be your wife.' (44: 3)

It would however be too much of a projection of presentday feminist concerns, to view the situation merely as that of male chauvinist *Myene* taking lecherous advantage of helpless women who had lost their politico-religious status. For one thing, a male *Mwene* whose sexual powers failed him could not stay in office, and more likely would find himself the victim of regicide — after the model of African sacred kingship that would appear to be older than male-dominated state formation among the Nkoya; in other words, male power models were not totally innovative but had to operate in the context of an ancient heritage. Moreover, while an ideology of sexual prowess might suggest male dominance over women, male *Myene* would still be at the mercy of women testing, and giving testimony of, his sexual justification for ruler status — another group of women critically surrounding (as sexual partners) the male *Mwene*, in addition to the consanguineal female relatives (to whom he had no sexual access due to incest prohibitions).

Munangisha's liberties with his sister-in-law must not be exclusively interpreted within an aristocratic context: the royal temptation to break through sexual taboos (*à la* Kashina) or the royal obligation of sexual prowess. In fact Munangisha's behaviour could be recognized by many Nkoya as fairly standard. In sexual matters among the Nkoya (and elsewhere in the region) it is a generally accepted principle that (classificatory, but including biological) siblings of the same sex are interchangeable as partners. As a common Nkoya saying runs:

'She is your sister-in-law in front of the house, but behind the house she is your wife'.<sup>398</sup>

Finally, the outcome of the story of Munangisha's adultery shows, as a moral, that men might pursue their ephemeral illegitimate pleasures, but that women and their female powers of reproduction continued to form the backbone of dynastic succession — until patrilineal succession of *Myene* became institutionalized (see below):

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<sup>398</sup> Also cf. van Binsbergen 1987a.



‘The daughter of Kancende had two sons: first Mampilu also called Wahila, begotten by Mwene Shikongi. 5 Then Munangisha begot Kazikwa Shayama, also called Mushonto. These were born before Mwene Mutondo Munangisha went to Loziland during the Kololo war in the year 1860.’ (44: 4f)

In the end Kancende’s daughter, more than her lover and subsequently husband Munangisha, appears to have come out victorious in this story: both her sons, Wahila and Mushonto, were to accede to the Mutondo throne, one after the other, around the turn of the century.

Yet this success was attained from a position of formal powerlessness, and — significantly — it became manifest not in the mother but in her sons. This was a far cry from women’s position as the very embodiment of cosmological, cultural and political order; women now had become mere bones of contention between men.

Significant in this respect is the detailed account, in *Likota lya Bankoya*, of the exploits of Munyama, Mbololo’s emissary *induna*. When at the Kayimbu court of Mwene Kahare Shikanda, Munyama abducted a Nkoya woman and took her to the court of Mwene Mutondo Kashina, under whose lenient marital laws he could find shelter — an indication that the several Nkoya courts stood for practically independent states sharing the same overall language and culture. Shikanda’s people traced Munyama, and Kashina could not prevent his being beaten up. Munyama fled to Mbololo and out of spite persuaded him to send a punitive expedition to Kashina, taking the royal family captive, and seizing or destroying the royal drums. The episode is of unique significance: this was the one traumatic defeat that would determine Nkoya relations with the Kololo and more important with the latter’s political heirs, the Lozi, for the rest of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century — the very core of the Nkoya’s negative historical experience. And not unlike Homer in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, *Likota lya Bankoya* blames it on adultery and elopement. In both cases, and both types of kingdoms, the rulers’ entanglement in sexual affairs may be interpreted as a sign of *how little the political sphere had yet managed to develop into a separate structural domain, autonomous from the kinship domain*.

As wives, women not only came to disrupt diplomatic relations between men: they may also have cemented them. Thus Munangisha is depicted as letting his marriage serve his diplomatic interests as a future ruler:

‘[Shibuyi Likambi’s] father was Mukwetunga Lwengu of the Lands; his mother was Mwene Komoka Shihoka. When Munangisha had grown up, he sent people to Kaonde to the village of Kalembelembe in order to fetch the woman who was to be his Lihano. They fetched the woman, carrying her on their shoulders, and brought her to him in the valley of the Miluzi (...), where he lived in the capital of his

mother Mwene Komoka (...). Liziho became the senior of all the wives of Mwene Mutondo Munangisha' (44: 2).<sup>399</sup>

Also in this case the male *Mwene's* own status was obviously still very much dependent on that of his mother Mwene Komoka.

Significantly it is women who are on the move now, while their husbands remain entrenched in the *zinkena*: a reversal of the pattern of slave marriage by female *Bana wa Myene*: through uxori-local<sup>400</sup> marriages or less formal unions involving male 'slaves', these created a solidary following of half-caste royals whose descendents are still to be found around the Nkoya *zinkena* today. Men, not women, have begun to form the local knots of the *lukena* kinship network.

A final aspect of the emergence of a male ideological perspective was the shift to patrilineal succession of *Myene*, so marked in the twentieth-century succession pattern of the Kahare kingship: once Shamamano had claimed this title under the protection of Lewanika, it passed on to his brother Mpelembe in 1914, to Shamamano's son Timuna in 1921 and again to Timuna's son Kabambi in 1955; at the time of writing (1990) Mwene Kabambi is still the incumbent. Likewise, patrilineal succession entered the Mutondo kingship: the *Myene* Kanyinca, Mushonto and Kalapukila were all sons of Mwene Munangisha.<sup>401</sup> This shift was specifically linked to Lozi domination as from the second half of the nineteenth century, when — as *Likota Iya Bankoya* makes overwhelmingly clear — all instances of Nkoya royal succession were instigated, controlled and/or arbitrated by the Lozi *Litunga*. Nkoya *Myene* had become answerable to the Lozi state. The latter was organized along patrilineal lines, and may have had an interest in the existence of slightly irregular (for patrilineally-succeeding) Nkoya *Myene* whose power would then be even more dependent upon Lozi protection. Patrilineal succession infiltrated Nkoya *Wene*, and has been there ever since — further eroding female power.<sup>402</sup>

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399 Although *Likota Iya Bankoya* explicitly situates the ruler Kalembelembe in Kaondeland, he was ethnically much closer related to the Nkoya and Mashasha than their arch-enemies the Kaonde. Cf. E.M. Shimantale, 'The history of the Mbwela people', photocopy of a typescript of an interview by J.K. Rennie, 6 pp., author's collection; there Kalembelembe is listed as the first chief of the Mbwela, having arrived at the Mbwela's presentday location near the Kafue and Lufupa rivers 'together with chief Kahala' [= Kahare]. So Munangisha in this case is perpetuating, through marriage, a historic political and ethnic link.

400 The anthropological concept of uxori-local marriage applies when a newly-wed couple takes up residence with the wife's kin.

401 Not documented by *Likota Iya Bankoya* is the general shift to patriliney also outside the context of royal succession, which made contemporary Nkoya society bilateral instead of matrilineal; cf. van Binsbergen 1977, 1979.

402 Butterman's paper 'Towards a history of gender relations in Zambia' (1985), concentrating on the colonial and post-colonial phases, nicely

### 5.5. Contested patrilineal succession of the Kahare kingship around 1900: Shamamano, Kambotwe and Timuna

In the case of the shift towards patrilineal succession, we are fortunate that the oral-historical data provide us with the details that allow us to perceive the specific, concrete political strategies through which such major changes in the socio-political structure tend to realize themselves.

From the account in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, Shamamano emerges as a great warrior and resourceful adventurer, and also as a usurper, who only under the protection of Lewanika managed to revive the Kahare name to which he was related not as a sister's son, but only as a daughter's son, i.e. outside the ordinary line of dynastic succession. A century of chief's rule by members of Shamamano's patri-segment, in a general context of the Lozi indigenous administration and the colonial and post-colonial state favouring patrilineal succession, has created such an image of self-evident legitimacy for the current Kahare line that oral traditions dwelling on the irregularity of Shamamano's accession are completely suppressed at the Kahare court today. However, there is in Kahare's area and among urban migrants hailing from there a noticeable undercurrent of traditions in which this legitimacy is challenged, and rival claims to the Kahare kingship are entertained.

When Shamamano built his *lukena* in the same general area where his sons and grandson have since held the Kahare kingship, he did not enter a virgin territory, but one which for at least a century had been under Nkoya rule. Mwene Kabazi lived on the Njonjolo, at Litoya Iya Mbuma. His younger sister, one of his successors, Mwene Manenga, had her *lukena* at the Lwashanza less than ten kilometres away. Mwene Mulimba, whose title (perhaps through perpetual kinship?) is claimed to go back to a son of Mwene Manenga,<sup>403</sup> was and is considered the owner of the local land, even though his name appears on the list in chapter 1 of those *Myene* who saw their status annihilated under the impact of the Barotse indigenous administration and the colonial state.<sup>404</sup> Other *Myene* encountered by the Kahare group when settling there were named as Kabimba, Shikandabole and Shikwasha<sup>405</sup> — but:

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complements my argument, with this qualification that her view of precolonial gender relations remains altogether too general: it overlooks women's possible dominance in the initial stages of what could be called the tributary mode of production.

403 Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.

404 Oral source [19] 20.10.1977; cf. above, 1.3, 'the indigenous Barotse administration'.

405 Oral source [3] 9.10.1973; these are to this day the names of headmen and villages on the south bank of the Njonjolo river, near Mwene Timuna's

‘Mulimba is the greatest headman here of all, directly under Mwene Kahare. He gave us this land. Without him we could not live here.’<sup>406</sup>

At Mwene Kahare’s court Mwene Mulimba, even though an unremunerated village headman — with only his royal bell to prove a more glorious past — is treated with the greatest deference. None the less, it stands to reason that the Mulimba title has for many decades been the rallying focus of rival claims to the Kahare kingship.

The most detailed information on Shamamano’s contentious succession was however not volunteered by an incumbent of the Mulimba title, but by an urban informant whose very strategic genealogical position will be clear from diagram 9: his father married both in the Shamamano and in the Kambotwe family:

‘Kambotwe (a predecessor of Shipungu) was the original owner of the Kahare name. All regalia had been taken by Kambotwe from Mongu to Kasempa:<sup>407</sup> *ngongi, ngoma ntambwe, shibanga, mpunga* (eland tail), and *mpande*. These regalia did not originate in Mongu but from somewhere else, where he stayed first.<sup>408</sup>

Kambotwe<sup>409</sup> gave the Kahare name, and the regalia, to Shamamano, because in his own family he could not find a successor.<sup>410</sup> After Shamamano’s death Kambotwe asked the name back, but in vain: the Europeans did not allow Kambotwe to take the name of Kahare. After the death of Timuna, Kabangu wanted the Kahare name back, but the elders declined.’<sup>411</sup>

This reading allows us to look with different eyes at the praise-name with which Timuna acceded to the Kahare kingship:

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grave. This Kabimba is of course not identical with the one who was flayed by the Yeke.

<sup>406</sup> Oral source [23] 13.10.1973.

<sup>407</sup> This is in line with the journey of Shihoka Nalinanga and his sister’s son Kahare from the Zambezi valley to the Lunga river, as related in *Likota lya Bankoya*, which suggests that Kambotwe Kahare might be the same personage as Shihoka’s sister’s son.

<sup>408</sup> No more explicit information was given. It is possible that the Upper Zambezi or the Zambezi/Congo watershed is meant, and that the present tradition is subject to the same collective amnesia or self-imposed censorship as all other Nkoya reminiscences of that location.

<sup>409</sup> As usual, the tradition speaks indiscriminately of the royal title irrespective of the various incumbents it must have had over time.

<sup>410</sup> Which fits in with the upheaval in the Kahare line in the final episode at Kayimbu, and during the flight south.

<sup>411</sup> Oral source [11], confirmed by oral source [14]. Kabangu’s son Muchati was Mwene Mulimba in the 1960s and early 1970s.

'Ami Timuna  
Mwana mutanda na mpande  
Ba Timuna ba Nyengo':

'I am Timuna  
The **son** who dons the mpande  
Timuna son of Nyengo.'<sup>412</sup>

The *son*: in other words he has managed to claim the *mpande* (i.e. the kingship), *even though* he is only a son, and not a sister's son, — not even (as his father had been at least), a daughter's son.

The above version of Shamamano's usurpation is widely accepted in the Kahare area. Even our informant Katambula, who as Mwene Shamamano's daughter cannot quite afford to subscribe to this reading, at the same time admits that Shamamano received the Kahare name from the Nkonze clan, which is the clan owning the Mulimba title; in her view, Mulimba was in collusion with the representative induna Simuliankumba when the latter — after allegedly killing Timuna's predecessor Mpelembe by sorcery — tried to oust Timuna and convert the Kahare kingship into an exalted *induna*-ship for himself.<sup>413</sup>

In the course of a formal group interview with the Kahare Royal Council another informant, distantly related to Kabangu and from 1975-1980 the incumbent of the Mulimba title which has been the rallying focus for the political faction contesting the Shamamano line in the Kahare kingship, did not confirm Mr Mangowa's reading but instead claimed — as some sort of compromise — the existence of a third royal title on a par with Mutondo and Kahare: that of Kambotwe.<sup>414</sup>

The same group discussion, a day later, failed to throw any light on the place of Kambotwe, and Shakalongo for that matter, in relation to the Mutondo and Kahare kingships.<sup>415</sup> Headman Mulimba's public interpretation may be understandably diplomatic but it is far from helpful: at this stage in the argument we are in a position to interpret this view as a projection of the colonial survival of the kingships of Mutondo and Kahare back into a past where there was a proliferation of royal titles. However, in private he completely confirmed Mr Mangowa's interpretation of Shamamano's succession:

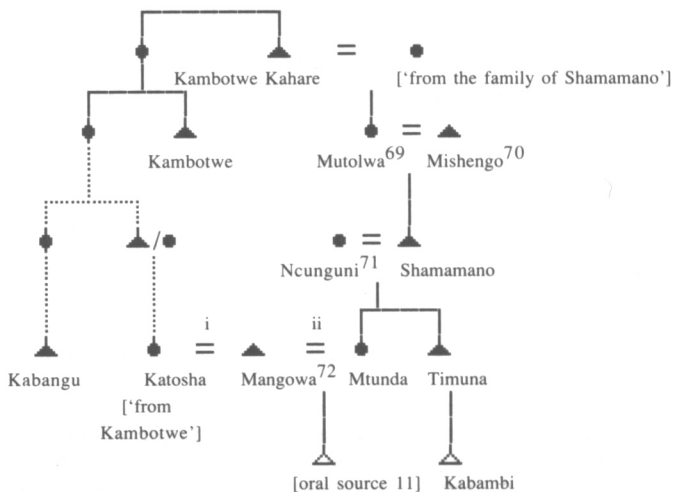
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412 Oral source [1].

413 Oral source [6].

414 Oral source [18] 13.10.1977.

415 Oral source [18] 14.10.1977.



*Diagram 9.* Reconstruction of the genealogical relationship between Shamamano and Kambotwe.<sup>420</sup>

‘Kambotwe came just after Lipepo. Kambotwe introduced Mukanda, for his father, a Mukwetunga, was from Lunda.

The Kambotwe who was in competition over the Kahare name was a different Kambotwe, he lived in the time of Shamamano. But that Kambotwe did not get the Kahare name back because in Lealui he was told:

“Kingship is to be inherited in the male line now.”<sup>421</sup>

If this throws some new historical light on the current owners of the Kahare title, what about the relations between Kahare and Mutondo?

<sup>416</sup> Name not specified by [11].

<sup>417</sup> Name not specified by [11]; Mishengo in other accounts is called Nyengo, e.g. oral sources [1] and [23].

<sup>418</sup> Name not specified by [11], but origin from Shakalongo stated.

<sup>419</sup> Son of Muyuwani, from Kabulwebulwe, and a Lamba woman; his third marriage, also with a Lamba woman, is not indicated in the diagram.

<sup>420</sup> Compiled from various sources, primarily oral source [11].

<sup>421</sup> Oral source [16] 16.10.1977.

## 5.6. Another look at the seniority contest between the Kahare and Mutondo titles

In the preceding section we have looked at oral traditions which because of their anti-establishment, not to say underground character deserve to be taken seriously as possible glimpses of historical truth, such as may have been censored out of official versions which are effectively attuned to the neo-traditional political *status quo* in Kaoma district. Amazingly, in two instances the Kahare title was associated with the original introduction of crucial elements in the political culture of central western Zambia: the total package of regalia, and *Mukanda*.

It is time we return once more to the political issue of rivalry and seniority underlying the moiety-like political structure of the Nkoya community in Kaoma district today, before we return, in the next chapter, to the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* and seek to penetrate its symbolic deep structure.

There is reason to believe that Mutondo's qualified seniority only goes back to the greater success of the Mutondo state in Nkoya in the nineteenth century as compared to the decline of the Kahare state before its being revived by Mwene Shamamano Kahare at the end of that century. As a royal title and a dynasty, Mutondo seems primarily a local product of Kaoma district, from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. It is quite likely that Kahare is in fact the older, more established and senior title, whose history goes back to Mbwela settlement on the Upper Zambezi if not to Musumba itself.

For prior to the dynastic migration to Nkoya there is only very unconvincing evidence concerning the Mutondo title, whereas the Upper Zambezi and Lunda connotations of the Kahare title are somewhat more substantial. Schecter (1980a) mentions a Kahare cave in the old Mbwela region; he finds passing references to the names of both Kahare and Mutondo in Upper Zambezi traditions,<sup>422</sup> but most likely this is a projection on the part of contemporary informants, in an attempt to render more substance to traditions on Mbwela and Nkoya groups: they certainly know — as many other Zambians these days — that the Nkoya in Kaoma district have Kahare and Mutondo as their principal chiefs.

The oral source<sup>423</sup> on Kambotwe as quoted above is not the only one in which 'Kahare' is claimed to have made and distributed the first xylophone, which does have strong Lunda connotations. The praise-name of the first incumbent of the Kahare title is:

'Kahare kamulema njimba

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<sup>422</sup> He claims that the Mbwela characters Nsanganyi, Mutondu [Mutondo] and Kahari [Kahare] are known to virtually every informant (Schecter 1980a: 272), but no further specific mention is made of either Mutondo or Kahare, with the exception of the Kahare cave.

<sup>423</sup> Oral source [11].

Bale mangoma zizinge  
Katapishila bantu nimwabo':

'Kahare Who Made the Xylophone  
And Many Drums  
To Share with all the People.'<sup>424</sup>

Brown (1984), whose musicological research in the 1970s concentrated on the Mutondo *lukena*, offers various traditions connected with the origin of the royal orchestra among the Nkoya. A recurrent theme there is that the first royal musical instruments were created not by humans but by spirits. Significantly, the royal orchestra of Mutondo is claimed by these traditions to have perhaps a supernatural, but at the same time a strictly local origin in the land of Nkoya: allegedly it was invented by spirits in a lake near Shinkisha Mate's capital (Brown 1984: 130-150) — a charter-like ideology clearly meant to cater for

'...the need of the Mutondo dynasty to establish an exclusive claim to the Nkoya royal xylophone and drum ensemble, a primary symbol of political power. Claiming that the ensemble was a gift from the spirits eliminated any need to acknowledge the possession of the ensemble (and through it, political power) by anyone outside the Mutondo dynasty.' (Brown 1984: 147)

The most likely outside claimant in this context would be the Kahare kingship!

Moreover, Kahare is much more than Mutondo associated with the mythical Mwene Kapesi, and hence not only with Musumban traditions of Kaposh, the mythical tower into heaven, but also with the origin of tribal heterogeneity and even with human (or at least *Bantu*-speakers's) presence in South Central Africa. Some Kahare subjects claim, as we have seen, the Kapesi link explicitly as an indication that, historically speaking, not Mutondo but Kahare should be the senior Nkoya chief.<sup>425</sup>

This would seem to mean that, contrary to Mutondo, the Kahare title was already in existence at the time of the original dynastic migration from Musumba. But what then to make of those traditions which attribute the later separation between Kahare and Mutondo to disagreement concerning *Mukanda*? Admittedly, the traditions on this point are highly contradictory. *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and the ethnographic fact that *Mukanda* is associated with the Mutondo kinship and with the Nkoya in the narrower sense but rejected by the Mashasha, would indicate that the Kahare kingship resolutely rejected *Mukanda*, whereas the Muto-

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<sup>424</sup> Oral source [3] 19.11.1973. Oral source [1] gives the same interpretation but only the first line of the praise-name. According to [3], the Kahare in question would have been Libinda, *son* [*sic*] of Shihoka.

<sup>425</sup> Oral source [7] 22.10.1977.



ndo kingship after initial rejection was more effectively subjected to a process of re-Lunda-ization including reintroduction of *Mukanda* under Munangisha. There is a neutral source which merely states that *Mukanda* was a bone of contention between the two titles without specifying which side was taken by either of them.<sup>426</sup> And again, there is the Kambotwe tradition:

‘Kambotwe came just after Lipepo. Kambotwe introduced *Mukanda*, for his father, a Mukwetunga, was from Lunda.’<sup>427</sup>

The puzzle may be solved once we realize that the latter-day separation and juxtaposition of the kingships of Kahare and Mutondo, and the political convenience to deny any genealogical relationship between the two kingships, does not at all preclude that the kingships were actually related in the past, perhaps not in terms of genealogical links (which is largely a political idiom anyway) but at least in terms of having a joint political origin. It may be highly significant that in a context of legitimacy or usurpation of the Kahare title, Kambotwe is relegated to a figure like Lipepo who according to *Likota lya Bankoya* and other Mutondo-orientated sources is clearly situated in the Mutondo tradition.

What we are witnessing in the process of Nkoya state formation is the creation of a political culture, offering powerful symbols by means of which aspiring polities can both legitimate themselves internally and define themselves vis-à-vis each other. As far as external definition is concerned (and for argument’s sake still concentrating on two Nkoya royal titles out of the far greater number to which Nkoya royal titles proliferated) two phases can be clearly distinguished: self-definition of the proto-Nkoya out-migrants vis-à-vis the Musumban state; and differentiation between Kahare and Mutondo.

The Humbu war, in which Mwaat Yaamv’s loyal subjects attacked the Nkoya *Myene* because the latter refused to perform *Mukanda* — and by this stance declared their independence from Musumban overlordship, strongly suggests that initially acceptance or rejection of *Mukanda* was, among the proto-Nkoya, the decisive element in their political self-definition vis-à-vis the Musumban state.

As cleavages developed within the newly broken-away proto-Nkoya group, an internal contest over regalia came to supersede the external contest of *Mukanda*. *Mukanda* lost its central position as a boundary marker, and an inconsistent process of re-Lunda-ization, difficult to allocate to either dynastic line but in the nineteenth century increasingly situated on the Mutondo side, once more found employ for this institution — even to the extent of it becoming an internal boundary marker, not between Nkoya and Musumba, but between Kahare and Mutondo.

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<sup>426</sup> Oral source [10].

<sup>427</sup> Oral source [16] 16.10.1977.

More important meanwhile was the struggle over the regalia. Here the forced invention, on the Mutondo side, of an independence charter founded on the claim of a local but supernatural origin contrasts so beautifully with the proud declaration of personal invention and distribution in the praise-name of the first Kahare, that the conclusion is inescapable: *the Mutondo line broke away from a senior group associated with the Kahare kingship, and in the process evolved its own regalia as well as accompanying myths to assert its independence from that older stock.*

Such an interpretation, finally, would also explain the names of the two kingships. The name *Kahare* comes from the verb *ku hala*: ‘to uproot’, ‘to dig up a wild tuber called *shihala*’.<sup>428</sup> Since reference is made to a *wild* tuber, the name cannot have the connotation, found with other early *Myene*, of the introduction of new crops. Instead, the name carries an association with the early phase of proto-Nkoya economy, when reliance on gathering wild forest and aquatic products may have been more important than agriculture. And particularly, the image of uprooting befits the emigration from Musumba. One can well imagine the first Kahare creating the title by adopting a hypothetical praise-name like:

‘I am Kahale  
The Uprooted One...’

The image of the Mutondo tree is the opposite: the kingship has taken root and has grown to be a proud and beautiful tree. Its origin from Mwaat Yaamv can be admitted, but it is no longer a dominant theme. This is clear in the historical praises (denoted by the verb *ku tanganisha*) that habitually accompany a public performance of Mutondo’s royal orchestra:<sup>429</sup>

‘Etu Baka Mwene Mutondo  
Mutondo Mwana Manenga  
Mutondo wa Mpululwila  
Mutondo waluba nceshelo  
Etu Baka Kashina ka Luhamba  
Hano nibo ba Nkoya Nawiko’:

‘We are the people of Mwene Mutondo  
Mutondo the Daughter of Manenga  
With Branches only at the Top  
Without any Scars from fallen-off Branches  
We are the people of Kashina son of Luhamba  
Here are, in other words, the Nkoya Nawiko’.

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<sup>428</sup> Oral source [17] 30.9.1977.

<sup>429</sup> From the manuscript by Davison Kawanga, ‘Nkoya songs as taped by Wim van Binsbergen: translations and notes’, 112 pp.; cf. the praise-names of Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (26: 1f).

Some among the audience may accompany this praise by shouting

‘Tufumako ku Mwantiyavwa’

‘We have come from Mwaat Yaamv’

but this is not part of the formalized praise proper, and is often omitted.

With Mutondo we have arrived at a later phase of Nkoya state formation, with other, more pressing concerns than some remote origin in a distant land: Mutondo’s praise-name, with its imagery of branches and blemishes, revolves on dynastic purity and intra-group rivalry<sup>430</sup> — the typical problems of an established state elite.

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<sup>430</sup> As particularly manifest in the geographical dispersal yet — at least partially — continued allegiance of the Momba and Kabulwebulwe titles vis-à-vis the Mutondo title.

## Chapter 6

# *Likota Iya Bankoya* as cosmology and as history: Aspects of Nkoya symbolism and its transformations

Can we make history out of *Likota Iya Bankoya*'s rich account of state formation and the attending transformation of gender relations? In attempting to do so, can we benefit from the structuralist inspiration yet preserve our historiographic sophistication? Or must we resign ourselves to the fact that the vision which Shimunika put before us, however attractive and revealing, could never be anchored in such reality as academic historiographers could take seriously?

Without answering these questions, the preceding two chapters would be nothing but speculation. This final chapter seeks to formulate a method by which an answer might be given.

### 6.1. Theoretical and methodological orientation

Some years ago, Luc de Heusch's *Rois nés d'un coeur de vache* (1982) stimulated Jan Vansina to a masterly critique (1983),<sup>431</sup> which while concentrating on de Heusch's approach at the same time provided an

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<sup>431</sup> Cf. de Heusch's angry — but in its lack of specificity little convincing — rejoinder (1986), which essentially restates his well-known earlier position.

impressive theoretical and methodological statement on African history and structuralism. In Vansina's words:

'All history as reconstruction of the past is of course mythical.<sup>432</sup> Myths are held to be "true." De Heusch is to be faulted for not using *all*<sup>433</sup> the traditions about the past, however recent that past, and considering them myth. But, conversely, historical accounts reflect the past. *The well-known problem is to find exactly how a set of data reflects the past as well as how it expresses the present.*<sup>434</sup> The succeeding problem, then, is how to reconstruct the past most objectively, and in doing so create a new myth. Not because the account is not true, but because it will be held to be true.' (Vansina 1983: 342)

In this arduous undertaking, Vansina sees no role whatsoever for de Heusch's brand of structuralism:

'...there never can be a successful structuralist approach to historical reconstruction.' (Vansina 1983: 343)

Given the many types of structuralism and the unpredictable future developments of African history, this statement (or Vansina's 1983 argument as a whole) does not seem to preclude that, within the framework of a sophisticated theory and method, some degree of structuralist inspiration could yet benefit African history.

De Heusch claims that the substance of our common oral-historical data is not necessarily a residue of historical events but may be largely a restatement of perennial myths and cosmologies. How to answer, in the face of that challenge, the central question as phrased by Vansina? How to negotiate between

- (1) a traditional mythical content as shared throughout a culture or even an extended cultural region,
- (2) the myths (in the way of idiosyncratic restructuring) that latter-day transmitters of that content (informants and narrators) impose upon (1) on the basis of their own particular intellectual, artistic, moral and political interests and pursuits, and
- (3) the scholarly myths which we create as academic historians on the basis of both (1) and (2)?

*Likota Iya Bankoya* is a first extensive and more or less coherent statement of 'Nkoya' history, as a necessary element in the building of

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<sup>432</sup> Original footnote deleted.

<sup>433</sup> Emphasis original.

<sup>434</sup> Emphasis added.

a 'Nkoya' ethnic consciousness in recent decades. Shimunika's discourse is predominantly nationalist and apologetic. However, a more careful reading, involving a minute assessment of text references to gender both implicit and explicit, reveals also a very different statement: one that traces the historical development, in the social history of central western Zambia, from

- (a) a peaceful stateless situation when — against the background of an integrated symbolico-cosmological system — women were politically and ritually dominant, to
- (b) male-headed states in which violence predominated, the old symbolico-cosmological system had been shattered, and women had been relegated to a position of social, political and ideological inferiority.

We have seen how on the basis of the text a coherent account can be constructed of these alleged developments, in unexpected detail. A superficial inspection of the symbolic structures as found in the book suggests at first that this somewhat hidden message on state formation and the transformation of gender relations has all the characteristics of a myth. It could almost serve as a textbook example of the theses developed by Engels in *The origin of the family, private property and the state* (1976, originally published 1884), yet does not spring from my reading of Engels or other similar products of our North Atlantic tradition (by such authors as Bachofen, Robert Graves and Sierksma). If it is a myth, it is primarily one created, subconsciously, by Shimunika. How can we disentangle the mythical elements involved on the three levels as distinguished above, those of tradition, narrator and analyst?

A structuralist-inspired approach will enable us, first, to reconstruct the more or less static infrastructure of a symbolico-cosmological system whose familiar central oppositions:

'wet/dry',  
'rain/drought',  
'earth/sky'

etc. can all be subsumed under the dominant opposition between 'female/male' — in other words, where all other oppositions can be seen as simple, *equivalent transformations*<sup>435</sup> of the gender opposition:

'wet/dry = female/male',

etc. On this level statements on gender relations can only be considered as a-historical restatements of cosmology, and not as reflections of

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<sup>435</sup> Cf. de Mahieu 1985; van Binsbergen & Schoffeleers 1985b; and references cited there.

historical events involving real men and women in the past; their information content on actual relations between the sexes is zero.

However, a second type of transformation can be detected in the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, in those cases where gender oppositions deviate from, transcend and deny the mutually supporting layers of symbolic analogy that make up the symbolico-cosmological system. Here transformations no longer produce equivalents but mutants; an equation like

‘wet/dry = female/male’

no longer holds, and, if anything, is inverted. These mutative transformations mark at least two types of discontinuity:

- (a) deviations, in the *Likota Iya Bankoya* text, from contemporary Nkoya cultural practice;
- (b) inconsistencies, in the *Likota Iya Bankoya* text, within the pattern of oppositions by which a particular past episode is evoked.

These mutative transformations can be shown to converge to the same pattern of changes in gender relations in the process of state formation, but they do so in a way which obviously escapes conscious intentions and perceptions of Shimunika, with which chapter 3 has made us familiar. Formally, it might be possible to look at these *mutative transformations* as instances of what linguists call *free variation*, a reflection of the narrator’s artistic working upon an infrastructure whose logic he does not consciously perceive or manipulate. However, from a point of view of historical analysis it is much more attractive to interpret these quantum leaps in the symbolic structure as evidence of actual qualitative changes in the relations between the sexes in central western Zambia and adjacent areas. In other words, I claim that their information content is well above zero. Admittedly, such an approach to the principle of transformation is unorthodox in so far as it defies the structuralist assumption of an integrated and essentially stable set of relationships (‘deep structure’); if the mutative transformations are claimed to reveal not an underlying, timeless *Ur-myth* (e.g. of sacred)

**paired opposition**

**domain**<sup>436</sup>

ascription	achievement	c/p/s
bird	game animal	c/e
container (gourd, basket, pot)	weapon	c/e/p/s
cosmological legitimization	power politics	c/p
drum (female)	drum (male)	p
fish, fishing	<i>ncima</i>	c/e
female puberty rites <sup>437</sup>	male puberty rites	c/p/s
life	death	c
lizard	python	c
menstruation	blood from wounds	c/p/s
moon	mpande	c/p
mother	son	s
<i>Mwene</i>	<i>Mukwetunga</i>	p/s
natural death	violent death, murder	c/p/s
order	disruption	c/p/s
peace	violence	c/p/s
rain	fire	c/e
rain	drought	c/e
redistribution	monopoly, hoarding	e/p/s
sister	brother	s
sister	sister's son	s
sky	earth	c
water	fire	c
wild fruits	<i>ncima</i>	e
<i>wulozi</i> (sorcery)	<i>malele</i> (magic)	c/p/s

Table 2. Main symbolic oppositions in *Likota Iya Bankoya*

kinship), but the effects of actual historical processes, they would be examples of homeostasis<sup>438</sup> rather than of transformations in the stricter structuralist sense.

In conjunction with the contemporary ethnographic evidence on Nkoya society, and against the background of some limited comparative evidence on women's political and ritual dominance and decline in the nineteenth and twentieth century as discussed above,<sup>439</sup> these mutative transformations, more than anything else, indicate that the hidden message in *Likota Iya Bankoya* is not a gratuitous, historically irrelevant statement concerning a static cosmological order projected back into the Golden Age, but a reflection of an actual (if difficult to periodicize) historical process of state formation in central western Zambia, relegating women to inferiority in the political, ritual, economic and kinship domains.

<sup>436</sup> Key: c = cosmology; e = economy; p = politics; s = social organization.

<sup>437</sup> Not explicitly mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

<sup>438</sup> Cf. Vansina 1985: 120f, which also entails Vansina's assessment of my earlier attempts at historical myth interpretation in a totally different setting, that of North African popular Islam (van Binsbergen 1985b).

<sup>439</sup> Cf. 5.3: 'Lady Myene of a later period'.



Having extracted the central historical message of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, I shall apply the insights thus gained in the final section of this chapter to the form and structure of women's cults that constitute the dominant religious expression in central western Zambia, suddenly throwing light on issues that I failed to clarify when, a decade ago, I wrote *Religious change in Zambia* (van Binsbergen 1981a).

## **6.2. Identifying *Likota Iya Bankoya*'s symbolic structure**

In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, as in similar accounts, we can detect a detailed symbolic structure that amounts to a total world-view. The immediate surface manifestations of this structure consist of pairs of oppositions as in *table 2*.

All pairs of oppositions as stated in *table 2* can be backed by such literal quotations from the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* as have supported my argument so far.

As indicated in the right-hand column of *table 2*, these oppositions can be classified as belonging to four partly overlapping domains of symbolic reference: cosmology, economy, politics and social organization. In *table 3*, therefore, the oppositions are presented per domain rather than alphabetically, while for each domain they are loosely grouped around common themes such as natural phenomena, natural species etc.

Apart from the grouping of the material around fairly self-evident themes, the information in *table 3* goes beyond that in *table 2* on two points.

Under the heading 'abstractions and generalities' I have taken the liberty to spell out some of the obvious distinctions (such as 'horizontal/vertical'; 'cold/hot' etc.) underlying the surface oppositions appearing in *Likota Iya Bankoya*; no doubt a much more penetrating semantic analysis could be made on this point, but for our present argument *table 3* will suffice. Even in its present form the cosmological entries in *table 3*, while *grosso modo* reflecting Nkoya culture, clearly pertain to a symbolic system which has a very wide distribution throughout South Central Africa; fragments and/or equivalent transformations of this system may be gleaned from almost any set of ethnographic, historical and mythical data recorded anywhere in the subcontinent.

Table 3. Symbolic oppositions in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, organized into four symbolic domains, and arranged thematically

§ = opposition not harmonious with gender opposition

<b>1. cosmological oppositions</b>			
(natural phenomena:)		cosmological	power politics
sky	earth	legitimation	
moon	<i>mpande</i>	ascription	achievement
rain	fire	vertical	horizontal
rain	drought	(below/above	(surface of the
water	fire	the earth)	earth)
(natural species:)		cold	hot
bird	game animal	wet	dry
§fish, fishing	<i>ncima</i>	container	weapon
§wild fruits	<i>ncima</i>	order	disruption
lizard	python	peace	violence
(pollution, evil and purification:)		life	death
menstruation	blood from wounds	natural death	violent death
female rites	male rites	openness, and	marked definition
§ <i>wulozi</i>	<i>malele</i>	action involving	in space, and swift
(abstractions and generalities, partly made explicit by analyst:)		smooth contact	pointed action (snap-
non-human	human culture	over extensive	ping, breaking, cutting,
Nature		surface (pour,	stabbing, spearing;
supernatural	human life	pour, fill,	cf. penis)
		hold; cf. vulva)	
<b>2. economic oppositions</b>			
(implements:)		(products:)	
container	weapon	§fish, fishing	<i>ncima</i>
(environmental conditions:)		§wild fruits	<i>ncima</i>
rain	fire (cf. bushfires)	(social processes:)	
rain	drought (cf. begin planting season)	redistribution	monopoly, hoarding
<b>3. political oppositions</b>			
(status, power base:)		(social processes:)	
<i>Mwene</i>	<i>Mukwetunga</i>	natural death	violent death
cosmological	power politics	order	disruption
legitimation		peace	violence
ascription	achievement	redistribution	monopoly, hoarding
female rites	male rites	§ <i>wulozi</i>	<i>malele</i>
(insignia etc.):			
container	weapon		
menstruation	blood from wounds		
drum (female)	drum (male)		
moon	<i>mpande</i>		

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#### 4. social oppositions

(demarcation of principal social categories:)		(status, the social process, the handling of conflicts:)	
female rites	male rites	<i>Mwene</i>	<i>Mukwetunga</i>
menstruation	blood from wounds	ascription	achievement
(kin categories:)		redistribution	monopoly, hoarding
mother	son	peace	violence
sister	brother	container	weapon
sister	sister's son	order	disruption
		natural death	violent death
		<i>šwulozi</i>	<i>malele</i>

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Apart from the grouping of the material around fairly self-evident themes, the information in table 3 goes beyond that in table 2 on two points.

Under the heading ‘abstractions and generalities’ I have taken the liberty to spell out some of the obvious distinctions (such as ‘horizontal/vertical’; ‘cold/hot’ etc.) underlying the surface oppositions appearing in *Likota Iya Bankoya*; no doubt a much more penetrating semantic analysis could be made on this point, but for our present argument table 3 will suffice. Even in its present form the cosmological entries in table 3, while *grosso modo* reflecting Nkoya culture, clearly pertain to a symbolic system which has a very wide distribution throughout South Central Africa; fragments and/or equivalent transformations of this system may be gleaned from almost any set of ethnographic, historical and mythical data recorded anywhere in the subcontinent.

### 6.3. Identifying transformations in *Likota Iya Bankoya*

The second new feature of table 3 is crucial to our present argument on the evolution of gender relations in the context of state formation. It turns out that, in all four domains, nearly all specific pairs of opposition are used, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, to highlight another fundamental opposition: gender. *The male/female opposition is the central axis on which the symbolic universe of the book hinges*, no matter whether we look at symbolical representations of the cosmological domain, the economy, politics or social organization.<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> This does not mean that, under the hegemony of the gender opposition, the Nkoya symbolic system as mediated through *Likota Iya Bankoya* is anything near consistent. E.g. the species in table 2 feature a confusing number of extremities:

female	male
bird (biped)	game animal (quadruped)
lizard (quadruped)	python (legless)

The underlying logic, if any, is not readily spotted: the ‘bird/game animal’ opposition could be relegated to the more fundamental one between the male dry land and the female sky/water, but the same could not be said for the reptiles involved, lizards (although appearing in the female column) favouring a drier environment than pythons. No doubt, further research could bring up plausible missing links in the symbolic argument, but these ought to be treated with great caution: as Vansina rightly observes (1983: 310f; cf. van Binsbergen & Schoffeleers 1985b) the extreme flexibility and absence of methodological rigour in this sort of structural analysis creates an ideal setting for interpretational artifacts.

*from contemporary Nkoya culture to Likota Iya Bankoya: examples of transformations*

The evidence is so overwhelming that it was easy to indicate in table 3, by a ‘§’ sign, those few entries that appear to form exceptions:

fish, fishing	<i>ncima</i>
wild fruits	<i>ncima</i>
<i>wulozi</i>	<i>malele</i>

In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, these entries are presented in association with a gender dichotomy, but such a gender association is not borne out by contemporary Nkoya cultural practice; therefore these entries appear to be the result of specific *transformations* which the author of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, or his informants, have performed upon the Nkoya cultural material.

For while *malele* is a category of neutral magic almost exclusively associated with *Myene*, nothing in the rest of Nkoya culture outside *Likota Iya Bankoya* suggests that women (contrary to Shimunika’s portrayal of Lady Mwene Likambi Mange, the Wizardess), are more closely associated with sorcery than men.

A similar argument holds for the two entries which have to do with the extracting of food stuffs from the natural environment, and their processing. In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, female *Wene* is said to precede the time of *ncima* (meal porridge), whereas male *Myene* are credited with the introduction of food crops, the basis for *ncima*. Thus the book presents the ‘wild fruits/*ncima*’ opposition as harmonious with a gender opposition, but this does not reflect current cultural practice. In Nkoya society today, *ncima* certainly has female connotations: the cultivation of food crops (millet, kaffircorn, bullrush millet, maize and cassava), their processing into meal and finally the preparation of porridge out of the latter, are largely female tasks. Only the initial clearing of the field, a limited amount of hoeing, and the construction of the granary constitute men’s work. Under normal conditions of village life it is virtually impossible for a man to cook his own *ncima*. Also, the collection of wild forest products that may have preceded *ncima* as a staple and that is still reverted to in famine periods, is exclusively in the hands of women.<sup>441</sup> Other, gender-indifferent symbolic oppositions (e.g. ‘nature/culture’, ‘forest/village’) seem to underlie the opposition ‘wild fruits/*ncima*’; its presentation, in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, as gender-related again appears to constitute a transformation.

A similar opposition is posited, in the book, between fish and *ncima*. As one of the three standard relishes to accompany a dish of *ncima* (the

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<sup>441</sup> However, the nineteenth-century male slaves, who were engaged in the cultivation of food crops at the *zinkena*, are said to have had to feed themselves with these wild tubers etc.: the consumption of their master’s crops was allegedly denied to them; oral source [22].

others are meat and vegetables), and therefore a likely male complement of that female food, fish is yet gender-ambiguous. The symbolic role of fish in contemporary Nkoya society is most articulate in the field of female puberty ritual: virtually all food taboos to which the female novice is subjected during the time of her seclusion, revolve around various species of fish; likewise, women are not allowed to descend into the water when fishing, but have to remain on the bank of the pool — which prevents them from catching anything but the smallest fry. Fish is not a clear-cut male symbol, just as the female novice after menarche is herself not a fully-fledged woman: she has to come to terms with the liminal ambiguity of her status — which Nkoya culture expresses in terms of her being possessed by the anti-social blood spirit Nkang'a, to be brought under control by the puberty rites (cf. Turner 1967; van Binsbergen 1987a). Rather than being a symbol of either femininity or masculinity, fish seems to represent a symbol of gender definition per se — both evoking the gender boundary, and suggesting the crossings, exchanges and transgressions that (at life crisis ritual,<sup>442</sup> sexual activity, etc.) occur across that boundary.

Such symbolic elements that refer to the properties of the entire socio-ideological structure itself rather than to its component parts are a common aspect of symbolic systems. Elsewhere (van Binsbergen 1981a) I have interpreted cults of affliction in a similar vein: reflecting not distinct modes of production but the structure of their articulation as emerged in the course of the last two centuries; I shall however qualify this statement towards the end of the present chapter.

Incidentally, the symbolism of liminality affects also the other oppositions as discussed. Thus the gender element in the 'wet/dry' opposition appears to be well-established: the first, allegedly female, *Mwene* had to secure her *Wene* from the fire (on which 'the Cooking-Pot of Kingship' was seething) through the use of water (by which she extinguished the fire), and when she succeeded in doing so, the achievement was heavenly sanctioned by a most significant downpour of Rain. Yet one of the principal teachings of Nkoya female puberty training concerns techniques and herbal medicines by means of which a woman can keep her vagina dry for sexual intercourse; and women take great pride in such dryness, which they ambivalently interpret as enhancing both their male partner's pleasure and his difficulty at penetration. Against this background, dryness is no longer an unequivocally male attribute, but — precisely in the anatomical locus where male and female meet most emphatically — a liminal symbol of boundary transgression between the genders. A further example from *Likota Iya Bankoya* is a *Mwene's* building a long ladder to pick the moon from the sky (both moon and sky having female connotations) — as a royal ornament for his child Kapeshi; the undertaking (a male

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<sup>442</sup> The anthropological concept of life crisis ritual applies to rituals which mark a person's dramatic change of status as associated with biological development, e.g. birth, puberty, death.

ruler's assault on female symbols of power) is said to have failed, but meanwhile liminal symbolism was invoked through the ladder, negotiating between earth and sky, supernatural and human, male and female.

*equivalent transformations leading to a self-validating timeless structure*

In principle, transformations performed upon current Nkoya cultural practice and leading to the world-view offered in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, are not in themselves incompatible with the contention that, at one level of symbolic analysis at least, the book could be regarded as an extensive evocation of a rather consistent system of gender symbolism, ranging from cosmology to politics, from the economy to social organization. As such a statement, *Likota Iya Bankoya* is both tautological and kaleidoscopic: the oppositions are superimposed, and reinforce one another without offering new conceptual clues — they all belong to the same pattern of equivalent transformation. In a fashion argued and documented for numerous instances of non-analytical, 'folk' discourse from many human societies including the North Atlantic one, the symbolic through-connexions between the major domains enable the speaker to discuss one aspect of society and/or history in terms of crucial oppositions which, because they apply to more than one domain, thus carry over implications and symbolism (for instance, those hinging on gender) between domains. E.g. discussions of the economy or the political structure may (must) pose as factual or historical, yet are inevitably clad in the same overall idiom that has already assigned fixed and standard gender connotations to specific parts of the natural environment, to a mythical past versus a remembered nineteenth century, to order versus disruption, to cosmological legitimation of office versus military and commercial achievements in the nineteenth-century turmoil.

In other words, at this level (that of equivalent transformations under the hegemony of gender symbolism) *Likota Iya Bankoya* would seem to be a circular and self-validating statement of a timeless and unchanging culture and symbolism, having nothing to do with history as we define it academically. Whatever it presents as male or female, is so presented primarily for cosmological and symbolic reasons, regardless of historical accuracy.

Does this mean that we end up with nothing but a generalized and timeless statement on human society in general and the Nkoya condition in particular, presented in a static and unalterable idiom of gender relations — merely because that is what Nkoya symbolism hinges on, and with just as little specific relation to the actual evolution of gender relations in Nkoya society, as any literary work has vis-à-vis the society in which it was created?

It is on this point that we shall leave de Heusch behind us. At the surface level the symbolic structure of *Likota Iya Bankoya* keeps

reverting to the same, and partly universal, oppositions, but it does not do so in a static, timeless pattern that is repeated throughout the argument, regardless of the historical period we are referring to. In this respect table 3 is slightly misleading: we have yet to explore the dynamics of *mutative transformation* through which these pairs are connected to one another, gather tension and direction, and thus may generate meaning, emotion, truth and history — in a work of art as much as in a culture, and presumably also in a contribution to ethno-history such as *Likota lya Bankoya* is.

*looking for mutative transformations*

If we aspire to crack some historical code that we hope lies hidden in this ethno-historical statement, we must look for contradictions that, on closer scrutiny, upset and disrupt its tautological unity.<sup>443</sup> Such contradictions we may then take to be the sediment of historical processes, of which contemporary actors and informants are so unaware that they have failed to process these manifestations and bring them in line with the overall symbolic structure that shapes their conscious argument. Above we have already encountered some possible instances of such contradictions or mutative transformations: the oppositions ‘fish, fishing/*ncima*’, ‘wild fruits/*ncima*’ and ‘*wulozi/malele*.’

On closer analysis the text of *Likota lya Bankoya* turns out to offer many more such instances, in a way that is particularly conducive to an academically historical reconstruction of the evolution of gender relationships in the process of state formation. Reiterating, once again, the pairs of oppositions that we have considered in tables 2 and 3, the essential data are presented in the right-hand column of *table 4* on the next few pages.

*Table 4.* Symbolic transformations in *Likota lya Bankoya*

paired opposition		transformation of this opposition in the context of <i>Likota lya Bankoya</i>
female pole	male pole	
ascription	achievement	early male <i>Myene</i> legitimate their position by reference to female predecessors, but later male <i>Myene</i> are de facto legitimated by association with outside powers: Lozi king, colonial state, mission
bird	game animal	no conspicuous transformation in <i>Likota lya Bankoya</i> ; however, see fish, fishing/ <i>ncima</i>
cold	hot	see: rain/fire

<sup>443</sup> Much in the same way as I took the internal contradictions, the lack of systematic unity, in the contemporary religious scene in central western Zambia as a manifestation of historically articulated socio-ideological subsystems (van Binsbergen 1981a; van Binsbergen & Geschiere 1985b: 270-278).



## *Tears of Rain: Likota Iya Bankoya as cosmology and as history*

container	weapon	no conspicuous transformation in <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i>
cosmological legitimization	power politics	see: ascription/achievement
drum (female)	drum (male)	the story of the impeachment of the female Mwene Kahare II (people are said not to have accepted that the drums remained silent when she was in menstrual seclusion) presents royal drums as exclusively male
fish, fishing	<i>ncima</i>	a problematic opposition, virtually a reversion of current Nkoya practice; a, historically revealing, transformation is however suggested by the fact that later (male) <i>Myene</i> are depicted as exercising royal rights over both fishing pools and game
female rites	male rites	the omission of female puberty rites, which constitute one of the most central features of Nkoya culture today, is in itself a significant transformation on the part of <i>Likota Iya Bankoya's</i> author; the repeated rejection of <i>Mukanda</i> by the Nkoya people constitutes another, underlying transformation
life	death	see: natural death/violent death, murder
lizard	python	no conspicuous transformation in <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i>
menstruation	blood from wounds	no conspicuous transformation in <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> <sup>444</sup>
moon	<i>mpande</i>	the female Mwene Komoka's praise-name stresses the <i>mpande</i> ; the story of Kapeshi, stressing the separation between heavenly and earthly power, and evoking the limitations of male political leadership, constitutes an attempted but abortive transformation
mother	son	the emphasis on nineteenth-century father/daughter relationships in <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i>
<i>Mwene</i>	<i>Mukwetunga</i>	this opposition in fact stands for two oppositions: (a) female <i>Mwene</i> / male <i>Mukwetunga</i> , and (b) the two ways in which a man can relate to the highest political office: either as incumbent ( <i>Mwene</i> ) himself, or as husband ( <i>Mukwetunga</i> ) of a female incumbent. <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> presents transformations of both oppositions in a nineteenth-century context: the result is 'male <i>Mwene</i> / female <i>Lihano</i> '
natural death	violent death, murder	Likambi as responsible for the death of her brother Shihoka I; also, women becoming bones of contention between men in the nineteenth century
order	disruption	see: natural death/violent death, murder
peace	violence	see: natural death/violent death, murder

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<sup>444</sup> In fact, this opposition is emphatically reinforced in the narrative material of *Likota Iya Bankoya*: both in the story of the male *Mwene* Liyoka and his mother (the former sacrificing to his drums, the latter silently observing that act), and in the story of the impeachment of the female Mwene Kahare II on the grounds of menstruating. Outside *Likota Iya Bankoya*, in current Nkoya cultural practice, there is a link with other central gender-related oppositions: 'cold/hot', 'wet/dry', 'water/fire': as elsewhere in South Central Africa, menstruating women can continue to fetch water but are not supposed to handle fire nor to cook. On the other hand, nothing is dreaded more than rain (Rain?) during a girl's final coming-out festival: it means that she will be barren — as if Rain is no longer the women's ally it (She?) was in mythical times...

rain	fire	no conspicuous transformation in <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> <sup>445</sup>
rain	drought	see: rain/fire
redistribution	monopoly, hoarding	insistence on exclusive royal rights is mainly discussed by reference to male <i>Myene</i> , yet the latter are in other contexts depicted as sharing out their tribute; not a very convincing case of transformation
sister	brother	the obvious transformation in gender terms would have been that from 'sister/brother' to 'wife/husband'; although a central theme in royal mythology and ritual among the neighbouring Lozi, in <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> this incestuous transformation only appears in the most oblique form: Lady Mwene Likambi lets herself be represented by a magical doll; the latter marries male <i>Mwene</i> Shihoka I and causes his death
sister	sister's son	the fact that gradually sisters give way to sister's sons as <i>Mwene</i> 's companions can be seen as a historically revealing transformation
sky	earth	in the story of Kapeshe the ladder, and its downfall, constitutes an attempted but abortive transformation
vertical	horizontal	see: sky/earth
water	fire	see: rain/fire
wet	dry	see: rain/fire <sup>446</sup>

445 In fact, the opposition is strongly reinforced in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, especially in the myth of origin of *Wene*, and also in lesser details such as the symbolic name of the male *Mwene* Shihoka I's father: *Linanga*, Drought. However, current cultural practice among the Nkoya suggests the imagery as presented in *Likota Iya Bankoya* to be a transformation in itself. As an institution, rain ritual directed at the High God has been extinct in central western Zambia for what I estimate to be at least a century or more. In the 1910's the great prophet Mupumani, from Ilaland but (as a non-cattle-owning non-Ila in the western periphery of Ilaland) most probably sharing in the same cultural tradition to which also today's Nkoya belong, for only a short time revived this ritual (cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: chs 3, 4). Today remnants of it are only found in women's cults of affliction, notably the *Bituma* cult. Instead of the rain-centred High God cult, which *Likota Iya Bankoya* depicts as the major source of *Wene*, two other institutional complexes have occupied themselves with rain-calling. There are first the cults of the royal graves invoking deceased *Myene* rather than the High God as bringers of rain. Besides there is a complex of more magical, technical rain-making administered by individual specialists; the only case I know well is that of the holder of the Nkumbula title in Njonjolo in the 1970s. The latter rain cult, in the hands of a despised but feared stranger, takes us even further away from ecological cults based on a unique link with the local Land (on Lozi rain magic, cf. Reynolds 1963). Apart from the ecstasy and bliss with which the entire village population rushes out to the fields upon the first rains in October, little in Nkoya culture today would lead one to suspect that Rain occupies a pivotal role in its cosmology.

446 Not a transformation, but an application of this opposition might be read in the male *Mwene* Shihoka's migration from the well-watered Maniinga area to the Kafue/Zambezi watershed (the area of today's Kasempa boma), which is known, among the Nkoya, as the Dry Land. More in general, in some subconscious mental geography the entire migratory movement from the Upper Zambezi to central western Zambia could be described as a transition from wet to dry; however, an overwhelming

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wild fruits	<i>ncima</i>	this opposition seems in itself the result of a transformation which (under the influence of increasing male dominance in both the economy and the ideology) presents two predominantly female products as reflecting a gender opposition
<i>wulozi</i>	<i>malele</i>	this opposition seems in itself the result of a transformation which (under the influence of an increasingly dominant male ideology) presents two inherent aspects of <i>Wene</i> as reflecting a gender opposition

Thus, on second analysis, many symbolic pairs in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, that at first glance could be read as a timeless cosmological statement on the human condition, turn out to be involved in significant transformations, which all revolve around the change that institutions, organizational forms and ideologies undergo, and which all converge systematically to the same two themes of state formation and increasing (though ultimately checked) male domination. Of course Shimunika as the author or compiler was free to select and reshape the contents of the actual stories he included. But as to their underlying symbolic structure, he had little choice (since that part of his job escaped his own conscious deliberations) but to copy the tensions and transformations to which he was programmed as a member of his society and as one sharing in the collective Nkoya historical experience.

For it is overwhelmingly clear now that the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is in no way a simple statement presenting, as projected into the past, Nkoya society and symbolism as they exist today. One could disagree as to the extent to which the contemporary situation revolves on the gender opposition. This is partly a matter of secondary, academic interpretation. We are dealing here — Vansina (1983) made this very clear — with a realm of anthropological enquiry where intuition, persuasiveness, artfulness and cunning, more than reliable, valid and intersubjective method, form the anthropologist's stock-in-trade — the analysts themselves, foremost de Heusch and Lévi-Strauss, often posing, or imposing, as Culture Heroes. However, a symbolic system is not unrelated to the economic and political structures of the society in which it is found. Contemporary Nkoya society (if one could at all discuss it as a distinct entity — which it is only in a very relative sense, geographically, linguistically, ethnically and economically) is a complex social formation composed of a number of mutually linked (articulated) modes of production, including not only a domestic mode centring on the rural household, but also the remnants of the *Wene*-centred tributary mode of production whose historical forms *Likota Iya Bankoya* helps us to unravel, and dominated from a distance, finally, by industrial capitalism as mediated by the modern state.<sup>447</sup> Modes of

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amount of evidence is there to show that these moves were far from mythical, not a cliché of oral tradition; they actually took place.

<sup>447</sup> Cf. van Binsbergen 1981a, 1985a; van Binsbergen & Geschiere 1985a, 1985b.

production revolve on their central relation of exploitation, and in only one of the constituent modes, the domestic one, can that central relation be properly represented in terms of gender (the exploitation of women's labour by male elders). Classical anthropology might perhaps be tempted to treat even the presentday symbolic system of Nkoya society as solidly unitary, and emphasize aspects of domestic symbolism; but a more sophisticated approach would have to incorporate that domestic, gender-centred component in a much wider framework also encompassing the imagery (including its distortions and transformations) of indigenous statehood, of modern political and economic incorporation, of the national state, urban life and capitalism. Against this background, the gender-centred universe of *Likota Iya Bankoya* must itself be seen as the result of a highly selective mutative transformation performed by the Nkoya author and his informants — upon contemporary Nkoya society as they know it. And that applies *a fortiori* to the central theme of our argument: the emphasis on female *Myene* whereas today all *Myene* are male.

#### 6.4. From transformations to history

Having thus identified one main type of mutative transformation in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (from twentieth-century cultural practice to the body of the text), the material in table 4 allows us to trace yet another type of mutative transformation: from the dominant imagery in the text, to exceptions where that imagery is inverted or ignored. Read as a timeless symbolic statement on gender relations, the book's message is very far from consistent: its fundamental orientation is, time and again, denied and contradicted, precisely on the crucial issue of gender, and the author is allowed such inconsistency because, after all, he is supposed to be writing history — the inconsistencies are, already at the folk level, implicitly if not explicitly explained as historical transformations: what sort of history would it be if everything would remain consistent and unchanging over time!

Neither does this complete our picture of various types of transformations. Diagram 10 may clarify the complexity of the situation in the case of *Likota Iya Bankoya* — which, however, in no way appears to be atypical in the field of historical traditions and literate ethno-history. The diagram presents the historical argument as an exchange between two parallel planes separated in time:

- (1) early Mbwela society — the society of the ancestors of dynastic groups among the contemporary Nkoya on the Upper Zambezi and further north, across the Zambezi/Congo watershed, sometime in the sixteenth and seventeenth century;
- (2) contemporary Nkoya society.

And somewhere between these planes hovers, of uncertain shape and historical location:

(3) the image of society as presented in *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

Both historical societies (1) and (2), as well as *Likota Iya Bankoya* (3), have a symbolic structure. For simplicity's sake, let us decide to ignore any internal dialectics within the symbolic structure of early Mbwela society and contemporary Nkoya society. The symbolic dialectics within the book's narrative we have explored above. In diagram 10 they are rendered as D (the transformations performed on contemporary symbolic material, so that *Likota Iya Bankoya's* symbolic contents do not match presentday Nkoya cultural practice), whereas the transformations which internally provide alternatives to the dominant symbolic structure of the book are represented as C. Within the framework of an overall historical continuity, the contemporary symbolic system of the Nkoya can be said to be the product of historical transfer from early Mbwela society; most likely, this transfer involved significant transformations, shown as A in diagram 10.

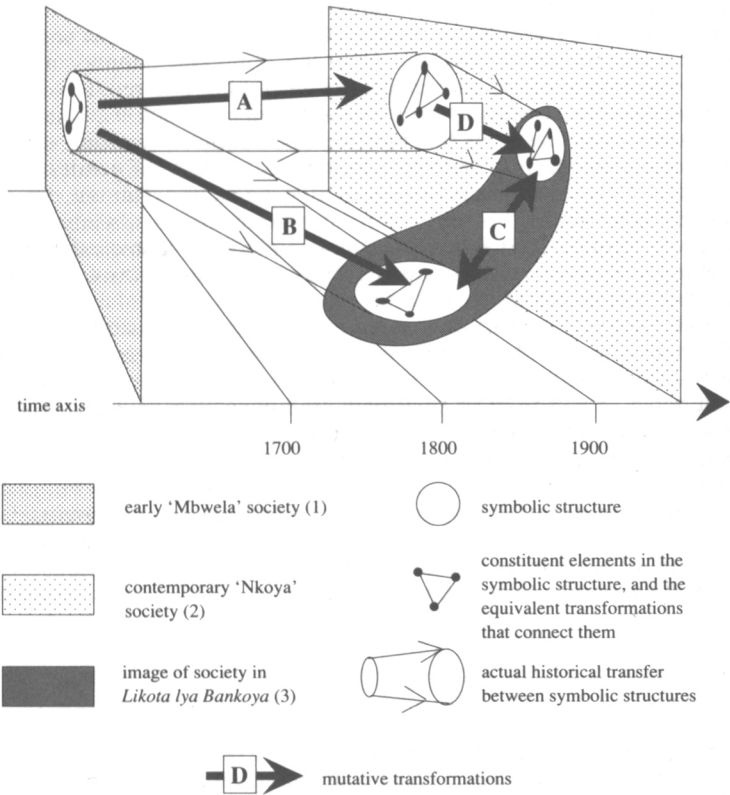


Diagram 10. Historical transfer of symbolic structures, and possible transformations, between early 'Mbwela' society, contemporary 'Nkoya' society, and the image of society in *Likota Iya Bankoya*

Finally, it is most likely that the symbolic system of *Likota Iya Bankoya* is not entirely a transformational product from contemporary Nkoya society (along the lines of D), but also has received some more direct input from the past; let us also assume that this input has been subject to transformations (B).

With the aid of diagram 10 we can now reformulate the methodological difficulties of making history out of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and of using it as a source for the historical evolution of state formation and gender relations. What we really seek to know is the past

(1); however, we have no direct evidence of it, but only transformed transfers or projections: (2) and (3). We perceive a dialectical structure in (3). Although some allowance will have to be made for any dialectics present in both (1) and (2), I submit that we should interpret these dialectics primarily as the result of the confrontation between two sets of mutative transformations, D and B: the former a projection from the present, the latter a more direct transfer from the past we wish to penetrate. Admittedly, we still lack a method that would allow us to distinguish, in (3), between the effects of D and those of B.

It is doubtful whether such distinction is possible without additional information on the past from other sources; in fact, we have brought such sources (in the form of unprocessed oral-historical data) to bear upon *Likota Iya Bankoya* in the latter part of chapter 3 above. But I believe that even without recourse to such sources we have already come close to cracking *Likota Iya Bankoya*'s historical code. It is no accident that diagram 10 looks remarkably like a classic feedback set-up, and even more like an optics drawing. Just as an optical grid magnifies the effects of light waves bumping onto each other so as to allow us the macroscopic vision of interference patterns (and thus to measure otherwise unmeasurable, sub-microscopic phenomena), the emphatic contradiction (C) between a dominant and an underlying pattern of symbolism in *Likota Iya Bankoya* (3) offers us more than a hint as to the nature of the essential transformation A that connects contemporary Nkoya society to early Mbwela society, and (since we do have ample ethnographic evidence on the former) allows us to trace earlier forms of contemporary institutions and their gender aspect. In these mutative transformations the real historical message of the book is encoded — safe from conscious manipulation and personal biases of the Nkoya compiler and his informants, waiting to be deciphered. It is on this level that *Likota Iya Bankoya*, although compiled and written in a way rather different from academic historiography, is yet a statement on history that can be taken seriously and even literally — not, of course, in its details, but in the broad patterns of mutative transformation it offers. We only need the obstetrics of a historical and anthropological method to bring these patterns to the surface.

*remaining problems: periodization, and the sifting of myth and history*

While this may go some way to convince the reader of the presence of a coded yet partially discernable past in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the possibilities of making history out of this pattern remain limited.

First the problem of periodization — the assigning of relative or absolute dates to such periods and to such phases in historical processes as we have distinguished on qualitative analytical grounds. We clearly perceive a number of layers: the pre-state layer, the rise of *Wene* in the hands of women, the rise of states led by men, the consolidation of such states; and we have detected the transitions between these layers,

in the way of gender-articulated transformations in the narrative material. But we cannot simply assign a date to each of these layers! All the common chronological distortions that have been noted for other oral traditions, are also found in *Likota lya Bankoya*. It is impossible to draw a sharp boundary between mythical and historical time. As regards genealogical positions, we have surveyed the various options and seen how they are facilitated by the institution of name-inheritance between generations. When we count the generations between the first female Mwene, Libupe, and her twentieth-century successors, the limited number of intervening generations would suggest her reign to have been in the eighteenth century. However, this appears to be a far too recent date in the light of archaeological evidence and of tentative periodizations of state formation in nearby parts of South Central Africa.<sup>448</sup> The fact that certain Lozi rulers feature in Nkoya traditions as from the mythical times of Mwanambinyi, and that apparent 'Mbwela' elements (certain dynastic titles, and toponyms) from Lunda, Luvale, Kaonde and Ila traditions could be matched with those of the Nkoya — as we have seen above — offers limited cross-references which might lead on to a relative periodization; but the chronology of these adjacent areas is not very definite either. Documentary sources only become available as from the late eighteenth century, and they only grow abundant as from David Livingstone; archaeological information is still very limited; and the professional linguistic analysis that will enable us to define the place of the Nkoya-speaking people amidst the people of western and central Zambia, still has to be undertaken. Moreover, these three possible methods (documents, archaeology and linguistics) by means of which we can submit the oral traditions to an external test remain far too general to verify and periodicize the very specific changes in the political, kinship and ideological domain such as I believed could be traced in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

Then, what is myth and what is history? It remains extremely difficult to assess the correct admixture. The surface pattern, with its very detailed story of the transition from female-headed clans to male-headed states, is situated somewhere between two extremes: on the one hand the suggestion of a historical period (roughly the nineteenth century), with descriptions of amazingly real people whose historical gender relations and the gradual shift therein may not have differed too much from what the book tells us about them; and on the other hand a mythical period, in which gender relations are defined against some absolute base-line ('in the beginning, all leaders were women'), and for which we have neither a date, nor a clear insight in the historical implications of what the book is telling us. Suppose Mwene Libupe — claimed to have been the first *Mwene*, and to have been female — and her immediate successors were actually, historically women, why should that have been the case? How can we accept that in that early

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<sup>448</sup> Cf. Derricourt & Papstein 1977; Miller 1972, 1976; Papstein 1978.



age (preceding the economic, political, ideological and kinship changes in gender relations we are now beginning to reconstruct for the subsequent periods) gender relations had already crystallized to such an extent as to lead to a rigid gender definition of ecologico-ritual leadership — reserving the latter entirely to women? The problem is far from limited to the Nkoya; for the basic story of Ruwej and Chibinda Ilunga, and thus the theme of male usurpation of female leadership, is found in many parts of South Central Africa.

*an alternative explanation: perpetual kinship on the Upper Zambezi?*

Is this not a reason to close the subject of early female leadership, and attempt a totally different explanation of the relevant accounts in *Likota lya Bankoya*? The institution of perpetual kinship allows us to interpret the early Lady *Myene* simply as the one, symbolically female, half of a pair that has been distorted in the process of tradition: the ‘female’, relatively autochthonous Mbwela element which did not, as some other Mbwela, pursue the option of partial local assimilation to the Lunda and Luvale immigrants but moved away to Kaoma district, while the ‘male’, invading, dominant element remained on the Upper Zambezi in the form of dynastic titles among the contemporary Lunda and Luvale.

This surely is an attractive way of looking at the complex evidence. It would help to explain (in terms of both a traumatic repression from memory, and geographical displacement over hundreds of kilometres) why the Lunda and Luvale, who<sup>449</sup> played such a dramatic role in Mbwela/Nkoya history, yet are virtually absent in *Likota lya Bankoya*. It would clear up the puzzling role of the Humbu: the book claims them to have been the main Musumban antagonists of the early *Myene*, yet among the ethnic subgroups on the Upper Zambezi today the Humbu have the strongest Mbwela/Nkoya connotations of all (McCulloch 1951). Perhaps the *Bakwetunga*, providing a slight suggestion of perpetual kinship in *Likota lya Bankoya*, in fact form the missing links between the Nkoya flying to the (south-) east and the invading Lunda and Luvale. Perhaps Nkoya traditions from Kaoma district have no choice but to present the earliest *Myene* as women, because these leaders were politico-structurally the ‘female’ components in chains of perpetual kinship where the ‘male’ part was occupied by rulers in the Musumban system; perhaps the Nkoya *Myene* could only become ‘male’ after they had, through out-migration, asserted or regained their independence vis-à-vis that system.

If this reasoning is historically sound, one would expect that the incorporated Mbwela elements which have remained on the Upper Zambezi, still have gender-articulated ties of perpetual kinship (as ‘wives’) with Lunda and Luvale dynastic titles. It is then certainly not

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449 According to traditional accounts hailing from those ethnic groups; cf. Papstein 1978; Schecter 1980a; White 1949, 1962.

from association with the latter at the Upper Zambezi that the incidental, and invariably vague Nkoya references (not just in *Likota lya Bankoya*) to Mwaat Yaamv originate; they either refer to a pre-Upper Zambezi phase in Mbwela history; or (after the notion of Nkoya/Musumba antagonism has become lost to contemporary Nkoya informants) they merely form a twentieth-century concession to the immense prestige the Mwaat Yaamv title has in much of Zambia.

The elegance of the perpetual-kinship argument would be that it allows us a way around the tantalizing questions that the structuralist analysis of the data in *Likota lya Bankoya* raises: for it would simply mean that *the Nkoya Myene at no point in their history have been biological women*. With this argument, the rejection of and separation from the Lunda heritage becomes even more emphasized, and we have found additional reasons to understand why — much to their later detriment — the main features of Lunda political organization (positional succession and perpetual kinship) have been virtually absent in Nkoya states. The argument would perhaps also take care of those *Myene* who, long after the departure from the Upper Zambezi, are still represented as female: Shikanda, Shakalongo. Were these also politico-structurally female (but biologically male), in a set of perpetual kinship comprising, on the male side, the Mutondo title (for Shikanda's case) and the Kahare title (for Shakalongo's)? The few alternative gender interpretations, in the oral sources, of Shikanda and Shakalongo as male, Mutondo and Kahare as female, would then no longer be apocryphal (as they are in the structuralist perspective pursued above), but on the contrary could be cited as cases in point for the 'perpetual kinship' hypothesis.

Occam's razor, however, would suffer several major dents. An explanation in terms of perpetual kinship may have the advantage of reducing the number of assumptions that the alternative explanation in terms of actual female leadership would require. However, how can one have perpetual kinship if only one component in this political relationship has been identified (notably, the Nkoya *Myene* with their female connotations), while the other component, presumably male and of Lunda/Humbu/Luvale affiliation, has consistently remained obscure or absent? In a socio-political argument on structural opposition both components have to feature explicitly and side by side. Just as one never encounters only one totem as a symbol of just one group, but totems can only function as mutually opposed group symbols in a structure of several mutually opposed groups (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1962), gender projection in the case of perpetual kinship is only meaningful if there is a clear dichotomy between identified political elements systematically corresponding with male and female connotations — and that not just between one historical period and the next, but also within one historical period in itself. When any one historical period has only women to show, as seems to be the case in the early history of *Wene* among the Nkoya, a symbolic explanation in terms of perpetual kinship does not greatly help us. Also, the argument in terms of

disrupted perpetual kinship entirely fails to explain why, in passages referring to the periods after the departure from the Upper Zambezi, the female element in *Wene* continues to be stressed to the extent it is in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. Nor why this tallies with the ethnographic and historical evidence on nineteenth-century female political leadership elsewhere in the region.

*the vindication of ethno-history*

For the time being, I would consider the politico-structural explanation of the female dimension of Nkoya states as an interesting idea, with some heuristic potential for future re-interpretations of Upper Zambezi history, for which probably new data will have to be collected. Once formulated, however, it does no longer allow us to take *Likota Iya Bankoya* literally on the point of women as early *Myene*. At the baseline of Nkoya history, we now have a case both for and against female leadership, and so far the competition is undecided. But this does not seem to invalidate the symbolic argument I have put forward, as long as we limit its scope to the reconstruction of more recent changes in gender relations: the last few centuries prior to the imposition of the colonial state. For that recent past, the transformations listed in table 4 — against the background of contemporary Nkoya ethnography and comparative evidence throughout the region — appear to me to constitute convincing evidence. This would mean that, for the more recent past, *Likota Iya Bankoya's* narrative, from female-headed clans to male-headed states, would cease to be just a myth, and may become a form of historiography as we academicians know it.

The processes we are trying to reconstruct here are hard to locate not only in time but also in space, and according to socio-cultural group. It is clear that the first, more clearly mythical phases of Shimunika's argument refer not to the present-day Land of Nkoya in and around Kaoma district, but to economic and political structures centuries ago at the Upper Zambezi or perhaps still further afield, north of the Zambezi/Congo watershed. It is equally clear that these reconstructions do not really deal with 'the Nkoya' but with small 'Mbwela/proto-Nkoya' proto-dynastic groups... 'Nkoya' as a political identity only emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century, as the name of the leaders and subjects involved in the state structure centring on the Mutondo kingship; and it is only far into the twentieth century that 'Nkoya' became an ethnic label of a much wider scope. The use of mythical material (such as the Ladder into heaven, and the menstruating female ruler being deprived of her regalia) that has a wide distribution all over South Central Africa, suggests that here layers are touched which may be older than the later ethnic articulation of social groups such as found today in the subcontinent. One wonders to what extent a deep, millennia-old layer of common Bantu symbolic heritage à la de Heusch could be involved after all — or are we just dealing

here (as the tantalizing Musumban transformations of the Kapeshi myth suggest; Schechter 1980a: 41) with coded references to the much more recent shared past in southern Zaïre less than half a millennium ago?

Although many questions remain, it is my contention that 'ethno-history', in this case, has survived remarkably well the confrontation with academic canons of historiography. I believe that the *Likota lya Bankoya* text does allow us to perceive the process of state formation in western Zambia during the second half of the present millennium as entailing, *inter alia*, specific changes in gender relations — and that, at least for the nineteenth century, we can pinpoint those changes, not of course by taking the genre of literate ethno-history at face value, but by processing its statements methodically to a point where they surrender their rich surface content and underlying deep structure.

Vansina entitled the methodological study with which this chapter opened: *Is elegance proof?* His conclusion, as far as de Heusch's analyses were concerned, was emphatically negative. While my own argument may have been 'elegant' (it would have been more so if the various types of transformations as distinguished had been subjected to further theorizing), and while it does seek to derive inspiration from de Heusch's work, it also employs forms of refutation and 'proof' not uncommon in the evolving methodology of African history. Meanwhile, the real proof of the pudding is in the eating, and I shall conclude this chapter by demonstrating how the tentative insights gained in the history of state formation and gender relations in central western Zambia as gleaned from *Likota lya Bankoya* in their turn illuminate a very different set of data: those on twentieth-century cults of affliction.

### **6.5. Beyond *Religious change in Zambia*: The religious transformation of women's political power**

Amoral, non-communal cults of affliction, such as *Bituma*, *Mowa* and *Bindele*, constitute a religious complex which is conspicuously absent from *Likota lya Bankoya*, yet can be said to dominate as a religious expression among the Nkoya today, and particularly among Nkoya women. In passing we note that these cults' very absence from Shimunika's account constitutes another mutative transformation between contemporary Nkoya society and *Likota lya Bankoya* — but that is not my point here. In *Religious change in Zambia* I presented descriptions of these cults both in their rural and their urban forms, traced their recent history, and argued that these cults expressed the process through which, in the social formation of western Zambia, the domestic mode of production became articulated to a tributary mode hinging on exploiting chief's courts, and to the capitalist mode of production locally penetrating in the form of peripheral mercantilism, in the hands of Umbundu and Swahili traders. I went to great lengths to argue that this class of cults should not be seen as the expression of any one of the modes of production involved, but (on a more abstract level)

as an expression of the articulation process itself. Not only was this supposed to explain the rise of such cults in the first place, but also their continued dominance: largely in the hands of women (as both cult leaders and adepts), and straddling both rural and urban sections of contemporary Nkoya life, these cults were claimed to constitute a major instrument for the transfer of men's earnings in the modern capitalist sector, to women who are largely debarred from participation in the capitalist mode of production.

While the analytical power of such an interpretation is discussed in *Religious change in Zambia*, the argument was far from conclusive — nor did it pretend to be. Despite the lengthy theoretical sections of the book (particularly in chs. 1, 7 and 8) I did not fully spell out my then emerging theory of 'layered' structure (with each layer corresponding to a mode of production) and transformation, linking ideological and material processes, confrontations and struggles.<sup>450</sup> Taking the domestic mode of production as my base-line, the interrelation between the tributary and the capitalist mode of production, emerging at about the same time, remained admittedly vague. I could not account for the female preponderance in these cults:<sup>451</sup> was there anything in the articulation process that particularly affected the relations between the sexes? And although I had long been puzzled by the symbolic and formal correspondence between those cults (such as *Bituma*), and royal institutions in western Zambia, the articulation perspective did not seem to offer explanations here:

‘There are some interesting parallels between chiefs and healers which however are too imperfectly documented to be discussed in greater detail. Various musical instruments (the *njimba* xylophone and the *mukupele* hourglass drum), and other paraphernalia (like the *hefu* eland-tail fly-switch and the *mpande* conus-shell disc) were associated with the new dynasties coming from the north and establishing Lunda-style chieftainship. Possession of these items was prohibited among commoners, yet these items were appropriated by cult leaders (...), without the chiefs taking offence. Likewise, the formal respect paid to chiefs (*ku bombela*) is similar to the attitudes towards the cult leaders during sessions (...). This seems to corroborate the association between the cults and the linking of the domestic and the tributary mode of production, although there remains room for other explanations, such as: competition between chiefs and cult leaders, in which it was not a matter of the healer's appropriating [chiefs' symbols of ritual authority, but of the chiefs appropriating the]<sup>452</sup> healers' symbols of ritual authority. Such

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<sup>450</sup> Meanwhile, see van Binsbergen 1984; van Binsbergen & Geschiere 1985b: 270-278. But much more work is needed on this point.

<sup>451</sup> I am indebted to my colleagues R. Buijtenhuijs and J.M. Schoffeleers for stressing this point in various discussions we had on the subject.

<sup>452</sup> The text between brackets corrects a printing error in the original.

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competition (...) <sup>453</sup> is a recurrent theme in Central African religious history.' (van Binsbergen 1981a: 363, n. 79)

My argument was far too general, and paid far too little systematic attention to the inherent qualities of symbolic structures. Therefore I was unable to pinpoint the transformational rules which, on the basis of the organizational and symbolic material present in that society at an earlier stage, would, as a result of such articulation, result in the specific new organizational and symbolic forms that made up the new cults of affliction. The context may have been sketched, but the motor, the mechanism, the underlying system remained somewhat vague — and the results of the transformational processes therefore appeared as much more accidental than in fact they were. After all, my approach to the process may have been somehow too mechanical, too little historical (as Ranger already pointed out more than ten years ago; Ranger 1979). I lacked the data to interpret the process of religious change leading to these new cults in terms of a struggle between interests both symbolic and material; with regard to other topics in Zambian religious history (particularly the emergence of royal cults, and the rise of such twentieth-century prophets as Mupumani and Lenshina) data had been more abundant, and the protagonists in the struggle, as well as their ideological, political and economic positions more easily identified.

Theoretically I knew, of course, that articulation of modes of production must have amounted to class formation and class struggle; but with regard to the rise of the new cults of affliction all I came up with was a rather idealist, '*verstehende*' <sup>454</sup> notion of new entrepreneurs

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<sup>453</sup> See van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 3.

<sup>454</sup> In the social sciences, the Weberian intellectual operation called *Verstehen* ('understanding') stands for an analytical exploration of the meanings as attributed by actors or participants in a social field, on the basis of an assumption of a universal human (and therefore, of the analyst's) potential of intersubjective empathy and logic across boundaries of a class, gender, cultural, linguistic, spatio-temporal, etc. nature; cf. Weber 1969, and there also Parsons's introduction, p. 8f. As Fernandez (1978) rightly observed, the limited type of 'understanding' I pursued in the studies collected in *Religious change of Zambia* (within a tradition formed by Weberians like Horton and Peel as much as by neo-marxism) was too abstract, and too devoid of specific content of symbolism and imagery, to convince. In fact, in part of the book I was concerned with a type of explanation that could hardly be called *verstehend* at all — a materialist examination of the ideological effects of political and economic changes which in their turn were seen as shifts in the patterns of articulation of modes of production within the social formation. By comparison, the forms of understanding pursued in the present volume lay much more emphasis on cultural specificity, historical accident, and method — and far less on external and abstractly theoretical discourse; my present argument seeks to encounter African symbolic producers and to engage in exchange with them, rather than to analytically appropriate and dominate their creations, forcing them to the alien straight-jacket of a deterministic interpretational scheme. But in the process, the ambition to generalize over vast regions and periods had to

in a mercantilist context trying to formulate or to adopt a new ideology that would exonerate them from the connotations of sorcery and illicit appropriation that their activities would otherwise have in the dominant, domestic ideology of redistribution and reciprocity.

Such an interpretation was essentially a projection, back into the past, of rather extensive ethnographic and historical evidence I had on returning labour migrants in the colonial era. They expressed a similar predicament (the clash between the ideology of an industrial capitalism in which they had participated as adults, and a domestic mode of production in which they had been raised in childhood) in terms of sorcery eradication movements — with its moral and communal overtones a very different religious idiom than the new cults of affliction. Even if my idealist interpretation of the latter's emergence still sounds somehow convincing, it could only be one side of the story. For what ideological pressures were at work on the other side: that of the non-entrepreneurs, the non-participants in the new modes of production which have invaded the domestic community from perhaps the eighteenth century? And what actual flow of goods and services, what actual processes of appropriation, attended the ensuing ideological struggles between entrepreneurs and others? There are some indications, both in oral and in written sources relating to the nineteenth century, of what did go on, e.g. accounts of the caravan trade, of a probably more extensive regional trade in local products in the hands of local people, of production at chiefs' *zinkena* being largely realized by slaves, and of how elders trapped youth (their children and grandchildren, but particularly their sister's sons) into a pawnship that rapidly deteriorated into commercial slavery. But these data did not throw much light on the position of women, and how alterations therein might have called forth the specific ideological response of the new cults of affliction.

Although most of the theoretical loose ends remain, and while I shrink from spelling out, and mapping out, the specific symbolic transformations involved,<sup>455</sup> my argument in the present study is a step forward as far as the interpretation of the specific historical and ethnographic evidence is concerned. It sets the context of the political, economic, kinship-structural and ideological discrediting of women in central western Zambia. While we cannot claim exclusive female political leadership for the early periods of Nkoya state formation, our transformational analysis (and the way it has vindicated the ethno-historical account) allows us to conclude that in the course of the

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be sacrificed, and the genuinely illuminating perspective of the class struggle as motor of history has perhaps been somewhat underplayed here.

<sup>455</sup> This remains to be done particularly for all oppositions that do not have conspicuous transformations within the body of *Likota Iya Bankoya*: we should assess whether perhaps they have transformations in nineteenth- and twentieth-century female cults.

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nineteenth century women further declined in status and were more and more debarred from political high office, ultimately even entirely so. When then, in the twentieth century, we see female cults featuring regalia and royal symbolism in general, the following conclusion presents itself: *under the rise of male dominance, the political idiom of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been transformed into a religious idiom of the twentieth century*; the losers strike back in a new way: 'from queens to cult leaders'<sup>456</sup> The struggle and the politics of the process are clear. This would mean that the new cults are not so much in themselves abstract expressions of articulation; their adepts were primarily not people engaging in relations of production beyond the domestic community, but women who fought back as their men (as traders, rulers, etc.) were engaging in such tributary and especially mercantile-capitalist relations of production. Already in the nineteenth century the women had definitely lost this struggle on the material and political plane, even though the extensive discussion of what could be gleaned from *Likota Iya Bankoya* with regard to the ideological processes involved (cf. above, chapter 5) makes it very clear that the men never effectively captured the ideology. Now, through the new cults, the women were soon to regain some of their terrain. Little wonder that these cults came to provide a lever to bring the spoils of men's operation in a wider capitalist sphere within women's reach. Meanwhile, with the increasing incapsulation of the (male) remnants of *Wene* on the political plane as dominated by the modern state (van Binsbergen 1986a, 1987b), one can only wonder what potential for political renewal remains stored in these cults, in the hands of women.

## 6.6. Conclusion: history out of myth

With all the faults that Vansina — on the basis of a sound academic conception of history — has exposed so convincingly and appropriately, de Heusch's work<sup>457</sup> has continued to inspire historians and anthropologists working on oral-historical materials from Central and South Central Africa. This inspiration does not spring from de Heusch's handling of history itself (which remains defective), but from the fact that he claims access to an essentially static, a-historical baseline — an 'archaeology of Bantu thought' which, he asserts, seeks to break through in all sorts of transformations and permutations over vast geographical areas and historical periods.

On the one hand the historian is challenged to refute de Heusch's ahistorical assumptions as to the unadulterated, unchanging continuity of primordial symbolic and cosmological arrangements; in this way, de Heusch's archaeology of fossilized African thought has to be traded in

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<sup>456</sup> For striking East African parallels, cf. Berger 1981; Alpers 1984.

<sup>457</sup> If only as a persuasive literary genre, beyond the canons of empirical scholarship; cf. Vansina 1983: 329f.



for something far more alive and dynamic: a history of ideas and ideologies — something scholarship has hitherto not dared to expect from oral traditions or literate ethno-history, yet appears to sum up precisely what we have produced in the preceding chapters.

On the other hand de Heusch has managed to sensitize us for underlying symbolic oppositions and transformations in the oral-historical materials we are handling, thus opening up fields of reconstruction and historical criticism that might otherwise have remained closed. A structuralist inspiration offers combs with ever more delicate teeth with which to work upon the deeper symbolic implications, contradictions and transformations inherent in these materials. This is particularly useful when we seek to penetrate the peculiar modes of historical practice (cf. Sahlins 1983) involved in the genre of literate ethno-history, different from academic canons of historiography, and — as the case of *Likota Iya Bankoya* demonstrates — far from conterminous with the narrator's contemporary culture. Without systematically clearing this ground in the first chapters of the present study, the structuralist-inspired analysis in the later chapters would have been impossible.

It might appear as if thus we are beginning to fulfil what Sahlins (1983: 534) sees as an urgent if slightly destructive task:

‘...to explode the concept of history by the anthropological experience of culture’.

Yet, there are more urgent and meaningful tasks, which the present volume helps us to identify.

In the course of its argument we have, as many researchers before us, come to realize that culture remains a lifeless and alien construct if its historical dimension — where it is made and remade — is not stressed above all other considerations; and we have explored some of the possibilities of writing social and ideological history on the basis of data that initially would seem to defy such an attempt.

The study of culture merges with that of history and may ultimately be subsumed under the latter. Then we may see Sahlins's ‘anthropological experience of culture’ (which of course is an immensely mystifying construct — as if professionalism guarantees rather than obscures authenticity) extend beyond the extreme limitations (in terms of space, time, and personal projections and frustrations) of participant observation, and of synchronicity in general.

Perhaps our project has ceased to be specifically ‘anthropological’, although throughout our argument we have found that we can benefit from the precise conceptual and theoretical instruments anthropology has to offer. Meanwhile our real inspiration lies admittedly in history, as lived by the participants, as created by them, and — in the process of their ethnicization — as shared with, and recreated by, the researcher who has recognized his own hopes and defeats in theirs.

*Wim van Binsbergen*

And so my most extensive anthropological statement on the Nkoya so far — the fruits of research spanning two decades — had to be organized as mere prolegomena, stepping-stones, footnotes, to a historical discourse which, I hope, has remained as much that of my Nkoya companions as it has become mine.

## Part III

# The history of the Nkoya people

English translation

## PREFACE

by Hamba H. Mwene

*In Zambia we have many people who have come from the neighbouring countries: Zaïre, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, and Angola. We have also heard that certain people came from South Africa. Among the people of Zambia the Nkoya belong to those who came to this country first.*

*Many of the tribes in Nkoya came only recently and when these people came, land was given to them by the Nkoya. When you read this book you will learn at which point in time the Nkoya started to come into contact with other tribes, for instance the Lozi, who came from other lands.*

*From the past up till today other tribes have known, and have called, the Nkoya by the following names:*

*Mbwela,  
Mabuwa,  
Lukolwe,  
Lushange,  
Shikalu,  
Mashasha,  
Shibanda,  
Nkoya-Shishanjo,  
Nkoya,  
Nkoya-Nawiko,  
Nkoya-Mbowela.*

*The Nkoya have many clan names; the main clan names are:*

*Nyembo,  
Wishe,  
Nkonze,  
Ntabi,  
Sheta,  
Nkomba,  
Shungu,  
Mbusze,  
Lavwe,  
Shimunziko.*

*The Nkoya have, and are known by, many clan names but they are all one people: all of them are children of Mwene Libupe who died and was buried at Tumba. That valley is near the source of the Kabompo river, of which people say:*

*'The Kabompo has many canoes, just as our Mwene has many slaves.'*

*Preface to Likota Iya Bankoya*

*Mwene Libupe was the woman who led the Nkoya away from where they were living in Lubaland in Zaïre; she brought them to this country of Zambia where they are residing today.*

# The history of the Nkoya people

by Rev. Johasaphat Malasha Shimunika

translated by

Wim van Binsbergen & Masuku Malapa

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<sup>833</sup> Since this table of contents is in itself a part of the original manuscript of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the necessary notes to chapter headings will be placed here; they will not be repeated at their respective places in the main text. Of course, the page numbers are not original but follow the layout of the present volume.

<sup>834</sup> *Ku tontolola*: ‘Explanation’, i.e. ‘Note’.

<sup>835</sup> H.H. Mwene does not accept that Libupe was the first Nkoya.

<sup>836</sup> No attempt has been made, here or elsewhere, to disconnect the somewhat unusual references, through possessive pronouns, from one heading to a previous one. This is one of the charms of Shimunika’s style.

<sup>837</sup> H.H. Mwene does not accept that this was the beginning of kingship.

<sup>838</sup> For lack of context or further information no straightforward translation of this epithet can be given. *Mwenda* is a fairly common element in praise-names, nicknames and other epithets: ‘the one who goes around with’. *Nkuli* could be read to mean either ‘strong wind’ or (with a tonal difference) ‘heart’ (in the anatomical sense). However, the most likely meaning is suggested below, (23: 3), where the word is used in an Ila phrase in the sense of ‘gourd in which tribute is stored’.

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<sup>839</sup> See the discussion of *Linanga* and *Nalinanga* in a footnote to the Nkoya text (8: 3). The full meaning of the epithet *Ndumba ya Likabe* remains obscure; *ndumba* is a blanket and as such a symbol of male office, specifically of vassalage.

<sup>840</sup> The name Mbuyu is normally one of a pair of names (*Kapi* and *Mbuyu*) traditionally given to twins among the Nkoya; one or both twins would preferably be killed; no fellow-twin of Mbuyu Muyeke is mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya*.

<sup>841</sup> *Litoya* is a common element in Nkoya toponyms, meaning 'river bank'.

<sup>842</sup> The Nkoya ethnonym is *Kubu*, which however is used alternatingly with the Lozi ethnonym *Makololo*; see note on this term with the Nkoya text (25: 4). In the English translation, *Kololo* is used exclusively.



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## A NOTE [ON SOURCES]

**1** The following people have greatly contributed to the stories in this book about the past:

- (1) The leaders of the Mvula<sup>843</sup> clan: Mwana Mwene Shipandu of the Lands, the son<sup>844</sup> of Mwene Kayambila, and his uterine nephew Shilili, 2 together with their son Mwanamunene na Ngoma.
- (2) The sons of Mwene Kayambila: Mwana Mwene Shishasha and his younger brother Mwana Mwene Shikuwa; together with their uterine nephew Mbuma. 3 They are the leaders of the Mbunze clan along with Mwene Nyati Mukende. Shilanda and Mpelembe.
- (3) Mwana Mwene Kafuta the son of Mwene Kayambila and his uterine nephews Shikuni, Shungumana, Lungenda and Lufuko.
- (4) Mulambila, Shimunika with his younger brother Kancende; they are uterine nephews of Mwene Lishenga, and sons of Likeka Mushalalongo; also Mukwetunga Litampisha.
- (5) Lwampa Mutumwa, Kahare Shikolokomba and their sister Mungumani Mulawa; their mother's name was Kamwengo. Further Shihonda Banyama and Mukwemba, — their mother was Kashinzi 5 who belonged to the family of Kafuta, and their father was Mwene Shikongi son of Mulawa.
- (6) Mampilu a Nanzala, Kakembele, Nkunka. They are the leaders of the Nkomba clan; moreover Kakembele Katuta (the one who gave Sipopa charms so that he could be a great elephant hunter),<sup>845</sup> and his sister Makonge — their father was the son of Mushima.

## THOSE IN THE PAST USED TO PRAY TO MWENE NYAMBI AND ONE OF THEIR PRAYERS WAS 'WE ARE HUMBLE'

'6 You are Our Lord,  
Nyambi of Glory<sup>846</sup>.  
You are the Creator Who Created Trees and Man.  
Look at us, your children.'

The prayer ended in abundant ululating:

---

<sup>843</sup> *Mvula*: Rain.

<sup>844</sup> As explained in my chapter 2, all Nkoya kinship terms are used in a classificatory fashion.

<sup>845</sup> Cf. chapter 32.

<sup>846</sup> *Ngula*: 'to be worshipped'; associated with *ngula*, 'red ochre'.

‘We are humble, O You, Creator of Victuals.’

## THE PRAYER DAY TO REQUEST RAIN

When there was a drought in the land, the Mwene or any Mukambuyu<sup>847</sup> in that area gathered the people and told them that they were going to have a prayer day. Two men would go into the forest to cut down a tree of medium size. They would remove its bark and cut off all the branches except two; these two would be shortened so as to leave a fork, and bark rope (procured from the *mukwe* tree) would be tied around the fork. 7 Two old women would be appointed to go and clean a spot around an anthill and two furrows would be drawn in the ground so as to form a cross: one longer furrow from the east to the west, and a shorter one from the north to the south.

An old woman would be asked to bring water in a gourd; that water ought to have been brought into the village the day before the ceremony. In the morning two or three old women would bring maize meal in a container and onto it they would pour cold water until a very fluid solution was obtained. The oldest woman of all would take that solution into her mouth. Looking upward she would blow it out with force, to her right side, her left side, in front and behind her, and after that she would pour the solution into the furrows, praying:

‘Bring water, You our Lord, Nyambi of Glory,’

and all the people would ululate and start singing:

- (1) ‘Bring the drum for the prayer day  
The prayer day, today,’
- (2) And another:

‘The small rain clouds are gathering in the sky’,

and many other songs. It would rain before sunset that day.

---

<sup>847</sup> *Mukambuyu*: ‘notable’; a significant addition: as if the rain ritual was older than the kingship, and/or as if *Myene* did not really control rain-making nor the territorial cult in general — in line with the general argument in van Binsbergen 1981a: ch. 3.

## THE NKOYA CAME FROM THE LUBA LIBUPE

### 2

1 Our grandparents used to tell us that Libupe came from *ncelele*, 'the north' as we say today in the language of the English. She was the first Lady Mwene. She came with the Nkoya across the Zambezi<sup>848</sup> near its source. They were known by their old name of Mbwela. Mwene Libupe had a daughter called Shilayi. When Shilayi got married [her father,] Mukwetunga Shikalamo, gave her the name 'Mashiku': 2

'Mashiku Daughter of Mangowa  
Shimenemene sha Ndumba'<sup>849</sup>  
Comes Early in the Morning to You  
The Nights are Full of Danger.'

She was also called 'Grandmother of the Nkoya' or again 'Mother of the Nkoya'.

The reason for her nickname Mashiku<sup>850</sup> is that when one lies down in the house for the night with one's family, early in the morning one wakes up with the question:

'Did you wake up well?'<sup>851</sup>

And then one answers:

'Yes, we'<sup>852</sup> woke up well.'

## THE COURT OF LIBUPE THE FIRST NKOYA

3 Mwene Libupe did not wage war on any other Mwene and she reached a high age. She died from natural causes. She and her people ate fish, game meat and wild fruits collected in the forest, for at that time there was no porridge.<sup>853</sup> 4 Her children had many children, according to the people who have contributed so much to the contents

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848 The Nkoya name is *Lyambayi*.

849 The meaning of this epithet remains unclear. It could be a praise-name of Libupe, Shikalamo, or even Nyambi.

850 *Mashiku*: 'nights', i.e. the time when evil forces in and around the village are supposed to be at their strongest.

851 The standard Nkoya morning greeting.

852 The plural form is likewise fairly standard.

853 *ncima*, the staple among the Nkoya and throughout South Central Africa: a thick porridge made by stirring meal into salted boiling water.

of this book; they all heard this from their elders who lived long ago in the time of Libupe.

Mukwetunga Shikalamo, who also lived a long time ago, knew the origins of the creation. They called Mwene Nyambi by the name of:

‘The Creator, or the One Who Created the Trees and Man.’<sup>854</sup>

## ABOUT THEIR ORIGIN

### 3

1 After creating everything else in the world Mwene Nyambi created Man.<sup>855</sup> 2 Our grandparents used to say that we, all the people in the world, were born from the same great-grandmother. She was fertile, and from her womb came forth all the clans, notably:

- (1) Lavwe,<sup>856</sup>
- (2) Mbunze,<sup>857</sup>
- (3) Shungu or Le<sup>858</sup>,
- (4) Ntabi,<sup>859</sup>
- (5) Nkomba,<sup>860</sup> and
- (6) Nyembo.<sup>861</sup>

The following nicknames are in use for the clans:

---

854 The formula is still used to indicate God in Nkoya songs, ritual formulae and everyday conversation. ‘Man’ here means ‘human being’, in a non-gender-specific sense, not: ‘male’. The formula indicates the central cosmological and symbolic role of the tree in Nkoya culture, of which *Likota Iya Bankoya* contains many other examples, including the names of two of the four major Nkoya royal titles (Mutondo and Kabulwebulwe), and various royal praise-names to be translated below.

855 Cf. Genesis I.

856 According to some informants the meaning of this name is obscure, others associate it with ‘goats’; with this and with some other clan names it is not quite clear whether the name means the animal species, or whether the animal species is merely associated with the clan whose name in itself is devoid of specific meaning.

857 ‘Buzzard’.

858 Orig. *Kale*, which contains the root *-le-*, ‘to create’. Interestingly, *Kale* is the Ila name for the Nkoya royal title Kahare, according to Smith & Dale (1920).

859 ‘spear hunter’.

860 ‘Hyena’.

861 ‘Bee’.

- (1) The Lavwe are nicknamed Sheta [and] Shikumbawuyuvu;<sup>862</sup>
- (2) the Mbunze: Langu-Nkwehe;<sup>863</sup>
- (3) the Shungu or Le: Tumbwa or Makanga<sup>864</sup>;
- (4) the Ntabi: Nzovu<sup>865</sup>;
- (5) the Nkombā: Mukuni Shilombe<sup>866</sup>
- (6) The Nyembo or Shihombo: Shimunziko and Wishe.<sup>867</sup>

The nickname Shimunziko has the following meaning. When these people wanted to get honey they had to make a fire to scare away the bees; because of burning their hands every time and having smoke in their eyes they were called Kindling and Smoke. All these clans spring from one and the same ancestress. 3 This means that there is only one division of Nkoya:

‘Even though the fruits may be scattered, we come from one and the same mukolwa tree.’

In other words we are all of the same stock.

#### WHERE THE KINGSHIP OF THE NKOYA CAME FROM THE STORY OF THE COOKING-POT OF KINGSHIP

## 4

1 The kingship of the Nkoya is said to have started with the large cooking-pot full of game meat. Many of the Nkoya in the past said that Mwene Nyambi is a bird; and that Mwene Nyambi has a child, Rain (Mvula), also a bird; and that two clans in this world are the relatives of Rain: the Nkwehe [Hawks] on the part of the birds, and the Mbunze [Buzzards] on the part of the people.

---

<sup>862</sup> *ku sheta*: ‘to be dizzy’, as explained in the story of the Cooking-Pot of Kingship; a folk etymology of the name *Shikumbawuyuvu* is presented below, in the story about the Bark Container Which Could Hear.

<sup>863</sup> Cf. *mulangu*, ‘large bell’, used to scare off birds from the fields. *Nkwehe* means ‘hawk’. Apparently, the bell and the bird form a pair of opposites, rather than a single clan name.

<sup>864</sup> *Shungu* means ‘barbel fish’, and is also associated with the verb *ku shungula*, ‘to lack relish to go with the *ncima* staple food’; *tumbwa* means ‘vulture’, and *makanga* ‘guinea fowls’ — another pair of opposites.

<sup>865</sup> *Nzovu* means elephant; here not a nickname for the same clan, but the other element of the pair of opposites and hence the complement clan name is given: the spear hunter (*Ntabi*) kills the elephant.

<sup>866</sup> Cf. *nkuni*, firewood. The *milombe* tree yields the wood from which drums are made, and thus stands in a subservient relation to the kingship; an underlying opposition is that between hyenas (*nkomba*) and large predators associated with the kingship.

<sup>867</sup> *shimunziko*: ‘kindling’; *wishe*: ‘smoke’.

2 Shikalamo sha Mundemba was therefore the one who prepared the large pot with game meat he had bagged; he put the pot on the fire and started cooking the meat. The meat had been cooking from the early morning till midday, and when the pot of meat was still on the fire Mpungumushi<sup>868</sup> sha Mundemba called all the people. He said to them:

‘Anyone who can take the large pot of game meat off the fire will become Mwene of all the people in this area.’

All clans in that area tried very hard to take the pot of meat off the fire. 3 Some went to cut poles long and strong enough to take the pot of meat off the fire, but they could not go near, for the fire was very large and could burn them: it was very dangerous for them to go near. 4 All the clans: Mbunze, Lavwe, Ntabi, Nkomba, Shungu and Nyembo, tried to the best of their ability but they failed to take the pot of meat off the fire. Then the daughter of Shikalamo sha Mundemba fetched water in a tight basket; with the aid of this basket she managed to go around the fire, pouring water and extinguishing the fire. 5 With great efforts she got near the pot of meat and using her pole she managed to take the pot off the fire. Then she called her relatives and all the people, saying:

‘Let us eat.’

After they had eaten one of her relatives shouted:

‘Come so that you can lick the plates of the Sheta<sup>869</sup> who have gone around the pot of meat which was on the fire.’

Then Shikalamo sha Mundemba told all the people:

‘You have all failed to take the pot of meat off the fire, but my daughter Shilayi Mashiku has managed to do so. She has eaten the meat with her relatives. She is ‘the bird<sup>870</sup> that takes good care of its young ones’ and she is to be your Mwene. You who have licked the plates are the junior Myene henceforth known as Nkonze<sup>871</sup>. The Sheta and the Nkonze are the same people, all Myene.’

---

868 A name or title which is evidently not modern Nkoya, and in which the Luba words *mpungu* (‘buzzard’, perhaps ‘fish eagle’) and *mushi* (‘village’) can be detected; their presentday Nkoya equivalents are *chipungu* and *munzi*.

869 ‘The Dizzy Ones’, affected by the circling around the pot of meat.

870 Here the bird theme with which this passage began, comes back. It would look as if calling rain was predominantly a female affair (even the gender of Mwene Nyambi and of Mvula is left sufficiently unspecific to allow it to be interpreted as female), and one which evoked (through the bird theme) major representations of the supernatural.

871 ‘Lickers’.



7 When all the clans heard this they said to the people of Shilayi:

‘You are from now to be called Sheta, for you have gone around and around the pot of meat when it was on the fire.’

To the others they said:

‘You are from now to be called Nkonze for you have licked the plates of the Sheta.’

At the end of the ceremony it rained so heavily that the fire was extinguished. The people said :

‘Our Kingship comes from the Raindrop.’

## THE GREAT BAKWETUNGA

- (1) The oldest Mukwetunga was called Shikalamo sha Mundemba and he begot a daughter with Mwene Libupe, by the name of Shilayi Mashiku. When he died his uterine nephew Lyovu Iya Mbuwa succeeded him in the Mukwetungaship by marrying Shilayi Mashiku.<sup>872</sup>
- (2) Mukwetunga Mulyata, in his turn, begot six Myene with Mwene Manenga, the Mother of the Nkoya. His<sup>873</sup> younger brothers were: Mulambo,<sup>874</sup> Mwitila Kamamba, and Liyowa.
- (3) Mukwetunga Mukena Kakwasha lived at Mankumbwa with his uterine nephew Mukwetunga Lwengu.

---

<sup>872</sup> This passage has been interpreted rather differently: ‘*When Mwene Libupe died she was succeeded by her uterine nephew Lyovu Iya Mbuwa, who became known as Mukwetunga Mulyata when he married Shilayi Mashiku — the latter receiving the name Manenga on that occasion.*’ Such an interpretation is proffered by H.H. Mwene. The identification of Lyovu Iya Mbuwa with Mukwetunga Mulyata, and of Shilayi Mashiku with Manenga seems clearly wrong: in the following chapters all four figures return, each with a very specific and different entourage of close relatives and descendants; yet H.H. Mwene’s suggestion may indicate layers of contradictory traditions otherwise censored out of the body of *Likota Iya Bankoya*’s text, and therefore deserved to be retrieved here. Note, incidentally, that the genealogical relations specified here differ from those specified in the myth of origin of *Wene*; see also below, *Appendix 3*.

<sup>873</sup> Or (much less likely) *Her*, namely Manenga’s.

<sup>874</sup> There is a slight possibility that this is the Lozi ruler Mulambwa: he is referred to as Molambo in nineteenth-century written sources; in *Likota Iya Bankoya* however this ruler (whose dealings with the Nkoya Mwene Kayambila are described in detail) is consistently referred to as Mulambwa.

THE BEGINNING OF KINGSHIP:  
THE FIRST MALE MWENE LUHAMBAMBA SON<sup>875</sup> OF  
SHILAYI

**5** 1 Mwene Shilayi had a daughter Shilemantumba and other children. The people of the Sheta clan became very numerous. Shilemantumba was a Lady Mwene, and she gave birth to the following children:

- (1) Luhamba;
- (2) Lipepo; and
- (3) Katete, known as Katete daughter of Shilemantumba; she was the sister of the other two.

2 When Shilemantumba died she left her two sons in the branch of kingship. They were of the Mbunze clan, for Mukwetunga Lyovu Iya Mbuwa, the one who begot the Myene, belonged to that clan. He ended up with Luhamba and his other children, and brought them up well:

‘Our children are to follow the example of the kingship of their grandmother Shilayi Mwene Mashiku and their mother Shilemantumba.’

3 We should pay serious attention to this for this is where the great branches sprang from.

THE HUMBUMBU WAR

**6** 1 The Humbu war was the first war the Myene of the Nkoya fought, as a result of a request from a Lihano to the effect that the Mwene should go to Mukanda,<sup>876</sup> along with the entire land which resorted under the kingship. 2 The Nkoya refused to adopt that custom, and the war started. The Humbu were at first defeated, for the Nkoya outnumbered them. The Humbu had come from the north, crossing the Zambezi and the Kabompo. Another, greater army came and many of the Nkoya were killed. The Humbu had come to take the land of

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<sup>875</sup> In fact *Likota Iya Bankoya* claims him to be her grandson; this merging between the terms for child and grandchild occurs more often in the book.

<sup>876</sup> What is puzzling about the present passage is the suggestion of anachronism: the use of the word *Lihano* (a *male Mwene*'s escort), and the insistence on circumcision of the *Mwene* who also for that reason is implied to be *male*, both point to a later phase in Nkoya politico-religious organization: when men had already usurped the female-dominated kingship and created states on that basis.

Mwene Luhamba.<sup>877</sup> They came from Mwantiyavwa following his order:

‘Go and kill for me all the Nkoya Myene.’

3 The Humbu went all over the land killing the members of the Sheta clan, including Mwene Shilayi Mashiku and all the other Myene, with the exception only of Luhamba and his sister Katete Mashiku. When the war intensified Luhamba fled with his sister Katete Mashiku to hide among the Mbunze. 4 The Mbunze hid Luhamba in a bark container<sup>878</sup> and Katete Mashiku in a mat. The war continued and the Nkoya defeated the Humbu. The Humbu said:

‘We did not want to fight against the entire tribe — all we want is the Sheta of Luhamba son of Shilayi.’

#### ABOUT THE SHIKUMBAWUYUVU CLAN — ‘THE PEOPLE OF THE BARK CONTAINER WHICH COULD HEAR’

**7**

1 When Luhamba and Katete were being hidden by the Mbunze — Luhamba in a bark container, Katete in a mat — 2 the Humbu came to the village of Lyovu Iya Mbuwa and asked:

‘Tell us if there is any Sheta here?’

The Mbunze answered:

‘There are no Sheta left alive. 3 This is what we are saying and if the bark container had been a person it would have heard. “Do you hear, Bark Container?” Also, if the reed mat had been a person it would have heard. “Do you hear, Reed?”’<sup>879</sup>

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<sup>877</sup> *Mwene* Luhamba is an anachronism, first because Luhamba was still too young to be anything but *Mwana Mwene*, secondly because we are still in the phase of female kingship; cf. previous note. A sentence below (6: 3) implies that Mwene Shilayi Mashiku and other *Myene* were still alive when the Humbu came.

<sup>878</sup> *shikumba*: a huge natural cylinder of bark covered at the bottom; used for the storage of cereals. It is similar in appearance and construction to a man-made beehive, which however has no cover at one end, and tends to be smaller. Some readers however prefer the translation ‘beehive’ here, even though bees are not associated with the particular clans concerned here.

<sup>879</sup> Luhamba is addressed by the name of the container that protects him, and Katete by her own name. *Katete* however consists of the stem *-tete* (reed), preceded by a personal singular prefix. A similar play on Luhamba’s name was not possible in the English translation: it is derived from a stem *-hamba*, as in *ku hamba*: to climb from branch to branch (which however

The Humbu heard these words of Lyovu Iya Mbuwa. 4 They left and camped on the Miluzi, a tributary of the Lalafuta, and then went along the Lushimba, a tributary of the Lufupa. Thus the Humbu war came to an end.

## THE KINGSHIP OF LUHAMBAMBA THE GREAT

5 After the Humbu had left, Mwene Luhambamba built his capital on the Nkulo, a tributary of the Luena. When Mwene Luhambamba became old enough, he took the Nkoya to Mabuwa. Mwene Luhambamba then moved his capital to the valley of the Lukahu, a tributary of the Luena. This is where he died. His grave is found on the bank of the Nkulo stream: it is the custom for Myene to be buried in their capital.

## THE KINGSHIP OF KASHINA

**8** 1 There are three sources from which the greatest Myene of the tribe of Nkoya spring:

- (1) Luhambamba Iwa (son of) Shilayi, called thus because Luhambamba was the son of Shilayi.
- (2) Kashina ka (son of) Luhambamba, called thus because Kashina was the son of Luhambamba. 2
- (3) Shihoka Nalinanga Ndumbamba ya Likabe.

Mwene Luhambamba begot Kashina, who acceded to the kingship, at first remaining in the same capital on the Nkulo. Later on, Kashina son of Luhambamba moved his capital from Nkulo to Nabowa, and built his capital on the Katetekanyemba, a tributary of the Nabowa. This is where he died. Mwene Kashina was the successor of Luhambamba son of Shilayi.

## THE KINGSHIP OF LIPEPO MWENDAMBA NA NKULI

**9** 1 Lipepo Mwendamba na Nkuli, a son of Shilemantumba, succeeded to the kingship when Kashina ka Luhambamba died. Mwene Lipepo was well-known for his benevolence. 2 The Nkoya were fond of him, blessing him with the following words of praise:

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does evoke the beehive connotation — particularly the action of collecting the honey from the beehive — rather than the bark container...).

‘You, Mwene Lipepo Mwenda na Nkuli,  
You Who Feeds the Orphans like Your Elder Brother Did:  
Luhamba son of Shilayi.’

Mwene Lipepo built his capital on the Nabowa halfway down the Kangulumange stream. His grave was named Mangongi, after the Mangongi stream, a tributary of the Nabowa. 3 Because the Mwene was liked very much by the people they would bring plenty of tribute, calling him:

‘Receiver of Gifts,  
Who lives by Tribute only.’

## THE KINGSHIP OF SHIHOKA I NALINANGA NDUMBA YA LIKABE

### 10

1 This kingship began when the Nkoya were living in the Lukolwe area on the Maniinga, a tributary of the Kabompo, of whom people say:

‘The Kabompo has many canoes  
Just like the Mwene has many slaves,’

because the Mwene does have many slaves. The explanation of this expression is that here in the land of Nkoya there are two things truly plentiful: the Kabompo with its canoes, and the Mwene with his subjects. 2 Nawato was the daughter of Katete, Luhamba’s sister; Katete and Luhamba were both children of Shilemantumba. As sister’s daughter of Luhamba, Nawato acceded as Lady Mwene. Mwene Nawato had two daughters called Mulawa and Muhoba. Mulawa was living in the west and 3 she had the following children:

- (1) Likambi daughter of Malovu
- (2) Shihoka Nalinanga
- (3) Mwanambinyi also called Silumesi, and their sister
- (4) Mbuyu Muyeke.

Likambi lived at Mongu with her mother Mulawa.

4 Mwanambinyi crossed the Zambezi right into Kalabo, taking the Nkoya there. Shihoka and his sister went north crossing two rivers, the Luena and the Kabompo, to the valley of the Maniinga.

## THE KINGSHIP OF SHIHOKA I AT LUKWAKWA

5 Mwene Shihoka lived on the Maniinga. The capital there was a fortification. Mwene Shihoka had very many people and they learned how to make canoes which they used on the Kabompo; there were many

large trees suitable for the construction of canoes. Mwene Shihoka's capital was called 'Lukolwe' and so was the area as a whole. 6 The name Lukolwe derives from their fondness<sup>880</sup> of the mead they made from honey:

'The Lukolwe are hurrying  
Intoxicated they are hurrying back  
For fear of being caught by the Lion,'

in other words from brewing a lot. When Shihoka's elder sister, Likambi Mange,<sup>881</sup> heard about the canoes and wooden dishes that Shihoka's people were making, she sent her people to Shihoka in order to request such products as were being made in the Lukolwe area. Mwene Shihoka chased them from the land. Likambi Mange sent a woman who had been pawned to her, to fetch a diviner-priest. 7 He cut medicine from the poisonous *mubulwebulwe*<sup>882</sup> tree. Then he made a *nankishi*<sup>883</sup> in the shape of a woman, with breasts and all. When this was doctored it turned into a living woman, and she went to Maniinga. 8 When the people of Mwene Shihoka's capital saw the beautiful girl standing just outside the capital, they went to report to the Mwene:

'We have seen a most beautiful young woman.'

9 When Mwene Shihoka heard this he said to his people:

'Go and bring her here into the capital so that she can be Lihano.'

They went and brought her into the capital. And she became Lihano. This was the cause of the illness from which Mwene Shihoka died in Lukwakwa on the Maniinga. The name Lukwakwa was given to this area by the Lozi under Imasiku, the son of Mubukwanu. Imasiku fled to the Maniinga valley for the war between Mubukwanu and the Kolo-lo of Sebitwane. Shihoka's mother was Mulawa and his father was Mwandumunenu, also called Mukwetunga Linanga.

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880 *ku kolwa*: to be fond of.

881 The epithet *Mange* means 'wizard'; cf. *wanga*, 'medicine'.

882 It is this species of tree which lends its name to the kingship of Kabulwebulwe.

883 *nankishi*: 'spirit image' or 'medicine container'.

## HIS<sup>884</sup> SISTER MBUYU MUYEKE AND HER CHILDREN

### 11

1 Mbuyu [Muyeke]'s daughters were Mulawa and Shiwutulu. Mwene Shiwutulu lived on the Nkulashi, a tributary of the Dongwe. Her capital and her grave were near the Nkulashi-Dongwe confluence. 2 Her children and grandchildren (Mwene Kinga, Mwene Pumpola, and Mwene Tumbana) remained in Shifuwe, between the Kabompo and the Dongwe. Another Lady Mwene called Shiwutulu was the mother of Mwene Yaboka and a number of younger children including Ncamanga. 3 Mulawa gave birth to Mwene Welema and Mwene Nzinzi; the latter became Lady Mwene, being Welema's sister.

## THE KINGSHIP OF KAZIKWA I

### 12

1 When Mwene Lipepo Mwenda na Nkuli died Welema acceded to the kingship, and he lived on the Nkenga, for in the past there was a Nkenga stream, a tributary of the Luampa. 2 Shawaya became the leader of the Shikumbawuyuvu clan. [Welema's] sister Mwene Nzinzi had a daughter called Nankuwa ya ba (daughter of) Nzinzi. 3 Mwene Nankuwa gave birth to the following children:

- (1) Kazikwa;
- (2) Kabongo;
- (3) Kalumbwa;
- (4) Shihoka II;
- (5) Mashiku, a daughter, and
- (6) Mulawa, the mother of Shikongi.

4 Mashiku was also called 'Manenga the mother of Mukamba',<sup>885</sup> for Mukamba adopted the following praise-name:<sup>886</sup>

'I am Mvubu ya (son of) Manenga. I am Mwene Mvubu ya Manenga,'

which can be explained because Mvubu was indeed a son of Manenga.

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<sup>884</sup> Shihoka I's.

<sup>885</sup> Teknonymy (a naming practice where parents are called after their children, instead of the other way around) is common among the Nkoya. One line up we see an example of the same phenomenon. Below (16: 2) Mukamba is reported as not the oldest, but the second or more probably third son of Manenga; see *Appendix 3*.

<sup>886</sup> *ku litanga*, lit. 'to boast'. These praise-names are the self-chosen epithets by which a new incumbent of a royal title defines herself or himself at the moment of enthronement.

5 When Mwene Welema died his uterine nephew Mwene Kazikwa acceded to the kingship. Mwene Kazikwa lived in his capital on the Mukunkike near the Namasheshe-Mukunkike confluence; 6 in that old time there was plenty of water in the Namasheshe and people caught plenty of fish in their traps. Mwene Kazikwa built his capital along the valleys of the two rivers. 7 He was surrounded by an abundance of waterbucks, or [as they are called in the Lozi language] *bitutunga*. He ruled the land of Nkoya very well and he had large drums, xylophones, small drums, bells and snare drums.<sup>887</sup> The people brought him plenty of tribute: elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, antbear, honey from the forest, and new varieties of food crops. 8 He died on the Mukunkike and was buried there. His fortification was right between the Namasheshe and the Lwamanzambo.

#### THE KINGSHIP OF SHIHOKA II ON THE KALWIZI, A TRIBUTARY OF THE NYANGO

### 13

1 When Mwene Kazikwa died Mwene Shihoka acceded to the kingship. All the Nkoya elected him after Mwene Kazikwa's death:

'Take over the drum because your elder brother has died.'

Shihoka II was born in their family just after Mwene Kazikwa. 2 When he was Mwene Shihoka, he moved his capital to the Kalwizi-Shinkume confluence, where his grandchildren Mwene Yuvwenu and Mwene Likupekupe are living today. Mwene Shihoka was a great elephant hunter and he taught his people how to kill elephant in a big way. He died on the Kalwizi and was buried there. Likewise, his grandchildren and uterine nephews have their graves there. Mwene Yuvwenu and Mwene Likupekupe had a maternal uncle called Mwene Kangombe. The latter died at Kasempa where he had gone to fight during the Lozi war. He came from the Mufwabazami, a tributary of the Nabowa.

#### MWENE KABONGO I ON THE SHITWA

### 14

1 When Mwene Shihoka II died, his younger brother Mwana Mwene Kabongo I acceded to the kingship. He moved from the Nyango and built his capital on the Shitwa, a tributary of the Lalafuta. This was a very large capital. Mwene Kabongo had also a small capital on the Shilili; there he went to hunt elephant. 2 He dug pits to catch elephant. He died and was buried there [i.e. on the Shitwa]. Mwene Kabongo's kingdom extended all the way along the Lalafuta, the Shilili, the Lunyati, as far as Makunzu. The fortification of Mwene

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<sup>887</sup> This is the first time that the principal Lunda-type regalia, which constitute the *Mwene's* orchestra, are mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*.



Kabongo was near the source of the Shitwa. 4 When he died on the Shitwa the Nkoya elected his younger brother Kalumbwa to take over the drum. Mwene Kalumbwa's capital was on the Mubawo near its outlet into lake Matuka, which we call Kangolongolo today. Nearby is also Lake Nkombalume, which together with Lake Mukondoloke (or Matuka) belonged to Mwene Kalumbwa. Mwene Kalumbwa died on the Mubawo and was buried there.

## THE CUSTOMS OF THE NKOYA IN THE PAST

### 15

1 The Myene Shihoka, Kabongo and Kalumbwa were great hunters and they killed plenty of elephant. When a person became Mwene he<sup>888</sup> would think of a way to expand his kingdom, adding to his regalia and his land. He would teach the people how to hunt elephant and other game, or how to clear anthills in order to grow oil seeds, tobacco, kaffircorn on *chitemene* fields, *mankazi* yams, *ntamba* yams, and ordinary yams, climber yams, sweet potatoes, 2 sorghum, ground-nuts, peanuts, kaffircorn and oil seeds from which body ointment was prepared. The commodities which people sold in the past and through which they gained great wealth were:

- (1) slaves,
- (2) Portuguese beads, Mwene's ornaments (*zimpane*), ivory bangles, copper bangles, 3 spears, axes, hoes, bows and arrows. In the old times there were people at the courts of the Nkoya who were able to make steel, and out of it they manufactured many types of implements, including axes and hoes. Today the Nkoya have entirely lost the knowledge of making these objects themselves. As raw material for their steel the Nkoya in the old days used iron ore from the river beds.

## THE KINGSHIP OF KABAZI AT LIToya LYA MBUMA

### 16

1 Mwene Kabazi was the uterine nephew of Mwene Kalumbwa Kamucabankuni na Ndenga.

Above it has been stated that

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<sup>888</sup> The Nkoya text is non-gender-specific, but the whole context suggests that here reference is being made to *male Myene*, specifically. While the *female Myene* are depicted as associated with fishing and food collecting in a society and economy largely dominated by a bountiful, non-domesticated nature, it is remarkable that the later, *male Myene* are depicted as *culture heroes*, introducing innovative economic activities largely (with the exception of agriculture) reserved to men.

‘Lady Mwene Nankuwa had six sons and two daughters: one [daughter] was called Manenga daughter of Nankuwa, and the other Mulawa.’<sup>889</sup>

2 Lady Mwene Manenga had six children, who were called:

- (1) Kabazi;
- (2) Mukamba;
- (3) Kavuba;
- (4) Lipepo (a daughter);
- (5) Nkulo (another daughter); and finally
- (6) Mashiku.

3 Mashiku inherited her mother’s name Manenga. When Mwene Kalumbwa died the Nkoya elected Kabazi to take over the kingship of his mother’s brother. 4 Kabazi became Mwene at Litoya Iya Mbuma near the source of the Luena; in that area Mwene Kahare is living today: at the Njonjolo in Shilumbilo, at Litoya Iya Mbuma, of which it is said:

‘Relating to the Road where Strangers Come with Their Requests,’

which explains<sup>890</sup> the name of Shilumbilo.

## MWENE MANENGA AT MUSHWALUMUKO

**17** 1 Mwene Kabazi died at Litoya Iya Mbuma. The Nkoya then elected his sister Mashiku to take over the kingship. 2 She became Mwene Manenga on the Lwashanza in the forest of Mushwalumuko. Many Nkoya lived there. 3 Mwene Kabulwebulwe, Mwene Mukamba and Mungambwa had not yet split up from the others but still remained here in Nkoya.

## THE CHILDREN OF MWENE MANENGA

4 Mwene Manenga had six children and their names were:

- (1) Nahonge, her first-born child;
- (2) Kabongo;
- (3) Mukamba;
- (4) Kabandala;
- (5) Shishopa, also called Kayambila; and
- (6) Mate, also called Shinkisha Lushiku, her last-born child.

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<sup>889</sup> Note that the earlier statement on Mwene Nankuwa (12: 3) is different from the apparent quotation here.

<sup>890</sup> *ku lumba*, the root in *Shilumbilo*, means: ‘to be on one’s way’.

Kabongo II took over the kingship from his mother. She<sup>891</sup> left with the Ladies Myene Lipepo and Nkulo. Mate Shinkisha belonged to the Nkomba clan, going back to the matrilineage of Mashiku. Their father however, Mukwetunga Mulyata, was a member of the Shungu clan, and it was this man who begot all the children of Mwene Manenga.<sup>892</sup> When Mwene Manenga died, Kabongo II inherited the kingship.

## SOME NKOYA LEFT FOR MULOBEZI AND OTHERS REMAINED HERE IN NKOYA

**18** 1 When Mwene Kabongo died at his capital in the Lukwe area, the Nkoya left that area and went to the Nangombe forest on the Mulobezi stream near the Kantente-Mulobezi confluence. Mwene Mungambwa and Mwene Momba<sup>893</sup> left the other Nkoya. 2 The people of the forest had two Myene, from two different matrilineages.<sup>894</sup> Lady Mwene Lipepo had the following children:

- (1) Mulambila<sup>895</sup>
- (2) Shingala (these were both men),
- (3) Shampaya, a daughter, and
- (4) Linyepa, a son again.

Lady Mwene Nkulo Limbwalangoma Liteke Iya Washi<sup>896</sup> gave birth to the following children:

- (1) Lutebe Wabula Linungo<sup>897</sup>
- (2) Nankuwa, a daughter,

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<sup>891</sup> Namely, *Manenga*; however, the interpretation *He* (namely, *Kabongo*) would also be possible. There is a widely-known tradition among the Nkoya concerning 'Manenga who left for other lands'.

<sup>892</sup> This is most probably an implicit reference to the shifting amorous and marital relations for which Nkoya female members of the royal family have been known, as documented from many other sources outside *Likota Iya Bankoya*; by implication Manenga is here claimed to have been an exception to this pattern.

<sup>893</sup> Mwene Mungambwa is identified as a son of Lady Mwene Lipepo. Mwene Momba is identified below as Kabazi, who however seems to have died before this time; he is explicitly stated to be male.

<sup>894</sup> See the discussion of this contentious term in Part I, 2.5: 'the handling of kinship terms and terms for social groups'.

<sup>895</sup> Elsewhere in this account called Mungambwa; that these names refer to one and the same person is suggested by the fact that both names have the epithet 'Shibi sha Tuwoma'.

<sup>896</sup> 'Uncovered Pit'.

<sup>897</sup> 'Without a Joint'.

- (3) Kabazi,
- (4) Shimano (the latter two were both sons).

4 Mwene Mungambwa was also called Shibi sha Tuwoma son of Lipepo Ndenge; Mwene Momba was also called Kabazi, son of Lutebe. Mwene Mungambwa died at the capital in the Shitapo area on the Kalobe; that village was likewise called Kalobe. 5 Mwene Mungambwa and his people left the other Nkoya to go to Shitapo to the Libanga capital near the Kalobe stream, a tributary of the Machili. Mwene Momba died in Kabuzu at Lake Nakashasha. Mwene Momba Kabazi went hunting elephant and other game in the Kayanga area. He fell ill at Lake Nakashasha, near the Sichifulu stream.

#### THE BRANCHES OF THE MYENE WHO LIVED IN THE FORESTS <sup>898</sup>

**19** 1 The branch of Mwene Momba is also known by the name of Kabuzu; the names of people who have inherited the kingship of Mwene Momba are:

- (1) Mwene Momba Kabazi, who died at Lake Nakashasha near the Sichifulu stream.
- (2) Mwene Momba Shafukuma, who died at Kabuzu in the Kabuzu forest where he was killed by Kasheba with a spear, so that Kasheba could be his successor.
- (3) Mwene Momba Kasheba, who killed his maternal uncle. He died in Kabuzu, 2 from leprosy.
- (4) Mwene Momba Shabuwe, who ruled at the time the Whitemen came, and died on the Muchi in the Kaunga area.
- (5) Mwene Momba Ngwenyama, who was the uterine nephew of Shabuwe, and died on the Muchi in the Kaunga area, like his maternal uncle.
- (6) Mulilabanyama, who left the kingship before he died.
- (7) Mwene Momba Kavuba, who died in Kabanda.
- (8) Mwene Momba Shililo, who is still there.

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<sup>898</sup> *Shisholo*, pl. *masholo*, 'dense forest', also frequently used as an element in compound toponyms for the head-waters of rivers and streams.

## THE BRANCH OF MWENE MUNGAMBWA

**20** 1 The branch of Mwene Mungambwa died out. From Mulambila Shibi sha Tuwoma onwards the kingship flourished at Shitapo in the Libanga capital. Here he received Mwene Mvubu Shihoka, who had come from Mabuwa here in Nkoya to meet with Mwene Mungambwa at Shitapo. 2 When [Mwene Mulambila] died, Shaboboma Yomena was brought from Nkoya in order to inherit the name of Mwene Mungambwa; that was how the branch of Mwene Mungambwa was terminated. 3 He left the Mulobezi to go to the Kakoma, a tributary of the Machili in Sesheke.

## WE RETURNED HERE, TO NAWIKO IN NKOYA

**21** 1 The kingship of Mukamba Kuwonga in the valley of Mpulakamanga in the Namimbwe area. 2 Mwene Mukamba took over the kingship when Mwene Kavuba died. The Nkoya elected him with the words:

‘Mukamba, who takes over the drum of kingship.’

Mwene Mukamba ruled for very many years, yet he was killed by human violence. 3 The people were divided; some loved him, saying:

‘The Mwene is good,’

but others said:

‘the Mwene is bad,’

and so his subjects killed him with an axe:

‘We do not want him; let us axe him and elect someone else.’

## FROM MWENE KABULWEBULWE ONWARDS

**22** 1 Mwene Mukamba died in the Mpulakamanga plain at the headwaters of the Namimbwe, where his grave is; Kabulwebulwe became Mwene at Shibanda. 2 His children grew up and left this here land of Nkoya to go to Lufupa in Shangaland,<sup>899</sup> in order to take

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<sup>899</sup> *Wushanga* originally means: ‘Land of the Shanga’, where *-shanga* is an ethnonym, cf. *Wului*, ‘Loziland’, and *Wusholi*, ‘Soliland’. However, when below the social grouping of the *Nkoya Wushanga* is introduced, it would seem that this ethnonymic element has been lost and the word *Wushanga* functions as a mere toponym devoid of ethnic reference to any Shanga people.

possession of the kingship of Mukamba. The names of these Myene are:

- (1) Mwene Mukamba Kuwonga;
- (2) Mwene Mukamba Lukeke;
- (3) Mwene Mukamba Kapoyo;
- (4) Mwene Nkunzu<sup>900</sup> Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi, who adopted the praise-name 'Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi';
- (5) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mahepo;
- (6) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mukutabafu,<sup>901</sup> about whose being pure Nkoya I have not the slightest doubt.

3 But they migrated and acquired the name of Shibanda people. Now his children and his grandchildren are known as the Nkoya Shibanda or the Nkoya Wushanga. 4 The Nkoya Shibanda fall under Mumbwa, the Nkoya Wushanga under Kasempa:

- (1) the Nkoya Shibanda of Mwene Kabulwebulwe who falls under the Mumbwa boma.
- (2) The Nkoya Wushanga of Mwene Loto and Mwene Shihoka who fall under the Kasempa boma, in the land of the Kaonde. Loto and Shihoka are now only sub-chiefs.

## THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE KAYAMBILA SHISHOPA

**23** 1 When Mwene Mukamba died, the Nkoya left Mpulakamanga on the source of the Namimbwe, where the Mwene's capital had been. The Nkoya elected his younger brother Shishopa, with the words:

'You are his younger brother Shishopa, who is to take over the kingship.'

2 When Shishopa acceded to the kingship he adopted the following praise-name:

'I am Kayambila of the Lands,  
The Thatcher who Takes Care of the Skulls of People  
Like the Thatcher Takes Care of the Roofs of Houses —  
The Son of Manenga,  
Shishopa Mikende.'

Mwene Kayambila was a Mwene who inspired great respect and fear. 3 He lived in his capital at Mankumbwa on the Mangongi. The

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<sup>900</sup> *Nkunzu*: 'mortar'.

<sup>901</sup> *Mukutabafu*: 'The One Who Curses the Dead'.

Nkoya feared and respected him greatly. The Lubanda (Ila) brought him plenty of tribute, and they used to say:

‘Mwami Wezhu Nguunanga muka Nkuli’<sup>902</sup>

For when the people would take tribute to the Mwene, it would be put into large gourds and the Mwene would go around looking into the gourds to see what the people had brought him. 4 He had very many regalia, including:

- (1) large drums,
- (2) small drums,
- (3) xylophones,
- (4) thumb pianos,
- (5) bells,
- (6) necklaces,
- (7) other regalia,
- (8) *Shinkwinji*, which was the name of the Mwene’s fence, with eland horns adorning the place where the drums were kept: the Lwanda regalia shelter.

#### THE FIRST TIME THAT THE DRUMS OF KINGSHIP WENT TO LOZILAND, TO MULAMBWA

## 24

1 At the time of Mwene Kayambila, the Lozi Mwene by the name of Mulambwa came here to Nkoya for he needed such diviner-priests as the Nkoya Myene had according to their custom. 2 When Mwene Mulambwa arrived at the other side of the Lukalanyi river in the Lwatembo area, his people built a camp there. There he heard the sound of the large drums and the small drums of Mwene Kayambila. 3 When Mwene Mulambwa returned to his area in Loziland, he had a mind to scold his people, telling them:

‘I want the drums of kingship of the Nkoya, for they are splendid.’

4 He sent his people to Mwene Kayambila to request large drums, and also drummers who could teach the Lozi how to beat the drums of kingship of the Nkoya. 5 There are still Nkoya at Lealui as drummers for the royal drums. From the days of Mwene Mulambwa onwards royal drums of the Nkoya have remained at Lealui to be beaten there. 6 Certain Nkoya drummers went to be drummers for the Lozi Myene: in Loziland, the kingship is of the Lozi but the drums are of the Nkoya. [These drummers are:] the family of Mwiba and his uterine nephews; the family of Shishinda. There have also been Nkoya as drummers in

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<sup>902</sup> This Ila phrase is here used as a praise-name; its meaning is: ‘This is Our Ruler Who Looks into the Gourd.’

Nalolo, where the Lozi Lady Mwene resides;<sup>903</sup> we are referring here to the families of Ncungo and his children. They are drumming for the Lozi Mwene, on the royal drums of the Nkoya. 7 From the year 1817 to this very day.

## MWANA MWENE MASHIKU

### 25

1 Mwene Kayambila had many children and [some of] their names have been mentioned at the beginning of this book. Mwene Kayambila had many children because he married many Mahano. 2 When [his daughter] Mwana Mwene by the name of Mashiku had grown up she gave birth to a son. According to the Nkoya custom at the time, she took the baby to her father Mwene Kayambila, so that he could name him. 3 In the morning, in the first light of the sun, the Mwene took his grandson in his hands and named him with the following words:

‘You are Mukamba Kuwonga, a son of Manenga’.

Mukamba Shingole<sup>904</sup> was born in the year 1817 and he grew up in Nkoya. He was well known to all people here in Nkoya; even certain people alive today saw him. He died in the year 1917 during the month of October, on the Namaloba river. He was born in the same year as Shiwowa Munangisha.<sup>905</sup> Mwene Sebitwane, the Mwene of the Kololo (or Kubu),<sup>906</sup> found both of them as grown-up men, fathers of children.

## MWENE MUTONDO I SHINKISHA MATE LUSHIKU

### 26

1 Mwene Kayambila died on the Mangongi. The Nkoya elected Mate Lushiku, the last-born child of that generation, as Mwene Manenga or Lady Mwene. They said:

‘Shinkisha for Mwene.’

When Mate Lushiku<sup>907</sup> was ‘caught’ to inherit the kingship, in the morning when she came out of the ceremonial shelter, she adopted the following praise-name:

‘I am Mwene in the following way:

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<sup>903</sup> The Southern Lozi court of the Litunga’s sister, the Litunga la Mboela.

<sup>904</sup> *Sic*, and not Mukamba Kuwonga; most probably Shingole was his father’s name.

<sup>905</sup> Cf. chapters 44-48 below.

<sup>906</sup> Both ethnonyms appear in the original.

<sup>907</sup> Orig. *Kayambila*; see note to this passage in the Nkoya text (Part II).



‘I am the Mutondo Tree,  
Daughter of Manenga,  
the Mushroom which Causes Deafness.’<sup>908</sup>

This name [of Mutondo] then adhered to the drum of Mwene Mutondo. It is hers. The children of the Bilolo were full of praise for her, they would prostrate with their faces to the ground, saying:

‘You are the Wonderful Tree,  
Daughter of Manenga,  
With Branches only at the Top,  
Without any Scars from fallen-off Branches,  
Shinkisha who can Face the Cat,<sup>909</sup>  
The Snuffbox of Nyambi’s Child.’<sup>910</sup>

2 They started singing the makwasha song:

‘Come and behold the stork  
the stork, the owner of the plain  
Come and behold the stork  
the stork, the owner of the plain.’<sup>911</sup>

Mwene Mutondo lived in her capital on the other side of the Lalafuta river, 3 in the valley of Kalimbata; between Kalimbata and Mulalila, that is where she had her capital. There she died and there her grave has been to this day. In the time of her kingship her sisters Nahonge and Kabandala were residing with her; the Ladies Myene shared with her in the kingship. 4 Mwene Nahonge gave birth to the following children:

- (1) Kashina Lishenga, a son;
- (2) Kancukwe, whose name at birth was Mukamba, also a son;
- (3) and Shihoka, also called Komoka, a daughter; so she had two sons and one daughter.

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<sup>908</sup> *nkumba*, ‘giant mushroom’, believed to cause deafness; it may grow on (royal) graves, but the full meaning of the association remains hidden.

<sup>909</sup> A cryptic reference to generosity.

<sup>910</sup> This may be a reference to any particular olfactory effect rainfall (‘Nyambi’s Child’, i.e. *Mvula*, ‘Rain’) has on the *mutondo* tree in the forest.

<sup>911</sup> Text of a typical *makwasha* song, still sung today: it was recorded by me in 1977; cf. Davison Kawanga, ‘Nkoya songs as taped by Wim van Binsbergen: Translation and notes’, MS, 1979, pp. 82-83. Brown analyses *makwasha* as ‘the most ancient repertoire of Nkoya royal music (Brown 1984: 151). *Makwasha* is also a dance reserved for (predominantly male) elders; the dancers bend their knees, alternately lifting now their left leg now their right leg, in movements which could be interpreted as impersonating a stork (author’s field-notes).

MWENE LISHENGA, OWNER OF THE HOURGLASS  
DRUM

27

1 When Mwene Mutondo<sup>912</sup> became too old to rule her people well, she indicated that her uterine nephew Kashina [Lishenga] son of Nahonge should become Mwene. 2 She granted him royal power over the *munkupele* hourglass drum, and gave him the regalia: the xylophone, and the bells, with dispensation with regard to such animals as were sacred to the Mwene: eland and leopard.<sup>913</sup> Also she allowed Mwene Kashina to have one rhinoceros horn. The Mukambuyu Mafuka came to discharge the office of Nanyundo of Mwene Lishenga. 3 Mwene Lishenga left and went to live in the Makunzu area in the valley of the Lalafuta. Here Mwene Mushima Mubambe, the Mwene of the Kaonde-Luba, was living with his people at that time. Mwene Kashina Lishenga's sister Mwene Shimpanya lived at the Makubikufuka with her Mukwetunga Mabizi. 4 Mwene Kabandala lived in the valley of the Miluzi near the capital of their sister Mwene Shinkisha at Kalimbata. Lady Mwene Kabandala had brought her<sup>914</sup> children, whose names were: Kashina Shiyenge; Mukamba Kancukwe; and their sister Shihoka. When Shihoka acceded to the kingship she adopted the following praise-name:

'I am Mwene Komoka  
Who has Surprised the Nkoya.'

5 It was at the time when Mwene Mutondo daughter of Manenga was living at Kalimbata, that Sebitwane, the Mwene of the Kololo, defeated the Lozi. Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha died from natural causes. During her kingship Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha did not wage war on any tribe of people.

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912 Here the word Kashina is deleted, which makes Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha the subject of this phrase; this necessitated gender alterations of the possessive pronouns in the sentences that follow. See note to the Nkoya text of this passage.

913 Only a *Mwene* can own an eland-tail fly-switch, or a leopard skin; hunters killing eland and leopard surrender their bag to the *Mwene*.

914 Classificatory use, including the children of her sister Nahonge.

## NOTE

6 The writer<sup>915</sup> of this book about the Nkoya people is asking his readers to take good notice of the facts concerning the regalia of the Nkoya in 1817.

- (1) At the time, Mulambwa Shiwutulu requested drums of friendship from Mwene Kayambila Shishopa; the Mwene of the Nkoya had no objection against their dispatch. [This was no sign of weakness on the part of Mwene Kayambila. For] he had many tusks and stayed with the greatest Bakwetunga. In the past our grandparents told us the stories of his kingship. 7 Mukwetunga Mulyata was the father of the Myene descending from Lady Mwene Manenga the Mother of the Nkoya. 8 Mulyata married the Mwene and that is why he received the title of Mukwetunga.
- (2) Mwanashihemi<sup>916</sup> Mulambo Mwitila Kamamba wetila Milonga;
- (3) Nkunka;
- (4) Liyowa Mayungu; and
- (5) Kakwasha Mukena.

9 These were the people among the Nkoya who were selected to give the drums to Mwene Mulambwa, along with the drummers. That was the first time, in the year 1817, that the drums of kingship went to Loziland.

## 1860, THE KOLOLO WAR

10 The second time was during the Kololo war. That was when the people of Mwene Mbololo defeated the people of Sekeletu, the son of Sebitwane. The Kololo at first enslaved the Lozi, overcame them, and occupied Loziland. Here in Nkoya the drums and the kingship were flourishing. The army of Mbololo captured two large drums (one male and the other female), three small drums, and two xylophones. The instruments had the following names:

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<sup>915</sup> Note that in chapter 56, when this apologetic and didactic theme is taken up again, a collectivity of writers is invoked. Also cf. (2: 4): 'the people who have contributed so much to the contents of this book'.

<sup>916</sup> *Mwanashihemi*: a *Mwene*'s senior councillor or Prime Minister; the month of October, in which the new incumbent of this office is elected, is also called *Mwanashihemi* in Nkoya. This is the first time that the office of *Mwanashihemi* is mentioned in this account. Below (50: 5) the Lozi equivalent *Ngambela* is used with reference to Mwene Mutondo Wahila's *Mwanashihemi*, Katuta — which could be taken as another indication of Lozi overlordship at the Mutondo capital at the time.

- (1) One was the male drum, and it was called 'Mboma luvunga matunga', because the image of a python was cut in the wood;
- (2) The other was the female drum, and it was called 'Mbulu' because it bore the image of a big lizard — the 'Mbulumwene';
- (3) The Shibwale drum called 'Liyolongoma';
- (4) The large hourglass drum called 'Mangomba';
- (5) The small hourglass drum called 'Mbinzi Iya Mutandaunka'.

11 These were all captured by the army of Mbololo from the capital at Kalimbata on the Lalafuta, in the time of Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge. They only took the smaller instruments and the smaller major drums with them, throwing the two largest ones into the Lalafuta: one at Litoya Iya Kalimbata and the other at Litoya Iya Mulalila Makongo.

## MWENE MUTONDO SHIYENGE WENT TO LUKWAKWA DURING THE KOLOLO WAR

### 28

1 From the time of Mulambwa to the time of Sipopa no Mwene of the Lozi defeated the Nkoya. This is the truth, for it was said by our elders. They used to say:

'Our kingship comes from the Raindrop'.

2 When the army of the Kololo came here in Nkoya, the Mwene died and the Nkoya elected Mwene Mutondo Kashina to the kingship. He did not rule his people well. 3 He proclaimed a bad law:

'There will be no court cases concerning women any more, and the Mwene will no longer respect the Shilolo's wife.'

4 All the people failed to appreciate his law, since it greatly corrupted the people in their hearts. At the time of his reign, the Kololo of Mwene Mbololo, the Mwene of the Kololo, sent an army to the Kalimbata capital, to Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge. Mwene Mbololo had taken the kingship of Sekeletu, the son of Sebitwane, in Loziland.

## SHILOLO MUNYAMA WENT TO KASEMPA

### 29

1 In the old days, one spoke of:

'the Mashasha area, at Mwene Shikanda's, at Kayimbu.'

2 Mwene Mbololo of the Kololo sent his Shilolo Munyama to Mwene Kahare in Kayimbu. While living at Kayimbu, Munyama sinned with a woman and ran away with her. He went to Mwene Mutondo Kashina here in Nkoya. When he reached the Mwene's capital at Kalimbata, the Mwene received him well, not knowing what Munyama had done in Mashasha.

3 The emissaries of Mwene Kahare Shikanda followed him and they found him living at the capital; they told Mwene Mutondo Kashina what [Munyama] had done in the land of Mwene Kahare Shikanda. The Mwene said:

'Do not kill him. But beat him and return to Mwene Kahare with the woman, that is what I say.'

Mwene Mutondo sent them back to Nkanda<sup>917</sup> and they beat him very hard. 4 Mwene Mutondo said:

'Yes, beat him for he is spoiling other people's women.'

They tied his legs and put him inside a house. When Munyama managed to free himself, he ran away to his Mwene, Mbololo, and bore false witness, saying:

'Destroy them, for they have insulted Mbololo.'

This was a lie: he was merely angry because the Mwene had declined his request that the woman should be given to him.

## MUNYAMA'S WORDS TO MBOLOLO

**30** 1 He said:

'Destroy them for their insults.'

and then again:

'Mwene Mutondo wanted to kill me; he did not respect us; destroy him for having insulted your Shilolo whom you sent to him.'

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<sup>917</sup> *Nkanda*: 'dry land', which usually refers to the Kafue/Zambezi watershed in the eastern part of the Land of Nkoya, where Mwene Shikanda was living at the time.

## THE KOLOLO WAR

2 When Mwene Mbololo received this report from his Shilolo Munyama, he sent an army of his Kololo to Nkoya, to Mwene Mutondo and the Nkoya, who were unaware of all this. 3 Fighting started on the Lukunzi, the Nyango and the Shimano; and it went on up to the Shitwa. When the Kololo reached the capital the Mwene made himself invisible, as was the custom of the Myene of the Nkoya. He fled and went to Lukolwe to Shihoka [who stayed at] his fortification called Lukwakwa. The name Lukwakwa was given to the fortification of Mwene Shihoka by the people of Imasiku.

## THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN MWENE MUTONDO AND FUMIKA AT LUKOLWE IN LUKWAKWA

**31** 1 Lutangu was the Mwana Mwene of Mulambwa Shiwutulu in Loziland. 2 Above a description has been given of the war of Sebitwane, the Mwene of the Kololo; he defeated the Lozi and occupied Loziland. 3 He captured the children of the Lozi and took them to his capital Linyati in Sesheke. When Sebitwane died his son Sekeletu took over his kingship of the Kololo. Sekeletu was a very cruel Mwene and therefore Mwana Mwene Lutangu ran away to the land of the Nkoya, to Mwene Mutondo Kashina. This happened after Mwene Shinkisha had died from natural causes.

## LUTANGU, ALSO CALLED NJUNGU WATEMA OR FUMIKA

**32** 1 When Lutangu arrived here in Nkoya, Mwene Mutondo received him well, as it was the custom of the Myene of the Nkoya not to refuse strangers. 2 Lutangu wanted to learn how to hunt elephant and other game. So Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge gave the following hunters orders to teach Lutangu these skills:

- (1) Katuta,
- (2) Liyowa and
- (3) Mbuma.

These people instructed Lutangu very well in the art of elephant hunting. When Lutangu killed his first elephant he adopted the following praise-name:

'I am Njungu Watema  
The Forger of Metal Objects.'<sup>918</sup>

Njungu sought the company of other hunters. They crossed the Dongwe and the Shifuwe and went to Lukwakwa, to Imasiku:<sup>919</sup> the son of Mubukwanu, who had fled from the Kololo war.

## MWENE FUMIKA ALSO CALLED SIPOPA

### 33

1 When Lutangu saw his elder brother Imasiku, he killed him with medicine so that he could take over the kingship at Lukwakwa in Lukolwe, adopting the following praise-name:

'I am the One who Fills Clay Pots.'<sup>920</sup>

2 He learned the way of life of the Lukolwe and of the Mbunda of Imasiku. His main occupation was killing elephant, working together with the following people: his 'medicine mother'<sup>921</sup> Kakembele, the son of Mushima; Liyowa Mayungu; and Mbuma.

- (1) Kakembele was a member of the Nkomba clan, which membership he inherited from Nkunka,
- (2) Liyowa was a member of the Shungu clan: one of the younger brothers of Mukwetunga Mulyata and of Mulambo Mwitila Kamamba.
- (3) Mbuma was a member of the Mbunze clan, the people of Lyovu Iya Mbuwa.

3 In the past these were the great elephant hunters here in Nkoya.

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<sup>918</sup> Alternative translation 'the shooter of many bullets'; this however seems to be a slight anachronism, since there are no other indications in *Likota Iya Bankoya* that by that time firearms were already available and in use for elephant hunting. However, they would have been so within one or two decades.

<sup>919</sup> Note that in (30: 3) Shihoka and not Imasiku is mentioned as the *Mwene* at Lukwakwa at the time.

<sup>920</sup> Tribute was contained in such pots.

<sup>921</sup> I.e. 'the one who initiated him to the secrets of elephant hunting'. It is significant that such initiation (*a rebirth as hunter*) should be expressed in a feminine idiom. Among the Nkoya, hunters form a fairly closed and highly prestigious group of men, with their own ceremonial and ritual, admired for their skills and for the meat they procure as much as feared for their magic and for their prolonged and secluded contact with the deep forest and animal spirits. The great significance of hunting is another theme of *Likota Iya Bankoya*, up to the point where Munangisha for some time prefers being a hunter, to the kingship (47: 5).

MWENE MUTONDO KASHINA AT LUKWAKWA IN  
LUKOLWE

**34** 1 Mwene Mutondo Kashina had gone to Lukwakwa in Lukolwe, where he found Mwene Fumika Sipopa. They became great friends. 2 Mwene Mutondo Kashina had gone to Lukwakwa, but the Bana ba Myene and the uterine nephews of the Mwene had been captured by the Kololo: Shiwowa Munangisha; Mushunga; Nahonge (a woman, a daughter of Lishenga); and Watunga Makomani (also a woman, a daughter of Shiwowa — her mother was Liziho). In chapter 27 it has been described how the small drums and the large drums had been taken to Mwene Mbololo, to the Kololo in Loziland, for the second time.

3 Many Nkoya had refused to follow Mwene Mutondo Kashina to Lukwakwa, to Fumika; so Mwene Mutondo asked the other Mwene, Fumika:

‘You, rally the Nkoya who have refused to come here.’

He sent Mwana Mwene Kabongo and Livumina to assemble all the Nkoya living near Kalimbata. When the Nkoya reached Lukwakwa they said to Fumika:

‘The Mwene is telling lies: it is not as if we reject the Mwene, but the Mwene has rejected us, for he is not ruling the land. 4 That is why the people have turned away from him.’

These are the words which the Nkoya spoke to Fumika. Mwene Fumika went back to Loziland to fight the Kololo and their Mwene Mbololo. 5 He returned to Loziland and he acceded to the kingship under the name of Mwene Sipopa. Then the Nkoya, along with Mwene Mutondo Kashina and his younger brother Kancukwe, returned here, to Nkoya. When they arrived here in Nkoya they did not want Mwene Mutondo Kashina to be their senior Mwene any more, saying:

‘He has brought unrest to the land and has failed to unite the people. That is why we do not want him any more.’

They did not pay him tribute any more, not even food, and so he died on the Shimano, a tributary of the Nyango. The ants buried him. 6 His children were:

- (1) Kapoba Kalokoto;
- (2) Muyaya;
- (3) Lingunga;
- (4) Lushengo.



They had left him to go and live with their mother, Lihano Limemo.

## THE MEMBERS OF THE MATRILINEAGE OF SHAPITA

**35** 1 In chapter 4 the parable has been told of the Large Cooking-Pot of game meat from which the Nkoya's kingship originated; at first they were called [the Sheta]:

'You are the Sheta who lifted the Cooking-Pot of Kingship; you are the Myene.'

2 These are the members of the matrilineage of Katete. The children of Katete are:

- (1) Mwene Liyoka.
- (2) The members of the matrilineage of Shapita Mwene Liwumbo, also known as Shakalongo.
- (3) The members of the matrilineage of Munga Mwene Mboma, and Kishinga. 3
- (4) The members of the matrilineage of Shampongo Mwene Kamwatamwata.

The people mentioned here excelled in the kingship of the Nkoya.

## MWENE LIYOKA WENT TO THE FORESTS

**36** 1 Mwene Liyoka and Katushi left the Mabuwa area in the valley of the Lukahu. Liyoka's child was born on the banks of Lake Munga. Mwene Liyoka named this child Munga because he was born on the banks of Lake Munga. Mwene Liyoka trekked along the Luena and reached Mayukwayukwa near the Luampa-Luena confluence. Mwene Katushi left and 2 went west to Loziland. Mwene Liyoka and his mother<sup>922</sup> Shapita continued along the Luampa. When they reached the Lwamanzambo, Mwene Liyoka killed someone and smeared the blood of his victim onto his large drums. The next morning his mother Shapita looked at the large drum and saw that it was red with blood. 3 Mwene Liyoka lived in his capital on the Kaoma stream. That river's name Kaoma derives from a drum of the Mwene: he named that river Kaoma, saying:

'It was at the Kaoma that my *liwoma* (drum) got broken.'

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<sup>922</sup> Classificatory use.

## THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE LIYOKA IN THE FORESTS

4 From the Kaoma he moved on to the Likolwa. From the Likolwa he deviated again to go south, to the Luampa river. At first he moved to the Lemvu, a tributary of the Luampa, and leaving the Lemvu he moved to the Luampa, to 'Liyoni', which was the name of his capital, 5 and from there he moved again to the forest of Kataba. The name of his capital there was 'Litoma'. They surrounded it with a reed fence which has taken root and is still there.

## THE MATRILINEAGE OF KATETE MWENE LIWUMBO

# 37

1 Including those of her younger sisters Mwene Mboma and Kamwatamwata, her<sup>923</sup> children were:

- (1) Mwene Mpelembe;
- (2) Mwene Kambangu;
- (3) Libondo;
- (4) Mwene Ngulube;
- (5) Mwanatete Luhamba.

Mwene Liwumbo acceded to the kingship, adopting the following praise-name:

'I am Shakalongo  
Who Goes Around with the Xylophone'.

Her praise-name upon succession was

'Lishetamasholo: The One who is Dizzy from the Forests'.<sup>924</sup>

Shakalongo lived on the Kataba. When the Mashasha were fleeing from the Kaonde war, 2 they found Shakalongo in the valley of the Kataba. [These Mashasha were]:

- (1) Shamamano also called Shambanjo, who before inheriting the name of Mwene Kahare had married Ncunguni, the sister's daughter of Mwene Liyoka.
- (2) Mwene Nkungulu also known as Mushakabantu.
- (3) Mwene Kumina.

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<sup>923</sup> Classificatory use.

<sup>924</sup> Or perhaps: 'On Whom the Forests Revolve'— an expression of territorial control.

These were the people who moved to Mwene Shakalongo Liwumbo at the Kataba.

## THE WAR OF THE KOLOLO OF SEKELETU

3 On the Kataba the army of the Kololo came to Mwene Liyoka. Mwene Liyoka lived in the Kataba forest. He built a fortification around his entire capital. 4 When the Mwene's drums were beaten, the Nduwe heard the sound of the drums. 5 From among the Nduwe a Mukambuyu called Shaminimba came to visit Mwene Liyoka in his capital. Mwene Liyoka was very cruel to the Nduwe, mistreating them like slaves. When he had mistreated them for some time, the Nduwe went to Sekeletu, the Mwene of the Kololo, son of Sebitwane, to ask for an army. Sekeletu sent an army to fight Mwene Liyoka. At first Mwene Liyoka left the dense forests. At that time the Nkoya of Mwene Liyoka had poisoned arrows which they used when they went to war against other people. 6 Thus many Nduwe and Kololo fighters were killed; the Kololo army went back to Mwene Sekeletu in Sesheke.

## THE CAPTURING OF MWENE LIYOKA

# 38

1 Mwene Liyoka and his Nkoya moved from the forests of the Kataba to another area where the forests were light. He built another capital and named it 'Ikenele'. 2 When Mwene Sekeletu of the Kololo heard:

'Mwene Liyoka has left the forests on the Kataba',

he sent his Kololo fighters to wage war on Mwene Liyoka. Fighting started and the Kololo defeated the Nkoya. Mwene Liyoka was captured along with his sister [Nankuwa]. Most regalia were taken by the Kololo and 3 the Mwene's Mwanashihemi Bunganancako was killed. He was [therefore] called 'Limowavwa'.<sup>925</sup> The Kololo took Mwene Liyoka to Loziland. On their way to Loziland, on the road near Lake Ngoma, his sister Mwene Nankuwa died and she was buried there. 4 When he arrived in Loziland Sekeletu sent him across the Zambezi to the Lukona area, to his elder brother Katushi. Here [in Nkoya], meanwhile, the kingship went over in the hands of [Mwene Liyoka's] younger brother<sup>926</sup> Libondo. 5 When Mwene Liyoka left the Lukona area across the Zambezi, he returned to the valley of the Kataba, where his younger brother resided with the Nkoya. When he

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<sup>925</sup> 'The only one to die'.

<sup>926</sup> More likely classificatory sister's son.

arrived here he chased his younger brother from the kingship. Mwene Liyoka died on the Kataba.

## THE CHAPTER CONCERNING THE FOUR

6 According to chapter 35 there are four matrilineages, descending from the following women:

- (1) Katete,
- (2) Shapita,
- (3) Munga,
- (4) Shampongo.

The following branches sprang from them:

- With regard to (1): Mwene Liyoka, who was born in the senior matrilineage, that of Katete.
- With regard to (2): Mwene Liwumbo, who belonged to the matrilineage of Shapita; she<sup>927</sup> was also called Shakalongo.
- With regard to (3): Mwene Mboma, who belonged to the matrilineage of Munga.
- With regard to (4): Mwene Kamwatamwata, who belonged to the matrilineage of Shampongo.

## THEIR CHILDREN THE MYENE

- (1) Mwene Kambangu also called Mwana Mwene Libondo I.
- (2) Mwene Mpelembe also called Mwana Mwene Libondo II. [He is also known as] Nyati.
- (3) Mwanatete and Ngulube, who were children of Katete.

7 These, finally, are the Nkoya known as the Shikalu but they are the same stock as the Nkoya of Mwene Mutondo; they are all from one matrilineage: the junior line of the Sheta clan.

## THE PEOPLE OF SHIHOKA NALINANGA

### 39

1 The Mashasha, Lukolwe, and those at Wushanga: they are truly Nkoya, and all of them are the grandchildren of Shihoka. Shihoka's mother was Mulawa. 2 His father was the Mukwetunga Mwandumunenu, Ndumba ya Likabe. Mulawa and Mwandumunenu

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<sup>927</sup> Liwumbo.

had the following children: Likambi Mangi; Shihoka; Mbuyu Muyeke; Silumesi; and Mwanambinyi; refer to chapter 10: The history of the kingship of Shihoka.

### HIS JOURNEY TO KAYANGA

3 Mwene Shihoka, his uterine nephew Mwene Kahare and their people went to the valley of the Lunga — a tributary of the Kafue (Lwenge) — in order to hunt elephant, and they came across the valley of Wushanga.

### THE JOURNEY OF SHIHOKA NALINANGA

4 Mwene Shihoka left the Nalinanga area near the Nakalomo Hill where the Mbunda of Mwene Kandala and those of Mwene Shiyengele are living today. The capital of Mwene Shihoka I was in that area, before he left to go to Kayanga in order to hunt elephant.

He went with the following people:

- (1) Kahare,
- (2) Shihoka III,
- (3) Limbo,
- (4) Shikeku,
- (5) Loto,
- (6) Munga Wabanyama,
- (7) Kavwala Maboko,
- (8) Shikomo,
- (9) Shamawoma,
- (10) Mbuma.

5 There were also women among his escort:

- (1) Namuyobo,
- (2) Namwinci,
- (3) Nzabulula,
- (4) Muzowe,
- (5) Kamona; and
- (6) his sister Mbuyu Muyeke.

6 They crossed the Luena and went to the Lwamutwa, where Kangombe ka Maha is living today. They passed along the Lwamutwa and the Dongwe, and reached the Nkulashi-Dongwe confluence (for the Nkulashi is a tributary of the Dongwe). They returned to the Makunzu area on the Lalafuta; when they left Makunzu again they went along the Lalafuta to the Makubikufuka, a tributary of the Lalafuta. 7 When they left the Makubikufuka they went to the Lushimba (a

tributary of the Lufupa), and reached the Makuli area on the Kafue, where Mwene Kabulwebulwe the Elder had died. They went back to the valley of the Lunga, a tributary of the Lwenge which today in the language of the English is called 'Kafue'. Still going north. On their return journey they reached the large valley called Shangaland along the Lufupa. The children of Mwene Shihoka I remained there to live in the valley of Shangaland; 8 they have been there to this day. Those children of Mwene Shihoka I were: Shikeku; Limbo; and Loto. All of these are Nkoya all right, but they are now registered under Kasempa.

9 Mwene Shihoka I went along the Lufupa, going north to its source, and they came across the Mushongolwa Hill near the Kasempa boma. He arrived in the area called Kayimbu and saw the salt deposits there.<sup>928</sup> When he left the Kayimbu area he went along the Kabompo and reached the Tumba plain on the Kabompo. His nephew Kahare I remained there. Mwene Shihoka went west and 10 crossed the Lunga, a tributary of the Kabompo. He went to the valley of the Maniinga. Here he built his fortified capital, which he named Lukolwe, in Lukwakwa.

#### THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE KAHARE SON OF MULEMA IN TUMBA

### 40

1 When Kahare had left his maternal uncle Shihoka I, he lived in the Tumba plain; thus the kingship of Mwene Kahare began. 2 He married a Lihano who was a member of the Shungu clan; they had a son called Kapeshi, nicknamed Kapeshi ka Munungampanda<sup>929</sup>.

One day, when Kapeshi was still young, he saw the moon in the sky. Thinking that the moon was a mpande (for he was only a child), he told his father:

'Father, give me that mpande which is shining in the sky.'

3 Mwene Kahare called his people and told them:

'Cut forked poles and join them to a Ladder, in order to capture that mpande for the Mwana Mwene to wear.'

They started to cut forked poles and made the ladder, and it was so tall that when they climbed it, it collapsed; many people fell down and died. 4 They tried to construct another Ladder and to climb that one, but again it collapsed and more people died. Those who remained said among themselves:

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<sup>928</sup> That region was for centuries an important export area of salt, a much-coveted trade item.

<sup>929</sup> The name means: 'Ladder Consisting of Joined Forked Poles' — as explained in the text below.

‘Come on, folks, let us stop and call it a day. Let us tell the Mwene:

‘‘We are near our end, don’t you see that there are only few of us left.’’

5 Then all the people said to the Mwene:

‘Mwene, this will be the end of the people, for that mpande many people can see there in the sky, that thing is not a mpande, it is the moon.’

The Mwene told them to stop the construction of the Ladder. Many people died on the Ladder. Finally Mwene Kahare himself died, in Tumba.

## THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE KAPESHI

### 41

1 After Kapeshi had grown up he became Mwene Kapeshi in Tumba. He was a member of the Shungu clan, for his mother was from that clan. His mother was Lihano Namuyobo, the sister of Mbuma.<sup>930</sup> 2 Mwene Kapeshi had a daughter Kahare II. When she grew up she gave birth to a son who was also called Kahare; he was a grandson of Kapeshi. 3 When Lady Mwene Kahare II was Mwene of the drum, the people said:

‘Mwene, why is it that when you go into seclusion<sup>931</sup> the drums should be silent? That is very bad. Let us therefore elect her<sup>932</sup> son Kahare Wa Luhuki Lumweya,<sup>933</sup> for he is a man.’

4 Mwene Kahare was *Wa Luhuki Lumweya*: With One Hair. He was a member of the Lavwe clan. He died on the Milembo, a tributary of the Kabompo. He had a daughter called Shikanda. Shikanda had two children 5 and their names were: Kalumpiteka (a son); and Mutolwa (a daughter). These were her two children. Mutolwa had five children and their names were as follows:

- (1) the first Kabambi Shambanjo, also known as Shamamano;
- (2) the second was Mulonga Livumina;
- (3) the third Mishengo;
- (4) the fourth their sister Namuyobo; and

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<sup>930</sup> Both Namuyobo and Mbuma were listed as companions of Shihoka I (39: 4-5).

<sup>931</sup> In order to spend the days of her menstruation in the female seclusion hut outside the capital (or any other village).

<sup>932</sup> Note the shift from second to third person.

<sup>933</sup> *Wa Luhuki Lumweya*: ‘With One Hair’.

(5) the fifth or last-born child Mpelembe.

## THE KINGSHIP OF SHIKANDA IN KAYIMBU

6 Mwene Shikanda was the Mwana Mwene of Kahare III Wa Luhuki Lumweya, who died on the Milembo, a tributary of the Kabompo. After the death of Mwene Kahare, Shikanda took over the kingship. By that time the Mashasha were established in the Kayimbu area, which we call 'Kasempa District' today, and which in the past we used to call 'Kayimbu', 'in Kayimbu'. 7 In this place Mwene Kahare the Elder had lived, a few years after he and Mwene Shihoka had left the valley of the Maniinga. Mwene Shikanda died in her area, which had also been her father's; he was buried there and she was buried there too. In her time, while she was ruling the land, the Kaonde of Mwene Katotola came; Mwene Shikanda fought them until her death. 8 The nickname Mashasha derives from a type of beer which was called *muzinge* or *ntongo*; this beer was made from either maize or sorghum. That was the beer the Nkoya were drinking at the time. 9 This beer was said to enhance the men's prowess. From that time onwards the Nkoya in that area became known as Mashasha. 10 Because they lived in the same land as the Kaonde they adopted the speech sounds *ra* and *ja*, which we also find among the Kaonde. Mwene Shikanda died from natural causes.

## MWENE KABIMBA

# 42

1 In the time that the land was ruled by Mwene Kabimba (in the wake of the kingship of his maternal uncle Mwene Kahare, after Kabimba's mother's brother's daughter<sup>934</sup> Shikanda had died), all the people feared to live in the land of Mashasha (Kasempa); for [whereas] Shikanda had been very brave and without fear of the Kaonde army, Kabimba absconded, fleeing towards the south. 2 When they crossed the Dongwe near the Dongwe-Lalafuta confluence, they heard the sound of large drums in the night; the elders said that the sound they had heard might be that of the drums of Mwene Mutondo I Shinkisha at Kalimbata. They went back 3 eastward and crossed the Lufupa. Mwene Kabimba and his people saw a tribe of people who were called Yeke; these were murderously fighting among themselves. Mwene Kabimba and his people feared them and fled at night. 4 They went to the Lunga, a tributary of the Kafue. The Yeke followed them. They caught up with them between the Lunga and the Kafue. They killed Mwene Kabimba

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<sup>934</sup> *mufwala*: cross cousin (see Part I diagram 4), preferred marriage partner, and in most contexts Ego's (classificatory) mother's brother's daughter (rather than father's sister's daughter).



and flayed him! The Yeke took the skin of Mwene Kabimba with them to their land.

## MWANA MWENE KALUMPITEKA AND MUTOLWA

### 43

1 After the death of Mwene Kabimba the Mashasha broke up into many groups. Kalumpiteka and his sister Mutolwa and their<sup>935</sup> children went to Lubanda, to the area of Mwene Shamakanda. They lived there for only a few years. They went over to Mwene Kayingu, who was a relative of the Nkoya. They lived in their village: Kalumpiteka and his sister Mutolwa and his sister's sons 2 Shamamano; Mulonga, also called Livumina; Mpelembe Mwinuna; and Mishengo, also called Shalunganda. 3 After some time the Lubanda (Ila) found Kalumpiteka and killed him with spears. They said:

‘Who has given you the right to go fishing in this pond, without asking permission from the owner of the land? Tell us, who?’

And he answered them:

‘You, don’t you know that I am a Mwana Mwene?’

Then they speared him.

5 Kalumpiteka died in the Lubanda area (Namwala) and was buried there. Using bows and poisoned arrows, Shamamano and his younger brothers went to war against the Lubanda. The Lubanda were afraid of the poisoned arrows. Then they<sup>936</sup> departed for Njoko on the Kataba, to the capital of Mwene Shakalongo.

## SHAMAMANO AND HIS YOUNGER BROTHERS AT KATABA

6 When Shamamano reached the Njoko area on the Kataba, he lived in his village there, and later moved to Nkanda, in order to hunt elephant there. When Mwene Kayingu heard about him, he sent people to fetch him. Shamamano paid him a slave, a gun and other articles of wealth. He returned to the Njoko, and sent his younger brother Shalunganda to Loziland to take an elephant tusk to Lewanika. He heard that Lewanika was going to Lubanda to wage war on the Lubanda; and as Lewanika had heard that Shamamano had already fought against the Lubanda, he told Shalunganda Mishengo:

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<sup>935</sup> Certainly not any children they had incestuously produced between the two of them, but (as the text indicates) Mutolwa’s biological children, and such other junior kinsmen as were in Kalumpiteka’s and Mutolwa’s care.

<sup>936</sup> Shamamano and his followers.

‘Go back and bear witness to Shamamano that he has to go and meet me at the Njoko. 7 For I am also going to Lubanda to wage war.’

When they arrived in Lubanda, Lewanika and his army killed very many Lubanda. 8 When Lewanika saw so many dead bodies he said to Shamamano:

‘If you are brave, then cut open the corpses, to show us that you are the bravest, that you are really a man.’<sup>937</sup>

9 Shamamano cut the bodies open, also severing the heads. When Lewanika saw this he asked:

‘Where do you come from, to be so brave?’

Shamamano answered him:

‘I am from the branch of Mwene Kahare.’

Then Lewanika asked him:

‘What is your family relationship with Mwene Kahare?’

And Shamamano answered him again:

‘Grandfather!’<sup>938</sup>

10 Then Lewanika told him to accompany him to Loziland; however, Shamamano went [only later] to Lewanika at Lealui. 11 Lewanika covered him with a large blanket and told him:

‘Go and succeed to the kingship of Mwene Kahare.’

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<sup>937</sup> This passage suggests that the mutilation of the dead bodies was a greater act of bravery than the preceding killing — which suggests post-mortem sorcery (through which someone during his life takes magical precautions in order to harm enemies after his death), and more in general the reputation of the Ila as powerful sorcerers. But on Shamamano’s side, more is involved here than bravery: the power to withstand the post-mortem evil emanating from the Ila bodies demonstrates that he has the supernatural qualities (not without sorcery connotations themselves) that identify him as a born *Mwene*, despite his genealogical disadvantage as DS, rather than ZS, of the previous Mwene Kahare.

<sup>938</sup> Assuming that Shamamano took the last Mwene Kahare, Kabimba, as his point of reference: as MMFZS Kabimba would be Shamamano’s *nkaka*; but it is also possible that reference is made to Shamamano’s MM Shikanda, a much closer ancestor who was Kabimba’s predecessor, and in that case the translation should be ‘Grandmother’.

## THE KINGSHIP OF SHAMAMANO SHAMBANJO ON THE YANGE

12 Upon his return from Loziland, before he acceded to the kingship on the Yange under the name of Mwene Kahare IV, Shamamano reported to Mwene Shakalongo what Mwene Lewanika had told him. Thus informed, Shakalongo gathered all the Mashasha, so that she could have Shamamano installed as Mwene Kahare IV. 13 He lived on the Kamano, and his younger brother Livumina at Litoya Iya Mbuma. Mwene Lewanika sent representative indunas<sup>939</sup> in 1904, in order to keep a lookout for the Lubanda army. 14 The names of these indunas were:

- (1) Mutoka, also called Mufwaya;
- (2) Kabilamwandi;
- (3) Walitekano, also called Libinga, who is still there to this day;
- (4) Nkumbula, also called Simuliyankumba;
- (5) Kakumba, the son of Matinanga — he was a Nkoya who had gone to Lewanika as a court official;
- (6) Mulobeka, also called Kabangu.

15 All these indunas built their villages at Litoya Iya Mbuma. They said that they were there in order to protect Mwene Kahare's kingdom from Lubanda attacks. 16 These indunas came when the Whitemen had just arrived in this land of Nkoya but before the tax had started; it was the time of Mwene Sipopa, before Mwene Kahare had arrived here in this land of Nkoya. Mwene Kahare came during the time of Lewanika in the year 1849. This information comes from Mwene Mishengo, and was passed on to us by Matiya Kapuka.<sup>940</sup>

## SHIWOWA MWENE MUTONDO MUNANGISHA

### 44

1 When he was young his names were Shibuyi Likambi; he was born in Kayambila's capital on the Mangongi, along with others such as his cross-cousin Mwana Mwene Kapoba, and [Kayambila's] grandchildren Mukamba and Shingole. 2 [Shibuyi Likambi's] father was Mukwetunga Lwengu of the Lands; his mother was Mwene Komoka Shihoka. When Munangisha had grown up, he sent people to

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<sup>939</sup> *Nkamba*, pl. *Bankamba*: the term 'representative *induna*' is standard in the literature on western Zambia. In *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the other Lozi courtiers are called by the general Nkoya term *Shilolo*.

<sup>940</sup> None the less the date of 1849, and the rest of this paragraph, deviate far from the historical truth, see my chapter 3.2: 'dates'.

Kaonde<sup>941</sup> to the village of Kalembelembe in order to fetch the woman who was to be his Lihano. They fetched the woman, carrying her on their shoulders, and brought her to him in the valley of the Miluzi (a tributary of the Lalafuta), where he lived in the capital of his mother Mwene Komoka; when his wife arrived there, he named her 'Liziho',<sup>942</sup> which has the following meaning:

'Because the Nkoya carried her on a stretcher.'<sup>943</sup>

3 Liziho became the senior of all the wives of Mwene Mutondo Munangisha; she had the following children:

- (1) Makomani Watunga,
- (2) Shaloba Kanyinca,
- (3) Yuvwenu Kandumba.

The daughter of Kancende; she became the Lihano of [Munangisha's] elder brother Shikongi. Mwene Shikongi had a conflict with his younger brother Munangisha because the latter trespassed in his elder brother's house. Then Mwene Shikongi said to his younger brother:

'You committed incest! Just pay me a slave and marry her [Kancende's daughter] so that she shall be your wife.'

4 The daughter of Kancende had two sons: first Mampilu also called Wahila, begotten by Mwene Shikongi. 5 Then Munangisha begot Kazi-kwa Shayama, also called Mushonto. These were born before Mwene Mutondo Munangisha went to Loziland during the Kololo war in the year 1860.

## MUNANGISHA WENT TO LOZILAND

**45** 1 When the Kololo had arrived at Kalimbata in the afternoon they had failed to find Mwene Mutondo Kashina. 2 For he had made himself invisible, using magic<sup>944</sup> as was the custom of the Myene of the Nkoya. The army could not find him at all. Neither could the Kololo find the Mwene's uterine nephew Munangisha: he had gone hunting. 3 On his way back he heard the noise of fighting. When he entered the

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<sup>941</sup> Used here as a toponym: 'the Land of Kaonde', cf. 'the Land of Nkoya'.

<sup>942</sup> The root *-ziho* means: load.

<sup>943</sup> A normal means of transport for *Myene*, and later also for early colonial administrators in Central Africa, before bicycles and motor vehicles became normal, and viable, means of transport.

<sup>944</sup> *malele*: 'magic', a morally neutral if not benign capacity at wonder-working, especially associated with *Myene*, and quite distinct from the evil powers of *wulozi*, 'sorcery'.

capital he observed that the Kololo had captured his Lihano Liziho as well as his younger brother Mushunga, his daughter Watunga, and Nahonge and Kandiye, the daughters of Mwene Lishenga. These are the ones who were in the hands of the Kololo. 4 Mwene Mbololo had told his men not to kill any of the people because many were of royal blood; instead, all of them should be brought to him alive. Since he was coming from the forest where he had gone hunting, Munangisha was carrying his weapons. 5 Upon his arrival the Kololo said:

‘Do not kill us nor spear us with your poisoned spears, for we ourselves, we did not kill anyone here at this capital.’

6 Then he answered them:

‘I for one shall not use my weapons, but since you have captured my children, let us all go together with my children, for I cannot remain here without them.’

7 He took with him the large drums and the small drums to Loziland. When they arrived there, Mbololo sent them across [the Zambezi], to Kalabo. Munangisha and the Bana ba Myene inhabited a capital across [the Zambezi], in Lukona, right in the middle of Kalabo. Mwene Mbololo thought that if he sent them to the western bank of the Zambezi they would not cross that river to return to their land.

## MUNANGISHA’S RETURN TO NKOYA

### 46

1 When Mwene Mbololo died among his Kololo, Mwene Fumika Sipopa took Loziland. There had been friendship between him and his maternal uncle Shiyenge when both were living at Lukwakwa. 2 This has already been stated in chapter 34. Two years after acceding to the kingship, Sipopa sent for Munangisha, and told him:

‘I have been informed that your maternal uncle in Nkoya has died, therefore you can return with your children to Nkoya, to accede to the kingship.’

3 Munangisha went back to Nkoya with his younger brother Mushunga. However, he was not allowed to take his daughter Makomani with him, for she was very beautiful. 4 Sipopa told Munangisha:

‘If you want to take your daughter, then go and bring a slave who resembles her, to take her place.’

Munangisha failed to find a beautiful slave woman in that area, so he went to Kabuzu, to Mwene Kasheba Momba. There he found a slave woman who was beautiful. 5 He took her to Mwene Sipopa and then he

was allowed to take his daughter Watunga Makomani with him. After their return Makomani was married to Nkulashi.

## MWENE MUTONDO KASHUNKANI

### 47

1 When Munangisha arrived here in Nkoya he found that his maternal uncle Mwene Kancukwe and the latter's younger brother Kabumbo had left Kalimbata for Namamono, near the source of the Lalafuta. 2 Munangisha traced them and he brought them back together to Lizuna, on the Luampa, near its confluence [with the Luena]. Leaving the latter area again, he went along the Shimano, a tributary of the Nyango. Here his maternal uncle had been buried by ants. 3 When he looked at the burial shrine<sup>945</sup> he saw the crown<sup>946</sup> of kingship which lay in the grave of his maternal uncle, and he said:

'Dig up the crown and let us go to Lizuna; make a fence around the grave.'

And that is what they did.

## THE NKOYA ELECTED A NEW MWENE

4 Munangisha was elected to be Mwene Mutondo by the Nkoya, notably by:

- (1) Mwene Lishenga Shonena Luhamba,
- (2) Mwene Kancukwe Mukamba,
- (3) Mwene Shikongi,

and all the Nkoya people, electing him with the words:

'Munangisha for Mwene Mutondo.'

5 However, when this decision was communicated to him, he declined:

'Well, my answer is no. Elect my sister's son Kashunkani. For I am a hunter of game, I do not need the kingship, all I need is to kill animals.'

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<sup>945</sup> The words 'burial shrine' and 'grave', which are literal translations of the Nkoya original, suggest that the burial had been rather more formal and elaborate than 'by ants' alone.

<sup>946</sup> This is the only time that this item among the regalia is mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. It is not conspicuous among presentday Nkoya regalia.

He thought that to be Mwene was less valuable than to be a hunter. When his uterine nephew Kashunkani then acceded to the kingship, Munangisha saw that it was nicer to be Mwene. So he pretended to be sick and to have pain in his eyes. He asked the people to consult diviner-priests, telling them:

‘Divine the name of my grandmother, Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha — that it is she who affects my eyesight.’<sup>947</sup>

6 He made them stage a prayer ceremony at the shrine. After the ceremony he told the people:

‘I am really Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha. You<sup>948</sup> are [henceforth] only Mwene Shiyenge, like your grandfather was, but there is nothing to fear: I am not going to do anything rash to you, who are my sister’s son.’

#### THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE MUTONDO IN THE CAPITAL NAMED LIZUNA

## 48

1 Mwene Mutondo Munangisha made a very large capital in Mayukwayukwa. He called his very large capital there ‘Lizuna’. 2 Because there were many wars being fought at that time it was arranged that the capital there should include three other capitals. The village<sup>949</sup> of Mwene Munangisha’s maternal uncle Kancukwe was built in the east, the village of Mwene Shiyenge in the west and the village of his uterine nephew Shimunika<sup>950</sup> was on the other side again; the capital of Mwene Munangisha was in the middle, for the Mwene had made a ruling that they should be close to one another as a stronghold against enemy attacks. Mwene Mutondo Munangisha ruled his people from the year 1867 to the year 1898.

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<sup>947</sup> The Nkoya text is still non-gender-specific as far as Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha is concerned, and I have implemented the gender reconstruction as in chapter 26. In this passage, Munangisha on second thoughts takes recourse to a well-established belief among the Nkoya and elsewhere in South Central and Southern Africa: an ancestor may afflict a descendant with illness as a sign of wanting to emerge in that descendant; hence Munangisha’s subsequent statement that he *is* Shinkisha, i.e. her ‘reincarnation’ — and as such the rightful heir to the kingship. It is quite common that living descendants at first try to escape the responsibilities and dangers of reincarnation through name-inheritance; cf. above, 1.3, ‘chiefs, royal kin, and headmen’; and van Binsbergen 1981b, in prep.

<sup>948</sup> Note that here the audience shifts from ‘the people’ to ‘Mwene Shiyenge’.

<sup>949</sup> Here the text has *munzi*: ‘village’, and not (as three words above and half a sentence below) *lukena*: ‘capital’.

<sup>950</sup> Mother’s brother of Rev. Shimunika.

3 He died on the Lukunzi. He had the following children: Shaloba Kanyinca, whose birth-name was Mate Lushiku; Kapoba; Kapitango; Timuna; Lipepo; Nkulamikabo; Lushiku Kalapukila; Masheka; and Watunga, their sister.

4 It was at the time of the victory of Munangisha when the Lozi sent the following five representative indunas:

- (1) Mwendaweli,
- (2) Sakame,
- (3) Kaseyafu,
- (4) Sikowe,
- (5) Sikota Mutumwa.

All these were sent here to Nkoya, to Mwene Mutondo, to request tribute in the form of honey and skins of wild animals. These indunas were sent by Mwene Sipopa. 5 When the honey and the skins had been collected, they were dispatched to Loziland; Mwene Mutondo had many people occupied with this task of sending honey and skins to Loziland.

6 During the reign of Mwene Mutondo Munangisha, he revived the custom of Mukanda at Lizuna. The Mukanda which Munangisha organized at the Lizuna capital was the last to reach here in Nkoya, [even though] Munangisha wanted to stage Mukanda again at his Mabala capital near the Mangango.

## THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE MUTONDO MUSHUNGA

**49** 1 Mwene Mutondo Mushunga had gone to Loziland at an early age and he had completely adopted the life-style of the Kololo: their gluttony; their lack of respect for other people; and their arrogance, which made them say to other people:

‘You are slaves.’<sup>951</sup>

2 As a result, Mwene Mutondo Mushunga did not even love his own relatives. When his elder brother, Mwene Mutondo Munangisha, died, Mushunga acceded to the kingship. However, he did not hold the kingship for a long time; the people objected to him, saying:

‘He keeps all the food crops to himself and fails to be honourable.’

3 The people made arrangements to have him removed from office:

‘Let the Mwene abdicate so that we can elect someone else.’

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<sup>951</sup> This foreshadows the apotheosis of *Likota Iya Bankoya* in chapter 56: ‘The Nkoya are our slaves’.



But they feared to tell him straight away:

‘We remove you from the kingship!’

His uterine nephew Kashunkani went to Loziland to report:

‘The people do not want this Mwene.’

4 He reported to Lewanika and the latter sent his Bilolo Kaseyafu and Kavuyi. They came and appointed Mwana Mwene Wahila Mampilu to be Mwene Mutondo. From that time onwards Mushunga remained only with the name of Mwene Mushunga. 5 He did not want to make war against his son,<sup>952</sup> saying:

‘It is all right, for I am too old anyway.’

Mwene Mushunga died on the Nyango near its confluence [with the Luena].

#### THE KINGSHIP OF MWENE MUTONDO WAHILA IN THE CAPITAL ON THE NYANGO

### 50

1 Mwene Mutondo Wahila was the first to become Mwene, of all the Bana ba Myene. 2 After he had inherited the kingship, Mwene Mutondo Wahila went to Loziland to Lewanika. When Mwene Lewanika saw Mwene Mutondo Wahila, he wanted to have the small drums of kingship of Mwene Mutondo returned to the latter. For the instruments had been taken by Mbololo during the Kololo war at Kalimbata, together with two large drums. 3 Lewanika said:

‘Take the small drums of Mwene Mutondo and the two large drums back with you, when you return to Nkoya.’

However, one of the Bilolo, by the name of Kaseyafu, said to Lewanika:

‘Let us first form an opinion [concerning this Mwene], for we have not seen him.’

He left, [for Nkoya] and when he returned he said:

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<sup>952</sup> Wahila; the term ‘son’ is used in a classificatory sense.

‘From the way that Mwene looks I have seen that when you give him the large drums he is going to kill people in Nkoya.’<sup>953</sup>

4 Therefore the large drums of Mwene Mutondo remained in Lealui. [Mwene Mutondo Wahila] only received the small drums and the xylophones. This took place in the year 1898. Mwene Mutondo Wahila built a splendid capital along the valley across the Luena, in the south, at a place called Kazembe, where Mwana Mwene Mwangala resides today. He sent many tusks as tribute [to Lealui]. 5 Ngambela Katuta, in other words his Mwanashihemi, along with his Bilolo, collected the tusks of Mwene Mutondo Wahila. From that time he predicted that the drums in the Milombe capital would withstand lightning. 6 In the year 1900 Mwene Mutondo Wahila left the Kazembe area across the Luena and moved across the Nyango to the west, near the Nyango-Luena confluence. He built his capital there and named it ‘Nyango’. 7 There the first Whitemen<sup>954</sup> found him, Mubushishi or District Commissioner, whom the people called Chikimwenci (for his actual name was ‘Sixworthy’). 8 When Mubushishi came for the first time (he came from Kaonde), he first inspected the land and registered all the Nkoya villages here in Nkoya.

#### THE COURT OF MWENE MUTONDO WAHILA

9 Mwene Mutondo Wahila was a great hunter and during his reign he killed plenty of elephant and other game. He used to go hunting elephant and other game at Kayanga. He would stay there for one month, sometimes two months. 10 Before the Whitemen came to Nkoya, the Nkoya would hunt elephant on a larger scale than in later years. When he went hunting at Kayanga or elsewhere, his drums were brought along.

Mwene Mutondo Wahila did not keep the kingship all to himself. He followed the custom of Kayambila and Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha by sharing out tusks to the following Bilolo:

- (1) Katuta, who bore the title of Mwanashihemi;
- (2) Shilanda, who bore the title of Nanyundo;
- (3) Mundendemi, who was the Mwene’s maternal uncle;
- (4) Lwando, also called Sikota;
- (5) Mwitila Kamamba;

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<sup>953</sup> Possibly a reference to human sacrifices to the drums (e.g. Liyoka’s, chapter 36). However, in the perception of presentday Nkoya such sacrifices also formed part of the Lozi court culture (cf. oral source [2]) — albeit that also there the drums are of Nkoya origin (cf. 24: 6)! But it is equally likely that reference is made here to fears that repossession of the drums would boost Wahila’s confidence to a point where he might challenge Lozi overlordship and kill the Lozi representatives at his court.

<sup>954</sup> Plural, although only one European is mentioned here.

- (6) Nalishuwa;
- (7) Liholola, also called Mubonda;
- (8) Muyani Lintwike, also called Lyomba;
- (9) Lyomboko, also called Mushakabantu;
- (10) Mafuka also called Namamba.

## THE COURT DIVINER-PRIESTS<sup>955</sup>

The following people were the court diviner-priests of the Mwene:

- (1) their leader was Shipawa,
- (2) Kakemba,
- (3) Mwala Shikuma who was the Mwene's grandfather,
- (4) Mulamata,
- (5) Kawaba,
- (6) Mulwishi, who was the Attendant of the Throne.

11 Mwene Mutondo Wahila stayed in his Milombe capital with so many court priests. All the Bilolo said:

'When we were sitting in the court, hearing cases, we saw an Englishman (in other words a Whiteman from the tribe of the British) approaching along the road.'

The Bilolo went to welcome him, asking him who he was. He told them:

'I am Munali.'

## MWENE MUTONDO WAHILA'S JOURNEY TO SOLILAND

12 Mwene Mutondo Wahila left his capital in the valley of the Nyango, to go to Soliland. He was accompanied by his drums, his bells, the snare drum, and many of his Bilolo. One of them was called Kayoni ka Mwene (Mwene's Bird),<sup>956</sup> by the name of Kapandula; for when they returned, Kapandula adopted the praise-name

'I am Katengutengu the Mwene's Bird.'

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<sup>955</sup> *Shamanga*; on difficulties relating to the translation of this word (it might also be interpreted as 'court attendant' in general), see my chapter 4.3, 'court officials'.

<sup>956</sup> The court jester.

When Mwene Mutondo Wahila returned from Soliland he went to Litoya. The Mbunda have called that place Mito when they came to that area; in the Nkoya language this means *matoya* (river banks), or *litoya* in Luvale. 14 At that time Mwene Lewanika had come to the litoya of the Luena, where Mwana Mwene Mayankwa resides, or used to reside. The Luvale would hunt there. 15 Very many people would assemble there. Lewanika would come with his drums and his people. Mwene Mutondo would also come with very many people and his drums, and with Katengutengu Kayoni ka Mwene of whom one can see the picture here.<sup>957</sup> There was plenty of game there: redbuck and waterbuck. When Lewanika returned to Loziland, Mwana Mwene Mayankwa came to that area from Lukwakwa in Lukolwe across the Kabompo. He occupied the camp left by Lewanika and began to live there. His village and the local court named 'Mwito' used to be there; it is now on the Lubuzi.

## THE ARRIVAL OF THE TAX HERE IN NKOYA

### 51

1 It was in the year 1900. Mwene Mutondo Wahila had been Mwene for approximately five years in the Nyango capital. In 1905 the first Mubushishi came and found him. When the Mwene saw the Whiteman entering the capital, Mwene Mutondo came forward with his drums and his bow, and with many people, men as well as women. 2 He came to formally welcome Mubushishi; and when Mubushishi saw that the Mwene had brought his drums and xylophones and his bow, Mubushishi was greatly pleased. 3 He asked the Mwene:

'Mwene, shoot with your bow so that we can see it.'

Mwene Mutondo Wahila then shot an arrow into a tree, before the eyes of Mubushishi. Mubushishi had come with an escort of Tonga and Ila; it was those men who told Mwene Mutondo Wahila and all the Nkoya:

'His name is Chikimwenci.'

Mubushishi had come to register all the villages here in Nkoya. 4 He came from the land of the Kaonde. He told Mwene Mutondo Wahila:

'It has been written that your people, all the Nkoya, should pay tax in this land.'

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<sup>957</sup> No picture supplied with the manuscript of *Likota Iya Bankoya*. Another one is however in my possession, showing a strangely attired adult man standing on one leg, next to the royal orchestra. Given the paucity of photographs circulating in Kaoma district, and the gradual accumulation of Nkoya documents into my hands, it is not entirely impossible that this is, after all, the picture Shimunika intended to include here.

5 However, Mwene Mutondo Wahila objected against registration for tax payment. Mubushishi left without having completed his registration of the people. He returned to Kalomo but as Mubushishi he resided in Kaondeland.

6 Government<sup>958</sup> wanted the Nkoya to pay their tax at Nangoma boma. When Mwene Mutondo Wahila went to Nangoma they found that the boma was in a different land [, very far away]; so they refused. 7 Mwene Kahare Shamamano, however, agreed to go to Nangoma boma with his people in order to pay tax.<sup>959</sup> However, the Whitemen arrested Mwene Kahare Shamamano at Nangoma and put him into prison. Subsequently he let himself be registered here in Nkoya, just like Mwene Mutondo Wahila.

## THE MANKOYA<sup>960</sup> (KAOMA) BOMA WAS FOUNDED HERE IN NKOYA

**52** 1 Initially the Mankoya (Kaoma) boma was built at Nakayembe, in the area of Mwene Mwendambelele. 2 Government wanted the Nkoya to pay their tax at Nakayembe. However, Mwene Mutondo Wahila protested against this, saying:

‘Well, I refuse to pay tax there outside the land.’

3 In the year 1905 Mr Dillon Hazel (whom the people called Mwene Shikoko or Mashikoko) came from Mongu. He went to Nyango, to the capital of Mwene Mutondo Wahila, and asked for somebody who could show him a place where the boma could be built. Mwene Mutondo Wahila told his younger brother Kanyinca Shaloba to take the Whiteman to the Likolwa area. The boma was built there and upon its completion the Nkoya started paying their tax there. 4 Initially the

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<sup>958</sup> *Kafulumende*: Nkoya rendering of the word ‘Government’, and used in an almost personalized manner.

<sup>959</sup> Some contemporary subjects of Mwene Kahare take offense at this passage, reading it as implying greater acceptance of colonial rule on the part of Mwene Kahare Shamamano than Mwene Mutondo Wahila is credited with (oral source [7] 21.10.1977). However, since Shimunika takes colonial conditions for granted and sets no premium on dissociation from the colonial state (as discussed above in my chapter 2), it would be wrong to interpret this passage as a deliberate attack on Shimunika’s part. Nangoma boma, near the Kafue, was near the eastern boundary of Shamamano’s area at the time; only the creation of Kafue National Park in the 1930s created a large stretch of uninhabited land between Mwene Kahare’s area and the Kafue. In other words, Mwene Shamamano did not go out of his way in order to pay tax.

<sup>960</sup> It is at this point that the word *Mankoya* appears for the first time in the text: it is the colonial toponym for the area earlier denoted as *muno mu Nkoya*: ‘here in Nkoya’.

Nkoya called tax 'to go around the hill',<sup>961</sup> and the second time<sup>962</sup> they called it 'Spider'.<sup>963</sup> Mr Helm Mwene Mangalashi<sup>964</sup> was the second Kalela (District Commissioner). He was the one who moved the boma from Nakayembe to Mankoya. 5 Then Mwene Mangalashi (Mr Helm) employed the first Nkoya as boma messengers.<sup>965</sup> The first was Mwana Mwene David<sup>966</sup> Kanyinca Shaloba.

6 The second was Fwanina Shamakungulu; the third was Mwangala, the son of Likambakanye. The others came from Lwandui, a boma in Loziland built some time earlier. 7 As soon as tax was introduced in the land of Mankoya, many men left their villages in order to find employment in town; thus they hoped to find the money to pay their tax. The tax was as follows: men with one wife had to pay half a pound (10 shillings); men with two wives: one pound (20 shillings); and men with three wives: one pound and a half (30 shillings). 8 This made the lives of many men very hard and miserable. Those who did not have the money were arrested and put into prison where they died. The Nkoya used to sing the following song:

'We are dying  
because of the tax  
hi woo hi woo my brother  
we are dying.'

Many of the men who left their villages to go to town, failed to come back but died there. Others have continued to reside in the towns, fearing to return because of the excessive tax rates here in Nkoya.<sup>967</sup>

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<sup>961</sup> This appears to be a reference to a hill nearby the boma, or between the western part of 'Nkoya' and the boma, but it is not clear where this hill would be located: at Kasempa (where there is such a hill, the Mushongolwa Hill, which also features in the present account — according to other sources this is where Shamamano originally paid his tax); at Nakayembe (where according to this account no tax was ever paid by the Nkoya); or at Nangoma (in which case 'the hill' means the Kafue/Zambezi watershed).

<sup>962</sup> After the creation of Mankoya boma.

<sup>963</sup> *Lintendanzi*, 'spider'; the significance of this name is obscure.

<sup>964</sup> Clearly derived from *English*; the prefix *Ma-* suggests that this was originally a Lozi term.

<sup>965</sup> The lowest rank in the district administration, reserved for Africans.

<sup>966</sup> The baptismal name *David* is probably an anachronism: according to chapter (55: 6), Kanyinca was only baptized more than a quarter of a century later, in 1934, when he had already acceded to the kingship.

<sup>967</sup> This form of rural-based taxation was abolished at Independence.

THE ARRIVAL OF TRADING STORES HERE IN  
NKOYA IN THE YEAR 1912  
Mr D.M. BROUGH, 'MILOLI'

9 Mr D.M. Brough was the first Whiteman to build a trading store here in Nkoya, in the year 1912. The trading store was built near the village of Mwene Kapupa; near that place is now Naliele Local Court, which we call Mankoya Native Authority.<sup>968</sup> Mr Brough was a great friend of Mwene Mutondo Wahila. When the Mwene wanted commodities he went to buy them from Mr Brough's store every year. 10 When Mwene Mutondo Wahila died in the year 1914, the Whitemen Mr Helm and Mr Brough went to attend the funeral of their great friend, together with all the people. He was mourned for one year, as 'Mwene Mutondo, the Receiver of Gifts.' They said praises for him:

'You Mwene Shikongi Son of Mulawa  
The One on Whom Leisure Thrives  
As Forests Thrive on the Soil,  
The One who Feeds the Hungry.'

All the Nkoya shaved their heads upon his death; that was the Nkoya mourning custom for Myene. If anyone did not shave his or her head that person would meet death in the forest.

MWENE MUTONDO SHAYAMA

**53**

1 When Mwene Mutondo Wahila died, Kalela Mr Helm sent one man, the boma head messenger, with the words:

'You Mufaya Munukayumbwa, go and attend the funeral of Mwene Mutondo who has just died.'

Kalela gave the following orders:

'When the funeral will be over, you can make them elect a new Mwene. I prefer Kanyinca for Mwene Mutondo.'

Then Mufaya Munukayumbwa, who was the head messenger, with his shotgun,<sup>969</sup> put an end to the funeral which was already nearly finished, and called Mwana Mwene Kanyinca. 2 He made Kanyinca stand beside

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<sup>968</sup> Soon after Zambia became independent (1964), the Native Authorities as created in the 1930s were replaced by Rural Councils; Kaoma Rural Council is located not at Naliele, but a few kilometres to the northeast, at the district capital itself.

<sup>969</sup> Like elsewhere on the African continent, the firing of guns marks the final stage of funerals among the Nkoya.

him, and told Mwene Lishenga and Mwene Kancukwe ([Kanyinca's] fathers), and all the Bakambuyu who were at the funeral of Mwene Mutondo Wahila:

'I carry the words of Kalela Mwene Mangalashi.'

After he had finished his speech he produced a white blanket and covered Mwana Mwene Kanyinca with it, saying:

'This is the one whom Kalela has indicated, therefore you should all be happy and the women should ululate, for this is your leader.'

3 Then Mwene Kanyinca wanted to decline but the elders talked with him and convinced him that it was just a matter of waiting until the funeral was over. When they had finished the funeral Kanyinca became Mwene Mutondo in accordance with the orders of Kalela. 4 The Whitemen took a great liking to Kanyinca because of his smartness. However, the elder brother of Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca, called Mushonto Kazikwa, had gone to Balovale (Zambezi);<sup>970</sup> when he came back he found that his younger brother had already inherited the kingship of Mwene Mutondo Wahila. Then he said:

'My younger brother should abdicate so that I can take over the kingship.'

5 These words brought many bad feelings here in Nkoya among the Nkoya people. Mushonto went to Lewanika; Lewanika appointed Mushonto as Mwene Mutondo with the following words:

'You, Kanyinca, you are henceforth just Mwana Mwene, you are only Kanyinca. Your power in the kingship would have given greater pleasure, but the kingship of the drums rests with Mwene Mushonto.'

6 When Mwene Mutondo returned here in Nkoya, he made a new capital at Kayumbamayewe, near where his elder brother Wahila had been buried. Mwene Mutondo built a very large and beautiful wooden house, with a high roof of joined beams. The walls of the house were decorated with mats made of reed and nkolokoko grass. 7 His house had many rooms and the walls had been whitewashed. When the house was completed they made a dug-out canoe and put it up as a crossbeam

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<sup>970</sup> I.e. Zambezi district. One wonders why he had gone there: by virtue of modern conditions of migration (as is suggested by his modern-style house built subsequently), or within the framework of a precolonial network of Nkoya/Mbwela/Humbu/Luvale relations. The absence of any reference to Luvale/Mbwela relations (unless the passage on the Humbu war is thus interpreted) is one of the striking features of *Likota lya Bankoya*.



for the house of Mwene Mutondo Mushonto.<sup>971</sup> It was surrounded by an excellent fence with nicely pointed poles. 8 Scarcely a few months after the house was completed the Mwene died. When he died he had held the kingship for only three years. His people did not know that the Mwene was ill; they only heard that the mpande was vacant again.<sup>972</sup> 9 Mwene Mutondo Mushonto died during the month of April in the year 1917 and the people mourned him for one month only. For he had not held the kingship for a long time, but for only three years, from 1914 to 1917.

## THE SECOND KINGSHIP OF MWENE MUTONDO KANYINCA

### 54

1 Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca returned to his kingship in the month of December 1917. It was during his reign that people from Portuguese West Africa (Angola), as well as Lozi people, moved into Nkoya.<sup>973</sup> In the year 1921 a missionary, Bwana Katiti, came from Macha Mission<sup>974</sup> to Nkoya in order to build a mission near the capital of Mwene Mutondo. 3 This missionary was brought by Kalela. The missionary and Kalela were greatly pleased by the welcome Mwene Mutondo and his people prepared for them. The Mwene appointed Ngongi Namabanda Mulumbami to go with the Whitemen to find a suitable stretch of good land, a hill, where they could build the mission. 4 The missionary came in the month of August 1917.<sup>975</sup> He went back to Macha Mission and died there at the end of 1921. A message was sent to the effect that

‘Your Missionary has just died.’

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971 A most exceptional procedure, suggesting a manipulation of cosmological oppositions (river bank/stream, sky/land, fixed abode/floating) for which I know no parallels in Nkoya society and kingship.

972 This subtly alludes to death caused by other than natural causes. In Nkoya society, successful persons in general, and particularly those having amassed, in the outside world, such wealth and status symbols as Mwene Mushonto was so emphatically displaying, have tended to attract sorcery attacks and poisoning.

973 In addition to the continuous immigration from Angola as from the second decade of this century, this refers to a substantial population movement of Lozi into (the western part of) Nkoya, in the wake of the earlier political encroachment of Lozi representative *indunas*.

974 A mission in Tongaland, of the Brethren in Christ.

975 The dates do not tally with Shimunika’s account of Kanyinca’s succession to Mushonto.

## THE ARRIVAL OF REV. J.W.V. JAKEMAN HERE IN NKOYA

5 Rev. J.W.V. Jakeman came to Nkoya in the year 1923, on 6th August. He came here to Nkoya from Angola (Portuguese West Africa). 6 At first he left his Ndonga at the Paris Mission in Sefula and went to the Mwene of the Lozi, Yeta III. When he had obtained the permission of Mwene Yeta, he went to the land of Mankoya looking for a suitable place to build his mission. He found a place in the valley of the Lalafuta<sup>976</sup> and he said that he was going to build the mission there. He employed many people to go to Sefula to bring his Ndonga. On his return journey he came across a suitable area in the valley of the Luampa. 7 At that time two missionaries came: Rev. Jakeman and Tokotela,<sup>977</sup> Dr Watney. Originally they wanted to build the mission on the tributary of the Mibozi (which we call Mihozi today). But Dr Watney refused to stay with Rev. Jakeman any longer. 8 Dr Watney left and went to the Lukute. However, Rev. Jakeman and his Ndonga built their mission in the valley of the Luampa, where it is today: Luampa Mission Station, also called S.A.G.M., on the Luampa, in the land of Mankoya.

## THE FIRST VILLAGES TO BE FOUND HERE, ON THE LUAMPA

The first villages in the Luampa valley were:

- (1) Mwanatete;
- (2) Lyambombola Kayokomona;
- (3) Mpelembe;
- (4) Kanatu;
- (5) Mutembanja.

These were the major villages of the Nkoya here on the Luampa.

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<sup>976</sup> The missionary A.W. Bailey (cf. Bailey 1913, 1914) first tried to establish a mission at the Lalafuta, in 1914, which was very soon abandoned and was replaced, almost a decade later, by Luampa Mission, more than a hundred kilometres to the south. Perhaps Rev. Jakeman first tried to return to Bailey's abandoned site; if not, this passage is a distorted recollection of Bailey on Rev. Shimunika's part. Later the missionary body concerned was principally known as South Africa General Mission (S.A.G.M.).

<sup>977</sup> A quasi-title derived from the English word *Doctor*.

THE VILLAGES OF THE STRANGERS WHO CAME  
FROM ANGOLA (PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA) AS  
FROM THE YEARS 1917-23<sup>978</sup>

The villages of the strangers who came from Angola (Portuguese West Africa) as from the years 1917-23 were:

- (1) Chimande;
- (2) Safuli;
- (3) Chinkumbi;
- (4) Mbundu;
- (5) Chikayi;
- (6) Samakaka;
- (7) Milambu;
- (8) Sawato.

THE MISSION VILLAGES WHICH ARRIVED WITH  
REV. JAKEMAN FROM ANGOLA

The mission villages which arrived with Rev. Jakeman from Angola were:<sup>979</sup>

- (1) Barnaba Kalyangu (the people of that village came in the year 1924, with Rev. Jakeman);
- (2) Elisha Makayi, in 1926, coming from Angola in Portuguese West Africa.

VILLAGES WHICH WERE INHABITED OF OLD, WHEN  
THE WHITES HAD NOT YET COME HERE, TO THE  
LAND OF NKOYA

**55**

1 Before the Whitemen came there were the following villages on the Luampa:

- (1) the village of Mfunda, on the Luampa.

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<sup>978</sup> The unusual dating 'as from the years 1917-23' is a literal translation of the original.

<sup>979</sup> This suggests that (contrary to prevailing views in the district) Rev. Jakeman did not bring the first contingent of Angolan immigrants into the district, but merely added to a migratory stream which had already begun a few years before — under conditions of colonial warfare which also prompted his own departure from Angola.

- (2) Kanatu village, on the Mibozi, the tributary of the Luampa; today we call that stream Mihozi in the language of the strangers<sup>980</sup>; 2 they came from Angola in Portuguese West Africa.
- (3) Mutembanja, at a place called Katondo where the store of Elinja Maseka Kavita is today, on the stream which we now call Kasheke.

3 When Rev. Jakeman went to the capital he found Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca there, and he was well received. Many people came to hear the Words of Nyambi; at the end he asked all the people in the capital to bear witness of the Word, and Rev. Jakeman said to all the people:

‘You, all people here at the capital, you should assemble on the day of Sunday, from Sunday to Sunday.’

To this the Mwene answered:

4 ‘The missionary can use my court building to assemble for worship.’

And all the people assembled for worship in the court building every Sunday. Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca and his Lihano accepted Jesus by the month of June, with fifty-eight other people. During the month of July the Mwene called all his people and told them that they were going to build a school. The Mwene himself, with his own hands, and Mwene Lishenga, with his own hands, contributed immensely to the work. 5 In the year 1932 Rev. Jakeman went to England on leave; the other missionary gave the Mwene additional training and advice so as to be a church leader in his area. 6 When Rev. Jakeman returned from leave he went to the capital in order to baptize the Mwene; this was during the month of June. 7 Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca divorced all his other Mahano and remained with only one Lihano, whose [baptismal] name was Eva. The Mwene and his wife were baptized in the year 1934. 8 Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca was greatly respected throughout Nkoya. He was the only Mwene to rule the Nkoya for as long as twenty-six years. He held the kingship from 1917 to 1943. He died on 22 December 1943 at night, in the Shilombo area. 9 When his people woke up in the morning they found:

‘There is no Mwene any more. The mpande is vacant again.’

Kalela Mr E. Crawford went to Shilombo for the inquest of Mwene Mutondo. He told the Nkoya:

‘I want Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca to be buried near the boma headquarters of Mankoya.’

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<sup>980</sup> I.e. the Luvale, Chokwe, Luchazi and Mbundu immigrants from Angola.

However, the Nkoya refused, declaring that when a Mwene dies it is the custom of the Nkoya to bury him in the lukena; and that was what they were going to do. 10 Kalela sent his head messenger to the Mwene's funeral; his name was Locha. Rev. Watson of the mission in Luampa sent the teacher Mr Longwani Lumuni to the burial of the Mwene, and Mr Banjaman Ngandalo, the teacher of the lukena school, said prayers at the grave.

## THE HISTORY WHICH IS WRITTEN IN 'LIKOTA'

### 56

1 Those<sup>981</sup> who have written this history *Likota lya Bankoya* and the earlier *Muhumpu* are asking all Nkoya to give their thoughts to the following problem. The people who have recently come from Angola say that they heard the Lozi say that the Nkoya are slaves.

### 'THE NKOYA ARE OUR SLAVES'

2 Is it true what the Lozi of today keep telling the strangers? It is a pack of lies! When time comes Mwene Nyambi will reveal everything to His child.<sup>982</sup> 3 If someone is to claim that somebody else is his slave, then that person should be able to mention specific details as to how he obtained ownership of that slave.

We Nkoya, we are able [on our part] to give precise historical information on many Myene:

- (1) Mulambwa,
- (2) Sipopa,
- (3) Lewanika,
- (4) Litia Yeta III.

4 In the year 1817 Mwene Kayambila Shishopa held the kingship in his capital at Mangongi. Mwene Mulambwa Notulu of the Lozi came to the Lwatembo to the village of Mbuma. Mwene Mulambwa built his camp between two streams, the Lwatembo and the Lukalanyi, and the villages of Mbuma and Mulonda (through the courtesy of Mbuma and Mulonda themselves) welcomed Mwene Mulambwa.

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<sup>981</sup> Now the author presents *Likota lya Bankoya* as a collective work; cf. (2: 4) and (27: 6), and notes there.

<sup>982</sup> *mwanendi*: 'his child'; what is meant here is Man, mankind, as created by God, and not Rain, nor Christ.

## MULAMBWA

5 He had come because he had heard about the strong medicine of kingship<sup>983</sup> which is prepared [here in Nkoya]:

‘The Myene of the Nkoya make this medicine in order to ensure their kingship in the land.’

Mukwetunga Mulyata, Mulambo and Mwitila went to welcome him.

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<sup>983</sup> *wanga wa wene*: ‘medicine of kingship’; *wanga* covers the whole range of medicinal, magical and sorcery substances through which the Nkoya seek to influence nature through the manipulation of material means to which invisible powers are attributed.

## Part II

# Likota Iya Bankoya

edited Nkoya text\*

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\* For full information on the editorial procedures applied and the typographical means employed in this connexion, see above, Part I, chapter 2.

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*Wim van Binsbergen*



KU TONTOLOLA [PREFACE]

lya tikitiwile na ba [by] Hamba H. Mwene

Mu litunga lino lya Zambia muli bantu babengi shikuma bafumine ku matunga a na zinguluku Zambia, a mina ngo Zaire, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia hamo na Angola. Tunayuvwu kami ngayi bamina bafumine mu litunga lya South Africa.

Nohobene ku bantu nimwabo bali muno mu Zambia, Bankoya *banengi* bantu bamo bakutatika kukuma na kuzika muno mu litunga. Wingi wa bantu tuli nabo lero mu Nkoya banezi sha wuluno, kami bayeni mu litunga lino lya Nkoya.

Mwashemwa, mu libuka lino mukamona shikati osho Bankoya batatikile kulilimuka na baminabo Balui na bamina bantu bafumine ku matunga amina.

Mu libuka lino kami tunayaka mazina etu nimwawo batulimuka nawo bantu babengi. Mazina etu awa:

Bambwera  
Bamabuwa  
Balukolwe  
Balushange  
Bashikalu  
Bamashasha  
Bashibanda  
Bankoya Shishanjo  
Bankoya  
Bankoya Nawiko  
Bankoya Mbowela<sup>†</sup>

Mikoka yetu kami yayingi shikuma. Mikoka yayinene eye:

Banyembo  
Bawishe  
Bankonze  
Bakantabi  
Bakasheta  
Bakankomba  
Bakashungu  
Bakambunze  
Bakalavwe  
Bashimunziko

Bankoya hinge bali na mazina amengi hamo na mikoka yayingi, benga bantu bamweya. Nimwabo benga bana ba Mwene Libupe walala mu Tumba mbuwa yili ku mutwe wa mushinzi wa Kabombo — Kamukunga Mato — Mwene Shikunga Bandungo.

---

<sup>†</sup> This line added by the Kaoma editorial committee.

*Hamba H. Mwene*

*Mwene Libupe wengile mukazi kami niye waletete Bankoya ku bafumisha mu litunga lyabo bekalilenga ya Wuluba mu Zaire na kubaleta mu litunga lino ya Zambia bali na kuyoya wuluno.*

# Likota Iya Bankoya

Iya tikitiwile na ba [*by*]

Rev. Johasaphat Malasha Shimunika

Iya manishiwile na ba [*editor*]

Wim van Binsbergen

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<sup>458</sup> The English translation of Part II follows below as Part III.

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- (a) such systematic changes as have been implemented throughout the edited text and accounted for in chapter 2 above;
- (b) systematic changes in proper names, accounted for wherever they first appear in the text.

Rev. Shimunika's acknowledgements (headed, in the main text: *KUTONTOLOLA INTRODUCTION*) were not included in his original table of contents.

Note that in the title of the original table of contents, and also in the title of chapter 56, the word *Likota* is used not in its basic meanings of 'tree' and 'family group', but simply to denote Shimunika's treatise on Nkoya history; omission of the phrase *lya Bankoya* in this context may be intended to produce a sense of intimacy and authority.

<sup>459</sup> The leaders of periods preceding the page number are original.

<sup>460</sup> Orig. 1. *Bashikare bakakubomba na Shimunenge*

<sup>461</sup> Orig. 2. *Bankoya bafuma ku Baluba, na Libupe, na milimo yendi*

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<sup>464</sup> Orig. *Wuyuvu, na wene*

<sup>465</sup> Orig. 10. *Wene wa Shihoka Nalinanga Ndumbaalikabe ku Lukwakwa*  
The original sometimes has *na Linanga* instead of *Nalinanga*; the uniform spelling has been implemented throughout, but see notes below.

<sup>466</sup> Comma deleted.

<sup>467</sup> Orig. 16. *Biheka bya Bankoya bya mwaka bya kunenehesha wene*

As explained below (cf. the note preceding chapter 16), a full chapter (original chapter 16) was deleted from the main text at this point: it repeated almost literally chapter 15. As a result, all subsequent chapter numbers in the table of contents have been decreased by one; this will not be indicated again for each individual case.

<sup>468</sup> Orig. 18. *Mwene Manenga na bana bendi*

<sup>469</sup> Orig. *Kabulwebulwe muno mu Nkoya*

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471 Orig. *Mbololo, na Nzita*

472 Orig. 37. [= 36] *Mwene Liyoka ha kuya ku Masholo, na wene wendi*

473 The Kaoma editorial committee prefers the spelling *Lifumbo*

474 Orig. 39. *Bana babo bamyene, na baka Shihoka Nalinanga*

Obviously it was later decided to discuss the subject matter ‘Bana babo Bamyene’ under a heading of its own (now immediately preceding).

475 The Kaoma editorial committee suggests to replace *Tumba* by *Njimba*

476 The Kaoma editorial committee suggested this name to be replaced by *Kalupeteka*

477 Orig. *Shamamano na bakonzo bendi na wene wendi*

478 Orig. *Na wene*

479 Comma deleted.

480 This word is original here, but was omitted in the heading in the main text.

481 Orig. *muno mu Nkoya*

*Likota Iya Bankoya*

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482 Orig. *Bankoya bakuyata Mwene wamupya*

483 Orig. *Bya manga ba Mwene na lwendo lwendi ku Wusholi*

484 Comma deleted.

485 Orig. 56 [= 55] *Minzi ya zikile mwaka kuno ku Lwampa oho bamakuwa shiloro*

KU TONTOLOLA<sup>486</sup>

**1** 1 Mazina a batunganda aba batontwelele byambo bya mu libuka lino lya bashikare awa:

- (1) Shipandu sha Matunga,<sup>487</sup> Mwana Mwene Kayambila na mwipa wendi Shilili. 2 Nibo bakulwane ba Bamvula<sup>488</sup> na mwanabo Mwanamunene na Ngoma.<sup>489</sup>
- (2) Mwana Mwene Shishasha na mukonzo wendi Shikuwa bana ba Mwene Kayambila, na mwipa wabo Mbuma. 3 Nibo bakulwane ba Bakambunze Mwene Nyati Mukende.<sup>490</sup> Shilanda na Mpelembe,
- (3) Kafuta mwana Kayambila bepa bendi ba Shikuni, Shungumana, na Lungenda, na Lufuko.
- (4) 4 Mulambila, Shimunika, na mukonzo wendi Kancende, bepa ba Mwene Lishenga bana *ba* Likeka Mushalatongo,<sup>491</sup> na Mukwetunga Litampisha
- (5) Lwampa Mutuma, Kahare Shikolokomba na mpanzabo Mungumani Mulawa mandi yabo Kamwengo. Kami Shihonda Banyama<sup>492</sup> Mukwemba, mandi yabo Kashinzi, 5 wafumine kuli ba Kafuta nibo bana ba Mwene Shikongi sha Mulawa.
- (6) Mampilu a Nanzala, Kakembele, Nkunka nibo bakulwane ba Bakankomba,<sup>493</sup> Kakembele Kakuta, niye wa shatile Shipopa wanga wa *banzovu* na mpanzendi Makonge, tati yabo mwana Mushima.

BASHIKARE BENGILENGA BAKAKUBOMBA KULI  
MWENE NYAMBI  
BAMBILANGA NEHE NGAYI 'TWAKABOMBA' \*\*

6 'Obe Hekulyetu,  
Obe Nyambi ya Ngula,  
Obe Shakalenga Walengele Bitondo na Bantu.  
Utumone etu bana bobé.' \*\*

---

486 Orig. *KUTONTOLOLA INTRODUCTION*

487 Orig. *Shipandushamatunga*

488 Orig. *bamvulaa*

489 Orig. *Mwanamunenenangoma. (Branch of Bankoya)*

490 Orig. *Mukende. (Branch of Bankoya).*

491 Orig. *Likeka-mushalatongo*

492 Capital of *Banyama* added.

493 Original *-n-* deleted in original but restored here.



Pele<sup>494</sup> hi kuwulumwina kankelenkele welelelele:

‘Twakabomba, obe Mpandashilanga’\*\*

## SHIMUNENGE WAKULOMBELA MVULA

Batendanga shimunenge oho mvula unengi [ **to fill, to saturate** ] linanga, Mwene wa litunga hinga ndi Mukambuyu<sup>495</sup> wa ku wande.<sup>496</sup> Kukungula bantu mukulyambashana nabo ngayi tumbetenu shimunenge. Pele balume babili bakuya na kutema mushubwa mutondo wa mpangwa wa matu abili wa kuyubula pele kumupamba na makakakumba a mukwe. 7 Oho banamanishi bakazi ba batukulukazi bakuya na kuhebula ku kena, na kutabula zinkenka zibili. Shihembwilizo eshe bakufundika bifunda bibili bya kulishempakana. Oho ha shifunda sha kuya mu wutali bakushitoya ngayi mushamuko, shamina ngayi mponci,<sup>497</sup> sha kuya mu wushiya ngayi ncelele, na ku mabukubuku.<sup>498, 499</sup>

Yamina yikushangula ku mabukubuku kufuma ku ncelele. Pele hi bakwimika kakulukazi wa mukazi wuli na myaka yayingi na kutola shitubo sha mema a mulala, owo *afuma* ku mushinzi nzona hinga munkunzi. Lumenemene batukulukazi babili hinga bahatu bakushimba muhunga wangongo wa shingombe, pele bakuwuvuba muvuba na mema a munkunzi. Kakulukazi wa myaka yayingi, wukumumika mema mukanwa wukutatika kupambila kuyilu, na kuzimbalila zina pele boni haya ha kupambila ku mushubwa na kuyitila muvuba mutunkonkolonga tuna twa kunceto ya mushubwa na kutangashana ngayi,

‘Leta mema Obe Hekulyetu Nyambi ya Ngula,’<sup>500</sup>

na kuwulumwina kankelenkele.<sup>501</sup> Pele hi bakwimbila lwimbo hinga nyimbo ngayi,

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494 Orig. *pe*; changed throughout.

495 Capital added.

496 Orig. *wande* (*area*).

497 Orig. *ngayi* (*E*) *Mushamuko*, *shamina ngayi Mponci*, (*W*)

498 Orig. *ngayi* (*N*) *Mutulo*, *na ku Mbowela* (*S*)

Throughout the book, these Lozi words for the directions of the compass have been altered into *ncelele* and *mabukubuku* respectively.

499 At this point in the text, a sentence has been deleted: *Nkenka yamina yikushangula kumponci kufuma ku ncelele*.

500 Capitalization (other than initial) undone.

501 Capitalization of this phrase undone.

(1) ‘Waleta ngoma shimunenge shimunenge lero’,

(2) Lwamina ngayi,

‘Kakumbi kancene kunungulula kalikumbi kakashe kali na ku kunguluka.’\*

(Kungana wize yaya kungana). *Mutena ku lela wufwako pele mvula ha kuloka bene.*

## BANKOYA BAFUMA KU BALUBA LIBUPE

**2** I Bankaka zetu, bashimikilenga ngayi Libupe wafumine ku ncelele oku bakutoya bashilero mu lulimi Iwa ba Mangalashi<sup>502</sup> ngayi ku ‘North’\*\*, Mwene Libupe wengile Mwene wa mukazi wa kutatika, niye wezile na Bankoya kwomboka Lyambayi ku mutwe wendi, kami na lizina lyabo Iya mwaka ngayi Bambwera. Mwene Libupe niye wahemene Shilayi, wa mukazi kami niye ou watumbiwile lizina lyendi ngayi Mashiku na Mukwetunga Shikalamo. 2

‘Mashiku a Mangowa Shimenemene sha Ndumba<sup>503</sup> Menekela Mukwenu Mashiku wenga Nkolyama.’\*\*

Niye ‘Nkaka Bankoya’\*\* niye ‘Manda Bankoya’\*\* *kami*. Kutontolola ngayi ndi unalangana ha munzi na kawushinda wobe mu menekele umupindwishe ngayi,

‘Munapinduku shiwahe ndi?’

Pele niye ukukumbula ngayi,

‘Ingoyima, tunapinduku.’

## MILIMO YA LIBUPE KANKOYA WA KUTATIKA

3 Libupe kowa Mwene wamina walwile nendi hinga ngayi, wezile mukulwanendi. Niye walifwililile ku wulweli wa kalili, niye walilenga

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<sup>502</sup> Orig. *Mangeleshi*; however, cf. below, (52: 4) — implemented throughout. Although an ethnonym, word separation from *ba* has been maintained since *Mangalashi* is already preceded by the (Lozi) plural personal prefix *Ma-*. Below we shall encounter the same mechanism in relation to the Lozi ethnonym *Makololo*. The word *Mangalashi* is a Lozi neologism.

<sup>503</sup> Capitals added; orig. *shimenemeneshandumba*

tuhu zinci na nyama na mikabo ya mu lishaka ndaba ncima kwengile kowa ha shikati shendi. 4 Bana bendi na bazuku lyendi bavulile shikuma, kami mazina a bantumiwa<sup>504</sup> aba tunatoyo ha kutatika nibo batontwelele byambo ebye kufuma kutunwa twa bashikare kufuma<sup>505</sup> ku shikati sha Libupe.

Mukwetunga Shikalamo, nibo bashikare shikuma kami nibo bali-mukile bya kutatika bya ha kulenga. Mwene Nyambi bamutoyelenga ngayi lizina lyendi

'Shakalenga. Niye Walengele Bitondo na Bantu'.<sup>506</sup>

### KUHEMUWA KWABO

**3** 1 Oho Mwene Nyambi alengele byuma nimwabyo niho kami alengele muntu. <sup>2</sup><sup>507</sup> Bakulwane bambilenga ngayi etu bantu nimwetu oku twafumine kakulukazi ketu kamo. Niho kahemene na kuhemununa mu livumo lyendi mwafumine mikoka nimwayo eye:

- (1) Bakalavwe,
- (2) Bakambunze,
- (3) Bakashungu nibo Bakale.
- (4) Bakantabi,
- (5) Bakankomba,
- (6) Banyembo.<sup>508</sup>

Nohobene kuli kami myahi yabo eye:

- (1) Bakalavwe nibo kami Bakasheta Shikumbauyuvu.
- (2) Bakambunze, nibo kami Bakalangu-binkwehe.
- (3) Bakashungu nibo kami Bakale, Bakatumbwa na Bamakanga.
- (4) Bakantabi nibo kami Banzovu.
- (5) Bakankomba, nibo kami Bamukuni Bashilombe
- (6) Banyembo nibo kami Bashihombo, Bashimunziko<sup>509</sup> na Bawishe.

Bashimunziko kutontolola ngayi ha kutema mpuka ndele kuletako mundilo kubahoksha nihoboni uwane wushi wabo pele ngayi kati nibo Bashimunziko na Bawishe ha kuhokanga ha mwaka ha mwaka.

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<sup>504</sup> Orig. *batunganda*

<sup>505</sup> Repetition of this word deleted in the original.

<sup>506</sup> Capitalization (other than initial) undone.

<sup>507</sup> Orig. 5; however, no text has been manifestly deleted here; probably chapter 3 was originally part of chapter 2, which ends on verse 4.

<sup>508</sup> Comma changed into period; indenture and capital added.

<sup>509</sup> Orig. *bashimuziko*; this change implemented throughout.

Mikoka nimwayo eye kakulukazi kabo kamo pele. 2<sup>510</sup> Kutontolola ngayi niwo muhoko umo wa Bankoya:

‘Kupalangana kwa ncendwa hinge ncence, mukolwa wetu umo twawile.’\*\*

Kutontolola ngayi twafuma ku mutondo umo pele.<sup>511</sup>

HA FUMA WENE WA BANKOYA  
NCIMPI ZA NYUNGU YA WENE

4

1 Ha fuma wene wa Bankoya ha nyungu ya mundilo. Bantu babengi bakulwane bambilenga ngayi, Mwene Nyambi wenga kayoni. Mwanendi Mvula wenga kayoni kami bambilenga ngayi mikoka yibili hano hanci bawushinda wa Mvula. Kubatuyoni Shinkwehe, ku bantu boni Bakambunze.

2 Nohobene Shikalamo sha Mundemba<sup>512</sup> niye wa wungile linyungu lyalinene ha liziko. Niho akungwile nkuni na kwibika litatamundilo, ni-

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<sup>510</sup> Orig. 6

<sup>511</sup> Here the manuscript continues with the following text (as between double quotation marks)

“HA FUMA WENE WA BANKOYA  
NCIMPI ZA NYUNGU YA WENE

4

1 Liyoni lya mulela bana kutuka kuyaha bana, niye sheta. Mukwetunga wa mukulwane, lizina lyendi niye Shikalamo,” [original page break]

Then, as the page is full, a page follows with a format rather different from the rest of Shimunika’s original manuscript: typed single-spaced, on a different typewriter, and with unmistakably Shimunika’s style, including the lay-out in biblical verses. This page does not have an enlarged chapter number, but merely the indication *Litapululo 4* as the indication of a new chapter 4. Since this page, too, has a few of Mwene’s corrections, since elsewhere in *Likota* Shimunika himself refers to the story of the Cooking-Pot of Kingship as told on this page (chapter 35), and since one of the Nkoya phrases cited at the beginning of this footnote appears actually at the end of the inserted page (as indicated below), I take it that the page is essentially original. Yet there is little doubt about its being retyped by H.H. Mwene: it shows the disconnected verbal forms (e.g. *mu na konzo*) typical of Mwene’s Nkoya orthography, and on the previous page of the manuscript, at the heading *HA FUMA WENE WA BANKOYA etc.*, a gloss appears in Mwene’s handwriting: ‘see next paper for pages 5 and 6’. The text on this page differs in many details from an original page which I photographed at Rev. Shimunika’s house in Luampa, 1977; see *Appendix 2*.

<sup>512</sup> Orig. *Shikalamo-Shamundemba*; this alteration has been implemented throughout.

ho a punwine kayamana wa kaketwezelele<sup>513</sup> mu nyungu ni mwako. Pele niho a yakile nyungu ha liziko wa telekele, ku fumisha ku lumene-mene ku twala hakati ka mutwe, Mpungumushi sha Mundemba<sup>514</sup> wamBILE ku bantu nimwabo ngayi,

‘Munayuvuko muntu nimwendi wa ku twesha kutewula elye linyungu ha litatamundilo pele niye uka mikoma nimwenu na kumilela nimwenu.’\*

Nohobene mikoka nimwayo oho bayuvwile noho bezekele shikuma kuma kutewula oyo nyungu haliziko. 3 Niho bakatukile kuya na kutema zinkobo za kutewisha nyungu ha litatamundilo ngoboni batinine mundilo ku lasheka shikuma na kuhoka. 4 Niho Bakambunze, Bakalavwe, Bakantabi, Bakankomba, na Bakashungu, Banyembo. Bakwangile kutewula nyungu ha litatamundilo. Niho muntu umo mwana Shikalamo Shamudemba niye wakatukile wayile mu kutekula mema ha lulonga,<sup>515</sup> wa yitililenga kunkumo ya mundilo ha zinguluka nakuyitila mema kunkumo ya mundilo pele hi ukuzima. Nohobene niye niho a tendelenga shikuma na ngovu pele wa kumine kwakwipi na nyungu niho akwatile nyungu na nkobo, wayitewileho ha liziko. 5 Nohobene oho amanishile kuyupula nyama mu nyungu wehanine bawushinda wendi ngayi,

‘Yekenu tulyenga.’

Oho bamanishile kulya kwakatukile wamina na bawushinda wendi ngayi,

‘Yekenu tubakonzele ha zindonga Bakasheta banalishete ku nyungu ya mundilo.’

6 Nohobene Shikalamo sha Mundemba wa tongwezele bantu nimwabo ngayi,

‘Enu nimwenu munakwanga kutewula nyungu ha litatamundilo. Niho ou mwanami Shilayi Mashiku niye una yitewuluho na kulyamo nyama, na bawushinda wendi, niye ‘Iiyoni Iya mulela bana’\*\* niye ukwina Mwene,<sup>516</sup> a mikome nimwenu. Pele kami nenu munakonzo<sup>517</sup> ha zindonga muli Bamyene bakawukonzo munakonzo

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<sup>513</sup> Orig. *kaketetwelele*

<sup>514</sup> Orig. *Mpungumushi-Shamudemba*; this alteration has been implemented throughout.

<sup>515</sup> H.H. Mwene suggests the use of this word to be an anachronism, claiming that, during this period, there were no *lulonga*, but only *ntumba*.

<sup>516</sup> Repetition of this word deleted.

<sup>517</sup> Orig.: *munukonzo*

ha zindonga za wene. Bakasheta na Bankonze bantu bamo,  
Bamyene nimwabo.’\*

7 Nohobene oho mikoka nimwayo ya naha tu natoyo ya Bankoya  
bayuwile noho batumbile baka Shilayi ngayi,

‘Enu haya muli Bakasheta munalishete kunyungu ya mundilo.’\*

Pele kami niho batumbile bamina ngayi

‘Enu kami muli Bankonze munakonzele<sup>518</sup> Bakasheta ha  
zindonga zabo.’\*

Hakukotoka mvula walokele na kuzima mundilo. Pele haya nibo ngayi,

‘Wene wetu wa Limata Iya Mvula.’\*<sup>519</sup>

## BAKWETUNGA BA BANENE

- (1)<sup>520</sup> Mukwetunga wa mukulwane lizina lyendi niye Shikalamo<sup>521</sup> sha  
Mundemba niye wahemene Shilayi Mashiku kuli Mwene Libupe.  
Oho afwile wa mushwanine mwipa wendi Lyovu Iya Mbuwa,<sup>522</sup>  
niye wa shimbile Shilayi Mashiku.
- (2) Mukwetunga Mulyata kami niye wa hemene Bamyene mutanu na  
umo kuli Mwene Manenga Manda Bankoya. Bakonzo bendi ba  
Mulambo, Mwitila,<sup>523</sup> Kamamba na Liyowa.
- (3) Mukwetunga Mukena Kakwasha mu Mankumbwa na mwipa  
wendi,<sup>524</sup> Mukwetunga Lwengu.

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<sup>518</sup> Orig.: *nakonzole*

<sup>519</sup> Capitalization (other than initial) undone; on this point, a parenthesized repetition, in the original, of the same phrase has been deleted.

<sup>520</sup> Orig. format of the list is: 1. — 2. — 3. No verse numbers appear.

<sup>521</sup> This sentence is identical to the last sentence preceding chapter 4 in the original; cf. footnote 54 above.

<sup>522</sup> Orig. *Lyovu Lyambuwa*; this change implemented throughout.

<sup>523</sup> Two commas added around *Mwitila*

<sup>524</sup> Orig. period altered in comma.

KUTATIKA KWA WENE  
MWENE WA KUTATIKA WA MULUME LUHAMB  
LWA SHILAYI

**5** 1 Mwene Shilayi wahemene Shilemantumba<sup>525</sup> na baminendi. Niho Bakasheta bavulile shikuma kami, Shilemantumba wengile Mwe-  
ne wa mukazi, pele niho a hemene bana bendi aba:

- (1) Luhamba,
- (2) Lipepo,
- (3) Katete, Katete ka Shilemantumba niye mpanzabo.

2 Oho Shilemantumba afwile niye washiyile bana bendi babili mu  
liziko Iya wene, niho Bakambunze oku kwafumine Mukwetunga Lyovu  
Iya Mbuwa,<sup>526</sup> wabelekele Bamyene. Bemanine hamo na bana babo ba  
Luhamba, babilele<sup>527</sup> shiwahe ngayi:

‘Bana betu bakule mwanga bakahinge ha wene wa nkaka yabo  
Shilayi Mwene Mashiku na mandi yabo Shilemantumba.’

3 Hano tunafwanini kulabaho shiwahe ndaba niho ha fuma maziko a  
manene shikuma.

NZITA YA BAHUMBU<sup>528</sup>

**6** 1 Nzita ya Bahumbu niyo nzita ya kutatika kulwisha Bamyene  
ba Bankoya balizulile ha Lihano ngayi Mwene aye ku Mukanda, na ha  
litunga Iyendi ha wene wabo. 2 Ngoboni Bankoya bakukana<sup>529</sup> kutenda  
noho pele Bahumbu bakatwile nzita kubalwisha pele Bahumbu  
bakomiwile ndaba nibo bengile babashe! Bahumbu kami bafumine ku  
ncelele<sup>530</sup> bombokele Lyambayi na Kabombo, shikati sha wubili  
balwile nzita yainene Bankoya bazihiwile kami Bahumbu bezile

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<sup>525</sup> Orig. *Shilemandumba*

The Kaoma editorial committee insists on this change (as implemented throughout), arguing that the correct feminine name is *Shilemantumba*: it contains the word *ntumba* (= basket), and basket weaving is a female activity.

<sup>526</sup> Orig. *Lyovulyambuwa*; altered throughout.

<sup>527</sup> Orig. *babalele*

<sup>528</sup> Orig. *BANZITA BA BAHUMBU*

<sup>529</sup> Orig. *ha kukana*

<sup>530</sup> Orig. *mutulo* (North)

mukuyangula litunga Mwene Luhamba nibo bafumine kuli Mwantiyavwa,<sup>531</sup> lizu lyabo ngayi

‘Tupununenu Bamyene ba Bankoya balobe nimwabo.’\*\*

3 Bezile mu litunga nimwamo bazihile mukoka wa Bakasheta. Mwene Mashiku Shilayi, na nimwabo Bamyene kwashalile tuhu Luhamba na mpanzendi Katete Mashiku. Oho nzita yanenehele Luhamba waholamine na mpanzendi Katete Mashiku ha Bakambunze. 4 Niho Bakambunze baholekele Luhamba mu shikumba, Katete mu linala, pele Bankoya bakatwile nzita na kulwisha Bahumbu ngoboni Bankoya bakomene Bahumbu, Bahumbu bambile ngayi,

‘Etu kulwa na mushobo nimwawo tufwako, ngoboni tukushinga tuhu Bakasheta baka Luhamba lwa Shilayi pele.’

## BAKA SHIKUMBA WUYUVU

**7**

1 Oho Luhamba lwa Shilayi na Katete babaholekele Bakambunze Luhamba mu shikumba, Katete bamuholekele mu linala. 2 Bahumbu bezile ku munzi wa Lyovu lya Mbuwa mukwipula ngayi,

‘Tutongwezenu oku kuli Mukasheta?’

Bakambunze bakumbwile ngayi,

‘Kowa Bakasheta kuno nimwabo banabamanishi ku lungu. 3 Oho tukwamba noho shinga shiya shikumba niye muntu shinga ha yuvwako bene, Shikumba uyuvu? Kami shinga liya linala niye muntu shinga ha yuvwako bene, Katete uyuvu?’\*

Niho Bahumbu bayuvwile mazu awa a Lyovu lya Mbuwa. 4 Pele babokele bakandaminine<sup>532</sup> na Miluzi mwana Lalafuta, bayile ku Lushimba mwana Lufupa. Niko kukotoka kwa nzita ya Bahumbu pele.

## WENE WA LUHAMBWA WAWUNENE

5 Oho Bahumbu babokele, Mwene Luhamba wazikile lukena lwa kemberi lwa lunene shikuma mu Nkulo mwana Lwena, oho Mwene Luhamba a kulile niye watwarile Bankoya mu Mabuwa. Niye wakazikile lukena lwendi ku Lukahu mwana Lwena niko afwila. Hano

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<sup>531</sup> Orig. *Mwantiyavwa (Mwantiyamvwa)*

<sup>532</sup> Orig. *bakandaminine*



tukuwana shizino shendi mu Nkulo.<sup>533</sup> Ngo nehe shiheka sha Bamyene sha kufundanga mu lukena.

## WENE WA KASHINA

**8** 1 Mitwe yihatu ya Bamyene ba bakulwane ba mushobo wa Nkoya.<sup>534</sup>

- (1) Luhamba Iwa Shilayi, kutontolola ngayi Luhamba mwana Shilayi,
- (2) Kashina ka Luhamba kutontolola ngayi Kashina mwana Luhamba.  
2
- (3) Shihoka Nalinanga Ndumba ya Likabe.<sup>535</sup>

Mwene Luhamba wahemene Kashina niye wahingile ha wene pele wabokele mukuzika ku Nkulo. Oho niye afumine mu Nkulo wayile mukuzika ku Nabowa, oho batuntukile mu Nabowa Kashina ka Luhamba wazikile lukena Iwendi mu Katetekanyemba mwana Nabowa nimo afwila. Mwene Kashina niye washwanine hali Luhamba Iwa Shilayi.

## WENE WA LIPEPO MWENDA NA NKULI

**9** 1 Lipepo Mwenda na Nkuli<sup>536</sup> wengile mwana Shilemantumba, niye<sup>537</sup> washwanine ha wene oho afwile Kashina ka Luhamba. Mwene Lipepo wengile wa munene shikuma ndaba oho<sup>538</sup> bantu bamutembelenga<sup>539</sup> shikuma ndaba niye wabalelelenga shiwahe na nceshe. 2 Bankoya bamutangashanenga shikuma ngayi,

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<sup>533</sup> H.H. Mwene proposes to change *mu Nkulo* into *shili mu Lukahu*

<sup>534</sup> Semicolon changed into colon, and the summing up implied in the preceding phrase (*mitwe yihatu*, 'three heads, headings or sources') made explicit by inserting serial numbers.

<sup>535</sup> Orig. *Shihoka na Linanga ndumba alikabe*; this alteration implemented throughout. The original [*Shihoka*] *na Linanga* has everywhere been changed into *Nalinanga*: whereas the noun *linanga* means drought, there is general agreement among readers and informants that *Shihoka*'s second name derives primarily from an area called *Nalinanga*; however, the passage in (10: 9) below shows that this etymology does not go unchallenged: there *Mukwetunga Linanga* is claimed to be *Shihoka*'s father, which makes the epithet into a patronym.

<sup>536</sup> Orig. *Lipepomwendanankuli*; this alteration implemented throughout.

<sup>537</sup> Repetition of this word deleted in the original.

<sup>538</sup> This word is deleted in the original.

<sup>539</sup> Repetition of *bamu-* deleted in the original.

‘Obe Mwene Lipepo Mwenda na Nkuli! Obe Shilela Banginga nehe kami ekalanga Yayi yobe Luhamba Iwa Shilayi<sup>540</sup>.’

Lukena Iwendi wa<sup>541</sup> luzikilile mu Nabowa ha ncango<sup>542</sup> ya Kangulumange. Kami ha shinzimbi shendi ha tumbiwa ngayi ha Mangongi mwana Nabowa. 3 Mwene ndi bantu bakumushinga hinge kumuhaka shikuma, pele bakumutupwila ntupu yayingi shikuma, kami bakumutumba ngayi

‘Shilya Milambu Wayoya Ntupu.’<sup>543</sup>

WENE WA SHIHOKA I NALINANGA NDUMBA YA  
LIKABE<sup>544</sup>

**10**

1 Kutatika kwa wene mu Lukolwe ku mushinzi wa Manyinga<sup>545</sup> mwana *Kabombo*:

‘Kabombo Kalukunga Mato Mwene Kukunga Bandungo’,\*\*

hinge ngayi Mwene wakunga bandungo. Kunungulula ngayi ou Kabombo niye wakungulula mato nimwawo amuno mu litunga Iya Nkoya pele haya Mwene niye wa kungulula bantu nimwabo. 2 Nohobene Nawato<sup>546</sup> mwana Katete mpanzendi Luhamba bana ba Shilemantumba, Mwene Nawato niye mwipa wa Luhamba wengile Mwene wa mukazi,<sup>547</sup> niye wahemene Mulawa na Muhoba, Mwene Mulawa niye wekalilenga kumponci.<sup>548</sup> 3 Nohobene Mulawa wahemene bana bendi aba:

- (1) Likambi Iya Malovu,<sup>549</sup>
- (2) Shihoka Nalinanga<sup>550</sup>

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540 Orig. *SHILAYI*

541 Orig. *Iwa*

542 Orig. *ncengo*

543 Orig.: *ngayi shilyamilambu*. [original quotation marks deleted in original] *Wayoya ntupu*.

544 Orig. *ndumbaalibe*; changed throughout.

545 Orig. *Maniinga*; altered throughout.

546 Orig.: *Nawto*

547 Orig. *mwene wa mukazi (Chieftain)*.

548 Orig. *kumponci, (west)*

549 Orig. *Likambi Iya malovu*

550 Orig. *na Linanga*

*Likota Iya Bankoya*

- (3) Mwanambinyi, niye Shilumeshi<sup>551</sup> na mpanzabo:  
(4) Mbuyu Muyeke.<sup>552</sup>

Likambi wazikilenga ha Mungu<sup>553</sup> na mandi yendi Mulawa.

4 Mwanambinyi wayile munciza mu Kalabo niye watwarile Bankoya kami muyo. Niho Shihoka na mpanzendi bayile ku ncelele bombokele mishinzi yibili ba Lwena na Kabombo ha kuya ku Manyinga.

WENE WA SHIHOKA / KU LUKWAKWA

5 Mwene Shihoka wa zikile lukena lwendi ku Manyinga lwengile lwa kambi, pele wene wendi wa nenehele shikuma ndaba mu litunga lyendi bantu bendi balilongeshele ku baza mato shikuma ndaba kwengile ku mashaka a manene shikuma munciza ya Kabombo. Lukena lwendi balutumbile ngayi 'Lukolwe'\*\* litunga lyendi kami ngayi 'Lukolwe'\*\*. 6 Lizina elye lyafuma ha kunwa mbote shikuma kukolwanga pele ngayi

'Hi Balukolwe lwa bambindika bakumbindika langana kubula kulangana pele ukukwatiwa ku Shimbwi,'\*\*

kami ngayi lyafuma ha kupanga shikuma. Nohobene yayi yendi Likambi *Mange* aha ayuvwile mpupo ya mato na zindonga za bitondo pele niye watumengako bantu bendi kuli Shihoka ku Manyinga ngayi bakamuletelengako mato na zindonga za bitondo. Mwene Shihoka wa batandilenga mu litunga lyendi, niho yayi yendi Mwene Likambi *Mange*, wa mutuminine shiyumba sha mukazi niye wehanine nganga. 7 Oho akumine *nganga* watemene mutondo wa mukazihehe (mubulwebulwe). Pele babazileho kanankishi kakufweka mukazi ngo nehe mukazi bene na mabele wako na shali. Niho bakakashile ncompo niho kafutukile hi muntu wa mukazi niho ayile ku Manyinga. 8 Nohobene oho bantu bamu lukena lwa Mwene Shihoka bamuwanine hinga emana kunkumo ya lukena, pele nibo bashimikilile Mwene ngayi,

'Etu tunawana mukazi wa kahombeli wamuwahe shikuma limonwamonwa.'<sup>554</sup>

9 Oho Mwene Shihoka ayuvwile noho wambile ku bantu bendi ngayi

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551 Orig. *Silumeshi*; altered throughout.

552 Orig. *Mbuyumuyeke*; altered throughout. Also period added; in the many lists in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, the last item(s) are often not marked by a figure; especially if this last item refers to a woman.

553 Orig. *Mongu*; altered throughout.

554 Quotation mark at this point deleted in the original, but restored.

‘Yenunga mukamulete kuno ku musheke enge Lihano.’\*

Niho bayile na ku muleta ku musheke pele wengile Lihano pele oho bene niho ha fumine wulweli owo afwile Mwene Shihoka, niye wafwila ku Lukwakwa ku Manyinga. Lizina lya Lukwakwa lyafumine ku Balui kuli Imashiku mwana Mubukwanu niye wetukilile ku Manyinga ha nzita ya Mubukwanu na Bakubu.<sup>555</sup> Baka Shibitwane. Mwene Shihoka mandi yendi Mulawa tati yendi Mwandumunenu niye Mukwetunga Linanga.

## MPANZENDI MBUYU MUYEKE NA BANA BENDI

# 11

1 Mbuyu wahemene Mulawa, *na* Shiwutulu.<sup>556</sup> Mwene Shiwutulu wa zikile mu Nkulashi mwana Zongwe kami. Lukena lwendi na shinzimbi shendi bili ha ncango ya Nkulashi. 2 Bana bendi na bazuku lyendi bashalile ku Shifuwe mukati ka Kabombo na Zongwe. Nibo ba Mwene Kinga na Mwene Pumpola<sup>557</sup> na Mwene Tumbama. Mwene wamina wa mukazi Shiwutulu niko kwa hemuwile Mwene Yaboka na bakonzo bendi ba Ncamanga. 3<sup>558</sup> Mulawa niye wa belekele Mwene Welema na Mwene Nzinzi wengile Mwene wa mukazi, mpanza Welema.

## WENE WA KAZIKWA I

# 12

1 Mwene Welema niye washwanine hali Mwene Lipepo *Mwenda na Nkuli* wazikile ku Kenga mwaka uya mushinzi twa mutoyelenga ngayi Kenga mwana Lwampa. Welema wengile Mwene. 2 Shawaya niye wengile mukulwane wa Baka Shikumba Wuyuvu. Mpanzendi Mwene Nzinzi niye wabelekele Mwene Nankuwa ya ba Nzinzi.<sup>559</sup> 3 Mwene Nankuwa wahemene bana bendi:

- (1) Kazikwa,
- (2) Kabongo,
- (3) Kalumbwa,
- (4) Shihoka II.
- (5) Mashiku wa mukazi na

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<sup>555</sup> Orig. *Mubukwanu [na] (bakubu Makoloto)*.  
*na* was added in the original.

<sup>556</sup> Comma changed into period.

<sup>557</sup> Original typing error *Pumpolana* corrected in the original.

<sup>558</sup> Orig. 2

<sup>559</sup> The words *ya ba Nzinzi* were deleted in the original, but restored here.

(6) Mulawa manda Shikongi.

4 Mashiku niye Manenga manda Mukamba, kami niye Mukamba walitangile ngayi,

‘Ami Mvubu ya Manenga. Ami Mwene Mvubu ya Manenga,’

kutontolola<sup>560</sup> ngayi Mvubu mwana Manenga.<sup>561</sup>

5 Pele oho afwile Mwene Welema mwipa wendi Mwene Kazikwa niye wa hingile ha litanda Iya wene. Wazikile ku Mukunkike, nimo azikile lukena lwendi, hancango ya Namasheshe niho azikile lukena lwendi. 6 Ndaba mwaka kushikare uya Namasheshe wekalilenga na mema amengi shikuma bakwatilengamo na zinci za mashala muyo. Oku Mukunkike oku Namasheshe nimo azikile lukena lwendi ndaba mwaka Mukunkike wekalilenga na wushaa. 7 Mwekalilenga na batuyamana banzobe niho ‘babitutunga’.\*\* Mwene Kazika walelele shiwahe litunga Iya Nkoya wekalilenga na mawoma, na bilimba, zingoma, zingongi, na zingoma ntambwe, bantu bamutupwilenga zintupu za banzovu, bahefu, babilangwa, kampulu, mfumbe na wushi wamu lishaka, byakulya bya lukahu byabipya.<sup>562</sup> 8 Niye wafwila mu Mukunkike, nimo mwekalile shizino shendi. Kemi kendi kekalile mukati ka Namasheshe oku Lwamanzambo muya mukatikati.

## WENE WA SHIHOKA II<sup>563</sup> KU KALWIZI MWANA NYANGO

# 13

1 Mwene Shihoka niye wahingile ha shanda oho afwile Mwene Kazikwa, Bankoya nimwabo bayatile ngayi

‘aha afwakale Mwene Kazikwa, mukonzo wendi Shihoka niye uHINGA ha liwoma ndaba yayi yendi wafwa kale’,\*\*

pele kami niye walundaminanga Kazikwa ku wukulwane. 2 Niye bene wenga Mwene, niho batuntwile lukena ku lutwara ku Kalwizi kuncango ya Shinkume oku kwekala bazuku lyendi ba Mwene Yuvwenu na Likupekupe, Mwene Shihoka wengile shibinda sha banzovu walongeshele bantu bendi kupununa banzovu shikuma. 3 Niye wafwila ku Kalwizi nimo muli shizino shendi, nihano bene bazuku lyendi, na bepa bendi bizino byabo bili mu Kalwizi nimo muli shizino shendi nihano. Kanyantu ka Mwene Yuvwenu na Likupekupe niye

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<sup>560</sup> Orig. *kutontilola*

<sup>561</sup> Original quotation marks moved from this point to before *kutontolola*

<sup>562</sup> Comma changed into period.

<sup>563</sup> Dynastic number 2 added in original.

Mwene Kangombe wayile ku nzita ya Balui ku Kashempa niko akafwila ku nzita. Wafumine<sup>564</sup> ku Mufwabazami mwana Nabowa.

## MWENE KABONGO I KU SHITWA

### 14

1 Oho afwile Mwene Shihoka II ha wene ha hingile mukonzo wendi Kabongo I. Niho a tuntukile mu Nyango ha kuya ku Shitwa pele kuyo Mwene Kabongo wakazikile lukena lwendi lwa kemberi ku Shitwa mwana Lalafuta nimo mwekalile lukena lwa lunene shikuma. Ngoboni wazikile kami lukena lwa lushe ku Shihili niko akazihililenga banzovu. 2 Niye wakabilenga mankwina a banzovu, niye niko akafwililile niko kuli shizino shendi. Oho Mwene Kabongo ekalile ha wene ku mushinzi wa Lalafuta nimwawo, Shihili nimwendi, Lunyati<sup>565</sup> nimwendi, kukuma na ku Makunzu. 3 Kemberi ka Mwene Kabongo kekalile ku mutwe wa Shitwa. 4 Oho Mwene Kabongo afwile ku Shitwa pele Bankoya bahatile kami mukonzo wendi Kalumbwa ngayi, niye a hinga ha liwoma. Mwene Kalumbwa wazikile lukena lwendi ku ncango ya Mubawo na Matuka ou bakutoya bashilero ngayi Kangolongolo. 5<sup>566</sup> Kwakwipi na liziba lya Nkombalume na Mukondoloke (niye Matuka), awa maziba niwo maziba engilenga a Mwene Kalumbwa, niye Mwene Kalumbwa wafwila ku Mubawo niko kuli shizino shendi.

## BIHEKA BYA BANKOYA BYA MWAKA

### 15

1 Bamyene aba Shihoka, Kabongo, Kalumbwa, bengile babinanga bakakupununa banzovu shikuma. Oho Mwene ayakiwile ha wene pele wahanganikile nzila ya kunenehesha wene wendi ndaba nisho shiheka sha wene ngayi litunga lyendi likule, pele niye ukuliongesha wunyanga wa kuziha banzovu kami niye ukulongesha bantu bendi sha kulima twina twa ntompo, lifwaka, na bikuka bya luku, mankazi, ntamba, binkonge, matuhu, na kandolo. 2 Bilungu, tulungwa, nyemu za welu na nyemu za kandundwe, maha, ntompo nizo batelekelelenga mazi akuwaba. Ebye nibyo bya baheteshelenga shikuma bashikare:

- (1) bandungo,
- (2) muhanga wa shinyali, zimpande, mankunda a lubemba, na nawa a mukuba, mpashi na ngwele boni<sup>567</sup> zengilenga za kulifulula nibo

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<sup>564</sup> Orig. *nzita wafumine*

<sup>565</sup> Orig. *Luyati*

<sup>566</sup> Orig. 4

<sup>567</sup> Orig. *mpashi, ngwele, boni*

bamwine Bankoya, mayeko a wene,<sup>568</sup> mabeko akufwebesha lifwako lya mu ngoma. 3 Milinga ya zimpula, milinga ya mabezi, bibanga, tulobola niyo mitaka, bipando bya mikunzi, mivwi, na kupekela wutale ha nganze niyo milimo ya Bankoya bamwaka bapekelelenga wutale ha nganze.<sup>569</sup> Niko bawaninenga byondo ebye bafulilenga tuzembe na makahu.<sup>570</sup> Shikati shino Bankoya banavulama hinge kuyongesha nzila eye batendelenga bashikare ya kuwana byondo mu mema.<sup>571</sup>

WENE WA KABAZI KU LITOYA LYA MBUMA

**16** 1 Kabazi wengile mwipa wa Mwene Kalumbwa Kamucabankuni<sup>572</sup> na Ndenga. Nohobene ngo nehe tunamba bya kunyima ngayi,

‘Mwene Nankuwa wa mukazi wa belekele bana bendi mutanu na umo ba balume na bana ba bakazi babili lizina lya umo niye Manenga, mwana Nankuwa, wamina Mulawa.’<sup>\*573</sup>

2 Niho Mwene wa mukazi Manenga kami wahemene bana bendi mutanu na umo mazina wabo awa:

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568 Orig. *Bankoya meyeko, a wene*

569 Orig. *wutale ha nganze (...) wutale ha Nganze*; capital deleted.

570 Quotation mark deleted.

571 At this point the following text appears in the original (as between double quotation marks):

“BIHEKA BYA BANKOYA BYA MWAKA

**16** 1 Bamyene aba Shihoka, Kabongo, na Kalumbwa, bengile babinyanga bakakupununa banzovu shikuma. Oho ayakiwile ha wene, pele niye ukuhanganika nzila ya kunenehesha wene wendi ngayi litunga lyendi likule, pele ukulilongesha wunyanga, wakuzihanga banzovu. 2 Kami ukulongesha bantu bendi sha kulima twina twa ntompo, lifwaka, na bikuka bashikare.

(1) Bandungo,

(2) muhanga wa shinyali, zimpande, mankunda a lubemba, na nawa a mukuba, na mpashi. 3 Ngwele boni na mabeko akufwebe sha lifwaka lya mungoma, byengilenga bya kulifulila nibo bamwine Bankoya na meyeko a wene niwo bafulilenga a wene, kami bapekelelenga wutale ha Nganze.”

Since this passage is virtually identical to chapter 15, it has been deleted; hence all subsequent chapter numbers are one unit lower than in the original.

572 Orig. *Kamuncabankuni*

573 Note that the earlier statement on Mwene Nankuwa (cf. chapter 12 above) is different from the apparent quotation here.

- (1) Kabazi,
- (2) Mukamba,
- (3) Kavuba,
- (4) Lipepo, mukazi,
- (5) Nkulo, mukazi,
- (6) Mashiku.

3 *Mashiku*<sup>574</sup> niye washwanine mandi yendi Manenga. Oho afwile Mwene Kalumbwa niho Bankoya bahatile Kabazi ngayi niye uHINGA ha wene wa kanyantu kendi.<sup>575</sup> 4 Nohobene Kabazi wengile Mwene ku Litoya Iya Mbuma: ku mutwe wa Lwena oku banaziki ba Mwene Kahare Iero. Ku Njonjolo ku Shilumbilo, oku Litoya Iya Mbuma oku Shilumbilo<sup>576</sup>:

‘Sha ku Nzila sha pwizuluka Bayeni’\*\*,

niko kutontoloka kwa lizina Iya Shilumbilo.

#### MWENE MANENGA KU MUSHWALUMUKO

**17**

1 Oho afwile Mwene Kabazi ku Litoya Iya Mbuma ku Shisholo, Bankoya bahatile mpanzendi Mashiku ngayi a HINGE ha wene. 2 Kami niye wengile Mwene Manenga ku Lwashanza ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko. Kuyo bene niko bazikilenga Bankoya. 3 Oho shiloro balitapatape ba Mwene Kabulwebulwe na Mwene Momba na Mungambwa oho bashalile muno mu Nkoya.

#### BANA BA MWENE MANENGA

4 Mwene Manenga wabelekele bana bendi ba mutanu na umo. Mazina wabo awa:

- (1) Nahonge niye mweli wendi,
- (2) Kabongo,
- (3) Mukamba,
- (4) Kabandala,
- (5) Shishopa niye Kayambila,

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<sup>574</sup> Orig. *Kalumbwa*, which does not make sense.

<sup>575</sup> Orig.: (6) *Mashiku*, 3 niye washwanine mandiyendi Manenga, nka oho afwila, Mwene Kalumbwa niho Bankoya bahatile Kabazi ngayi niye aHINGA ha wene wa kanyantu kendi.

<sup>576</sup> Comma after *Shilumbilo* deleted.



(6) Mate<sup>577</sup> niye Shinkisha Lushiku niye mukala<sup>578</sup> wabo.<sup>579</sup>

Kabongo *II* niye wa hingile ha wene wa mandi yendi. Niho akatukile na Lipepo na Nkulo Bamyene ba bakazi niho bayile. Mate Shinkisha niye wengile Nkomba wakombele mu livumo Iya Mashiku; kami tati-yabo Mukwetunga Mulyata wa Mukashungu niye bene ou wabelekele aba bana nimwabo na Mwene Manenga. Oho afwile Mwene Manenga Kabongo *II* niye wahingile ha wene.

KULITAPA KWA BANKOYA BAMO BAKUYA KU  
MULOBEZI BAMINA BAKUSHALA MUNO MU  
NKOYA

**18**

1 Oho afwile Mwene Kabongo ku lukena Iwa Lukwe, Bankoya bafumine niho bayile ku shisholo sha Nangombe ku mushinzi wa Mulobezi ku ncango ya Kantente, niko bakalitapilile ba Mwene Mungambwa na Mwene Momba, 2 Bamyene babili aba baku masholo, mavumo wabo abili. Mwene Lipepo, wa mukazi niye wahemene bana bendi,

- (1) Mulambila,
- (2) Shingala

aba nimwabo bengile<sup>580</sup> balume,

- (3) 3 Shampaya, wa mukazi,
- (4) Linyepa wa mulume.<sup>581</sup>

Mwene Nkulo Limbwalangoma Liteke Iya Washi,<sup>582</sup> niye wahemene bana aba:

- (1) Lutebe Wabula Linungo,
- (2) Nankuwa, mukazi, pele
- (3) Kabazi,
- (4) Shimano, *aba bengile* balume.<sup>583</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Orig. *Matee*; changed throughout.

<sup>578</sup> Orig. *mukaala*; changed throughout.

<sup>579</sup> Period added in accordance with variant in *Appendix 2*.

<sup>580</sup> Orig. *bali*

<sup>581</sup> Comma changed into period.

<sup>582</sup> Orig. *Litekelyawashi*

<sup>583</sup> Orig. *pe Kabazi na Shimano balume*

4 Mwene Mungambwa niye Shibi sha Tuwoma<sup>584</sup> mwana Lipepo Ndenge. Mwene Momba niye Kabazi mwana Lutebe. Mwene Mungambwa wafwile ku Shitapo ku munzi wa Kalobe. 5 Oho balitapile ba Mwene Mungambwa na bantu bendi ku Shitapo ku lukena lwa Libanga, kwakwipi na mushinzi wa Kalobe mwana Makile. Nohobene Mwene Momba ku Kabuzu ku Nakashasha niko afwila.<sup>585</sup> Mwene *Momba* Kabazi wayile mu banzovu mu Kayanga, na kuyomba nimo mwakamuwaninine wulweli ku liziba lya Nakashasha kwakwipi na mushinzi wa Chachifulu.<sup>586</sup>

## MAZIKO A BAMYENE BAKU MASHOLO

# 19

1 Liziko lya Mwene Momba likutumbiwa ngayi Kabuzu, mazina wabo nibo Bamyene aba banashwana ha wene wa Mwene Momba aba:

- (1) Mwene Momba Kabazi wafwila ku Nakashasha, kwakwipi na mushinzi wa Chachifulu.
- (2) Mwene Momba Shafukuma niye wafwila ku Kabuzu ku shisholo sha Kabuzu ou apunwine Kasheba na mulinga ngayi *Kasheba* a shwaneho.<sup>587</sup>
- (3) Mwene Momba Kasheba niye wa punwine kanyantu kendi, niye wafwila ku Kabuzu. 2 Wafwile ku wulweli wa bimakwa.
- (4) Mwene Momba Shabuwe niye banawana ni Bamakuwa mu Kabuzu wafwila ku mushinzi wa Muchi, ku Kaunga,
- (5) Mwene Momba Ngwenyama niye mwipa wa Shabuwe niye kami wafwila ku Kaunga hamo na kanyantu kendi.
- (6) Mulilabanyama wafumineho na wumi wendi.
- (7) Mwene Momba Kavuba niye wafwila ku Kabanda.
- (8) Mwene Momba Shililo<sup>588</sup> niye uliho lero.

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584 Orig. *tuwoma*

585 Comma changed into period.

586 The spelling of this word, which is original, deviates from the conventions adopted here for Nkoya words, as well as from the official Zambian orthography; its morphology is inconsistent with Nkoya hydronyms, which is not surprising since this stream is found at a distance of hundreds of kilometres from the presentday Nkoya mainland.

587 Orig. *mulingayi ha wene ngayi nami nishwaneho*

588 Orig. *Sililo*

LIZIKO LYA MWENE MUNGAMBWA

**20**

1 Liziko Iya Mwene Mungambwa Iyafwa. Kufuma hali Mulambila ‘Shibi sha Tuwoma’\*\* wene wekalile shiwahe mu Shitapo ku lukena Iwa Libanga, mu Shitapo nimo baliwaninine na Mwene Mvubu Shihoka oho afumine ku Mabuwa muno mu Nkoya, pele wakawanine Mwene Mungambwa ku Shitapo. 2 Oho afwile pele baletele Shaboboma Yomena kufuma muno mu Nkoya mukumushwanisha lizina Iya Mwene Mungambwa, niye bene unazihi liziko Iya Mwene Mungambwa. 3 Wafumine ku Mulobezi kuboka ku Kakoma mwana Makile ku Shisheke.<sup>589</sup>

TUKUBOKA MUNO MU NKOYA NAWIKO HAYA

**21**

1 Wene wa Mukamba Kuwonga ku Namimbwe ku mbuwa ya Mpulakamanga. 2 Mwene Mukamba wahingile ha wene oho afwile Mwene Kavuba, pele Bankoya bayatile nehe ngayi,

‘Mukamba niye uHINGA a ha liwoma Iya wene’.\*

Mwene Mukamba, wehalile shikuma ha wene, ngoboni wafwile ku maboko a bantu. 3 Bantu balitapile mukati bamina bamuhakile ngayi,

‘Mwene wamuwahe’,\*

bamina kami ngayi

‘Ou Mwene wamubi’,\*

pele niho bamupondele bantu bendi bene ngayi,

‘Etu kumushinga tufwako; tumupondenu tuyakeho washenge!’

KUFUMA KWA MWENE KABULWEBULWE

**22**

1 Wene wa Kabulwebulwe ku Shibanda, nka oho Mwene engile ha kufwa ku mbuwa ya Mpulakamanga ku mutwe wa Namimbwe, niko kuli shizino shendi Mwene Mukamba. 2 Niho bana bendi bakatukile kufuma muno mu Nkoya bayile ku Lufupa ku Wushanga, mukulya wene wa Mukamba. Mazina a Bamyene aba:

(1)<sup>590</sup> Wakutatika niye Mwene Mukamba Kuwonga,

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<sup>589</sup> Orig. ku *Sesheke District*

<sup>590</sup> (1) already implied in *Wakutatika*

- (2) Mwene Mukamba Lukeke,
- (3) Mwene Mukamba Kapoyo,
- (4) Mwene Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi, niye walitangile Iya 'Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi'.
- (5) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mahepo,
- (6) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mukutabafu, niye bene Kankoya mwine nakubula kulimbashana.

3 Ngoboni oku bayile niko bakawanine lizina Iya Bashibanda. Aba nibo bana bendi na bazuku Iyendi, bakutumbiwa ngayi, Bankoya Shibanda, na Bankoya Wushanga.<sup>591</sup> 4 Bankoya Shibanda bakutelela ku Mumbwa, Bankoya Wushanga bakutelela ku Kashempa nibo:

- (1) Nkoya Shibanda *baka* Mwene<sup>592</sup> Kabulwebulwe wa ku Mumbwa Mboma.
- (2) Nkoya Wushanga *baka* Mwene<sup>593</sup> Loto na *baka* Mwene Shihoka, baku Kashempa Mboma, ku litunga Iya Bakawonde.<sup>594</sup> *Loto na Shihoka benga Bamyene babashe tuhu.*

## WENE WA MWENE KAYAMBILA SHISHOPA

### 23

1 Oho afwile Mwene Mukamba, Bankoya bafumine ku Mpulakamanga ku mutwe wa Namimbwe oku kwekalile lukena Iwa Mwene. 2 Nohobene bayatile ngayi

'Owe mukonzo wendi Shishopa niye wukuvinga ha wene.'

Oho ashwanineho niye wa litangile ngayi,

'Ami Mwene Kayambila ka Matunga wa Yambila Mitwe ya Bantu, Mwana Manenga Shishopa Mikende.'\*

Pele Mwene Kayambila wengile Mwene wa kutinisha shikuma.

3 Niye wazikile lukena Iwendi ku Mankumbwa ku Mangongi. Bankoya bamutininenga shikuma. Balubanda (*Baila*) kami bamutupwili-lenga zintupu zabo. Balubanda bambilenga ngayi:

'Mwami Wezhu Nguunanga muka Nkuli'.\*<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>591</sup> Quotation mark deleted.

<sup>592</sup> Orig. *Chief*

<sup>593</sup> Orig. *Sub Chief*

<sup>594</sup> Orig. *litunga Iya Kaonde Land*

<sup>595</sup> Period and initial capital of next sentence added.

Kutontolola ngayi oho bantu bana muletele zintupu pele niye ukuya na kwintangila mu bitubo. 4 Niye wekalile na byuma byabingi shikuma ebye:

- (1) mawoma,
- (2) zingoma,
- (3) bilimba,
- (4)<sup>596</sup> tuhanzi twa ncowelesi,
- (5) zingongi,
- (6) tuncingili,
- (7) meyeko,
- (8) shinkwinji, nilyo lizina Iya lilapa Iya Mwene Iya mibanga manconco a ncengo za bahefu ku shinkwinji kwa lilanga mawoma, ku Lwanda.

#### HA KUTATIKA KUYA KWA ZINGOMA ZA WENE KU WULUI KULI MULAMBWA

## 24

1 Ha kutatika ha shikati sha Mwene Kayambila niho bene Mwene wa<sup>597</sup> Balui lizina lyendi ngayi Mulambwa, niye wezile muno mu Nkoya na kushinga banganga ngayi bamuteleke nehe shiheka eshe sha banganga ba Bamyene ba Bankoya. 2 Niye niho akumine munciza ya Lukalanyi ku Lwatembo niko bamutendelele zintanda zendi.<sup>598</sup> Niho a yuvwile mpupo ya mawoma na zingoma za Mwene Kayambila. 3 Oho Mwene Mulambwa abokele kukwabo ku Wului wekalile na bihanganyiko byakwambila bantu bendi na kubatongweza<sup>599</sup> ngayi,

‘Ami nikushinga zingoma za wene wa Bankoya nizo zaziwahe.’\*

4 Pele niho atumine bantu bendi kuli Mwene Kayambila mukunyepa zingoma hamo na bangomba ngayi mwanga balongeshe Balui sha kumbeta zingoma za wene wa Bankoya. 5 Nihano Bankoya bashili kumbeta zingoma za Mwene ku Lyalui.<sup>600</sup> Nohobene kufuma ha mitena ya Mulambwa zingoma za wene wa Bankoya zishili kumbetiwa *mu Lyalui*. 6 Kami nihano bangomba ba Bankoya ba Mwiba na bepa bendi ba Shishinda, bashili kumbetela Bamyene ba Balui. Ku Wului, wene boni wa Balui zingoma<sup>601</sup> za Bankoya. Ku Nalolo kami bangomba za

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<sup>596</sup> Orig. (5) but no items deleted.

<sup>597</sup> Orig. *ya*

<sup>598</sup> Orig. *mafulo wendi*; *mafulo* is considered not to be pure Nkoya.

<sup>599</sup> Orig. *kubalayelega*, a Lozi root.

<sup>600</sup> Orig. *Lealui*; altered throughout.

<sup>601</sup> Orig. *Balui-zingoma*

Mwene wa mukazi wa ku Nalolo ba Ncungo na bana bendi bashili kumbetela Mwene wa Balui zingoma za wene wa Bankoya. 7 Kufuma ha mwaka wa 1817 nihano.

## MWANA MWENE MASHIKU

**25** 1 Kami Kayambila wa belekele bana babengi shikuma aba tunatikiti mazina wabo ha kutatika kwa libuka lino. Bana ba Mwene Kayambila bavulile shikuma ndaba niye wekalile na Bamahano babengi shikuma. 2 Nohobene Mwana Mwene wa mukazi lizina lyendi Mashiku pele oho akulile wa belekele mwanendi wa mulume, niho a mutwarile kuli tati yendi Mwene Kayambila ngayi akamutumbe lizina ngo nehe shiheka sha Bankoya mwaka. 3 Lumenemene ha kututika mutena niho Mwene atambwile muzuku lyendi mu maboko pele wa mutumbile lizina ngayi:

‘Obe Mukamba Kuwonga, Mwana Manenga.’

Nohobene Mukamba Shingole wa *kuilile* shikuma ha Nkoya. 4 Niye wahemuwile ku mwaka wa 1817. Walimukiwile shikuma, ku bantu nimwabo ba muno mu Nkoya bamulimuka kami bamumona. Niye wafwile ku mwaka wa 1917, mu ngonda ya Mwanashihemi.<sup>602</sup> Wafwila ku mushinzi wa Namaloba. Bahemuwile hamo na Shiwowa Munangisha, mwaka wabo umo wa kuhemuwa. Shitwane<sup>603</sup> Mwene ya ba Makololo<sup>604</sup> (nibo Bakubu) wabawanine bakulwane babo<sup>605</sup> na bana babo.

## MWENE MUTONDO I SHINKISHA MATE LUSHIKU

**26** 1 Oho Mwene Kayambila afwile mu Mangongi, Bankoya bahatile mukala wabo Mate Lushiku ngayi niye enga Mwene Manenga niye wengile Mwene wa mukazi. Bambile ngayi

‘Shinkisha niye Mwene.’

Kayambila oho bamukwatile *ha* wene lumenemene hakufuma mu shishawashawa ha kufumba Mwene wa litangile ngayi,

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<sup>602</sup> Orig. *Mwanashihemi (October) wafwila*

<sup>603</sup> Orig. *Sebitwane*; altered throughout.

<sup>604</sup> The incorporation of this Lozi ethnonym creates syntactic problems in the Nkoya text because it already has a plural personal prefix *Ma-*. Therefore it is one of the very few ethnonyms which in the Nkoya edited text have not been rendered in the usual form: *Ba-[+root in lower case]*, e.g. *Bankoya, Bakawonde*.

<sup>605</sup> Orig. *bayaboo*

‘Ami Mwene hi pele: ‘‘Ami Mutondo Mwana Manenga Nkumba ya Shizikwa Matu’’<sup>606</sup>

Nilyo lizina ekalile nalyo ha liwoma Iya Mwene Mutondo. Lyengile<sup>607</sup> lyendi. Niho boni bana ba Babilolo ha kumutangashana, ha kulamba ku lupala lwendi hi bakwamba ngayi:

‘Obe Mutondo Wampululwa Mwana Manenga, Wabula Nceshelo, Wabulu, Shinkisha Makubo, Nkomba ya ka Mwana Nyambi.’

2 Pele hikwimbila lwimbo lwa makwasha ngayi,

‘Yekenu mumwebele shinyange,<sup>608</sup> woo,  
Shinyange mwine mbuwa,  
Yekenu<sup>609</sup> mumwebele shinyange, woo,  
Shinyange mwine mbuwa.’<sup>610</sup>

Niye niho azikile lukena lwendi munciza ya Lalafuta muyo.<sup>611</sup> 3 Ku litoya Iya Kalimbata. Oku litoya Iya Kalimbata oku litoya Iya Mulalila mukati kati, nimo mwekalile lukena. Niko afwila bene nimo muli shizino shendi nihano. Ha shikati sha wene wendi bampanzendi ba Nahonge na Kabandala, Bamyene ba bakazi nibo balelele litunga hamo nendi ha wene. 4 Pele Mwene Nahonge wa belekele bana bendi aba:

- (1) Kashina Lishenga wengile mulume.
- (2) Kancukwe Iya kuhemuwa niye Mukamba wengile mulume kami,
- (3) na Shihoka niye Komoka wa mukazi umo balume babili.

## MWENE LISHENGA HA KWIKALA HA MUNKUPELE

**27** 1 Kami Mwene Mutondo Kashina niye wayakile mwipa wendi Kashina mwana Nahonge ngayi wakulakale pele niye kami enge Mwene. 2 Niho a muyakile ha munkupele na kumupana byuma bya wene:<sup>612</sup> shilimba, ngongi, na batuyamana baya balilenga Bamyene, mwaka, hefu, kampulu, na liyowo limo Iya nanyundo, na Mukambuyu Mafuka niye wengile Nanyundo wa Mwene Lishenga. 3 Niho Mwene

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606 Two levels of quotation marks distinguished.

607 Capital added.

608 Orig.: *mu mwebele shinyengee*; comma added.

609 A quotation mark preceding this word has been deleted.

610 Quotation marks completed.

611 Orig. *muyoo*

612 Colon added.

Lishenga ayile mukuzika ku Makunzu ku Lalafuta oku a zikilenga Mwene Mushima Mubambe, Mwene ya Bakawonde Luba. Nohobene mpanzendi Mwene Shimpunya wazikile ku Makubikufuka, na Mukwetunga Mabizi niye Mukwetunga wendi. 4 Kami Mwene Kabandala wazikile ku Miluzi kwakwipi na lukena lwa mpanzabo Shinkisha mu Kalimbata. Kabandala wazikile na bana bendi ba Kashina Shiyenge, na Mukamba<sup>613</sup> Kancukwe na mpanzabo Shihoka ou wa litangile ngayi,

‘Ami Mwene Komoka Banakomoko Bankoya.’\*

5 Kuwaha<sup>614</sup> shikuma ha shikati sha Mwene Mutondo mwana Manenga ha kuyoya kwendi mu Kalimbata, nisho shikati sha Shibitwane Mwene ya ba Makololo (Bakubu) ou wakomene Balui. Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha wafwa ku wulweli wa kalili. Kowa mushobo wa bantu ou walwishile Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha.

### KALIMUKISHO<sup>615</sup>

6 Mukakutikita lino libuka lya Likota lya Bankoya ukututontwelela etu bakakulaba ngayi mwanga bayuvw<sup>ishishe</sup> shiwahe ha byuma bya wene wa Bankoya 1817:

- (1) Hali Mulambwa Shiwutulu<sup>616</sup> niye wa nyepele zingoma za wuhoni na Mwene Kayambila Shishopa, pele niye Mwene ya Bankoya wa zifungwile ngayi shashiwahe ngayi ziye. Mwene Kayambila wekalile na mayowo na Bakwetunga ba banene shikuma. Bashikare bankakazetu bashimikililenga byambo bya mwaka bya wene uno. 7 Mukwetunga Mulyata niye Tata Bamyene bana ba Mwene wa mukazi Manenga Manda Bankoya. 8 Mulyata wa shimbile Mwene bamukwatile wukwetunga.
- (2) Mwanashihemi Mulambo Mwitila Kamamba wetila Milonga.
- (3) Nkunka,
- (4) Liyowa Mayungu,
- (5) Mukwetunga Kakwasha Mukena.

9 Aba nimwabo hamo na Bankoya bayatile kupana zingoma Mwene Mulambwa, hamo na Bangomba. Nisho shikati sha kutatika kuya zingoma za wene ku Wului 1817.

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<sup>613</sup> Comma deleted.

<sup>614</sup> An opening parenthesis preceding this word has been deleted; the original does not contain a closing parenthesis to match.

<sup>615</sup> Orig. *NOTE 1*; there are no other original notes, however.

<sup>616</sup> Orig. *Shiutulu*; altered throughout.



1860, NZITA YA BAKUBU

10 Ha shikati sha wubili nisho sha nzita ya Bakubu (Makololo), baka Mwene Mbololo wakomene baka Shikeletu mwana Shibitwane. Ba Makololo batatikile kukwata Balui na kubakoma na kukwata litunga Iya Wului, pele muno mu Nkoya zingoma hizivuma, za wene oho wene wawumi shiwahewahe. Nzita ya Mbololo ya twarile mawoma abili elye Iya mulume elye Iya mukazi, na zingoma zihatu, bilimba bibili, Mazina a mawoma na zingoma atwariwile awa:

- (1) Liwoma Iya mulume ngayi 'Mboma luvunga matunga'\*\*, ndaba bayakileho shifwekesha sha Mboma (kanankishi)<sup>617</sup>
- (2) Liwoma Iya mukazi ngayi 'Mbulu'\*\* ndaba kami bayakileho shifwekesha sha mubulu,<sup>618</sup> 'Mbulumwene',\*\*
- (3) Ngoma<sup>619</sup> ya Shibwale ngayi 'Liyolongoma',\*\*
- (4) Munkupele wawunene ngayi 'Mangomba',\*\*
- (5) Munkupele wawushe ngayi 'Mbinzi Iya Mutandaunka'.\*\*

11 Pele ebye nimwabyo byayile ha nzita ya Mbololo ku lukena Iwa Kalimbata ku Lalafuta ha shikati sha Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge. Niho hayila zingoma na mawoma a mashe, pele a manene bawayumbilile mu matoya a Lalafuta, limo mu Litoya Iya Kalimbata limo mu Litoya Iya Mulalila Makongo.

MWENE MUTONDO SHIYENGE HA KUYA MU  
LUKWAKWA HA NZITA YA BAKUBU

**28** 1 Kufuma kuli Mulambwa, kuleta kuli Shipopa kowa Mwene ya Balui wakomene Bankoya. Mwashikuma nisho bambilenga bankaka zetu nohobene ngayi,

'Wuno Wene Wetu wa Limata Iya Mvula'\*

nisho bambilenga bakulwane betu noho. 2 Ha kwiza kwa nzita ya Bakubu muno mu Nkoya, oho afwile Mwene *Bankoya shwanishile Mwene* Mutondo Kashina *ngoboni niye* kaleleleha shiwahe bantu bendi oho ekalile ha shanda. 3 Niye wayakile milawo yayibi ngayi,

'Kulilandanga byo ha bakazi kami ngayi Mwene kutina mukaza Shilolo byo.'\*

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<sup>617</sup> Orig. (Kanankishi,)

<sup>618</sup> Sic.

<sup>619</sup> Orig. zingoma

4 Pele bantu nimwabo balubile<sup>620</sup> kuwahilila na milawo yendi, nisho sha bipishile bantu kumitima yabo shikuma. Ha shikati shendi sha kulela litunga, pele Bakubu ba Makololo baka Mwene Mbololo Mwene ya Bakubu niho atumine banzita ku lukena lwa ku Kalimbata kuli Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge, Mbololo niye wahingile mu mwanya wa Shikeletu mwana Shibitwane ku litunga lya Wului.

SHILOLO MUNYAMA WAYILE KU KASHEMPA<sup>621</sup>

29

1 Mwaka batumbileko ngayi

‘ku Mashasha kuli Mwene Shikanda Kahare, ku Kayimbu.’\*\*

2 Oho Mbololo a tumine shilolo shendi Munyama kuli Mwene Kahare ku Kayimbu niye wakayibileko mukaza bantu na ku mushilisha. Niho ezile lubilo kuli Mwene Mutondo Kashina muno mu Nkoya. Pele niye wakumine mu lukena lwa Mwene mu Kalimbata, Mwene wa mutambwile shiwahe na kubula kulimuka byambo byendi anatende ku Mashasha.

3 Nohobene baka Mwene Kahare Shikanda bamukonkele munyima pele oho bamuwanine mu lukena batongwezele Mwene Mutondo Kashina byambo byendi pele Mwene wayatile ngayi

‘Hinga mu mupununa boha. Ngoboni haya mushushulenu tuhu mu muyange na mukazi muboke nendi kuli Mwene Kahare ngayi nisho anamba.’\*\*

Mwene Mutondo noho pele bamutwarile ha mu Nkanda wa lukena pele niho bamukamine shikuma. 4 Mwene Mutondo wambile ngayi,

‘Ee bamunyincenga tuhu akeye showa ukubipisha bakazi ba bantu.’\*\*

Bamumangile munyimbwa. Oho Munyama ashobolokele munyimbwa wayile lubilo kuli Mwene yendi Mbololo mukufweta Mwene Mutondo ngayi<sup>622</sup>

‘Unampana linanga ngayi hamwi kashimike kuli Mbololo,’\*\*

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<sup>620</sup> Orig. *babubile*

<sup>621</sup> Orig. *KU KASEMPA DISTRICT*

<sup>622</sup> Since *ngayi* should be followed by reported speech here, an original quotation mark preceding *ngayi* has been deleted, its initial capital undone, and an exclamation mark preceding *ngayi* moved to the end of the sentence.

## Likota lya Bankoya

kati boni engile maharo wendi, ndaba niye wapilamine ngayi Mwene unanyata shibi, ngayi<sup>623</sup> shinga unampana mukazi ou banankanishi!

## MAZU A MUNYAMA KULI MBOLOLO

**30** 1 Niye wambile ngayi,

‘Banampana linanga ngayi, kashimike’

pele kami ngayi

‘Mwene Mutondo unashingi kumpununa kami unatukananga na kumpana linanga ngayi hamwi kashimike kuli hekulyobe una kutumu.’<sup>624</sup>

## NZITA YA BAKUBU

2 Oho Mwene Mbololo a yuwileko owo mazu a shilolo shendi Munyama pele niye watumine nzita ya Bakubu bendi ba kanzita<sup>625</sup> kwiza mu Nkoya ku Kalimbata oho niye Mwene Mutondo na Bankoya bali mu mpoza. 3 Nohobene nzita yezililile ka Lukunzi, Nyango, na Shimano niho bezile na kukukulukila [ **to trickle down to** ] ha Shitwa.<sup>626</sup> Oho nibo bakumine ku lukena Mwene kibatweshleha kumumona, pele wakatukile<sup>627</sup> ngo shiheka sha Bamyene ba Bankoya sha kuzimina, wa katukile na kuya ku Lukolwe kuli Shihoka ku kemberi, aka katumbiwile ngayi Lukwakwa. Baka Imashiku<sup>628</sup> nibo batumbile kemberi ka Shihoka ngayi Lukwakwa.

## WUHONI WA MWENE MUTONDO NA FUMIKA KU LUKOLWE LUKWAKWA

**31** 1 Lutangu wengile niye Mwana Mwene Mulambwa Shiwutulu ku litunga lya Wului. 2 Nohobene nehe tunamba bya nzitaya Shibitwane Mwene ya ba Makololo ou wakomene Balui na kubaya-

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<sup>623</sup> Since *ngayi* should be followed by reported speech here, an original quotation mark preceding *ngayi* has been deleted, and its initial capital undone.

<sup>624</sup> Closing quotation mark moved up from its original position immediately after the next heading, *NZITA YA BAKUBU*

<sup>625</sup> Orig. *banzita*

<sup>626</sup> Orig. *na Shitwa*

<sup>627</sup> Orig. *wakatukuile*

<sup>628</sup> Orig. *Imasiku*; altered throughout.

ngula litunga lya Wului. 3 Pele wakwatile bana ba Balui na ku batwara ku lukena lwa Linyati ku Shisheke, pele oho afwile Shibitwane mwawendi Shikeletu wahingile ha wene wabo wa ba Makololo. Shikeletu wengile Mwene wa shilala shikuma, niho Mwana Mwene Lutangu wa shilile kufuma kuli Shikeletu kushilila ku litunga lya Bankoya kuli Mwene Mutondo Kashina oho Shinkisha wafwa kale ku wulweli wa kalili.

## LUTANGU NIYE NJUNGU WATEMA NIYE KAMI FUMIKA

### 32

1 Lutangu aha akumine muno mu Nkoya Mwene Mutondo wamutambwile shiwahe ngo nehe shiheka sha Bamyene ba Bankoya kukana muyeni bafwako. 2 Pele niye Lutangu washingile kulilongesha wubinda wa banzovu aba. Nohobene Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge wemikile babibinda bya banzovu aba:

- (1) Katuta,
- (2) Liyowa,
- (3) Mbuma.

Nibo<sup>629</sup> bamulongeshele kupununa banzovu wa kulilongesha, ha kukubalila ha lutumba walitangile<sup>630</sup> ngayi,

‘Ami Njungu Watema Kapindumuna Kabilyanga’,

Njungu wayile na baminendi babinyanga bombokele mushinzi wa Zongwe na Shifuwe kuya ku Lukwakwa kuli Imashiku mwana Mubukwanu ou watininineko ha nzita ya ba Makololo.

## MWENE FUMIKA NIYE SHIPOP A KAMI

### 33

1 Oho Lutangu amonene yayi yendi Imashiku wamuzihile na wanga niye wahingile ha wene mu Lukolwe mu Lukwakwa pele niye walitangile lizina lya wene ngayi,

‘Ami Fumika Mayungu,’

2 Niye niho alilongeshele biheka bya ba Lukolwe na ba Mbunda baka Imashiku. Kuzihanga banzovu boni wengile niwo mulimo wendi shiku-

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<sup>629</sup> Period and initial capital added.

<sup>630</sup> Orig. *ni walitangile*

*Likota Iya Bankoya*

makuma hamo na mandi yendi ‘Iyawanga’ Kakembele mwana Mushi-  
ma<sup>631</sup>, na Liyowa Mayungu, na Mbuma:

- (1) Kakembele wengile Mukankomba ku mukoka wendi kuli Nkunka,
- (2) Liyowa wengile Mukashungu bakonzo ba Mukwetunga Mulyata,  
na Mulambo Mwitila Kamamba,
- (3) Mbuma wengile Mukambunze baka Lyovu Iya Mbuwa.

3 Aba nibo babibinda bya banzovu shikumakuma hano ha Nkoya  
mwaka.

MWENE MUTONDO KASHINA KU LUKWAKWA KU  
LUKOLWE

**34**

1 Mwene Mutondo Kashina wayile ku Lukwakwa lubilo  
ku Lukolwe, niko akawanine Mwene Fumika Shipopa. Pele Mwene  
Mutondo balimamine wuhoni, hinge ngayi balishatile wuhoni na  
Mwene Fumika Shipopa. 2 Nohobene oho Mwene Mutondo ayile kuyo  
ku Lukwakwa, Bakubu kuno kunyima bakwatile Bana ba Bamyene na  
bepa ba Mwene, ba Shiwowa<sup>632</sup> Munangisha, Mushunga, na Nahonge  
wa mukazi mwana Lishenga, Watunga Makomani wa mukazi,  
mwana<sup>633</sup> Shiwowa ba mandi yendi ba Liziho. Bashimbile kami  
zingoma na mawoma ngo nehe tunamba ku litapululo 27.<sup>634</sup> Ha kuya  
kwa zingoma ha shikati sha wubili na bamina *Bankoya* ba batwarile  
kuli Mwene Mbololo, ku Bakubu ku Wului.

3 Mwene Mutondo Kashina na Fumika, pele *Bankoya* babengi baka-  
nine ku mukonka<sup>635</sup> ku Lukwakwa, watongwezele Mwene wamina  
Fumika ngayi,

‘Obe unyihanine *Bankoya* aba banakana kwiza muno.’\*

Niho atumine Mwana Mwene Kabongo na Livumina kuya na kwihana  
*Bankoya* nimwabo bazikile hahepi, na Kalimbata, pele oho bakumine  
*Bankoya* ku Lukwakwa bambi/ile Fumika ngayi,

‘Maharo wendi ou Mwene *Mutondo*, etu kumukana tufwako niye  
bene niye unatukana ndaba kulela litunga shiwahe ufwako uli na  
kulela litunga Iyendi shibi. 4 Niho bantu banapanzana.’\*

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631 Orig. *Mushimo*, however cf. (1: 5).

632 Comma deleted.

633 Orig. *Makomani*, wa mukazi mwana

634 Orig. 31, which would have been 30 after the deletion of the repetitious  
chapter 16.

635 Orig. *mukoka*

Niwo mazu a Bankoya awa bambile kuli Fumika. Nohobene Mwene Fumika wabokele ku Wului, mukutandaho Bakubu na Mbololo Mwene wabo.<sup>636</sup> 5 Pele Fumika wabokele ku Wului niho akahingile ha wene niye Mwene Shipopa. Pele Bankoya na Mwene Mutondo Kashina na mukonzo wendi Kancukwe babokele muno mu Nkoya, oho bakumine muno mu Nkoya, *bantu bamukanine*<sup>637</sup> Mwene Mutondo Kashina Shiyenge kwinga Mwene wamunene ngayi,

‘Ndaba unalete mushunga mu litunga na kupalanganisha bantu kukushinga tufwako haya!’

Niho bamukendele kumutupwila zintupu na kumupana byakulya, niho afwililile mu Shimano mwana Nyango. Pele bamufunda bamashenze. 6 Ndaba bana bendi ba

- (1) Kapoba Kalokoto,
- (2) Muyaya,
- (3) Lingunga,
- (4) Lushengo,

bamushiyle yinka yendi bayile kuli mandi yabo Lihano Limemo.

#### BAKA LIVUMO LYA SHAPITA

**35** 1 Nohobene ngo nehe banatikiti ku litapululo 4 ha byambo bya nguli ya nyungu ya wene, ngayi aba nimwabo balile bya munyungu ya ha litatamundilo hakutatika<sup>638</sup> babatumbile ngayi,

‘Enu muli Bakasheta munalishete ha nyungu ya wene enu muli Bamyene.’<sup>639</sup>

2 Aba nibo bamu livumo lya Katete. Bana ba Katete:

- (1) Mwene Liyoka,
- (2) *Bamu livumo lya Shapita* Mwene Liwumbo, niye Shakalongo,
- (3) *Bamu livumo lya Munga*<sup>640</sup> Mwene Mboma, na Kishinga.<sup>641</sup> 3

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<sup>636</sup> Orig. *yabo*

<sup>637</sup> Orig. *bamunine*

<sup>638</sup> Orig. *bakutatika*

<sup>639</sup> Closing quotation mark moved up from a few lines below: *na Kinshinga*’

<sup>640</sup> The Luampa editorial committee proposes to read *Mungambwa* for *Munga*

<sup>641</sup> Original closing quotation mark deleted here.

(4) Baka livumo Iya Shampongo Mwene Kamwatamwata.

Aba<sup>642</sup> nibo bakulwane ba wene wa Bankoya.

## MWENE LIYOKA HA KUYA KU MASHOLO

**36** 1 Oho Mwene Liyoka na Katushi bafumine ku Mabuwa ku Lukahu kwahemuwila mwanendi ku liziba Iya Munga. Niho batumbile mwanendi Iya Munga ndaba wahemuwilile ku Munga, pele Mwene Liyoka wakulishile mushinzi wa Lwena kukuma ku Mayukwayukwa; ku ncango ya Lwampa niko balitapilile na yayi yendi Katushi. 2 Pele Katushi hakuya ku mponci ku Wului. Oho Mwene Liyoka na mandi yendi Shapita hibakukulisha mushinzi wa Lwampa oho Mwene Liyoka akumine mu Lwamanzambo wapunwine muntu na kuyaka mukeza ha mawoma wendi pele oho kwashile hilumenemene mandi yendi Mwene Shapita watilaminine ha liwoma niho amonene mukeza ngengu hinga wafubila, 3 Mwene Liyoka wazikile lukena lwendi ku Kawoma. Lizina Iya Kawoma Iya fuma ha liwoma Iya Mwene Liyoka liwoma lyendi bene. Pele niho atumbile lizina Iya kashinzi ngayi

‘Kawoma ha ha hanafwili liwoma Iyami bene.’\*\*

## WENE WA MWENE LIYOKA KU MASHOLO

4 Hakufuma ku Kawoma wazikile ku Likolwa. Hakufuma ku Likolwa watuntukile kuya ku mabukubuku ku mushinzi wa Lwampa, hakutatika wazikile ku Lemvu mwana Lwampa, aha afumine ku Lemvu wazikile mu Lwampa ku Liyoni, niIyo lizina Iya lukena lwendi, 5 kufuma kuyo watuntukile kuya ku lusholo Iwa Kataba. Kuyo<sup>643</sup> lizina Iya lukena lwendi Iya tumbiwile ngayi, ‘Litoma’. Niho azingwilishileko matete nihano ashili kuyoya kuyo.

## LIVUMO LYA KATETE MWENE LIWUMBO

**37** 1 Na bakonzo bendi ba Mwene Mboma na Kamwatamwata, bana babo aba:

- (1) Mwene Mpelembe,
- (2) Mwene Kambangu,
- (3) Libondo,
- (4) Mwene Ngulube,

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<sup>642</sup> Orig. *Kamwatamwata, aba*

<sup>643</sup> Orig. *Kuoyo*

(5) Mwanatete Luhamba.

Mwene Liwumbo<sup>644</sup> hakulya wene wa litangile ngayi,

‘Ami Shakalongo Mwenda na Njimba’\*<sup>645</sup>

Wa litangile ha kulya:

‘Lishetamasholo’.

Mwene Shakalongo wazikile mu Kataba. 2 Nimo mwamuwanine Bama-shasha aba batinine nzita ya Bakawonde:

- (1) Shamamano, niye Shambanjo, oho shiloro ashwane lizina Iya Mwene Kahare, wayekele Ncunguni mwipa wa Mwene Liyoka.
- (2) Mwene Nkungulu niye Mushakabantu,
- (3) Mwene Kumina.

Aba nibo<sup>646</sup> bazikilenga na Mwene Shakalongo Liwumbo mu Kataba.

#### NZITA YA BAKUBU BAKA SHIKELETU

3 Nzita ya Bakubu ku Kataba yezile na kuli Mwene Liyoka. Oho Mwene Liyoka azikile lukena lwendi mu shisholo sha Kataba wate-ndeke kambi kuzingwilisha lukena nimwalwo. 4 Pele mawoma wendi oho avuminenga mu lukena niho Banduwe bayuvwilenga mukumo wa mawoma. 5 Kwezile Mukambuyu lizina lyendi ngayi Shaminimba mukumona Mwene Liyoka, nohobene Mwene Liyoka wayandishilenga Banduwe shikuma kubatenda shibi ngo nehe bandungo bene. Pele oho abatendelenga shibi, niho Banduwe bayile kuli Shikeletu Mwene ya ba Makololo (Bakubu) Mwana Mwene Shitwane mukuloba nzita. Pele niye Shikeletu watumine banzita ku Kataba kuli Mwene Liyoka mukulwisha; ngoboni ha kutatika oho Mwene Liyoka ushili mu lusholo mwakuzika, na mivwi ya matuta a wulembe ngo nehe shiheka sha Bankoya ha kulwa nzita hantu na matuta a wulembe. 6 Pele Bakubu babengi na Banduwe bafwilenga shikuma ku wulembe niho nzita ya bokele ku Shisheke kuli Shikeletu.

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<sup>644</sup> Orig. *Mwanatete Luhamba, Mwene Liwumbo*

<sup>645</sup> Period and initial capital of next sentence added.

<sup>646</sup> Orig. *Kumina, aba*



KUKWATIWA KWA MWENE LIYOKA

38

1 Nohobene oho Mwene Liyoka atuntukile ku lusholo lwa Kataba na kwiza mukuzika lukena lwendi ngayi, 'Ikenele'. 2 Oho Shikeletu ayuvwileko kami ngayi,

'Mwene Liyoka wafumakale mu lusholo ku Kataba',\*

watumine kami nzita ya wubili pele niho ya komene Mwene Liyoka bamukwatile na mpanzendi, na byuma bya wene. 3 Kami bapunwine Mwanashihemi wendi Bunganancako. Niye watumbiwire<sup>647</sup> ngayi, Limowavwa. Niho batwarile Mwene *Liyoka* ku Wului. Pele oho bayilenga ku Wului mpanzendi Mwene Nankuwa wafwililile ha nzila mu liziba Iya Ngoma nimo bamufunda. 4 Pele oho akumine ku Wului Shikeletu wa mutwarile munciza ya Lyambayi mu Lukona kuli yayi yendi Katushi. Kuno kunyima ha wene hahingile mukonzo wendi Libondo. 5 Oho kami niye Mwene Liyoka akafumine mu Lukona watandile mukonzo wendi *Libondo* ha wene. Niho Mwene Liyoka afwila ku Kataba.

MUTWE WA SHAMBO SHA WUNA

6 Nohobene nehi tunalaboko mavumo ana (= 4) ku<sup>648</sup> litapululo 35,<sup>649</sup> ngayi,<sup>650</sup> bakazi aba:

- (1) Katete,
- (2) Shapita,<sup>651</sup>
- (3) Munga,
- (4) Shampongo.

*Maziko wabo aba:*

Na (1) Mwene Liyoka, niye wamu livumo Iya mukulwane Iya Katete.

Na (2) Mwene Liwumbo niye wamu livumo Iya Shapita, ou niye Shakalongo.

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<sup>647</sup> Orig. *tumbiwire*

<sup>648</sup> Orig. *aana (4). ku*

<sup>649</sup> Orig. 40 — which would have been 39 after the deletion of the original chapter 16; i.e. still one chapter below, and not several chapters above, the present passage.

<sup>650</sup> Orig. *Ngayi*

<sup>651</sup> At this point, the original typescript faintly shows the following text as an original deletion: (3) *Shampongo*, (4) *Shapita*

- Na (3) Mwene Mboma niye wamu livumo lya Munga.  
Na (4) Mwene Kamwatamwata niye wamu livumo lya  
Shampongo.<sup>652</sup>

#### BANA BABO BAMYENE

- (1) Mwene Kambangu niye Mwana Mwene Libondo I.  
(2) Mwene Mpelembe niye Mwana Mwene Libondo II. Nyati.  
(3) Mwanatete *na* Ngulube, bana ba Katete.

7 Pele kunamana, aba Bankoya nibo batumbiwa ngayi Bashikalu.<sup>653</sup> Ngoboni nibo Bankoya bamo na baka Mwene Mutondo, howa kutapuluka kami livumo limo lya baka wukonzo Bakasheta.

#### BAKA SHIHOKA NALINANGA

**39** 1 Bamashasha Lukolwe, Wushanga. Benga kami Bankoya bamo shiwahehae howa kutapuluka nibo bazukulu kuli Shihoka, Mwene Shihoka niye mwana Mulawa niye mandi yendi. 2 Pele tati yendi Mukwetunga Mwandumunenu. Ndumba ya Likabe niye wabelekele Bamyene ba Likambi *Mange*, Shihoka, Mbuyu Muyeke, Shilumeshi, niye<sup>654</sup> Mwanambinyi; bokenu<sup>655</sup> ku litapululo 10. Byambo bya wene wa Shihoka.

#### LWENDO LWENDI MU KAYANGA

3 Mwene Shihoka na mwipa wendi Kahare nibo bayile nendi ku Lunga mwana Kafuwe (Lwenge), bayile na bantu mu banzovu. Pele niho akawanine mbuwa ya Wushanga.

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<sup>652</sup> Orig. (3) *Mwene Kamwatamwata niye wamu livumo lya Shampongo*. (4) *Mwene Mboma niye wa mu livumo lya Munga*

Order changed in accordance with the preceding list of ancestresses.

<sup>653</sup> Orig. *batumba ngayi ba Shikalu*.

<sup>654</sup> Orig. *na*

H.H. Mwene and the Luampa editorial committee propose to read *niye*; the original makes Silumesi a sibling of Mwanambinyi — the adopted alteration however makes the two names refer to one and the same person.

<sup>655</sup> Capital undone.

LUSHANGO LWA LWENDO LWA SHIHOKA  
NALINANGA

4 Niye wakatukile ku Nalinanga<sup>656</sup> ku lilundu Iya Nakalomo, oku kuli Bambunda ba Mwene Kandala na ba Mwene Shiyengele hano. Niko<sup>657</sup> kwekalilenga lukena Iwa Mwene Shihoka I oho akatukile kuya mu Kayanga mupengula ya banzovu, wakatukile na bantu bendi aba:

- (1) Kahare
- (2) Shihoka III.
- (3) Limbo,
- (4) Shikeku,
- (5) Loto,
- (6) Munga Wabanyama,
- (7) Kavwala Maboko,<sup>658</sup>
- (8) Shikomo,
- (9) Shamawoma,
- (10) Mbuma.

5 Ku bakazi kami aba:

- (1) Namuyobo,
- (2) Namwinci,
- (3) Nzabulula,
- (4) Muzowe,
- (5) Kamona na
- (6) mpanzendi Mbuyu Muyeke.

6 Pele bombokele Lwena kuya ku Lwamutwa oku kuli Kangombe ka Maha wuluno. Kufumako bayile na kukulisha mukulo wa Zongwe kukuma ku ncango ya Nkulashi mwana Zongwe. Babokele kami ku Makunzu ku Lalafuta. Nohobene oho bafumine ha Makunzu bakulishile Lalafuta kukuma ku Makubikufuka<sup>659</sup> mwana Lalafuta. 7 Pele niho bayile na Lushimba mwana Lufupa kukuma ku Makuli ku Lwenge oku kwafwila Mwene Kabulwebulwe wakukula. Pele niho babokele na Lunga mwana Lwenge ou bakutoya bashilero bakhembwiliza lulimi Iwa Mangalashi ngayi 'Kafuwe'.<sup>660</sup> Kuya ku ncelele.<sup>661</sup> Ha kupokola bakumine ku Mbuwa yayinene, ya Wushanga

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<sup>656</sup> Orig. *Nalunanga*

<sup>657</sup> Initial capital added.

<sup>658</sup> Orig. *Kavwala maboko*

<sup>659</sup> Orig. *Makubi-kufuka*

<sup>660</sup> Parentheses around Kafuwe replaced by quotation marks.

<sup>661</sup> Orig. *mutulo (North)*

ku Lufupa. Nohobene<sup>662</sup> oku niko kwashalile bana ba Mwene Shihoka *I* mukuzika ku Wushanga. 8 Niko bali nihano bene. Ba Shikeku, Limbo, na Loto. Nibo Bankoya bene shiwahewahe. Hano bakutelela ku Kashempa.<sup>663</sup>

9 Ngoboni niye mwine Shihoka *I* wakulishile Lufupa kuya ku mutwe wendi ku ncelele<sup>664</sup> wawanine Kapili ka Mushongolwa aka kali kunkumo ya Kashempa Mboma, pele wakumine mu Kayimbu niye wamonene mushele muyo, kufuma mu Kayimbu wakulishile kami Kabombo na kukuma ku Mbuwa ya Tumba, niko kwashalile mwipa wendi Kahare *I*. Niye Shihoka ha kuboka ku mponci,<sup>665</sup> 10 na kwomboka Lunga mwana Kabombo, pele wakumine ku Manyinga kuzika lukena lwendi lwa kambi lukutumbiwa ngayi, Lukolwe mu Lukwakwa.

## WENE WA MWENE KAHARE KA MULEMA KU TUMBA

### 40

1 Niho Kahare oho a litapile na kanyantu kendi Shihoka *I*, niye wazikile ku Tumba niko alililile wene wa Mwene Kahare. 2 Pele niye washimbile lihana lyendi wa Mukashungu niko abekelele mw-nendi Kapeshi ka Munungampanda. Pele Kapeshi oho ekalilenga wa-nuke wamonenenga ngonda kuyilu. Niho niye alilililenga kuli tati yendi ngayi,

‘Tate mpanikenu mpande yiyo yinatubu kuyilu’

3 Nohobene Mwene Kahare wakungulwile bantu nimwabo wabato-ngwezele ngayi

‘Temenu zimpangwa mununge Kapeshi mupatule yiyo mpande avwale Mwana Mwene’,

niho bantu batatikile kutema zimpangwa na kununga Kapeshi ngoboni oho Kapeshi ka talihile shikuma pele kawile *na* bantu nimwabo baya bakandamineko bashiwukile bafwile, kami babokeleleho kununganunga Kapeshi kamina kashiwukile niho kami bantu nimwabo baya bakandamineko bafwile. 4 Niho bantu obo bashalileho hibakwamba ngayi,

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<sup>662</sup> Orig. *ku Lufupa, Nohobene*

<sup>663</sup> Orig. *Hano bakutelela ku Kasempa (District)*.

<sup>664</sup> Orig. *mutulo (North)*

<sup>665</sup> Orig. *mponci (west)*

‘Haa enu balume tukumana shashiwahe lero twambenu kuli Mwene ngayi, “Tukumana monenu nka twamanakale bene nishon<sup>666</sup> twekalilenga nehe ndi!” ’<sup>667</sup>

5 Pele<sup>668</sup> niho bantu nimwabo bambile kuli Mwene ngayi,

‘Mwene bantu bamanakale, yiyo mpande ya liyilu, shuma sha kumona babengi kaliha mpande yiya byo, ngonda uya Mwene!’

Pele Mwene walehelesho sha kutenda Kapeshi. Bantu babengi bafwile shikuma ku Kapeshi. Pele Mwene Kahare wafwila ku Tumba.

## WENE WA MWENE KAPESHI

**41** 1 Oho Kapeshi akulile niho engile Mwene Kapeshi ku Tumba, niye wengile Mukashungu: ndaba baka mandi yendi Bakashungu. Lizina Iya mandi yendi Lihano Namuyobo mpanza Mbuma. 2 Pele Mwene Kapeshi wa<sup>669</sup> belekele mwanendi Kahare II wa mukazi, pele kami Mwene Kahare wa mukazi wa belekele Kahare wa mulume, muzukulya Kapeshi. 3 Oho Mwene Kahare II wa mukazi engile Mwene wa zingoma pele bantu bambile ngayi,

‘Mwene kati shumangani sha kwinga ndi obe unayi ku mabokwayi pele zingoma hizikumwena? Esh<sup>670</sup> shinabipi shikuma. Kati haya yakenuho mwanendi Kahare wa mulume, wa Luhuki Lumweya.’<sup>671</sup>

4 Niho Mwene Kahare III mwine wengile Wa Luhuki Lumweya, kami niye wengile Kakalavwe ou wafwila mu Milembo mwana Kabombo, niye ou wahemene Shikanda, pele kami Shikanda ha kuhema bana bendi babili. 5 Mazina wabo awa wakutatika Kalumpiteka niye wengile wa mulume, Mutolwa niye wengile wa mukazi kami Mutolwa wengile mwanendi wawubili. Pele haya Mutolwa ha kubeleka bana bendi mutanu:

- (1) wakutatika Kabambi Shambanjo, niye Shamamano,
- (2) wawubili niye Mulonga Livumina,
- (3) wawuhatu niye Mishengo,

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<sup>666</sup> One word *ka* deleted here in original.

<sup>667</sup> Two levels of quotation marks distinguished.

<sup>668</sup> Initial capital added.

<sup>669</sup> Orig. *a*

<sup>670</sup> Initial capital added.

<sup>671</sup> This sentence is in direct speech, except for the word *mwanendi*, which has a possessive nominal suffix for the third person.

- (4) wawuna niye mpanzabo Namuyobo, *na*  
(5) mukala wabo wa mutanu niye Mpelembe.<sup>672</sup>

## WENE WA SHIKANDA MU KAYIMBU

6 Mwene Shikanda wengile Mwana Mwene Kahare *III* Wa Luhuki Lumweya ou wafwile ku Milembo mwana Kabombo. Oho afwile, Mwene Kahare Shikanda wahingile ha wene,<sup>673</sup> ha shikati shiyo oho Bamashasha bashili mu litunga lyabo lya Kayimbu.<sup>674</sup> Nilyo tukutumba wuluno ngayi 'Kashempa District',\*\* na Kayimbu kumwaka bashikare batoyelengamo ngayi 'mu Kayimbu'. 7 Nohobene mu litunga elye nimo bekalilenga na Mwene Kahare wakukula. Oho a litapile na Mwene Shihoka ku Manyinga. Pele Mwene Shikanda wafwila mu litunga lyendi liyo bene, kami ngo nehe tati yendi. Ha shikati shendi sha kulela litunga lyendi, Mwene niho Bakawonde bezile<sup>675</sup> baka Katotola, Mwene Shikanda walwile nabo kutwara kukufwa kwendi. 8 Kami liyowo lya Mashasha lyafuma ha kunwa malovu a muzinge, hamina kami ngayi ntongo, na mushanga malovu a shingombe, muzinge boni hinge ngayi ntongo niwo malovu a maha (mayila) a makata niwo malovu banwanga Bankoya mwaka ha maha a makata. 9 Pele nibo ngayi mulume ukufwanina kunwa malovu a mashashu ngayi mwanga a shashenge ha mutima. Kufuma oho lizina lya Bankoya hili kubafuma pele hibakufutuka ngayi Bamashasha. 10 Pele hibakwambishanga mazu abili, awa ngayi 'ra'\*\* na 'ja'\*\* olyo boni lya kwambisha lizu lya 'ja'\*\* lya fumine ku Bakawonde na 'ra'\*\* pele owo mazu bawaninewo ku Bakawonde hoho<sup>676</sup> bekalilenga nabo. Mwene Shikanda wafwa ku wulweli wa kalili.

## MWENE KABIMBA

### 42

1 Ha shikati sha kulela litunga Mwene Kabimba, ha litanda lya wene wa kanyantu kendi Mwene Kahare oho afwile mufwala wendi Shikanda bantu nimwabo batinine kuzika mu litunga lya Mashasha (Kashempa), ndaba<sup>677</sup> Shikanda wengile wa kukanca shikuma katininengaha nzita ya Bakawonde, ngoboni Kabimba wafumine, pele bakatukile na kuya ku mabukubuku. 2 Ngoboni oho bombokele

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<sup>672</sup> Except for the fifth item, the insertion of numbers is justified by the use of ordinals in the Nkoya text (*wakutatika*, *wawubili*, etc.).

<sup>673</sup> Orig. *Oho wafwile Mwene Kahare Shikanda, wahingile ha wene*,

<sup>674</sup> Orig. *Kayimbu District*

<sup>675</sup> The Kaoma editorial committee proposes to read *bazihile* (killed) instead of *bezile* (went).

<sup>676</sup> Orig. *ndaba*

<sup>677</sup> Initial capital undone.

mushinzi wa Zongwe, bakumine kwakwipi na Lalafuta niho bayuwile mawoma wushiku; bakulwane bambile<sup>678</sup> ngayi kampe bayuwile mawoma a Mwene Mutondo / Shinkisha, mu Kalimbata. 3 Niho bashintulukile na kuya ku mushamuko,<sup>679</sup> pele babokele ku mushinzi wa Lufupa, oho Mwene Kabimba na bantu bendi bamonene mushobo wa bantu bakutumbiwa ngayi Bayeke hi balipununa hinga ngayi bali na kulipununa umo na wamina mulwabo.<sup>680</sup> Niho Mwene Kabimba na bantu bendi batinine na kushila wushiku. 4 Bezile ku ncango ya Lunga mwana Lwenge (Kafuwe), pele Bayeke babakonkele, oho babawanine bapunwine Mwene Kabimba mukati ka Lunga na Lwenge pele bamuyubile mwayi! Bayeke babokele ku litunga lyabo na mwayi (shitembe) wa shikonde sha Mwene Kabimba.<sup>681</sup>

## MWANA MWENE KALUMPITEKA NA MUTOLWA

**43** 1 Ha kufwa kwa Mwene Kabimba Bamashasha balipanzanishile shikuma. Niho ba Kalumpiteka na mpanzendi Mutolwa na bana babo bezile ku Lubanda ku litunga Iya Shamakanda niko bazikile myaka yayishe tuhu. 2 Kuyo bakonkeleko Mwene Kayingu, niye wengile kawushinda wa Bankoya. Bazikile munzi wabo Kalumpiteka na mpanzendi *Mutolwa* na bepa bendi ba Shamamano, Mulonga niye Livumina, Mpelembe Mwinuna na Mishengo niye Shalunganda. 3 Nohobene ha shikati shamina Balubanda (Baila) bapunwine<sup>682</sup> Kalumpiteka, oho bamuwanine bamuzihile na milinga. 4 Bambile ngayi,

‘Yani unakupana ngovu za kuhwaya mu liziba Iya kubula kunyepa, kubamwine litunga yani?’

Niye wakumbwile ngayi,

‘Enu kati kulimuka mufwako ngayi ami<sup>683</sup> nili Mwana Mwene ndi?’

Pele niho bamuyahile mulinga.

5 Kalumpiteka wafwila ku Lubanda (*Namwala*). Niko kwashala shizino shendi. Niho Shamamano na bakonzo bendi bezekele kulwisha Balubanda na bipando bya mikunzi na matuta, a wulembe.<sup>684</sup> Niho Ba-

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678 Orig. *mawoma Wushiku*, "bakulwane bambile

679 Orig. *mushamuko*, (*East*)

680 Comma changed into period.

681 Orig. *na mwayi wa shikonde sha Mwene Kabimba*. (*Shitembe*.)

682 Orig. *Balubanda*, (*Ila people*). *Bapunwine*

683 Quotation mark and initial capital deleted.

684 Orig. *na matuta (arrows)*, *a wulembe*.

lubanda batinine matuta a wulembe, pele batuntukile bayile ku Ncoko ku Kataba ku lukena lwa Mwene Shakalongo.

## SHAMAMANO NA BAKONZO BENDI KU KATABA

6 Oho Shamamano akumine ku Ncoko wa zikile munzi niho a bokele mu Nkanda mu litunga lya Mwene Kayingu na kupununa banzovu. Niho Kayingu a muyuvwile watumine bantu mukumukwata, pele Shamamano wayumbile ndungo na shipando na kuzukwelaho ntutu, kami niho babokele ku Ncoko watumine mukonzo wendi Shalunganda ku Wului kutwara liyewe lya nzovu kuli Liwanika, aha bayuvwileko ngayi, Liwanika uli na kuya ku Lubanda mukulwisha Balubanda, pele Liwanika kami wayuvwile ngayi Shamamano unalu na Balubanda wambile kuli Shalunganda Mishengo ngayi,

‘Boka ukashimikileko Shamamano ngayi akapitenga<sup>685</sup> tukaliwanine ku Ncoko. 7 Na nami kami nili hakuya ku Lubanda mukulwa nabo.’

Oho bakumine ku Lubanda, Liwanika na nzita yendi bapunwine Balubanda babengi shikuma. 8 Niho Liwanika ha kumona mituntu ya bantu bakufwa wambile kuli Shamamano ngayi:

‘Ndi uli wa mukali tiba mituntu ya bantu tumone ndi uli wamukali,<sup>686</sup> ndi uli mulume washikuma.’\*

9 Niho Shamamano akatukile, watibile mituntu ya bantu na ku baketola mitwe. Pele Liwanika oho amonene noho pele wamwipwile ngayi,

‘Katibo obe muntu wafuma kuti wa kanca nehe?’\*

Shamamano wakumbwile ngayi,

‘Ami nafuma ku liziko lya Mwene Kahare.’

Pele kami Liwanika wamwipwile ngayi,

‘Mwene Kahare ukumutoya nahiti?’\*

Shamamano wakumbwile kami ngayi,

‘Bankaka!’

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<sup>685</sup> Orig. *ngayi*, ‘*Akapitenga*

<sup>686</sup> Quotation mark deleted.



10 Pele Liwanika wamutongwezele ngayi haya unkonke<sup>687</sup> ku Wului.<sup>688</sup> Nohobene Shamamano oho akumine wayile kuli Liwanika ku Lyalui. 11 Pele Liwanika wakamufwikile muyemba wa ndumba wambile kukwendi ngayi

‘Yanga ukashwane Mwene Kahare.’

## WENE WA SHAMAMANO SHAMBANJO KU YANGE

12 Ha kutatika kwinga Mwene Kahare IV, ku Yange. Oho akumine Shamamano kufuma ku Wului, wa shimikile mazu a Liwanika kuli Mwene Shakalongo, pele Shakalongo wa kungulwile bantu Bamasha-sha nimwabo mukushwanisha Mwene Kahare IV ha wene. 13 Oho ekalile ku Kamano mukonzo wendi Livumina *wekalile* ku Litoya Iya Mbuma. Liwanika niho atumineko Bankamba mu mwaka wa 1904. Niwo mwaka bezile Bankamba mukubelamina nzita ya Balubanda. 14 Mazina a Bankamba awa:

- (1) Mutoka, niye Mufwaya,
- (2) Kabilamwandi,
- (3) Walitekano niye Libinga, ou tuli nendi lero.
- (4) Nkumbula niye Shimulyankumba,
- (5) Kakumba niye mwana Matinanga, niye boni wengile Kankoya, wayile ku wushamanga kuli Liwanika.
- (6) Mukobela niye Kabangu.

15 Aba nimwabo bazikile munzi wabo umo ku Litoya Iya Mbuma. Nimwabo bambilenga ngayi tunezi ku litunga Iya Mwene Kahare, mukulama wene wendi ku Balubanda. 16. Bankamba bezile oho Bamakuwa bakumakale mu litunga lino Iya Nkoya. Oho shiloro batatike mutelo; ha shikati sha Mwene Shipopa. Oho Mwene Kahare shiloro akume muno mu litunga lino Iya Nkoya, Mwene Kahare wezile hali Liwanika mwaka wa 1849. Bino byambo bya tontwelele ba Mwene Mishengo na liboko Iya Matiya Kapuka.

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<sup>687</sup> Orig. *unkoke*

<sup>688</sup> Comma changed into period.

LUSHANGO LWA SHIWOWA MWENE MUTONDO  
MUNANGISHA

44

1 Mazina wendi a wanuke niye Shibuyi Likambi, wahemuwila mu Mangongi mu lukena lwa Kayambila hamo na baminendi aba Mwana Mwene Kapoba, mufwala wendi, Mukamba, Shingole, muzuku lyendi. 2 Tati yendi Mukwetunga Lwengu lwa Matungu *na* ba mandi yendi ba Mwene Komoka Shihoka. Munangisha<sup>689</sup> oho<sup>690</sup> akulile watumine bantu mu Kawonde mu munzi muli Kalembelembe,<sup>691</sup> mukukwata mukazi ou ahatile ngayi enge Lihano lyendi. Pele oho bantu bakamukwatile na kumukulika mushala (Mushinzenga). Nibo bamuletele ku Miluzi mwana Lalafuta, niko kwekalile lukena lwa mandi yendi Mwene Komoka: oho akumine mukazendi kuyo, niye wamutumbile ngayi ‘Lihano Liziho’\*\* kutontolola ngayi

‘Ndaba banakukuliki Bankoya ha mubanda.’\*\*

3 Niye wengile Lihano lyendi wa mukulwane. Niko abelekelele bana bendi aba:

- (1) Makomani Watunga,
- (2) Shaloba Kanyinca,
- (3) Yuvwila Kandumba, kami Mwana Kancende niye wengile Lihano lya yayi yendi Shikongi.

Niho Mwene Shikongi a muhinyikilile mukonzo wendi, Munangisha ndaba wapitile ku litala lya yayi yendi. Pele Mwene Shikongi wambile kuli mukonzo wendi ngayi,

‘Unandoyo!<sup>692</sup> Mpane ndungo ushimbilile tuhu mukazi enge mukazobe.’\*

4 Nohobene Mwana Kancende wekalile na bana babili ba balume, wa kutatika Mampilu niye Wahila, ou abelekeleleko Mwene Shikongi. 5 Pele Munangisha wayakileko Kazikwa Shayama niye Mushonto. Aba a babelekeleleko oho shiloro aye ku Wului ha nzita ya Bakuba ya mwaka wa 1860.

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689 Orig. *Tatiyendi Mukwetunga Lwengu lwa matungu. Bamandiyendi ba Mwene Komoka Shihoka, Munangisha*

690 Repetition of *watumine* deleted here.

691 Repetition of *muku* deleted here.

692 Quotation mark deleted here and placed at end of next sentence.

MUNANGISHA UKUYA KU WULUI

45

1 Oho Bakubu bakumine mu Kalimbata mazolo, pele bakwangile<sup>693</sup> kuwana Mwene Mutondo Kashina. 2 Ndaba watutikilemo na malele ngo nehe shiheka sha Bamyene ba Bankoya sha kuzimina. Banzita kibamuwaninemoha. Hinge mwipa wendi Munangisha kami kibamuwaninemoha ndaba niye wayile na kuyomba. 3 Oho ayuwile miyoyo na mbingo ku lukena, pele niye wawanine Bakubu banakwata Lihano lyendi Liziho na mukonzo wendi wa mulume Mushunga na mwanendi wa mukazi Watunga, pele bakwatile kami Bana ba Mwene Lishenga ba Nahonge, na Kandiyeye, aba nibo bakwatile ku maboko a Bakubu. 4 Ndaba Mwene Mbololo walayile ngayi hinga mukabaziha ndaba nibo banengi [ **die vervuld waren van, who were saturated with** ] bamukeza wa wene, ngoboni mukabaleta babomi kuno. Nohobene Munangisha oho afumine mu lishaka, wa kumine na bilwisho byendi. 5 Bakubu bambile kukwendi ngayi,

‘Hinga utuziha hinga utupuha milinga na matuta a wulembe ndaba tufwako kuziha muntu muno mu lukena.’

6 Pele niye wakumbwile ngayi,

‘Na nami kami kwiza na kumilwisha nifwako, ngoboni ndaba munakwata bana bami,<sup>694</sup> tokenoko tuyenunga nimwetu hamo na bana bami na nami kushala nifwako ku bana bami.’

7 Niho bayile nendi na zingoma na mawoma ku Wului. Oho bakakumineko,<sup>695</sup> Mwene Mbololo wa batwarile munciza mu Kalabo: Niho Munangisha na Bana ba Bamyene<sup>696</sup> bakazikile lukena munciza mu Lukona mu Kalabo bene. Anukenu ngayi Mwene Mbololo wa kulupilile mushinzi wa Lyambayi ngayi kutweshwa kushila bafwako.

KUBOKA KWA MUNANGISHA MU NKOYA

46

1 Nohobene oho afwile Mbololo hamo na ba Makololo bendi, pele Mwene Fumika Shipopa watambwile litunga lya Wului. Ndaba niye wengile wuhoni na kanyantu kendi Shiyenge oho bekalile ku Lukwakwa. 2 Ngo nehe tunamba ku litapululo 34.<sup>697</sup> Oho Mwene

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693 Orig. *bakwaingile*

694 Quotation mark and initial capital of next word deleted.

695 Orig. *bakakuneko*

696 Orig. *na bamyana myene*

697 Orig. 39, which would have become ‘38’ after the editorial renumbering of the chapters.

Shipopa walyakale myaka yibili ha wene, pele wehanine Munangisha wambile kukwendi ngayi,

‘Ami nayuvu ngayi kanyantu kobe mu Nkoya ngayi wafwakale, nohobene haya boka na bana bobbe mu Nkoya mukebike<sup>698</sup> mundilo.’

3 Pele niho babokele na mukonzo wendi Mushunga, ngoboni mwanendi wa mukazi Makomani bamukakatilile, ndaba wengile wamuwahe shikuma. 4 Nibo bambile ngayi,

‘Ndi ukushinga mwanobe yanga ukalete ndungo wa kumufweka, wakufweka ngo owe mwanga ahinge mumwendi!’

Pele Munangisha oho abulile kuwana ndungo wa mukazi wamuwahe wayile ku Kabuzu kuli Mwene Kasheba Momba, niko akawanine ndungo wa mukazi wamuwahe. 5 Niye atwarile kuli Mwene Shipopa,<sup>699</sup> mukuletsha mwanendi Watunga Makomani. Pele oho bakumine Makomani wayekiwile kuli Nkulashi.

#### MWENE MUTONDO KASHUNKANI

**47** 1 Pele Munangisha oho akumine muno mu Nkoya, wawanine ba kanyantu kendi *ba* Mwene Kancukwe na mukonzo wendi Mwene Kabumbo banafumu mu Kalimbata banayi ku Namamono ku mutwe wa Lalafuta. 2 Niko akabawanine Munangisha, pele niye wabatuntwile kuboka ku Lizuna ku ncango ya Lwampa. Oho apitilenga niye wapitile ku shinzimbi sha kanyantu kendi ku Shimano mwana Nyango owo bafundile bamashenze. 3 Pele oho atilaminine ku bihanda bya kushizino wamonene munana wa wene ou wekalile ku shinzimbi sha kanyantu kendi, pele niye wambile ngayi,

‘Fumishenu munana tuyenunga ku Lizuna, zingwilishenuko lwanda ku shinzimbi,’\*

pele nibo batendele noho.<sup>700</sup>

#### BANKOYA HA KUYATA MWENE WA MUPYA

4 Nohobene Bankoya bayatile Munangisha ngayi enge Mwene Mutondo, aba:

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<sup>698</sup> Orig. *mukatumbule*

<sup>699</sup> Orig. *Shipopa*, (*hinge Sepopa*)

<sup>700</sup> Quotation mark deleted.

*Likota Iya Bankoya*

- (1) Mwene Lishenga Shonena Luhamba
- (2) Mwene Kancukwe Mukamba,
- (3) Mwene Shikongi

na Bankoya nimwabo, pele bayatile ngayi,

‘Munangisha niye Mwene Mutondo’

5 Niye mwine *Munangisha* wakanine ngayi,<sup>701</sup>

‘Ehe<sup>702</sup> ami nakana yakenuho mwipa wami Kashunkani.<sup>703</sup> Ndaba ami nili shibinda sha banyama kushinga wene nifwako, nikushinga tuhu kulibuya.’\*

Niye wahanganikile ngayi wene wawushe *wubinda wawunene!* Oho amonene mwipa wendi ha wene niye *wayenene, niho* walyongezele kukola na kwihana bambuki ngayi,

‘Mbukenu lizina Iya bankaka Iya Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha nilyo likunkolesha meho wami.’

6 Pele yihanenu bantu bampehelele mu shihanda, niho niye afutukile na kwamba ku bantu ngayi,

‘Ami bene Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha. 7 Obe uli tuhu Mwene Shiyenge nkaka yobe hipele,<sup>704</sup> hinga utina boha mwipa wami ami kutenda shuma nifwako.’\*

WENE WA MWENE MUTONDO MU LUKENA LWA LIZUNA

**48**

1 Mwene Mutondo Munangisha watendele lukena Iwa lunene shikuma ku Mayukwayukwa. Lwengile lukena Iwa lunene shikuma balutumbile ngayi ‘Lizuna’. 2 Pele ha kutina banzita bazikile zinkena zihatu nimwazo hamo, kwezanga *mutena* munzi wa kanyantu kendi Kancukwe, kwayanga *mutena* kami munzi wa Mwene Shiyenge kumbalila okwe munzi wa mwipa wendi Shimunika pele lukena mukati hinga ngayi lukena hakati, ndaba niye Mwene wayakile mulawo ngayi twikalenu hamo kutina batwinginina bantu. Mwene Mutondo Munangisha walelele litunga kufuma ku 1867 kuleta ku mwaka wa 1898.

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<sup>701</sup> Orig. *Niye mwine mukamine pele wakanine ngayi*

<sup>702</sup> Quotation mark and initial capital added.

<sup>703</sup> Quotation mark deleted.

<sup>704</sup> Orig. *hi upele*

3 Niye wafwila ku Lukunzi. Pele bana bendi ba Shaloba<sup>705</sup> Kanyinca, lizina lyendi lya kuhemuwa Mate Lushiku, na Kapoba, Kapitango, Timuna, Lipepo, Nkulamikabo, Lushiku Kalapukila, Masheka, na Watunga<sup>706</sup> niye wengile mpanzabo. 4 Kami ha shikati sha kukoma kwa Munangisha niho hezila ni Bankamba ba Balui. Bankamba mutanu pele mazina wabo awa:

- (1) Mwendaweli
- (2) Shakame,
- (3) Kasheyafu,
- (4) Shikowe,
- (5) Shikota<sup>707</sup> Mutumwa,

nibo Bankamba batumiwanga muno mu Nkoya kuli Mwene Mutondo kufuma kuli Mwene Shipopa ku Wului kwiza na kushinga mulombela wa wushi na bitembe. 5 Pele oho bawaninenga bitembe na wushi, hi bakubibweshwa ku Wului, pele Mwene Mutondo ha kukungulula bantu *bakubashimbishako* miziho ya wushi na mibamba ya bitembe, pele hi**bakubashindikiza kubatwara ku Wului.**

6 Kami ha kulela kwa Mwene Mutondo Munangisha niye wa pindwile shiheka sha Mukanda mu Lizuna. Pele owo Mukanda atendele Mwene Mutondo mu lukena lwa Lizuna niwo wengile Mukanda wa kukotoka, wakukumininaka muno mu Nkoya. 7 Munangisha kami wa-shingile kutenda Mukanda ku lukena lwa Mabala kwakwipi na Mangango.<sup>708</sup>

## WENE WA MWENE MUTONDO MUSHUNGA

**49** 1 Aha niye ayile mu Wului oho ushili kanuke,<sup>709</sup> pele niye wakalilongeshelemo biheka bya Bakubu bya kuhaka kulya, bya matuka na kuhandulanga bantu ngayi

‘Muli bandungo’\*\*

2 Mutima wendi wengile wa nguma wakubula kukomoka bantu hinge bawushinda wendi bene. Pele oho afwile yayi yendi Mwene Mutondo Munangisha niho mukonzo wendi Mushunga ahingile ha shanda ngo-boni niye kehalilehoha, ndaba bantu bamukendele ngayi

‘Wa kuhaka kulya shikuma na kubula kulilemenena’\*\*

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<sup>705</sup> Comma deleted.

<sup>706</sup> Orig. *Wtunga* changed into orig. *Utunga*

<sup>707</sup> Orig. *Sikota*

<sup>708</sup> Quotation mark deleted.

<sup>709</sup> Orig. *wanuke*

3 Nohobene oho balyambashanine noho bambile *ngayi*

‘Ou Mwene afume tuyakeho washenge’\*\*

hinge noho batinine ku mutongweza *ngayi*,

‘Etu tuli na kukufumisha ha wene!’

Pele mwipa wendi Kashunkani niye wayile ku Wului na kufumweta *ngayi*

‘Uno Mwene bantu kumushinga bafwako’\*\*

4 Wamufwetele kuli Liwanika, niho Liwanika atumine Babilolo babili mazina wabo ba Kasheyafu na Kavuyi. Pele nibo niho bakwatile Mwana Mwene Wahila Mampilu *ngayi* niye Mwene Mutondo. Pele niye Mushunga, washalile na lizina Iya Mwene Mushunga. 5 Hinge noho niye kashingileha kulwisha mwanendi wambile *ngayi*,

‘Shashiwahe nanami bene na kulakale.’\*

Mwene Mushunga wafwila ku ncango ya Nyango.

## WENE WA MWENE MUTONDO WAHILA MU LUKENA LWA NYANGO

### 50

1 Mwene Mutondo Wahila niye wengile Mwene wa kutatika kuya ha wene ku Bana ba Bamyene nimwabo. 2 Oho Mwene Mutondo Wahila wa shwanakale ha wene niho akatukile kuya kuli Liwanika, oho Mwene Liwanika amonene Mwene Mutondo Wahila, pele niye washingile kubokesha zingoma za wene wa Mwene Mutondo ezi ashimbile Mbololo ha nzita ya Bakubu mu Kalimbata, hamo na mawoma abili. 3 Nohobene Liwanika wayatile *ngayi*,

‘Zingoma za Mwene Mutondo na mawoma abili biboke, abokenga nabyo mu Nkoya’\*

Ngoboni shilolo umo lizina lyendi Kasheyafu, niho ambile ku bantu nimwabo *ngayi*,

‘Lehenu taha niyeko nikamumone eshe ali.’

Oho ayileko wakamumone, pele wambile *ngayi*,

‘Ami nakamono meho wendi owo Mwene akwimana mu mutwe, ndi mukumupana mawoma pele ukapununa bantu mu Nkoya.’\*

4 Niho mawoma a Mwene Mutondo ashalile mu Lyalui. Ngoboni wezileko tuhu na zingoma na bilimba, kufuma ha mwaka wa 1898: ashwananga wazikile lukena Iwa Milombe munciza ya Lwena muno ya mabukubuku<sup>710</sup> ha Kazembe omwo munaziki Mwana Mwene Mwangala nahano lili; pele nimo atumpwilile mayowo a mengi. 5 Ngambela Katuta niye ukutumbiwa Mwanashihemi, hamo na Babilolo bendi aba akwatile mayowo Mwene Mutondo Wahila, kufuma ha shikati shiyo atumpukilile nisho shikati sha tumpukile zingoma mu lukena Iwa Milombe, eze zishili kuvuma nihano. 6 Pele kumwaka wa 1900 niho Mwene Mutondo atuntwile lukena Iwa Milombe kulufumisha munciza ya Lwena kululeta munciza ya Nyango muyo mwayanga mutena, hancango ha na shangili Nyango bene, pele Iwa tumbiwile ngayi lukena Iwa Nyango bene. 7 Nimo bamuwanine ni Bamakuwa bakutatika, niye Mubushishi niye kami District Commissioner, lizina lyendi bamutoyeshelenga bantu ngayi Chikimwenci<sup>711</sup> (ngoboni nilyo likutoyiwa ngayi, ‘Sixworthy’\*), 8 Niye Mubushishi wezile ha kutatika, kwiza na kuhokela litunga na kutatika na kutikita minzi nimwayo muno mu Nkoya wezilila ku Kawonde.

## MILIMO YA MWENE MUTONDO WAHILA

9 Mwene Mutondo Wahila milimo yendi atendelenga oho niye uli ha wene wengile shibinda sha banzovu, oho ayilenga mu Kayange<sup>712</sup> wakekalilengamo ngonda ya nzimba, hinge zingonda zibili. 10 Ngo nehe shiheka sha Bankoya sha kuzihanga banzovu, oho Bamakuwa shiloro bakume muno mu Nkoya. Mu Kayanga hamina<sup>713</sup> wayile na zingoma zendi. Wahila kashingilengaha kwikala ha wene ninka yendi, ngoboni wakonkele biheka bya Kayambila na Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha, niye wapanine Babilolo babengi mayowo aba:

- (1) Katuta niye Mwanashihemi,
- (2) Mundendemi niye Nanyundo,
- (3) Shilanda, kanyantu ka Mwene,
- (4) Lwando niye Shikota,
- (5) Mwitila Kamamba,
- (6) Nalishuwa,
- (7) Liholola niye Mubonda,
- (8) Muyani Lintwike niye Lyomba,
- (9) Lyomboko niye Mushakabantu,

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<sup>710</sup> Orig. *mbowela*

<sup>711</sup> Comma deleted.

<sup>712</sup> The Kaoma editorial committee proposes to read *Kayomba* instead of *Kayange*

<sup>713</sup> Orig. *kamina*



*Likota lya Bankoya*

(10) Mafuka niye Namamba.

BASHAMANGA BA MWENE<sup>714</sup>

*Bashamanga ba Mwene aba:*

- (1) Mukulwane wabo Shipawa,
- (2) Kankemba,
- (3) Mwala Shikuma niye nkaka Mwene,
- (4) Mulamata,
- (5) Kawaba,
- (6) Shamanga wa Shipona niye Mulwishi.

11 Na Bashamanga<sup>715</sup> babengibengi, aba nibo bekalilenga mu lukena lwa Milombe. Pele Babilolo aba nimwabo bambilenga ngayi

‘Oho twekalile mu nkuta hituyata byambo twamonene Lingeleshi (niye Mukuwa wa mushobo wa Babilitishi), ha pita<sup>716</sup> munzila.’

Pele Babilolo bayileko na kumutambula, oho bamwipwile niye wakumbwile ngayi,

‘Ami Munali.’\*

LWENDO LWA MWENE MUTONDO WAHILA KU WUSHOLI

12 Oho akatukile Mwene Mutondo Wahila ha kuya ku Wusholi, wayile na zingoma zendi na zingongi, na ngomantambwe, wayile kami na Babilolo babengi. 13 Na Kayoni ka Mwene, Kapandula kami,<sup>717</sup> wayile nabo. Nimo akafumine na lizina lyendi ngayi,

‘Ami Katengutengu, Kayoni ka Mwene.’\*

Oho niye abokele kufuma mu Wusholi wayile kami ku Litoya oku bakutoyanga Bambunda ngayi ‘ku Mito’\*\*, Mito kutontolola mu lulimi lwa Shinkoya ngayi ‘Matoya’\*\* hinge ngayi ‘Litoya’\*\*, ku Lwale. 14 Niko akaliwanine na Mwene Liwanika ku Litoya lya Lwena oku kwazika Mwana Mwene Mayankwa nihano niko ali hinge ndi ngayi

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<sup>714</sup> Orig. *BYA-MANGA BA MWENE ABA*

<sup>715</sup> Orig. *byamanga*

<sup>716</sup> Orig. *Lingeleshi, (niye mukuwa wamushobo waba British an Englishman), ha pita*

<sup>717</sup> Orig. *Mwene, (Kapandula), Kapandula kami*

nihano niko ashili. Lwale nilwo lushitilo bashitilile batuyamana. 15 Kwakungulukilile bantu babengi shikuma. Liwanika wezile na bantu bendi na zingoma *zendi*. Mwene Mutondo kami wezile na bantu bendi babengi shikuma hamo na zingoma, na Katengutengu Kayoni ka Mwene aka mukumona mu shifwekesha. Bakonkele batuyamana bahonge, na<sup>718</sup> banzobe. Oho abokele Liwanika ku Wului, pele Mwana Mwene Mayankwa wafumine ku Lukwakwa ku Lukolwe, niho atulilile mu zintanda za<sup>719</sup> Liwanika. Aha hali munzi wendi na nkuta yendi yikutumbiwa ngayi ‘Mwito nkuta’\*. *Wuluno ili ku Lubuzi*.

## KWIZA KWA MUTELO MUNO MU NKOYA

### 51

1 Ku mwaka wa 1900. Oho Mwene Mutondo Wahila wekalakale mwaka hinge myaka mutanu (= 5) mu lukena Iwa Nyango. Nohobene Mubushishi wakutatika kwiza wamuwanine ha mwaka wa 1905. Pele oho Mwene amonene Mukuwa unakumu mu lukena, Iwendi niye Mwene Mutondo wezile na zingoma *zendi* na shipando shendi sha mukunzi, na bantu babengi bengi balume na bakazi. 2 Bezile mukumu shambilila Mubushishi, oho niye Mubushishi amonene Mwene Mutondo ha kwiza na zingoma na bilimba hamo na shipando shendi sha mukunzi, pele Mubushishi wawahililile shikuma. 3 Pele wanyepele kuli Mwene ngayi

‘Mwene puha eshe shipando shobe tumone?’\*

Niho Mwene apuhile muvwi na *kuyaha* mu shitondo ku meho a Mubushishi, lizina lyendi uya Mubushishi bantu bendi endelenga nabo bengile<sup>720</sup> Batonga na Baila, batongwezele Mwene Mutondo<sup>721</sup> na Bankoya nimwabo ngayi,

‘Lizina lyendi niye Chikimwenci.’\*

Pele Mubushishi wapitilenga na kutikita minzi muno mu Nkoya nimwamo. 4 Wafumininine ku litunga lya Bakawonde.<sup>722</sup> Pele oho anyepele kuli Mwene Mutondo ngayi,

‘Yitabila ngayi bantu bobbe, Bankoya nimwabo batelenga mutelo mu litunga lino.’\*

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718 At this point the word *babitutunga* has been deleted.

719 Orig. *mafulo a*

720 Repetition *bato* deleted here in the original.

721 *ngayi* erased here in the original.

722 Orig. *ku Kawonde Land*

5 Ngoboni niye Mwene Mutondo Wahila na Bankoya bakanine kutikita bantu ku mutelo, niho Mubushishi wabokele katikitileha bantu. Niye wabokele ku Kalomo, *ngoboni niye Mubushishi wezilile ku Wuwonde*.

6 Nohobene Kafulumende<sup>723</sup> ya shingile ngayi, Bankoya baye ku Nkambe ya Nangoma, ngoboni oho bakumineko hi ku litunga Iya shenge niho niye Mwene Mutondo Wahila akanine ku Nangoma, ngoboni niye Mwene Kahare Shamamano wa ketabilile kutelela ku Nangoma. 7 Ngoboni Mwene Kahare Shamamano oho bamumangile Bamakuwa kuyo ku Nangoma, pele wabokele kami kukonka Mwene Mutondo Wahila kuno ku Nkoya.

NKAMBE YA MANKOYA (KAWOMA) HA KWIZA  
KWAYO MUNO MU NKOYA

52

1 Hakutatika Nkambe ya Mankoya (*Kawoma*) eye mwaka yekalilenga ku Nakayembe kuli Mwene Mwendambelele.<sup>724</sup> 2 Pele Kafulumende<sup>725</sup> ya shingile Bankoya ngayi baye mukutelela ku Nakayembe. Ngoboni niye Mwene Mutondo Wahila wakanine ngayi,

‘Eehe nakana kutelele kuyo kunkumo<sup>726</sup> ya litunga.’\*

3 Kumwaka wa 1905, Kalela Mr Dillon Hazel, lizina lyendi Iya ku bantu ngayi niye Mwene Shikoko, bamina ngayi niye Mashikoko,<sup>727</sup> wafumine ku Mungu, pele oho akumine ku lukena Iwa Nyango kuli Mwene Mutondo Wahila, wanyepele muntu wa kumutwaninina kumbili ha kuya na kubala Nkambe.<sup>728</sup> Niho Mwene Mutondo Wahila akatwile mukonzo wendi Kanyinca Shaloba, ngayi obe<sup>729</sup> uya nendi umutwaminine mukuzika Nkambe, ya Likolwa. 4 Niho Bankoya batelele mutelo wa kutatika na wawubili. Mutelo wa kutatika ngayi ‘zinguluka kukena’,\*\* pele mutelo wawubili ngayi ‘Litendanzani’ Mr Helm Mwene Mangalashi<sup>730</sup> niye wengile Kalela wawubili, kami niye watuntwile Nkambe ya Nakayembe, kuyifungila na Mankoya (*Kawoma*). 5 Pele niho engizile bamashinja bakutatika ba Bankoya,

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<sup>723</sup> Orig. *Kafulumende (Government)*

<sup>724</sup> Orig. *Mwenemwendambelele*

<sup>725</sup> Orig. *Kafulumende (Government)*

<sup>726</sup> Orig. *kunkumoya*

<sup>727</sup> Orig. *niye (Mashikoko). Wafumine*

<sup>728</sup> Comma changed into period.

<sup>729</sup> Use of the second person suggests a quotation, which however (as is not unusual in spoken Nkoya) retains the syntactic form of direct speech.

<sup>730</sup> Orig. *ngayi Litendanzani (Spider). Mr Helm Mwene Mangalashi*

niye bene Mwene Mangalashi (Mr Helm). Wakutatika bene Mwana Mwene David Kanyinca Shaloba.<sup>731</sup>

6 Wawubili niye Fwanina Shamakungulu, wawuhatu Mwangala,<sup>732</sup> mwana Likambakanye, bamina bafumine ku Lwandui niyo Nkambe ya mwaka yekalilenga ku Wului. 7 Pele oho mutelo wakumine ku litunga lya Mankoya, niwo watandile bantu babengi kuya mu Makuwa mukushinga mali a mutelo; ndaba batelelenga nehe mulume wakuyeka bakazi babili pele ukutela pondo, pele uya wakushimba tuhu mukazi umo likumi limo pele kami mukabakazi bahatu pondo na likumi.<sup>733</sup> 8 Pele mutelo niho walulile shikuma ku bantu, bantu babengi bengi niho bafwililenga mu tolongo, nohobene Bankoya niho bembililenga ngayi,

‘Twafwakale,  
mutelo uno tawe,  
hi woo hi woo yaya  
twafwakale.’<sup>734</sup>

Pele bantu babengi oho bayilenga mu Makuwa kuboka bafwako baya bayililila bene nihamo, bamina kukafwilamo mwomwo bene bamina babomi nihamo mubali bashili kuyoya aba batininenga mutelo muno mu Nkoya.

KWIZA KWA BINTOLO MUNO MU NKOYA KU  
MWAKA WA 1912  
Mr D.M. BROUGH, ‘MILOLI’\*\*

9 Mr D.M. Brough, niye Mukuwa wakutatika kuzika shintolo<sup>735</sup> muno mu Nkoya mwaka wa 1912. Niye wazikile shintolo<sup>736</sup> kwakwipi na munzi wa Mwene Kapupa, wuluno niko kuli munzi wa Naliele Nkuta eye yikutumbiwa ngayi Mankoya Native Authority, pele niho ngayi Mr Brough wengile muhoni wa Mwene Mutondo wa munene, pele Mwene Mutondo Wahila wezilenga mukulanda mu shintolo shendi ha mwaka ha mwaka. 10 Nohobene Mwene Mutondo Wahila wafwile mu mwaka wa 1914. Bamakuwa ba Mr Helm D.C. na Mr David Miller Brough

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731 Orig. *Mwana Mwene Kanyinca Shaloba, (David)*.

732 Orig. *Mwangalala*

733 Orig. (20 Shillings), *pele uya wakushimba tuhu mukazi umo likumi limo (10 shillings) pele kami mukabakazi bahatu pondo na likumi (30 shillings)*

734 Period added.

735 Orig. *Shintolo (Store)*

736 Orig. *Store*

bamulilile shikuma muhoni wabo wamunene washikumashikuma<sup>737</sup> bene ku bantu nimwabo tuhu. Bankoya boni bamulilile mwaka wanzimba, Mwene Mutondo Shilya Milambu. Ha kumutangashana ngayi,

‘Obe Mwene Shikongi sha Mulawa wa Konga Wuvwa na Ndawo wa Konga Mashaka, Mampila a Nanzala.’\*

Hakufwa *kwendi* Bankoya bashehele mbewu, niko kulila Mwene yabo. Kubula mbewu<sup>738</sup> pele ukufwila mu lishaka ku baliyomo.

#### MWENE MUTONDO SHAYAMA

**53**<sup>1</sup> Oho afwile Mwene Mutondo Wahila, niho Kalela<sup>739</sup> Mr Helm watumine mukulwane wa bamashinja Munukayumbwa Mufaya. Niye wambile ngayi,

‘Obe Mufaya Munukayumbwa yanga mukulile<sup>740</sup> Mwene Mutondo owo wafwakale!’\*

Kalela ha kwamba ngayi

‘Wakamana kulila pele ukashwanishe Mwene wa mupya, “Ami nahata kale Kanyinca, niye Mwene Mutondo.”’\*\*’\*

Pele Mufaya Munukayumbwa ou wengile mukulwane ku bamashinja na shipando shendi sha shifefe,<sup>741</sup> oho amanishile kulila ha kukotoka kwendi wehanine Mwana Mwene Kanyinca. 2 Oho Kanyinca ahenyelele<sup>742</sup> kwakwipi nendi, pele watongwezele Mwene Lishenga na Mwene Kancukwe batati zabo hamo na Bakambuyu nimwabo aba bekalile ha malila a Mwene Mutondo Wahila ngayi,

‘Ami nikukumisha mazu a Kalela Mwene Mangalashi,’\*

pele oho amanishile kwamba noho washobolwele muyemba wa kutuba na kufwika Kanyinca, wambile ngayi,

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<sup>737</sup> Period deleted.

<sup>738</sup> Orig. *mbew*; spelling six words up is correct.

<sup>739</sup> H.H. Mwene proposes to read *Mubushishi* instead of *Kalela*, claiming that the title of *Kalela* (from the root *-lela*, ‘rule’) was reserved for the Governor of Northern Rhodesia.

<sup>740</sup> Orig. *mukulila*

<sup>741</sup> Orig. *shipando shendi sha shifefe (Shortgun) [sic]*

<sup>742</sup> Orig. *ahenyene*

‘Ou niye anakatoyo Kalela ngayi ou bene, haya nimwenu kambililenu na bakazi wulumwinenu ou niye hekulyenu.’\*

3 Nohobene oho Mwene Kanyinca ashingile kukana bakulwane bamwambilile ngayi leha taha tushili kulila tatila taha tulile. Pele oho bamanishile kulila malila Kanyinca hi Mwene Mutondo bene ngo mazu a Kalela. 4 Ndaba<sup>743</sup> Bamakuwa bahakile Kanyinca shikuma ndaba kami niye wengile wamuwahe ha kumupenza lutu lwendi lizina lya Mwene Mutondo lya mufwaninine. 4 Ngoboni yayi yendi Mushonto Kazikwa oho akafumine ku Balubale<sup>744</sup> (*Zambezi*) oku ayile, wawanine ngayi mukonzo wendi washwana kale wene wa Mwene Mutondo Wahila, pele niye wambile ngayi

‘Mukonzo wami afumeho nihingeho ami.’\*\*

5 Pele muno mu Nkoya mwekalile nkani shikuma, hakati ka Bankoya na mazu awa, niho Mushonto ayile kuli Liwanika. Nohobene Liwanika wayakileho Mushonto ngayi, niye Mwene Mutondo,

‘Oba Kanyinca winge tuhu Mwana Mwene hipele<sup>745</sup> obe uli tuhu Kanyinca. Ngovu zobe za wene za kukukambilila niko zili ngoboni wene wa zingoma uli kuli Mwene Mushonto.’\*

6 Pele Mwene Mutondo aha akumine muno mu Nkoya watendele lukena lwa lupya ku Kayumbamayewe kwakwipi na shizino aha azikile yayi yendi Wahila. Niho Mwene Mutondo a tendeshele litala lya bitondo byakuyuma bya kubaza shiwahe na<sup>746</sup> kushoka kuyilu lyengile lya kupampala na zindonda, kami lyengile lya kukubela na mwila wa muhange, lya kuyambila manala kunceto a nkolokoko na matete. 7 Oho lyamanine bayakileho wato kwinga shitungutungu, uya wato wekalile mu shihoke<sup>747</sup> sha litala lya Mwene Mutondo Mushonto; bawu lambile mpaza ya kutuba too niyo kami balambwilishile litala lya Mwene Mutondo, olyo litala lyendi lyengile lyalinene shikuma lyekalile na matala a mengi mukati kalyo (tumpenci) na lilapa lyaliwahe lya wene lya bitondo bya kubaza byakuyuma byakubaza shiwahehahe. 8 Hakumanishabyo pele Mwene niho afwile. Wekalile tuhu myaka yihatu ha wene pele hakufwa. Kowa muntu walimukile ngayi Mwene

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<sup>743</sup> Initial capital added.

<sup>744</sup> Orig.; in the rendering of this place-name (*Balovale*, now *Zambezi*, capital of present-day *Zambezi* district — the name clearly derives from a local ethnonym for the ‘Luvale’ ethnic group) the author is clearly torn between the Nkoya ethnonym for this group (*Lwale*, as used elsewhere in the text), and the official, formalized colonial spelling of the place-name.

<sup>745</sup> Orig. *hi upele*

<sup>746</sup> Orig. *ha*

<sup>747</sup> Orig. *shohoke*

ukukola, bantu nimwabo babazumukile tuhu ngayi mpande yapabuka kale. 9 Niye wafwile mu ngonda ya Shivulashabo<sup>748</sup> 1917, niwo mwaka afwile Mwene Mutondo Mushonto. Pele Bankoya bamulilile ngonda yimo kami niye kehalileha myaka yayingi ha wene, wekalile ngo myaka yihatu<sup>749</sup> kufuma ku mwaka wa 1914-1917.

WENE WA MWENE MUTONDO KANYINCA KA  
WUBILI

**54** 1 Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca wa bokele ha wene wendi mu ngonda ya Kwishi, 1917.<sup>750</sup> Niye bene ou bana wana bantu nimwabo, na naba banafumu ku Portuguese West Africa (Angola), na Balui banamuwana ha wene wendi ha lela Nkoya yendi. 2 Mwaka wa 1921 Muruti Bwana Katiti wafumine ku Macha<sup>751</sup> Mission wezile muno mu Nkoya na kushinga kuzika mission kwakwipi na<sup>752</sup> lukena lwa Mwene Mutondo. 3 Owo Muruti wa muletele Kalela.<sup>753</sup> Pele Muruti na Kalela bakambililile shikuma ha kubatambula, pele kami Mwene Mutondo na bantu bendi babashimbawilile na zingoma. Niho Mwene afungwile Ngongi Namabanda Mulumbami kushindikiza Bamakuwa kuya na kushinga mbalila yayiwahe ya kuzikila Mission, ha Kalundu ka kumoneka shiwahe.

4 Pele Muruti wabokele ku Macha Mission, bezile mu ngonda ya Kancukwe 1917.<sup>754</sup> Pele uya Muruti oho abokele kuyo niye wakafwile ha kumana kwa mwaka wa 1921. Niho twatambwile mbuzi ngayi

‘Uya Muruti wenu wakafwakale!’

KWIZA KWA MURUTI J.W.V. JAKEMAN MUNO MU  
NKOYA

5 Mu ngonda wa Kancukwe 6, 1923<sup>755</sup> niwo mwaka wendi akumine muno mu Nkoya. Niye wezile muno mu Nkoya kufuma ku litunga lya Angola (Portuguese West Africa) kwiza muno mu litunga lya Nkoya. 6

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748 Orig. *ngonda ya April (Shivulashabo)*

749 Orig. *yibili*

750 Orig. *ngonda ya Kwishi, December 1917)*

751 Orig. *Mecha*

752 Repetition of this word deleted.

753 Comma changed into period.

754 Orig. *August 1917 (Kancukwe)*

755 Orig. *wa August 6 1923*

Hakutatika washiyile Ndonga yendi ku Shifula<sup>756</sup> ku Paris Mission wayile kuli Mwene ya Balui Yeta III.<sup>757</sup> Oho Mwene Yeta a mwitabilile wezile na kuzinguluka litunga lya Mankoya na kushinga ha kuzikila Mission yendi, pele wawanine ku Lalafuta ngayi niko niku-zikila kuno. Niho a shingile bakamiziho hinga ngayi bashimushempula ngayi akalete Ndonga yendi Mrs Jakeman, niho awanine litunga lya Lwampa ngayi lyaliwahe shikuma. 7 Pele niho bakezile Bamishinari<sup>758</sup> babili: *Jakeman na Tokotela*, Dr Watney, oho bezile bashingile kuzika ku mwana Mibozi aka kashinzi bakutoya lero ngayi Mihozi, niho Dr Watney akanine kuzika hamo na Muruti Jakeman. 8 Pele niye wabokele ku Lukute. Ngoboni Muruti Jakeman wazikile aha hali ni lero hamo na Ndonga yendi bazikile aha baliwuluno ha kutumbiwa ngayi Lwampa Mission Station hinga ngayi S.A.G.M.<sup>759</sup> ya mu Lwampa, mu litunga lya Mankoya.

### MINZI YA KUTATIKA BAWANINE KUNO<sup>760</sup> KU LWAMPA<sup>761</sup>

*Minzi ya kutatika bawanine ku Lwampa eye:*

- (1) Mwanatete,
- (2) Lyambombola Kayokomona,
- (3) Mpelembe,
- (4) Kanatu,
- (5) Mutembanja,

niyo yengile minzi yayinene muno mu Lwampa ya Bankoya.

### MINZI YA BAYENI BAKUMINE KUFUMA KU ANGOLA (PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA) KUFUMA KU MWAKA WA 1917-23

*Minzi ya bayeni bakumine kufuma ku Angola (Portuguese West Africa) kufuma ku mwaka wa 1917-23 eye:*

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<sup>756</sup> Orig. *Sefula*

<sup>757</sup> Orig. *kuli Paramaunt Chief Yeta III*

<sup>758</sup> Orig. *Missionaries*

<sup>759</sup> Orig. (*S.G.M.*); the usual abbreviation is S.A.G.M. (South Africa General Mission, formerly called the Andrew Murray Memorial Mission, and later the African Evangelical Fellowship — out of which the Evangelical Church in Zambia came forth).

<sup>760</sup> The original left out *kuno* in this section title, but does have *bawanine*; the original table of contents had *kuno* but not *bawanine*

<sup>761</sup> Orig. *KU LWAMPA EYE*



*Likota lya Bankoya*

- (1) Chimande,
- (2) Safuli,
- (3) Chinkumbi,
- (4) Mbundu,
- (5) Chikayi,
- (6) Samakaka,
- (7) Milambu,
- (8) Sawato.<sup>762</sup>

MINZI YA MISSION YA KONKELE MURUTI  
JAKEMAN KUFUMA KU ANGOLA

*Minzi ya mission ya konkele Muruti Jakeman kufuma ku Angola eye:*

- (1) Barnaba Kalyangu, 1924. Aba nibo bantu bakonkele Muruti Jakeman,
- (2) Elisha Makayi, 1926, kufuma ku Angola ku Portuguese West Africa.

MINZI YA ZIKILE MWAKA OHO SHILORO  
BAMAKUWA BEZE MUNO MU LITUNGA LYA  
NKOYA<sup>763</sup>

**55**

1 Mwazikilenga bantu muno mu Lwampa, ha ncango ya Kahumbu:

- (1) hekalile munzi wa Mfunda
- (2) Kanatu ku mwana Mibozi aka kashinzi banatumbu wuluno ngayi Mihozi,<sup>764</sup> mu lulimi lwa bayeni. 2 Bakufuma ku Angola ku Portuguese West Africa.
- (3) Mutembanja wazikilenga ha Katondo aha hali shintolo sha Elinja Maseka Kavita, aka kashinzi bakutoya ngayi Kasheke wuluno.

3 Oho Muruti Jakeman ayile ku lukena wakawanine Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca pele bantu bamutambwile shiwahe. Niho kami bantu babengi bakungulukile na kuyuvwa Mazu<sup>765</sup> a Nyambi pele oho

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<sup>762</sup> In the original, this list began with (1) *Mbandu*, after which followed (2) *Chimande*, (3) *Safuli*, etc.; (1) *Mbandu* was erased in the original and the others renumbered accordingly.

<sup>763</sup> Orig. *LITUNGA LYA NKOYA (DISTRICT)*

<sup>764</sup> Orig. *Mihoji*

<sup>765</sup> Capital added.

niye amanihile kushimikila Lizu, *Muruti Jakeman*<sup>766</sup> wambile ku bantu nimwabo ngayi

‘Enu bantu nimwenu mwenu kuno ku lukena, kungulukenunga ha mutena wa Shunda, ha Shunda ha Shunda.’\*

*Mwene wetabilile, niho ambile ngayi*

4 ‘Pele kami Muruti a kungulukenga mu nkuta yami’,\*\*

niho bantu nimwabo bakungulukilenga mu nkuta. Nohobene Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca na ba Lihano lyendi betabilile kuli Yesu<sup>767</sup> hamo na bantu bamina bamakumi mutanu na limo (= 60),<sup>768</sup> mu ngonda ya Kalyandengo<sup>769</sup> bene oho bakumine ku ngonda ya Shiyenge,<sup>770</sup> Mwene wakungulwile bantu mukutenda litala lya shikolo na Mwene niye mwine watendelengako na maboko wendi, na Mwene Lishenga kami watendelengako na maboko wendi, mwine. 5 Ku mwaka wa 1932 Muruti Randall wa kwatile Mission oho Muruti Jakeman ayile mukukatala kuntilima.<sup>771</sup> Niye wayakile Mwene Mutondo kukuzila ngo kumuzilika munzila ya ha byuma bya hano hanci, ngayi niye atengulukile tuhu munzila yimo ya kulimuka bya Mwene Nyambi pele. 6 Pele oho Muruti Jakeman, abokele kufuma kuntilima<sup>772</sup> niye wazubilishile Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca, niye wamuzubilishile mu ngonda ya Kalyandengo,<sup>773</sup> kufuma ha shikati shiyo Mwene Mutondo wengile hi muka litengo. 7 Pele niye wakanine ba Mahano aba ekalilenga nabo washalile tuhu na ba Lihano *umo*, *Lihano Kawabila* (Eva).<sup>774</sup> Mutena wakubayaka mubizilika hamo, na mutena wakubazubilisha umo ha mwaka wa 1934. 8 Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca wengile Mwene wa munene shikuma muno mu Nkoya. Kami wengile Mwene mukati ka Bankoya nimwabo unalele litunga myaka yayingi yikukuma ku makumi abili na myaka mutanu na umo (= 26).<sup>775</sup> Kufuma ku mwaka wa 1917-43. Pele hi kufwa, wafwa mu 22nd Kwishi

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<sup>766</sup> In the Nkoya original the speakers Jakeman and Mwene Mutondo have changed places in the text, which is clearly a mistake in the light of verse 4 of this chapter: the court can only be Mwene Mutondo’s.

<sup>767</sup> Orig. *Yesu*

<sup>768</sup> Orig. (66)

<sup>769</sup> Orig. *June*

<sup>770</sup> Orig. *Shiyenge*, (July)

<sup>771</sup> Orig. *mukukatala ku England*

<sup>772</sup> Orig. *kufuma ku England*

<sup>773</sup> Orig. *June*, (*Kalyandengo*)

<sup>774</sup> Orig. *Kawabila*, (*Lihano Eva*)

<sup>775</sup> Orig. *makumi abili na myaka mutanu na umo* (26 years).

*Likota Iya Bankoya*

1943, wushiku. Niye wakafwililile ku Shilombo.<sup>776</sup> 9 Bantu bendi bapindikile lumenemene bawanine ngayi,

‘Mwene kowa!<sup>777</sup> Mpande yapabuka kale!’\*

Kalela Mr E. Crawford wezile mukumona mutuntu wa Mwene<sup>778</sup> Mutondo. Wanyepele Bankoya ngayi,

‘Ami nikushinga Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca afundiwe ha shipana sha Ofisi<sup>779</sup> ya Mankoya,’\*

ngoboni Bankoya bakanine ngayi byo aye akafundiwe mu lukena lwendi bene ndaba nisho shiheka shetu etu Bankoya ngayi, Mwene nimwendi kufwa wafundiwanga mu lukena lwendi, pele uno kami tukumutwara mu lukena lwendi akalalemo.<sup>780</sup> 10 Pele haya Kalela watumine mukulwane wa bamashinja<sup>781</sup> Locha Jito, mukumona oku bakufundila Mwene. Muruti Watson wa ha *Lwampa Mission* kami watumineko Jenise<sup>782</sup> na Teacher Longwani.<sup>783</sup> Lumuni nibo bayile mukumona ha kufunda Mwene Mutondo. Pele Muruti wendi Banjaman Ngandalo wa *longeshelenga ha shikola sha mu lukena*, niye wa mufundile na kulumbela.

BAKAKUTIKITA BYAMBO EBYE BYA MU LIKOTA

**56** 1 Aba banatikiti byambo bya Likota Iya Bankoya na Muhumpu bali nakunyepa ngayi, Bankoya bahanganike shiwahewahe, ha byambo ebye bakwamba bantu aba banezi wuluno kufuma ku Angola! Ngayi bakuyuvwanga Balui hi bamba ngayi Bankoya benga bandungo.<sup>784</sup>

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<sup>776</sup> Orig. *wafwa mu 22nd December 1943. Wushiku, niye wakafwila ku Shilombo.*

<sup>777</sup> Quotation mark deleted.

<sup>778</sup> Orig. *Craford [sic], wezile mukumona mutuntu wendi Mwene*

<sup>779</sup> Orig. *Office*

<sup>780</sup> Quotation mark deleted.

<sup>781</sup> Orig. *Mukulwane wa bamashinja Head Messenger*

<sup>782</sup> Orig. *Jease* — original correction.

<sup>783</sup> Orig. *Longwan*

<sup>784</sup> Original quotation marks in this paragraph have been deleted.

‘BANKOYA BENGA BANDUNGO ZETU’\*\*

2 Nka Balui aba babashilero nibo nisho balinakwambanga noho, na kutongweza bayeni nohobene ndi? Bamaharo. Mwene Nyambi<sup>785</sup> ukubiholola ku mwanendi. 3 Muntu ha kumuheta ndele wutontolole shiwahe nzila oyo wamuhetele nayo.<sup>786</sup>

Etu boni Bankoya tukutwasha kutontolola byambo bya Bamyene aba banengi.<sup>787</sup>

- (1) Mulambwa,
- (2) Shipopa,
- (3) Liwanika,
- (4) Litia Yeta III.

4 Ku mwaka wa 1817<sup>788</sup> Mwene Kayambila Shishopa oho ekalile ha wene ku lukena lwa Mangongi, nisho shikati osho Mwene Mulambwa Notulu wa Balui ezile ku Lwatembo ku munzi wa Mbuma, niko atendelele zintanda zendi,<sup>789</sup> Mwene Mulambwa, mukati ka Lwatembo na Lukalanyi, mishinzi eye yibili na minzi ya ba Mbuma na Mulonda niko akuminine Mwene Mulambwa, ku maboko a bantu aba ba Mbuma na Mulonda.

MULAMBWA

5 Niye wakonkele wanga wa wene wa kumuteleka ngo nehe ayuvwile ngayi,<sup>790</sup>

‘Nisho bapanganga Bamyene ba Bankoya wanga wa kwihala ha wene ha litunga lyendi.’\*

Pele ba<sup>791</sup> Mukwetunga Mulyata na Mulambo, Mwitila<sup>792</sup>, *nibo baka-mutambwile*.

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<sup>785</sup> Orig. *MWENE NYAMBI*

<sup>786</sup> Original quotation marks in this paragraph have been deleted.

<sup>787</sup> Orig. *bana*

<sup>788</sup> Period deleted.

<sup>789</sup> Orig. *mafulo wendi*

<sup>790</sup> The following words have been erased here in the original: *Nisho batendanga bamyene B ba Bankoya wanga wa [sic]*

<sup>791</sup> Orig. *Ba*

<sup>792</sup> Here the main text of the original manuscript ends. However, two stray pages followed, containing text which is an exact repetition of chapters 16 and 17 (as renumbered) above, from *Wene wa Kabazi ku Litoya Iya Mbuwa* to (but not including) *Bana ba Mwene Manenga*. These repetitions have not been included here.

**BIZINO BYA BAMYENE BA BANKOYA**  
**[THE BURIAL SITES OF THE MYENE OF THE**  
**NKOYA]**<sup>336</sup>

*lya tikitwile na ba [by] Hamba H. Mwene*

*1. Livumo lya Mwene Libupe (mukazi)*<sup>337</sup>

	<i>Mwene</i>	<i>shizino</i>	<i>mbalila</i>
1	<i>Libupe</i>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
2	<i>Shilayi</i>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>

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<sup>336</sup> These four lists were added to Rev. J.M. Shimunika's text of *Likota lya Bankoya* by H.H. Mwene, along with such other additions and alterations as the latter made to the manuscript in the mid-1970s, in anticipation of publication. Lists 1 and 4 have been typed on the same typewriter; list 2 on a different one; and list 3 on a different one again (cf. *Appendix 1*). All four lists contain specimens of H.H. Mwene's handwriting.

That these lists have a different status from the main body of the *Likota lya Bankoya* text is already clear from the fact that a number of names of rulers appear in them which are not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*: Mwene Kasholongombe, Mwene Katalamanenga, Mwene Ndendola (all three in the Kahare line; list 2), whereas some prominent names in the Mutondo line, discussed at length in *Likota lya Bankoya*, were only inserted by Mr H.H. Mwene on second thoughts: when he was among the Nkoya readers to correct the proofs for Part II in 1985. This applies to the names of Mwene Mungambwa and Mwene Mashiku, list 1. Also, the lists go to considerable length in the allocation of dynastic numbers in Roman figures — whereas Shimunika's text as reconstructed by me lacked both insistence and consistency on this point — in reflection, no doubt, of the multifarious, competitive and diffuse processes of state formation in western Zambia in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which simply cannot be represented as the orderly evolution of one or two well-organized dynasties observing strict patterns of succession — as I have argued in Part I above.

The lists must, therefore, be seen not so much as a systematic compilation of the information as presented in *Likota lya Bankoya*, but — at least in part — as a presentation of the results of personal inquiry by Mr Mwene. This justifies their inclusion here: as his personal contribution to our study of the history of western Zambia.

When reworking the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript, Mr Mwene intended to let a fully written-out, i.e. discursive, version of essentially the same information as contained in these lists precede the main text of the book; the present list would then form an appendix. Mr Mwene's Preface as included in the present edition still derives from this plan. In 1985 he suggested that this discursive text could be omitted if the tabulated list was to be included. The present editor has followed this suggestion, but for fear of losing valuable historical information beyond retrieval it was felt that such inconsistencies as could be spotted between the discursive and the tabulated list, both in their mid-1970s and their 1985 versions, should be indicated here in footnotes — as has been done for Rev. Shimunika's text itself. For it is such discrepancies — evidence of Mr Mwene's personal struggle to come closer to the historical truth — that will guide us to formulate new research questions, and to appreciate

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the social and cultural role of history in the presentday society of western Zambia.

The lists will not appear in Part III in an English translation, because for one thing they do not form part of the original text of *Likota lya Bankoya*, for another because they merely consist of names whose English equivalents can be easily reconstructed by the reader by reference to my chapter 2 above; e.g. Nk. Kabombo = Eng. Kabompo, etc. As far as the headings of the columns are concerned, *shizino* means 'burial site' and *mbalila* specifies the district or area.

337 'The matrilineage of Mwene Libupe (female)'

The discursive text consists of three sections preceded by an introduction (I have subjected Mr H.H. Mwene's text to the same systematic editorial changes as Rev. Shimunika's main text):

*'Bankoya bafuma ku Lwalaba ku Wuluba bombekele mushinzi wa Lwalaba noho bezile ku mutwe wa Kabombo ku Mbuwa ya Tumba bazikile lukena lwabo. ('The Nkoya came from the Lualaba in Lubaland; they crossed the Lualaba river and then went to the headwaters of the Kabompo, to the plain of Tumba, where they built their capital')*

*I. Bizino bya bamyene ba bakazi ba Bankoya awa: ('The following are the burial places of the female Myene of the Nkoya')*

- (1) *Mwene Libupe*
- (2) *Mwene Shilayi*
- (3) *Mwene Katele*
- (4) *Mwene Shilemandumba [Shilemantumba]*
- (5) *Mwene Nawato.*

*Aba nibo Bamyene ba bakazi bafwila ku mbuwa ya Tumba. ('These are the female Myene who died in the plain of Tumba.')*

*II. Bizino bya Bamyene ba balume ba Bankoya awa: ('The following are the burial places of the male Myene of the Nkoya')*

[follows essentially the information in list 1 as from line no. 6, with specific differences to be spelled out below]

(...)

*II. BAKA LIVUMO LYA MULAWA MWANA NAWATO ('THOSE OF THE MATRILINEAGE OF MULAWA DAUGHTER OF NAWATO')*

*Mulawa niye wafumine muno mu Nkoya bana bendi aba: ('From Mulawa came forth the following children here in the land of Nkoya:')*

- (1) *Likambi,*
- (2) *Shilumelume,*
- (3) *Shihoka,*
- (4) *mukazi Mbuyu Muyeke. ('a daughter, Mbuyu Muyeke.')*

*Aba baka Mulawa niko kwa fuma Bankoya Lukolwe na Mashasha benga baka Shihoka. ('These are the descendants of Mulawa, from whom sprang the Nkoya Lukolwe and — as the people of Shihoka — the Mashasha.')*

3	<i>Katete</i>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
4	<i>Shilemantumba</i> <sup>793</sup>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
5	<i>Nawato</i>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
6	<i>Luhamba</i>	<i>Lukahu</i>	<i>Lukwakwa</i> <sup>794</sup>
7	<i>Kashina I</i>	<i>Katetekanyemba</i>	<i>Nabowa</i>
8	<i>Lipepo</i>	<i>Kangulumange</i>	<i>Nabowa</i>
9	<i>Welema</i>	<i>Kenga</i>	<i>Lwampa</i>
10	<i>Kazikwa I</i>	<i>Mukunkike</i> <sup>795</sup>	<i>Lwena</i>
11	<i>Shihoka II</i>	<i>Kalwizi</i>	<i>Nyango</i>
12	<i>Kabongo I</i>	<i>Shihili</i>	<i>Shitwa</i>
13	<i>Kalumbwa</i>	<i>Mubawo</i>	<i>Liziba Iya</i> <i>Nkombalume</i>
14	<i>Kabazi</i>	<i>Shilumbilo</i> <sup>796</sup>	<i>Njonjolo</i>
15	<i>Manenga</i>	<i>Kamano</i>	<i>Lwashanza</i>
16	<i>Kabongo II</i>	<i>Lukwe</i>	
17	<i>Mungambwa</i>	<i>Kalobe</i>	<i>Shitapo</i> <sup>797</sup>

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*Bizino bya Bamyene aba: ('The burial places of the Myene are the following.')*

[follows essentially the information in list 2 as from line no. 1, with specific differences to be spelled out below]

It is interesting to note that in the tabulated list the earliest, female *Myene* are almost exclusively claimed for the Mutondo line, whereas in the discursive text the period of the female *Myene* is distinguished from that of male *Myene*, in such a way as to suggest that such a distinction would apply to both the Mutondo and the Kahare line. Also noteworthy is that the lines of Momba and Kabulwebulwe are discussed in the tabulated list, but not in the discursive text.

All information from the discursive text will be rendered here in footnotes, in so far as this information differs from or adds to that in the tabulated list; thus it is unnecessary to include Mr H.H. Mwene's discursive text itself.

The information in the tabulated lists and the discursive text turns out to be rather in agreement for the Mutondo line, but shows considerable discrepancies for the Kahare line.

<sup>793</sup> Orig. *Shilemandumba*, see note to main Nkoya text (5: 1). Also note that here Katete appears before Shilemantumba, contrary to Rev. Shimunika's account.

<sup>794</sup> As stated in 1985, also in the discursive text; in c. 1976 this item was listed as: Nkulo, Lwena-Mwito.

<sup>795</sup> The discursive text has: *ku Namasheshe, mukati ka Mukunkike na Namasheshe* ('at Namasheshe, halfway between Mukunkike and Namasheshe')

<sup>796</sup> The discursive text has: *Litoya Iya Mbuma ku ncango ya Shilumbilo* ('the Mbuma valley on the Shilumbilo stream')

<sup>797</sup> H.H. Mwene added this line only in 1985. Thus all subsequent original (= c. 1976) line numbers in this list were increased by one. Mwene Mungambwa likewise does not come up in the discursive text.

18	<i>Kavuba I</i> <sup>798</sup>	<i>Kaloli</i>	<i>Nyango</i>
19	<i>Mukamba Kuwonga</i>	<i>Mpulakamanga</i>	<i>Namimbwe</i>
20	<i>Mashiku</i>	<i>Namaloba</i>	<i>Namaloba</i> <sup>799</sup>
21	<i>Kayambila</i>	<i>Mangongi</i>	<i>Tateyoyo</i>
22	<i>Shinkisha Mutondo I</i>	<i>Kalimbata</i>	<i>Lalafuta</i>
23	<i>Kashina II Shiyenge Mutondo II</i>	<i>Shimano</i>	<i>Nyango</i>
24	<i>Kashunkani Mutondo III, bamutandileko</i> <sup>800</sup>		
25	<i>Munangisha Mutondo IV Lukunzi</i>		<i>Mangango</i>
26	<i>Mushunga Mutondo V</i>	<i>Kayumbamayewe</i>	<i>Nyango</i>
27	<i>Wahila Mutondo VI</i> <sup>801</sup>	<i>Nyango</i>	
28	<i>Mushonto Mutondo VII</i> <sup>802</sup>	<i>Kayumbamayewe</i> <sup>803</sup>	
29	<i>Shayama Kazikwa II</i> <sup>804</sup>	<i>Nyango</i>	
	<i>Mutondo VII</i>		
30	<i>Kanyinca Mutondo VIII</i>	<i>Ngangula</i>	
31	<i>Muyita Muchayila Mutondo IX, ha yoya</i> <sup>805</sup>		
32	<i>Kalapukila Mutondo X</i>	<i>Nyangula</i> <sup>806</sup>	
33	<i>Muyita Muchayila Mutondo, ha yoya, na shwana ka wubili</i> <sup>807</sup>		

798 In 1976 the original *Kavula* was erased in handwriting and replaced by *Kavuba I*.

799 H.H. Mwene added this line only in 1985. Thus all subsequent original (= c. 1976) line numbers in this list were again increased by one. Mwene Mashiku does not come up in the discursive text.

800 ‘Kashunkani Mutondo III, who simply abdicated’ (and therefore has no royal burial site to be listed here).

801 The discursive text adds: *niye bawanine ba Makuwa, niye wa zikishile Nkambe ya Mankoya. Wafwila ku Nyango mwaka wa 1914.* (‘who was in office when the Whites came, and had the Mankoya boma built. He died on the Nyango in the year 1914.’)

802 Dynastic number as stated in 1985.

803 H.H. Mwene added this line only in 1985. Thus all subsequent original line numbers (= from c. 1976) in this list were again increased by one.

804 Dynastic number as stated c. 1976 and not altered in 1985.

805 ‘Muyita Muchayila Mutondo IX, still alive’ — see below

The discursive text adds: *niye unali myaka likumi (= 10), ha litunga lya Bankoya.* (‘during ten years in the land of the Nkoya.’) — a reference not to the duration of Muchayila’s first reigning period but to that of his exile in Kalabo.

806 ‘Kalapukila Mutondo X, burial site at Nyangula.’ The discursive text had: *niye watambwile U.N.I.P.* (‘the one who welcomed U.N.I.P.’)

By the most unusual arrangement (considering South Central African neo-traditional political structures in general), when Mwene Kalapukila died in 1981 he was succeeded by his predecessor, Mwene Muchayila, who had been dethroned by the Lozi Paramount Chief in 1947 and now was reinstated.

807 ‘Muyita Muchayila Mutondo, still alive, and acceded for the second time’



2. *Livumo lya Mulawa mwana Nawato*<sup>808</sup>

	<i>Mwene</i>	<i>shizino</i>	<i>mbalila</i>
1	<i>Shilumelume</i>	<i>Lukona</i>	<i>Kalabo</i> <sup>809</sup>
2	<i>Likambi Mange</i>	<i>Makapayila</i>	<i>Mungu</i>
3	<i>Shiwutulu</i>	<i>Nkulashi</i>	<i>Zongwe</i>
4	<i>Shihoka I</i> <sup>810</sup>	<i>Lukolwe</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
5	<i>Kahare I</i> <sup>811</sup>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
6	<i>Kapeshi</i> <sup>812</sup>	<i>Tumba</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
7	<i>Kahare II (mukazi), wafumine ha wene</i> <sup>813</sup>		
8	<i>Kahare II</i> <sup>814</sup>	<i>Milembo</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
9	<i>Shikanda</i> <sup>815</sup>	<i>Kayimbu</i>	<i>Kashempa</i>
10	<i>Kabimba</i> <sup>816</sup>	<i>Lunga</i>	<i>Kashempa</i>
11	<i>Kasholongombe</i> <sup>817</sup>	<i>Lunyati</i>	<i>Lalafuta</i>

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H.H. Mwene added this line in 1985 to bring the information up to date; note the absence of a dynastic number behind *Mutondo* — it is not clear if he should be numbered XI or still IX. Meanwhile, when this book was already in the press, Mwene Muchayila died on July 14, 1990.

808 ‘The matrilineage of Mulawa daughter of Nawato’

809 The 1975 discursive text had *wafuma ku Lukona* (‘he came from Lukona’): not the place of burial but the place of origin was indicated. This *Mwene* is not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

810 The discursive list showed the reversed order for Shihoka I (shown as third) and Shiwutulu (shown as fourth).

811 There was no Kahare with this burial place in the discursive list.

812 The discursive list lets Kapeshi occupy the fifth place, before any Kahare, and immediately after Shiwutulu, and added: *owo boni shinzimbi shendi shaholama* (‘his burial place is unknown’)!

813 ‘Kahare II, a Lady Mwene — she abdicated from the kingship’

Not in the discursive list, which has a male bias.

814 A Mwene Kahare buried at the Milembo stream appears in the discursive list as the sixth item, immediately after Kapeshi, but without a dynastic number added.

815 Not in the discursive list, which has a male bias.

816 The discursive list, item 11, adds: *niye batandile mu litunga ba Kawonde niye wafwila ku ncango ya Lunga mwana Lwenge (Kafuwe) hano mukalaba ku Likota* (‘who trekked through Kaondeland and died in the valley of the Lunga, a tributary of the Kafue as discussed in *Likota*’)

817 Appears in the discursive list as item 7. Not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*, but does appear in *Muhumpu*.

The Kaoma editorial committee proposes that here *Shakalongo* should be read instead of *Kasholongombe*.

12	<i>Katalanangenge</i> <sup>818</sup>	<i>Kayimbu</i>	<i>Kabombo</i>
13	<i>Ndendola</i> <sup>819</sup>	<i>Lufupa</i> <sup>820</sup>	<i>Kashempa</i>
14	<i>Kazembe</i> <sup>821</sup>	<i>Kapili ka Mushongolwa</i> <sup>822</sup>	<i>Kashempa</i>
15	<i>Kalumpiteka</i> <sup>823</sup>	<i>Lubanda</i>	<i>Namwala</i>
16	<i>Kabambi I Shamamano Kahare IV</i>	<i>Lwashanza</i>	<i>Kawoma</i> <sup>824</sup> ( <i>Mankoya</i> )
17	<i>Mpelembe Kahare V</i>	<i>Yange</i> <sup>825</sup>	<i>Kawoma</i> ( <i>Mankoya</i> )
18	<i>Timuna Kahare VI</i> <sup>826</sup>	<i>Litoya lya Mbuma</i>	<i>Kawoma</i> ( <i>Mankoya</i> )
19	<i>Kabambi II Kahare VII, hayoya</i> <sup>827</sup>		

### 3. *Wene wa Momba*<sup>828</sup>

	<i>Mwene</i>	<i>shizino</i>	<i>mbalila</i>
1	<i>Kabazi Momba I</i>	<i>Nakashasha</i>	
2	<i>Shafukuma Momba II</i>	<i>Kabuzu</i>	

818 Appears in the discursive list as item 8; not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

819 Appears in the discursive list as item 9; not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

820 The discursive list adds: *ku Kapili Kamushongolwa* ('on the Mushongolwa Hill', i.e. the site of the Kasempa boma); not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*.

821 In discursive list as item 10.

822 The discursive list adds: *aha hali Nkambe ya Kasempa wuluno* ('where today is the Kasempa boma').

823 In discursive list as item 12, however his status as fully-fledged *Mwene* is as doubtful as Shimunika's main text (chapter 44) suggests; in the discursive list, the following is said about Kalumpiteka: (12) *Ba Mukwetunga Kabwata na Mwana Mwene Kalumpiteka, na mpanzendi Mutolwa niye Manda Bamyene. Kalumpiteka wafwila ku Lubanda (Namwala). Balubanda nibo bazihile Mwana Mwene owe.* ('(12) Mukwetunga Kabwata and Mwana Mwene Kalumpiteka, and his sister Mutolwa the Mother of the Myene. Kalumpiteka died at Lubanda (Namwala). The Lubanda people killed that Mwana Mwene.')

824 Obviously the district is meant, not the stream; also in subsequent lines.

825 Orig. Yenge; discursive text item 14: *wafwila ku mbuwa ya Yange mwaka wa 1921 mwana Lwena niye Muzewu.* ('He died in the Yange plain in the year 1921; the Yange is a tributary of the Lwena or Muzewu.')

826 Discursive text: *niye waleta lukena ku Litoya lya Mbuma ku Njonjolo.* ('who brought the lukena to the valley of Mbuma, on the Njonjolo stream.')

827 'still alive'

828 'The kingship of Momba'

3	<i>Kasheba Momba III</i>	<i>Kabuzu</i>	
4	<i>Shabuwe Momba IV</i>	<i>Muchi</i>	<i>Kaunga</i>
5	<i>Ngwenyama Momba V</i>	<i>Muchi</i>	<i>Kaunga</i>
6	<i>Mulilabanyama Momba VI</i>	<i>wafumine tuhu</i> <sup>829</sup>	
7	<i>Kavuba II Momba VII</i>	<i>Kabanda</i>	
8	<i>Shililo Momba VIII</i>	<i>ha yoya</i> <sup>830</sup>	

#### 4. *Wene wa Kabulwebulwe*

	<i>Mwene</i>	<i>shizino</i>	<i>mbalila</i>
1	<i>Kavuba</i>	<i>Mpulakamanga</i>	<i>Namimbwe</i> <sup>831</sup>
2	<i>Mukamba</i>	<i>Mpulakamanga</i>	<i>Namimbwe</i> <sup>832</sup>
3	<i>Kuwonga Mukamba I</i>		
4	<i>Lukeke Mukamba II</i>		
5	<i>Kapoyo Mukamba III</i>		
6	<i>Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe I</i>		
7	<i>Mahepo Kabulwebulwe II</i>		
8	<i>Mukutabafu</i>		
	<i>Kabulwebulwe III</i>		

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829 'he just left'

830 'alive'

831 Line added by H.H. Mwene in 1985; all subsequent line numbers are increased by one.

832 Line added by H.H. Mwene in 1985; all subsequent line numbers are increased by one.

## Part IV

### Reference material

## Appendix 1

# A description of the constituent parts of the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript

The manuscript as submitted to me in 1976 consisted of thirteen different parts:<sup>984</sup>

(1) *title page:*

LIKOTA / LYA / BANKOYA / / / / MALASHA J.  
SHIMUNIKA / HAMBAMBWA H.MWENE

— typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's)

(2) *three handwritten pages, numbered i, ii, iii, containing sketches for maps, with captions and legend, in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting*

(3) *a page numbered 'iv', on typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's), typed single space, beginning:*

BANKOYA BAFUMA KU LWALABA KU  
WULUBA BOMBOKELE etc.,

*ending:*

(16) Mwene Kahare Kabambi mwana Timuna. —

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<sup>984</sup> In the description below, a slash '/' stands for 'carriage return'.

Appendix 1

- (4) *two pages, numbered 'III' and '2' respectively, handwritten by Mr H.H. Mwene on official ruled notepaper marked 'C.S.D. 12; NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN', beginning:*

KU TONTOLOLA. / Mu Litunga lino lya Zambia etc.,

*ending:*

na ku yoya wuluno / H.H. Mwene /M.J. Shimunika

- (5) *on typewriter II (identified as Shimunika's), two unnumbered pages, typed single space: a table of contents, beginning:*

MITWE YA BYAMBO BYA MU LIKOTA,

*ending:*

57. Baka kutikita byambo ebye bya mu Likota,

*after which eight lines, covering newly added chapters 58-62 follow in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting*

- (6) *On typewriter II (identified as Shimunika's)*

*first part of main text of Likota lya Bankoya  
pages numbered in pencil from '1' to '4'*

- (7) *one page, on typewriter III (Remington Travelwriter?), no original page number, marked in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting 'Pages — 5, + 6 —', beginning*

HA FUMA WENE WA BANKOYA. /  
LITAPULULO 4.

*and ending:*

3. Mukwetunga Mukeno Kakwasha mu Mankumbwa na mwipa wendi. Mukwetunga Lwengu

- (8) *On typewriter II (identified as Shimunika's):*

*main text of Likota lya Bankoya continued*

*page numbers (in pencil) '7'— '60', with running heads in which the chapter and verse number of the beginning and end of each page is indicated.*

- (9) *On typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's), a page marked '-61-' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

BIZINO BYA BANKOYA NI MWABO BA MYENE

*and ending:*

*The constituent parts of the Likota Iya Bankoya manuscript*

29. Kalapukila Mutondo X Still alive

*and then in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting:*

(Ha yoya) / Aba nibo ba ka livuma Iya Mwene Libupe (Mukazi)  
/ Wene wa Mwene Mutondo

- (10) *On typewriter IV (using a modern, sans-serif letter — probably a typewriter Mr H.H. Mwene has access to in his Ministry of Education Examinations Office): one page, numbered '62' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

BIZINO BYA BANKOYA NI MWABO BYA  
(corrected in handwriting: BA) MYENE

*and ending:*

19. Kabambi II Kahare VII Hayoya, Aba nibo ba ka livumo  
Iya Mulawa mwana Nawato/

*(added in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting:)*

Wene wa Mwene Kahare.

- (11) *On typewriter V (using a modern sans-serif letter — probably another typewriter Mr H.H. Mwene has access to in his Ministry of Education Examinations Office), one page, numbered '63' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

BIZINO BYA BANKOYA NI MWABO BA MYENE  
/ MWENE SHIZINO / 1 Kabazi Momba I...

*and ending:*

8. Shilolo Momba VIII Hayoya (still alive) / / / —oooo—  
oooo—

- (12) *On typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's): one page numbered '64' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

WENE WA KABULWEBULWE

*and ending:*

6 Mukutubafu Kabulwebulwe III

*added in handwriting*

Mukutubafu

*to clarify unclear typing*

*Appendix 1*

(13) *On typewriter IV, one page numbered '65' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning*

ZINGONDA ZA BANKOYA

*['the Nkoya names of the months'] and ending:*

12. Kwishi.



## Appendix 2

# Variants of the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript<sup>985</sup>

### key:

<b>bold</b>	present in this variant, and not (in this form) in the main manuscript
[ ]	present in main manuscript and not in this variant
*	quotation marks completed by the editor
**	quotation marks added by the editor
\$	indentation added by the editor
?	no information

### 1. A variant numbered page 5

**Shilayi** mwana Shikalamo[-S]shamundemba [niye ]wakatukile wayile mu[ ]kutekula mema ha **ntumba yendi ya kakote, watatikile kuyitila mema** [lulonga, wa yitililenga ]kunkumo ya **litatamundilo, pe mundilo hib?zima niye** ha[ ]zinguluka **litatamundilo** na kuyitilila mema kunkumo ya **litatamundilo** pe **niwo** hi[ ]ukuzima **niye haya na kuzinguluka liziko lya mundilo. Pe** . [Nohobene] niye niho a[ ]tendele [nga] shikuma na ngovu **bene niho** [pe w]a[ ]kumine kwakwipi na nyungu niho akwatile nyungu na nkobo[, ] **pe** wayitewileho ha liziko. **10** [5] Nohobene oho amanishile kuyupula nyama mu[ ]nyungu wehanine bawushinda wendi **nimwabo** ngayi,

‘Yekenu tulyenga **haya nayitwasha kale.**’\$

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<sup>985</sup> In Rev. Shimunika’s master copy, as photographed by me at his house, Luampa, 1977.

11 Oho bamanishile kulya kwakatukile **Kankonze** [wamina]<sup>986</sup> na bawushinda wendi ngayi,

‘Yekenu tuba[ ]konzele ha zindonga **zabo** bakusheta **aba** bana[ ]lishete ku **linyungu** lya **ha liziko** lya mundilo.’\$

12 [6] Nohobene Shikalamo[-S]**shamundemba** wa tongwezele mikoka [bantu] nimwabo ngayi,

‘Enu nimwenu muna kwanga kutewula nyungu [ha litatamundilo. ] Niho ou mwanami Shilayi Mashiku niye una[ ]yitewuluho na kulyamo nyama, na **bana** [bawushinda w]**bendi**, niye L[l]iyoni lya mulela bana **haya** [niye] ukwinda mwene, a[ ]mikome nimwenu. 13 [Pe k]**Kami** [n]enu munakozzo ha zindonga **zabo** muli **bankonze muna konzele** bamyene[ ba kawukozzo mu na konzo] ha zindonga **nanenu kami muli bamyene**[ za wene. Bakasheta na bankonze bentu bamo, bamyene nimwabo.]’ \*\$

14 [7] Nohobene oho **mishobo** [mikoka] nimwayo ya [naha tu natoyo ya ] Bankoya bayuwile noho batumbile [baka] Shilayi ngayi,

**haya obe** [‘Enu haya m]uli [ba]**mu**kasheta [m]unalishete ku **linyungu** lya **litatamundilo**.’ \*\*\$

[Pe k]**Kami** niho [b]atumbile bamina ngayi

[‘Enu kami ]muli **Bakawu**[n]konz[e]**o enu** mu[ ]nakonzele ba[ ]kasheta ha zindonga zabo.’ \*\*\$

Hakukotoka mvula wa[ ]lokele na ku[ ]zima mundilo. Pe[le] haya **oho mvula aketukile hafumine shambo sha kwamba** [nibo] ngayi,

‘Wene wetu wa Limata lya Mvula [(Wene Walimata lya Mvula)]’ \*\*  
<sup>987</sup> \$(page break)

## 2. A variant numbered page 16

(3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate** niye Shinkisha, Lushiku niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. Kabongo niye **wahingile** ha wene wa **mandiyendi**. 4 Niho **bakatukile** na Lipepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi, niho bayile.

## BANA BA MWENE MANENGA

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<sup>986</sup> Here clearly the variant has a more specific meaning than the main text.

<sup>987</sup> No capitalization in variant.

## Appendix 2

5 Mwene Manenga wabelekele bana bendi **bamutanu** na umo. Mazina wabo awa: — (1) Nahonge , niye **wa** mweli wendi, (2) Kabongo, (3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa , niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate**, niye Shinkisha , [Lushiku ] niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. [Kabongo niye wa hingile ha wene wa Mandiyendi. Niho akatukile na Lilepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi niho bayile. Matee Shinkisha niye wengile] Nkomba wakombele **mulivumo** lya Mashiku . **6** Kami tatiyabo **niye mukwetunga** Mulyata wa mukashungu niye bene ou wabelekele aba bana nimwabo na Mwene Manenga. Oho afwile Mwene Manenga **ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko, pe** Kabongo niye wahingele ha wene.

**HA KULITAPA KWA BANKOYA BAMO [BA]KUYA KU MULOBEZI BAMINA [BA]KUSHALA MUNO MU NKOYA**

# 18

1 Bankoya ha kuya kwabo ku Masholo. Oho a fwile Mwene Kabongo ku lukena lwa **Kulukwe, bankoya bafumine ku lukena lwa Kulukwe batuntukile, pe** [niho] bayile ku shisholo sha Nangombe ku mushinzi wa Mulobezi ku ncango ya Kantente [,] niko bakalitapilile ba Mwene Mungambwa na Mwene Momba, [2 ] bamyene babili aba **baku** Masholo, mavumo wabo abili. Mwene Lipepo[, ] wa mukazi niye wahemene bana bendi, **2** (1) Mulambila, **wa mulume** (2) Shingala , **wa mulume** [aba nimwabo bali<sup>988</sup> balume,] (3) Shampaya, wa mukazi, (4) Linyepa wa mulume, **3** Mwene Nkulo Limwalangoma liteke lya washi, niye wahemene bana **bendi** aba: — (1) Lutebe wabula linungo, (2) Nankuwa, **wa** mukazi, **pe** Kabazi **wa mulume** na Shimano **kami wengile wamulume**. 4 Mwene Mungambwa (**page break**)

### 3. A variant numbered page 60

(3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate** niye Shinkisha, Lushiku niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. Kabongo niye **wahingile** ha wene wa **mandiyendi**. **4** Niho **bakatukile** na Lipepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi, niho bayile.

**BANA BA MWENE MANENGA**

5 Mwene Manenga wabelekele bana bendi **bamutanu** na umo. Mazina wabo awa: — (1) Nahonge , niye **wa** mweli wendi, (2) Kabongo, (3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa , niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate**, niye Shinkisha , [Lushiku ] niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. [Kabongo niye wa hingile ha wene wa Mandiyendi. Niho akatukile na Lilepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi niho bayile. Matee Shinkisha niye wengile] Nkomba wakombele **mulivumo** lya Mashiku . **6** Kami tatiyabo **niye**

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<sup>988</sup> This word deleted in the original.

mukwetunga Mulyata wa mukashungu niye bene ou wabelekele aba bana nimwabo na Mwene Manenga. Oho afwile Mwene Manenga **ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko, pe** Kabongo niye wahingele ha wene.

**HA KULITAPA KWA BANKOYA BAMO [BA]KUYA KU MULOBEZI BAMINA [BA]KUSHALA MUNO MU NKOYA**

**18** 1 Bankoya ha kuya kwabo ku Masholo. Oho a fwile Mwene Kabongo ku **lukena lwa Kulukwe, bankoya bafumine ku lukena lwa Kulukwe batuntukile, pe** [niho] bayile ku shisholo sha Nangombe ku mushinzi wa Mulobezi ku ncango ya Kantente [,] niko bakalitapilile ba Mwene Mungambwa na Mwene Momba, [2 ] **bamyene babili aba baku** Masholo, mavumo wabo abili. Mwene Lipepo[, ] wa mukazi niye wahemene bana bendi, **2** (1) Mulambila, **wa mulume** (2) Shingala , **wa mulume** [aba nimwabo bali<sup>989</sup> balume,] (3) Shampaya, wa mukazi, (4) Linyepa wa mulume, **3** Mwene Nkulo Limwalangoma liteke lya washi, niye wahemene bana **bendi** aba: — (1) Lutebe wabula linungo, (2) Nankuwa, **wa** mukazi, **pe** Kabazi **wa mulume** na Shimano **kami wengile wamulume**. 4 Mwene Mungambwa  
(page break)

#### 4. A variant numbered page 61

**WENE WA KABAZI KU LITTOYA LYA MBUMA**

**?**<sup>990</sup> 1 Kabazi wengile mwipa wa Mwene Kalumbwa **ka** muncabankuni na ndenga. Nohobene ngo nehe tunamba nya kunyima [ngayi,]

[‘]Mwene Nankuwa **wengile mwene** wa mukazi **niye** wa belekele bana bendi mutanu na umo babalume na bana babakazi babili lizina lya umo [niye] Manenga, mwana Nankuwa, wamina Mulawa.[’ ]\*\*  
\$

2 Niho **mwene** wa mukazi Manenga kami wa hemene bana bendi mutanu na umo mazina wabo ( awa [(1 . D)] Kabazi, (2) Mukamba [, ] (3) Kavuba, (4) Lipepo, **wengile wa** mukazi, (5) ]Nkulo, **niye kami wengile** mukazi, (6) Mashiku, [3 ]niye washwanine mandiyendi

<sup>989</sup> This word deleted in the original.

<sup>990</sup> An open place is provided for the enlarged chapter number, but it is not filled in in the variant; the running head of the variant has: *Likota lya Bankoya 16.2-17.2-3*, which does not seem to be quite correct since the first verse is 1 and not 2; at any rate, we are presumably in chapter 16 — in the main text chapter 17 begins here.

## Appendix 2

Manenga . Nka oho afwile[, ]Mwene Kalumbwa niho Bankoya bahatile Kabazi ngayi niye wuhinga ha wene wa kanyantu kendi. 3 Nohobene Kabazi wengile Mwene ku Litoya Iya Mbuma: ku mutwe wa Lwena oku [b]anaziki ba Mwene Kahare lero. [Ku ] Njonjo[lo ]ku Shilumbilo[,] oku Litoya Iya Mbuma oku Shilumbilo[ ( ] sha ku nzila sha pwizuluka bayeni[), ] niko kutontoloka kwa lizina Iya Shilumbilo.

Mwene Manenga ku Mushwalumuku<sup>991</sup>

? 1 Oho afwile Mwene Kabazi ku Litoya Iya Mbuma ku Shisholo, bankoya bahatile mpanzendi Mashiku ngayi a[ ]hingha ha wene. [2] Kami niye wengile Mwene Manenga ku Lwashanza ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko. 2 Kuyo bene niko bazikilenga bankoya. 3 Oho shiloro balitapatape ba Mwene Kabulwebulwe na Mwene **Mukamba** [Momba] na Mungambwa oho bashalile muno mu nkoya.

### BANA BA MWENE MANENGA

3 [4 ]Mwene Manenga wa belekele bana bendi ba mutanu na umo. Mazina wabo awa [: — ] (1) Nahonge niye mweli wendi, (2) Kabongo(**page break**)

### 5. A variant numbered page 62

Shibi sha tuwoma wene wekalile shiwahe mu Shitapo ku Lukena Iwa Libanga, mu Shitapo nimo baliwaninene na Mwene Mvubu Shihoka oho a fumine **muno mu nkoya** [ku Mabuwa muno mu Nkoya, ] pe wakawanine Mwene Mungambwa ku Shitapo. 2 [Oho afwile pe baletele Shaboboma ]Yomena [kufuma muno mu Nkoya mukumushwanisha lizina Iya Mwene ]Mungambwa **watuntukile kukana kuli Mwene Momba Ngwenyama**[, niye bene unazihizi liziko Iya Mwene Mungambwa]. 3 **Niye wafumine** ku Mulobezi kuboka ku Kakoma mwana Makile ku Shisheke District.

### HAYA TULI NA [TU]KUBOKA MUNO MU[ ]NKOYA NAWIKO [HAYA]

**22** 1 Wene wa Mukamba Kuwonga ku Namimbwe ku mbuwa<sup>992</sup> ya Mpulakamanga , [2 ]Mwene Mukamba wa[ ]hingile ha wene oho a fwile Mwene Kavuba, pe Bankoya bayatile nehe ngayi,

‘Mukamba niye ahinga ha liwoma Iya wene’. \*\* \$

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<sup>991</sup> In this variant the heading was typed in lower case, not in capital as in main text.

<sup>992</sup> In the original separated from the preceding *ku*.

2 Mwene Mukamba[, ]wehalile shikuma ha wene, ngoboni **wafwa** ku maboko a bantu. [3 ]Bantu balitapile **ha** kati bamina bamuhakile ngayi,

‘Mwene wamuwahe’,\*\* \$

bamina [kami] ngayi ou

‘Mwene wamubi’\*\*. \$

**Pe** niho bamupondele bantu bendi bene ngayi,

‘Etu kumushinga tufwako; tumupondenu tuyakeho washenge!’ \* \$

## KUFUMA KWA MWENE KABULWEBULWE MUNO MU NKOYA

**23** 1 Wene wa Kabulwebulwe ku Shibanda, nka oho Mwene engile ha kufwa ku mbuwa ya Mpulakamanga ku mutwe wa Namimbe, niko kuli shizino shendi Mwene Mukamba. 2 Niho bana bendi bakatukile kufuma muno mu Nkoya bayile ku Lufupa ku Wushanga, mukulya wene wa Mukamba. Mazina a bamyene aba: — (1) Wakutatika niye Mwene Mukamba Kuwonga, (2) Mwene Mukamba Lukeke, (3) Mwene Mukamba Kapoyo, (4) Mwene Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwanga[ ]banjabi[, niye walitangile lya Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi. ](5) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mahepo . (6) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mukutabafu, niye [bene] ka Nkoya mwine , na kubula kulimbashana. 3 Ngoboni oku(**page break**)

## Appendix 3

# Genealogies constructed on the basis of the text of *Likota lya Bankoya*

The following genealogies have been constructed solely on the basis of the information provided in *Likota lya Bankoya*, and therefore, as argued in detail in my chapter 2, cannot claim any historical accuracy. Current incumbents of the kingship of Kahare and Mutondo, and others whose genealogical position is known to me but who are not mentioned in *Likota lya Bankoya*, have not been included here. It has not been possible to construct genealogies of the Momba and Kabulwebulwe dynastic lines on the basis of the information in *Likota lya Bankoya*. Also, the book mentions a great many individuals, inside and outside the royal families, about whom the genealogical information is either lacking or too slight and contradictory to be incorporated in these genealogies. In case of uncertainty more than one vertical filiation lines are shown.

The names of incumbents of the kingship appear in **boldface**.

Appendix 3

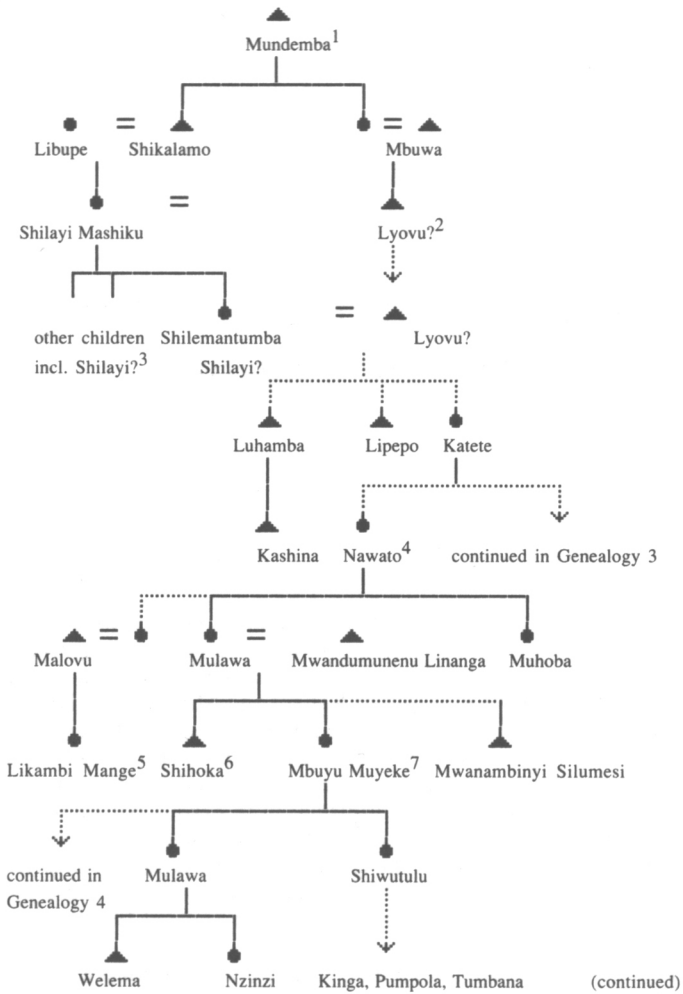


Diagram 11a. Genealogy 1 — from Mwene Libupe to Mwene Manenga.



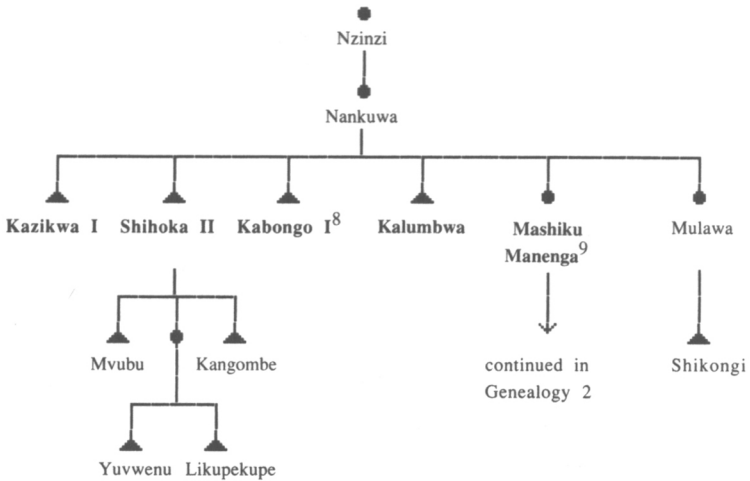


Diagram 11b. Genealogy 1 — from Mwene Libupe to Mwene Manenga (continuation).

- 
- <sup>1</sup> This genealogy brings together most genealogical information from chapters 1-17, with the exception of:
- (1) (1: 1-5): ‘Note on sources’ — the people mentioned there belong to far more recent generations;
  - (2) (11: 2): ‘Another Lady Mwene called Shiwutulu was the mother of Mwene Yaboka and a number of younger children including Ncamanga’;
  - (3) (12: 2): ‘Shawaya became the leader of the Shikumbawuyuvu clan’;
  - (4) (17: 3): Mwene Kabulwebulwe, Mwene Mukamba and Mungambwa.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. (5: 2): The children of Shilemantumba are said to belong to ‘the Mbunze clan, for Mukwetunga Lyovu Iya Mbuwa, the one who begot the Myene, belonged to that clan.’ This suggests that Lyovu was the Mukwetunga not of Shilayi (as explicitly stated in (4: 7)), but of Shilemantumba.

### Appendix 3

- <sup>3</sup> Shilayi appears as both the parent and the grandmother of Luhamba; this would not be impossible if Shilemantumba was also called Shilayi, but on the other hand the explicit specification ‘Katete daughter of Shilemantumba’ suggests that the relationship between Luhamba and Katete may not have been that of biological siblings but that of parallel cousins: Luhamba would then be a child of one of those other children of Shilayi Mashiku whom *Likota Iya Bankoya* does not specify.
- <sup>4</sup> Below, in genealogy 3, we shall encounter Katete as the apical ancestress of the Shakalongo line; there, no reference whatsoever is made to Nawato.
- <sup>5</sup> As ‘elder sister’ of Shihoka, and with a different patronym than the latter, Likambi should be considered an MZD rather than a Z of Shihoka. The name of her hypothetical mother however remains unknown.
- <sup>6</sup> In this generation the lines of the Mutondo and the Kahare kingship come together, along with the sorceress Likambi Mange and the Lozi dynastic figure Mwanambinyi. The paternal epithets of Likambi and Shihoka do not match (see previous note), and those of Mwanambinyi and Mbuyu Muyeke are omitted altogether when these figures appear for the first time, although later (10: 9) Shihoka’s father is identified as Mwandumunenu. It is hard to accept that the same Mbuyu Muyeke who was a companion of Shihoka on his journey through northwestern Zambia, at the same time was the ancestress of the historically very different line of the Mutondo kingship. I therefore take it that the genealogical information in this generation is largely mythical: an attempt to state a common ancestry between the two major Nkoya kingships, and to link up with the Lozi kingship. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that there have been genealogical links between these three kingships — but most probably not of the nature as stipulated by *Likota Iya Bankoya* and as presented in this line of the genealogy. Shihoka’s journey in itself points to internecine strife prompting his departure.
- <sup>7</sup> The children of Mbuyu Muyeke are specified as Mulawa and Shiwutulu, in (11: 1). However, Mbuyu Muyeke was also the only sister of Shihoka specifically identified as one of his companions on his journey through northwestern Zambia. This makes us suspect that she was also the mother of Kahare I. Shihoka’s departure suggests a great conflict within the dynastic nucleus which was soon to be called the Nkoya. The fact that two major lines of kingship appear to come together in Mbuyu Muyeke is not entirely incompatible with such a view; however, it is also possible that in fact two different ancestresses are involved, both implied to be (but not explicitly identified as) one and the same Mbuyu Muyeke. Structurally, the key position of Mbuyu Muyeke (between the Kahare and the Mutondo line) is similar to that of Katete, a few generations up (where Katete mediates between both these lines, and the Shakalongo line). Of course, the split is not due to historical genealogical fission; the genealogy merely expresses facts of political history — no doubt distorted in the light of twentieth-century political relations — in a genealogical idiom.
- <sup>8</sup> The (classificatory?) sibling order as given in (12: 3) is not the birth order nor the order in which the members of this generation succeeded each other in the kingship; cf. chapters 13 and 14 of *Likota Iya Bankoya*.
- <sup>9</sup> If we assume that there were two Mashiku Manenga, one the mother of the other, the contradictions between the various lists of children of Mwene Manenga are resolved. Such an assumption would be perfectly in line with the Nkoya practice of name-inheriting. It is moreover corroborated by documentary evidence: Moses Masheka Mutondo’s notebook (A) on Nkoya history and neo-traditional political structure also lists (on p. 10) two Myene Manenga: ‘Mashiku (13)’ and ‘Manenga

*Genealogies based on Likota Iya Bankoya*

Mashiku (14)' within the dynastic line of what was to be known as the Mutondo kingship; in Maseko's manuscript (A) the numbers refer to successive incumbents of the Mutondo kingship. But even so, Mukamba (and his identification as Mvubu and Kuwonga) continues to pose problems — see Genealogy 2.



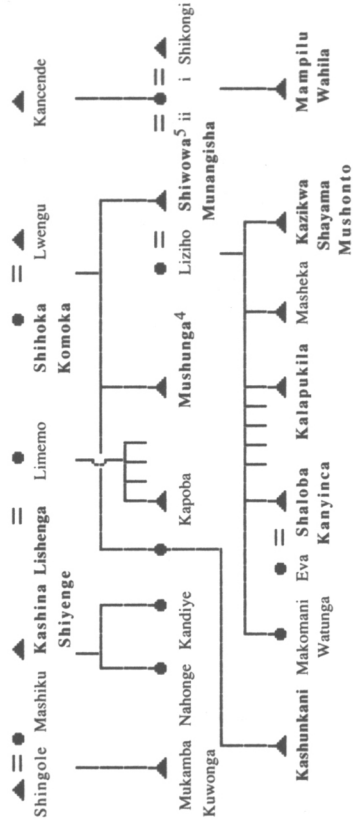


Diagram 12b. Genealogy 2 — from Mwene Manenga to Mwene Munangisha (continuation).

- 1 See 2.5: 'genealogical over-interpretation and the case of Mwene Kayambila Shishopa'.
- 2 In (44: 1) Shingole is called not a son-in-law but a grandson of Kayambila; however, this grandson is likely to have been some member of a later generation, who inherited the name of a Shingole who was the husband of Mashiku.
- 3 It is doubtful whether Kashina and Lishenga (cf. *Likota Iya Bankoya*, chapter 27) are in fact one and the same person. Verse (34: 6), which lists the children of Kashina, would indicate that Nahonge, daughter of Mwene Lishenga, is not a daughter of Kashina. In (47: 4) further details are given: 'Mwene Lishenga Shonena Luhamba'; but this only suggests that Lishenga was a close relative of Munangisha (he is mentioned before Kancukwe and Shikongi), and that the name of Luhamba kept circulating in the Mutondo royal family; the name of Shonena is nowhere else to be found in *Likota Iya Bankoya*.
- 4 Mushunga should have been shown in a junior position, to the right of Munangisha; *Likota Iya Bankoya* does not specify how, precisely, he was related to Munangisha as the latter's 'younger brother'.
- 5 Also called Shibuyi Likambi.

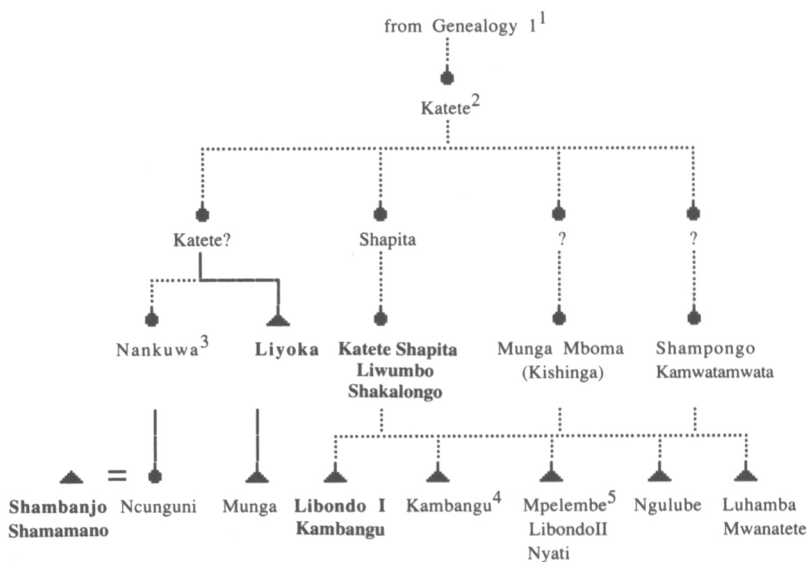


Diagram 13. Genealogy 3 — from Katete to Mwene Shakalongo

<sup>1</sup> Verse (38: 7): ‘the junior line of the Sheta clan’.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogical information on this line is contradictory. In (35: 2-3) Liyoka is presented as founding a line of his own, of equal position as compared to Shapita, Munga and Shampongo. In (38: 6) however, Liyoka’s place in this configuration is taken by Katete, who thus moved down from a parent position to one of a sibling. Clearly, genealogical manipulation is involved here. The diagram presents only one of several possibilities of making sense of the contradictory information.

<sup>3</sup> It is not certain, but quite likely, that Liyoka’s (classificatory) sister Nankuwa was also the mother of his sister’s daughter Ncunguni.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps identical to Libondo I.

<sup>5</sup> Gender and precise filiation of the members of this generation are not clearly specified. Mwanatete and Ngulube, however, are called ‘children of Katete’ and as such may be more closely related than the others associated with the Shakalongo title. Mpelembe should probably appear in a more junior position than Kambangu, since the latter was the first to hold the Libondo title.

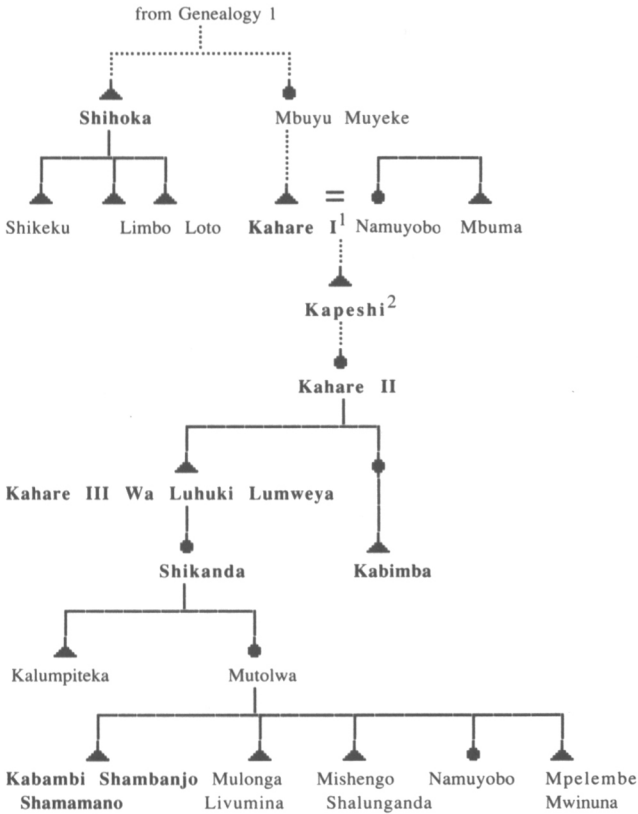


Diagram 14. Genealogy 4 — from Mwene Shihoka to Mwene Shamamano.

<sup>1</sup> Sister's son of Shihoka Nalinanga; there is no specific evidence that his mother was Mbuyu Muyeke; however, she was the only sister of Shihoka explicitly specified to accompany the latter on his long journey.

<sup>2</sup> For the definition of Kapeshi's gender, see my chapter 3.5. That the mythical figure of Kapeshi is an alien insertion in this otherwise probably quite factual genealogy relating to the mid-nineteenth century, is also clear from the fact that between Kahare I and Kahare II two cases of patrilineal succession are presented, whereas matrilineal succession is predominant in Nkoya precolonial dynastic relations.



## Appendix 4

# List of published texts in the Nkoya language

In addition to the New Testament and Psalms (Testamenta 1952), *Muhumpu* (Anonymous n.d.(b)), and the 1988 popular edition of *Likotalya Bankoya* (van Binsbergen 1988a), the following published texts in Nkoya are in my possession:<sup>993</sup>

### 1. pious tracts

- *Muyilu: tu ka kuma muyilu nahiti*, pious tract, 4 unnumbered pages, mainly bible quotations, mimeo, *s.l.*, n.d., *s.n.*, 12.9 x 10.2 cm. The mimeographed text, with crude illustrations, is a literal translation of a tract entitled *Heaven... how to get there*, © 1962 International Child Evangelism Fellowship, Grand Rapids, Michigan (USA).
- *Nzila Ya Ku Puluka*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1961?], 32 numbered pages, mainly bible quotations, 12 x 7.5 cm; there is also a more recent edition, 22 numbered pages, n.d., London: Scripture Gift Mission.
- *Yuwwililenu!*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1964?], 16 unnumbered pages, bible quotations, 12.3 x 7.6 cm.

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<sup>993</sup> I am indebted to Mrs Adele Kee, formerly of Luampa Mission, Kaoma, who put most of these materials at my disposal in 1973.

- *Izenu!*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1964?], 16 unnumbered pages, bible quotations, 12.3 x 7.6 cm.
- *Mutima wa Muntu*, Pretoria: Pan-African Gospel Publishers, 1958, 32 numbered pages, 12.2 x 18 cm. The back cover states that the same text has been published in nearly forty other specified languages spoken in Africa; there is also a different edition of the same text: *Mutima wa Muntu*, Pretoria: All Nations Gospel Publishers, n.d., 32 numbered pages, 17.9 x 12.2 cm.
- *Scripture Union* 1973, calendar, *s.l., s.n.*, n.d. [1972], folder, 6 pages, 15.2 x 9.8 cm., title in English but text in Nkoya.
- *Nyambi U Namba*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1961?], 16 numbered pages, bible quotations, 12 x 7.5 cm.
- *Mubala ngani wa mutima wobe?*, *s.l., s.n.*, 6 unnumbered pages, mainly bible quotations and illustrations, 10.5 x 8.8 cm., mimeo; translation of a similarly illustrated tract *What is the 'color' of your heart?*, n.d.: Fort Lauderdale (Florida, USA): Good News Printers.
- *Libuka lya Bizila: Ndi muntu unafu ukuya kuti? Kati nimwabo bakashanguka? Nyambi yani?* 1973, Ndola: Christian Publishers (A.E.F.) [= Africa Evangelical Fellowship], 22 numbered pages, 10 x 16 cm, Bible quotations mixed with explanatory text.
- *Tumalombelo twa Mutena Numwawo*, 1973, Ndola: Christian Publishers (A.E.F.) [= Africa Evangelical Fellowship], 15 numbered pages, illustrated, prayers, 10 x 16.4 cm.
- *Myaso-Nyimbo-Lipina: Mbunda-Shinkoya-Lozi*, n.d. Ndola: Christian Publishers, Christian Education Department, book of standard hymns in the three languages specified, c. one third of contents is in Nkoya, 76 numbered pages, 12.3 x 18.1 cm.

## 2. school primers

- *Kalabisho ka Shinkoya sub A*, 1954, Mankoya: Luampa Mission, 32 numbered pages, 17.9 x 12.1 cm.
- *Libuku lya Wubili sub B*, 1954, Mankoya: Luampa Mission, 32 numbered pages, 17.9 x 12.1 cm.

N.B. The Makiyi manuscript<sup>994</sup> mentions, besides these 'primers sub A and sub B', and the New Testament, one Nkoya book I do not have nor know: *Lwendo lya MukaJesu* ['The Christian's

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<sup>994</sup> Dickson K. Makiyi, 'Nkoya History — Kaoma, Western Province, Zambia', 58 pp., manuscript in my possession.

Journey’], and adds the specification: ‘for Standards I and II and even higher’.<sup>995</sup>

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<sup>995</sup> Standard I was a primary school grade following sub B.

## Appendix 5

### List of oral sources

In the course of participatory research since 1972 numerous informants contributed information and insights on numerous more or less informal occasions. This constitutes the indispensable background for my analysis of Nkoya history and ethnicity, and a ground for my life-long indebtedness. Meanwhile, the list below identifies those formal oral-historical interviews to which specific references are made in this book.

- [1] Headman Mwene Kabimba  
Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 22, 1973  
village headman; member of the Kahare royal family; one of the most senior members of the Mwene Kahare Royal Court; president of the traditional neighbourhood court in Njonjolo
- [2] Mr Edward Kahare  
Lusaka  
March 21, 1973; September 30, 1977  
son of Mwene Kahare Timuna and half-brother of Chief Mwene Kahare Kabambi; self-employed and living in Lusaka
- [3] Chief Mwene Kahare Kabambi  
Litoya Royal Establishment, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 9, 1973; November 19, 1973; November 21, 1973;  
October 11, 1977  
One of the two royal Nkoya chiefs in Kaoma district; member of the House of Chiefs in the 1970s; UNIP trustee since Independence; nominated member of the Kaoma Rural Council;

## Appendix 5

born 1921, army sergeant and boma messenger until called to act in the place of his diseased father Mwene Kahare Timuna in 1952, and after his father's death in 1954 succeeded to the throne in 1955

- [4] Mr J. Kalaluka, MP  
Kaoma  
October 26, 1977  
Member of Parliament for Kaoma since 1973, after a complex political career; at the time of the interview a junior Minister, later a senior Cabinet Minister, lost his parliamentary seat and Cabinet position in 1988; formerly director with a major petroleum company; father Lozi; mother's mother is a half-sister of Mwene Kahare Timuna; grew up at the Litoya Royal Establishment
- [5] Rev. Kambita and Mr Davison Kawanga  
Lusaka  
October 5, 1977  
Rev. Kambita is a Nkoya pastor with the Evangelical Church of Zambia; for Mr Kawanga see below
- [6] Mrs Katambula  
Lusaka  
October 8, 1977  
daughter of Mwene Kahare Shamamano; lady in her mid-70s, living in Lusaka in the house of her daughter, who is the mother of Mr Kalaluka MP
- [7] Mr Davison Kawanga  
Lusaka  
October 1, 1977; October 8, 1977; October 21, 1977; October 22, 1977;  
senior medical assistant and UNIP local-level politician in Lusaka; grew up at the head-waters of the Luampa river, mother from Mukotoka village, Njonjolo
- [8] Headman Kikambo  
Kikambo village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
September 22, 1973  
a village headman
- [9] Chief Litia  
Naliele Royal Establishment, Kaoma district  
October 26, 1977  
The major Lozi chief in Kaoma district; son of the late Litunga Mbikusita Lewanika; holds a B.Sc. in agricultural science; after the time of the interview he became a member of the House of Chiefs
- [10] Mr D. Makiyi and Mr Davison Kawanga  
Lusaka

October 8, 1977

Mr Makiyi, born 1950, is a civil servant and author of a manuscript Nkoya history in English; for Mr Kawanga see above

- [11] Mr Simon Mangowa  
Lusaka  
July 24, 1973  
Nkoya elder residing in Lusaka; stepson of Mwene Shamamano Kahare's daughter
- [12] Headman Matiya Kapuka  
Matiya village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 5, 1973  
Mbundu immigrant and former teacher at Luampa Mission; village headmen of a small village of Mbundu immigrants
- [13] Mr Miyengo  
Kaoma  
August 9, 1978  
District Secretary Kaoma, of non-Nkoya background
- [14] Headman Mpelama Makandawuko  
Mpelama village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
December 6, 1973  
a village headman
- [15] Mr Mubiana  
Lusaka  
October 1, 1977  
senior police officer, Lusaka; grew up in the Zambezi flood plain and although identifying as a Nkoya has Lozi as his first language; his father was Mwiba, the senior drummer of the Litunga
- [16] Headman Ntaniela Mulimba  
Mulimba village, Kazo, Kaoma district  
October 16, 1977  
village headman; recognized as the original owner of the local land, and hence senior headman under Mwene Kahare; had held the Mulimba title since 1974
- [17] Mr H.H. Mwene  
Lusaka  
September 30, 1977; October 1, 1977  
Examinations Officer, Ministry of Education, Lusaka; former diplomat; from Lukulu district
- [18] Group interview Mwene Kahare Royal Council  
Litoya Royal Establishment, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 13, 1977, continued October 14, 1977  
Mwene Kahare, Mwanashihemi and all senior headmen of the Njonjolo and Kazo valleys present

*Appendix 5*

- [19] Group Interview Mwene Mutondo Royal Council  
Shikombwe Royal Establishment, Kaoma District  
October 18, 1977, continued October 19 and 20, 1977  
most senior headmen present but not Mwene Mutondo  
Kalapukila, who on October 20, 1977 granted the researcher a  
formal audience in the presence of all senior headmen
- [20] Group interview with Nkoya elders  
Matero, Lusaka  
October 1, 1977  
main informants Messrs Mulowa, Namenda, Likishi and  
Mankishi: Nkoya elders now residing in Lusaka
- [21] Headman Yaboka Shawayile  
Shawayile village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 16, 1973, November 22, 1973  
a village headman
- [22] Rev. J.M. Shimunika  
Luampa, Kaoma district  
October 21, 1977  
continued October 22, 1977; Nkoya pastor, formerly teacher,  
and son-in-law of Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca
- [23] Court Justice Yawisha  
Yawisha village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
September 22, 1973; October 13, 1973  
village headman; assessor of the Shimano Local Court, Kaoma  
district; one of the most senior members of the Mwene Kahare  
Royal Court
- [24] Headman Lubumba  
Lubumba village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
September 15, 1973; September 27, 1973; October 10, 1973;  
born c. 1915, village headman, hunter and prophet, conducted a  
sorcery eradication campaign in Namwala district in the 1950s;  
cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 405 and plate 6 there
- [25] Mwe Kapeshi  
Shipungu village, Kabanga, Kaoma district  
July 13, 1989  
born c. 1885, locally reputed to be closely related to or even  
identical to, Kapeshi ka Munungampanda

## Appendix 6

# List of archival sources and district files consulted

### **Zambia National Archives, Lusaka**

BS 1/93	Reports on the Gielgud-Anderson Hook of the Kafue expedition
CO 3/4/2	Copeman papers, in HM 6
HM 6	Historical Manuscripts box 6
KDB 1/2/1	Kafue Game Reserve
KDC 6/4/1	Mumbwa tour report May 1930; identical to KSA 8/3/1; in KDB 1/2/1
KSA 8/3/1	Mumbwa tour report May 1930; identical to KDC 6/4/1; in KDB 1/2/1
KSF 3/1	'A paper on the origin of the Baila, A Suggestion — to accompany Annual report on Namwala subdistrict', 1917-18 (by J.C. Hall)
KSX 1/1/1	Mankoya correspondence 1931-35
KTJ 1/1	Mumbwa outletters (Gielgud-Anderson Hook of the Kafue expedition; cf. BS 1/93)
KTJ 2/1	Mumbwa — some important papers
U 1/2	Slavery



*Appendix 6*

ZA 1/9/53/2/1	Census of native owned cattle — cattle census only Namwala
ZA 1/13	Barotse influence
ZA 7/1/15/2	Barotse Annual Report 1932

**current files of the Kaoma district administration**

ADM/12	Chiefs and headmen
ANT/2	National Monuments

**Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare**

photographic collection

Barotseland section

map collection:

[114]	BSACo. Territories, 1901 AC Rhodesia, 1895.
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## Appendix 7

# *Zinkena* in western Zambia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Table 5. *Zinkena* in western Zambia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

<i>Mwene</i>	details <i>Mwene</i>	<i>lukena</i> number (diagrams 15a-b)	name	location (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	reference
Fumika	Lutangu, Sipopa	1	Lukwakwa	Maniinga	(33: 1)
Imasiku		2	Lukwakwa	Maniinga	(33: 1)
Kabandala		3		Miluzi	(27: 4)
Kabazi	(≠ Kabazi Momba I)	4		Litoya Iya Mbuma	(16: 4)
Kabazi Momba I		5		Kayanga	(18: 5)
Kabongo I		6 7		(main) Shitwa (hunting) Shilili	(14: 1) (14: 2)

## Appendix 7

<i>Mwene</i>	<i>details Mwene</i>	<i>lukena number</i>	<i>lukena name</i> (diagrams 15a-b)	<i>location</i> (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	<i>reference</i>
Kabongo II		8		Lukwe	(18: 1)
Kabulwebulwe		9		Shibanda	(22: 1)
Kahare I	son of Mulema	10		(1) Kayimbu	(41: 7)
		11		(2) Tumba	(39: 9)
Kahare II		12		Tumba	(41: 1-2)
Kahare III	Wa Luhuki Lumweya	13		Milembo	(41: 4)
Kalumbwa		14		Mubawo	(14: 4)
Kapeshi		15		Tumba	(40: 5)
Kasheba Momba III		16		Kabuzu	(19: 1)
Kashina Lishenga Shiyenge		17		(1) Makunzu	(27: 3)
		18		(2) Kalimbata	(27: 11)
		19	Lukwakwa	(3) Maniinga	(30: 3)
		20		(4) Shimaño	(34: 5)
Kashina	son of Luhamba	21		(1) Nkulo	(8: 1)
		22		(2) Katete-kanyemba	(8: 1)
Katushi	elder brother of Liyoka	23		(1) Lukahu	(36: 1)
		24		(2) Lukona	(38: 4)
Kavuba Momba VII		25		Kabanda	(19: 1)
Kayambila		26		Mankumbwa	(23: 3, 26: 1)
Kazikwa		27		Mukunkike	(12: 5, 6, 8)
Komoka		28		Miluzi	(44: 2)
Libupe		29		Tumba	(H. Mwene's preface)
Likambi		30		Mongu	(10: 3)
Lipepo		31		Nabowa	(10: 2)
Livumina		32		Litoya Iya Mbuma	(43: 13)
Liyoka		33		(1) Lukahu	(36: 1)
		34		(2) Kaoma	(36: 3)
		35		(3) Likolwa	(36: 4)
		36	Liyoni Litoma Ikenele	(4) Luampa	(36: 4)
		37		(5) Kataba	(36: 5)
		38		(6) 'light forest'	(38: 1)
		39		(7) Lukona	(38: 4)
		40	(8) Kataba	(38: 5)	
Luhamba		41		(1) Nkulo	(7: 5)
		42		(2) Mabuwa	(7: 5)
		43		(3) Lukahu	(7: 5)
Lwengu	Mukwetunga	44		Mankumbwa	(4: 7)

*List of zinkena in 18th-19th century western Zambia*

<i>Mwene</i>	<b>details <i>Mwene</i></b>	<b>number</b>	<b><i>lukena</i> name (diagrams 15a-b)</b>	<b>location (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i>)</b>	<b>reference</b>
Manenga	Mashiku	45		Lwashanza	(17: 2)
Mukamba	Kuwonga	46		Mpula- kamanga	(21: 1, 22: 1)
Mukena	Kakwasha	47		Mankumbwa	(4: 7)
Mulawa		48		Mongu	(10: 3)
Munangisha		49		(1) in Lukona	(45: 7)
		50	Mabala	(2?) Manga- ngo	(48: 6)
		51	Lizuna	(3) Luampa	(47: 2, 48: 1, 3)
Mungambwa	Mulambila, Shibi sha Tuwoma	52	Libanga	Shitapo	(18: 4)
Mushonto		53		Kayumba- mayewe	(53: 6)
Mushunga		54		Nyango	(49: 5)
Mvubu Shihoka		55		Mabuwa	(20: 1)
Mwanambinyi		56		Kalabo	(10: 4)
Nahonge	sister of Shinkisha	57		Kalimbata	(26: 2f)
Ngwenyama Momba V		58		Muchi	(19: 2)
Sebitwane		59	Linyati	Sesheke	(31: 3)
Shaboboma Yomena	successor of Mungambwa	60		Kakoma	(20: 3)
Shabuwe Momba VI		61		Muchi	(19: 2)
Shafukuma Momba II		62		Kabuzu	(19: 1)
Shakalongo		63		Njoko	(43: 5)
Shamamano	Shambanjo	64		Kamano, Yange	(43: 12)
Shihoka I	Nalinanga	65		(1) Nalinanga	(39: 4)
		66	Lukwakwa	(2) Maniinga	(10: 5)
Shihoka II		67		Kalwizi- Shinkume confluence	(13: 1)
Shikanda		68		Kayimbu	(29: 2, 41: 6)
Shimpanya	sister of Kashina Lishenga	69		Makubiku- fuka	(27: 3)
Shinkisha Mutondo I		70		Kalimbata	(26: 2, 42: 2)

## Appendix 7

<i>Mwene</i>	<i>details Mwene</i>	<i>lukena number</i> (diagrams 15a-b)	<i>lukena name</i>	<i>location</i> (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	<i>reference</i>
Shiwutulu	daughter of Mbuyu Muyeke	71		Nkulashi	(11: 1)
successor of Kabongo II	not clear who this is: Kavuba? Mukamba Kuwonga?	72		Nangombe forest	(18: 1)
Wahila		73	Kazembe	(1) Lwena	(50: 4)
		74	Nyango, Milombe	(2) Nyango	(50: 6), (53: 6)
		75		(hunting) Litoya	(50: 12)
Welema		76		Nkenga	(12: 1)

List of zinkena in 18th-19th century western Zambia

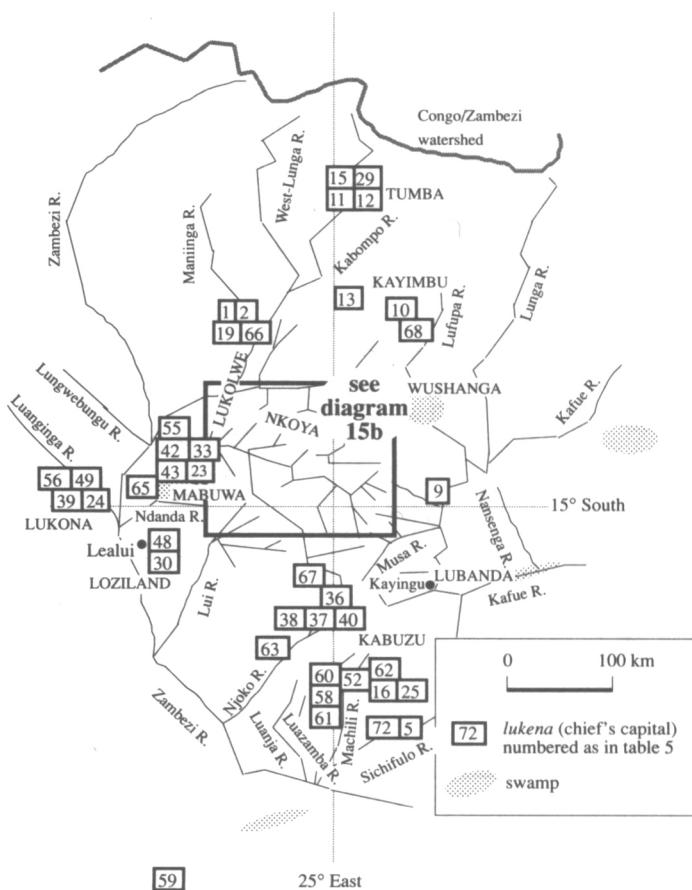


Diagram 15a. The location of Nkoya zinkena in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries according to *Likota Iya Bankoya* — overview of western Zambia (numbered as in table 5)

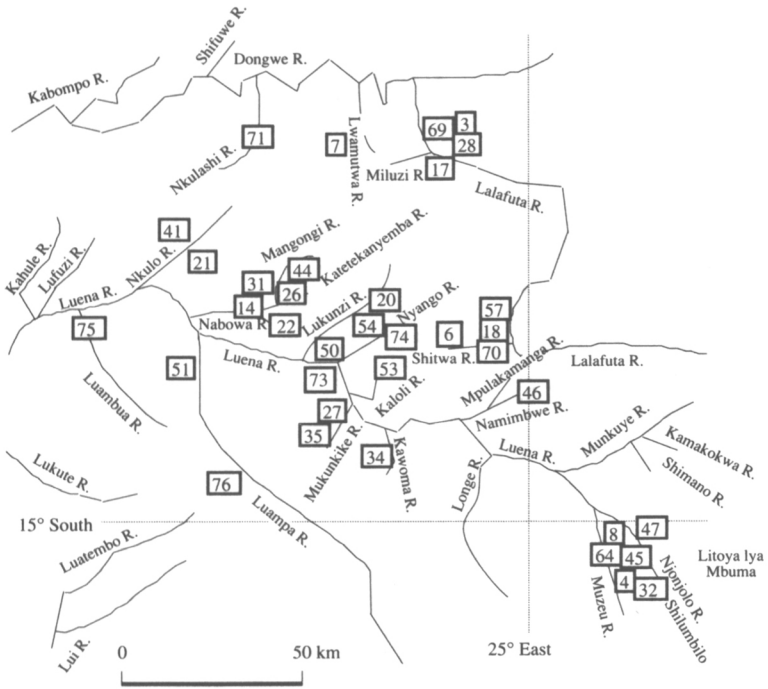


Diagram 15b. The location of Nkoya zinkena in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries according to *Likota Iya Bankoya* — the Land of Nkoya

(numbered as in table 5)

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Proper names have been indexed throughout this volume. Other words than proper names have not been indexed for the Nkoya text of Part II, but they have for the (English-language) footnotes there, and for the whole of Part III. Proper names only appear in this index under the preferential orthography as adopted in the English text of this volume (e.g. *Kafue*, a river); occurrences with non-standard orthography (e.g. *Kafuwe*, *Lwenge*) have been counted under the standard form of the word (*Kafue*). Since dynastic numbering in the context of Nkoya kingship is spurious, incumbents have often been listed under both their dynastic numbers as assigned by Rev. Shimunika and Mr. H. Mwene, and their proper names. Most characters in western Zambian history have multiple names; in order to save space these have been brought together in this index in one series of names appearing in what is an arbitrary order. Only incumbents clearly identified with the Kahare and Mutondo titles (as from the mid-nineteenth century) have been listed under these titles, despite the tendency in Nkoya literate ethno-history to project these 'dynastic' titles back into the eighteenth century and beyond.

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