

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,
Nkombu,
Shungu,
Mbumze,
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

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⁸³³ 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.

⁸³⁴ *Ku tontolola*: ‘Explanation’, i.e. ‘Note’.

⁸³⁵ H.H. Mwene does not accept that Libupe was the first Nkoya.

⁸³⁶ 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.

⁸³⁷ H.H. Mwene does not accept that this was the beginning of kingship.

⁸³⁸ 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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839 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.

840 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*.

841 *Litoya* is a common element in Nkoya toponyms, meaning 'river bank'.

842 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 1 The following people have greatly contributed to the stories in this book about the past:

- (1) The leaders of the Mvula⁸⁴³ clan: Mwana Mwene Shipandu of the Lands, the son⁸⁴⁴ 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),⁸⁴⁵ 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 Glory⁸⁴⁶.
You are the Creator Who Created Trees and Man.
Look at us, your children.'

The prayer ended in abundant ululating:

⁸⁴³ *Mvula*: Rain.

⁸⁴⁴ As explained in my chapter 2, all Nkoya kinship terms are used in a classificatory fashion.

⁸⁴⁵ Cf. chapter 32.

⁸⁴⁶ *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 Mukambuyu⁸⁴⁷ 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.

⁸⁴⁷ *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 Zambezi⁸⁴⁸ 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'⁸⁴⁹
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 Mashiku⁸⁵⁰ 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?'⁸⁵¹

And then one answers:

'Yes, we'⁸⁵² 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.⁸⁵³ 4 Her children had many children, according to the people who have contributed so much to the contents

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.’⁸⁵⁴

ABOUT THEIR ORIGIN

3

1 After creating everything else in the world Mwene Nyambi created Man.⁸⁵⁵ 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,⁸⁵⁶
- (2) Mbunze,⁸⁵⁷
- (3) Shungu or Le⁸⁵⁸,
- (4) Ntabi,⁸⁵⁹
- (5) Nkomba,⁸⁶⁰ and
- (6) Nyembo.⁸⁶¹

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;⁸⁶²
- (2) the Mbunze: Langu-Nkwehe;⁸⁶³
- (3) the Shungu or Le: Tumbwa or Makanga⁸⁶⁴;
- (4) the Ntabi: Nzovu⁸⁶⁵;
- (5) the Nkomba: Mukuni Shilombe⁸⁶⁶
- (6) The Nyembo or Shihombo: Shimunziko and Wishe.⁸⁶⁷

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.

⁸⁶² *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.

⁸⁶³ 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.

⁸⁶⁴ *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.

⁸⁶⁵ *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.

⁸⁶⁶ 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.

⁸⁶⁷ *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 Mpungumushi⁸⁶⁸ 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 Sheta⁸⁶⁹ 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 bird⁸⁷⁰ 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 Nkonze⁸⁷¹. 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.⁸⁷²
- (2) Mukwetunga Mulyata, in his turn, begot six Myene with Mwene Manenga, the Mother of the Nkoya. His⁸⁷³ younger brothers were: Mulambo,⁸⁷⁴ Mwitila Kamamba, and Liyowa.
- (3) Mukwetunga Mukena Kakwasha lived at Mankumbwa with his uterine nephew Mukwetunga Lwengu.

⁸⁷² 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*.

⁸⁷³ Or (much less likely) *Her*, namely Manenga’s.

⁸⁷⁴ 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 SON⁸⁷⁵ 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,⁸⁷⁶ 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

⁸⁷⁵ 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.

⁸⁷⁶ 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.⁸⁷⁷ 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 container⁸⁷⁸ 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?”’⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁷ *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.

⁸⁷⁸ *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.

⁸⁷⁹ 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:

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 fondness⁸⁸⁰ 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,⁸⁸¹ 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*⁸⁸² tree. Then he made a *nankishi*⁸⁸³ 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.

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'.

HIS⁸⁸⁴ 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',⁸⁸⁵ for Mukamba adopted the following praise-name:⁸⁸⁶

'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.

⁸⁸⁴ Shihoka I's.

⁸⁸⁵ 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*.

⁸⁸⁶ *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.⁸⁸⁷ 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

⁸⁸⁷ 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 he⁸⁸⁸ 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

⁸⁸⁸ 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.’⁸⁸⁹

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 explains⁸⁹⁰ 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.

⁸⁸⁹ Note that the earlier statement on Mwene Nankuwe (12: 3) is different from the apparent quotation here.

⁸⁹⁰ *ku lumba*, the root in *Shilumbilo*, means: ‘to be on one’s way’.

Kabongo II took over the kingship from his mother. She⁸⁹¹ 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.⁸⁹² 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 Momba⁸⁹³ left the other Nkoya. 2 The people of the forest had two Myene, from two different matrilineages.⁸⁹⁴ Lady Mwene Lipepo had the following children:

- (1) Mulambila⁸⁹⁵
- (2) Shingala (these were both men),
- (3) Shampaya, a daughter, and
- (4) Linyepa, a son again.

Lady Mwene Nkulo Limbwalangoma Liteke Iya Washi⁸⁹⁶ gave birth to the following children:

- (1) Lutebe Wabula Linungo⁸⁹⁷
- (2) Nankuwa, a daughter,

⁸⁹¹ 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'.

⁸⁹² 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.

⁸⁹³ 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.

⁸⁹⁴ See the discussion of this contentious term in Part I, 2.5: 'the handling of kinship terms and terms for social groups'.

⁸⁹⁵ 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'.

⁸⁹⁶ 'Uncovered Pit'.

⁸⁹⁷ '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 ⁸⁹⁸

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.

⁸⁹⁸ *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,⁸⁹⁹ in order to take

⁸⁹⁹ *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 Nkunzu⁹⁰⁰ Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi, who adopted the praise-name 'Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi';
- (5) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mahepo;
- (6) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mukutabafu,⁹⁰¹ 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

⁹⁰⁰ *Nkunzu*: 'mortar'.

⁹⁰¹ *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’⁹⁰²

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

⁹⁰² 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;⁹⁰³ 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 Shingole⁹⁰⁴ 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.⁹⁰⁵ Mwene Sebitwane, the Mwene of the Kololo (or Kubu),⁹⁰⁶ 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 Lushiku⁹⁰⁷ 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:

⁹⁰³ The Southern Lozi court of the Litunga’s sister, the Litunga la Mboela.

⁹⁰⁴ *Sic*, and not Mukamba Kuwonga; most probably Shingole was his father’s name.

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. chapters 44-48 below.

⁹⁰⁶ Both ethnonyms appear in the original.

⁹⁰⁷ 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.’⁹⁰⁸

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,⁹⁰⁹
The Snuffbox of Nyambi’s Child.’⁹¹⁰

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.’⁹¹¹

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.

⁹⁰⁸ *nkumba*, ‘giant mushroom’, believed to cause deafness; it may grow on (royal) graves, but the full meaning of the association remains hidden.

⁹⁰⁹ A cryptic reference to generosity.

⁹¹⁰ 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.

⁹¹¹ 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 Mutondo⁹¹² 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.⁹¹³ 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 her⁹¹⁴ 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.

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 writer⁹¹⁵ 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) Mwanashihemi⁹¹⁶ 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:

⁹¹⁵ 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'.

⁹¹⁶ *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 Nkanda⁹¹⁷ 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.'

⁹¹⁷ *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.'⁹¹⁸

Njungu sought the company of other hunters. They crossed the Dongwe and the Shifuwe and went to Lukwakwa, to Imasiku:⁹¹⁹ 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.'⁹²⁰

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'⁹²¹ 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.

⁹¹⁸ 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.

⁹¹⁹ Note that in (30: 3) Shihoka and not Imasiku is mentioned as the *Mwene* at Lukwakwa at the time.

⁹²⁰ Tribute was contained in such pots.

⁹²¹ 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 mother⁹²² 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.'

⁹²² 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, her⁹²³ 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'.⁹²⁴

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.

⁹²³ Classificatory use.

⁹²⁴ 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'.⁹²⁵ 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 brother⁹²⁶ 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

⁹²⁵ 'The only one to die'.

⁹²⁶ 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; she⁹²⁷ 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

⁹²⁷ 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.⁹²⁸ 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 Munungampanda⁹²⁹.

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:

⁹²⁸ That region was for centuries an important export area of salt, a much-coveted trade item.

⁹²⁹ 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.⁹³⁰ 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 seclusion⁹³¹ the drums should be silent? That is very bad. Let us therefore elect her⁹³² son Kahare Wa Luhuki Lumweya,⁹³³ 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

⁹³⁰ Both Namuyobo and Mbuma were listed as companions of Shihoka I (39: 4-5).

⁹³¹ In order to spend the days of her menstruation in the female seclusion hut outside the capital (or any other village).

⁹³² Note the shift from second to third person.

⁹³³ *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 daughter⁹³⁴ 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

⁹³⁴ *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 their⁹³⁵ 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 they⁹³⁶ 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:

⁹³⁵ 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.

⁹³⁶ 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.’⁹³⁷

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!’⁹³⁸

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.’

⁹³⁷ 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.

⁹³⁸ 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 indunas⁹³⁹ 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.⁹⁴⁰

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

⁹³⁹ *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*.

⁹⁴⁰ 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'.

Kaonde⁹⁴¹ 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',⁹⁴² which has the following meaning:

'Because the Nkoya carried her on a stretcher.'⁹⁴³

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 Kazikwa 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 magic⁹⁴⁴ 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

⁹⁴¹ Used here as a toponym: 'the Land of Kaonde', cf. 'the Land of Nkoya'.

⁹⁴² The root *-ziho* means: load.

⁹⁴³ 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.

⁹⁴⁴ *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 shrine⁹⁴⁵ he saw the crown⁹⁴⁶ 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.'

⁹⁴⁵ 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.

⁹⁴⁶ 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.’⁹⁴⁷

6 He made them stage a prayer ceremony at the shrine. After the ceremony he told the people:

‘I am really Mwene Mutondo Shinkisha. You⁹⁴⁸ 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 village⁹⁴⁹ 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 Shimunika⁹⁵⁰ 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.

⁹⁴⁷ 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.

⁹⁴⁸ Note that here the audience shifts from ‘the people’ to ‘Mwene Shiyenge’.

⁹⁴⁹ Here the text has *munzi*: ‘village’, and not (as three words above and half a sentence below) *lukena*: ‘capital’.

⁹⁵⁰ 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.’⁹⁵¹

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.’

⁹⁵¹ 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,⁹⁵² 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:

⁹⁵² 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.’⁹⁵³

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 Whitemen⁹⁵⁴ 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;

⁹⁵³ 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.

⁹⁵⁴ 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-PRIESTS⁹⁵⁵

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),⁹⁵⁶ by the name of Kapandula; for when they returned, Kapandula adopted the praise-name

'I am Katengutengu the Mwene's Bird.'

⁹⁵⁵ *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'.

⁹⁵⁶ 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.⁹⁵⁷ 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.'

⁹⁵⁷ 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 Government⁹⁵⁸ 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.⁹⁵⁹ 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 MANKOYA⁹⁶⁰ (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

⁹⁵⁸ *Kafulumende*: Nkoya rendering of the word ‘Government’, and used in an almost personalized manner.

⁹⁵⁹ 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.

⁹⁶⁰ 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',⁹⁶¹ and the second time⁹⁶² they called it 'Spider'.⁹⁶³ Mr Helm Mwene Mangalashi⁹⁶⁴ 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.⁹⁶⁵ The first was Mwana Mwene David⁹⁶⁶ 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.⁹⁶⁷

⁹⁶¹ 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).

⁹⁶² After the creation of Mankoya boma.

⁹⁶³ *Lintendanzi*, 'spider'; the significance of this name is obscure.

⁹⁶⁴ Clearly derived from *English*; the prefix *Ma-* suggests that this was originally a Lozi term.

⁹⁶⁵ The lowest rank in the district administration, reserved for Africans.

⁹⁶⁶ 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.

⁹⁶⁷ 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.⁹⁶⁸ 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,⁹⁶⁹ put an end to the funeral which was already nearly finished, and called Mwana Mwene Kanyinca. 2 He made Kanyinca stand beside

⁹⁶⁸ 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.

⁹⁶⁹ 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);⁹⁷⁰ 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

⁹⁷⁰ 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.⁹⁷¹ 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.⁹⁷² 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.⁹⁷³ In the year 1921 a missionary, Bwana Katiti, came from Macha Mission⁹⁷⁴ 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 1917.⁹⁷⁵ 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.’

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 Ndona 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 Lalafuta⁹⁷⁶ and he said that he was going to build the mission there. He employed many people to go to Sefula to bring his Ndona. 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,⁹⁷⁷ 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 Ndona 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.

⁹⁷⁶ 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.).

⁹⁷⁷ 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 1917-23⁹⁷⁸

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:⁹⁷⁹

- (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.

⁹⁷⁸ The unusual dating 'as from the years 1917-23' is a literal translation of the original.

⁹⁷⁹ 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 strangers⁹⁸⁰; 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.’

⁹⁸⁰ 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 Those⁹⁸¹ 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.⁹⁸² 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.

⁹⁸¹ Now the author presents *Likota lya Bankoya* as a collective work; cf. (2: 4) and (27: 6), and notes there.

⁹⁸² *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 kingship⁹⁸³ 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.

⁹⁸³ *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.