

## Part IV

### Reference material

## Appendix 1

# A description of the constituent parts of the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript

The manuscript as submitted to me in 1976 consisted of thirteen different parts:<sup>984</sup>

(1) *title page:*

LIKOTA / LYA / BANKOYA / / / / MALASHA J.  
SHIMUNIKA / HAMBAMWENE

— typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's)

(2) *three handwritten pages, numbered i, ii, iii, containing sketches for maps, with captions and legend, in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting*

(3) *a page numbered 'iv', on typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's), typed single space, beginning:*

BANKOYA BAFUMA KU LWALABA KU  
WULUBA BOMBOKELE etc.,

*ending:*

(16) Mwene Kahare Kabambi mwana Timuna. —

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<sup>984</sup> In the description below, a slash '/' stands for 'carriage return'.

Appendix 1

- (4) *two pages, numbered 'III' and '2' respectively, handwritten by Mr H.H. Mwene on official ruled notepaper marked 'C.S.D. 12; NOTHING TO BE WRITTEN IN THIS MARGIN', beginning:*

KU TONTOLOLA. / Mu Litunga lino lya Zambia etc.,

*ending:*

na ku yoya wuluno / H.H. Mwene /M.J. Shimunika

- (5) *on typewriter II (identified as Shimunika's), two unnumbered pages, typed single space: a table of contents, beginning:*

MITWE YA BYAMBO BYA MU LIKOTA,

*ending:*

57. Baka kutikita byambo ebye bya mu Likota,

*after which eight lines, covering newly added chapters 58-62 follow in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting*

- (6) *On typewriter II (identified as Shimunika's)*

*first part of main text of Likota lya Bankoya  
pages numbered in pencil from '1' to '4'*

- (7) *one page, on typewriter III (Remington Travelwriter?), no original page number, marked in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting 'Pages — 5, + 6 —', beginning*

HA FUMA WENE WA BANKOYA. /  
LITAPULULO 4.

*and ending:*

3. Mukwetunga Mukeno Kakwasha mu Mankumbwa na mwipa wendi. Mukwetunga Lwengu

- (8) *On typewriter II (identified as Shimunika's):*

*main text of Likota lya Bankoya continued*

*page numbers (in pencil) '7'— '60', with running heads in which the chapter and verse number of the beginning and end of each page is indicated.*

- (9) *On typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's), a page marked '-61-' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

BIZINO BYA BANKOYA NI MWABO BA MYENE

*and ending:*

*The constituent parts of the Likota Iya Bankoya manuscript*

29. Kalapukila Mutondo X Still alive

*and then in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting:*

(Ha yoya) / Aba nibo ba ka livuma Iya Mwene Libupe (Mukazi)  
/ Wene wa Mwene Mutondo

- (10) *On typewriter IV (using a modern, sans-serif letter — probably a typewriter Mr H.H. Mwene has access to in his Ministry of Education Examinations Office): one page, numbered '62' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

BIZINO BYA BANKOYA NI MWABO BYA  
(corrected in handwriting: BA) MYENE

*and ending:*

19. Kabambi II Kahare VII Hayoya, Aba nibo ba ka livumo  
Iya Mulawa mwana Nawato/

*(added in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting:)*

Wene wa Mwene Kahare.

- (11) *On typewriter V (using a modern sans-serif letter — probably another typewriter Mr H.H. Mwene has access to in his Ministry of Education Examinations Office), one page, numbered '63' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

BIZINO BYA BANKOYA NI MWABO BA MYENE  
/ MWENE SHIZINO / 1 Kabazi Momba I...

*and ending:*

8. Shilolo Momba VIII Hayoya (still alive) / / / —oooo—  
oooo—

- (12) *On typewriter I (identified as Mr H.H. Mwene's): one page numbered '64' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning:*

WENE WA KABULWEBULWE

*and ending:*

6 Mukutubafu Kabulwebulwe III

*added in handwriting*

Mukutubafu

*to clarify unclear typing*

*Appendix 1*

(13) *On typewriter IV, one page numbered '65' in Mr H.H. Mwene's handwriting, beginning*

ZINGONDA ZA BANKOYA

*['the Nkoya names of the months'] and ending:*

12. Kwishi.

## Appendix 2

# Variants of the *Likota lya Bankoya* manuscript<sup>985</sup>

### key:

<b>bold</b>	present in this variant, and not (in this form) in the main manuscript
[ ]	present in main manuscript and not in this variant
*	quotation marks completed by the editor
**	quotation marks added by the editor
\$	indentation added by the editor
?	no information

### 1. A variant numbered page 5

**Shilayi** mwana Shikalamo[-S]shamundemba [niye ]wakatukile wayile mu[ ]kutekula mema ha **ntumba yendi ya kakote, watatikile kuyitila mema** [lulonga, wa yitililenga ]kunkumo ya **litatamundilo, pe mundilo hib?zima niye** ha[ ]zinguluka **litatamundilo** na kuyitilila mema kunkumo ya **litatamundilo** pe **niwo** hi[ ]ukuzima **niye haya na kuzinguluka liziko lya mundilo. Pe** . [Nohobene] niye niho a[ ]tendele [nga] shikuma na ngovu **bene niho** [pe w]a[ ]kumine kwakwipi na nyungu niho akwatile nyungu na nkobo[, ] **pe** wayitewileho ha liziko. **10** [5] Nohobene oho amanishile kuyupula nyama mu[ ]nyungu wehanine bawushinda wendi **nimwabo** ngayi,

‘Yekenu tulyenga **haya nayitwasha kale.**’\$

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<sup>985</sup> In Rev. Shimunika’s master copy, as photographed by me at his house, Luampa, 1977.

11 Oho bamanishile kulya kwakatukile **Kankonze** [wamina]<sup>986</sup> na bawushinda wendi ngayi,

‘Yekenu tuba[ ]konzele ha zindonga **zabo** bakusheta **aba** bana[ ]lishete ku **linyungu** lya **ha liziko** lya mundilo.’\$

12 [6] Nohobene Shikalamo[-S]**shamundemba** wa tongwezele mikoka [bantu] nimwabo ngayi,

‘Enu nimwenu muna kwanga kutewula nyungu [ha litatamundilo. ] Niho ou mwanami Shilayi Mashiku niye una[ ]yitewuluho na kulyamo nyama, na **bana** [bawushinda w]**bendi**, niye L[l]iyoni lya mulela bana **haya** [niye] ukwinda mwene, a[ ]mikome nimwenu. 13 [Pe k]**Kami** [n]enu munakongo ha zindonga **zabo** muli **bankonze muna konzele** bamyene[ ba kawukongo mu na kongo] ha zindonga **nanenu kami muli bamyene**[ za wene. Bakasheta na bankonze bentu bamo, bamyene nimwabo.]’ \*\$

14 [7] Nohobene oho **mishobo** [mikoka] nimwayo ya [naha tu natoyo ya ] Bankoya bayuwile noho batumbile [baka] Shilayi ngayi,

**haya obe** [‘Enu haya m]uli [ba]**mu**kasheta [m]unalishete ku **linyungu** lya **litatamundilo**.’\*\*\$

[Pe k]**Kami** niho [b]atumbile bamina ngayi

[‘Enu kami ]muli **Bakawu**[n]kongo[e]**o enu** mu[ ]nakonzele ba[ ]kasheta ha zindonga zabo.’\*\*\$

Hakukotoka mvula wa[ ]lokele na ku[ ]zima mundilo. Pe[le] haya **oho mvula aketukile hafumine shambo sha kwamba** [nibo] ngayi,

‘Wene wetu wa Limata lya Mvula [(Wene Walimata lya Mvula)]’ \*\*<sup>987</sup> \$(page break)

## 2. A variant numbered page 16

(3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate** niye Shinkisha, Lushiku niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. Kabongo niye **wahingile** ha wene wa **mandiyendi**. 4 Niho **bakatukile** na Lipepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi, niho bayile.

## BANA BA MWENE MANENGA

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<sup>986</sup> Here clearly the variant has a more specific meaning than the main text.

<sup>987</sup> No capitalization in variant.

## Appendix 2

5 Mwene Manenga wabelekele bana bendi **bamutanu** na umo. Mazina wabo awa: — (1) Nahonge , niye **wa** mweli wendi, (2) Kabongo, (3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa , niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate**, niye Shinkisha , [Lushiku ] niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. [Kabongo niye wa hingile ha wene wa Mandiyendi. Niho akatukile na Lilepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi niho bayile. Matee Shinkisha niye wengile] Nkomba wakombele **mulivumo** lya Mashiku . **6** Kami tatiyabo **niye mukwetunga** Mulyata wa mukashungu niye bene ou wabelekele aba bana nimwabo na Mwene Manenga. Oho afwile Mwene Manenga **ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko, pe** Kabongo niye wahingele ha wene.

**HA KULITAPA KWA BANKOYA BAMO [BA]KUYA KU MULOBEZI BAMINA [BA]KUSHALA MUNO MU NKOYA**

# 18

1 Bankoya ha kuya kwabo ku Masholo. Oho a fwile Mwene Kabongo ku lukena lwa **Kulukwe, bankoya bafumine ku lukena lwa Kulukwe batuntukile, pe** [niho] bayile ku shisholo sha Nangombe ku mushinzi wa Mulobezi ku ncango ya Kantente [,] niko bakalitapilile ba Mwene Mungambwa na Mwene Momba, [2 ] bamyene babili aba **baku** Masholo, mavumo wabo abili. Mwene Lipepo[, ] wa mukazi niye wahemene bana bendi, **2** (1) Mulambila, **wa mulume** (2) Shingala , **wa mulume** [aba nimwabo bali<sup>988</sup> balume,] (3) Shampaya, wa mukazi, (4) Linyepa wa mulume, **3** Mwene Nkulo Limwalangoma liteke lya washi, niye wahemene bana **bendi** aba: — (1) Lutebe wabula linungo, (2) Nankuwa, **wa** mukazi, pe Kabazi **wa mulume** na Shimano **kami wengile wamulume**. 4 Mwene Mungambwa (**page break**)

### 3. A variant numbered page 60

(3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate** niye Shinkisha, Lushiku niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. Kabongo niye **wahingile** ha wene wa **mandiyendi**. **4** Niho **bakatukile** na Lipepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi, niho bayile.

**BANA BA MWENE MANENGA**

5 Mwene Manenga wabelekele bana bendi **bamutanu** na umo. Mazina wabo awa: — (1) Nahonge , niye **wa** mweli wendi, (2) Kabongo, (3) Mukamba, (4) Kabandala, (5) Shishopa , niye Kayambila, (6) **Maate**, niye Shinkisha , [Lushiku ] niye **wengile** mukaala wabo. [Kabongo niye wa hingile ha wene wa Mandiyendi. Niho akatukile na Lilepo na Nkulo bamyene babakazi niho bayile. Matee Shinkisha niye wengile] Nkomba wakombele **mulivumo** lya Mashiku . **6** Kami tatiyabo **niye**

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<sup>988</sup> This word deleted in the original.



mukwetunga Mulyata wa mukashungu niye bene ou wabelekele aba bana nimwabo na Mwene Manenga. Oho afwile Mwene Manenga **ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko, pe** Kabongo niye wahingele ha wene.

**HA KULITAPA KWA BANKOYA BAMO [BA]KUYA KU MULOBEZI BAMINA [BA]KUSHALA MUNO MU NKOYA**

**18** 1 Bankoya ha kuya kwabo ku Masholo. Oho a fwile Mwene Kabongo ku **lukena lwa Kulukwe, bankoya bafumine ku lukena lwa Kulukwe batuntukile, pe** [niho] bayile ku shisholo sha Nangombe ku mushinzi wa Mulobezi ku ncango ya Kantente [,] niko bakalitapilile ba Mwene Mungambwa na Mwene Momba, [2 ] **bamyene** babili aba **baku** Masholo, mavumo wabo abili. Mwene Lipepo[, ] wa mukazi niye wahemene bana bendi, **2** (1) Mulambila, **wa mulume** (2) Shingala , **wa mulume** [aba nimwabo bali<sup>989</sup> balume,] (3) Shampaya, wa mukazi, (4) Linyepa wa mulume, **3** Mwene Nkulo Limwalangoma liteke lya washi, niye wahemene bana **bendi** aba: — (1) Lutebe wabula linungo, (2) Nankuwa, **wa** mukazi, **pe** Kabazi **wa mulume** na Shimano **kami wengile wamulume**. 4 Mwene Mungambwa  
(page break)

#### 4. A variant numbered page 61

**WENE WA KABAZI KU LITTOYA LYA MBUMA**

**?**<sup>990</sup> 1 Kabazi wengile mwipa wa Mwene Kalumbwa **ka** muncabankuni na ndenga. Nohobene ngo nehe tunamba nya kunyima [ngayi,]

[‘]Mwene Nankuwa **wengile mwene** wa mukazi **niye** wa belekele bana bendi mutanu na umo babalume na bana babakazi babili lizina lya umo [niye] Manenga, mwana Nankuwa, wamina Mulawa.[’ ]<sup>\*\*</sup>  
\$

2 Niho **mwene** wa mukazi Manenga kami wa hemene bana bendi mutanu na umo mazina wabo ( awa [(1 . D)] Kabazi, (2) Mukamba [, ] (3) Kavuba, (4) Lipepo, **wengile wa** mukazi, (5) ]Nkulo, **niye kami wengile** mukazi, (6) Mashiku, [3 ]niye washwanine mandiyendi

<sup>989</sup> This word deleted in the original.

<sup>990</sup> An open place is provided for the enlarged chapter number, but it is not filled in in the variant; the running head of the variant has: *Likota lya Bankoya 16.2-17.2-3*, which does not seem to be quite correct since the first verse is 1 and not 2; at any rate, we are presumably in chapter 16 — in the main text chapter 17 begins here.

## Appendix 2

Manenga . Nka oho afwile[, ]Mwene Kalumbwa niho Bankoya bahatile Kabazi ngayi niye wuhinga ha wene wa kanyantu kendi. 3 Nohobene Kabazi wengile Mwene ku Litoya Iya Mbuma: ku mutwe wa Lwena oku [b]anaziki ba Mwene Kahare lero. [Ku ] Njonjo[lo ]ku Shilumbilo[,] oku Litoya Iya Mbuma oku Shilumbilo[ ( ] sha ku nzila sha pwizuluka bayeni[), ] niko kutontoloka kwa lizina Iya Shilumbilo.

Mwene Manenga ku Mushwalumuku<sup>991</sup>

? 1 Oho afwile Mwene Kabazi ku Litoya Iya Mbuma ku Shisholo, bankoya bahatile mpanzendi Mashiku ngayi a[ ]hingha ha wene. [2] Kami niye wengile Mwene Manenga ku Lwashanza ku Shisholo sha Mushwalumuko. 2 Kuyo bene niko bazikilenga bankoya. 3 Oho shiloro balitapatape ba Mwene Kabulwebulwe na Mwene **Mukamba** [Momba] na Mungambwa oho bashalile muno mu nkoya.

### BANA BA MWENE MANENGA

3 [4 ]Mwene Manenga wa belekele bana bendi ba mutanu na umo. Mazina wabo awa [: — ] (1) Nahonge niye mweli wendi, (2) Kabongo(**page break**)

### 5. A variant numbered page 62

Shibi sha tuwoma wene wekalile shiwahe mu Shitapo ku Lukena Iwa Libanga, mu Shitapo nimo baliwaninene na Mwene Mvubu Shihoka oho a fumine **muno mu nkoya** [ku Mabuwa muno mu Nkoya, ] pe wakawanine Mwene Mungambwa ku Shitapo. 2 [Oho afwile pe baletele Shaboboma ]Yomena [kufuma muno mu Nkoya mukumushwanisha lizina Iya Mwene ]Mungambwa **watuntukile kukana kuli Mwene Momba Ngwenyama**[, niye bene unazihizi liziko Iya Mwene Mungambwa]. 3 **Niye wafumine** ku Mulobezi kuboka ku Kakoma mwana Makile ku Shisheke District.

### HAYA TULI NA [TU]KUBOKA MUNO MU[ ]NKOYA NAWIKO [HAYA]

**22** 1 Wene wa Mukamba Kuwonga ku Namimbwe ku mbuwa<sup>992</sup> ya Mpulakamanga , [2 ]Mwene Mukamba wa[ ]hingile ha wene oho a fwile Mwene Kavuba, pe Bankoya bayatile nehe ngayi,

‘Mukamba niye ahinga ha liwoma Iya wene’. \*\* \$

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<sup>991</sup> In this variant the heading was typed in lower case, not in capital as in main text.

<sup>992</sup> In the original separated from the preceding *ku*.

2 Mwene Mukamba[, ]wehalile shikuma ha wene, ngoboni **wafwa** ku maboko a bantu. [3 ]Bantu balitapile **ha** kati bamina bamuhakile ngayi,

‘Mwene wamuwahe’,\*\* \$

bamina [kami] ngayi ou

‘Mwene wamubi’\*\*. \$

**Pe** niho bamupondele bantu bendi bene ngayi,

‘Etu kumushinga tufwako; tumupondenu tuyakeho washenge!’ \* \$

## KUFUMA KWA MWENE KABULWEBULWE MUNO MU NKOYA

**23** 1 Wene wa Kabulwebulwe ku Shibanda, nka oho Mwene engile ha kufwa ku mbuwa ya Mpulakamanga ku mutwe wa Namimbe, niko kuli shizino shendi Mwene Mukamba. 2 Niho bana bendi bakatukile kufuma muno mu Nkoya bayile ku Lufupa ku Wushanga, mukulya wene wa Mukamba. Mazina a bamyene aba: — (1) Wakutatika niye Mwene Mukamba Kuwonga, (2) Mwene Mukamba Lukeke, (3) Mwene Mukamba Kapoyo, (4) Mwene Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwanga[ ]banjabi[, niye walitangile lya Nkunzu Kabulwebulwe Mukwangabanjabi. ](5) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mahepo . (6) Mwene Kabulwebulwe Mukutabafu, niye [bene] ka Nkoya mwine , na kubula kulimbashana. 3 Ngoboni oku(**page break**)

## Appendix 3

# Genealogies constructed on the basis of the text of *Likota Iya Bankoya*

The following genealogies have been constructed solely on the basis of the information provided in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, and therefore, as argued in detail in my chapter 2, cannot claim any historical accuracy. Current incumbents of the kingship of Kahare and Mutondo, and others whose genealogical position is known to me but who are not mentioned in *Likota Iya Bankoya*, have not been included here. It has not been possible to construct genealogies of the Momba and Kabulwebulwe dynastic lines on the basis of the information in *Likota Iya Bankoya*. Also, the book mentions a great many individuals, inside and outside the royal families, about whom the genealogical information is either lacking or too slight and contradictory to be incorporated in these genealogies. In case of uncertainty more than one vertical filiation lines are shown.

The names of incumbents of the kingship appear in **boldface**.

Appendix 3

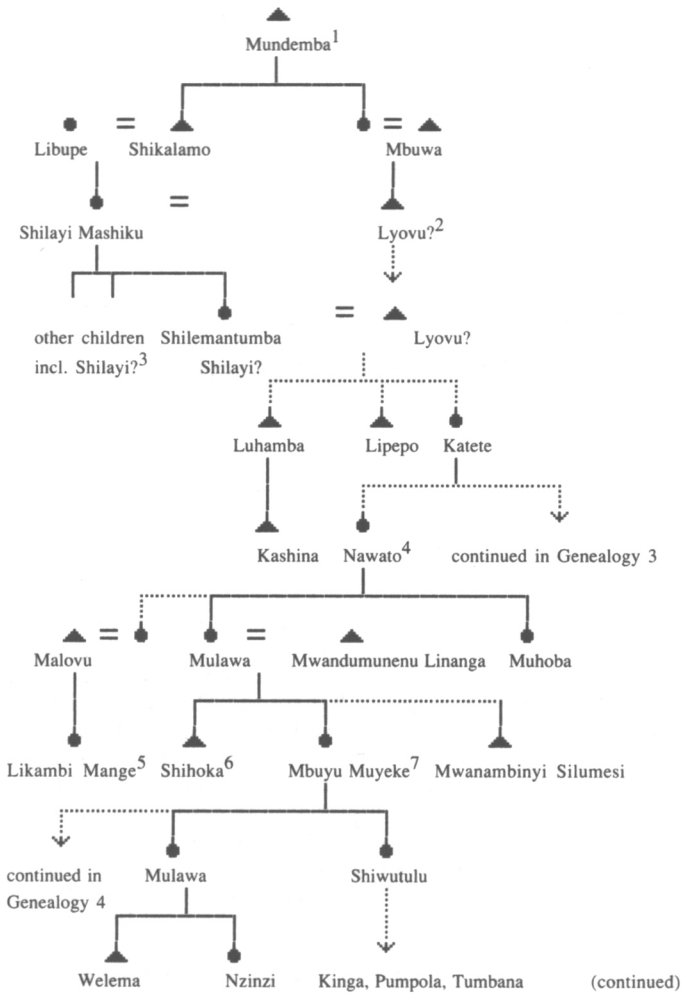


Diagram 11a. Genealogy 1 — from Mwene Libupe to Mwene Manenga.

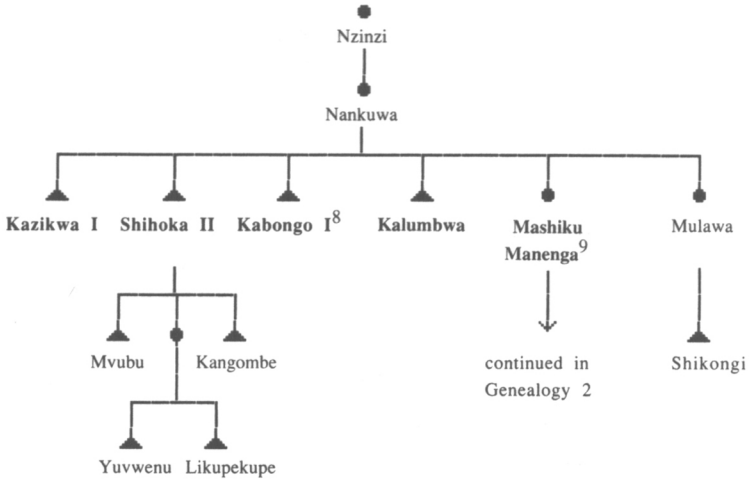


Diagram 11b. Genealogy 1 — from Mwene Libupe to Mwene Manenga (continuation).

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- <sup>1</sup> This genealogy brings together most genealogical information from chapters 1-17, with the exception of:
- (1) (1: 1-5): ‘Note on sources’ — the people mentioned there belong to far more recent generations;
  - (2) (11: 2): ‘Another Lady Mwene called Shiwutulu was the mother of Mwene Yaboka and a number of younger children including Ncamanga’;
  - (3) (12: 2): ‘Shawaya became the leader of the Shikumbawuyuvu clan’;
  - (4) (17: 3): Mwene Kabulwebulwe, Mwene Mukamba and Mungambwa.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. (5: 2): The children of Shilemantumba are said to belong to ‘the Mbunze clan, for Mukwetunga Lyovu Iya Mbuwa, the one who begot the Myene, belonged to that clan.’ This suggests that Lyovu was the Mukwetunga not of Shilayi (as explicitly stated in (4: 7)), but of Shilemantumba.

### Appendix 3

- <sup>3</sup> Shilayi appears as both the parent and the grandmother of Luhamba; this would not be impossible if Shilemantumba was also called Shilayi, but on the other hand the explicit specification ‘Katete daughter of Shilemantumba’ suggests that the relationship between Luhamba and Katete may not have been that of biological siblings but that of parallel cousins: Luhamba would then be a child of one of those other children of Shilayi Mashiku whom *Likota Iya Bankoya* does not specify.
- <sup>4</sup> Below, in genealogy 3, we shall encounter Katete as the apical ancestress of the Shakalongo line; there, no reference whatsoever is made to Nawato.
- <sup>5</sup> As ‘elder sister’ of Shihoka, and with a different patronym than the latter, Likambi should be considered an MZD rather than a Z of Shihoka. The name of her hypothetical mother however remains unknown.
- <sup>6</sup> In this generation the lines of the Mutondo and the Kahare kingship come together, along with the sorceress Likambi Mange and the Lozi dynastic figure Mwanambinyi. The paternal epithets of Likambi and Shihoka do not match (see previous note), and those of Mwanambinyi and Mbuyu Muyeke are omitted altogether when these figures appear for the first time, although later (10: 9) Shihoka’s father is identified as Mwandumunenu. It is hard to accept that the same Mbuyu Muyeke who was a companion of Shihoka on his journey through northwestern Zambia, at the same time was the ancestress of the historically very different line of the Mutondo kingship. I therefore take it that the genealogical information in this generation is largely mythical: an attempt to state a common ancestry between the two major Nkoya kingships, and to link up with the Lozi kingship. This, however, does not rule out the possibility that there have been genealogical links between these three kingships — but most probably not of the nature as stipulated by *Likota Iya Bankoya* and as presented in this line of the genealogy. Shihoka’s journey in itself points to internecine strife prompting his departure.
- <sup>7</sup> The children of Mbuyu Muyeke are specified as Mulawa and Shiwutulu, in (11: 1). However, Mbuyu Muyeke was also the only sister of Shihoka specifically identified as one of his companions on his journey through northwestern Zambia. This makes us suspect that she was also the mother of Kahare I. Shihoka’s departure suggests a great conflict within the dynastic nucleus which was soon to be called the Nkoya. The fact that two major lines of kingship appear to come together in Mbuyu Muyeke is not entirely incompatible with such a view; however, it is also possible that in fact two different ancestresses are involved, both implied to be (but not explicitly identified as) one and the same Mbuyu Muyeke. Structurally, the key position of Mbuyu Muyeke (between the Kahare and the Mutondo line) is similar to that of Katete, a few generations up (where Katete mediates between both these lines, and the Shakalongo line). Of course, the split is not due to historical genealogical fission; the genealogy merely expresses facts of political history — no doubt distorted in the light of twentieth-century political relations — in a genealogical idiom.
- <sup>8</sup> The (classificatory?) sibling order as given in (12: 3) is not the birth order nor the order in which the members of this generation succeeded each other in the kingship; cf. chapters 13 and 14 of *Likota Iya Bankoya*.
- <sup>9</sup> If we assume that there were two Mashiku Manenga, one the mother of the other, the contradictions between the various lists of children of Mwene Manenga are resolved. Such an assumption would be perfectly in line with the Nkoya practice of name-inheriting. It is moreover corroborated by documentary evidence: Moses Masheka Mutondo’s notebook (A) on Nkoya history and neo-traditional political structure also lists (on p. 10) two Myene Manenga: ‘Mashiku (13)’ and ‘Manenga

*Genealogies based on Likota Iya Bankoya*

Mashiku (14)' within the dynastic line of what was to be known as the Mutondo kingship; in Maseko's manuscript (A) the numbers refer to successive incumbents of the Mutondo kingship. But even so, Mukamba (and his identification as Mvubu and Kuwonga) continues to pose problems — see Genealogy 2.





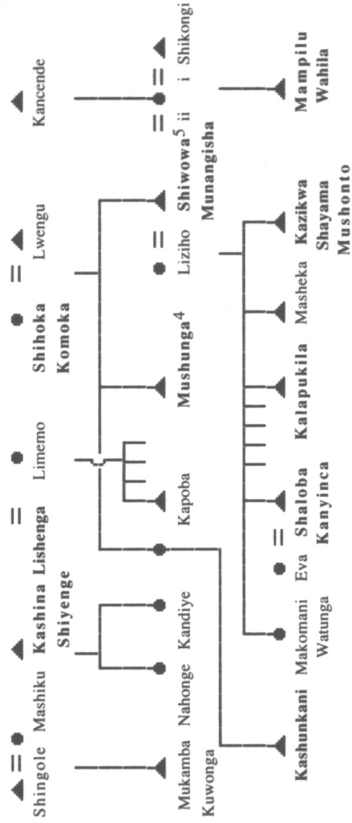


Diagram 12b. Genealogy 2 — from Mwene Manenga to Mwene Munangisha (continuation).

- 1 See 2.5: 'genealogical over-interpretation and the case of Mwene Kayambila Shishopa'.
- 2 In (44: 1) Shingole is called not a son-in-law but a grandson of Kayambila; however, this grandson is likely to have been some member of a later generation, who inherited the name of a Shingole who was the husband of Mashiku.
- 3 It is doubtful whether Kashina and Lishenga (cf. *Likota Iya Bankoya*, chapter 27) are in fact one and the same person. Verse (34: 6), which lists the children of Kashina, would indicate that Nahonge, daughter of Mwene Lishenga, is not a daughter of Kashina. In (47: 4) further details are given: 'Mwene Lishenga Shonena Luhamba'; but this only suggests that Lishenga was a close relative of Munangisha (he is mentioned before Kancukwe and Shikongi), and that the name of Luhamba kept circulating in the Mutondo royal family; the name of Shonena is nowhere else to be found in *Likota Iya Bankoya*.
- 4 Mushunga should have been shown in a junior position, to the right of Munangisha; *Likota Iya Bankoya* does not specify how, precisely, he was related to Munangisha as the latter's 'younger brother'.
- 5 Also called Shibuyi Likambi.

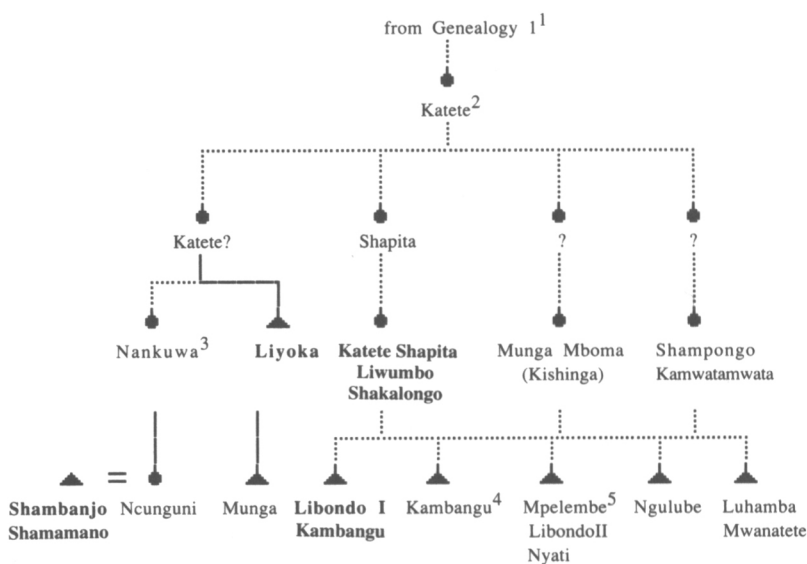


Diagram 13. Genealogy 3 — from Katete to Mwene Shakalongo

<sup>1</sup> Verse (38: 7): ‘the junior line of the Sheta clan’.

<sup>2</sup> The genealogical information on this line is contradictory. In (35: 2-3) Liyoka is presented as founding a line of his own, of equal position as compared to Shapita, Munga and Shampongo. In (38: 6) however, Liyoka’s place in this configuration is taken by Katete, who thus moved down from a parent position to one of a sibling. Clearly, genealogical manipulation is involved here. The diagram presents only one of several possibilities of making sense of the contradictory information.

<sup>3</sup> It is not certain, but quite likely, that Liyoka’s (classificatory) sister Nankuwa was also the mother of his sister’s daughter Ncunguni.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps identical to Libondo I.

<sup>5</sup> Gender and precise filiation of the members of this generation are not clearly specified. Mwanatete and Ngulube, however, are called ‘children of Katete’ and as such may be more closely related than the others associated with the Shakalongo title. Mpelembe should probably appear in a more junior position than Kambangu, since the latter was the first to hold the Libondo title.

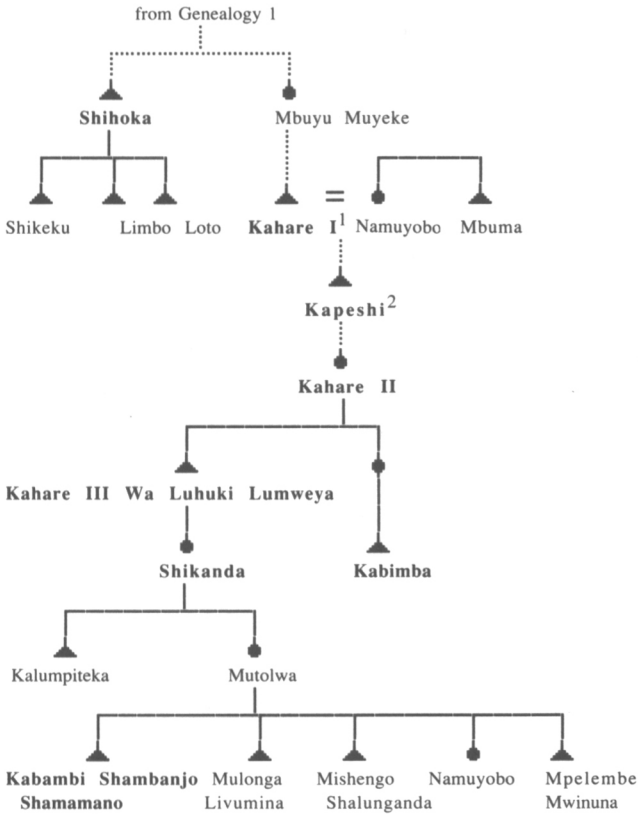


Diagram 14. Genealogy 4 — from Mwene Shihoka to Mwene Shamamano.

<sup>1</sup> Sister's son of Shihoka Nalinanga; there is no specific evidence that his mother was Mbuyu Muyeke; however, she was the only sister of Shihoka explicitly specified to accompany the latter on his long journey.

<sup>2</sup> For the definition of Kapeshi's gender, see my chapter 3.5. That the mythical figure of Kapeshi is an alien insertion in this otherwise probably quite factual genealogy relating to the mid-nineteenth century, is also clear from the fact that between Kahare I and Kahare II two cases of patrilineal succession are presented, whereas matrilineal succession is predominant in Nkoya precolonial dynastic relations.

## Appendix 4

# List of published texts in the Nkoya language

In addition to the New Testament and Psalms (Testamenta 1952), *Muhumpu* (Anonymous n.d.(b)), and the 1988 popular edition of *Likotalya Bankoya* (van Binsbergen 1988a), the following published texts in Nkoya are in my possession:<sup>993</sup>

### 1. pious tracts

- *Muyilu: tu ka kuma muyilu nahiti*, pious tract, 4 unnumbered pages, mainly bible quotations, mimeo, *s.l.*, n.d., *s.n.*, 12.9 x 10.2 cm. The mimeographed text, with crude illustrations, is a literal translation of a tract entitled *Heaven... how to get there*, © 1962 International Child Evangelism Fellowship, Grand Rapids, Michigan (USA).
- *Nzila Ya Ku Puluka*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1961?], 32 numbered pages, mainly bible quotations, 12 x 7.5 cm; there is also a more recent edition, 22 numbered pages, n.d., London: Scripture Gift Mission.
- *Yuwwililenu!*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1964?], 16 unnumbered pages, bible quotations, 12.3 x 7.6 cm.

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<sup>993</sup> I am indebted to Mrs Adele Kee, formerly of Luampa Mission, Kaoma, who put most of these materials at my disposal in 1973.

- *Izenu!*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1964?], 16 unnumbered pages, bible quotations, 12.3 x 7.6 cm.
- *Mutima wa Muntu*, Pretoria: Pan-African Gospel Publishers, 1958, 32 numbered pages, 12.2 x 18 cm. The back cover states that the same text has been published in nearly forty other specified languages spoken in Africa; there is also a different edition of the same text: *Mutima wa Muntu*, Pretoria: All Nations Gospel Publishers, n.d., 32 numbered pages, 17.9 x 12.2 cm.
- *Scripture Union* 1973, calendar, *s.l., s.n.*, n.d. [1972], folder, 6 pages, 15.2 x 9.8 cm., title in English but text in Nkoya.
- *Nyambi U Namba*, Salisbury (S. Rhodesia): Scripture Gift Mission, n.d. [1961?], 16 numbered pages, bible quotations, 12 x 7.5 cm.
- *Mubala ngani wa mutima wobe?*, *s.l., s.n.*, 6 unnumbered pages, mainly bible quotations and illustrations, 10.5 x 8.8 cm., mimeo; translation of a similarly illustrated tract *What is the 'color' of your heart?*, n.d.: Fort Lauderdale (Florida, USA): Good News Printers.
- *Libuka lya Bizila: Ndi muntu unafu ukuya kuti? Kati nimwabo bakashanguka? Nyambi yani?* 1973, Ndola: Christian Publishers (A.E.F.) [= Africa Evangelical Fellowship], 22 numbered pages, 10 x 16 cm, Bible quotations mixed with explanatory text.
- *Tumalombelo twa Mutena Numwawo*, 1973, Ndola: Christian Publishers (A.E.F.) [= Africa Evangelical Fellowship], 15 numbered pages, illustrated, prayers, 10 x 16.4 cm.
- *Myaso-Nyimbo-Lipina: Mbunda-Shinkoya-Lozi*, n.d. Ndola: Christian Publishers, Christian Education Department, book of standard hymns in the three languages specified, c. one third of contents is in Nkoya, 76 numbered pages, 12.3 x 18.1 cm.

## 2. school primers

- *Kalabisho ka Shinkoya sub A*, 1954, Mankoya: Luampa Mission, 32 numbered pages, 17.9 x 12.1 cm.
- *Libuku lya Wubili sub B*, 1954, Mankoya: Luampa Mission, 32 numbered pages, 17.9 x 12.1 cm.

N.B. The Makiyi manuscript<sup>994</sup> mentions, besides these 'primers sub A and sub B', and the New Testament, one Nkoya book I do not have nor know: *Lwendo lya MukaJesu* ['The Christian's

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<sup>994</sup> Dickson K. Makiyi, 'Nkoya History — Kaoma, Western Province, Zambia', 58 pp., manuscript in my possession.

Journey’], and adds the specification: ‘for Standards I and II and even higher’.<sup>995</sup>

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<sup>995</sup> Standard I was a primary school grade following sub B.



## Appendix 5

### List of oral sources

In the course of participatory research since 1972 numerous informants contributed information and insights on numerous more or less informal occasions. This constitutes the indispensable background for my analysis of Nkoya history and ethnicity, and a ground for my life-long indebtedness. Meanwhile, the list below identifies those formal oral-historical interviews to which specific references are made in this book.

- [1] Headman Mwene Kabimba  
Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 22, 1973  
village headman; member of the Kahare royal family; one of the most senior members of the Mwene Kahare Royal Court; president of the traditional neighbourhood court in Njonjolo
- [2] Mr Edward Kahare  
Lusaka  
March 21, 1973; September 30, 1977  
son of Mwene Kahare Timuna and half-brother of Chief Mwene Kahare Kabambi; self-employed and living in Lusaka
- [3] Chief Mwene Kahare Kabambi  
Litoya Royal Establishment, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 9, 1973; November 19, 1973; November 21, 1973;  
October 11, 1977  
One of the two royal Nkoya chiefs in Kaoma district; member of the House of Chiefs in the 1970s; UNIP trustee since Independence; nominated member of the Kaoma Rural Council;

## Appendix 5

born 1921, army sergeant and boma messenger until called to act in the place of his diseased father Mwene Kahare Timuna in 1952, and after his father's death in 1954 succeeded to the throne in 1955

- [4] Mr J. Kalaluka, MP  
Kaoma  
October 26, 1977  
Member of Parliament for Kaoma since 1973, after a complex political career; at the time of the interview a junior Minister, later a senior Cabinet Minister, lost his parliamentary seat and Cabinet position in 1988; formerly director with a major petroleum company; father Lozi; mother's mother is a half-sister of Mwene Kahare Timuna; grew up at the Litoya Royal Establishment
- [5] Rev. Kambita and Mr Davison Kawanga  
Lusaka  
October 5, 1977  
Rev. Kambita is a Nkoya pastor with the Evangelical Church of Zambia; for Mr Kawanga see below
- [6] Mrs Katambula  
Lusaka  
October 8, 1977  
daughter of Mwene Kahare Shamamano; lady in her mid-70s, living in Lusaka in the house of her daughter, who is the mother of Mr Kalaluka MP
- [7] Mr Davison Kawanga  
Lusaka  
October 1, 1977; October 8, 1977; October 21, 1977; October 22, 1977;  
senior medical assistant and UNIP local-level politician in Lusaka; grew up at the head-waters of the Luampa river, mother from Mukotoka village, Njonjolo
- [8] Headman Kikambo  
Kikambo village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
September 22, 1973  
a village headman
- [9] Chief Litia  
Naliele Royal Establishment, Kaoma district  
October 26, 1977  
The major Lozi chief in Kaoma district; son of the late Litunga Mbikusita Lewanika; holds a B.Sc. in agricultural science; after the time of the interview he became a member of the House of Chiefs
- [10] Mr D. Makiyi and Mr Davison Kawanga  
Lusaka

October 8, 1977

Mr Makiyi, born 1950, is a civil servant and author of a manuscript Nkoya history in English; for Mr Kawanga see above

- [11] Mr Simon Mangowa  
Lusaka  
July 24, 1973  
Nkoya elder residing in Lusaka; stepson of Mwene Shamamano Kahare's daughter
- [12] Headman Matiya Kapuka  
Matiya village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 5, 1973  
Mbundu immigrant and former teacher at Luampa Mission; village headmen of a small village of Mbundu immigrants
- [13] Mr Miyengo  
Kaoma  
August 9, 1978  
District Secretary Kaoma, of non-Nkoya background
- [14] Headman Mpelama Makandawuko  
Mpelama village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
December 6, 1973  
a village headman
- [15] Mr Mubiana  
Lusaka  
October 1, 1977  
senior police officer, Lusaka; grew up in the Zambezi flood plain and although identifying as a Nkoya has Lozi as his first language; his father was Mwiba, the senior drummer of the Litunga
- [16] Headman Ntaniela Mulimba  
Mulimba village, Kazo, Kaoma district  
October 16, 1977  
village headman; recognized as the original owner of the local land, and hence senior headman under Mwene Kahare; had held the Mulimba title since 1974
- [17] Mr H.H. Mwene  
Lusaka  
September 30, 1977; October 1, 1977  
Examinations Officer, Ministry of Education, Lusaka; former diplomat; from Lukulu district
- [18] Group interview Mwene Kahare Royal Council  
Litoya Royal Establishment, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 13, 1977, continued October 14, 1977  
Mwene Kahare, Mwanashihemi and all senior headmen of the Njonjolo and Kazo valleys present

*Appendix 5*

- [19] Group Interview Mwene Mutondo Royal Council  
Shikombwe Royal Establishment, Kaoma District  
October 18, 1977, continued October 19 and 20, 1977  
most senior headmen present but not Mwene Mutondo  
Kalapukila, who on October 20, 1977 granted the researcher a  
formal audience in the presence of all senior headmen
- [20] Group interview with Nkoya elders  
Matero, Lusaka  
October 1, 1977  
main informants Messrs Mulowa, Namenda, Likishi and  
Mankishi: Nkoya elders now residing in Lusaka
- [21] Headman Yaboka Shawayile  
Shawayile village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
October 16, 1973, November 22, 1973  
a village headman
- [22] Rev. J.M. Shimunika  
Luampa, Kaoma district  
October 21, 1977  
continued October 22, 1977; Nkoya pastor, formerly teacher,  
and son-in-law of Mwene Mutondo Kanyinca
- [23] Court Justice Yawisha  
Yawisha village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
September 22, 1973; October 13, 1973  
village headman; assessor of the Shimano Local Court, Kaoma  
district; one of the most senior members of the Mwene Kahare  
Royal Court
- [24] Headman Lubumba  
Lubumba village, Njonjolo, Kaoma district  
September 15, 1973; September 27, 1973; October 10, 1973;  
born c. 1915, village headman, hunter and prophet, conducted a  
sorcery eradication campaign in Namwala district in the 1950s;  
cf. van Binsbergen 1981a: 405 and plate 6 there
- [25] Mwe Kapeshi  
Shipungu village, Kabanga, Kaoma district  
July 13, 1989  
born c. 1885, locally reputed to be closely related to or even  
identical to, Kapeshi ka Munungampanda

## Appendix 6

# List of archival sources and district files consulted

### **Zambia National Archives, Lusaka**

BS 1/93	Reports on the Gielgud-Anderson Hook of the Kafue expedition
CO 3/4/2	Copeman papers, in HM 6
HM 6	Historical Manuscripts box 6
KDB 1/2/1	Kafue Game Reserve
KDC 6/4/1	Mumbwa tour report May 1930; identical to KSA 8/3/1; in KDB 1/2/1
KSA 8/3/1	Mumbwa tour report May 1930; identical to KDC 6/4/1; in KDB 1/2/1
KSF 3/1	'A paper on the origin of the Baila, A Suggestion — to accompany Annual report on Namwala subdistrict', 1917-18 (by J.C. Hall)
KSX 1/1/1	Mankoya correspondence 1931-35
KTJ 1/1	Mumbwa outletters (Gielgud-Anderson Hook of the Kafue expedition; cf. BS 1/93)
KTJ 2/1	Mumbwa — some important papers
U 1/2	Slavery

*Appendix 6*

ZA 1/9/53/2/1	Census of native owned cattle — cattle census only Namwala
ZA 1/13	Barotse influence
ZA 7/1/15/2	Barotse Annual Report 1932

**current files of the Kaoma district administration**

ADM/12	Chiefs and headmen
ANT/2	National Monuments

**Zimbabwe National Archives, Harare**

photographic collection

Barotseland section

map collection:

[114]	BSACo. Territories, 1901 AC Rhodesia, 1895.
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## Appendix 7

# *Zinkena* in western Zambia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Table 5. *Zinkena* in western Zambia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

<i>Mwene</i>	details <i>Mwene</i>	<i>lukena</i> number (diagrams 15a-b)	name	location (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	reference
Fumika	Lutangu, Sipopa	1	Lukwakwa	Maniinga	(33: 1)
Imasiku		2	Lukwakwa	Maniinga	(33: 1)
Kabandala		3		Miluzi	(27: 4)
Kabazi	(≠ Kabazi Momba I)	4		Litoya Iya Mbuma	(16: 4)
Kabazi Momba I		5		Kayanga	(18: 5)
Kabongo I		6 7		(main) Shitwa (hunting) Shilili	(14: 1) (14: 2)

## Appendix 7

<i>Mwene</i>	details <i>Mwene</i>	<i>lukena</i> number name (diagrams 15a-b)	location (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	reference
Kabongo II		8	Lukwe	(18: 1)
Kabulwebulwe		9	Shibanda	(22: 1)
Kahare I	son of Mulema	10	(1) Kayimbu	(41: 7)
		11	(2) Tumba	(39: 9)
Kahare II		12	Tumba	(41: 1-2)
Kahare III	Wa Luhuki Lumweya	13	Milembo	(41: 4)
Kalumbwa		14	Mubawo	(14: 4)
Kapeshi		15	Tumba	(40: 5)
Kasheba Momba III		16	Kabuzu	(19: 1)
Kashina Lishenga Shiyenge		17	(1) Makunzu	(27: 3)
		18	(2) Kalimbata	(27: 11)
		19	(3) Maniinga	(30: 3)
		20	(4) Shimaño	(34: 5)
Kashina	son of Luhamba	21	(1) Nkulo	(8: 1)
		22	(2) Katete- kanyemba	(8: 1)
Katushi	elder brother of Liyoka	23	(1) Lukahu	(36: 1)
		24	(2) Lukona	(38: 4)
Kavuba Momba VII		25	Kabanda	(19: 1)
Kayambila		26	Mankumbwa	(23: 3, 26: 1)
Kazikwa		27	Mukunkike	(12: 5, 6, 8)
Komoka		28	Miluzi	(44: 2)
Libupe		29	Tumba	(H. Mwene's preface)
Likambi		30	Mongu	(10: 3)
Lipepo		31	Nabowa	(10: 2)
Livumina		32	Litoya Iya Mbuma	(43: 13)
Liyoka		33	(1) Lukahu	(36: 1)
		34	(2) Kaoma	(36: 3)
		35	(3) Likolwa	(36: 4)
		36	(4) Luampa	(36: 4)
		37	(5) Kataba	(36: 5)
		38	(6) 'light forest'	(38: 1)
		39	(7) Lukona	(38: 4)
		40	(8) Kataba	(38: 5)
Luhamba		41	(1) Nkulo	(7: 5)
		42	(2) Mabuwa	(7: 5)
		43	(3) Lukahu	(7: 5)
Lwengu	Mukwetunga	44	Mankumbwa	(4: 7)



*List of zinkena in 18th-19th century western Zambia*

<i>Mwene</i>	<i>details Mwene</i>	<i>lukena number</i>	<i>lukena name</i> (diagrams 15a-b)	<i>location</i> (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	<i>reference</i>
Manenga	Mashiku	45		Lwashanza	(17: 2)
Mukamba	Kuwonga	46		Mpula-kamanga	(21: 1, 22: 1)
Mukena	Kakwasha	47		Mankumbwa	(4: 7)
Mulawa		48		Mongu	(10: 3)
Munangisha		49		(1) in Lukona	(45: 7)
		50	Mabala	(2?) Manga-ngo	(48: 6)
		51	Lizuna	(3) Luampa	(47: 2, 48: 1, 3)
Mungambwa	Mulambila, Shibi sha Tuwoma	52	Libanga	Shitapo	(18: 4)
Mushonto		53		Kayumba-mayewe	(53: 6)
Mushunga		54		Nyango	(49: 5)
Mvubu Shihoka		55		Mabuwa	(20: 1)
Mwanambinyi		56		Kalabo	(10: 4)
Nahonge	sister of Shinkisha	57		Kalimbata	(26: 2f)
Ngwenyama Momba V		58		Muchi	(19: 2)
Sebitwane		59	Linyati	Sesheke	(31: 3)
Shaboboma Yomena	successor of Mungambwa	60		Kakoma	(20: 3)
Shabuwe Momba VI		61		Muchi	(19: 2)
Shafukuma Momba II		62		Kabuzu	(19: 1)
Shakalongo		63		Njoko	(43: 5)
Shamamano	Shambanjo	64		Kamano, Yange	(43: 12)
Shihoka I	Nalinanga	65	Lukwakwa	(1) Nalinanga	(39: 4)
		66		(2) Maniinga	(10: 5)
Shihoka II		67		Kalwizi-Shinkume confluence	(13: 1)
Shikanda		68		Kayimbu	(29: 2, 41: 6)
Shimpanya	sister of Kashina Lishenga	69		Makubikufuka	(27: 3)
Shinkisha Mutondo I		70		Kalimbata	(26: 2, 42: 2)

## Appendix 7

<i>Mwene</i>	<i>details Mwene</i>	<i>lukena number</i> (diagrams 15a-b)	<i>lukena name</i>	<i>location</i> (see <i>Likota Iya Bankoya</i> )	<i>reference</i>
Shiwutulu	daughter of Mbuyu Muyeke	71		Nkulashi	(11: 1)
successor of Kabongo II	not clear who this is: Kavuba? Mukamba Kuwonga?	72		Nangombe forest	(18: 1)
Wahila		73	Kazembe	(1) Lwena	(50: 4)
		74	Nyango, Milombe	(2) Nyango	(50: 6), (53: 6)
		75		(hunting) Litoya	(50: 12)
Welema		76		Nkenga	(12: 1)

List of zinkena in 18th-19th century western Zambia

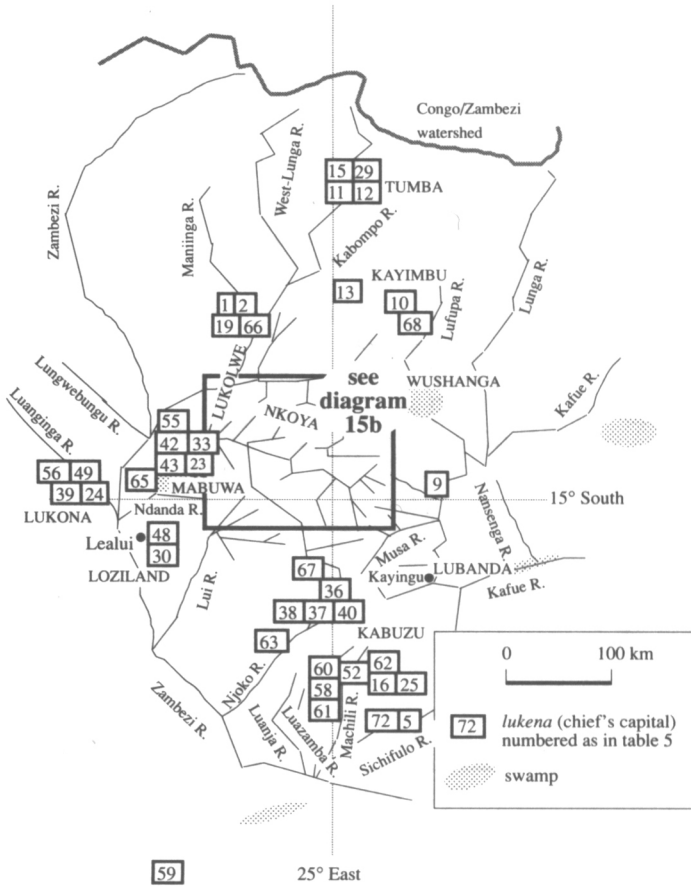


Diagram 15a. The location of Nkoya zinkena in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries according to *Likota Iya Bankoya* — overview of western Zambia (numbered as in table 5)



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<sup>1</sup> Proper names have been indexed throughout this volume. Other words than proper names have not been indexed for the Nkoya text of Part II, but they have for the (English-language) footnotes there, and for the whole of Part III. Proper names only appear in this index under the preferential orthography as adopted in the English text of this volume (e.g. *Kafue*, a river); occurrences with non-standard orthography (e.g. *Kafuwe*, *Lwenge*) have been counted under the standard form of the word (*Kafue*). Since dynastic numbering in the context of Nkoya kingship is spurious, incumbents have often been listed under both their dynastic numbers as assigned by Rev. Shimunika and Mr. H. Mwene, and their proper names. Most characters in western Zambian history have multiple names; in order to save space these have been brought together in this index in one series of names appearing in what is an arbitrary order. Only incumbents clearly identified with the Kahare and Mutondo titles (as from the mid-nineteenth century) have been listed under these titles, despite the tendency in Nkoya literate ethno-history to project these 'dynastic' titles back into the eighteenth century and beyond.

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