

FROM A CRISIS TO A CEREMONY: A HISTORY OF THE *KUOMBOKA* TO 2010.

BY

PATRICK SIKAYOMYA

**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
LUSAKA
©2013**

DECLARATION

I, Patrick Sikayomya, declare that this dissertation:

- (a) Represents my own work;
- (b) Has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other University; and
- (c) Does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation.

Signed:

Date:

COPYRIGHT

All rights reserved. No part of this dissertation may be reproduced or stored in any form or by any means without prior permission in writing from the author or the University of Zambia.

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Patrick Sikayomya is approved as fulfilling the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

Date

Signed:

Signed:

Signed:

ABSTRACT

This study discusses the history of the *Kuomboka*. It focuses on the changes the event has undergone from the seventeenth century to 2010. Initially, no Litunga had a permanent capital. It was Lubosi Lewanika I in the colonial period who introduced permanent capitals at Lealui and Lubaci. In the 1930s, Litia Yeta III surveyed the present site of Limulunga and established it as a permanent summer capital of the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) in 1933. The study also discusses changes in the construction of ‘state barges’ in Buluzi and demonstrates how the Litungas gave praise names to them which later became their real names. This tradition is lost. Today, the ‘state barge’ is just referred to by its generic name, *Nalikwanda*.

After independence, the Government of the Republic of Zambia under the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda abrogated the Barotseland Agreement of 1964 in 1969. By this development, Barotseland was made part of Zambia and much politics were exerted on it. The Zambian government passed a number of laws such as the wild life Act which restricted the killing of wild animals. The Litunga, Sir Mwanawina III lost his powers over wildlife in Barotseland and this resulted to changes in the *Kuomboka* attire. The dissertation concludes with a discussion on the economic transformation of *Kuomboka* and observes that today; the event sells Zambia to the world at large and offers an advertisement opportunity for various companies.

- iv -

DEDICATION

To my late valued mother and father: Margaret Maliki Sikayomya and Joseph Sikayomya.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank all the people who contributed to the success of this study. Firstly, the Government of the Republic of Zambia through the Ministry of Education for granting me a privilege to pursue a Master of Arts programme in History at the University of Zambia. In particular, I thank Mrs. Regina Mwaka Siamusiye who was then the Education Officer in charge of Teacher Education (TED) in Southern Province for her encouraging words and for facilitating my two years study leave. I also wish to thank my research Supervisor, Dr. E.K. Chiputa for his patience and tolerant guidance during the collection of data and actual writing of this dissertation. I thank him further for his helpful criticisms. Furthermore, I would like to greatly appreciate in a special way my Co – Supervisor, Dr. C. M. Namafe for his vast knowledge on the history of Bulozhi. I thank him for his advice and input towards the development of my research proposal. I appreciate him further for the ideas he advanced towards the development of this study.

In a special way, I highly praise the following for shaping my academic life: Dr. C.M. Chabatama, Mr. G.N. Sumbwa, Dr. W. Kalusa, Dr. K. Krishna, Dr. C. Beyani, Prof. M.C. Musambachime, Dr. E.K. Chiputa, Dr. W. Kalikiti, Mr. F. E. Mulenga, Dr. F.B. Musonda, Dr. B.S. Siamwiza, Miss. D. Mwansa, Mr. J.H. Kalyalya, Prof. B. J. Phiri and Mr. V.M. Tembo. To you all, I say, I am what I am today because of you. I wish you the best in your ordinary and academic lives.

This dissertation would not have been realised too, without the help of the staff at the University of Zambia Library's Special Collections Section, Faith and Encounter Centre Library (FECL),

the National Archives of Zambia, Zambia National Tourist Board, Ministry of Tourism and Nayuma Museum at Limulunga Royal Village in Mongu District. I thank you all.

- vi -

May I also thank my entire family for the support and care they rendered to me from the time I started school up to the time I was able to fend for myself. My acknowledgement may be incomplete without paying absolute homage to my late auntie, sister and brother; Maria Mwaka Mwikisa, Kubakwa Mwikisa and Samson Senzuni Lifunduko respectively. I wish they were still alive to see my academic success. May their souls rest in eternal peace.

I would like also to thank my coursemates at Masters Level: Mr. Charles Kakulwa (my all weather friend), Miss. Nisbert Machila, Mr. Lubosi Kikamba, Mr. Lutombi Mwananyanda, Mr. Kabani Katanekwa, Mrs. Zindaba Ngala Katongo and Miss. Kaonga Mazala Walya for the good time we had together during our study period. I further appreciate the love and help they rendered to me when I lost my father in the Second Semester of our taught part shortly before the commencement of the final examinations.

Special acknowledgements are due to my two sons, Patrick Sikayomya and Sepo Sikayomya. I love you boys, work hard school wise and surpass my education level. I thank my dear wife Judith Nalwendo Silenga for her special support and encouraging words in times when work was frustrating and for the patience she exhibited whilst I was away from home. May her patience and soft heart continue in life and days to come. I wish her the best in life too.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	
Copyright.....	
Approval.....	
Abstract.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	viii
Abbreviations	x

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....1

1.1. Rationale of the Study.....	15
1.2. Literature Review.....	15
1.3. Research Methodology.....	19

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. EARLY TRANSFORMATIONS OF *KUOMBOKA*26

2.1. Introduction.....	26
---------------------------	----

2.2. <i>Kuomboka</i> in the early years.....	26
2.3. <i>Kuomboka</i> during the British South African Company rule.....	36
2.4. <i>Kuomboka</i> in the Colonial era.....	43
2.5. Conclusion.....	47

- viii -

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. KUOMBOKA AND POLITICS AFTER 1964	53
3.1. Introduction.....	53
3.2. Political influences on <i>Kuomboka</i>	53
3.3. Conclusion.....	70

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS OF <i>KUOMBOKA</i>, 1965 - 2010	75
4.1. Introduction.....	75
4.2. <i>Kuomboka</i> , a tourist attraction.....	75

4.3. <i>Kuomboka</i> in low floods.....	96
4.4. <i>Kuomboka</i> and its challenges.....	97
4.5. Benefits of floods in Bulozi.....	100
4.6. Conclusion.....	103
CHAPTER FIVE	
5.0. CONCLUSION.....	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY	1
13APPENDIX	
.122	

- ix -

Abbreviations

BNG -----Barotse Native Government

BNS -----Barotse National School

BNF-----Barotse National Flag

BOMA-----British Overseas Military Administration

BPF -----Barotse Peace Foundation
BRE -----Barotse Royal Establishment
BSAC -----British South Africa Company
MMD -----Movement for Multi Party Democracy
PEMS -----Paris Evangelical Mission Society
PF -----Patriotic Front
RPP -----Royal Palace Pavilion
RSZ -----Railway Systems of Zambia
SADC -----Southern African Development Community
UNESCO -----United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VIP-----Very Important Person (s)
ZNBC -----Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation
ZNTB -----Zambia National Tourist Board
ZNTB-----Zambia National Tourist Bureau
ZTB -----Zambia Tourist Board
ZSIC-----Zambia State Insurance Corporation

- x -

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The origin of the Lozi or Aluyi people as they are referred to in some literature is a very contentious subject upon which political, social and cultural forces exert great influence. Linked with the history of the Barotse Litungas and their present claims to land and political power, it evokes many various interpretations. Oral traditions of several Central African peoples claim a common origin with the Lozi. Strike observed that the Karanga – Rozwi centre in Zimbabwe, which was well established by the tenth century, has oral traditions which claim that the Lozi originated among them.¹ If true, this might explain the origin of the term ‘Barotse’ as a version of ‘Barozwi’. Strike further stated that traditions of a number of Zambian peoples including the Nkoya claim that the Lozi originated with them in the Luba – Lunda centre of Southern Zaire now Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).² Agrippa Njungu asserts that this centre was established by the eighth century.³ Most academic research support the latter view though oral traditions of the Lozi themselves confirm neither of these views.

The Lozi oral traditions affirm that Nyambe created himself and his wife Nasilele in Libonda village.⁴ The two had a daughter whom they named Mwambwa. Later on, Nyambe fell in love with and had relations with Mwambwa.⁵ The latter gave birth to a daughter who was called Mbuyu or Mbuywamwambwa.⁶ This caused a quarrel to arise between Nyambe and Nasilele during which the angry Nasilele beat her daughter. Nyambe is said to have been so upset by this behaviour that he called his servant, Sasisho and announced his ‘return’ to heaven.⁷ Sasisho wondered how they would ascend but Nyambe asked a spider to spin its web and the two climbed to heaven leaving Nasilele to languish behind on earth.⁸ A few weeks later, Nasilele died.⁹

However, it would still seem unlikely that the Luyi arrived directly from the Lunda Empire as the evidence afforded to Gibbons testifies. An offshoot such as that of Chinyama would probably

have initially located in the region immediately to the south of Katanga, currently occupied by the Luvale, Buluzi lying even further to the south.¹⁰ The customs and habits of the Luvale are more closely aligned to the Lunda than to the Lozi. Harry Langworthy even went so far as to suggest that the political systems of the Lozi and the Lunda are so different that this would rule out the origin of the Lozi being the Lunda Empire.¹¹ However, Mutumba Mainga's observation is that there was a Luba migration to Buluzi that then became overlain by Lunda rule.

Many scholars such as Mackintosh state that Queen Mwambwa led the Luyi on their trek down the Kabompo and the Zambezi Rivers. To cross the latter rivers, it is said Mwambwa used a boat called *Indila* which was given to her by a Lunda King known as Kaping'a of Zaire. Finally, they set up a separate autonomous Kingdom on the upper Zambezi River.¹² On the latter, Mwambwa and her Aluyi built a settlement at *Sifuti* and later moved down to *Imuba*¹³ – the great mound – which they built with their own labour to combat floods. It was during this period that Mwambwa was given the title Njemakati meaning 'A woman from whom the Kingdom originates'.¹⁴ In the early days, *Indila* was used during the *Kuomboka* procession. Mwambwa was succeeded by her daughter Mbuywamwambwa whose leadership was respected by the Luyi even though it was not felt that a woman was the best choice as leader.

Mainga observed that before the Lozis came to Barotseland, other peoples had moved into the region so much that it was already inhabited when they arrived, probably in the mid or late seventeenth century.¹⁵ During this period, the Lozis were relatively a small group. The Lozi and those other ethnic groups found Barotseland then to be much the same as it is today; the Zambezi River and its tributaries forming floods in the northern and central areas of the Buluzi flood plain. Mainga concluded that the various inhabitants obviously had to adapt to this ecological setting though there was little mention of this process in Luyi oral tradition.¹⁶

Jalla observed that in addition to its fertile land around mounds,¹⁷ the Bulozzi flood plain could have also been chosen for its offer of excellent grazing area to the Lozi who were mentioned as pastoralists even in earliest times.¹⁸ Muuka also observed that this habitat was believed to be safe from some natural disasters; the mounds in the flood plain were too high to be flooded over, and water courses protected them from wild fires.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Zambezi River, and particularly, the large mounds in the flood plain provided strategic barriers against sudden enemy attacks.

Kuomboka entails getting out of water or to step out of a river, lake or depression.²⁰ During flood times, the Lozi people inhabiting the flood plain move to upland area to escape the encroaching waters of the Zambezi and its tributaries. David Livingstone who heard fragmented accounts of the event celebrated today as the *Kuomboka* ceremony became the first literate European to write about it.²¹ Eugene Leon Hermitte observed that it is not known when the first *Kuomboka* was held.²² In addition, no one knows the date or year when the first 'state barge' called *Nalikwanda* was made and of what material and who the King was then.

According to Jalla:

There happened then a very large flood which covered the whole country. It was called *Meyi a Lungwangwa* (the waters are itching). Some kinds of animals perished in that flood and the seeds of food were destroyed too. People were afraid to flee from this flood in dugout canoes. It was then that Mboo Muyunda Mwana Silundu built the *Nalikwanda*. He put in it seeds of food and animal dung. Where they landed, they sowed seeds and scattered dung from which animals would grow.²³

Jalla's account is misleading. He states that *Meyi a Lungwangwa* hit Bulozzi during the reign of Mboo, the first male Litunga and also that the latter made the first *Nalikwanda*. In short, he

suggests the concept of *Kuomboka* to have started during the reign of Mboo. This is in conflict with the Lozi legend of Nakambela.

According to Luyi tradition, long ago, before Mboo, there was a man, Nakambela, who received a warning from Nyambe that there would be a great flood.²⁴ During that time, the royal capital was situated near Likapai (on the east bank of the Zambezi above Libonda) and not at Lealui. The rivers and rains flowed and poured down with force. Nakambela joined the planks with reeds and hurriedly built a large boat to escape the flood. The present *Nalikwanda* is a symbol of that boat and the bunch of herbs attached to it are in remembrance of the reeds used as joining materials.

In addition, Nakambela collected seeds and the dung of all animals and birds.²⁵ These too, he put into the boat. When the flood fell, Nakambela threw that dung upon the veld and the animals and birds reappeared.²⁶ Admittedly, this is a myth and not a historical fact and hence must be understood in a mythological context. The name of this highest flood was *Meyi a Lungwangwa*.²⁷ Since that time, people uttered praises in remembrance of Nakambela: ‘*Nakambela akalume melipumu akanakalita Meyi a Lungwangwa*’, ‘Nakambela the man with a big belly brought the highest flood, *Meyi a Lungwangwa*.’²⁸ It was at this point that the concept of *Kuomboka* was developed as a solution to evacuate people and their property from floods.

Although this legend resembles the biblical story of Noah, it is certain that it was a part of Lozi belief before the first missionaries arrived in Bulozhi at the end of the nineteenth century. Jalla, the first missionary in Bulozhi, cited a brief account of the *Kuomboka* myth in his account of Lozi traditions without mentioning Christian influence which should have been obvious to him if it had been present. The ethno – musicologist, Ernest Brown, also argued that despite the striking

resemblance to the biblical story about Noah, this legend did not seem to be the result of Christian influence.²⁹ He observed that, had it been so, one of the early missionaries, like Fredrick Arnot or Francois Coillard, would have been sure to take note.³⁰ Brown stated that the legend indicated both the antiquity of the practice of *Kuomboka* and its non exclusivity.³¹ Nakambela may well represent the antiquity and non exclusivity of *Kuomboka* but told from within a narrative framework that would be appreciated by Barotseland's growing international audience.

For Brown, Nakambela's tale suggested that the practice of *Kuomboka* pre – dated the presence of a Lozi or Luyana royalty.³² In his view, Nakambela's story illustrated *Kuomboka*'s common origins.³³ He did not, however, address how *Kuomboka* became a prerogative of Kings and Queens, nor why many of the pageant's motifs resonated with the themes and forms of the central African cultures from which the Luyana originated. The legend may be nothing more than a good story, a Lozi adaptation of Noah and his ark. Or perhaps Nakambela's survival of the great flood was a parable of the benefits brought by a centralised administration of Barotseland.

This interpretation found support in Likando Kalaluka's version of the legend of Nakambela and "the flood that swallowed everything." He wrote that Nakambela built the vessel to save the drowning, and thus it is for this reason that his boat was called *Nalikwanda*.³⁴ He too dated this first *Nalikwanda* in advance of Mboo's reign, writing that, "it was not known who the King was then."³⁵ His implication was clear; there was always a King or leader involved in the performance.

Mainga gave an account of the Lozi rulers in relation to the combat of floods. She stated that as a female, Mbuywamwambwa could not serve people from the flood and thus the Luyi people felt

that they needed a leader who would rescue them from the waters of the annual flood that each year drowned people, crops and ruined homesteads and that this should be a male.³⁶ To this effect, the Luyi clan gathered to discuss a successor to Mbuywamwambwa. Nambula, a servant of the latter, overheard and reported their discussion to her.³⁷ Queen Mbuywamwambwa was upset and disappointed with her subjects but, as she loved her people and did not want to disappoint them, she decided to announce that she was tired of ruling and wished that the people should elect a new leader. In her place, the Luyi ‘elected’ Muyunda Mwanasilundu, commonly known as Mboo.³⁸

During one flood, Mboo skillfully made the *Nalikwanda* for use during *Kuomboka*.³⁹ Mackintosh stated that his barge was remembered as having been made of planks which were joined in the middle by sewing with *Makenge* tree roots.⁴⁰ This ‘state barge’ was called *Sifunga*. Mainga observed that *Nalikwanda* entails ‘for the people’ meaning that it was for the use of all those who could paddle and who lived in vulnerably low areas. The purpose was to transport people and valuables to higher ground for safety. Later, the *Nalikwanda* was for the sole use of the King during *Kuomboka*. It is in this context that certainly Mboo is remembered with considerable fondness. Praise chants for him promote admiration:

Mboo Mwana Silundu
Silundu lwanga Manji
Silundu sa Makumba
Ana ku kumanga Litunga naya
Nayo Litunga naye, na ku kumanga
Naye, u Muyunda wa Ikatulamwa
A kuyunda mbu telela

Mboo the bright one
Who accommodates all the people in his heart
Is likened to a bunch of fibers tied together
The people loved him and he loved them too
Muyunda of Ikatulamwa, a village that once visited

Will not be willingly departed from
Because of his (Mboo's) hospitality.⁴¹

This praise chant and others alike imply a bond or bargain between the Lozi people and their Litunga, Mboo, who ruled them with care, provided them with protection and help.

The Lozi viewed the change in habitation as a solution to a crisis. On the eve of the *Kuomboka*, the royal drum, *lioma*, is beaten from the Lozi royal capital to inform the subjects that a day has been set for *Kuomboka*. *Lioma* is also beaten in war time situations. Kalaluka observed that during *Kuomboka*, small canoes were used to evacuate the Barotse flood plains when the water levels reached their zenith.⁴² It is also possible that other devices like papyrus materials could have been used in the past.⁴³

As the ruling line lengthened, the number of semi divine Litungas able to affect life in Buluzi increased and probably made the role of the living Litunga seem more important. It was in this vein that Mainga observed that the increasing number of royal grave sites which became religious shrines watched over by priests gave physical reinforcement to this idea.⁴⁴ The mentioning in tradition of various Litungas building *Nalikwandas* is but a further manifestation of the King's ceremonial functions. However, this study centers on the shifts and trends of the *Kuomboka* ceremony.

According to Charles Mwendabai Namafe, a *flood* is larger than a usual body of water⁴⁵ which, at one and the same time during its inundation radiates a single metaphorical idea which centrally expresses and supports various relationships and mental processes, directly or indirectly reflective of that singular metaphor.⁴⁶ This definition can also be applied to various terms associated with floods, such as deluge, inundation or freshwater floods and saline (marine)

floods. This is the base of the *Kuomboka* ceremony for the Lozi people of Western Province of Zambia who are also often alternatively referred to as the Barotse people in written literature.

Namafe asserted that many of his generation in Barotseland born around the late 1950s, and those on either side of it, were brought up on a limited range of understanding of floods in general, and the Zambian Lozi (Barotse) flood in particular.⁴⁷ Giving his comments on floods in the world, Gilbert White observed that it became common in scientific as well as popular literature to consider floods as great natural adversaries which men and women sought persistently to overpower.⁴⁸ According to White, floods are always watery marauders which do no good, and against which society wage a bitter struggle.

Butler agreed with White's view. He asserted that floods are an *enemy* phenomenon, which justify water to be regarded as an unwanted commodity among hydrological engineers in particular.⁴⁹ This is despite the point made centuries back by Thales, the founder of the Milesian School of Cosmologists, that ultimate reality is one and it is causally made of water.⁵⁰ In short, although floods are sometimes considered to be desirable, the predominant concept of them historically has been that they are 'hazards' which devastate or threaten people's lives and property. In view of this metaphorical understanding, it is believed in some quarters that the Lozi people of Upper Zambezi wetlands in Western Zambia shift from the flood plains around March or April of each year to upland homes in order to escape from hazardous floods.⁵¹ Such descriptions of the flood experience of the Lozi, and other diluvian cultures such as the Fenlanders of the seventeenth century, are rarely realised by scholars and observers to have been largely based on metaphorical vision in particular.

The *enemy* flood metaphor can be operationalised as an academic and social custom of mental processes sustaining human relationships whereby the notion of hostility as radiated by the flood metaphor of *enemy* is central. Citing Purseglove, Namafe gave a typical flood poem eulogising the *enemy* metaphor of flooding derived from the Dutch culture:

Green are the fields and fruitful; men and flocks,
Straight away at ease here on the new – born earth,
Make their abode along the massive dike
Built by a daring and industrious people.
Here within, a land like paradise,
Without, the flood that rages to the brink
As it crumbles the dike, ready to rush in fury.
The people, as one man, hurry to close the breach.⁵²

The idea of flood as an *enemy* eulogised in the above poem meant that for centuries, people thought of ‘taming the flood’ in different ways. This mentality resulted over the years in the drainage of floods from wetlands and, concurrently, in the taming of various wetland dwellers by the drainage undertakers. Many flood cultures and landscapes were drained in due course, giving rise to a possible environmental crisis requiring further investigation.

Jalla also perceived floods as an *enemy* and concluded that the Lozi view floods as a crisis. In this respect, he demonstrated that during flood times, the Lozi people inhabiting the flood plain move to upland areas to escape the encroaching waters of the Zambezi and its tributaries.⁵³ The Republic of Zambia also takes an *enemy* approach to water. This is shown by the Vice President’s designation of floods as a disaster, and its practice in the Disaster Management and Mitigating Unit (DMMU) which regards floods as marauder.⁵⁴ The Unit even evacuates the inhabitants of the flood plain area before the Litunga moves contrary to the Lozi or Luyi tradition upheld from the seventeenth century.

Convincingly, Namafe argues that floods are not perceived as a crisis in Bulozhi but as *friend*.⁵⁵ When there are no floods, the Lozi feel out of place. Floods are the Lozi's *patelo* (platform). They provide the Lozi with an open space for traditional performances. On water, the Lozi show their paddling skill as they escort the Litunga to the higher ground capital. No one can claim to be an indigenous or real Lozi if not linked to issues of water and flooding. Floods are for the public good in Lozi society. They are associated with abundant fish in the Bulozhi flood plain and the green pastures for the cattle which ensure the availability of milk in Bulozhi as a supplement to people's diet.

In the context of its public good, floods attract international tourists, politicians and the businessmen and women who attend the flood water ceremony popularly known as *Kuomboka* to exploit their various interests. Every year, Barotseland performs a flood water ceremony whose philosophical basis is water as a garment. A flood poem eulogising this flood practice is presented below and the metaphor of garment can be noted therein.

Lozi Flood Poem

It is flood time in Bulozhi.
The flood plain is clothed in the water garment.
Everywhere there is water!
There is brightness!
There are sparkles!
Waves marry with the sun's glory
Birds fly over the floods slowly,
They are drunken with cold air.
They watch a scene which comes but once a year.
Floods are beautiful.
Bulozhi is the flood's dwelling place.
Every year floods pay us a visit
A Lozi does not beg for floods.
We do not resort to herbs to bring floods.
We practice no witchcraft whatsoever.
These are flood waters, indeed!

The floods are ours.
They know their own route.
They know their own home.
They know where they are needed.
They know where they are cared for.
And when we ourselves see them we are filled with happiness,
Our hearts become lighter
We do not fear the floods.

Floods are a Lozi's *patelo*
When the floods are in, we prepare the royal boat.
It is a happy occasion in Bulozhi.
Listen! The royal drums boom in the palace,
Calling the paddlers, young and old.
Floods are a Lozi's *patelo*.

The royal drums are never bought,
They cannot be priced,
They cannot be given away
We might give away cobs of maize or fishes,
But the royal drums are ours and ours alone.
Their booming sound stirs our blood.
We get wild with our cultural heritage,
We dress in animal and lion skins.
Floods, the *Kuomboka* Ceremony and the royal drums
Are all ours alone.⁵⁶

The Lozi flood practice described above has been in existence since the early seventeenth century when the Luyi settled in the Bulozhi flood plain.⁵⁷ Thus, Barotseland, in other words and unlike Zambia, deliberately chose water as a garment.

Kuomboka as a colourful practice was abandoned during the Kololo occupation of the Bulozhi flood plain.⁵⁸ This was due to the domination of Kololo culture in Bulozhi. However, Sipopa Lutangu restored the practice in 1864 after the Kololo were overthrown. During one flood Sipopa made his temporary site at *Mabili* in Ngoma area, north – west of Mongu while during the subsequent floods he went to *Imungalanda* in the same area⁵⁹ whereas in 1866 he went to

Mulundumano in Makulu area.⁶⁰ This demonstrates that at that time *Kuomboka* was not a Lealui – Limulunga movement as is the practice at present.

Lubosi, later Lewanika I, who became the Litunga after King Mwanawina II in 1878 continued with the tradition. His sanctuary was *Lubaci* about 10 Kilometers east of Lealui and his annual movements attracted more subject people than before.⁶¹ Every newly crowned Litunga had his own barge made for him and would use it during his life time. Upon the incumbent's death, the barge would be sunk and no *Kuomboka* would take place. There was no *Kuomboka* in 1916 upon the death of Lubosi Lewanika I and the *Notila* barge was sunk signifying the absence of a King to be evacuated.⁶²

When Litia Yeta III succeeded his father Lubosi Lewanika I in 1916, he chose a dry site on the eastern margins of the flood plains as his summer capital.⁶³ His advisors and generally the Lozi did not approve of his plans. This demonstrated that they did not like to live in the forest which they perceived dirty and unfit for settlement of the King. In spite of such opposition, Yeta III was convinced a dry place was healthier than the plain. In 1930 he temporarily erected a structure at the lower parts of the Spur, now Limulunga. Hence from that time Limulunga became the Litunga's winter capital and the Kwandu (Palace) was constructed there in 1933.⁶⁴ When Imasiku Imwiko I became the Litunga in 1945 he had his annual movement take place between the two capitals, Lealui and Limulunga, and the succeeding Litungas also did the same.

During *Kuomboka*, the Litunga moves in the 'state barge' called *Nalikwanda*. Initially, it did not have a canopy of a gigantic symbolic elephant on top.⁶⁵ It was Mbikusita Lewanika II who introduced it in the late 1970s.⁶⁶ The *Nalikwanda* was constructed from several pieces of timber sewn together by roots of trees and nailed here and there by home made iron or wooden nails.⁶⁷

The pieces of timber were of various sizes and made from different areas found in the plain and forest margins. One key reason for this wide collection of construction materials from all over the realm was to encourage unity, and also to show that the vessel was made by the people for the people and that it did not belong to the Litunga as a person.⁶⁸ However, later, the 'state barge' was constructed by selected persons. Recently, it was made in Kalabo district.

Once the Litunga sails safely, a series of traditional dances like *kayowe* and *liwale* are performed to rejoice his safe voyage.⁶⁹ It is during the festive period that Lozi commoners complain to the Litunga of various problems they encountered during the year. They however do not get any response to their problems directly from the Litunga. The latter provides them with solutions through an Induna.⁷⁰

In the beginning, *Kuomboka* was intended to be a crisis coping mechanism and was a local affair. It was not a ceremony but an annual movement from water to higher grounds. From 1964 to date, *Kuomboka* has been an international ceremony attracting visitors from within western province, Zambia generally and from abroad. Today, it is a major tourist attraction and a ceremony that contributes to Zambia's national unity and foreign exchange earnings.

In its original state, *Kuomboka* signified an annual escape from the flooding waters of the Zambezi River and its tributaries. It was in any sense an annual escape from an ecological crisis. It was not a ceremony but just a movement from water to higher grounds. Overtime, it turned into a ceremony. Annually, the event attracts men and women from all over Zambia and beyond. *Kuomboka* never took place during years of low waters. However, once it was embraced in the money economy or tourism industry, the event was made to take place even in years of low floods (*Sendabanji*) as the case was in 1978, 1979, 1997 and 2005.⁷¹ To ensure the successful

paddling of the *Nalikwanda*, water was diverted from various inlands so as to create artificial floods in the canal leading to Nayuma harbour (*Kutiba sing'alamba* – singular –*Ling'alamba*). Outlying villages from which water was diverted were left vulnerable as they remained with little water resource for their gardens and other domestic demands. In such situations, the Litunga was subjected to problematic movements.

Today, politicians and the business community use the ceremony as a platform to pursue their interests. This has led to the compromise of the Lozi tradition, culture and standards of the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE). This entails that the history of the *Kuomboka* is undergoing some historical and traditional transformations which scholars have not bothered to document. Such a situation constitutes a problem because future generations may not be afforded opportunities to appreciate forces playing against the *Kuomboka*. This study attempted to reconstruct the history of the *Kuomboka* ceremony from its beginning as a solution to a flood crisis to the present when it is a ceremony of international significance.

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Trace the origins of *Kuomboka*.
2. Examine the traditional value of *Kuomboka*.
3. Explore the transformations which *Kuomboka* has undergone.
4. Investigate the social and economic impact of the *Kuomboka* Ceremony in the context of various forces operating against it such as eco – tourism and politics.

1.1. Rationale of the Study

This study may contribute to cultural historiography of Zambia and in particular of Barotseland or Western Province. The study may also contribute literature on the dynamics of *Kuomboka* ceremony over the years. It may further provide general history on Buluzi. It is also hoped that the study may stimulate further research on other traditional ceremonies in Zambia.

1.2. Literature Review

By comparison with other areas of Zambia, Buluzi has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention. However, the most important justification for further extended research on Lozi history lies in the fact that the greater part which includes the cultural history of *Kuomboka* remains unknown despite the considerable amount of material published. Nevertheless, works of Jalla,⁷² Mainga,⁷³ Kalaluka,⁷⁴ and Gluckman⁷⁵ are relevant to our study. All give a fair account of *Kuomboka*. The works discuss how the Lozi people, particularly the royalty moved from the flood plains to the margins of the plain. Kalaluka discussed the myths and ideas important in understanding the view of the Lozi regarding *Kuomboka* ceremony.⁷⁶

In his study, Stokes took an *enemy* approach to floods. He showed how floods forced the Lozis to move to higher mounds. His work was particularly important in that it elaborated on how floods had a negative impact on the political economy of the Lozi people.⁷⁷ Such works enable us to understand the reasons why the Lozi move from the flood plains to higher mounds. This analysis relates to Mainga's suggestion that *Kuomboka* was an 'escape' solution from a flood crisis that later created among Lozi people a form of identity.⁷⁸ Mackintosh⁷⁹ and White⁸⁰ also emphasised that in its pure form, *Kuomboka* attracted no commercial value. Jalla⁸¹ and Kalaluka⁸² indicated that with time, *Kuomboka* began to attract people from various parts of

Zambia and abroad. These works suggest some shifts in the ceremony from a local affair to a commercial or tourist one.

Kalaluka observed that while in the *Nalikwanda*, Lewanika I changed to the official suit for the occasion.⁸³ His observation was supported by Lawrence who stated that the Litunga who at the beginning of the journey from Lealui wore traditional costumes⁸⁴ emerged at the higher ground flood season capital of Limulunga in a glittering gold braided uniform similar to that worn by a British admiral of the Edwardian era.⁸⁵ It was in this respect that van Horn also pointed out that British colonialism undermined the Lozi Kingship. He argued that what was portrayed during *Kuomboka* was the resistance of Lewanika I and his followers to internal and external threats by the ‘purchase’ of British protection.⁸⁶

There was discussion also in available literature on the construction of the barge. Cooper observed that Lewanika I spent much of his time in a workshop he had built, and that every year he constructed a ‘state barge’ called the *Nalikwanda*.⁸⁷ In this respect too, Francois Coillard stated that Lewanika I was an industrious and clever craftsman who built a kitchen in his *Nalikwanda* for the preparation of food while on voyage.⁸⁸ In the same vein, Yeta demonstrated that after covering quiet some distance from Lealui, paddlers put down their paddles and had a real rest at a place called Nengwana during which time they took their lunch consisting of light porridge made out of mealie meal, sour milk and honey. He further stated that they also cooked meat and green maize.⁸⁹

Douglas stated that the Lozi considered the flood plain to be the heart of their land. He observed that they built their homes in the plain and that on the plain margins they established mounds where they moved to in flood times.⁹⁰ Douglas’s observation is very important in that it does not

only tell us that the distance involved in escaping floods were too short compared to the present 15 kilometers journey of Lealui to Limulunga but that there was also a shift in the settlement of the Lozi from their traditional living in the flood plain throughout the year to taking refuge on higher lands during flood periods.

Another set of literature on *Kuomboka* focused on paddlers. Mackintosh stated that the *Nalikwanda* was paddled by Chiefs decked in brightly coloured stuff, with lions' manes on their heads,⁹¹ a practice that, according to Yeta⁹² and Gerald⁹³ has been slackened. The latter pointed out that modern paddlers include even the unaccustomed whom Yeta calls members of the general Lozi public.⁹⁴ Turner observed that from Mboo's time, *Nalikwanda* paddlers were stripped to the waist.⁹⁵ But in Lewanika I's reign they began to wear vests and animal skins around their waists with lion mane caps over *Mashushu* (scarlet caps).⁹⁶

According to Kalaluka, it was a taboo for paddlers in the *Nalikwanda* to sit down. He stated that if a paddler was tired and needed rest, he was supposed to ask for assistance from Natamikwa, the Chief paddler.⁹⁷ However, Yeta observed the slackening of this tradition and asserted that with time *Nalikwanda* paddlers sat on the edge of the bulwarks as they waited for the *Notila* to land.⁹⁸ Such change of tradition ought to be investigated to establish its impact if any on *Kuomboka*.

Richard observed that the Litunga was not bound by tradition to travel only in the *Nalikwanda*. He brought out the issue of the *Notila* which was also a 'state barge'. He stated that the Litunga travelled in either of the two as he wished.⁹⁹ The Litunga could first start the journey on *Notila* and later change to *Nalikwanda*. This tradition has permanently changed as the Litunga travels only in *Nalikwanda*.¹⁰⁰

Lawrence stated that during Lewanika I's reign, most Lozi lived within the flood plain. He argued that *Kuomboka* was a huge procession at that time.¹⁰¹ According to him, *Kuomboka* today is a very different and much smaller event as most Lozis have left the flood plain.¹⁰² Lawrence further asserted that since the establishment of British rule in the late nineteenth century, there was an increasing tendency for Lozis to establish themselves permanently in villages on the flood plain margins.¹⁰³ He argued that it was only during flood times that the Lozis residing on higher mounds moved to the flood plain for the *Kuomboka* procession.¹⁰⁴ These are yet other critical issues on *Kuomboka* which need to be investigated and ascertain their authenticity.

Lawrence observed that in years of very low floods as in 1978, 1979, 1997 and 2005, the Barotse Royal Establishment (BRE) cancelled the *Kuomboka* ceremony.¹⁰⁵ In 2005, this decision prompted outrage among various interest groups. Lawrence argued that the local people across the informal and formal sectors anxious to exploit earning opportunities that occur only once a year protested that the BRE did not care about their welfare.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Lawrence established that the Lozis in the wider diaspora whose sense of belonging was intimately tied to the regular performance of *Kuomboka* felt a deep sense of loss.¹⁰⁷ He also observed that this decision also attracted criticism from the national government which had declared 2005 as 'Zambia Tourism Year'.¹⁰⁸ Lawrence further observed that the government pressured the BRE to hold a mini *Kuomboka* as a tourist attraction on the Zambezi near Livingstone town to coincide with other aquatic celebrations.¹⁰⁹ Such clamour by the general public and the government to hold *Kuomboka* even when there were no floods demonstrated that *Kuomboka* has undergone political, social and economic transformations.

Milbourne affirmed that history and heritage are definitive marketing tools for *Kuomboka* today.¹¹⁰ He argued that today's celebration serve multiple purposes.¹¹¹ He pointed out the

inclusive nature of *Kuomboka* over time and how it reflects not only colonial influence but also the incorporation of different peoples in the Lozi state.¹¹² Milbourne's work hints on the transformation of the *Kuomboka* ceremony over time. In this context, his work is very significant to this study which attempts to establish how this Lozi tradition has been changed with time.

1.3. Research Methodology

Information for this research came from various sources. The starting point was the University of Zambia Library, especially the Special Collections Section. More data was collected from the Faith and Encounter Centre Library (FECL). Substantial amount of primary data was sourced from National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), Nayuma Museum in Limulunga and through the conduct of oral interviews at the Limulunga and Lealui Royal palaces from court officials and among the Litunga's subjects of Lealui, Limulunga and Mongu. Further information on *Kuomboka* was collected from the Zambia Tourist Board (ZTB) and Ministry of Tourism.

END NOTES

1. D.W. Strike, *Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse* (London: John Bole, Sons and Danielson Limited), p.90.
2. Strike, *Barotseland*, p.91.
3. A. Njungu, "The Music of my People (II): Dances in Barotseland," *African Music Society Journal* 2(4) (1961), p.79.
4. A.D. Jalla, *History: Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation* (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1959), p.14.
5. E. Munalula, 'Matangu: Lozi Oral Narratives. Some Literary Stylistic Features in Lozi Oral Narrative Performances', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1972, p. 41.
6. I.K.S. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi* (The Origin of the Lozi Kingship) typescript, 1959, privately owned, p.13.
7. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.17.
8. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.17.
9. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.19.
10. H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland Vol. 1*(London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1904), p.143.
11. H. Langworthy, *Zambia Before 1890: Aspects of Pre – Colonial History* (London: Longman, 1972), p.49.
12. C.W. Mackintosh, *The New Zambesian Trial* (London: Marshall Brothers Limited, 1922), p.36.
13. Mackintosh, *The New Zambesian Trial*, p.37.
14. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.19.
15. M. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions,' In E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.). *The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History* (London: Manchester University Press, 1965), p.243.
16. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions', p.244.
17. Jalla, *History*, p.16.
18. Jalla, *History*, p.123.

19. L.S. Muuka, 'The Colonisation of Barotseland in the 17th Century', In E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.).*The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History* (London: Manchester University press, 1965), p.248.
20. A. D. Jalla, *Litaba za Sicaba sa Malozi* trans. S.B. Jones (British Colonial Office: African No.1179, 1909), p.4.
21. Livingstone to Arthur Tidman of the London Missionary Society, 17th October, 1851, In I Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence 1841 – 1856* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), p.185.
22. E.L. Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland 1800-1940' (Ph.D. Thesis, North Western University, 1973), p.177.
23. Jalla, *History*, p.123.
24. Barotse Royal Establishment, *Kuomboka Ceremony: Background Information* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1989), p.2.
25. Barotse Royal Establishment, *Kuomboka Ceremony*, p.2.
26. Barotse Royal Establishment, *Kuomboka Ceremony*, p.3.
27. Barotse Royal Establishment, *Kuomboka Ceremony*, p.3.
28. E. Tabler, (ed.) *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeech (1885 - 1888) and Captain Norman McLeod (1875 – 1876)*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963, p.38.
29. Brown Ernest Douglas, *Drums of Life: Royal Music and Social Life in Western Zambia* (University of Washington: Ph D Thesis, 1984), p. 267.
30. Douglas, *Drums of Life: Royal Music and Social Life in Western Zambia*, p. 267.
31. Brown Ernest Douglas, *Drums on the Water: The Kuomboka Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia* (Lusaka: Unza, 1976), p.17.
32. Douglas, *Drums on the Water: The Kuomboka Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia*, p.17.
33. Douglas, *Drums on the Water: The Kuomboka Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia*, p.18.
34. L. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka: A Living Traditional Culture among the Malozi People of Zambia* (Lusaka: Neczam, 1981), p. 13.
35. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.13.
36. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions', p.248.
37. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions', p.248.
38. Mainga, 'The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions', p.248.

39. B.M, Mainga, "The Lozi Kingdom," in Brian M. Fagan (ed.), *A Short History of Zambia; From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.123.
40. Mackintosh, *The New Zambesian Trial*, p.37.
41. Mainga, "The Lozi Kingdom," p. 124.
42. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.13.
43. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.13.
44. Mainga, "The Lozi Kingdom," p. 126.
45. C. M. Namafe, *Environmental Education in Zambia: A Critical Approach to Change and Transformation* (Lusaka: New Horizon Printers, 2006), p.32.
46. Namafe, *Environmental Education in Zambia*, p. 32.
47. C. M. Namafe, 'Flooding in the Context of the Barotse People of the Upper Zambezi Wetlands', *In Southern African Journal of Environmental Education*, Vol. 21(2004), p.50.
48. G.F. White, *Human Adjustment to Floods: A Geographical Approach to the Flood Problem in the United States*, University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper No. 29. p.1.
49. R.M.J. Butler, 'Water as an Unwanted Commodity: Some Aspects of Flood Alleviation', *Journal of the Institution of Water Engineers*, Vol. 26, 6, p. 311.
50. Butler, 'Water as an Unwanted Commodity: Some Aspects of Flood Alleviation', p. 311.
51. Namafe, 'Flooding in the Context of the Barotse People of the Upper Zambezi Wetlands', p.50.
52. Namafe, 'Flooding in the Context of the Barotse People of the Upper Zambezi Wetlands', p.51.
53. Jalla, *History*, p.121.
54. Namafe, *Environmental Education in Zambia*, p.120.
55. Namafe, *Environmental Education in Zambia*, p.120.
56. Namafe, *Environmental Education in Zambia*, pp.119 – 120.
57. Namafe, *Environmental Education in Zambia*, pp.119 – 120.
58. Mackintosh, *The New Zambesian Trial*, p.37.

59. M. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre- Colonial Zambia* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1973), p.57.
60. Hermitte, 'An Economic History of Barotseland 1800-1940', p.177.
61. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.13.
62. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.13.
63. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.13.
64. Jalla, *History*, p.127.
65. E. Stokes, 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.), *The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History* (London: Manchester University Press, 1965), p.402.
66. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.57.
67. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.21.
68. Douglas, *Drums of Life: Royal Music and Social Life in Western Zambia*, p. 269.
69. Douglas, *Drums of Life: Royal Music and Social Life in Western Zambia*, p. 269.
70. M. Gluckman, *M. Economy of the Central Barotse Plain* (London: Manchester University Press, 1968), p. 12.
71. F. Lawrence, 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The *Kuomboka* Festival of Western Zambia', *In Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 3 Number 4* (2006), p.701.
72. Jalla, *History*, p.127.
73. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.57.
74. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.19.
75. M. Gluckman, "The Lozi of Barotseland in North-Western Rhodesia", In Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman (eds.), *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 13.
76. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.21.
77. Stokes, 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State', p.403.
78. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.57.
79. Mackintosh, *The New Zambesian Trial*, p.37.

80. C.M.N. White, *An Outline of the Lozi Social and Political Organisation* (London: Buttler and Tanner Limited, 1960), p. 15.
81. Jalla, *History*, p.127.
82. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.19.
83. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.18.
84. Lawrence, 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The *Kuomboka* Festival of Western Zambia', p.701.
85. Lawrence, 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The *Kuomboka* Festival of Western Zambia', p.701.
86. L.van Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840 – 1964', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), p.144.
87. G. Cooper, 'Village Crafts in Barotseland' in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman (eds.), *The Rhodes – Livingstone Journal, Number Eleven; Human Problems in British Central Africa* (London: Buttler and Tanner Limited, 1951), p. 49.
88. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa: A Record of Twenty Years Pioneering among the Barotsi of the Upper Zambesi* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), p.214.
89. M. Yeta, 'The Kuomboka Ceremony during Yeta III's reign', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal, Vol. 4 (1959-1961)*, p.577.
90. Douglas, *Lozi*, p.9.
91. C.W. Mackintosh, *Lewanika; Paramount Chief of the Barotse and Allied Tribes 1875-1916* (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1942), p.28.
92. Yeta, 'The *Kuomboka* Ceremony during Yeta III's reign', p.577.
93. C. L. Gerald, *The Elites of Barotseland 1878-1969; A Political History of Zambia's Western Province* (London: G. Hurst and Company, 1970), p.5.
94. Yeta, 'The *Kuomboka* Ceremony during Yeta III's reign', p.577.
95. V.W. Turner, *Ethnographic survey of Africa; West Central Africa Part III; The Lozi Peoples of North- Western Rhodesia* (London: International African Institute, 1952), p.28.
96. Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840 – 1964', p. 144.
97. Kalaluka, *Kuomboka*, p.18.
98. Yeta, 'The *Kuomboka* Ceremony during Yeta III's reign', p.577.

99. S. Richard, *The Struggle for British interests in Barotseland 1871-1888* (Lusaka: Zambia Printing company, 1972), p. 25.
100. Richard, *The Struggle for British interests in Barotseland 1871-1888*, p.25.
101. F. Lawrence, 'Separatist Tendencies in the Lands of the Lozi: The Historical Construction of Citizenship and Subjectivity in Southern Barotseland and Capirivi', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 2, p.393.
102. F. Lawrence, '*Historical Constructions of Postcolonial Citizenship and Subjectivity: The case of the Lozi peoples of Southern Central Africa*' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2005), p.498.
103. Lawrence, 'Separatist Tendencies in the Lands of the Lozi: The Historical Construction of Citizenship and Subjectivity in Southern Barotseland and Capirivi', p.394.
104. Lawrence, '*Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The Kuomboka Festival of Western Zambia*', p. 716.
105. Lawrence, '*Historical Constructions of Postcolonial Citizenship and Subjectivity: The case of the Lozi peoples of Southern Central Africa*', p.717.
106. Lawrence, '*Historical Constructions of Postcolonial Citizenship and Subjectivity: The case of the Lozi peoples of Southern Central Africa*', p.716.
107. Lawrence, '*Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The Kuomboka Festival of Western Zambia*', p. 716.
108. Lawrence, '*Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The Kuomboka Festival of Western Zambia*', p. 716.
109. Lawrence, '*Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The Kuomboka Festival of Western Zambia*', p. 716.
110. K. Milbourne, *Diplomacy in Motion: Makish as Political Harmony in Barotseland* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, inc., 2004), p. 57.
111. Milbourne, *Diplomacy in Motion: Makish as Political Harmony in Barotseland*, p.59.
112. Milbourne, *Diplomacy in Motion: Makish as Political Harmony in Barotseland*, p.60.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. EARLY TRANSFORMATIONS OF *KUOMBOKA*

2.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to analyse and explain the evolution of *Kuomboka* up to the end of colonialism. It opens with a discussion on the genesis of the concept of *Kuomboka* and demonstrates how the Litungas moved between two capitals during the event. The chapter also discusses the shifts in boat building in Bulози and shows how Mulambwa Santulu faced pressures which made him forge alliances with the Mbunda and Nkoya who in due course brought tremendous changes in the *Kuomboka*. Furthermore, the episode discusses the discontinuation of *Kuomboka* during Kololo rule and how Sipopa Lutangu revived it after their overthrow in 1864. The chapter also elaborates the state of *Kuomboka* during the British South African Company rule and concludes with a dialogue on the shifts and trends of the event during the colonial period.

2.2. *Kuomboka* in the early years

The concept of *Kuomboka* was developed as a solution to an ecological crisis brought about by a great flood known as *meyi a lungwangwa* which destroyed material goods, drowned animals and people in the early seventeenth century in Bulози. Nakambela made the first vessel which evacuated people to higher mounds of the flood plain margins.¹ The event did not have a fixed date, even though it occurred in February or March or April when the floods reached their climax. The actual date of *Kuomboka* was determined by two things; the level of water and the phase of the moon.² According to the Lozi mythology, the moon makes things clear even in the affairs of men and women. *Kuomboka* took place in the first two weeks of the new moon and never in the absence of the moon.³ Once its date was decided upon, the Litunga sought divine

blessings for the voyage. In the first place, the Royal grave keepers were presented with a white calico cloth and a heap of white sand or a dish of fresh milk or fresh water.⁴ There after, the Royal grave keepers prayed to their masters in the grave, the dead Litungas, who approached Nasilele, the wife of Nyambe, who in turn approached the latter. Incidentally, Nasilele is associated with the moon just as Nyambe is associated with the sun. This chain of command and request had its earthly parallels in the way, for example, that an individual puts a request to the Litunga by going through a series of intermediaries.

When the Royal grave keepers received their feedback, they reported to the Litunga two days before *Kuomboka* in the morning sooner than he started to move about for the day.⁵ If all was well, the paddlers were called that evening through the beating of the royal drums, *maoma*, for the *Kuomboka* procession the next day. Manyando Kabeta observed that in the early seventeenth century, Queen Mwambwa and her Aluyi built a settlement at *Sifuti* where they moved to during *Kuomboka* but later moved down to *Imuba* – the great mound – which they built with their own labour to combat floods.⁶ Kabeta further observed that Mboo Muyunda's first village was Libonda, close to Mwanambinyi's Nayaka and later moved his capital to Namuso near the present site of Namayula village on the bank of the Zambezi River.⁷

In the 1780s, King Mulambwa Santulu moved from his capital at Namuso, near the present site of Namayula village, to Milinga.⁸ His other capital was at Nembo near a small lake where one of his dogs was bitten by a snake. Thus, in the beginning, *Kuomboka* did not take place to any particular or regular location; it was to any higher ground that was deemed safe. During the event, the Litunga, his family and royal property moved in the 'state barge' which was constructed using local materials collected in the villages of the Bulozhi flood plain.

The construction of 'state barges' in Bulozhi passed through a number of phases. The first indigenous barge in Bulozhi called *Njonjolo* was constructed using local reeds called *Mafalingi*, which were sewn together using *Makenge* roots and fibers.⁹ It was constructed in parts, the sides finally being attached to the base. Clearly, this sort of craft was not very sturdy or long lasting and soon the need for wood was realised. The sort of wood that was desired was that from which planks could be made and three types were chosen as suitable, *Mulombe*, *Muzauli* and *Munyonga*. The latter was chosen specifically for the base due to its low density, providing good floatation properties.

Francois Coillard held that the Lozi did not have the technique of boat building. Coillard asserted that the idea of boat building could have been arrived at by way of the Arabs from the east or through some kind of infiltration of knowledge from the Portuguese who had interacted with the Lunda – Luba Empires by the 1600s.¹⁰ Contrary to his assertion, we would argue that the idea of boat building existed in Bulozhi as was demonstrated by the existence of the reed and fiber boats prior to the arrival of Europeans.

Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo (Royal Chief Justice), stated that Mboo was the first Litunga to have replaced the papyrus *Nalikwandas* with ones made of wood. He sought for three wood carvers for the first barge which was christened *Njonjolo* and constructed at a village called Liayo, place of a man called Akabeti.¹¹ *Njonjolo* was constructed using the technology of the day to provide maximum space and comfort, hence the name *Njonjolo*. The latter became known also as *Linene* meaning 'a wide thing'.

During the construction of *Njonjolo*, spears were sought from people living in the forest east of the plain (where iron working had been known for centuries) and these were used to make holes

in the planks using fire and through these holes were passed *Makenge* roots and fibers which were used to join the planks together.¹² Sikota also elaborated that locally available bitumen like glue called *lingongwe* (made from the bark of certain trees) were then used to seal the holes.¹³ He further asserted that paddling sticks were made under the supervision of Mukulwambula, the chief rainmaker at Nakato village.¹⁴ The shift from the use of papyrus *Nalikwandas* to wooden ones obviously reflected the fact that certain technological advances in boat building had been made. The wooden barges of planks were larger, more durable and were able to carry more items in it like the *maoma*, *lilimba* and even musical ensembles.

As per tradition, various Litungas gave special praise names to their barges which turned out to be the real names by which they were called. Such were Mboo's *Sitandamwalye* in recognition of the floating materials it was made of, while his successor, Inyambo, called his *Lyamashandi* in view of the *mashandi* bark strings used to tie it up. For his part, Ngalama, the fourth Litunga, named his *Notila*, probably from *Siluyana ku tila*, the making of designs (usually black / white) with hot iron, such as wood carvers still do.¹⁵ This was the origin of the Zebra colours on the *Nalikwanda* not as claimed by some scholars that the object was to resemble designs on the altars used to worship the Luyi God, Nyambe. Its praise name *Notila Mulonga kale ba lino ni ba lumbo* was given in praise of the ancient strong Lozi government, *Mulongaluyi*.

Yeta Nalute maintained the *Notila* used by his father, Ngalama. In addition to *Notila*, Yeta made another barge called *Nalikwanda* but during *Kuomboka* he moved in *Notila*. Kabeta stipulated that *Njonjolo* was the praise name given to Mulambwa Santulu's 'state barge'.¹⁶ He also maintained the *Nalikwanda*. The *Nalikwanda* for Mulambwa was smoke burnt. This art created deep dark brown and light tan stripes.

It is important to state that dug out canoes and other vessels used to evacuate the Litunga from floods had no decorations on them. It was during the reign of Mulambwa that several designs on the 'state barge' were made as he was reported by many as having been a great lover of new designs. During Mulambwa's time, the *Nalikwanda* was built with a canopy made of *tungolo* young trees that bent easily across the barge. Its canopy was big and allowed nearly twenty people seated comfortably. Kabeta observed that on the outside of the *tungolo* framework, a large white calico cloth was stretched while its inside walls and floor were covered with mats of various patterns.¹⁷ It is perhaps correct to state that early barges in Bulozhi did not have that white cloth, as cloths were then quite rare. Most likely, beautifully designed mats were used since the Lozi were skilled mat makers and designers.

Paddles were mostly made of *mukwa* tree or any other tree that was found suitable for the purpose. *Nalikwanda* paddles had colours similar to those found on the outside of the *Nalikwanda*. The patterns on paddles were done by winding a wet *mutuya* tree bark round the handle, leaving some parts uncovered. Thereafter, the paddles were exposed to fire which burned off the *mutuya* fibre, leaving the paddles with black stripes resembling those of the *Nalikwanda*.¹⁸

It is very important to state that early barges were painted using natural colours from trees. *Nalikwanda* was and still is painted with black and white stripes. Black represents black people, the dark colour of rain clouds and the dark rich colour of fertile soil, while white represents purity or spirituality.¹⁹ In this context, we can say colours used to decorate the *Nalikwanda* and those worn by its crew are important because they symbolise certain Lozi beliefs as indicated here.

During the reign of Mulambwa, the tower of authority which the Lozi monarchs successfully constructed began to decline, and in order to maintain it, the Lozi were compelled to make concessions with various groups which formerly they had used and held under their control.²⁰ In this respect, we see Mulambwa forging alliances with the Mbunda and Nkoya. He obtained magical remedy for powerful Kingship from the Nkoya and Mbunda, the royal ensemble from the Nkoya and settled a large number of the latter in Bulozi.²¹ Mulambwa also deliberately absorbed the Nkoya and Mbunda into the Lozi social and political structures.²² These political alliances had an impact on *Kuomboka*. The alliance with the Nkoya introduced Nkoya royal music played during *Kuomboka*. Consequently the dances such as *siyomboka*, *makishi* and *nyakasanga* became popular also during *Kuomboka*.

Similarly, the alliance with the Mbunda and their integration into Lozi social and political structures was probably the origin of the practice of having Mbunda women sing songs of praise and welcome at the Nayuma harbour during *Kuomboka*.²³ However, this is not to conclude that the Lozi people accepted all what the Nkoya and Mbunda people brought with them in the form of culture. Nor is it correct to say that the Nkoya and Mbunda embraced all sorts of cultures they found in practice among the Lozi. The significance of this is that there was integration of ethnic cultures.

Fig. 1



The gigantic elephant on the canopy of the *Nalikwanda*; Source: Nayuma Museum, Limulunga – Mongu.

The story of the elephant that stands on the *Nalikwanda* started with Mulambwa Santulu to whom much of *Kuomboka* is owed. As a prince, Mulambwa was assigned by his brother Litunga Mwananyanda Liwale to supervise the resettlement of the people now commonly called Mankoya within today's Kaoma District. However, upon his return, Mulambwa learnt that some of his brothers and his own mother had been murdered on the orders of the Litunga and that a price had been placed on his own head. He escaped back to the Nkoya who gave him protective medicines, which included riding a magical elephant into his brother's capital.²⁴ Mulambwa became the unquestionable heir and in praise of him, his people said, he, Mulambwa, left on foot, but returned riding an elephant, the King of the jungle.

From Mulambwa's time, the elephant was associated with Lozi royalty. The Lozi always admire the overwhelming powers of the elephant, the King of the jungle in line with their characterisation of their King as *kakwisa maci mbumu ni wa ci*, the all powerful. It is in this

context that the elephant was later adopted as a symbol for the BRE and erected on the canopy of the *Nalikwanda*.²⁵ At the end of Mulambwa's reign, the political situation in Bulozhi had deteriorated to the degree that Mulambwa, old and almost blind, is said to have cursed the people and foretold that they would be ruled by people with walking sticks (Makololo?), and again by people with books (Europeans?). Sometimes it is even claimed that Mulambwa was forced to leave the country.²⁶ Such claims held that he went to the South – east where he met the Makololo in Batoka and urged them not to invade Bulozhi. These traditions may vary in detail, but the message behind them is of the Lozi Kingdom undergoing a political crisis.

Mulambwa died in 1830 and immediately after his death, a serious succession dispute between two of his sons, Mubukwanu and Silumelume arose over the central Kingship.²⁷ Mubukwanu drew his support mainly from the South (Nalolo) where he had proved himself an able ruler.²⁸ He also had the following of two important Indunas in the north, Mukulwakashiko and Katema, who were driven by differences with leaders of the northern group to join with the south.²⁹ Silumelume, on the other hand, was the northern candidate and the leaders of his group were Muswa, his father's old Ngambela and Natamoyo. Following the death of Mulambwa, Muswa declared Silumelume as King, but Silumelume feared that his position could never be secured while Mubukwanu was alive.

According to Kabunda Kayongo, one day Silumelume held a ritual function and on that occasion, the Mbunda turned out before the Kuta in full war dress and performed their war dances.³⁰ Silumelume came out to greet and send out the Mbunda, and while the rituals were proceeding, one of the Mbunda struck Silumelume with an arrow and killed him.³¹ This was a turning point for Mubukwanu to take control of Bulozhi but before he could do so, the Kololo invaders under Sebitwane burst on the scene and fought a series of battles with the Luyi between

1833 and 1840.³² They conquered the Luyi and remained their rulers for twenty four years – 1840 to 1864.³³ It was from that time that the Lozi came to be known as *Makalaka*. The latter was the term referred to the Lozi by the Kololo when they conquered and defeated them in the 1830s. Today, Silumelume and Mubukwanu are remembered only for their foolishness in fighting over the succession of their father, Mulambwa, which led to Bulozhi's ease defeat by the Makololo.

Although the Kololo were in actual fact not influenced by *Kuomboka* as a cultural ceremony, its existence was admired by them.³⁴ The use of canoes as means of transport during flood times first scared the Kololo, but delighted them when they began to learn the technique of paddling. It is understood that although the new rulers were not used to water, they quickly learned and became accustomed to it. Even Chief Sebitwane himself learned how to move by canoe very early in his reign.³⁵

Sebitwane died on 7th July 1851, leaving a strong Kingdom behind him. He was succeeded by his daughter, Mamochisane, who ruled only for ten months and then abdicated the throne in favour of her brother Sekeletu. Sekeletu too had remarkable delight in seeing people move on water in boats.³⁶ Thus he did not wait for high floods so that he could move from one mound to another in a procession of canoes. Always he chose to move early or live on a high mound which was always raised high above floods,³⁷ but it was also a common practice for him to order his subjects to paddle him some distances from his capital and then return, merely for pleasure and enjoyment.³⁸ To a certain extent, such interest illustrated the fact that even during foreign occupation of the Bulozhi plain, *Kuomboka* was still practiced on an individual or family basis. The new Kololo Chiefs seemed not to have discouraged it. In fact, they seemed to have been in

the process of promoting it although none of them made a colourful *Kuomboka* as Mulambwa did before them or as Sipopa or Lewanika I after them.

Sekeletu proved to be the single most important factor in the decline of Kololo rule and their defeat by the *Makalaka*. During his rule, Sekeletu destroyed his father's fine achievements in the Kingdom. His character and behaviour antagonised his people and later, they organised strong opposition to get rid of him. He died in August 1863 at Linyanti and his death sparked a series of succession disputes, civil war and the final collapse of the Makololo State.³⁹ This situation created an opportunity for the Luyi to recover their Kingdom. Taking advantage of the crumbling Kololo rule, Sipopa, a Luyi leader in exile, organised a strong army and defeated the Kololo in 1864 and became the first Litunga to rule after the Kololo regime.

The Luyi began ruling themselves once more. As a King, Sipopa faced the task of reestablishing the rule of the Lozi Kings. To this effect, he greatly expanded the number of royal musical ensembles he possessed.⁴⁰ It was in this context that Kabunda Kayongo concluded that Sipopa used ensembles including stringed instruments, rattles and pipes that seem not to have been used by any other Litunga during *Kuomboka*.

In 1866, Sipopa established Lyalui at the centre of the Barotse plains where he ruled from.⁴¹ He died in 1876 and was in the same year succeeded by Mwanawina II.⁴² The latter was succeeded by Lubosi Lewanika I in 1878.⁴³ Lewanika I also made Lyalui as his capital in 1878.⁴⁴ Lyalui was later written as Lealui or Lialui meaning 'of the people'. By the term Lyalui, Lewanika referred to the country as the land of the Barotse implying that it was not his country alone but that it belonged to the entire Aluyi. From that time Lealui remained the plain capital of the

Litunga. During the reign of Lewanika I, Lealui possessed a powerful attraction which attracted the Lozis from afar whenever *Kuomboka* was due.

It is at Lealui that the *maoma* royal drums are beaten to summon paddlers for the *Kuomboka* procession. The *maoma* are first beaten by His Majesty, the Litunga, followed by members of the royal family led by the *Natamoyo* and *Indunas*.⁴⁵ After these, members of the general public in attendance take turns to sound the royal drums. The *maoma* are skillfully beaten non stop till about mid night. The tune of *maoma* sends the people into frenzy as it signifies that the process leading to the grand *Kuomboka* ceremony is underway. On a quiet night, the *maoma* can be heard 15 km away in Mongu.

2.3. *Kuomboka* during the British South African Company rule

During the British South African company's rule, Lubosi Lewanika I was the Litunga of Barotseland. Throughout *Kuomboka*, he needed not only to display the familiar symbols of royalty, but also to present new ones which would symbolise his ability to accommodate change and his mastery over it. To this end, Lewanika I welcomed the missionaries in his Kingdom and after 1891, he arranged to learn European boat building techniques.⁴⁶ After 1897, he had one *Nalikwanda* built in the Lozi style of sewn together sections of tree trunks and another in the European style of planks nailed together.⁴⁷ This decision was sparked by an incident in which Lewanika I had sought to impress Coillard, one of the missionaries, by inviting him to view the first journey of a new *Nalikwanda*. Lewanika I is reported to have said: "well, *Moruti* (teacher), what do you say of *Nalikwanda*? You see what the Lozi can do."⁴⁸ "The Lozi!"⁴⁹ However, instead of expressing admiration, Coillard was patronising.⁵⁰ As "the biggest piece of technology in the land," we can assert that the *Nalikwanda* is a symbol of power and splendour. Lewanika I's

possession of one in the European style as well as one in Lozi style was an effective way of expanding his stock of royal symbols and strengthening his reign.

Fig.2



Lubosi Lewanika I: 1878 – 1884 (b. c1842 d. Feb. 1916).
Source: Nayuma Museum, Limulunga – Mongu District.

It is important to state that the use of European boat building techniques allowed larger boats to be built in Buluzi. Lewanika I's *Nalikwanda* built with these techniques was larger than those used by his predecessors and was the first to be able to carry one hundred paddlers, the royal musical ensembles and the large heavy maoma.⁵¹ It also had a kitchen in which men cooked meat, porridge and green maize for the entourage in the *Nalikwanda*. It was in this respect that Francois Coillard described Lewanika I as the most industrious and clever craftsman.⁵²

After covering some distance from Lealui, *Nalikwanda* paddlers (Princes ‘*Bana ba malena*’ Prince Consorts, ‘*Bo ishe*’, Chief Stewards and other men of Royal blood) put down their paddles and had a real rest at *Nengwana*.⁵³ At this point, they took their lunch consisting of light porridge made out of mealie meal, sour milk and honey. During the *Kuomboka* procession, the ignition of fire in the *Nalikwanda* is very important. It indicates that the Litunga is alive. Lack of fire in it signals that the Litunga is dead.

Later, Lewanika I acquired several new symbols of power. Some reflected traditional values, while others reflected newer realities. In 1896, Lewanika, began to ‘fly’ the British union jack, as well as his own flag on top of the *Nalikwanda*.⁵⁴ Furthermore, above the canopies of his royal barges, the *Nalikwanda* and the *Mbolyanga* he erected tall statues of an elephant and a crested crane, *Liowanyi* which are both highly significant traditional symbols of power and majesty.

After his visit to England in 1902 where he had gone to attend the coronation of King Edward VII, Lewanika I introduced the *liziba* and *misisi* as attire during *Kuomboka*.⁵⁵ Paddlers of royal barges throughout *Kuomboka* wore the *liziba* and were stripped to the waist. The *misisi* which were a colourful version of the French Victorian dresses worn by the wives of the early missionaries were worn especially during *Kuomboka* by the crowds of royal women who gathered at the harbour to welcome Lewanika I. Thus, *misisi* became the traditional dress of Lozi women on festive occasions.

Furthermore, Lewanika I introduced certain kinds of European dress for the Paramount Chief (Litunga) and these, too, became traditional. Today, at the beginning of *Kuomboka* journey, the Litunga wears a morning suit complete with tails and top hat, while his principal wife wears a dress. However, before their arrival at the Nayuma harbour at the end of the *Kuomboka* journey,

they both change to more formal attire. The Litunga's principal wife wears a suit and the Litunga himself wears a British admiral's uniform which was given to Lewanika I by King Edward VII when he visited England in 1902.⁵⁶ This was in recognition of treaties signed between the Lozi people and Queen Victoria of Great Britain.

However, it is important to observe that Lewanika I was not the first to introduce European clothing to the Lozi people. These types of clothing had reached Buluzi through trade channels and were worn by Chiefs and Councilors long before the first Europeans penetrated the interior of Africa. Nonetheless, they were a rare and valuable commodity and as such they had a certain representative value. The gradual undermining of the Lozi Kingship by British colonialism was considered secondary to the fact of the Kingship's continued existence and the cult of Loziness that surrounded it.⁵⁷ British colonialism and Barotseland's ambiguous relationship with it was represented as a phase in Lozi history that had come and gone while the Lozi Kingship and the Lozi nation lived on. What is portrayed during *Kuomboka* ceremony today is the resistance of Lewanika I and his followers to internal and external threats by the 'purchase' of British protection.

Lewanika I's contribution to the introduction of European dress during *Kuomboka* was a matter of the specific type of clothing and its quantity rather than a totally new development. Moreover, his use of European dress, especially the admiral's uniform, was quite logical in terms of African representation, although non Africans and even the Lozi critics regard it as puzzling, un African or even laughable. The British admiral's uniform, with its plume of white ostrich feathers on the helmet and ornate gold braid is similar with Lozi representation regarding the colour white as purity or spirituality. This is appropriate attire for the Litunga.⁵⁸ There is no specific Lozi colour

representation for the colour yellow but comparisons with the brightness of the sun are easily made. The black on the uniform is associated with rain clouds.

The Lozi view of royal symbols of power is not so narrow as to exclude adopting the symbols of power of other peoples whether these symbols of power are of the Nkoya royal drums or a British admiral's uniform. The changes in *Kuomboka* ceremony are not merely to be mourned as evidence of the intrusion of European culture and colonialism upon Africa. Make no mistake: the colonial period was a catastrophe but this was not apparent at first. Lewanika I's changes in royal representative systems were not, at least at first, signs of colonial dominance.⁵⁹ Instead, those new signs represented his efforts to identify him with progress and portray himself as the master of it. In this context, we can state that they were a logical response within royal representative systems to the political and economic pressures the Lozi people faced in the late nineteenth century.

Fig. 3



The Litunga emerging from the *Nalikwanda* in a British admiral uniform; Source: Nayuma Museum, Limulunga – Mongu.

Lewanika I's attempts to make *Kuomboka* grandeur and his adaptation of certain aspects of European technology and dress, in effect, was a portrayal of the Lozi's recognition that they could not resurrect the world exactly as it was prior to the Kololo occupation even though they certainly could preserve many aspects of the world. Furthermore, the above changes in Lozi royal signs were a recognition that the Lozi had to adapt to the new world which was already upon them and that they had to master new skills and techniques in order to survive and advance.⁶⁰ Because they essentially held this view, Lewanika I and those who ruled after him welcomed the missionaries, encouraged them to educate their people and expressed bitter disappointment when they did not deliver what the Lozi expected. For example, Lewanika I explained to one missionary his refusal to grant the Paris Evangelical Mission Society (PEMS) a monopoly on mission work as follows:

The French Missionaries have given me all they have to give and that is nothing. What have I to do with their Gospel and their God? Had we not gods before their arrival? Have they seen their God of whom they talk so much? What do we want with all that rubbish heap of fables that you call the Bible? Are they better than ours? What does your school do for us? For you, it is the trade you live by; for us, it is a purposeless and unprofitable folly. What I want are missionaries of all kinds, working side by side here, at Lealui and Nalolo, especially missionaries who build big workshops and teach us all the trades of the white men. What can I do with Christians who only know how to read and write and pray to the God of the white men? What I want are carpenters, blacksmiths, armourers, masons, and so on. That is what I want, industrial missionaries; that is what all the chiefs want: we laugh at all the rest.⁶¹

The willingness of Lewanika I to adapt to a changing world was clear. However, it is very important to state that the Europeans who came to Northern Rhodesia had not come in order to teach new technologies. The British South Africa Company (BSAC) which assumed administration of Northern Rhodesia on behalf of the British government in 1890 was interested

primarily in exporting cheap labour to make the white run enterprises of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa more profitable and expanding the markets for British made goods.

For Lewanika I who became the Litunga in 1878, and suffered a temporary overthrow in 1884, enticing British ‘protection’ had as much to do with consolidating his own power as it did to protect the Kingdom from foreign aggression. His concern was also a response to Barotseland’s previous history of weak leadership following the death of Mulambwa and again following the overthrow of the Makololo in 1864.⁶² Like any Litunga, Lewanika I was elected from nominated eligible princes and not appointed by hereditary right. He thus had to deal with factions attached to his unsuccessful rivals. Those factions generally consisted of strong indunas who sought privileges, power and wealth.

Lewanika I faced long standing threats posed by the much feared Matebele to the Southeast, from the Portuguese and their African allies from Angola who sought for slaves, ivory and influence. Thus, we can affirm that British ‘protection’ served to shelter Lewanika I from competition by dissatisfied elements in the Lozi nobility. He also used it to deter aggression and non payment of tribute and taxes by other groups in the region.⁶³ Furthermore, protection helped him to deal successfully with external threats posed by Europeans. Therefore, the appearance of the Litungas in British ceremonial military attire during *Kuomboka* ceremony became a celebration of the Lozi’s pragmatic engagement with Britain to ensure the survival of the lodestone of Lozi identity – the Kingship – and the relative autonomy of the Lozi nation state.

Lewanika I died of kidney trouble on 4th February, 1916.⁶⁴ There was no *Kuomboka* in that year because there was no King to evacuate. There was also no ‘state barge’ to be used since the *Notila* as per Lozi tradition was sunk in water upon Lewanika I’s death. Another reason was that

the floods were not high enough to warrant a move. Lewanika I was succeeded by his son, Paramount Chief Litia Yeta III in 1916. His capital was Lealui where he ruled from. During *Kuomboka* he went to Lubaci. It is also significant to know that it was during Yeta III's reign that Naliele in Mankoya (now Kaoma) and Nanda in Baluvale (now Zambezi) were established.

2.4. *Kuomboka* in the Colonial era

Throughout the British colonial era, the Lozi elite saw themselves as subjects of the British Monarch. They used their special relationship with the British to press home their own demands for political or economic assistance.⁶⁵ It is in this context that Zambian critics of *Kuomboka* view the ceremony as a European tradition celebrated as a sense of identity that include Barotseland's distinctively British colonial past. However, it is very important to state that what is celebrated during *Kuomboka* is not the subordination of the Lozi peoples to British colonialism, but rather what the Lozis perceive as a relationship between equals – 'a friendship'.

The Lozi people asserted that their ancestors hated to be away from the healthy and productive Buluzi flood plain. After 1924, however, the nature of its production and culture changed irreversibly. Barotseland suffered the effects of a colonial economy that valued the region only as a labour reserve and source of tax revenue.⁶⁶ The end of slave and tribute labour, accompanied by male labour migration to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia led to the neglect of the fertile lands of the Buluzi flood plain.

The buildings developed by Lewanika I at Lealui also declined, and some remained little more than ruins with no essential facilities. Its population too reduced to a few hundreds. British administrators encouraged many Lozis to abandon their plain homes and live permanently on the margins most marked round the British Overseas Military Administration (BOMA) centre of

Mongu and various missions⁶⁷ which offered markets for agricultural products, employment, access to schools and health services.⁶⁸ Many of the educated and most productive also left the flood plain to work in other parts of Northern Rhodesia. Thus at the expense of their tradition, time, labour and money were more valuable to the Barotse. However, this is not to say all Lozis completely left the plain margins. Many of them returned from other parts of Northern Rhodesia and took part in *Kuomboka* when it was due. Some paddled the royal barge while others watched the arrival of the *Kuomboka* procession from the shore.

Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai observed that from 1919 to 1924 there was no *Kuomboka* due to low waters.⁶⁹ This does not contradict the view of holding *Kuomboka* when there were low floods in 1978, 1979, 1997 and 2005. The flood was high in 1925 and *Kuomboka* was therefore necessary.⁷⁰ In that year, Yeta III did not move to Lubaci as before but instead went to Kama in spite of the resistance from Senior Indunas. Yeta III did not pay attention to those objections. At Kama, he had dreams. He saw visions similar to those of Sipopa. He finally fell sick. Mukelabai stated that Yeta III's indunas consulted a witch doctor who also told them that the West of the river was not for the Kings.⁷¹ They had to advise the King to return to Lealui before more serious calamities could befall him. The witch doctor further reminded the indunas of the death of Kandundu, Sipopa's sister, the unrest among Sipopa's subjects and also of the mysterious disappearance of Sipopa in the forests of Sesheke.⁷² This was interpreted as the disapproval of the advice to move capitals to the West.

During the *Kuomboka* procession, *Nalikwanda* was the first vessel to land. *Nalikwanda* paddlers sat on the edge of the bulwarks and waited for the *Notila* which moved Yeta III. When it arrived, the *maoma* played and the women ululated "Aciiii, aci, acicicici."⁷³ The rest of the vessels landed one by one until most of the lucky ones to find space had landed, and then the *maoma* stopped

playing. A temporary silence fell upon the crowd as Mukubesa and Mulamata opened the mats that closed the door of the *Notila*'s canopy. At that moment, the two knelt down as soon as they opened the door. The paddlers in the bows of *Notila* like the rest of the crowd on the bank and the crew and passengers of all the vessels also knelt down. Finally, Yeta III came out of the canopy holding a small white umbrella in the left hand and the *Namaya* (royal fly switch) in the right hand.

As Yeta III, came out of the *Notila*, people stood up, the men roared the royal salute (*Kushowelela*) and the women ululated “*Acicici. Ana ku bona he*”.⁷⁴ The *sinkoya* band, like most of the *Notila* and *Nalikwanda* paddlers, by now, knelt on the bank among the crowd waiting for the Litunga. The Litunga then stepped out of *Notila* on to the land and immediately the *sinkoya* band struck up “*kutambokisa*” and headed for his royal palace. On the death of the Litunga, it was the *Notila* and not the *Nalikwanda* which was sunk.⁷⁵ This was an indication that *Notila* and not *Nalikwanda* was the Litunga's recognised royal ‘state barge’.

During the colonial period, missionaries imparted carpentry skills to the people of Barotseland. William Harrington senior, popularly known as ‘*Matepeta*’ was among the earliest recipients. He could have also acquired informal carpentry skills from his father, a Scottish carpenter. Sikota observed that Harrington was employed as carpentry instructor by the PEMS at Barotse National School (now Kambule Technical High School) in 1929.⁷⁶ However; he quit his employment in 1930, got a timber license and started a carpentry shop at Kalongola in present day Senanga district.⁷⁷

When the BRE needed boats for royal travels, Harrington built a sample barge for the Litunga but was rejected on account of not meeting royal standards. On the other hand, Sikota pointed

out that Mr. Bass (an Arab) popularly known as ‘*Situnda*’ was Harrington’s rival in boat making in Barotseland.⁷⁸ In consultation with Litia Yeta III in the 1930s, Mr. Bass made a ‘state barge’ known as *Matende*. It was a marvelous piece paddled by thirty paddlers and decorated with vertical dull scarlet and creamy white stripes using dried clay and chalkstone or dried *makenge* roots for the creamy colour.⁷⁹ The *Matende* impressed the Litunga and made the latter to turn his attention to Mr. Bass and not Harrington. In the later years, Mr. Bass also made the *Mbolyanga*. In 1930, Yeta III established Limulunga and built the present Palace in 1933. It is also important to know that it was during the reign of Litia Yeta III that the Zambezi district ceased to be ruled by Malozi in May 1940.

According to Shita, no ordinary persons are allowed to sit or touch the *Nalikwanda*. Females are also forbidden to set foot in it.⁸⁰ They are also not permitted to see where it is constructed as they are associated with bad omens. Sikota stated that if females see where the *Nalikwanda* is constructed, the *Kuomboka* journey could be unsuccessful.⁸¹ However, these rules were slackened in 1936 when His Excellency, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Major Sir Hubert Young and his wife in the company of other members of the party like Mrs. Hamersley, the then District Commissioner travelled from Mongu to Lealui for official duties in the *Nalikwanda*.⁸² In 1957, -- when Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother visited Barotseland, she also had a privilege of moving in the *Notila*.⁸³ It was also a common practice during the colonial period for the District Commissioners and other officials to use the *Notila* on official duties.⁸⁴

Yeta III was retired in 1945 on health grounds.⁸⁵ He died in the same year and was succeeded by Imasiku Imwiko I. Yeta III’s Cenotaph (sitino) or grave is at Malumbo in Sinumuyambi area. His Ng’omboti (Royal Grave Keeper) is Imwauba. The tradition of the Litunga’s exclusive travel in *Notila* was lost after Yeta III’s reign. The Litungas that followed travelled in either

Nalikwanda or *Notila* as they wished. The present trend is that the Litunga travels in *Nalikwanda*. *Notila* is treated as a private barge for the Litunga which he only uses for other royal trips but not for the *Kuomboka*. It is not even present during *Kuomboka*.

Today, *Notila* is deprived its role of moving the *maoma* royal drums and its paddlers dress differently from those of *Nalikwanda*. *Notila* paddlers wear a headgear made of the tail feathers of the *mashewa* birds instead of the lion manes and animal skins they used to.⁸⁶ The *siluyana* and *sinkoya* royal drums, rather than *maoma*, are now carried on *Notila* whenever it has the Litunga on board during other royal duties. As observed also, *Nalikwanda* is just a generic name. The Litungas that followed Yeta III failed the tradition of praising their ‘state barges’ with *siluyana* names. They just referred to them as *Nalikwanda*, the name by which the ‘state barge’ is known today. The Lozi people not well vested in the Lozi history, tradition and custom also refer to the *Nalikwanda* as *Notila*.

Njamba Mushokabanji stated that Harrington never gave up his ambition of constructing the ‘state barge’. He copied Mr. Bass’s designs and made a sample barge in 1959 which impressed the Litunga.⁸⁷ That was Harrington’s turning point. In 1960, he made the *Nalikwanda* for Sir Mwanawina III whose designs were so much marvelous that they were copied by onlookers.⁸⁸ After the death of Harrington, the *Nalikwanda* and *Notila* were made by selected persons from Kalabo district using his techniques. Thus, barges which were made of materials collected from all parts of Barotseland are now constructed by chosen individuals at a fee.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the shifts and trends of *Kuomboka* from the seventeenth century up to the end of the colonial period. In the latter period, the Litungas moved between two capitals during

Kuomboka but no Litunga had permanent capitals. They changed their habitats from time to time dependent on advice from their ancestors. However, beginning the reign of Lubosi Lewanika I, this tradition was lost as permanent capitals were established. The assimilation of the Nkoya and Mbunda in Buluzi added flavour to the *Kuomboka* ceremony. The Nkoya provided the Litunga with magical powers critical for his Litungaship in the Palace and on water. They also provided the *Sinkoya* band which performs during *Kuomboka* where as the Mbunda women sung songs of praise and welcome at the end of the *Kuomboka* journey as is the case today at Nayuma harbour in Limulunga.

The discontinuation of *Kuomboka* during Kololo rule and how Sipopa revived the event in 1864 was also discussed. The chapter also observed how Missionaries taught Lewanika I and his subjects the technique of constructing larger barges. Furthermore, the discussion showed how the Lozi people abandoned their tradition of keeping two sets of huts. According to Lozi tradition, no ordinary persons were allowed to enter the *Nalikwanda*. In the colonial period, ordinary persons were allowed to enter and travel in the *Nalikwanda*. Such developments undermined the Lozi tradition and culture.

END NOTES

1. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 1985 – 2004, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
2. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
3. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
4. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
5. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
6. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
7. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010.
8. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010.
9. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010.
10. F. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa: A Record of Twenty Years Pioneering among the Barotsi of the Upper Zambesi* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897), p.224.
11. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
12. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
13. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
14. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
15. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
16. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010.
17. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010.
18. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
19. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010.
20. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010.
21. Y. W. Mupatu, *Mulambwa Santulu Uamuhela bo Mwene* (London: Macmillan, 1958), p.12.
22. C.R.C. Gervais, "History of Mankoya District," Rhodes Livingstone Institute Communication 4 (1945), p13.

23. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010.
24. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010.
25. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010.
26. M. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre- Colonial Zambia* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1973), p.61.
27. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.62.
28. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.64.
29. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.64.
30. K. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence: The Rise and fall of the Kololo Empire in Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century* (Lund: Almquist and Wiskell International, 1987), p. 53.
31. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 54.
32. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 54.
33. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 55.
34. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 56.
35. I.K.S. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi* (The Origin of the Lozi Kingship) typescript, 1959, privately owned, p.41.
36. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 56.
37. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 56.
38. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 57.
39. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 57.
40. Kayongo, *Reciprocity and Interdependence*, p. 58.
41. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.41.
42. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.41.
43. Akufuna, *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi*, p.42.
44. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
45. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.

46. F.S. Arnot, *Missionary Travels in Central Africa* (London: Alfred Holmes, 1914), p. 46.
47. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
48. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, p.224.
49. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, p.224.
50. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, p.224.
51. G. Prins, 'Bulozi during the period of primary European contact', 1876 – 1896, PhD Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1978, p. 233.
52. G. Cooper, 'Village Crafts in Barotseland' in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman (eds.), *The Rhodes – Livingstone Journal, Number Eleven; Human Problems in British Central Africa* (London: Buttler and Tanner Limited, 1951), p. 49.
53. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
54. NAZ BSE 1/10/6 5027, Barotse History, 1935 -36.
55. NAZ SEC2/364, Barotse: Paramount Chief's visit to England Vol. 1, 1936.
56. NAZ BSE Loc 5014, 1/8/10, Paramount Chief Mwanawina III General Correspondence, 1950 – 52.
57. Interview, Njamba Mushokabanji, 22nd August, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
58. Interview, Mulemwa Mubita, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
59. Interview, Mulemwa Mubita, 24th November, 2010.
60. Interview, Mulemwa Mubita, 24th November, 2010.
61. Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa*, p.224.
62. Mainga, *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings*, p.62.
63. Lawrence, 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The Kuomboka Festival of Western Zambia', p. 716.
64. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
65. B.E. Douglas, *Lozi* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, inc., 1998), p.7.
66. Douglas, *Lozi*, p.9.
67. Douglas, *Lozi*, p.9.

68. Douglas, *Lozi*, p.11.
69. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
70. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
71. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
72. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
73. Interview, Njamba Mushokabanji, 22nd August, 2010.
74. Interview, Njamba Mushokabanji, 22nd August, 2010.
75. Interview, Njamba Mushokabanji, 22nd August, 2010.
76. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
77. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
78. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
79. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
80. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010.
81. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
82. NAZ SEC2/364, Barotse: Paramount Chief's visit to England Vol. 1, 1936.
83. NAZ BSE Loc 5014, 1/8/10, Paramount Chief Mwanawina III General Correspondence, 1950 – 52.
84. NAZ BSE Loc 5028, 1/10/9, Barotse orders correspondence, 1936 – 53.
85. NAZ WP1/10/4 5281 Visit of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother to the Western Province Northern Rhodesia, 1957.
86. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
87. Interview, Njamba Mushokabanji, 22nd August, 2010.
88. Interview, Njamba Mushokabanji, 22nd August, 2010.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. KUOMBOKA AND POLITICS AFTER 1964

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the political influences on *Kuomboka*. In its original context, *Kuomboka* as a solution to the flood crisis was a local affair of the Litunga and his subjects. The latter submitted their problems to the Litunga through an Induna once he was evacuated and the Litunga through an Induna provided his subjects with solutions to the problems they faced. Today the situation is different. Due to politics, *Kuomboka* is centered on the Litunga and the guest of honour. When the Litunga disembarks from the *Nalikwanda* and gets to his palace, the guest of honour presents his political speech to the *Kuomboka* visitors and the Litunga's subjects are not accorded an opportunity to submit their problems to their King. However, we can state that apart from seeing the Litunga when presenting tributes to him or when he appeared before the *Kuta* on special occasions, *Kuomboka* provides an opportunity to hundreds of people to see him together. This chapter also discusses the change in *Kuomboka* attire after 1964 and how *Kuomboka* unifies different ethnic groups in western province.

3.2. Political influences on *Kuomboka*

After independence, the Republican President was made guest of honour to grace the *Kuomboka* ceremony and when he was busy with other National duties he sent his representative to grace the ceremony. Government Ministers and Councilors were also crowned as *Nalikwanda* paddlers. Such developments led to incidents where the determination of the *Kuomboka* was no longer wholly the preserve of the Litunga.

In 1965, President Kenneth Kaunda attended the *Kuomboka* ceremony¹ and public speculation held that he and his wife, Betty Kaunda, were on the *Nalikwanda* up to Nayuma harbour in Limulunga.² However, Mwanang'ombe Sikota (former Natamoyo) asserted that this was not true. He observed that in 1965 he was one of the *Nalikwanda* paddlers and that if it was so he could have confirmed it.³ Nevertheless, as the father of the nation, President Kaunda joined hundreds of people that waited for the arrival of Litunga, Sir Mwanawina III at Nayuma harbour.⁴

Fig. 4



Litunga Sir Mwanawina III; Source: Nayuma Museum, Limulunga.

Addressing *Kuomboka* visitors at Limulunga royal palace, President Kaunda pledged government support to flood victims.⁵ He also observed the need of evacuating inhabitants of the

flood plain so as to avoid loss of lives during floods.⁶ However, it is against the Lozi tradition and culture to evacuate people during floods in Buluzi before the Litunga leaves the Buluzi flood plain. It is only when the Litunga has left the flood plain that his subjects are expected to get to their higher mound homes.

Whenever President Kaunda graced the *Kuomboka* ceremony, he emphasised the need of unity throughout the country as the case was in 1970.⁷ This was in line with the ‘One Zambia, One nation’ political national slogan which was aimed at uniting all the 73 Zambian ethnic groups. The motto was intended to minimise ethnic rivalry and promote national development. According to Sikota, after 1970, many Lozi people in Buluzi and those in the diaspora did not welcome President Kaunda wholeheartedly⁸ whenever he graced the *Kuomboka* ceremony due to the abrogation of the Barotseland agreement of 1964 in 1969 by his government.⁹ Perhaps, this was the more reason President Kaunda did not regularly visit Barotseland and grace the *Kuomboka* ceremony after 1971 during the reign of Litunga, Imutakwandu Mbikusita Lewanika II.

Initially, no boat was permitted to proceed ahead of the *Nalikwanda*. However, Mubu Muyambango stated that *Natamikwa* (Surveillance canoe) also meaning “mother of all canoes” was introduced and went ahead the *Nalikwanda* to spy, check the depth of the waters and ensure the Litunga’s safe voyage.¹⁰ It also rescues tired paddlers and those thrown out of the *Nalikwanda* on account of poor paddling and also moves persons whom the Litunga wants to talk to from other barges. The *Natamikwa* is also responsible for helping those that intend to respond to the call of nature by moving them to private places and back to their respective barges. It is also the chief responsibility of *Natamikwa* to provide security to the Litunga though today the Litunga’s security rests in the hands of the government as the latter provide police

officers who move in the *Nalikwanda* and *Mbolyanga*. Probably this is necessitated by the presence of the Republican President or his representative during the ceremony.

Fig. 5



Natamikwa (Surveillance canoe) Source: Lusaka Times.

The *Mundende*, an alternative vessel of the *Natamikwa* follows the latter during *Kuomboka*.¹¹ The *Matende* is the next barge in the procession, and it is used for carrying palace property.¹² This canoe is of the same size as *Notila*, and together they are second to *Nalikwanda* in size, and only the *Nalikwanda*, and, perhaps the *Mbolyanga* should be bigger than them. The Litunga's principal royal consort, the *Moyoo Imwama*, travels in the next barge, which is called the *Mbolyanga*.¹³ It is painted in black and white stripes, like the *Nalikwanda*. But it carries no drums and on top of its canopy is placed a model of a bird called *Liowanyi* and not an elephant, as is the case with the *Nalikwanda*.

Fig. 6



On the left: the *Mbolyanga* with the *Liowanyi* on top of its canopy. Source: Lusaka Times.

Behind the *Mbolyanga* comes the *Njemina*,¹⁴ which carries the second ranking royal consort, the Mukena, when there is one, which has not been as common in the past, while the next barge the *Namoongo* carries the third ranking royal consort, the *Mbumba*, when there is one.¹⁵ The next barge, the *Namandibwe*, which refers to “meat”, carries the royal kitchen goods (*Lienga*), and is paddled by the *Lienga* staff.¹⁶ This barge is followed by the *Sabelele*,¹⁷ which carries the statutory King mother, the Mukwae Ngula or Makoshi, who since 1864 has been a sister, female cousin, daughter or niece of a reigning Litunga.¹⁸ The last barge *Nalikena*, which means cleanliness, carries the Prime Minister, the Ngambela.¹⁹ The *Nalikwanda* and other mentioned barges herein are accompanied by a flotilla of canoes. Some of these vessels carry private family members and may have private names.

In 1991 and beyond, politicians of different political parties pursued their political interests during the *Kuomboka* ceremony and even instructed the BRE on how best the event should be

organised. In 1992, the second Republican President, Fredrick Chiluba attended the *Kuomboka* ceremony after his victory in the 1991 elections.²⁰ Hundreds of Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD) supporters welcomed him at Mongu Airport. There was a heavy down pour during that event. After 18:00 hours, Ilute Yeta IV arrived at Nayuma harbour and disembarked from the ‘state barge’. President Fredrick Chiluba welcomed him and the two with umbrellas walked straight to the Limulunga Royal palace.

Fig. 7



Litunga Lubosi II – son of Imwiko: Since 2000 (October).
Source: Nayuma Museum, Limulunga – Mongu District.

His Majesty, the current Litunga, Lubosi Imwiko II, also referred to as *Bo Ingangwana* as royal respect, was installed as King of Barotseland on 13th October, 2000. Shita stated that the *Nalikwanda* for Imwiko II has an estimated travel distance of 34 kilometers; travel time of 7 – 8 hours to cover a distance of 15 kilometers from Lealui to Limulunga.²¹ It also takes about 120

plus paddlers and has a loading capacity of more than 11 tones. Thus 'state barges' constructed today in Buluzi are the largest human made objects.

According to public speculations, Imwiko II is a modern King who is not much attached to tradition due to his non occupation of the Lealui palace on grounds of its thin population and its lack of modern facilities such as waste facilities and accommodation. He has never stayed at Lealui – the headquarters of the BRE.²² He always stays at Limulunga palace which has a considerable population and other facilities. He only returns to Lealui when *Kuomboka* ceremony is due.

In 2001, politics took a centre stage in the selection of *Nalikwanda* paddlers. Prince Nathaniel Mubukwanu stated that persons that shared different views on the third term bid from those of the MMD cadres were not allowed to paddle the *Nalikwanda*.²³ The third term proposal was a political campaign by which President Fredrick Chiluba lobbied to run for a third term. This reduced the whole ceremony into a political activity.

The BRE distanced itself from political activities in 2003. It never wanted politics to encroach in its traditional or cultural events such as the *Kuomboka* ceremony. Simasiku Namakando, the Deputy Minister for Western Province observed that it was his desire that the people across political affiliation enjoyed themselves in a peaceful and conducive atmosphere.²⁴ Namakando asserted that political activities bring chaos and that was the reason the BRE did not want to entertain them during the event.²⁵ Despite calls and efforts by the BRE to stop politics during *Kuomboka*, politicians succeeded in using the event as a platform for their political motives. However, in spite of his stance against politics during *Kuomboka*, Namakando urged MMD cadres to chase those bent on disorganising the party in Western Province.²⁶

In his speech as guest of honour during the 2003 *Kuomboka* ceremony, Vice President Enoch Kavindele stated that the Mongu – Senanga road was underway and that funds were already released for the project.²⁷ He observed that the road was an important link for business and investment opportunities in the area. Kavindele challenged MMD cadres to explain to the people all developmental projects the government was taking to the people so as to strengthen the party in Western Province.²⁸

On *Liuwa* and *Sioma Ngwezi* national parks, Kavindele informed hundreds of *Kuomboka* visitors that the government was happy that the Litunga was of the opinion that there was nothing wrong with leasing out the two parks because they would benefit the local communities.²⁹ He observed that the two parks were depleted of animal species and needed to be restocked by the new investors. He further asserted that the Litunga was happy with the agreement as it embodied the construction of clinics, schools and the creation of employment for about 200 people. Kavindele stated that the arrangement would not deprive the people of western province of their natural resources.³⁰

During his tenure of office, President Levy Patrick Mwanawasa graced the event. It was only in 2007 when he did not do so on account of ill health. However, he was represented by his Defense Minister; George Mpombo.³¹ While *Kuomboka* ceremony retains some of its age old functions such as reinforcing the Lozi's sovereign prestige and power, the cultural ceremony also enables the Lozi and other non Lozi speaking people in western province to “live in unity as one people.”³² It is for this reason, that President Mwanawasa in 2007 committed his government to promoting the ceremony and other related cultural events in the country so as to encourage peace and unity.

In 2007, senior Chief Mukuni of the Toka Leya, Tonga chiefs from Southern province, Chief Mushili of the Lamba participated in the *Kuomboka* ceremony.³³ In 2008, Chief Ndungu of the Luvale and Kapijimpanga of the Kaonde sent their representatives to attend the *Kuomboka* ceremony.³⁴ In 2009, Chief Mumena, also of the Kaonde, attended the *Kuomboka* ceremony. The fact that Chiefs from other parts of Zambia and within western province attend the *Kuomboka* is a testimony that the ceremony strengthens peace and unity.

Fig. 8



Chief Mumena of the Kaonde people during the 2009 *Kuomboka* ceremony; Source: Lusaka Times.

Within Western province, the Nkoya, Kwengo, Mbunda, Luvale, Subiya, Totela, Kwamashi, Kwangwa and Nyengo also annually attend the *Kuomboka* ceremony. During the ceremony, the Nkoya provide the *sinkoya* band music while the Mbunda women sing songs of praise and welcome to the Litunga at *Nayuma* harbour.³⁵ The participation of non Lozi people not only

afford them an opportunity to observe at close quarters how the Lozi conduct their traditional ceremony but it also enhances understanding, cooperation and goodwill between the Lozi people and them. It also goes to say, as these ethnic groups meet at *Kuomboka*, they feel that they are one people under the Litunga. To this effect, it can be asserted that *Kuomboka* is a unifying factor in Buluzi and to a larger extent it fosters co-operation among the Barotse ethnic groups and lessens ethnic rivalry in western province.

It is a general practice during *Kuomboka* for the guest of honour to meet his Majesty the Litunga at Lealui to discuss matters of social, cultural, political and economic development. Upon the Litunga's departure for Limulunga, the guest of honour is either airlifted or travels by road to Limulunga where he waits for the arrival of the Litunga together with the rest of the general public. This has always been the case with the former republican presidents that graced the festival.

It is also important to know that when the *Nalikwanda* was initially used as a 'state barge', it evacuated the Litunga, his principal wife, other wives, concubines (*basizana ba kwalapa*) and children from the flood plain to the higher mound.³⁶ After 1964, the BRE's rituals on the *Nalikwanda* which did not allow ordinary persons to enter it continued to be slackened. In this context, we see the guest of honour and other government officials accompanying the Litunga on the *Nalikwanda* during the *Kuomboka* procession. For example, during the 2008 *Kuomboka* ceremony, Vice President Rupiah Banda boarded the royal barge with the Litunga at Lealui and was on the voyage up to Limulunga.³⁷ The two disembarked from the *Nalikwanda* and walked to the Litunga's royal palace.

After Mwanawasa's demise, Rupiah Banda was elected as the Republican President of Zambia at the close of 2008. During the 2010 *Kuomboka* ceremony, political squabbles arose between the ruling party, MMD and the opposition party, Patriotic Front (PF). Across the country, opposition party leaders and their supporters carried a red card campaign against the MMD as they disagreed with its political and economic policies.³⁸ Red cards were devised to de – campaign the ruling government ahead of the 2011 tripartite general elections. The PF spokesperson Given Lubinda in the company of Ndola Central PF parliamentarian Mark Mushili arrived at Mongu Airport minutes before President Banda's plane touched down. They passed with some boxes through the sizeable crowd waiting for President Banda's arrival. This triggered suspicion in the minds of the MMD youths led by former Mongu Mayor Charles Akende, who was also the provincial youth treasurer.³⁹

Clad in an imitation of a United States Army camouflage, Akende mobilised a paltry number of ruling party youths. He spread them around and ensured the removal of Given Lubinda and Mark Mushili's entourage from the Airport perimeter so that they could fail to flash the red cards at President Banda. Akende observed that the MMD in Barotseland was worried about the red card campaign and it was to that effect that the ruling party in the region vowed to stop such activities at all costs.⁴⁰ MMD cadres queued up at *Kapulanga* market down the road leading to the Airport from Mongu town and dealt with anyone who flushed red cards.

Fig. 9



President Rupiah Banda arrives in Mongu. Source: *Lusaka Times*

MMD officials differed as President Banda's plane touched down at Mongu Airport to grace the 2010 *Kuomboka* ceremony. The MMD youths were not happy with Cabinet Ministers and District Commissioners who paraded themselves to shake hands with the President. The Provincial youth chairperson, Njamba Musangu observed that they were already given jobs and thus were not supposed to parade themselves but give chance to those that had not been given jobs.⁴¹ On the other hand, cadres ran along the Airport perimeter. They raised leaflets which they showed the Litunga and President Banda and shouted "RB 2011", a political chant coined to appeal to the general public that attended *Kuomboka* ceremony to vote for Rupiah Banda in the 2011 tripartite elections. The United Party for National Development (UPND) was also among other political parties that sold their Presidential candidates.

Fig. 10



President of the opposition UPND political party Hakainde Hichilema (HH) with his supporters; **Source: Lusaka Times**

Politics in the post colonial period has had a great impact on Barotseland and this affected *Kuomboka* too. According to the BRE, certain animals like *ngwe*, *twane*, *sipa*, *ling'au*, *mbao* and lions were reserved for use by the Litunga and those of the royal palace. Skins for these animals were used as attire for the *Nalikwanda* paddlers. Initially, paddlers wore lion manes. With the abrogation of the Barotseland agreement of 1964 in 1969, Litunga Sir Mwanawina III lost powers over Barotseland to the Zambian government.⁴² Animals and birds are now protected by State law. Thus permission is required before any of these can be killed and a fee is paid to do so. Fees for these animals though small as they are, paid every year translate to huge sums. It is for this reason that red berets were introduced in place of lion manes as traditional head dress for royal paddlers. It must be stated that the abrogation of the Barotseland agreement of 1964 remains a burning issue in the minds of the Barotse. When the BRE and the government differ on

this issue, *Kuomboka* is not performed. Such developments have negative effects on the Lozi tradition and culture.

During *Kuomboka*, women dress in *misisi* while all men dress in *liziba* and red berets. There is no specific attire for the *Kuomboka* guest of honour and therefore, he is expected to put on the *siziba* and the red beret just like all men do on the occasion. After independence, all guests of honour such as President Kenneth Kaunda, Fredrick Chiluba and Levy Patrick Mwanawasa or their representatives when they were unable to grace the event dressed in the *liziba* and red berets. This demonstrated their recognition and support of the Lozi tradition. Originally, red berets signified that paddlers paddled a barge containing royal drums.⁴³ Today, the paddlers' red berets symbolise blood which they are willing to shed if necessary to protect the Litunga. The red berets and the ivory bangles remain modern day symbols for the Lozi people.

The Lozi people did not introduce the red beret just for a child's play. Nothing is more traditional than the red beret. The seriousness with which the Lozi people attach to the adorning of the red beret is seen in the way the palace guards (*bo imilema*) crack their whip at anyone who wears the red beret (*lishushu*) in a disrespectful manner.⁴⁴ In the not so distant past, the red beret was only worn by the paddlers and those that were honoured to be in the Litunga's presence during *Kuomboka* or any other important Lozi tradition. The only people who do not put on red berets during *Kuomboka* are the caretakers of the past Litungas' cenotaphs or gravesites herein called *ling'omboti*. This group of people that are usually very close behind the Litunga during *Kuomboka* or indeed any other Lozi traditional event put on white berets and flowing coats and at times they are mistaken for surgeons.

President Rupiah Banda arrived at the 2010 *Kuomboka* ceremony clad in a white instead of a red beret like those worn by his ministers and other citizens.⁴⁵ This sparked demagoguery. Non Lozi and several *Kuomboka* visitors wondered why President Banda wore a white beret instead of the red beret he put on in 2008 and 2009. His action became a talking and laughing point even as those around him seemed not to notice the unusualness in the President's attire. In this context, by virtue of his wearing of a white beret, President Rupiah Banda's status resembled that of royal grave care takers for the former Litungas.

Staunch Lozi traditionists held that President Banda's white beret was unprecedented. They observed that the President was supposed to have been advised that the red and not the white beret was appropriate during *Kuomboka* ceremony.⁴⁶ Indeed people that saw President Banda in a white beret were surprised. The Lozis and many other *Kuomboka* visitors observed that the Litunga did not advise the Republican President on the desired beret for *Kuomboka* when the two had a private talk at Lealui royal palace or the President just ignored the situation. Nevertheless, we can conclude that no proper traditional advice was given to the President.

Public speculation held that the reason for the President to have worn a white beret at the 2010 *Kuomboka* ceremony was political. Across the country, opposition party leaders and their supporters carried a red card campaign against the MMD as they disagreed with its political and economic policies. Father Frank Bwalya of the Roman Catholic Church took a center stage in that campaign.⁴⁷ If the President had put on a red beret, he could have been perceived as supporting the red card campaign against his own party and government. Therefore, it was for this reason that he put on a white beret so as to counter his critics.

Fig. 11



Litunga Lubosi Imwiko II with President Rupiah Banda during the 2010 *Kuomboka* Ceremony: Source: Lusaka Times

Addressing *Kuomboka* visitors at the Royal Palace Pavilion (RPP), President Rupiah Banda pledged that his Government would take development to the most remote parts of the Chiefdom. The President also stated that Chiefs were key to development and that was the more reason the government provided them with vehicles to enable them reach their subjects and spearhead development.⁴⁸ On floods, President Rupiah Banda observed that the impact in the western province was not as adverse as in other parts of the country such as the Northern and Lusaka provinces.⁴⁹ He stated that the Government was mitigating such effects of climate change through initiatives such as the introduction of carbon tax aimed at reducing pollution levels.⁵⁰ As part of his Presidential responsibility, he appointed a group of eminent persons led by the first Republican President, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, to promote tree planting and reforestation as measures aimed at mitigating the negative impact of climate change.⁵¹ He also observed that

money for the construction of the Mongu – Kalabo road had been sourced following his recent visit to China and wondered why some sections of society described his trip to China as worthless.⁵² He told the people that in 2009 he had made a promise that the Mongu – Kalabo road would be constructed. He expressed happiness that his promise would be fulfilled.⁵³

President Banda also informed people that funds for the construction of Mongu – Luanda highway were being negotiated and expressed hope that the project would succeed.⁵⁴ Furthermore, he observed that feasibility studies for the Senanga – Sesheke road were being conducted.⁵⁵ He stated that once they were completed, the government would embark on resource mobilisation for the project.⁵⁶ The Litunga, who was not a common figure, sat in public and listened to the political speech. He was reduced to an audience. Thus, today, *Kuomboka* is mainly used as a political platform by the ruling government to win popularity by promising *Kuomboka* visitors and the local residents of various developmental projects.

According to the BRE, there are rules with regard to the turning of the *Nalikwanda*. If there was need for the *Nalikwanda* to turn, it was always to the right and not left.⁵⁷ Smoking and taking snuff is also strictly forbidden in the *Nalikwanda*. It is also a taboo for paddlers to board the *Nalikwanda* with materials at their feet or their personal property apart from the garments they wore at the time.⁵⁸ However, in 2010, politics undermined the BRE tradition as Clement Sinyinda (Deputy Minister of Education) and Situmbeko Musokotwane (Minister of Finance) wore spectacles and the latter a wrist watch also in the *Nalikwanda*.⁵⁹

Fig. 12



Clement Sinyinda and Situmbeko Musokotwane as paddlers of the *Nalikwanda*; Source: *Lusaka Times*, 8th April, 2010.

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that in the post colonial period *Kuomboka* took a different shape and agenda. After 1964, politics had too much influences on *Kuomboka* as politicians pursued their interests during the ceremony. Today, *Kuomboka* ceremony has ceased to be wholly the preserve of the Litunga as politicians even direct the BRE on how best to organise it. The event is also used as a political platform by the ruling party to appeal to *Kuomboka* visitors to support its political and economic pursuits. Opposition parties also do the same and eventually clash with the ruling party cadres. The chapter also demonstrated how *Kuomboka* attire changed after 1964. The BRE replaced the lion manes with red berets and the latter became appropriate attire during *Kuomboka*. However, many *Kuomboka* visitors violate the Barotse tradition as they do not put on

the correct attire during the event or put on the correct one in an appropriate manner. These meet the wrath of the *imilema*.

After 1964, modern Lealui and Limulunga remained permanent capitals for the BRE. However, it is important to state that despite Lealui being the BRE's headquarters, the Litunga, Lubosi Imwiko II, never stays there on account of its poor infrastructure and sanitation. He always stays in Limulunga and only returns to Lealui when *Kuomboka* is due. The unifying tenets of *Kuomboka* were also discussed. The chapter observed that the participation in the ceremony by all ethnic groups in western province ensures peace and unity.

END NOTES

1. President Kenneth Kaunda, “Speech by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, on the occasion of the 1965 *Kuomboka* Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia on 2nd February, 1965 at Limulunga Royal Palace.
2. Interview, Edwin Kashanga, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
3. *Times of Zambia*, April 17th, 1965.
4. Present Kaunda “Speech” cited.
5. Present Kaunda “Speech” cited.
6. Prince Akashambatwa Lewanika, In Africa Lineki Carrier, p.13.
7. President Kenneth Kaunda, “Speech by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, on the occasion of the 1970 *Kuomboka* Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia on 3rd March, 1970 at Limulunga Royal Palace.
8. Interview, Mwanang’ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 1985 – 2004, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
9. Interview, Mwanang’ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
10. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
11. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
12. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
13. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
14. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
15. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
16. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
17. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
18. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
19. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010.
20. *The Post Newspaper*, February 16th 1992.

21. Interview, Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
22. Barotse Royal Establishment, *Kuomboka Ceremony: Background Information* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1989), p.4.
23. *The Post Newspaper*, April 2nd, 2001.
24. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
25. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
26. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
27. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
28. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
29. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
30. *Times of Zambia*, May 13th, 2003.
31. President Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, "Speech by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Levy Patrick Mwanawasa, SC, on the occasion of the 2007 *Kuomboka* Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia on 19th April, 2007 at Limulunga Royal Palace.
32. Interview, Mung'anga Kamung'ondo Elvis, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
33. Interview, Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, 13th July, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
34. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
35. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010.
36. Interview, Induna Muyambango Mubu, 21st August, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
37. Interview, Edwin Kashanga, 24th November, 2010.
38. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
39. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
40. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
41. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
42. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.

43. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
44. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010.
45. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
46. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
47. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
48. President Rupiah Bwezani Banda, "Speech by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia, Mr. Rupiah Bwezani Banda, on the occasion of the 2010 *Kuomboka* Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia on 17th April, 2010 at Limulunga Royal Palace.
49. Present Banda "Speech" cited.
50. President Banda "Speech" cited.
51. President Banda "Speech" cited.
52. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
53. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
54. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
55. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
56. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
57. Interview, Edwin Kashanga, 24th November, 2010.
58. Interview, Edwin Kashanga, 24th November, 2010.
59. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS OF *KUOMBOKA*, 1965 – 2010

4.1. Introduction

Kuomboka is a ceremonial event of cultural significance. It arose in the context of a solution when gardens and grazing areas were inundated and when the mounds on which so many of the inhabitants of Bulozhi lived became host to millions of rats, snakes and fearless white ants that consumed the very buildings that people constructed to live in. The concept of *Kuomboka* was developed as an answer to that annual problem. It was a local affair. With time, fortunately or unfortunately, *Kuomboka* developed into a national ceremony. This chapter discusses the economic transformation of *Kuomboka*. It opens with a discussion of *Kuomboka* as a tourist attraction. The study also gives the history of the *Kuombokas* of Nalolo – Moyo and Mulena Mboanjikana of Libonda. It argues that little attention is given to them despite the important role they occupy in the history of the Lozi people. The chapter also observes that once *Kuomboka* was commercialised, its holding became unavoidable even during low floods with a view of satisfying tourist interests.

4.2. *Kuomboka*, a tourist attraction

From its genesis, *Kuomboka* was a local affair organised by indunas. It was a small event attended by just few people. Those who lived a distance away from the royal capital never bothered to attend. Thus the idea about *Kuomboka* as we know it today was absent. *Kuomboka* was not a ceremony but merely a movement from water to higher grounds. After independence, efforts were made to boost tourism in the country. In this regard, we see the establishment of the Zambia National Tourist Bureau (ZNTB) in May, 1965 to market tourist attractions like game parks, water falls and cultural ceremonies.¹ The ZNTB advertised cultural ceremonies such as

Kuomboka within and outside the country. In the 1970s, *Kuomboka* turned into a ceremony² and probably, it was for this reason that the *Kuomboka – Kufuluhela* committee was established by Litunga, Imutakwandu Mbikusita Lewanika II in 1971 to ensure its successful hosting.

The date for *Kuomboka* was only known by the BRE and was only announced a few days before it was due. However, from 1971, the day for the event ceased to be wholly the preserve of the BRE.³ The government and the *Kuomboka – Kufuluhela* committee are also key custodians. It is only when logistics such as security, dancing troops (and their musical ensembles); accommodation, food and transport for the invited guests are in order that the committee advises the BRE to stage the *Kuomboka*. Thus royal graves are no longer consulted as the case was in the recent past when coming up with the *Kuomboka* date. Today, *Kuomboka* is held during the Easter holiday.

The Zambia National Tourist Bureau changed its name to Zambia National Tourist Board (ZNTB) in 1979.⁴ The latter was an autonomous statutory board that implemented all government policies on tourism. It promoted Zambia as an attractive tourist destination and also facilitated and coordinated at the national level all developmental activities of the tourism industry. It also popularised traditional ceremonies. It provided information on *Kuomboka* ceremony to its overseas offices as well as to local and international travel agencies. In return, these offices gave full information regarding *Kuomboka* ceremony to people so that they could know and appreciate the event. The Board anticipated that once such information was provided many people would be attracted and attend the ceremony. Furthermore, the ZNTB facilitated the travel and lodging arrangements of the tourists. This is not to say that the Board met the costs of travel and lodge for the tourists but that it ensured that travel documents of tourists coming to

Zambia were efficiently worked on. The Board did so by working in collaboration with some co-operating organisations of respective nations across the world.

Today, Europeans, Asians and American tourists also attend the *Kuomboka* ceremony which rival Zambia's game parks and the Victoria Falls as an attraction. Some arrive in the country seven days before the ceremony. They are accommodated in international standard hotels like Inter Continental, Taj Pamodzi, Sun International and other fabulous lodges⁵ which provide them luxurious lodging beside the food of their country of origin as the proprietors of these hotels and lodges are mostly foreigners who provide International menus to their clients.

It is imperative to state that *Kuomboka* ceremony is mainly attended by local African tourists from different parts of Zambia. They travel to Limulunga via Mongu so as to be part of the rich cultural heritage of the Lozi people.⁶ *Kuomboka* is a spectacular event. Every mind focus on the beauty of the occasion and it is irresistible. Dancing to the tune of the royal sounds happen sporadically. The air is filled with joy and ululations. The event assume greater significance as it graduates from being an event of the Barotse people to one that attracts considerable interest in people that are well beyond the boundaries of the Western Province.

Mr. Blackall, the then Director of ZNTB observed that in March, 1981 more than 21 foreign tourists attended the *Kuomboka* ceremony.⁷ He held that this was the kind of development Zambia needed. Blackall observed that it was a start of a particularly valuable break through in exploiting the lucrative European market.⁸ Blackall stated that for every Kwacha the Board spent; Zambia accrued not less than K3, 500.00 in terms of profit.⁹ Thus the success of the *Kuomboka* ceremony accord the nation an opportunity to market Zambia as an important tourist destination. For many years now, the number of tourists that attend the ceremony has been

increasing. In 2003, the Vice President of the Republic of Zambia, Enoch Kavindele acknowledged that indeed *Kuomboka* is the best tourist attraction. Speaking after a thousand people witnessed the arrival of Litunga Lubosi Imwiko II at the plateau palace in Limulunga, Vice President Kavindele urged the ZNTB to market the traditional ceremony internationally.¹⁰ He further stated that the government was encouraged by the interest shown by the Lozi people in their tradition which has been in existence for more than a century. Kavindele held that the government would use *Kuomboka* ceremony as an example to encourage other people involved in other traditional ceremonies to support the promotion of culture.¹¹ The Vice President was particularly impressed that the paddlers were composed of young and old people aged between 19 and 90 years old. Such selection of paddlers ensures the passing of traditional and cultural norms from one generation to another.

Today, the *Kuomboka* weekend provides an opportunity for motorists to reap profits. Gift Limbali, a bus driver for Shalom Bus services observed that on normal days, their company has three buses on the Mongu – Lusaka route but during *Kuomboka* weekend, the number increase to seven.¹² Ernest Mulenga, a conductor for Red Bomber Bus services also stated that their company had an increase on the number of buses to Mongu during *Kuomboka*. During normal weeks they only run two buses but for the period of the *Kuomboka*, they have up to five.¹³ Other companies such as Juldan Motors, Mazhandu family bus services and Barotse Express had similar observations and held that during the *Kuomboka* weekend, the Lusaka – Mongu route is very profitable due to an influx of people who want to attend the *Kuomboka* ceremony.

There has been an increase in the number of accommodation facilities around Mongu but not enough to cater for the huge influx of people that travel to celebrate *Kuomboka*. Due to this situation, hoteliers take advantage of *Kuomboka* visitors. To them, *Kuomboka* is the time when

they reap the most out of their investments. Applying the law of supply and demand, the hotel and lodge owners like *Ngulu – ta – utoya*, *Liambayi* and Cross Roads inflate accommodation rates from as low as K75, 000.00 on an ordinary day to as high as K800, 000.00 for an en – suite hotel room during the *Kuomboka* weekend.¹⁴ In 2004, the cheapest guest house room was K40, 000.00 on an ordinary day but increased to K80, 000.00 during the festive period.¹⁵ Due to acute shortage of accommodation in Mongu, Lealui and Limulunga, some communities in Mongu opened up their houses to accommodate people who could not access rooms in hotels and lodges. The ZNTB was grateful to residents who offered their houses to tourists during *Kuomboka* and hoped that they made a bit of money for themselves.¹⁶ The Board further appealed to communities to advertise their rooms so that people could confirm their reservations well in advance of the ceremony.¹⁷

During *Kuomboka*, all accommodation facilities in Mongu get fully booked. This is not to conclude that all their occupants get to Mongu to witness the *Kuomboka* procession. Some go to Mongu for their private businesses but the majority of them set out there to see the spectacular *Kuomboka* ceremony. The tables below show some of the Hotels, Motels, Rest Houses, Guest Houses and Lodges around Mongu and their accommodation capacity.

GUEST HOUSES

S/N	NAMES	CAPACITY
1	ALUSHENYE GUEST HOUSE	20
2	CAPITAL VIEW GUEST HOUSE	24
3	EIMBOE GUEST HOUSE	26
4	FABRIC GUEST ROOMS	18
5	FERIMA GUEST HOUSE	20
6	GREEN VIEW GUEST HOUSE	24
7	HIPPO SIDE GUEST HOUSE	16
8	ILYUKA GUEST HOUSE	20
9	KAMBAHARI GUEST HOUSE	28
10	KATUNGI GUEST HOUSE	20
11	KUSO GUEST HOUSE	24
12	LAMUKISIDA WHOLESALE AND GUEST HOUSE	16
13	LIFELO GUEST HOUSE	18
14	MANDANGA GUEST HOUSE	24
15	MAXSTEL GUEST HOUSE	04
16	MIYO GUEST HOUSE	22
17	MUCHABA 2000 GUEST HOUSE	18
18	MUNDI GUEST HOUSE	24
19	MUZANGA BANTU GUEST HOUSE	20
20	MY OTHER GUEST HOUSE	18
21	MY OWN GUEST HOUSE	22
22	NAMBOMA GUEST HOUSE	16
23	NAMUSUNGA PLEASURE RESORT GUEST HOUSE	22
	TOTAL	464

LODGES

S/N	NAMES	CAPACITY
1	NALUMBA LODGE I	24
2	NALUMBA LODGE II	20
3	NALUMBA LODGE III	20
4	CHEERS LODGE	16
5	KANYAMBI LODGE	10
6	GENERATION INN GUEST LODGE	12
7	MAJESTIC LODGE	16
8	KAMANAL LODGE	14
9	COUNTRY LODGE	12
10	DOLPHIN LODGE	10
11	MONGU LODGE	10
12	MWANDAMENA LODGE	16
13	LUMBA LODGE	12
14	LILAMWONO LODGE	10
15	MAMBUMBWE LODGE	08
	TOTAL	210

HOTELS, MOTELS AND REST HOUSES

S / N	NAMES	CAPACITY
1	HOLLYWOOD MOTEL I	16
2	HOLLYWOOD MOTEL II	16
3	LYAMBAI MOTEL	18
4	MUNYAMO REST HOUSE	12
5	NAJO TRANSIT ROOMS	10
6	NGULU HOTEL	14
7	SIR MWANAWINA III MOTEL	20
8	YETA MOTEL	10
	TOTAL	116

Grand Total = 790

Source: Field Research Data in Mongu District, November, 2010.

It is very important to know that due to shortage of accommodation, many *Kuomboka* visitors prefer arriving in Mongu on the actual day of the event. Lozis attend *Kuomboka* in the context of pilgrimage to celebrate their culture and pay homage to their King. Many non – Lozi *Kuomboka* visitors also find the event exciting. They come to view the spectacle although few people catch a glimpse of the Litunga and the ‘state barge’ or its voyage due to an influx of people. Non – Lozi Africans also come and immerse themselves in the event.¹⁸ While the ceremony is obviously Lozi, they are possessed as Zambian and more importantly as African. However, some see the ceremony as an authoritarian anachronism that threaten the supposedly libertarian values of modernity. Africans perceive *Kuomboka* as a celebration of African tradition and culture executed by Africans for Africans.

According to Doris Kofi, the Senior Marketing Manager for ZTB, it is not possible to stipulate the amount of money which the government accrues from a particular ceremony, Game Park or

the Victoria Falls due to the fact that the Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA) does not provide single financial statistics on each tourist attraction.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the paramount fact is that all lodges, motels, guest houses, hotels and other business houses registered with the Ministry of Commerce Trade and Industry pay tax to the government.

Prior to the ceremony, the town of Mongu is 'dull' as it has no 'features of life'. Once the *Kuomboka* ceremony is on, a number of activities flood the town and make it alive. The Lealui palace is located in the plains and to get there to witness the royal departure, tourists and subjects alike have to get on boats at the *Mulamba* harbour in Mongu. A boat ride from the latter to Lealui on an ordinary day fetch K10, 000.00 to K15, 000.00.²⁰ But during *Kuomboka*, a ride to Lealui fetches a return fare of as much as K100, 000.00.²¹ However, hiring the boat attracts as much as K1, 500,000.00.²² In the same vein, Taxi rides around Mongu fetches as little as K10, 000.00 at any time other than the *Kuomboka* day when fares go as high as K30, 000.00.²³

Generally, prices of commodities also skyrocket during *Kuomboka* ceremony. It is important however, to state that sometimes it is not so much the price or cost of a service that bring in more money but rather the turn over. The more people you are able to serve, the more money you are likely to make. On the other hand, Charity Lumpa asserted that exorbitant prices for commodities and services during *Kuomboka* ceremony have a negative impact on the cultural event as they discourage people from attending the festival.²⁴ Nevertheless, many Lozi and non Lozi *Kuomboka* visitors are aware of the fact that prices of food stuffs and accommodation skyrocket during the ceremony. Thus, financially, they prepare themselves long before the spectacular event is due. What is important to them is paying homage to the Litunga.

All tourists who travel to Mongu to witness the *Kuomboka* procession pay thousands of kwachas in transport, accommodation and feeding.²⁵ But what do they experience when they get to Mongu? For some, the occasion passes as glamorously as expected, while others suffer such misfortunes as being cheated by tour operators or being whipped by overzealous royal guards (*bo imilema*) for transgressing royal rules, culture or tradition. For instance, wearing any cap other than the bright red *lishushu* is offensive enough to attract the hippopotamus whip on one's back.

It is not unusual during *Kuomboka* ceremony to suffer the wrath of royal guards and when one does, the festive mood easily vanishes. For traditionalists, it is easier to contend with this situation but what effects does the act have on tourists, especially those coming from outside Zambia? Lumpa observed that as much as people should respect traditions, there remains much to be desired when these customs become injurious.²⁶ She observed that ZNTB appreciates the fact that traditional leaders must be respected but whipping people who have spent money to come and celebrate the event with you (Lozis) because they do not have a traditional cap on their heads or put on the right one in a disrespectful manner is very upsetting.²⁷ Lumpa held that these tourists go back to their countries with some impressions that either build or destroy our image. She observed that cultural associations would do well to advise the tourist board on the dos and don'ts of their ceremonies²⁸ so that the Board can in turn publicise the same in information brochures abroad and on the internet so as to avoid embarrassing the visiting tourists.²⁹ Lumpa further called for the exercise of some limit when dealing with foreign tourists.

Lumpa's observations on the undesirability of whipping erring tourists during *Kuomboka* are in direct conflict with the Lozi tradition. It is disrespectful and an insult to the Litunga by not putting on the proper attire during *Kuomboka* including the incorrect dress of the red beret on one's head.³⁰ Knowing that *Kuomboka* today is attended by not only people from the flood plain

but also those across the nation and beyond, the *Kuomboka – Kifuluhela* organising committee posts the dos and don'ts on its website so that all *Kuomboka* visitors understand and adhere to the rules established by the BRE.

Beside the pomp and splendour that characterise the *Kuomboka* ceremony, some tourists suffer losses in money and services. Lumpa stated that in 2004 seven tourists were left in the cold by a Lusaka based travel agent who failed to provide services to the tourists who had paid for the *Kuomboka* tour package.³¹ The tour package included a boat ride to and from Lealui palace, accommodation, food and transport around Mongu and to Limulunga.³² These tourists – most of them foreign – missed the royal departure as they set out making their own boat arrangements to ferry them to Lealui. Lumpa observed that at some point the ZNTB moved the stranded tourists from town to the harbour.³³ Furthermore, the Board asserted that it was unfair to fly in tourists and make them miss what they came for.³⁴ Apart from inconveniencing the tourists, the conduct painted a bad picture of Zambia's tourism industry abroad. Lumpa described that development as very unfortunate and observed that the ZNTB would pursue the matter seriously and verify the registration status of the agency in Lusaka and take appropriate action because the issue amounted to obtaining money by false pretence.

In the same vein, a foreign tourist who declined to be identified launched a formal complaint to the ZNTB on how lunch coupons issued to them by the agent were not honoured.³⁵ He observed that they arrived on a scheduled Zambian Airways and were met by the agent of the tour operator who drove them to a hotel where he said the services would be provided. However, upon reaching, the hotel management expressed ignorance of the arrangement. The hotel proprietor stated that the tour operator did not make any payments and did not even inform them about their coming.³⁶ The then ZNTB marketing manager, Tamara Gondwe complained that these tourists

spent more money on buying food.³⁷ Thus we can assert that such acts make the work of the Board very difficult because they distort the good image of Zambia's tourism overseas. The Zambia Tourism Board (ZTB) was established under Act no. 24 of 2007 with a mandate to promote Zambia as a preferred tourism destination both in the domestic and international markets. In implementing its mandate, the ZTB works closely and in partnership with both the public and private sectors. The ZTB promotes and campaigns for all the exceptional wonders that Zambia has to offer including traditional ceremonies such as *Kuomboka*.

Kuomboka visitors agree with the fact that the movement of the 'state barge' and the dance performed by the paddlers to the rhythm of the *Sinkoya* band are critical to tourist attraction. On the waters, the *Nalikwanda* for some time goes fast and does not follow the course to the destination. She sails in different directions as if she has gone out of control.³⁸ At this moment her paddlers show their paddling skills; they shake their lion mane caps on their heads; they shake to and fro throwing their bodies up as they paddle together in unison. When this is being done, there is no movement from any vessel as they all watch the barge play about on the water. After the *Nalikwanda* has satisfied herself of her performance, she returns to the fleet keeping well behind *Natamikwa*. Thus, today, *Nalikwanda* paddlers exhibit splendid dances and make the ceremony attractive and entice the spectators to continue attending it.

The nature of *Kuomboka*'s attraction is illuminated by contrasting it with another product of western Zambia's heritage industry. Opposite the Litunga's royal palace in Limulunga is the *Nayuma* Museum founded in 1984 by Litunga Ilute Yeta IV. The museum houses artifacts and provide a display case of Lozi history. Despite such importance, even during *Kuomboka*, many visitors overlook *Nayuma* and focus on the former.³⁹ The contrast in cultural meaning between *Kuomboka* and *Nayuma* contribute to *Kuomboka*'s greater popularity. As I previously observed,

Kuomboka visitors experience the festival as something typically Lozi and African. As the word ‘festival’ suggests, *Kuomboka* is not a static museum display – it is dynamic, innovative and participative. It lives, breathes and invites participation. These features make it adaptable and, concomitantly African. Thus *Kuomboka* ceremony offers visitors a more inclusive embrace that is prepared to adapt to contemporary social dynamics in a way that the *Nayuma* Museum find hard to replicate.

To the south of Barotseland lies Capirivi Strip, the northeastern Panhandle of Namibia and the former southern most component of Barotseland until it was removed by Britain and given away to Germany in 1890 and to South Africa in the Treaty of Versailles following the conclusion of the First World War.⁴⁰ Once South Africa realised the geopolitical significance of the area in the mid 1960s, Capirivi Strip received superior levels of investment and development. These differential levels of development continued after Namibian independence in 1990. Such developments made the Lozis who reside in Capirivi Strip to detach themselves from the Barotse royal activities and consequently stop attending the *Kuomboka* ceremony.

A number of efforts have been made to host successful *Kuomboka* ceremonies. From its birth in 1971, the *Kuomboka – Kufuluhela* committee partners with different companies to mobilise financial and material resources for the festival. In 2004, the Zambia State Insurance Corporation (ZSIC) was the official sponsor of the *Kuomboka* ceremony. It dressed *Kuomboka* paddlers through a donation of 400 ZSIC T – shirts worth K11 million.⁴¹ The donation was made to the BRE at Limulunga by the ZSIC Managing Director, Irene Muyenga.⁴² This gesture was a way of officially announcing the Insurance Company’s presence in the province after establishing a permanent office in the area in 2001. In 2006, the *Kuomboka* organising committee raised K200 million for the event. This amount supplemented what the elders in Barotseland mobilised for the

ceremony.⁴³ In the same year, the committee also launched the *Kuomboka* website which marketed the ceremony to the entire world so that people could appreciate the Lozi tradition and culture.

On the eve of the 2010 *Kuomboka* ceremony, the Railway System of Zambia (RSZ) donated K10 million to the Kabwe *Kuomboka - Kufuluhela* committee towards the organisation of that year's *Kuomboka* ceremony.⁴⁴ Induna Sibeti commended RSZ for partnering with the BRE and the RSZ chief executive officer Benjamin Even hoped for the continuity of the partnership and interaction even when there was no *Kuomboka*.⁴⁵ Zain – Zambia donated K50 million to kick start the 2010 ceremony.⁴⁶ And MTN – Zambia also donated K175 million towards the organisation and success of the *Kuomboka*.⁴⁷ MTN – Zambia company brand and sponsorship manager Sally Namutowe observed that MTN – Zambia would continue giving back to the communities from a corporate social responsibility perspective.⁴⁸ The Czech Republic, British and American Embassies also provided financial support to the BRE to meet the logistical costs of the event.⁴⁹

Initially, 'state barges' used during *Kuomboka* were indigenously made. In 2010, the RSZ donated K20 Million towards the purchase of a royal barge for the Ngambela of Western Province.⁵⁰ Benjamin Even observed that RSZ valued traditional ceremonies such as the *Kuomboka* of the Lozi and thus felt obliged to contribute towards the successful hosting of the event.⁵¹ The donation was also part of the company's corporate social responsibility programme. However, we can conclude that the purchase of the 'state barge' for the BRE demonstrates that the Lozi people have abandoned their tradition of constructing 'state barges'.

MTN – Zambia, Zain – Zambia, Cel – Z, Jordan Motors and Zambia National Commercial Bank donated T – Shirts and chitenge materials to the BRE to dress the royal participants of the

Kuomboka in 2010.⁵² Companies like National Milling, Zambeef, Zambia Sugar, National Breweries and Zambia Bottlers also donated their products to the BRE.⁵³ Furthermore, Andrew Kurt donated mobile toilets to service people that attended the *Kuomboka* ceremony. With such developments, we can assert that the success of *Kuomboka* today depend on many co-operating partners who provide material and financial support to the BRE.

Nowadays, *Kuomboka* provides a marketing ground for business companies. Many local and Multinational companies discussed above advertise their businesses during the ceremony. The intention for these companies is to win market for their products not only throughout the nation but also to the tourists coming from different parts of the world. Small scale business proprietors also sell their merchandise during the ceremony.

When the *Kuomboka* date is set, paddlers assemble at Lealui and the criterion used in choosing them is not known. According to public speculation, the giving of T – shirts bearing the trade marks of official sponsors for *Kuomboka* to individuals is an assurance of paddling the *Nalikwanda* or *Natamikwa*.⁵⁴ Persons are also just assigned boats to paddle and paddle in whichever position they cherish. Those who do not receive T – shirts are not allowed to participate in paddling. Such aspects demonstrate how far *Kuomboka* has been embraced in the money economy.

Manyando Kabeta observed that in the reign of Ilute Yeta IV, men of Royal blood had their paddling positions in the *Nalikwanda* reserved.⁵⁵ Critical on this issue was that they maintained positions held by their forefathers in the *Nalikwanda*. For example, if their forefathers paddled in front or side or back of the ‘state barge’, they maintained the same. Edwin Kashanga observed that paddlers were to be competent, disciplined and of endurance in paddling.⁵⁶ They were also

to be able to paddle at both sides of the *Nalikwanda*. This point ruled out the tradition which automatically allowed paddlers to occupy positions held by their forefathers in the *Nalikwanda*.

Nalikwanda paddlers must be prepared to return paddles, *lindelwa* and lion manes (*mashushu*) issued to them to the Natamoyo and are to remain seated in the *Nalikwanda* until the last beat of the *maoma*.⁵⁷ Above all, the would be paddlers are to be prepared to load and off load the Litunga's belongings including the *maoma*. In this context, priority is given to those who rendered services in the preparation of *Kuomboka* or the return journey from Limulunga to Lealui known as *Kufuluhela*. Observations of such rules during *Kuomboka* ceremony is a sign of respect to the Litunga. It should be stated that the Litungas also participated in the paddling of the 'state barge' if they so wished. The Litunga even came out of the *Notila* and inspected paddlers and advised if one or two did not paddle normally. This tradition was lost after the reign of Ilute Yeta IV.

With the commercialisation of the *Kuomboka* ceremony, guests of honour are allowed to enter the *Nalikwanda* so as to delight the tourists. Perhaps, this is the reason the then Vice President of the Republic of Zambia, Enoch Kavindele was allowed in 2003 to accompany the Litunga on the royal barge up to *Nengwana* where the Litunga sounds the drums to signify the success of the ceremony.⁵⁸ In 2010, President Rupiah Banda was also allowed to get in the *Nalikwanda* before the Litunga's journey to Limulunga started. He was also in the *Nalikwanda* with the Litunga up to Limulunga.⁵⁹

The Litunga rarely appeared in public and it was even difficult to see him during *Kuomboka*.⁶⁰ Today, seeing him is not an issue. He appears in public at Lealui before his departure for Limulunga to satisfy the tourists. When he emerges from the canopy of the *Nalikwanda* at

Nayuma harbour in Limulunga, he is greeted by the guest of honour and photographed by the tourists and accredited Journalists. With the liberalisation of the *Zambian* economy, photographers sell *Kuomboka* photos, video tapes, Video Compact Discs (VCDs) and Digital Video Discs (DVDs) at prices they desire.

Fig. 13



Vice President, George Kunda greets the Litunga during the 2009 *Kuomboka* ceremony at *Nayuma* Harbour. Source: *Lusaka Times*.

In 2010, a commercial pavilion with a capacity of 500 people was constructed at *Nayuma* harbour in Limulunga with complements of MTN – *Zambia* where people could sit and watch the *Kuomboka* activities. The pavilion’s Very Important Person (s) (VIP) tickets were sold at K100, 000.00 each on first – come – first – served basis to those that wished to have VIP treatment.⁶¹ In the same vein, the *Nayuma* harbour was wire fenced and the general public was levied to enter the premise. Mukelabai observed that sums of K10, 000.00 and K5, 000.00 were

paid by adults and children respectively to see the Litunga when he arrived from Lealui.⁶² Funds generated were used by the BRE to foot bills on *Kuomboka* expenses.

A month before the 2004 *Kuomboka* ceremony was due, Celtel – Zambia installed its network facilities in Mongu, Lealui and Limulunga.⁶³ It increased its clientele by taking advantage of *Kuomboka* which attracts many people. The increase in clientele raised its rate of turnover. Thus, communication established at a fast rate as a result of *Kuomboka*, connected Mongu, Lealui and Limulunga to the rest of Zambia and the world at large. It kept many *Kuomboka* visitors in touch with the outside world.

Business men and women also stand to benefit during the *Kuomboka* weekend. They sell indigenous and non traditional arts and crafts which include paintings, drawings, pots, curios, prints, and baskets.⁶⁴ During the *Kuomboka* weekend; women also prepare local beverages such as *sikokiana*, *sipesu mbote* and *sibamu* and sell to *Kuomboka* visitors. Monde Mbangweta held that during the *Kuomboka* ceremony of 2010, she generated about K306, 000.00 from the beer sales and paid school fees for her children at *Kanyonyo* Basic School.⁶⁵ Public speculation also held that girls aged between 14 and 17 years secluded for initiation purposes are graduated during the *Kuomboka* weekend. The weekend provides a platform for the initiates to be admired and consequently proposed and married by the well to do men who attend the ceremony. Admittedly, these are mere speculations as there is no evidence of relationships.

In the widest sense, there have been many *Kuombokas*. Since the occupation of the Barotse flood plains by Bantu speaking peoples, a single family or even a group of cows had their *Kuomboka* when they moved from flooded to the dry land.⁶⁶ But, today, there are only two prominent *Kuombokas*. These are for the Litunga and Mulena Mboanjikana of Libonda. Of the two, the

former is the one that is attended by large numbers of people though both follow the same pattern. It is very important to state that little attention is paid on the ‘mini’ *Kuombokas* of Nalolo – Moyo and that of Mulena Mboanjikana of Libonda, the senior chieftainess superintending Kalabo district and yet they occupy a critical role in the history of Buluzi and in particular the royal Kingship.

The permanent winter capital for Mulena Mukwae of Nalolo is Moyo. Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele observed that Moyo is on the forest edge to the east nearly 35 kilometers from Mongu and 70 Kilometers from Senanga on Limulunga – Senanga road.⁶⁷ It is by convention that the *Kuomboka* at Lealui – Limulunga and that at Nalolo – Moyo should not take place on the same day. After the main ceremony at Limulunga, A period of one week or more elapse before the other one at Moyo takes place. It is too not permissible, under any circumstances, for the Moyo *Kuomboka* to start before the Litunga’s at Lealui. There are no reasons given however, as to why a period of at least one week must pass between the two ceremonies. In the olden days only a few days were allowed to pass.

Today, the Nalolo – Moyo mini *Kuomboka* ceremony is rarely performed. Ananyatele observed that the colourful mini *Kuomboka* ceremony at Moyo only took place when the *Kuomboka* at Lealui did not take place in 1977 after Yeta IV’s installation and the latest being in 2001.⁶⁸ Those were the only years the people at Nalolo were allowed to move to Moyo. In 2001, the attendance at the event was poor due to royal problems. The traditional ruler at Nalolo did not pay particular attention to the staging of this event. She also lacked royal drums and had only recently been given an Nkoya Xylophone band. Moreover; her barge is not called *Nalikwanda*. Paramount to this event, are its traditional songs and dances. They are lost and not known to this generation.

The non performance of this mini *Kuomboka* deprive the residents of Nalolo and other Lozis of large opportunities to participate in the tradition or culture upheld by their forefathers.

Mulena Mboanjikana is third in royal rank to the Litunga after the Mulena Mukwae (otherwise known as Litunga *la Mboela*) of Nalolo in Senanga, the only other female Chieftainship in Western province. She travels in her own official vessel, *Indila* (the way), accompanied by the *Matende* which carries royal property and *Luwabelwa* for the Prince Consort. She moves from her capital, Libonda, through the Zambezi River to her winter capital, *Mulundumano*. From Libonda, the event proceeds to the Zambezi past *Imwambo* village, the burial ground for Mboo Mwanasilandu, the first male Litunga.⁶⁹ Imwambo plays a less publicised but crucial role in the installation of the Litunga and Ngambela. No pictures of its village are taken without authority from the BRE. On the mini – *Kuomboka* voyage, tourists see historical villages like *Makono* where all the Litungas are crowned.⁷⁰ They also see *Namanda*, the burial ground for Yeta I, and at a distance *Makululalo*, the village of Inyambo, the second Litunga. *Indila*, Mboanjikana's royal barge has an important history behind it too. It was the first royal barge (before Nakambela built the *Nalikwanda*) of the Aluyi in Bulozhi. It is the name of the boat that Mbuywamwambwa Njemakati, the leader of the Lozi from Congo, used on the trek. Legend also has it that it was a gift from a Lunda chief – Kaping'a, who later married her daughter, Mbuywana.⁷¹ Accepting the barge, Queen Mbuywamwambwa is reported to have said in siluyana “*litina lya wato wange Indila*” (the name of my boat is *Indila* – the way).

After branching off the Zambezi at *Ikatulamwa* which was Mboo's capital, the travelling parties take the *Ikatulamwa* canal that joins the Luanginga River at *Mwandi – wa – Kufuna*, which was the headquarters of the third Litunga, Yeta I. The detour through *Ikatulamwa* canal that avoids the Zambezi / Luanginga confluence provides a shortcut that lead to *Nandi* where the entourage

rest for lunch. Thereafter, they follow the Luanginga River down to *Mulundumano*, the final destination. There, excited multitudes of the Chief's subjects gather in readiness to receive the Chieftainess. The royal emblem for the Libonda palace and also for the *Indila* is the hippo or *mbu* in siluyana, whose story is told in the royal song "*Kanuwe mbu wa Libonda*".⁷² Although Libonda has been a *Muleneng'i* (royal palace) from earliest times, it was deprived of royal drums until 1975 when Litunga Imutakwandu Mbikusita Lewanika authorised the issue of a full set of the *siluyana* ensemble (minus the *maoma*) to Mulena Mboanjikana, and then to the late Lundambuyu.

Visitors to Libonda also enjoy the music from the royal band. But they miss just as the entire Lozi people dearly do, the ancient royal dance known as *lishemba* which is a standard bearer of this Chiefdom. This dance is based on the crested crane, *liowanyi*, which the Lozi admire for its beauty and gender sensitiveness, both sexes wearing the same plumage. *Liowanyi* today 'stand' on the *Mbolyanga*, the royal barge for the principal wife of the Litunga. The *lishemba* dance died a long time ago but the former Natamoyo (Royal chief Justice), Mwanang'ombe Sikota⁷³ recalled getting up one night at midnight and, with a friend beginning to practice the dance to the tune of "*Namuchoko sikwa na Mulungu*" much to the delight of his grandfather.

The present ruler at Libonda is Mulena Mboanjikana Kandundu, a daughter of the late Litunga Yeta III and sister of the late Litunga Ilute Yeta IV. She ascended to the throne in 1995 after the death of Lundambuyu Lewanika (1959 – 1995) who took over from Makwibi (1951 – 1959) who is now Mulena Mukwae of Nalolo. Makwibi succeeded the aging Akatoka Namuchoko, Lewanika's young sister who ruled from 1878 to 1950 when she died.⁷⁴ She was the one that formally resurrected this Chiefdom that lay in limbo since the demise of Njikana, the younger sister of Mboo, who is said to have been the first Chieftainess at Libonda. Despite the rich

history and cultural tradition attached to these mini ceremonies, little attention is accorded to them. Thus, it is very essential that the BRE revamp them so that the outside world appreciates their history. In fact, they have the potential of contributing to the tourism industry just like the *Kuomboka* of the Litunga does.

4.3. *Kuomboka* in low floods

In the post independence period, *Kuomboka* took a dramatic shift as it was made to take place even in years of very low floods. This was the case in 1978, 1979, 1997 and 2005. For many years, Ilute Yeta IV did not hold *Kuomboka* due to low floods but was forced by the BRE and the *Kuomboka – Kufuluhela* committee to hold the event during the *Sendabanji* (year of low floods) in 1978 at *Mulamba* harbour in Mongu.⁷⁵ It was a spectacular event watched by hundreds of people. Against his wish, Yeta IV was again made to hold *Kuomboka* in 1979 and started his movement from Lealui very late and arrived at *Nayuma* harbour in Limulunga around 02:00 hours.⁷⁶ This was a taboo according to Lozi tradition and culture as the Litunga is not supposed to arrive in any place at night. During that *Kuomboka*, he did not wear the British admiral uniform but ordinary clothes covered by a heavy coat which protected him from cold weather.

In 2005, western province experienced an exceptionally long dry spell which resulted in very low water levels in the Barotse flood plain. For instance, *Nengwana*, where the flotillas of canoes accompanying the royal *Nalikwanda* barge start the voyage from was very dry. In addition, regular reports from Libonda and Lukulu in the north, where normally flood water originate, indicated a ‘recession in water levels.’ For this reason, the BRE cancelled the *Kuomboka* ceremony. This was not the first cancellation of the *Kuomboka*. There were years in the past,

even as recent as the 1990s during the reign of Yeta IV when the ceremony did not take place on account of low water levels.⁷⁷

The decision to cancel the *Kuomboka* ceremony in 2005 prompted outrage among various interest groups. Anxious to exploit earning opportunities that occur only once a year, local people across the informal and formal sectors protested that the BRE did not care about their welfare.⁷⁸ Lozi fundraisers in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt who faced embarrassment with donors and whose status depended on the successful operation of *Kuomboka*, also protested about lack of consultation. Furthermore, in the wider diaspora, those Lozis whose sense of belonging was intimately tied to the regular performance of *Kuomboka* felt a deep sense of loss. The cancellation of *Kuomboka* in 2005 also attracted criticism from the national government which had declared 2005 as ‘Zambia Tourism Year.’ In its quest to boost the tourism industry, the then government led by Levy Patrick Mwanawasa pressured the BRE to hold a mini – *Kuomboka* as a tourist attraction on the Zambezi near Livingstone to coincide with other aquatic celebrations.

4.4. *Kuomboka* and its challenges

From the seventeenth century, floods have had negative effects on the inhabitants of the Buluzi flood plain. Mutumba Mainga stated that *Meyi a lungwangwa* were great floods ever recorded in Buluzi.⁷⁹ They destroyed crop fields, property, drowned domestic animals, human beings and also damaged people’s houses and left inhabitants of the flood plain vulnerable. Severe floods also occurred in 1948, 1949 and 1958.⁸⁰ They too destroyed maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and left people starving. In 1968, floods were too swift and the water reached the roots of the immature crops and destroyed most of them in outlying villages.⁸¹ These floods were also feared

to have been the worst in 20 years. They left thousands of people in the Barotse Province starving in a matter of weeks after *Kuomboka*.

On 7th April, 2003, barely two days after *Kuomboka*, worst floods in 50 years swept through the Barotse plain.⁸² From the elevated position of *Ngulu* hotel in the east, the plain appeared like the Zambezi river when in fact the river was 5 kilometers away, well out of sight. Initially, the people on the plain had nothing to worry about. They assumed the rising waters would recede as they always did after the *Kuomboka*. They counted on their experience of having lived along the plain for a number of years. But the water kept rising and fear set into the minds of most of them. In haste, the residents fled while the raging floods swept over villages, rice, sugarcane, maize fields, clinics as well as everything that was attached to the ground. Whipped up by surprisingly strong winds, the rising floods went up to eight meters in many places in a short space of time. About 25 villages that included clinic infrastructures were also destroyed.⁸³ The construction of the road from Mongu to Kalabo was halted and masses of fleeing villagers from 14 out of the 25 villages sought refuge to the Litunga's summer residence at Lealui while another substantial number went to Limulunga.⁸⁴ As though that was not enough, crocodiles not known to exist in the canal waters of the Barotse plain hid in them and killed seven people.

Floods left the inhabitants of the flood plain in a vulnerable state. Induna Sibeti observed that it was for this reason that the Barotseland Peace Foundation (BPF) was established in the year 2000 to improve the lives of the local community⁸⁵ to "*omboka*" from poverty unto good living standards, to *omboka* from disease unto the joy of healthful living, to *omboka* from perpetual social and economic bondage to spiritual and economic freedom.⁸⁶ Today, the BPF invites donations in form of cash or material support from the general public, the corporate world and

other well wishers to support the initiative. In a critical sense the BPF committee stands to benefit economically from these donations.

After *Kuomboka* ceremony, paddles, lion manes (*mashushu*) and *lindelwa* either get lost or are stolen. In most cases paddlers do not know that these items are supposed to be returned to the Natamoyo. It must be remembered that these items cost money. Paddles, for instance, are bought and no longer obtained for free. Accommodation is also a pressing concern for the *Kuomboka* visitors as accommodation facilities are too inadequate in Mongu, Lealui and Limulunga. The other challenge faced by *Kuomboka* is the aspect of financial resources. Professor Oliver Saasa traditionally known as Induna Kaluwe stated that to stage a high ranked, successful and most colourful *Kuomboka*, the BRE needed about K500 million in 2010.⁸⁷ In this context, we can assert that *Kuomboka* is now more of a commercial venture than tradition.

The *Kuomboka* ceremony is supposed to be an orderly and respectful event. Due to the large influx of people during the ceremony, crowd control has been a major challenge. In the early years, during the movement from Lealui to Limulunga, canoes which accompanied the *Nalikwanda* moved in an orderly manner. However, Yeta observed that during Ilute Yeta IV's reign, canoes were paddled at a very fast rate as they attempted to get ahead of each other.⁸⁸ Such competition was extremely dangerous. Many vessels were packed like sardines and several small canoes capsized. Some people got hurt as they were trapped between vessels. On one occasion the tumult got out of control, the *Notila* stopped, the Litunga disembarked, walked on the bank attended by the Mabuto and told people to be more careful. The real cause of that dangerous race was to have the opportunity of landing as soon as the *Nalikwanda* and other royal barges did as *Nayuma* harbour was and still is not big enough to cater for all the vessels.

In 2006, five people died after a *Kuomboka* bound boat capsised. The five were among the fifteen people that were on the banana boat travelling from Mongu harbour to Lealui to witness the *Kuomboka* ceremony. The other ten persons managed to get on another boat. Monde Mbangweta stated that among the fifteen, was a crew from the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), ZNTB and a Kenyan national.⁸⁹ The crew lost a professional digital camera, canon XL 15 and another camera belonging to a Kenyan journalist, phones and undisclosed sum of money.⁹⁰ In this vein, the BRE observed that it was important for all *Kuomboka* visitors to be careful and orderly during the event.

The long thin horns known as *vuvuzelas* disturbed the 2010 *Kuomboka* activities. Among those who blew them was President Rupiah Banda's young son.⁹¹ *Vuvuzelas* were prominently blown at football stadiums but now took center stage during the *Kuomboka* ceremony. *Kuomboka* was also characterised by indecent dressing among ladies. Induna Imandi pleaded with the visitors that each time they come for *Kuomboka*, they are expected to dress decently.⁹² He directed Lozi women to show respect to the general public by dressing properly. In the same vein, Ireen Kunda, wife of Vice President George Kunda observed that *Kuomboka* ceremony face a major organisational challenge due to its attraction of many people.⁹³ It is in this respect that efforts are made by the traditional leadership and national security to address this problem and ensure that people conveniently follow the proceedings of the ceremony whenever it is due.

4.5. Benefits of floods in Buluzi

This section shows the benefits of floods in the Buluzi flood plain. It discusses the activities pursued by the flood plain inhabitants. Critical to this discussion is the reverse journey of *Kuomboka* known as *Kufuluhela*. Floods in Buluzi are an important lifeline of the people. Despite the crisis transcended by floods in Buluzi, the Lozis eulogise floods. On the other hand,

non Lozis do not understand why the Lozi people settled in an environment that forces them to seek new homes twice a year. To the Lozis, the decision is clear. The flood plain is the centre of the Lozi's economic, political, social and religious life. The original Lozi Kingdom was within its borders and all royal graves are there.⁹⁴ Traditionally, the dead Kings are a vital link in the chain of communication between the Lozi and their God (Nyambe). In addition, the plain which is twenty miles wide and more than a hundred miles long provide the people with abundant resources.

Kuomboka and *Kufuluhela* propel the Barotse to plan their economy according to the dictates of nature. During *Kufuluhela*, the Lozis go back to their flood plain villages when water in the flood plain recedes. It is during *Kufuluhela* that the good of floods in Buluzi are appreciated. Once floods recede most of the economic activities that were four or five months ago concentrated on the forest margin return to the plain. All cattle are moved to the plain as soon as grazing pastures are available. Cattle in the bush are thin due to poor feeding on dry leaves of trees and hard grass. Some of the leaves might have been dangerous to the animals. During the dry season, the dry grass on which cattle feed make them produce very little milk such that there is not enough for the calves which can not chew the hard leaves of the bushes.⁹⁵ Cattle in the bush also get infested with ticks and fleas. When they return to the plain, all these insects fall off because cattle constantly cross streams or pools of water. The ticks can not stand wet conditions. Besides, the egrets (*linalwange*) follow the cattle in the plain and jump at ticks hanging on cattle.

Kufuluhela is not only a sweet moment for cattle owners and their cattle, but it is also a period when fishermen come down to the plain with their fishing nets. When floods recede, rivers, lakes, and pans provide plenty of fish. Not only fishing nets are prepared before the *Kufuluhela* but also scoop baskets, spears, *liandi* and *tutamba*. *Lindombe za milungu* (barbel fish) are killed

by men with spears. At barbel killing, villages are full of such fish; children are also excited as they roast their eggs.⁹⁶ While people are still on the plain edge, birds lay eggs in the reeds (*sitaka*). Big birds too crowd at pools to eat grass roots or others. These also provide an economic exercise to licensed gun hunters or snares and other trappers. These catches supplement their diet too.

Riverside gardens are hoed and planted with maize, pumpkins and other crops. This is done quickly as soon as people return to the plain. A delay in cultivating and planting them lead to crop failure. While low clay gardens are cultivated and seeds planted, the mounds and ridge – gardens are fertilised by cattle dung.⁹⁷ The process improves the soil fertility and result in greater crop yields. Forest margin gardens (*lishanjo*) begin at the time of *Kufuluhela*. Canals (*malomba*) are dug to drain water from the *lishanjo*. Women make heap gardens by digging soil from trenches. These gardens are called *mikomona* and are planted with crops such as maize, sweet potatoes and cassava.

Kufuluhela is indeed the time for plenty of food in the Bulози flood plain. Maize harvested in March is eaten after *Kufuluhela*. Hundreds of pumpkins are rescued from floods and are collected and stored in the plain homes awaiting the return of the people.⁹⁸ Some of the pumpkins are gathered in the temporary houses on the forest margin and carried to the plain houses during *Kufuluhela*. With the cattle under good pasture, more milk is produced. Milk, fresh or sour is mixed with thick porridge (*buhobe* or *nshima*), or mixed with cooked pumpkins - *ku fuzela*. This is very nutritious. Calves are healthy as their mother cows feed them on more milk than could be done at the forest sites.

Although nowadays some of the Barotse men and women prefer to live on the forest edge, most of them still regard the plain as their permanent home which they are forced to leave during flood times. Apart from regarding the flood plain as healthy, the Barotse also regard it as free from the dust of the forest villages.⁹⁹ The floors in the forest houses are difficult to harden and are full of worms. There is over crowding of people at the forest margin homes because temporary villages are built close together. Plain homes are thought to be cooler than the dusty and sandy villages near the forest.

In principle, during *Kuomboka* ceremony, the traditional dances at Limulunga are more colourful than those at Lealui but people at Lealui welcome their Litunga with filled stomachs. At Limulunga they are only very happy and proud to see him but still mourn over their lost crop and property destroyed by water. It is important to state that one other reason for the preference of the flood plain is its ease visibility and problems of movement. These features hinder the would be invaders and hence safeguard the lives of the plain inhabitants and their wealth or possessions.¹⁰⁰ Today, the Lozis mainly focus on the *Kuomboka* of the Litunga and little or no attention is paid on the *Kufuluhela* ceremony.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated the economic shifts of *Kuomboka*. After 1964, *Kuomboka* was marketed and became known beyond the Buluzi flood plain and attracted an influx of tourists. *Kuomboka* was also made to take place even when there were no floods to serve tourist interests. We also see the BRE through the *Kuomboka – Kufuluhela* committee lobbying for financial and material support from various companies to host the *Kuomboka* ceremony. Such ventures led to

situations where the *Kuomboka* was perceived as a business venture and not a traditional ceremony given the fact that in its genesis the event never attracted financial resources to host it.

Kuomboka is used as an advertisement platform by many companies for their products and services. Whenever *Kuomboka* is due, various companies donate their products to the BRE and carry out a number of promotions for their products in a quest to win market and boost their businesses. In the olden days, the *Kuomboka* weekend was characterised by traditional songs and dances in Mongu, Limulunga and Lealui. Today, the penetration of *rhumba*, *kalindula* and modern Zambian music has resulted to the loss of this tradition. Nowadays, for the BRE to host successful *Kuomboka* ceremonies it requires a lot of money and it is in this context that *Kuomboka* critics perceive it as a fundraising venture and not a traditional or cultural ceremony.

ENDNOTES

1. Interview, Doris Kofi, Senior Marketing Manager, 13th September, 2010, Zambia Tourist Board, Lusaka.
2. Interview, Doris Kofi, Senior Marketing Manager, 13th September, 2010.
3. Interview, Doris Kofi, Senior Marketing Manager, 13th September, 2010.
4. Interview, Doris Kofi, Senior Marketing Manager, 13th September, 2010.
5. Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia*, p.12.
6. Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia Review* (Lusaka: Neczam, 2004), p.12.
7. Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia Review*, p.12.
8. Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia Review*, p.12.
9. Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia Review*, p.12.
10. *Times of Zambia*, April 10th, 2003.
11. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
12. Interview, Gift Limbali (Shalom Bus services), 12th November, 2010, Intercity Bus Terminus, Lusaka.
13. Interview, Ernest Mulenga (Red Bomber services), 12th November, 2010, Intercity Bus Terminus, Lusaka.
14. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
15. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
16. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
17. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
18. Interview, Doris Kofi, Senior Marketing Manager, 13th September, 2010.
19. Interview, Doris Kofi, Senior Marketing Manager, 13th September, 2010.
20. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
21. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
22. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
23. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
24. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.

25. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
26. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
27. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
28. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
29. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
30. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
31. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
32. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
33. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
34. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
35. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
36. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
37. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
38. Interview, Induna Sibeti, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
39. F. Lawrence 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The *Kuomboka* Festival of Western Zambia', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32,4 (2006), p.709.
40. Lawrence 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past, p.709.
41. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
42. *Times of Zambia*, April 22nd, 2004.
43. *The Post Newspaper*, April 9th, 2006.
44. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.
45. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.
46. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.
47. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.
48. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.
49. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.
50. *Daily Mail of Zambia*, February 26th, 2010.

51. *Daily Mail of Zambia, February 26th, 2010.*
52. *Daily Mail of Zambia, February 26th, 2010.*
53. Interview, Induna Sibeti, 24th November, 2010.
54. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
55. Interview, Induna Manyando Kabeta, 25th September, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
56. Interview, Edwin Kashanga, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
57. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 1985 – 2004, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
58. *The Post Newspaper, April 4th, 2003.*
59. *The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.*
60. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
61. *Kuomboka* official programme, 2010.
62. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
63. *Times of Zambia, April 22nd, 2004.*
64. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
65. Interview, Monde Mbangweta, 15th October, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
66. Interview, Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, 24th November, 2010.
67. Interview, Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, 13th July, 2010, Limulunga Royal Palace, Mongu.
68. Interview, Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, 13th July, 2010.
69. Interview, Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, 13th July, 2010.
70. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
71. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
72. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010.
73. Interview, Mwanang'ombe Sikota, former Natamoyo, 24th November, 2010

74. Interview, Her Royal Highness, Mboanjikana Kandundu, 17th August, 2010, Libonda Royal Palace, Kalabo.
75. Interview, Her Royal Highness, Mboanjikana Kandundu, 17th August, 2010.
76. Interview, Her Royal Highness, Mboanjikana Kandundu, 17th August, 2010.
77. Interview, Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, 13th July, 2010.
78. Lawrence ‘Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past, p.709.
79. M. Mainga, ‘The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions,’ In E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.). *The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History* (London: Manchester University Press, 1965), p. 243.
80. *Times of Zambia*, January 11th, 1968.
81. *Times of Zambia*, January 11th, 1968.
82. *Times of Zambia*, April 10th, 2003.
83. *Times of Zambia*, April 10th, 2003.
84. *Times of Zambia*, April 10th, 2003.
85. *Times of Zambia*, April 10th, 2003.
86. *Times of Zambia*, April 10th, 2003.
87. *The Post Newspaper*, February 9th, 2010.
88. M. Yeta, ‘The *Kuomboka* Ceremony during Yeta III’s reign’, *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, Vol. 4 (1959-1961), p.581.
89. Interview, Monde Mbangweta, 15th October, 2010.
90. Interview, Monde Mbangweta, 15th October, 2010.
91. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
92. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
93. *The Post Newspaper*, April 25th, 2010.
94. Interview, Muyumbana Muyendekwa, 15th October, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
95. L. I. M. Mbikusita, ‘*Learning to Live in Pre – colonial Bulozhi*’, PhD Dissertation, University of New York, 1979, p. 107.
96. M. Lubasi, *Bulozhi bwa Luna* (Lusaka: Zambia publishing house, 2009), p. 87.

97. Interview, Muyumbana Muyendekwa, 15th October, 2010, Limulunga Royal Village, Mongu.
98. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010.
99. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010.
100. Interview, Ngambela Mukela Manyando, 24th November, 2010.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. CONCLUSION

In the beginning, *Kuomboka* was just a solution to a flood crisis which hit Buluzi in the seventeenth century. It was a local affair involving the Litunga and his family. *Kuomboka* never attracted a huge influx of people beyond the Buluzi flood plain. Fortunately or unfortunately, over the years, *Kuomboka* turned into a ceremony of international significance attracting more spectators than any other similar event in Zambia and probably the region also. Thousands of these are mainly African visitors. Whenever *Kuomboka* is due, they get to Limulunga via Mongu in all kinds of transport including on the backs of trucks. White Europeans and Asians also do attend the *Kuomboka* procession. However, most of these perceive Mongu the home of *Kuomboka* ceremony to be too remote and environmentally and socially inhospitable. Mongu lacks the accommodation or food for these visitors. Critical to this aspect is the fact that the BRE does not allow foreigners to own or operate businesses in western province. This is demonstrated by the fact that unlike other parts of Zambia, there are no Asian or white European owned businesses in Mongu or Limulunga. Probably this could be the other reason for the underdevelopment of western province in comparison with other provinces across Zambia. However, the Zambian entrepreneurs take up this challenge and provide basic accommodation in Mongu and African style food.

Kuomboka has been sold across the world. Today, people beyond borders know Buluzi for its host of *Kuomboka* ceremony and also for their Litunga who is responsible for its performance. The festival has a great tourism potential and if international tourists could be attracted to it, the Nayuma Museum opposite the Litunga's Royal Palace in Limulunga would receive more fee – paying visits and sell more crafts and souvenirs. Monies generated out of these sales could be

used to improve the quality of the Royal museum displays and better remunerate its employees. Local service industries such as hotels, catering, transport and communication would also grow and generally local employment and the economy would receive a boost.

Today, there is a shift in the perception of the *Kuomboka* ceremony. The business communities view it as a marketing ground for their merchandise and services. During *Kuomboka*, there are so many advertising agents that promote products of different manufacturers in a quest to increase their sales. The local authority, Mongu Municipal Council, promotes this aspect as it also stands to benefit given the fact that all business ventures conducted on State land pay revenue. These monies are channeled to local developmental projects.

Nowadays, *Kuomboka* is held purely for tourism's sake. This is demonstrated by its hold even in times of low floods and also by the Litunga getting to Lealui only when *Kuomboka* is due. However, it must be noted that the transformation of the *Kuomboka* into an event accessible to global tourism destroys its perceived African authenticity and the values celebrated by so many of its current African visitors. This is true in that today the focus is on generating financial resources instead of upholding or developing Barotse culture and tradition. Consequently, with time, there will be little to talk about Lozi tradition or culture in as far as *Kuomboka* ceremony is concerned.

Nevertheless, as it is the desire for every *Kuomboka* visitor to see the Litunga, the event provides an opportunity for people to see him. Thus the most exciting moment of *Kuomboka* is the arrival of the Litunga and his disembarking from the *Nalikwanda*. Once he is seen by people, the air is filled with ululations. As he steps on the ground, the drummers of *Kutambokisa* start. They do so as they get to the Royal Palace. Behind the Litunga move the indunas and the *makwambuyu*,

followed by the commoners. All these cover the road on both sides but none of them gets ahead of the Litunga as everyone is expected to be behind him. This they do until the King reaches the Palace.

Kuomboka ceremony is characterised by the singing of traditional songs and performance of dances which drive the Lozi people in deep Luyi traditional frenzy. The most famous dance during *Kuomboka* is the ‘*Ngomalume Namate! Na Kwa nengwa Na lishebo,*’ which is not performed on an empty stomach. Other dances are *nalikanda, lishoma, kusheng’ela liwale, siyomboka, lilombola, liimba, makishi* and *kayowe*. All these dances accord an opportunity to the present Lozi generation to learn old traditional songs and dances. This ensures the continuity of Lozi tradition and culture.

From our discussion, we can affirm that this study is a major contribution to our present understanding of the development process of the *Kuomboka* ceremony and a firm confirmation that if traditional ceremonies are properly organised and well nurtured, they can immeasurably contribute to the economic and socio cultural development of the country. This has been demonstrated by documenting the sequences and contributions that the *Kuomboka* ceremony has made since its inception in the early seventeenth century. The ceremony has grown out of the closer links between the BRE and the Zambian Government and society at large. The changes that have occurred are perhaps an indication of how the festival has adapted to the expectations of society and influences by globalisation. Due to the many forces playing against *Kuomboka* ceremony, the BRE today is faced with a challenge on how to retain and preserve its traditional and cultural values. Nevertheless, *Kuomboka* remains a cultural event through which the Lozi people pay homage to their Litunga as they remember how Nakambela served the Aluyi from the great flood in the early seventeenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

National Archives of Zambia (NAZ)

NAZ BSE Loc 5045, 1/10/95, Correspondence with and about the Litunga, 1901 - 1910.

NAZ BSE Loc 5014, 1/8/85, Mboo – Lewanika, 1914.

NAZ BSE Loc 5014, 1/8/10, Paramount Chief Mwanawina III General Correspondence, 1950 – 52.

NAZ BSE Loc 5028, 1/10/12, Barotse National Flag, 1937 – 1942.

NAZ BSE Loc 5027, 1/10/6, Barotse History, 1935 – 36.

NAZ BSE Loc 5028, 1/10/9, Barotse Orders Correspondence, 1936 -53.

NAZ BSE Loc 5029, 1/10/19, Customs Matters, 1938 – 54.

NAZ BSE Loc 5012, 1/2/134, Yeta’s visit to England, 1937.

NAZ BSE Loc 5015, 1/8/11, Paramount Chief Correspondence, 1951 – 52

NAZ SEC2/364, Barotse: Paramount Chief’s visit to England Vol. 1, 1935.

NAZ WP Loc 5281, 1/10/4, Visit of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother to the Western Province Northern Rhodesia, 1957.

NAZ BSE Loc 5013, 1/8/5, Paramount Chief, 1940 – 53.

NAZ BSE Loc 5028, 1/10/9, Barotse orders correspondence, 1936 – 53.

NAZ BSE Loc 5013, 1/2/3, Chiefs, 1937 – 53.

NZA BSE Loc 5014, 1/8/8, Lewanika, 1942.

Newspapers

Daily Mail of Zambia, August 12th, 1970.

Daily Mail of Zambia, March 13th, 1984.

Daily Mail of Zambia, September 19th 1990.

Daily Mail of Zambia, August, 28th 1992.

Daily Mail of Zambia, February 26th, 2010.

Daily Mail of Zambia, April 14th, 2010.

Daily Mail of Zambia, April 18th, 2010.
The Post Newspaper, February 16th 1992.
The Post Newspaper, April 7th, 2003.
The Post Newspaper, April 4th, 2003.
The Post Newspaper, April 3rd, 2005.
The Post Newspaper, April 17th, 2005.
The Post Newspaper, March 10th, 2006.
The Post Newspaper, April 9th, 2006.
The Post Newspaper, February 9th, 2010.
The Post Newspaper, April 25th, 2010.
The Post Newspaper, April, 2nd, 2010.
The Post Newspaper, April, 18th, 2010.
The Post Newspaper, April, 25th, 2010.
The Post Newspaper, March 4th, 2010.
Times of Zambia, January 11th, 1968.
Times of Zambia, April 19th, 1970.
Times of Zambia, April 27th, 1970.
Times of Zambia, August, 28th 1971.
Times of Zambia, April 27th, 1973.
Times of Zambia, April 10th, 2003.
Times of Zambia, April 2nd, 2004.
Times of Zambia, April 22nd, 2004.
Times of Zambia May 13th, 2003.

Official Speeches

Kenneth Kaunda's speech at the 1965 *Kuomboka* Ceremony.

Levy Patrick Mwanawasa's speech at the 2003 *Kuomboka* ceremony (Read on his behalf by the then Vice President Enoch Kavindele).

Levy Patrick Mwanawasa's speech at the 2007 *Kuomboka* ceremony.

Rupiah Bwezani Banda's speech at the 2010 *Kuomboka* ceremony.

Kuomboka official programme, 1984.

Kuomboka official programme, 2007.

Kuomboka official programme, 2010.

Oral Interviews

Buxton Simasiku (Induna Amulimukwa), Mwandia, 1st September, 2010.

Doris Kofi, Zambia Tourist Board, Lusaka, 13th September, 2010.

Edwin Kashanga, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Ernest Mulenga, Lusaka, 12th November, 2010.

Gift Limbali, Lusaka, 12th November, 2010.

Headman Litungi (Mubiana Njekwa), Mongu, 22nd August, 2010.

Her Royal Highness the Mboanjikana Kandundu, Kalabo, 17th August, 2010.

Induna Kandala Mumpeto, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Induna Manyando Kabeta, Mongu, 25th September, 2010.

Induna Muyambango Mubu, Mongu, 21st August, 2010.

Inengu Muyunda Ananyatele, Mongu, 13th July, 2010.

Induna Mwaiba Simon Shita, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Induna Nawa Matakala, Mongu, 13th July, 2010.

Induna Simanda Mumpeto, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Induna Sibeti, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Ngambela Mukela Manyando, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Monde Mbangweta, Limulunga, 15th October, 2010.

Mulemwa Mubita, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Muletambo Namakau, Mongu, 16th April, 2010.

Mung'anga Kamung'ondo Elvis, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Muyumbana Muyendekwa, Mongu, 24th August, 2010.

Mwanang'ombe Sikota, Former Natamoyo, 1985 – 2004, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Mwangala Lubinda, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Namate Mubiana, Mongu, 7th October, 2010.

Namushakende Numwa, Mongu, 3rd October, 2010.

Njamba Mushokabanji, Mongu, 22nd August, 2010.

Prudence Nalishebo Mukelabai, Mongu, 24th November, 2010.

Secondary Sources

Books

Arnot, F.S. *From Natal to the Upper Zambezi: first year among the Barotse*. Glasgow: The Publishing Office, 1883.

Arnot, F.S. *Missionary Travels in Central Africa*. London: Alfred Holmes, 1914.

Barotse Royal Establishment, *Kuomboka Ceremony: Background Information*. Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1989.

Barotse Royal Establishment, *2010 Kuomboka Ceremony*. Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 2010.

Barotse Royal Establishment, *2007 Kuomboka Ceremony*. Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 2007.

Bertrand, A. *The Kingdom of the Barotsi: Upper Zambesia*. Translated by A.B. Mall London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899.

Brelsford, W.V. *The Tribes of Zambia*. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1956.

Mainga, B. M. *A History of the Lozi People to 1900*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1978.

Caplan G. *The Elites of Barotseland (1878 – 1969): A political History of Zambia's Western Province*. Berkeley: University of California press, 1970.

Clay, G. *Your Friend, Lewanika*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1968.

Clay, G. "History of Mankoya District." Rhodes Livingstone Institute Communication 4 (1945).

Coillard, F. *On the Threshold of Central Africa: A Record of Twenty Years Pioneering among the Barotsi of the Upper Zambesi*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897.

Douglas, B.E. *Drums on the Water: The Kuomboka Ceremony of the Lozi of Zambia*. Lusaka: Unza Press, 1976.

Douglas, B.E. *Lozi*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, inc., 1998.

- Gabel, C and Bennett, N, eds. *Reconstructing African culture History*. Boston: Boston University Press, 1967.
- Gale, D. *Zambezi Sunrise*. Cape Town: The Standard Press Limited, 1958.
- Gerald, C.L. *The Elites of Barotseland 1878-1969; A Political History of Zambia's Western Province*. London: G. Hurst and Company, 1970.
- Gibbons, H. *Africa from South to North through Marotseland Vol. 1*. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1904.
- Gluckman, M. *Economy of the Central Barotse Plain*. London: Manchester University Press, 1968.
- Gwyn, P. *The Hidden Hippopotamus: Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial experience in Western Zambia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1980.
- Harding, C. *In Remotest Barotseland*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905.
- Holub, E. Emil Holub's *Travels North of the Zambezi: Being a Translation into English of part of the second volume of van de capstad insLand der Maschukulumbwe, Reisen in Sudlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1883 – 1887*. Translated by Charista Johns. Edited by LadislavHoly. Manchester: Manchester University press, 1975.
- Jalla, A.D. *History; Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation*. London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1959.
- Kalaluka, L. *Kuomboka: A Living Traditional Culture among the Malozi People of Zambia*. Lusaka: Neczam, 1981.
- Kayongo, K. *Reciprocity and Interdependence: The Rise and fall of the Kololo Empire in Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century*. Lund: Almquist and Wiskell International, 1987.
- Langworthy, H. *Zambia before 1890: Aspects of Pre – Colonial History*. London: Lonman, 1972.
- Livingstone to Arthur Tidman of the London Missionary Society, 17th October, 1851, In I Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence 1841 – 1856*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1961.
- Mackintosh, C.W. *Lewanika; Paramount Chief of the Barotse and Allied Tribes 1875-1916*. London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1942.
- Mackintosh, C.W. *The New Zambesian Trial*. London: Marshall Brothers Limited, 1922.
- Mainga, M. *Bulozi under the Luyana Kings: Political Evolution and State Formation in Pre-Colonial Zambia*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1973.
- McCulloch, M. *The Lunda, Luena and related tribes of North Western Rhodesia and adjoining territories*. London: International African Institute, 1951.

Milbourne, K. *Diplomacy in Motion: Makish as Political Harmony in Barotseland*. New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, inc., 2004.

Namafe, C.M. *Environmental Education in Zambia: A Critical Approach to Change and Transformation*. Lusaka: New Horizon Printers, 2006.

Phillipson, D.W. *Iron Age History*. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1971.

Purseglove, J. *Taming the flood: A History and Natural History of Rivers and Wetlands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Reynolds, B. *Magic Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.

Richard, S. *The Struggle for British interests in Barotseland 1871-1888*. Lusaka: Zambia Printing Company, 1972.

Schapera, I. (ed.) *Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence, 1841 – 1856*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1961.

Schapera, I. (ed.) *Livingstone's Private Journals, 1851 – 1853*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1960.

Strike, D.W. *Barotseland: Eight Years among the Barotse*. London: John Bale, sons and Danielson, Limited, 1957.

Tabler, E. (ed.) *Trade and Travel in Early Barotseland: The Diaries of George Westbeeck (1885 - 1888) and Captain Norman McLeod (1875 – 1876)*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.

Turner, V.W. *Ethnographic survey of Africa; West Central Africa Part III; The Lozi Peoples of North- Western Rhodesia*. London: International African Institute, 1952.

Wagret, P. *Polderlands*. London: Methuen, 1967.

White, C.M.N. *An Outline of the Lozi Social and Political Organisation*. London: Buttler and Tanner Limited, 1960.

Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia Review*. Lusaka: Neczam, 2004.

Zambia National Tourist Board, *Zambia: The Real Africa and the Home of Victoria Falls*. Lusaka: Zambia Publishing House, 2004.

Chapters in books

Mainga, B. M. “The Lozi Kingdom,” in Brian M. Fagan (ed.), *A Short History of Zambia; From the Earliest Times until A.D. 1900* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp.123-129.

Gluckman, M. “The Lozi of Barotseland in North-Western Rhodesia”, In Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman (eds.), *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.11-15.

Mainga, M, 'The Origin of the Lozi; Some Oral Traditions', In E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.), *The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History* (London: Manchester University press, 1965), pp. 232 – 247.

Muuka, L.S. 'The Colonisation of Barotseland in the Seventeenth Century', In E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.), *The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History*. London: Manchester University press, 1965), pp.248 – 260.

Ranger, T. 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,' In E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Stokes, E. 'Barotseland: The Survival of an African State' in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.), *The Zambesian Past; Studies in Central African History* (London: Manchester University Press, 1965), pp.402-403.

Van Horn, L. 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840 – 1964', in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), pp. 144 – 69.

Journal Articles

Butler, R.M.J. 'Water as an Unwanted Commodity: Some Aspects of Flood Alleviation', *Journal of the Institution of Water Engineers*, Vol. 26, 6, (1968), pp. 311 – 332.

Clark, J.D. 'A note on the Pre – Bantu inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland', *Northern Rhodesia Journal* 1, 2 (1950), 42 – 52; Fagan, A Short History of Zambia, p.61.

Cooper, G. 'Village Crafts in Barotseland' in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman (eds.), *The Rhodes – Livingstone Journal, Number Eleven; Human Problems in British Central Africa* (London: Buttler and Tanner Limited, 1951), p. 57-58.

Lawrence, F. 'Contradictions and Challenges in Representing the Past: The *Kuomboka* Festival of Western Zambia', *In Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32, 4 (2006), pp.701-717.

Lawrence, F. 'Separatist Tendencies in the Lands of the Lozi: The Historical Construction of Citizenship and Subjectivity in Southern Barotseland and Capirivi', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 2 (2003), pp.393-428.

Namafe, C.M. 'Flooding in the Context of the Barotse People of the Upper Zambezi Wetlands', *In Southern African Journal of Environmental Education*, Vol. 21(2004), p. 50.

Njungu, A. "The Music of My People (II): Dances in Barotseland," *African Music Society Journal* 2 (4) (1961): 79.

Phillipson, D.W. 'An Early Iron Age Site on the Lubusi River, Kaoma district, Zambia,' *Zambia Museums Journal* (1971), 51 – 67.

Phillipson, D.W. 'The Early Iron Age in Zambia – regional variants and some tentative conclusions,' *Journal of African History* IX, 2 (1968), 191 – 211.

Phillipson, D.W. 'The Chronology of the Iron Age in Bantu Africa', *Journal of African History* XVI, 3 (1975), 321 - 42.

Stevenson, H.J. *The Barotseland Journal of 1898 – 1899* (ed. J. P. R. Wallis), Oppenheimer Series No. 7. London: Chatto and Windus, 1953.

Yeta, M. 'The Kuomboka Ceremony during Yeta III's reign', *The Northern Rhodesia Journal*, Vol. 4 (1959-1961).

Dissertations

Douglas, B.E. '*Drums of Life: Royal Music and Social Life in Western Zambia*'. University of Washington: PhD Thesis, 1984.

Hermitte, E.L. '*An Economic History of Barotseland 1800-1940*' PhD. Thesis, North Western University, 1973.

Lawrence, F. '*Historical Constructions of Postcolonial Citizenship and Subjectivity: The case of the Lozi peoples of Southern Central Africa*', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2005.

Lisimba, M. '*A Luyana Dialectology*', PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin – Madison, 1982.

Mbikusita, L. I. M. '*Learning to Live in Pre – colonial Bulozì*', PhD Dissertation, University of New York, 1979.

Munalula, E. '*Matangu: Lozi Oral Narratives. Some Literary Stylistic Features in Lozi Oral Narrative Performances*', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1972.

Prins, G. '*Bulozì during the period of primary European contact*', 1876 – 1896, PhD Dissertation, Cambridge University, 1978.

Sumbwa, G. N. '*A History of the Luyana of Kalabo to 1906*', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1979.

Seminar Papers

Clay, G. C.R. "*History of Mankoya District.*" *Rhode –Livingstone Institute Communication* 4 (1945).

Gerald, C. L. "*The Pre – Colonial History of Barotseland.*" Staff Seminar Paper, University College of Rhodesia, 1966.

Gluckman, M. "Notes on the Social Background of Barotse Music." In "*African Music in Northern Rhodesia and some other places,*" pp.38 – 44, by A.M. Jones. Rhodes – Livingstone Occasional paper 4 (1948).

Turner, V.W. *The Lozi People of North Western Rhodesia*. London: International African Institute, 1952.

White, G.F. *Human Adjustment to Floods: A Geographical Approach to the Flood Problem in the United States*, University of Chicago, Department of Geography research paper No. 29., p. 1.

Historical Pamphlets in Silozi

Akufuna, I.K.S. *Makalelo a Bulena bwa Silozi* (The Origin of the Lozi Kingship) typescript, 1959, privately owned.

Ikachana, N.S. *Litaba Za Makwangwa* (History of the Kwangwa). London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1952; reprint ed., Lusaka: Neczam, 1971. Unpublished translation prepared at Zambezi Secondary School, June 1974, under the supervision of R.J. Papstein of the University of Zambia Department of History.

Jalla, A.D. *Litaba Za Sicaba sa Malozi*. Cape Town: Oxford University press, 1921. Translated by S.B. Jones as "History, Traditions and Legends of the Barotse Nation." African nos. 1146, 1179 (1972) Reprinted as the Story of the Barotse Nation. Lusaka: Northern Rhodesia Publications Bureau, 1961.

Kalaluka, L. *Simuluho ya Kuomboka*. Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990.

Lubasi, M. *Bulozi bwa Luna*. Lusaka: Zambia publishing house, 2009.

Lubinda, J.M. *Nyaulu kwa bana baban'wi ba Malozi*. Lusaka: Zambia publishing house, 2001.

Mukuni, R.M. *Linako Lifetuhile*. Lusaka: Neczam, 1972.

Mumbuna, M. *Mu Zibe Za Muleneng'i*. Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 2008.

Mupatu, Y. W. *Mulambwa Santulu Uamuhela bo Mwene*. London: Macmillan, 1958.

Sakubita, M.M. *Kalabo wa Mboanjikana*. Lusaka: Neczam, 1982.

Sakubita, M.M. *Zaluna li lu siile* (Our vanishing Past). London: Macmillan, 1958.

Silishebo, L. *Bundui mwa Bulozi*. Cape Town: Juta and company Limited, 1949.

Walubita, M (ex Ngambela). *Lifu la Mwanawina III* (The death of Mwanawina III), manuscript, 1969, privately owned.

APPENDIX (List of the Litungas who reigned in Bulozhi)

1. Mbuywamwambwa Mwambo'njema Kati (Daughter of Queen Mwambwa).
2. King Mboo Muyunda Mwanasilundu (Second son of Mbuywamwambwa).
3. King Inyambo Yeta I – Ya Musa (First son of Mbuywamwambwa).
4. King Ngalama wa Ingalamwa (Grandson of Mbuywamwambwa).
5. King Yeta II Nalute Muchabatu (Son of King Ngalama).
6. King Ngombala (Son of King Ngalama).
7. King Yubya Ikandanda (Grandson of King Ngombala).
8. King Mwanawina I (Grandson of King Ngombala).
9. King Mwananyanda Liwale (Son of King Mwanawina I).
10. King Mulambwa Santulu (Son of King Mwanawina I), 1780 – 1830.
11. Imasiku Mubukwanu (Son of King Mulambwa). 1830 – 1840.
12. King Sipopa Lutangu (Son of King Mulambwa), 1864 – 1876.
13. King Mwanawina II (Grandson of King Mulambwa), 1876 – 1878.
14. King Lubosi Lewanika I (Grandson of King Mulambwa), 1878 – 1884 – 1st Regime.
15. King Tatila Akufuna (Grandson of King Mulambwa) 1884 – 1885).
16. King Lubosi Lewanika I (Grandson of King Mulambwa) 1885 – 1916 – 2nd Regime.
17. King Litia Yeta III (Son of King Lubosi Lewanika I) 1916 – 1945.
18. King Imasiku Mwanang'ono Imwiko I (Son of King Lubosi Lewanika I), 1945 – 1948.
19. King Mwanawina III (Son of King Lubosi Lewanika I), 1948 – 1968.
20. King Imutakwandu Mbikusita Lewanika II (Son of King Lubosi Lewanika I), 1968 – 1977.
21. King Ilute Yeta IV (Grandson of King Lubosi Lewanika I), 1977 – 2000.
22. King Lubosi Imwiko II (Grandson of King Lubosi Lewanika I), since the year 2000.

Source of Appendix: Nayuma Museum - Limulunga, Mongu District. 24th November, 2010