

POLITICS AND MARRIAGE IN SOUTH KANEM (CHAD) : A STATISTICAL PRESENTATION OF ENDOGAMY FROM 1895 TO 1975

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RÉSUMÉ

SYSTÈMES MATRIMONIAUX AU SUD KANEM (TCHAD) : PRÉSENTATION STATISTIQUE DE L'ENDOGAMIE
DE 1895 À 1975

Le but du présent article est de faire connaître les résultats préliminaires d'une étude de l'endogamie et de l'organisation lignagère menée sur une base comparative auprès des deux principales strates sociales rencontrées chez les populations kanembú des rives nord-est du Lac Tchad.

Le mot kanembú peut désigner toute personne originaire du Kanem et dont la langue maternelle est le kanembukanembú. Toutefois, dans l'usage courant, cette dénomination est réservée aux lignages dont les prétentions généalogiques remontent aux Sefawa ou à leurs successeurs ou alliés entre qui le mariage est traditionnellement licite. Parmi les hommes libres, on distingue, cependant, les « gens de la lance » ou Kanembou se considérant « nobles » au sens le plus large et les « gens de l'arc », mieux connus sous l'appellation de Haddād que nous rapporteront déjà les explorateurs allemands BARTH et NACHTIGAL. Ce terme signifie forgeron en arabe mais les Kanembou opèrent une distinction entre les artisans forgerons (kágəlmà) et les membres d'un lignage dit ' forgeron ' (dū).

Les Haddad représentent environ 20 % de la population kanembou mais cette proportion subit de larges variations d'un endroit à l'autre. Le choix de leurs lieux de résidence est largement fonction des exigences économiques de leurs maîtres ainsi que du degré d'autonomie politique qu'ils ont su conquérir. Les Haddad kanembou et les Kanembou appartiennent tous à la catégorie des hommes libres. Toutefois, le mariage entre les deux groupes est strictement interdit et, sur le plan économique, la propriété des bovins a longtemps été l'apanage des seuls Kanembou. Au cours du temps, certains traits généralement attribués aux castes professionnelles du Sahel (la transmission héréditaire du statut social et des connaissances techniques, l'endogamie forcée, un statut rituel particulier...) ont été étendus dans plus d'un domaine à une importante fraction de la population paysanne kanembou. Leurs prérogatives politiques étant réduites à peu de chose, ces « forgerons » se sont vu interdire la possession ou la transmission du capital bovin ou monétaire et ont, dans la plupart des cas, été systématiquement pillés de la plus-value de leur propre travail.

Les Kanembou reconnaissent volontiers plusieurs oppositions catégorielles au sein de leur société; les hommes libres sont juxtaposés aux (anciens) esclaves, les premiers étant divisés en « maîtres » et « dépendants » d'une part, et en Kanembou et Haddad d'autre part. Ces catégories hiérarchisées se chevauchent partiellement. Par ailleurs, la société entière est « verticalement » divisée en lignages agnatiques distincts entre eux mais de nature formellement identique. L'esquisse idéologique que les Kanembou font de leur propre organisation sociale ne tient, toutefois, pas compte du fait que cette fragmentation est un des mécanismes essentiels à la perpétuation du système de stratification sociale et repose à la fois sur le principe patrilineaire et la prescription endogamique. Ainsi, l'alliance politique entre lignages subordonnés unis par le sang, le mariage ou les affinités claniques n'est nullement facilitée. Diachroniquement, un double processus caractérise les rapports dominant/dominé au cours de toutes les phases de développement du groupe lignager. D'une part, l'endogamie forcée et la dispersion géographique accentuent la ségrégation verticale entre lignages dominés aussi bien qu'entre ceux-ci et les groupes dominants. D'autre part, les nobles sont libres de renforcer la ségrégation horizontale en manipulant les circuits d'exaction de tribut tout en restant eux-mêmes en mesure de contourner les barrières verticales, notamment par le biais de mariages inter-lignagers politiquement propices. Dans ce contexte, l'endogamie n'apparaît pas comme une fonction du système de parenté mais se trouve liée dans toutes les strates sociales à une série complexe de déterminations où s'imbriquent les mécanismes de la

domination politique, les alliances, les processus de consolidation interne des lignages ainsi que la quête d'une condition meilleure par les Haddad et autres groupes subordonnés. Il est évident que ces phénomènes ne peuvent pas être considérés comme des caractéristiques statiques d'une société et, pour cette raison, l'étude de l'endogamie elle-même doit être abordée d'un point de vue diachronique.

Les difficultés qu'entraîne une telle méthode nous ont amené à rejeter, en l'occurrence, les techniques d'échantillonnage statistique et à obtenir un maximum de renseignements de tous les membres d'un patrilignage supérieur. Nous avons interrogé toutes les personnes mariées ou anciennement mariées résidant de manière permanente sur le territoire lignager des Haddad Rea. Des données identiques ont été recueillies dans cinq villages kanembou. Celles-ci comprenaient le sexe, l'âge, la date et le lieu de naissance, la date et la durée des mariages successifs et la façon dont ils s'achevèrent, le montant et la nature des diverses prestations maritales, ainsi, bien entendu, que les affinités lignagères et les liens de parenté pouvant exister entre époux. Les données les plus pertinentes au regard du présent article sont la date de mariage et l'appartenance lignagère. De façon à réduire au minimum la marge d'erreur dans le calcul des tendances, les dates ont été groupées par périodes de dix ans en ce qui concerne les 1 289 mariages étudiés chez les Haddad et de vingt ans lorsqu'il s'agit des 311 unions envisagées parmi les Kanembou. L'endogamie est successivement présentée en fonction de l'appartenance lignagère des époux, de leurs origines géographiques et liens de parenté et, enfin, de la notion indigène d'alliance inter-lignagère, elle-même définissable à la lumière des trois facteurs précédents. Cependant, l'analyse statistique ne devient significative que lorsque nous rapportons les faits étudiés, dans la mesure où nous le pouvons, à leur contexte historique.

Il s'avère que la stricte prohibition exogamique qui divise Haddad et Kanembou est encore aujourd'hui respectée dans toute sa rigueur mais, sur d'autres plans, d'importants changements ont affecté la dynamique matrimoniale au Sud-Kanem au fur et à mesure que les conditions d'exercice du pouvoir politique et économique se modifiaient. Les mariages contractés « au hasard » (arti) sont devenus à tel point nombreux que l'idéologie prônant l'endogamie lignagère n'est plus, depuis quelques années, en accord avec la pratique sociale. L'évolution de l'endogamie « professionnelle » des forgerons offre l'exemple le plus frappant de ce processus. En comparant les résultats obtenus auprès des deux strates étudiées, il ressort que l'endogamie est loin d'être le « monopole » des castes professionnelles ou des couches pauvres de la société. Nous constatons une grande solidarité dans les échanges matrimoniaux entre lignages politiquement puissants; les unions où l'appartenance à un même groupe agnatique intervient comme composante essentielle à l'exclusion de tout lien de cousinage reconnu entre les époux sont plus de deux fois plus fréquentes que chez les Haddad. Les mariages où la proximité résidentielle en dehors de toute relation de parenté est un variable important sont, par contre, plus courants parmi les Haddad qui cherchent à franchir les barrières de stratification par des mariages avec des partenaires de lignage différent, et cela malgré les restrictions de mouvement dont ils pâtissent dans les chefferies kanembou. Dans les deux cas, des facteurs directement liés à l'équilibre politique semblent influencer sur la dynamique matrimoniale autant sinon plus que la parenté proprement dite.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to present the preliminary results of a comparative study of endogamy and lineage organization among the two major social strata of the Kanembu people of Southeast Kanem in the Republic of Chad.

In its widest acceptance Kanəmbú means anyone belonging to the people of Kanem and whose mother tongue is kanəmbukanəmbú. In current usage, however, the term is restricted to those lineages of Kanemi freemen whose claim to being distant descendants of the Sefawa, of their marriageable allies or successors is socially recognized. Among freemen a distinction is drawn between the 'people of the spear' or Kanembu of "noble" descent in the widest sense and the 'people of the bow', better known as the Ḥaddād to whom BARTH and NACHTIGAL referred. In Arabic ḥaddād means blacksmith but the Kanembu distinguish both socially and linguistically between blacksmiths (kəgəlmà) and members of "smith" lineages (dñ).

The Haddad form approximately 1/5 or 1/4 of the Kanembu population but this proportion varies greatly from place to place. Their settlement patterns are largely determined by the mode of production of their overlords as well as in terms of the degree of political autonomy they have been able to acquire. Freemen though they both are, the Kanembu and Haddad Kanembu are separated by important social and economic barriers among which the most important are probably the strict prohibition of intermarriage between the two strata and the monopoly of cattle ownership, traditionally reserved to the Kanembu. Characteristics generally associated with professional castes (hereditary transmission of social status and professional knowledge, forced endogamy, specific ritual status, etc.) appear, through time, to have been extended to a vast sector of the Kanembu farming population, thereby excluding the latter from many corporate political prerogatives, direct transmission or possession of capital resources, in most cases the control of the surplus of one's own labour and, of course, the right to marry out of one's "caste". The hypothesis adopted in this paper is that in view of the social and economic differences between the dependent Haddad and the Kanembu, their respective lineages can be formally but not structurally identical.

The Kanembu view their own society as crosscut by three important cleavages (Kanembu/Haddad; freeman/slave; master/dependant) which delimit partially overlapping, hierarchized social categories. The whole of society is furthermore divided "vertically" into discrete lineage groups of a formally like nature. The dominant ideology fails to explicitly recognize that the vertical fragmentation of kin-based political groups, on the dual basis of the unilineal principle and the endogamic prescription, are essential mechanisms for the perpetuation of the stratification system in that they prevent political alliance between subordinate sub-groups united by blood, marriage or clan-ship. Diachronically, a dual process characterizes the dominating/dominated relationship at all stages of the maximal lineage development cycle. On the one hand, forced endogamy and geographical dispersion maintain and accentuate vertical segregation between dominated groups as well as between dominated and dominant groups. On the other hand, nobles are free to reinforce horizontal segregation by manipulating tribute exacting circuits, while being qualified to cross vertical barriers, especially through politically motivated interlineage marriages. In this context endogamy does not emerge primarily as a function of the kinship system, but appears to be strongly linked among all strata to several inter-related sets of determinants such as the mechanisms of economic and political domination, the inter-lineage alliance system, the processes of internal consolidation of lineages, and, among lower strata, the quest for social ascension. It is obvious that these phenomena cannot be considered as static characteristics of a society and thus endogamy itself must be studied from a diachronic point of view.

The difficulties entailed by such a task made it necessary to obtain as complete a set of data as possible concerning all members of a maximal lineage instead of relying on sampling techniques. Information was solicited from every married or once married person permanently residing in the villages and hamlets controlled by the politically autonomous Haddad Rea. Identical comparative data were collected in five Kanembu villages. Items considered included the sex, age, date and place of birth, date and duration of successive marriages, their mode of termination, bridewealth and other marital prestations transferred and, of course, the lineage affiliations and kinship links of partners. The crucial data as regards the present preliminary analysis are the approximate date of marriage and the lineage affiliations of partners. In order to reduce the potential margin of error in computing marriage trends through time, dates were grouped into ten-year sequences among the Haddad where 1,289 unions were studied and into twenty-year sequences in the case of the Kanembu among whom only 311 marriages were recorded. 'In-marriage' is successively considered in terms of nominal descent group affiliations, territoriality, traceable genealogical links between partners and, finally, the native concept of inter-lineage alliance, itself defined in relation to the three preceding factors. The statistical analysis is commented upon with reference to parallel historical research.

Although the strict prohibition on Haddad-Kanembu marriage is shown to have been enforced throughout the period considered, significant structural changes in marriage patterns and strategies emerge concomitantly with the waning of some of the major political functions of the maximal lineage and, foremost, the exercise of force. "Random" (arti) marriage increases to a level such that the ideology of lineage endogamy is no longer compatible with actual practice. The evolution of "professional" endogamy among the smith caste offers a most striking example of this trend. The comparison of the Haddad and Kanembu material underlines that endogamy was not and is not a monopoly of professional castes or of the lower strata of society. Among the Kanembu, a greater solidarity of dominant lineages prevails to the extent that marriages where lineage affiliation to the exclusion of traceable cousin links is an essential component are more than twice as frequent as among the Haddad. Unions where geographical proximity in the origin of spouses is the salient variable to the exclusion of lineage or genealogical links are today more common among the Haddad who are attempting to break stratum barriers by inter-lineage marriage alliance but whose freedom of movement is greatly restricted in the Kanembu chieftaincies which surround them. In both cases, factors directly related to the power balance account for as many or more marriages than those in which kinship—itsself a partly political variable—is the most apparent determinant.

Introduction

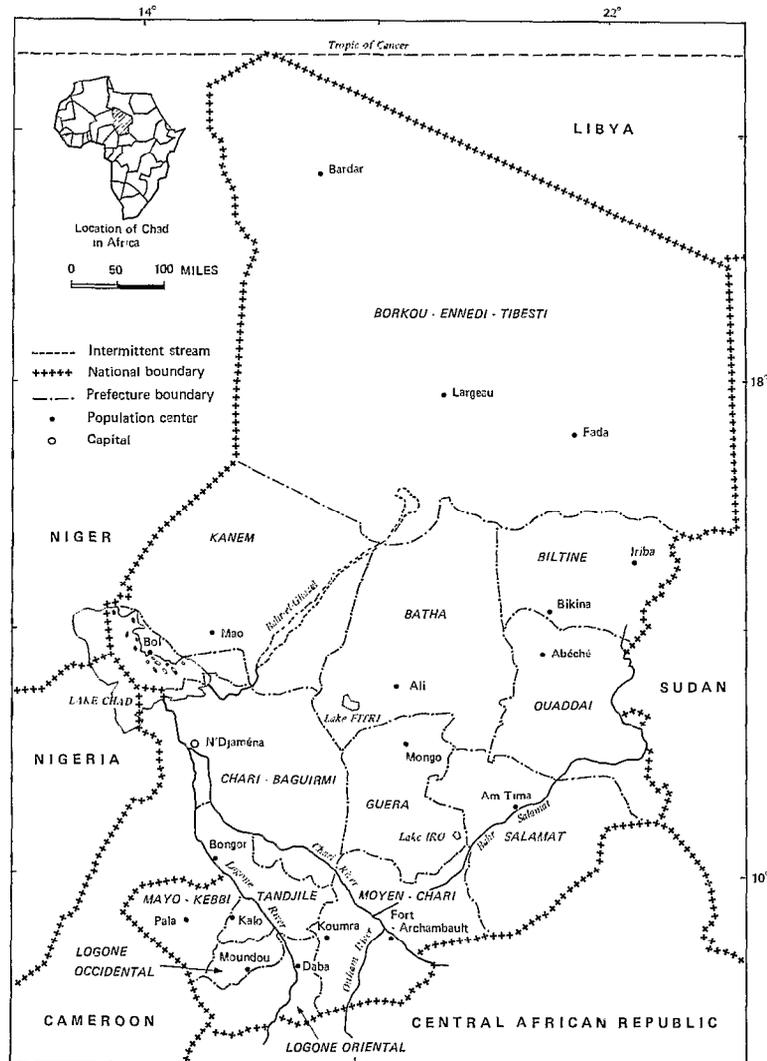
Sub-Saharan African societies are often considered in terms of three major ethnological assumptions, namely:

- the predominance of unilineal organization,
- lineage exogamy, and
- the restriction of endogamy to so-called 'professional castes'.

Until recently, much less attention has been given

to the determining rôle of socio-economic stratification on the lineage system as well as on exogamic and endogamic practices. The aim of this paper is to present the preliminary results of a comparative study of endogamy and lineage organization among the two major social strata of the Kanembu people of Southeast Kanem in the Republic of Chad.

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1. — The Republic of Chad.

NOTE: This map is drawn from NELSON, DOBERT, MC DONALD *et al.*, 1972, *Area Handbook for Chad*. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Gov. Print. Off., p. xv.

The Sahelian province of Kanem (1) borders on the fringe of the Sahara to the north, the shores of Lake Chad to the south, the Chadian Bahr el-Ghazāl to the east and the Chad-Niger border to the west. Over the centuries, this geographically and ecologically privileged position has been one of the major factors which have contributed to making the province a crossroads for many ethnic groups. South Kanem in particular, with its abundant

water supply, fish and game resources and rich grazing lands was an area of great importance in the formation of the Kanem-Bornu state. In spite of repeated influxes of Teda-Daza, Arab, Bulala, Tuareg, Bornuan and Wadayan conquerors, raiders and settlers, population density never appears to have exceeded the carrying capacity of the land, save in instances of exceptional political turmoil or cyclical droughts when security requirements

(1) The present-day province of Kanem extends well above 16° N. Lat. over 300 km northward of its administrative center at Mao. The islands and shores of Lake Chad have been regrouped in the Lake Prefecture (October 1962).

In this paper, the term Kanem is used in the vernacular sense and designates, as a whole, the chieftaincies under the direct or indirect control of the Alifa of Mao, potentate of Kanem, at the turn of this century.

could determine localized over-concentration and competition for natural resources. In general, ecological and political conditions concurred in permitting almost any mode of livelihood, be it hunting and gathering, nomadic husbandry (mainly in the North), variants of a semi-nomadic, mixed type of economy or sedentary agriculture (especially in the South).

On the islands of Lake Chad proper we today find two partially aboriginal groups, the Buduma to the west and the Kuri to the east. Both, according to tradition, descend to varying degrees from the somewhat mythical Sao peoples of the Chad Basin. As we move further back into the hinterland, we encounter a small group of sedentarized Arabs, the Tunjur of Mondo, as well as more numerous groups of Tubu origin such as the Teda, the Daza and the Kreda. North of the limit of millet culture (about 14' N. lat.) nomadize numerous Arab tribes of Libyan descent. Immediately south and east of the Lake, the presence of semi-sedentarized "Shuwa" and "Dagana" Arabs, heavily intermixed with autochthonous Negroid populations, marks a culminating point of Arab invasions and migrations into the Central Sudan.

The Kanembu and the Haddad

In the midst of these highly diversified peoples, some 80,000 *kanambukanambú*-speakers reside to the north and east of the Lake shores, throughout the district of Mao and the riverain mainland of the Lake Prefecture. Culturally homogenous and numerically predominant, these semi-sedentary Muslim agro-pastoralists have for centuries formed the stable core of Kanem's population (1).

Kanambukanambú belongs to the Kanuri group which, as defined by LUKAS "comprises three widespread and important languages: Tedaga, spoken mainly in Tibesti; Dazaga, the language of the Daza, spoken south of Tibesti in Borku, in the Bahr-el-Ghazal and in the northern part of Kanem reaching as far as N'gigmi on the western shore of Lake

Chad, and Kanuri, spoken mainly in Bornu, together with the Kanembu dialects in southern Kanem and a narrow girdle comprising the western and northern shores of the Lake... it can be seen that all three languages are closely related, although this does not mean that these languages are mutually understood... It is highly probable that Dazaga and Kanuri are language-colonies which came from a common source—the Tedaga—some considerable time ago, and that they developed under the influence of another milieu into Dazaga, Kanuri and Kanembu-kanembu... The Kanuri are the youngest offspring of the three peoples mentioned above—the Daza, Kanuri and Kanembu. Bornu is not their original home, but they conquered this land from the Sao, whose language belongs to the Chado-Hamitic group, in fights which lasted over many hundreds of years and the result of which was a considerable mixture of races" (2).

Tradition attributes the emergence of the Kanembu "nation" to the conquest of autochthonous Negroid agriculturalists and hunters, associated with the somewhat mythical Sao culture, by groups of Saharan nomads, collectively designated by Arab chroniclers as the "Zaghawa". The latter acquired dominion over Kanem around the beginning of this millenium and are considered to be the founders of the Sefawa dynasty. The word Kanem itself is derived from the Tubu term for 'south' (Tubu: *anum* or *anem*; Kanuri: *aném*, Kanembu.: *anum*) preceded by the nominal prefix 'k' and, thus, signifies 'land of the South'; the Kanembu are, in relation to Tibesti, the 'people of the South' (3).

In its widest acceptance *Kanambú* means anyone belonging to the people of Kanem and whose mother tongue is *kanambukanambú*. In current usage, however, the term is restricted to those lineages of Kanemi freemen whose claim to being distant descendants of the Sefawa or of their marriageable allies or successors, is socially recognized. Among freemen (*kâmbè*), a distinction is drawn between the 'people of the spear' (*yam kayāye*) or Kanembu of "noble" descent in the widest sense, and the

(1) An approximation of Kanem's population by ethnic group can be attempted on the basis of of the figures supplied in JACOB, KERNEN & DELAGARDE (1964) and LE ROUVREUR (1962) :

Kanembu.....	60,000 (+20,000 resident outside of Kanem)
Haddad.....	20,000
Buduma.....	15,000
Daza.....	6,000
Kuri.....	6,000
Tunjur.....	1,500
Others.....	5,500
	<hr/> 114,000

(2) LUKAS, 1936, pp. 333-334.

(3) NACHTIGAL, 1881, vol. II, pp. 336-337.

'people of the bow' (*yam karntye*). In South Kanem, the latter expression refers to those groups better known as the Haddad, who were first described by Barth: "Mailo, a place with a lake full of fish (is) inhabited by a peculiar tribe called Haddáda or Búngu, who are said to speak the Kanuri language, but go almost naked, being only clothed with a leather apron around their loins, and are armed with bows and arrows and the góliyo (1). They are very expert bowmen, and, when attacked, withdraw into the dense forests of their district (to which seems to apply the general name of Bari), and know well how to defend their independence in politics as well as in religion—for they are pagans" (2).

Twenty years later, NACHTIGAL, the first European to visit the Haddad, was intrigued by the fact that the then apparently Islamicized inhabitants of the Bari district were called "blacksmiths" for no more metalworkers were to be found than among any other people of Kanem. Indeed, in both literary and Chadie Arabic, *ḥaddād* (plural: *ḥaddādīn*) signifies blacksmith. In the latter dialect, the term is extended to designate, as a group or as individuals, not only all blacksmiths but all craftsmen and their kin, in addition to hunters and many non-craftsmen descended from or related to both of the former. In this acceptance the singular becomes *Ḥaddādi* and the plural *Ḥaddād*.

The Kanembu make a linguistic and social distinction between blacksmiths and members of "smith" lineages. In *kanambukanambú*, blacksmith must be translated as *kágalmà* (3) and *Ḥaddadi* as *Dû* (4). A *kágalmà* is always a member of a *Dû* lineage and, in principle, a non-*Dû* who adopts the profession of blacksmith is thereafter, along with his descendants, considered *Dû* with all the contempt this status entails. Even most non-smith *Dû* would be very reticent to become *kágalmà*.

The *Duu* form approximately 1/5 or 1/4 of the Kanembu population but this proportion varies greatly from place to place. Their settlement patterns are largely determined by the mode of production of their overlords as well as in terms of the degree of political autonomy they have been able to acquire.

In the predominantly Arab and Daza nomadic zones of North Kanem, the Haddad represent only 1 to 5 % of the population, living in small communities comprising no more than a few nuclear families, stationed behind the groups of tents of their masters or independently along the latter's routes of transhumance. In this situation they effectively constitute what many ethnographers of the Sahel have termed endogamous professional castes. A few residual groups of hunters and gatherers (5), politically autonomous from the Daza, are spread out through the Manga and Chitati areas on either side of the Chad-Niger border. Further south, around Mao, among the semi-sedentary Kanembu, the Haddad are often integrated into "noble" villages, again in small groups of ten to twenty persons. They perform menial agricultural and cattle-guarding duties in addition to certain artisanal activities. Among larger concentrations of population they may live in separate hamlets associated politically and economically with given neighbouring villages of Kanembu. In this area, where they constitute some 10 to 15 % of the population, the number of actual craftsmen is quite reduced and the latter, it may be noted, are of Daza rather than Kanembu origin.

Finally, in South Kanem, the Haddad may be found in larger groups locally totalizing from 20 to 75 % of the population. Their status is highly variable and may range from that of "slave" among certain riverain *kanambukanambú*-speaking Kuri groups to that of politically independent "tribes", as stated above by BARTH.

Whatever their demographic and political situations, the Haddad have adopted the language, technology and, in a wider sense, the culture of the peoples among whom they live. At the present time, they can hardly be outwardly distinguished from the "pure" Kanembu (6). Nonetheless, the Kanembu and Haddad Kanembu, freemen though they all are, may be differentiated by several important social and economic criteria:

(1) Inter-marriage between the two groups is strictly forbidden; membership of either is hence hereditary(7);

(1) Throwing-Knife.

(2) BARTH, H, 1965, vol. II, p. 608.

(3) From *kágəl* or *kákul*: anvil with the suffix *ma* which indicates the bearer of a profession.

(4) Pronounced *dúgu*, *dúyu* or *dû*. In Kanuri, the sister-language of *kanambukanambú*, *dúgù* signifies musician, *dúgùram* female craftsman or female musician; *dugún* means hatred or enmity and the verb *dugújin*, *dugujin*, to become a musician. Among the Kanembu musicians are the least esteemed of all the hereditary professional groups; the fact that they are generally considered to be both Haddad and slaves reflects their very low status.

(5) See NICOLAISEN, 1968 and CHAPELLE, 1957.

(6) Up until the first decades of this century, the Haddad could generally be recognized by their leather dress and specific weapons. As among the lacustral Buduma, Islamicization appears to have been quite recent among some riverain hunter/cultivators of the Bari district.

(7) Freed slaves and children of slave women but of Kanembu father constitute the only exceptions to this rule.

(2) The ownership of cattle has been traditionally reserved to the Kanembu (1);

(3) With the partial exception of four politically autonomous Haddad lineages of the N'guri—Yalita area, the Haddad are still to a large extent in a situation of politico-economic vassalage vis-à-vis Kanembu lineages. This is manifest in tribute levying practices—or tax payment as the expression today goes—as well as in the compared standard of living of the two groups;

(4) Commensality and many other forms of common social intercourse are very rare indeed between Haddad and Kanembu.

Are the Kanembu and the Haddad Kanembu in fact one and the same ethnic group? An analysis in purely contemporary terms would, doubtless, conclude by the affirmative. Yet, the hereditary, "natural" inequality which defines and regulates the relations between these two strata of Kanembu society (as well as internal relations between sub-strata of one or the other category) must be viewed through time as a phenomenon parallel to the historical and ethnic genesis of the Kanembu people as a whole. Oral tradition is far from invoking in favour of the Haddad "pure" descent from the Magemi, Sugurti, Kubri or Dalatoa lineages of Bornuan and Kanemi fame. At best, when lineage names of Kanembu and Haddad groups are identical or similar, Haddad apical ancestors may be qualified as younger sons or brothers of Kanembu apical ancestors. Their inferior status is often further justified by some form of original treason toward the lineage, an insult to the Prophet or birth by a second wife of lowly origin. Haddad tradition offers multiple but non-contradictory versions, most of which mention hunter ancestry; they include:

(1) descent from hunter and gatherer groups of North Kanem or Manga;

(2) descent from lacustral hunter groups (who use the bow and arrow and not the net as in North Kanem);

(3) in certain cases, descent from vassal groups of the Bulala who played a dominant rôle in Kanem (especially around Dibinchi and N'guri) until their final defeat by the Tunjur Arabs from Waday about the middle of the 17th century (2);

(4) the integration into Haddad lineages of groups of captives acquired as late as the end of the 19th century by Kanembu raiding parties in Central Chad and Bagirmi;

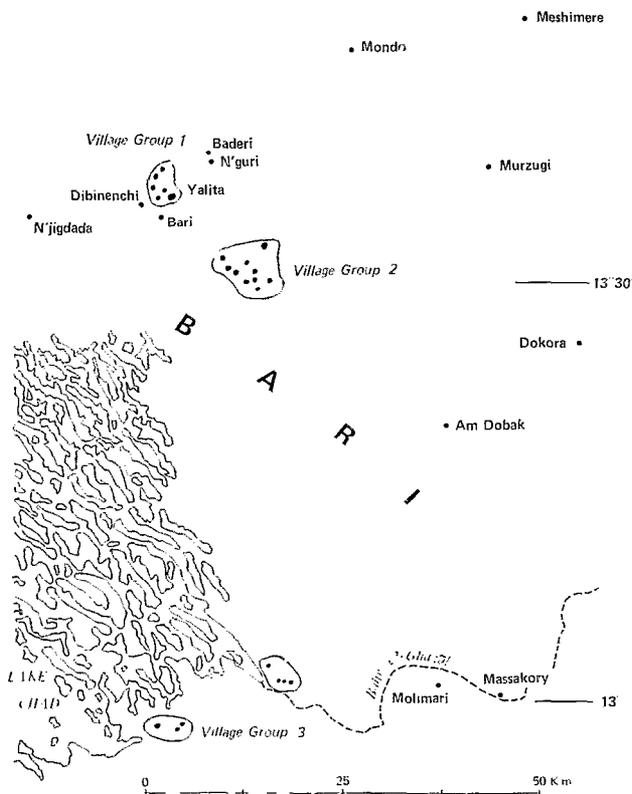
(5) in the case of certain lineage segments, the incorporation of groups of political refugees of diverse origins, fleeing the repeated invasions which have plagued the wider Kanem all through recorded history, forced to barter their autonomy of movement and economic independence against protection;

(6) the assimilation of elements not ethnically distinct from those which formed the Kanembu people but of subservient status at the time of foundation of the Kanem kingdom or during subsequent upheavals of the political system.

The object of this enumeration is to underline that we are dealing neither with a professional caste in the generally accepted sense, nor with a separate ethnic group recently integrated by the Kanembu, nor with a social class. The specificity of the Haddad's social situation is reflected in a dual ambiguity. On the one hand, considered as freemen, the Haddad traditionally had fewer possibilities of social ascension open to them than many slaves. In virtue of the patrilineal principle, any person born of a Kanembu father became a free Kanembu. The integration of slave women and their offsprings into noble lineages as well as enfranchisement were of course means of stimulating the productive capacity of the domestic group in the upper class but it is also true that slaves did overcome stratum barriers relating to marriage and could acquire the right to own cattle whereas the Haddad did not. On the other hand, characteristics generally associated with professional castes (hereditary transmission of social status and professional knowledge, forced endogamy, specific ritual status, etc.) were extended to a vast sector of the Kanembu farming population, thereby excluding the latter from many corporate prerogatives, direct possession or transmission of capital resources, in most cases of the control of the surplus of one's own labour and, of course, the right to marry out of one's "caste". Historically, it would appear that one of the main functions of the Haddad stratum was to control and integrate smaller groups of Kanemi,

(1) The colonial archives of the 1920's and 30's relate numerous examples of Haddad undertaking cattle raids against their "noble" neighbours. Though since 1956 it has become illegal to refuse to sell cattle to a person on account of his social status or ethnic origin, Kanembu merchants often do their best to impede the constitution of Haddad-owned herds. A simple stroll through Kanembu and Haddad villages and herding grounds of South Kanem would demonstrate the efficiency of such practices.

(2) "According to tradition the Tunjur entered the Mondo region from Waday about the middle of the seventeenth century and defeated the Bulala whose ruling clan went east into the Bahr al-Ghazâl. The Tunjur chief made Mawo (then situated south of the present administrative center of Mao) his headquarters until he was driven out by an army from Bornu under the command of a Magomi called Dala Afuno"... TRIMMINGHAM, 1962, n. p. 213.



2. — Southeast Kanem: Duu Rea Village Distribution.

who refused, until recently, to be totally assimilated into the “dynastic” (1) stratum of the Kanembu people. The most effective way of perpetrating the situations of dominance which emerged in the course of this process of “differential integration” was to maintain stratum endogamy, while leaving the upper class males free to practice polygyny and hypogamy.

Some authors (2) suggest that, granted endogamy, the social organization of the Haddad is simply “traced” on that of the Kanembu. However, the existence of this formal or apparent organizational similitude has never implied that a given institution is identically interpreted by the different actors or

functions in a like manner among both Kanembu and Haddad.

In Kanem, the study of stratum endogamy necessarily implies a minimal analysis of the lineage system. The hypothesis adopted in this paper is that in view of the social and economic differences between the dependent Haddad and the Kanembu, their respective lineages can be formally but not structurally identical.

In terms of Kanembu ideology, all lineages of equal span are “alike”. All social strata, irrespective of their interests and socio-economic statuses, participate in this conception. The Kanembu have quite precise terms to designate lineage units of different span and depth:

Kári, literally ‘root’ (3), can designate an ethnic group such as the Kanembu, the Kanuri or the Buduma. The Haddad cannot be sociologically defined as such, but the term is sometimes used by the Kanemi in this sense. Secondly the word can mean a maximal lineage, as defined by FORTES (4), and, in this context, has a more specific connotation of common ancestry. For example, the Haddad Darka or the Kanembu N’gijim are described as *kári*. The possible English renderings are: nation, tribe, ethnic group, sometimes maximal lineage and, by extension, a confederation of maximal lineages.

Jili, literally ‘kind’ or ‘color’ (5), is the closest possible rendering of maximal lineage. It designates the widest social unit based on the recognition of common putative ancestry in the male line. The term is not generally associated with the proper name of a major lineage (*čiari*) unless the latter is preceded by the name of the *jili* as in ‘Kanembu N’gijim N’gaya’.

Čiari (6) means ‘old’ as an adjective and, as a noun, can signify either an individual elder or any lineage segment smaller than the *jili* and larger than the extended family (*kifaday*). The *čiari* is conceived of in terms of traceable as opposed to putative descent, although links with its apical ancestor may sometimes be fabricated and recognized as such by those concerned. *Čiari* does not necessarily have a connotation of common residence of all its living members, though, in practice, the latter often

(1) The term is used by Nicolas in comparing the Anna and Musulmi of Maradi, Niger; many interesting parallels could be drawn between these two Hausa groups and the Kanembu/Haddad.

(2) CHAPELLE, 1957; FUCHS, 1961; LE ROUVREUR, 1962.

(3) Kanuri: *kári* = root of a tree.

(4) FORTES, 1945, pp. 30-38.

(5) Kanuri: *jili* = kind, sort, nation.

(6) Kanuri: *čári* = old, old man.

reside in a small group of adjacent villages or hamlets. The closest English equivalent is major lineage.

Kifáday, meaning 'mouth or door of the house' or 'threshold' (1), is often used in the same way as *ĕiari* but can also designate a descent group and not an individual elder or ancestor. Often translatable as minor lineage, *kifáday* refers more specifically to the group of known relatives of common agnatic descent with whom the speaker regularly interacts, rather than to any more abstract notion of 'descent group'.

Fádà or **fádò** (2) means 'house', 'home' or 'compound' and designates the basic residential or domestic group, i. e. all members of a nuclear or extended family who permanently reside together in one compound. The term corresponds closely to the notion of minimal lineage.

At all levels of segmentation, the unilineal transmission of political and economic rights in the male line is a principle which constitutes the base of Kanembu political ideology and organization. At opposite extremes of the social scale, particularly among the ruling Dalatoa lineage and certain blacksmith groups, a certain degree of effective bilaterality could be argued. The exercise of force or constraint may also modify the transmission of rights in a fashion not genealogically compatible with the unilineal rule. Yet, these exceptions do not detract from the principle's operational or analytical universality.

In Kanem, the largest effectively corporate socio-political unit is the maximal lineage or *jili*. This group, which will serve as our main point of reference in presenting endogamous practices, traditionally has certain necessary attributes:

- (1) the capacity to control land,
- (2) the capacity to regulate its own internal affairs, and
- (3) the exercise of an autonomous political and military rôle at the societal level.

Beyond the lineage level, the major distinguishing criterion between social strata is the control or lack of control over means of production, principally land and cattle. Such control presupposes the capacity to exercise force, thus allowing access to tribute-collecting circuits which in turn regenerate the capacity to exercise force and secure profitable

political alliances. Lack of control over means of production conversely precludes the capacity to exercise force. In the vernacular, the two main socio-economic classes of Kanembu society—irrespective of the formal lineage or stratum affiliations of the individuals which compose them—are called *yam dalye* (the rich and powerful, in short, the masters) and *yam tálaye* (the poor and weak or dependants) (3).

Hence, the Kanembu view their own society as crosscut by three important cleavages (Kanembu/Haddad; freeman/slave; master/dependant.) which delimit partially overlapping, hierarchized social categories. The whole of society is furthermore divided "vertically" into discrete lineage groups of a formally like nature. The inherent ambiguities of this classification reflect the power structure of Kanembu society, founded on the notion of "natural" inequality.

The native model stipulates that all Kanembu are of one kind—it being understood at the societal level that even economically poorer Kanembu are considered "noble by blood"—and all Haddad of another. This is empirically true to the extent that the dominant ideology partially determines political interaction and forbids marriage between Haddad and non-Haddad but nominal membership of a stratum does not suffice to define a lineage's position in the system of social stratification. This is illustrated by the economically and politically dominant position of the Haddad Darka and the conversely subservient situation of "their" dependent Kanembu. The ideological model accounting for Kanemi stratification and lineage ranking masks the structural opposition between two types of Haddad lineages while instituting a false dichotomy between autonomous Haddad and Kanembu. Secondly, the dominant ideology fails to explicitly recognize that the vertical fragmentation of kin-based political groups, on the dual basis of the unilineal principle and the endogamic prescription, is an essential mechanism for the perpetuation of the stratification system in that it prevents political alliance between subordinate sub-groups united by blood, marriage or clanship. Diachronically, a dual process characterizes the dominating/dominated relationship at all stages of the maximal lineage developmental cycle. On the one hand, forced endogamy and dispersion maintain and

(1) *Kifáday* is the Kanembu equivalent of the Arabic *khashīm al-beyt*; both have the same literal meaning. It is difficult to say whether the Kanembu term was borrowed from the Arabic or vice versa.

(2) Kanuri: *fátò* = compound.

(3) The former category comprises those who have «*déná*» (Kanuri: *dúnò* = strength) a global concept which confounds numerous referents such as strength, power, authority and wealth. The *yam tálaye* are also known as *maskin* from the Arabic *meshīn*, plural *masākīn*.

accentuate vertical segregation between dominated groups as well as between dominated and dominant groups. On the other hand, nobles are free to reinforce horizontal segregation by manipulating tribute exaction circuits, while being qualified to cross vertical barriers, especially through politically motivated inter-lineage marriages. Were strategic political unions to be practiced by the dependent Haddad, they would have no political effect beyond the co-resident village unit in that they do not involve the transfer or consolidation of capital resources.

Lineages which do not control their own means of production cannot group their population at will and are subject to dispersion in function of the manpower needs of dominant lineages. Dependent lineages do not control their own land and, hence, the processes of internal segmentation do not result in the formation of corporate major segments. In practice, though not in name, such units do not have maximal lineage status and remain but non-corporate aggregates of minor segments having no or few common politico-economic prerogatives.

In this context endogamy does not emerge primarily as a function of the kinship system, but appears to be strongly determined among all strata by at least four inter-related sets of determinants:

- (1) the mechanisms of economic and political domination,
- (2) the inter-lineage alliance system,
- (3) the processes of internal consolidation of lineages, and,
- (4) among lower strata, the quest for social ascension.

It is obvious that these phenomena cannot be considered as static characteristics of a society and thus endogamy itself must be studied from a diachronic point of view. As DUPIRE states: « *L'endogamie apparaît comme un mécanisme temporaire lié au pouvoir en général, politique en particulier, dans les sociétés où celui-ci est attaché à des unités de filiation dont les segments (ou fragments) sont nécessairement opposables et où n'existe pas de règle stricte de succession... Si la plupart des auteurs s'accordent sur l'inclusion nécessaire du politique dans la dynamique lignagère des sociétés endogames, les uns interprètent l'endogamie comme un mécanisme de consolidation du lignage minimal dans sa lutte de faction (BARTH) (1), d'autres considèrent qu'elle est génératrice de fissions (MURPHY) (2). Ces deux aspects correspondent à deux stades d'un même processus qui, de l'endogamie élargie qui consolide le lignage minimal, en passant ensuite par l'endogamie restreinte de ses branches, peut aboutir à des fissions » (3).*

With this perspective in mind, we may attempt to compare endogamy at the maximal lineage level among the Haddad and Kanembu strata. A main hypothesis of this paper is that patterns of endogamy do not substantially change over time unless this process is accompanied by a modification of the power balance at the societal level. Within lineages, kinship and residential patterns do constitute secondary factors determining endogamic practices but the wider social and political significance of in-group marriage does not undergo structural modifications unless the position of a given lineage in the system of social stratification itself changes. In the present day, the modification of endogamy patterns among dominated groups tend to be strongly influenced by the model of "life-style" propounded by the dominant strata. Such processes require several decades to fully crystallize since certain social constraints and their accompanying ideological justifications are operative longer than the socio-economic system in which they originally emerged.

The sample

The obvious difficulties encountered by a diachronic study made it necessary to obtain as complete a set of data as possible concerning all members of an entire maximal lineage. Information was solicited from every married or once married person permanently residing in the villages and hamlets controlled by the politically autonomous Haddad Rea. Informants thus included all members of the Rea maximal lineage living on the lineage territory and all permanent settlers of different lineage affiliation. Identical comparative data was collected in five Kanembu villages belonging to the Kogona and N'gijim maximal lineages. Items considered included the sex, age, date and place of birth, date and duration of successive marriages, their mode of termination, bridewealth and other marital prestations transferred and, of course, the lineage affiliations and kinship links of partners. The crucial data as regards the present preliminary analysis are the approximate date of marriage and the lineage affiliations of partners.

Dates were determined in relation to a calendar of local events established on the basis of French colonial archives material dating as far back as 1899, each response then being further corroborated with the major occurrences in the life of each infor-

(1) BARTH, F., 1953 and 1954.

(2) MURPHY, KASDAN, 1959.

(3) DUPIRE, 1970, pp. 573-574.

mant. In order to reduce the potential margin of error, marital history dates were then grouped into ten-year sequences among the Haddad where 1,289 unions were studied and into twenty-year sequences in the case of the Kanembu among whom only 311 marriages were recorded. Data regarding maximal, major, minor and minimal lineage affiliations were much less delicate to handle; informants will gladly furnish such facts as easily as their own names. Each adult was contacted at least twice and, whenever possible, data were further checked out by speaking with friends and relatives of informants.

For the Haddad we have a total sample and for the Kanembu a 25 % sample, respecting both the relative weight of status groups as defined in terms of wealth and authority as well as the respective demographic importance of the different lineages composing the politico-territorial units chosen for study. Thus the sample of extant marriages may be considered as representative of the present-day situation. However, as we extend our view back into time the representativeness of the sample becomes questionable, for there is no means of controlling the plural marriages of the dead or the lineage affiliations of those persons who might have been forgotten or have emigrated. In this regard the validity of the data is fully dependent on the goodwill of informants. Information concerning the lineage affiliations and decades of marriage of deceased parents was willingly furnished by their children and next of kin and can, in the great majority of cases be assumed correct. Genealogical checks were often carried out over the two-year period of inquiry and the information furnished by closely related families was compared in order to test the internal coherence of the statements recorded. Finally, base though it may appear, the gossip one hears from day to day is often an excellent means of detecting errors relating to past events. While not attempting to underplay the inescapable difficulties encountered, it can be maintained that since the relative importance of status groups within lineages does not appear to have fundamentally changed over the eighty-year period considered in parallel historical research, the earlier figures in the diachronic presentation do retain some claim to sociological significance if not to total statistical representativeness. At a wider level of analysis, they have been corroborated by dependable data on village movements and modifications of inter-lineage alliance and collective residential patterns.

As regards the Haddad Rea, the period from

1895 to 1975 is particularly significant in that it covers the whole life-span of the group as a named and politically recognized maximal lineage. Prior to that date the Rea must be considered as a major lineage of a wider unit of allied groups. The latter was composed of what are today the Haddad Rea, Adia and Bara maximal lineages, who all claim common Haddad hunter ancestry, allied to the militarily influential Haddad Darka of N'guri who, probably rightly, claim mixed Bulala and Haddad ancestry. The Darka in turn had as their vassals five subservient Kanembu lineages and the latter's Haddad.

In this analysis the Adia, Bara and Darka lineages will be designated as the Allied Lineages, abbreviated 'A'. Four Haddad major lineages effectively practicing ironwork, the Goya, Warda, Kawlya and Kakuluru, all of Daza origin, will be considered as a single unit for the purposes of marriage and designated as the Smith Lineages (S). All Haddad lineages having to some extent inter-married with the Rea, Allied and Smith groups will be termed Exterior Lineages (E). This last criterion does lack in precision but it may be argued that all exterior lineages are dependent units tributary to Kanembu overlords and, hence, lack the prerogatives of relative political autonomy which have remained, to some extent up to the present day, the unique attribute of the Darka, Rea, Adia and Bara in the Haddad stratum.

The statistical approach used to examine the case of the Kanembu Kogona, chosen because of their political superiority as direct delegates of the central potentate, the Alifa of Mao (1), in South Kanem, is identical to that applied to the Haddad. Yet, inherent differences in Kanembu social and political organization have entailed the adoption of different criteria in distinguishing significant sub-groups as regards the study of the inter-relations between politics and endogamy. Firstly, members of the Kanembu Kogona and N'gijim lineages will be classified together as Local Nobles (L). It is true that the two units have distinctly different genealogical origins. The Kogona are of Bornuan descent and have, at least among notables, traceable links of kinship with the Alifa of Mao and his immediate entourage. The N'gijim, on the other hand, are, again among the core of lineage dignitaries and allowing for the progressive assimilation of exterior elements into the group, of Bulala descent. Schematically, speaking when the Bulala masters of Kanem (purportedly descended from the Sefawa at a much earlier stage of Kanemi history) were expelled by the Tunjur Arabs in the middle of the 17th century,

(1) «The (Bornuan) army (of Dala Afuno) settled in Kanem and their chief was appointed the first *alifu* (*khalifa*) byt he *Mai* to whom he was tributary.» TRIMMINGHAM, 1962, n. p. 213. Dala's descendants are known as the Dalaltoa.

those who remained behind constituted the core of the N'gijim lineage in the case of the nobles and that of the Darka in the case of N'gijim dependants.

It could be objected that in a paper attempting to compare the relations between politics and endogamy among the Kanembu and the Haddad, the Kogona and the N'gijim are remarkably "un-Kanembu" and the Darka "un-Haddad" in their origins. The classification of groups here presented assumes that the actual power of a lineage in military and economic terms is much more relevant in determining marriage patterns than the local concepts of ethnicity during any given historical period. Marriages are often spoken of by the Kanembu and Haddad in terms of ethnic and lineage affiliations; indeed, dozens of sayings relate what are considered to be the ethnically determined attributes of women. Although concepts of ethnicity and the lineage ideology are important as political idioms relevant in redefining inter-group relations in periods of turmoil and power shifts or in justifying dominance during times of relative stability, the actual power of a group—as defined by its control of land, tribute and armed men—over an historically significant time span is a major analytical factor in relating underlying economic and stratification variables with apparent, quantifiable kinship and marriage networks. Finally, vis-à-vis Kanembu "ethnicity", one can but notice that at different points in time, the more powerful a group is, the less "Kanembu" its genealogy turns out to be. The periodic takeovers at the top of the power pyramid by groups of widely varying ethnic stock have rendered Kanembu "ethnicity" a more and more complex notion. In the vernacular, the term 'Kanembu', not surprisingly, has two major referents: that of a cultural or even "national" group with admittedly fluid boundaries as well as that of a social stratum synonymous with prestige if not always with wealth. 'Duu' has only one referent: that of a subjugated stratum and definitely not of an ethnic group. In the tongue of a member of the Kanembu stratum, it is generally followed by the possessive pronoun in the first person singular or plural. However, over the last few decades, the term designating the power holders has been neither a common noun nor an ethnic denomination: the word is Kogona (1).

The preceding parenthesis does not in itself justify the assimilation of Kogona and N'gijim in a single category. In other areas of Kanem, Mao in particular, it could be erroneous to define the dominant stratum as a unit composed of several maximal lineages. In the outlying southern realms of the

province, one must. The Kogona are, bringing things down to their simplest expression, the Alifa's police force, to put it politely. The N'gijim, whose presence dates back centuries earlier than that of the Kogona, own more fertile land and control more armed men. The Kogona, on the other hand, thanks to their powerful cousins, dominate the tribute exaction circuits. A somewhat symmetrical relationship between the Rea, Adia and Bara and the Darka could also be argued.

This classification being based on criteria of social stratification and economic control within a politically defined territory, it has been further necessary to distinguish among nobles those indigenous to the unit considered and those who have settled on the territory through marriage. Kanembu maximal lineages controlling the zone studied (L) are compared with outside Kanembu maximal lineages of noble status (N). These two sub-categories are opposed to maximal lineages of free but dependent status (D).

In approaching the diachronic description of what appeared as crucial aspects of Kanemi endogamy, no blanket definition of the concept is given. Without pretending that the points of reference here chosen are exhaustive, 'in-marriage' will successively be considered in terms of nominal descent group affiliations, territoriality, traceable genealogical links between partners and, finally, the native concept of inter-lineage alliance, itself defined in relation to the three preceding factors. It is through this concept and not at a formal statistical level that the comparison of Haddad and Kanembu material becomes relevant.

Remarks on the evolution of marriage patterns among the Haddad

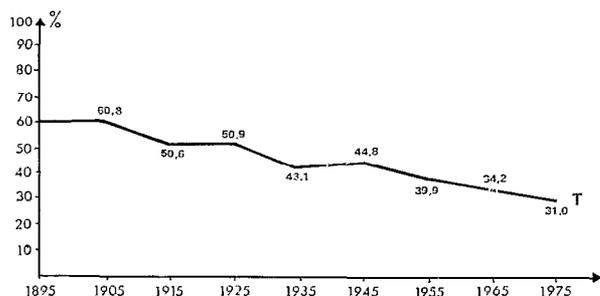
The prohibition on marriage between the Haddad and the Kanembu was and is rigorously enforced. The object of our first classification is to determine whether within the Haddad stratum the maximal lineage is an endogamous group. Let us first examine the case of the Haddad Rea. The autonomous Haddad maximal lineage is a genealogically defined, strongly patrilineally oriented socio-political group. Even today, in spite of the waning of some of its major political functions and, foremost, the corporate exercise of force, the Rea remain a territorially bounded, co-resident unit.

From the beginning of the 19th century through to the 1890's, the autonomous Rea, Adia and Bara lineages did not constitute separate territorial

(1) In Kanuri *kogona* means courtier; also a dignitary of the Bornuan court entrusted with law enforcement.

entities. The demographically predominant Bara shared the Bari district with the Rea and Adia; the majority of the population was concentrated on a territory of some few square kilometers, centered about 4 km. south-west of the Darka stronghold of N'guri. The founding of the first Rea village, per se, only goes back to about 1895. At this period, the Bara and, to some extent, the Adia, having suffered considerably at the hands of the neighbouring Kanembu N'gijim of Dibinenchi, immediately to their west, sought to emigrate to the sparsely populated, predominantly Arab farming and grazing lands of the Bahr el-Ghazāl, around Massakory, 80 km. to the southwest of N'guri. For strategic reasons this was not fully feasible until the colonial peace was established during the first years of this century. This major migration did not affect the Rea to as great an extent. They preferred to expand within a small radius of their traditional home, affirm themselves politically and, hopefully, profit by the power vacuum created.

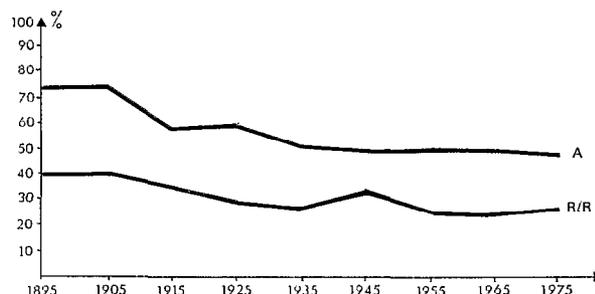
Rea, considered separately, it seems to have stabilized over the last two decades at about 25 % as opposed to 40 % in 1895-1905. In-lineage marriages among non-Rea members of the community appear to follow a similar pattern but the samples we are dealing with in these sub-categories are too small to warrant further conclusions.



GRAPH 1

Decade	1895-1905 (n = 46) %	1905-1915 (n = 81) %	1915-1925 (n = 112) %	1925-1935 (n = 169) %	1935-1945 (n = 201) %	1945-1955 (n = 286) %	1955-1965 (n = 07) %	1965-1975 (n = 187) %
T...	60.8	50.6	50.9	43.1	44.8	39.9	34.2	31.0

In view of these considerations it is not too surprising to find that during the last years of common land ownership (1895 to 1905) endogamy within the maximal lineage units slightly exceeds the 60 % mark. (100 % = all marriages contracted by all residents of the Rea territory, recorded in the sample and over the time period considered.) Conditions of insecurity made marrying out of the lineage territory a difficult proposition although, as elders recall, finding a spouse within those limits was not necessarily any easier. Over the 1905-1975 period, this general endogamy rate decreases slowly but constantly, though among the Haddad



A = all marriages between members of allied lineages
R/R = marriages involving 2 Rea partners only

GRAPH 2

Decade	1895-1905 %	1905-1915 %	1915-1925 %	1925-1935 %	1935-1945 %	1945-1955 %	1955-1965 %	1965-1975 %
A.....	73.8	58.1	59.0	50.3	48.8	48.7	48.8	47.6
R/R.....	39.1	34.6	29.5	23.0	32.8	25.2	24.6	26.7

One might have expected that in the colonial and post-colonial situations, characterized by an acceleration of the process of lineage segmentation, the multiplication of new hamlets, geographical dispersion and the weakening of traditional political ties, in-lineage marriages would have decreased more rapidly. However, one must not forget that throughout Kanem, irrespectively of ethnic or lineage boundaries, there is a strong preference ideologically for "marrying at one's own threshold" as opposed to marrying "at random". Secondly, even though the size and importance of lineage-based socio-political units has been whittled down, new villages are almost always founded by a core of males, generally siblings, belonging to the same minor patri-lineage. Thus the span of patrilineal groups around which residential grouping focuses has diminished through the decades but the patrilineal principle remains the most important factor in the choice of a place of residence.

The rate of endogamy, defined in graph 2 by the percentage of marriages occurring between members of the same lineage or between members of Allied

Lineages, exceeds the rate arrived at previously (Graph 1) by summing up in-lineage unions of all four categories (73 % compared with 61 % in 1895-1905). Curve A of Graph 2 excludes in-lineage marriages between members of resident but non-allied lineage segments either between themselves or with the Allied Lineages. Historically, three periods can be distinguished:

1895-1915: At this time the low population of maximal lineages—sometimes counting only a few hundred souls each—was maintained by a high mortality rate due to disease, particularly during or immediately after childbearing, constant plundering, vendettas, internal warfare and the dangers of large game hunting and cattle raiding. These factors, in addition to epidemics and food shortages, hit the marriageable age classes hard. The Rea themselves undertook several migrations during the second half of the 19th century; these were provoked by political strife among the Allied Lineages, the cyclical movements of Lake Chad, exposing and then inundating once more very fertile soil and, finally, successive waves of invaders, especially from 1870 to 1899. The above factors in turn entailed repeated influxes of small groups of refugees, generally of servile origin, preferring to opt for the relative stability of life with the Autonomous Haddad. The latter, in spite of internal conflict, were protected from external invaders by the dense tree covering of their riverain wadis and the strategic advantage offered by their monopoly of the poison arrow. The center of gravity of the Alliance remained stable throughout the later 1800's and by 1899 the Darka disposed of quite an efficient military machine. Immediately following the establishment of the small but powerful colonial military administration, traditional ties between allied lineages weakened: the security imperative no longer prevailed over intra-and inter-lineage rivalry. From a very high 73 % in 1905 politico-territorial endogamy (Graph 2, Curve A) decreases to 58 % in 1915. Maximal lineage endogamy (Graph 1; Graph 2, Curve R/R), it will be noted, is not so sensitive to the abrupt disappearance of corporate military functions, imposed by the colonizer.

1915-1935: During these two decades in-marriages still tend to decrease but the trend is no longer so marked. Firstly, one notices that the decrease is principally attributable to the fact that less and less Rea marry within their own lineage (Graph 2, Curve R/R). On the contrary, marriages between members of the Allied Lineages, to the exclusion of the Rea, increased slightly. The decrease noted in Curves A and R/R is surprisingly low if one considers that from 1905 to 1935 approximately

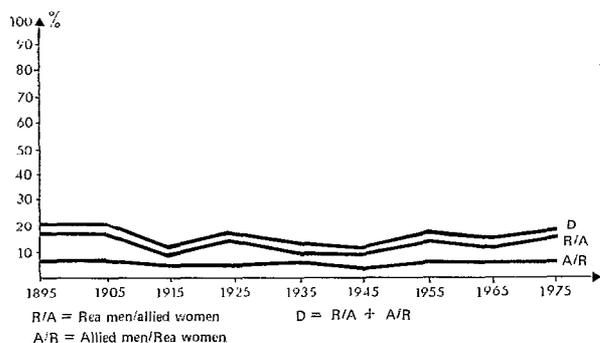
one half of the Allied Haddad population emigrated to the Massakory area. It must be remembered that the high degree of political emancipation entailed by the French presence—the colonizers did not recognize the Haddad/Kanembu, slave/freeman distinctions which governed internal local politics—was not paralleled by the slightest loosening up of the endogamic prescription which is *still* totally enforced vis-à-vis the Haddad. Thus, large-scale population movements bringing about previously impossible forms of contact between lineages and ethnic groups, coupled with the disrupting influences of now overtly but non-violently unleashed tensions in the Alliance, favoured a decrease in the endogamy rate. On the other hand, the population decrease—mainly of younger men—along with the persistence of the endogamic norm tended to limit the breaking down of traditional patterns. These trends might justify the following hypotheses:

— the 1905-1935 decrease of in-lineage marriage among the Rea is related to the latter's new-found political position in a residual Alliance in which only the Darka and the Rea counted in the N'guri-Yalita district. The Rea had to marry out in order to reorient tribute paying and power networks in which, up to now, they had only been second rate partners;

— the tendency for marriage among Allied Lineages other than the Rea and resident on what was now a fully Rea controlled territory to slightly decrease on the whole from 1895 to 1945 may be in part explained by a simple demographic fact: the remainder of Bara and Adia populations was no longer sufficient in size for segments of major or even maximal lineages to remain fully endogamously oriented units.

1935-1975: For the last four decades the endogamy rate shows high stability. The 1945 increase of R/R marriages and the corresponding decrease of A-R/R unions cannot, at first view, be explained by any outstanding historical event although one might hypothesize that the very perceptible tightening of the Alifa's grip over his people during the *Front Populaire* and World War II periods could have favoured a certain return to traditional constraints on marriage patterns. In general, the stabilization of Curve R/R can be associated with the fixing of new, complex and stable political boundaries, to the exclusion of any migration affecting the maximal lineage as a whole.

On Graph 3 it is surprising to see that even at a time when the Darka, Rea, Adia and Bara lineages co-resided on a single, compact and forcibly autarcic territory, were intimately allied in war and vengeance and were all, in relation to marriage, in a difficult

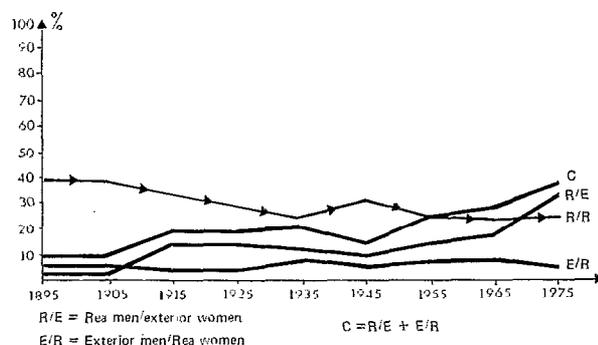


GRAPH 3

Decade	1895-1905 %	1905-1915 %	1915-1925 %	1925-1935 %	1935-1945 %	1945-1955 %	1955-1965 %	1965-1975 %
D.....	19.5	9.9	13.4	11.3	9.0	13.3	12.6	15.0
R/A.....	15.2	7.4	11.6	7.7	7.5	10.5	9.7	11.8
A/R.....	4.3	2.5	1.8	3.6	1.5	2.8	2.9	3.2

demographic position, intermarriage between the Rea and their allies did not amount to 20 % of the unions contracted among residents of the Rea quarters and hamlets. From 1905 to 1975 R/A and A/R marriages decrease slightly and follow quite a stable pattern. During this period, it is not the volume of such marriages that strikes one but rather the fact that on their own territory the Rea are persistently more active as wife-takers than as wife-givers. This may be explained away for the 1905-1975 period by saying that in a patrilineal and patrilocal system it is quite normal for there to be more wives brought in than husbands. It would of course be necessary to have comparable data for the Darka, Bara and Adia; yet, the discrepancy between Curves R/A and A/R for 1895 to 1905 remains puzzling for at that period all four Allied Lineages were co-resident down to the village level. The "indebtedness" of the Rea might reflect their low political status in the Alliance.

Graph 4 shows that for the 1895-1905 period, exterior men taking Rea spouses account for 6.5 % of all marriages whereas only 2.2 % are accounted for by Rea men bringing in wives from exterior lineages. These very low rates are compatible with the high level of endogamy within the Alliance. The gap between the two figures may be due to the unique political situation of the Alliance. Haddad men marrying in had to content themselves with a matrilocal union but were guaranteed for the latter's



GRAPH 4

Decade	1895-1905 %	1905-1915 %	1915-1925 %	1925-1935 %	1935-1945 %	1945-1955 %	1955-1965 %	1965-1975 %
R/R.....	39.1	34.6	29.5	23.0	32.8	25.2	24.6	26.7
C.....	8.7	19.7	18.8	21.9	15.0	23.0	28.5	39.6
E/R.....	6.5	4.9	4.5	8.9	5.5	7.3	9.7	5.9
R/E.....	2.2	14.8	14.3	13.0	9.5	15.7	18.8	33.7

duration relative security from stratum inferiority in a predominantly "noble" environment as well as from the inevitable levies in labour and kind which this position entailed. Rea men who preferred exterior wives while continuing to reside on their home territory did nothing to enhance their status. The prejudice against *arhi* or "random" marriage probably held even more weight than today, unless overriding political considerations made marrying afar advisable.

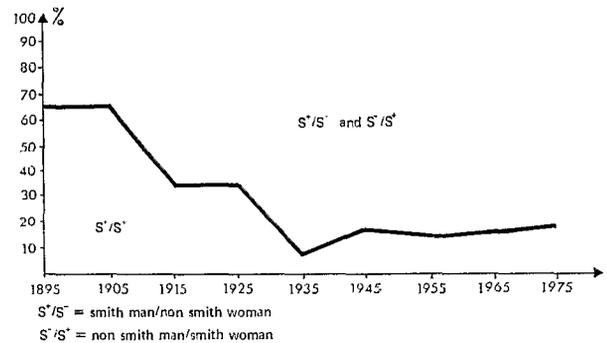
From 1905 onward this tendency is rapidly reversed. By 1935 Curves C and R/R almost converge. After a temporary return toward the "traditional" system from 1935 to 1945, convergence is effective in 1955. R/R then stabilizes, whereas marriages involving one exterior partner timidly, from 1955 to 1965, then considerably from 1965 to 1975 exceed in-lineage unions. This change is structurally important: the ideology of endogamy is, at the maximal lineage level, no longer consistent with actual marital practice.

The rejection of in-marriage by the younger generations today involves several arguments. At a personal plane, marrying out is a rejection of elders' authority. The observation of divorce over recent decades makes it apparent that first arranged marriages tend to be of short duration, although this is much less true of first, cousin marriages.

Marrying out is also potentially a way of rejecting the socio-economic networks into which young men were thrust at marriage in their minor lineages. On a wider scale, the refusal of in-lineage endogamy by youth is a way of reacting against inferior Haddad status. This practice cannot, in the short run, destroy the Kanembu/Haddad barrier, but widespread inter-lineage marriage, even if among Haddad alone, tends to reduce the social specificity of genealogically defined political units. If, as is the case, all distinctions of dress and material culture disappear between the two strata and, simultaneously, the Haddad acquire the necessary "prestige currency" for out-marriage (i.e. cattle), the inter-stratum boundary will live on only as an ideology influencing local political dealings but not structurally differentiating two types of lineages.

In spite of the inertia inherent in any established social order, there is no reason to expect that trend C will reverse itself. This is supported by the fact that about 1970, R/E marriages for the first time exceed R/R unions. It would be essential to know how many Rea, especially women, have emigrated from the lineage territory. Although this opinion cannot yet be backed up, it could be that even after having compensated the E/R and R/E set with migration figures, there would still be a deficit of the former in relation to the latter. Rea women are not the most sought-after; if one takes a wife from the Alliance, it is more prestigious to choose a Darka or a Bara. This is underlined by the general belief that the Rea too often engage in black magic. Even among the Rea, the major lineage which is presently invested with the chieftainship, the Qadiya, is ostracized to some extent on these formal grounds. An ensuing belief is that this major lineage has been punished for their activities by a low birth rate... and there is some empirical evidence to support this allegation...

Marriages involving at least one smith partner represent at most 11 % of our sample for any given period. This is considerable in that actual blacksmiths, as opposed to members of "smith" lineages, represent only 1 to 2 % of the total population of Kanem. Statistically, the validity of the following comments is thus questionable, yet, granted the importance of defining smith status in order to understand the Haddad stratum as a whole—particularly at the ritual level—we cannot totally reject this data, restricted as it is. The rate of smith endogamy (Graph 5) for the pre-colonial period is slightly higher than the general rate of intra-lineage



GRAPH 5

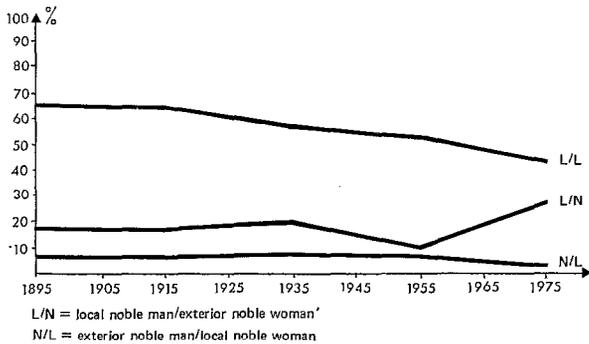
Decade	1895-	1905-	1915-	1925-	1935-	1945-	1955-	1965-
	1905	1915	1925	1935	1945	1955	1965	1975
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
S+/S+....	66.6	44.4	44.4	6.3	16.7	13.8	15.8	20.0

endogamy (66 and 61 % respectively) (1). This implies a much stricter set of endogamic practices than among non-smith lineages: the smith community resident on Rea territory could hardly have exceeded 150 persons and it is doubtful whether the smith group within a 50 km. radius could have included more than 1,500 people. This high concentration of smiths in relation to the total population of the Alliance territory may be attributed to the relative liberty they enjoyed among the autonomous Haddad as opposed to the strong ties of dependence which were elsewhere imposed on their corporations. Smith marital practices were quite different not only from other Haddad patterns but equally from those of other socio-professional groups. They appeared to have formed a professional caste in the strict sense of the term, within an already endogamous stratum. Whereas the rate of in-lineage marriage in general decreases from 61 % in 1905 to 42 % in 1935 (Graph 1), smith professional endogamy plunges from 66 to 9 % over the same period! From 1935 to the present day it follows a slowly ascending curve to reach 19 % in 1975. Without wishing to abusively invoke any causal connection, it can be noted that the 1935 reversal of trend coincides with the abandon of smelting and the magico-ritual practices it implied, entailing a slow but significant "purification" of the blacksmith's status.

(1) 100 % = all marriages involving at least one member of a blacksmith lineage and not the total sample of marriages contracted on Rea territory. By using the sub-groups as units of reference, variations appear much more marked. Unfortunately, to use this procedure to present the phenomena expressed in Graphs 1 to 4 would have required commenting at least sixteen graphs.

Remarks on the evolution of marriage patterns among the Kanembu

The following comments are intended to make the more complete set of Rea data fit into a broader sketch of Kanemi social and political organization; less attention will hence be given to relating historical trends with changes in patterns of in-marriage. Statistically, the group of reference is the local nobility.



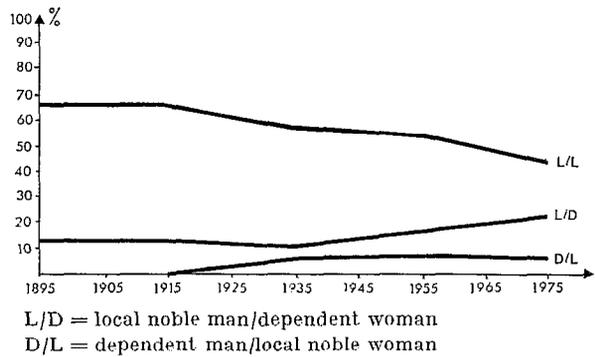
GRAPH 6

Decade	1895-1915 % (n = 41)	1915-1935 % (n = 62)	1935-1955 % (n = 118)	1955-1975 % (n = 90)
L/L.....	65.7	56.3	53.9	44.3
L/N.....	17.1	20.8	11.8	28.4
N/L.....	5.7	8.3	6.9	2.3

Graph 6 shows a 1/3 decrease of in-category marriages over the last sixty years. In view of the magnitude of social change over this period, such an evolution points to the solidity of Kanembu marital and political structures. Curve L/L is constantly higher than Curve T of Graph 1 which indicates Haddad maximal lineage endogamy. Ethnographers have always emphasized Haddad endogamy, implicitly opposing it to Kanembu exogamy or free choice in marriage (1). The present comparison would suggest that in the pre-colonial period endogamy was not the monopoly of any professional caste but rather a boundary-enforcing function in both main social strata as well as lineage-based status groups within these strata. The pre-colonial economic system had as its main pinion a rigid

social stratification system allowing little vertical mobility.

Over the last twenty years, the decline in marriages between local nobles (Graph 6, Curve L/L) is more than compensated for by a numerical extension of unions with exterior noble women (Graph 6, Curve L/N). The Kogona and N'gijim marriage patterns are thus affected by the general relaxation on barriers to internal migration, though at a very late date. Nonetheless, the nobility criterion is still important in the choice of a spouse. The N/L curve represents a small proportion of politically significant marriages: noble men of outside origin continue, at a fairly regular rate, to marry into Kogona territory, thus reinforcing traditional group relations by personal alliances. A parallel distribution might well be found among the Kogona of Mao.

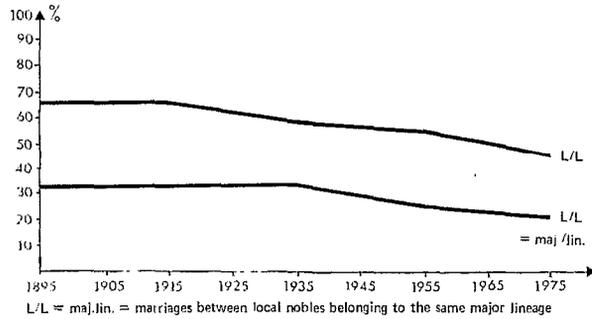


GRAPH 7

Decade	1895-1915 %	1915-1935 %	1935-1955 %	1955-1975 %
L/L.....	65.7	56.3	53.9	44.3
L/D.....	11.4	10.4	20.6	20.5
D/L.....	0	4.2	7.1	4.5

Graph 7 shows that local noblemen taking wives among their dependants have doubled since 1935, but marriage between local nobles are still twice as frequent. Intra-stratum status group boundaries made dependent man/local noble woman marriage unthinkable until 1915. In spite of the L/D increase it remains true to say that hypogamy is permitted for nobles but hypergamy is barred to dependants.

(1) CHAPELLE, 1957; FUCHS, 1961; LE ROUVREUR, 1962; FUCHS, 1970.



GRAPH 8

Decade	1895-1915 %	1915-1935 %	1935-1955 %	1955-1975 %
L/L.....	65.7	56.3	53.9	44.3
L/L = maj. lin.	31.4	31.3	27.5	19.3

Graph 8 compares the functioning of the maximal and major lineages as endogamous units. Slowly the major lineage is becoming less important as an endogamous unit (31 to 19 % of all L/L marriages from 1895 to 1975). It would seem that individual economic status is becoming a more important marriage determinant than lineage affiliation in a purely genealogical sense. This is quite understandable in that in the post-colonial period political status, formerly a major index of tribute exacting capacities, and economic status are no longer synonymous. This evolution does not signify that the social stratification system is weakening but only means that big men are exerting control over the lower strata through economic levers, such as the hoarding of foreign aid foodstuffs, rather than invoking lineage solidarity and exercising force.

On the whole, Kanembu marriage patterns are moderately sensitive to the weakening of inter-stratum boundaries but, for obvious reasons, since 1895, these trends are not subject to erratic variations due to modifications in the wider Kanemi power balance, migratory fluxes or climatic catastrophes. Endogamy, though in a different sense, is as much an attribute of nobility as of social inferiority. At the risk of oversimplifying, we could hypothesize that if it is practiced by all noble lineages simultaneously and enforced among low-status lineages, it tends to perpetuate hierarchical inequalities of wealth and power.

The inter-relations between common lineage affiliations, cousin status and the geographical origin of spouses in the extant marriage sample

LINEAGE AFFILIATION AND COUSIN MARRIAGE (FACTORS L AND C)

TABLE I

HAD.	C+	C-	(N = 317)
L+.....	21 %	11 %	32 %
L-.....	10 %	58 %	68 %
	31 %	69 %	100 %

KAN.	C+	C-	(N = 77)
L+.....	21 %	26 %	47 %
L-.....	6 %	47 %	53 %
	27 %	73 %	100 %

The proportion of persons marrying cousins is equal among the Haddad and the Kanembu. However, the percentage of persons choosing spouses from non-cousins of their own lineage is 136 % higher among the Kanembu. This would indicate a relatively greater cohesiveness of the major and maximal lineages in the case of the Kanembu, as compared with a more marked tendency of the Haddad to consolidate minor lineage segments. These conclusions are not contradictory with the very high occurrence of village and hence of sibling group segmentation prevalent with the Rea and which may be linked to the covert competition among major lineages for the chieftaincy. Political solidarity at the maximal lineage level is distinctly weaker than among the Kogona. Without entering into the intricacies of intra-lineage politics, it is interesting to see that although the population density in Kogona territory is much lower than in Rea country, the Kogona have only seven villages compared with the Rea's twenty-three, their respective populations being roughly equal ($\pm 1,400$).

Although the proportion of persons marrying cousins outside of their own lineage is low in both groups (10 % for the Haddad and 6 % for the Kanembu) in relation to the total number of extant marriages, it is nonetheless 66 % higher among the Haddad. This could be an indicator confirming that over the last couple of generations, as restrictions on the movements of the Haddad have lessened, the Rea have sought to marry with as many outside lineages as possible. In general, oral tradition suggests that even at the end of the last century

the Rea tried to integrate as many dependants as natural resources would allow to compensate for their numeric inferiority in relation to the surrounding Kanembu. This tendency is underlined by the fact that marriage with non-cousins exterior to the lineage are 23 % more frequent among the Haddad.

LINEAGE AFFILIATION AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF SPOUSES (FACTORS L AND D)

TABLE 2

HAD.	D+	D-	(N = 317)
L+.....	20 %	12 %	32 %
L-.....	28 %	40 %	68 %
	48 %	52 %	100 %

KAN.	D+	D-	(N = 77)
L+.....	27 %	19 %	46 %
L-.....	16 %	37 %	53 %
	43 %	56 %	99 %

Inversely, marriages between members of the maximal lineage born in the same *canton* (1) are 35 % more frequent with the Kanembu, just as unions between members of the same lineage born in different *cantons* are 58 % more frequent than among the Haddad. The first figure reconfirms the existence of a greater degree of marital and, indirectly, of political solidarity at the Kanembu maximal lineage level. The second figure brings out a complementary aspect of this process.

“Out-of-*canton*” marriages with persons of different lineages are only marginally more frequent with the Haddad, but the significantly higher occurrence of unions between members of different Haddad lineages sharing common geographical origins (75 % more frequent than symmetrical unions with the Kanembu) suggests that immigrants into Haddad lineage territory tend to settle on a permanent basis. Whereas the Haddad figure of out-marriage (52 %) in geographical terms testifies to a process initiated many decades ago, the slightly higher Kanembu percentage (56 %) would seem to reflect a change in immigration patterns over recent years. Indeed, the logic of these dispersed unions is quite different in each case.

By examining the lineage name in “mixed” marriages and comparing this information with the political standing of the lineages concerned, there would appear to be a “grab whom you can get” distribution with the Haddad, eager to marry out, and a dual strategy among the Kanembu who, seeking to consolidate the unity of their high-status group by marrying as much as possible within their own group, still exchange partners on a simultaneous basis with far-off villages of identical maximal lineage affiliation, located close to the center of power in Mao. The Rea have inter-married with some thirty different maximal lineages over the past few decades and many immigrants have been residentially and sociologically integrated with this lineage. The high frequency of out-lineage marriages of persons born in a very narrow radius is thus no surprise. The 37 % of out-lineage, out-of-canton marriages among the Kanembu, comparable with the 40 % of the Haddad, cover the marriages of lower status Kogona and N’gijim, an influx of poorer migrants into a prosperous high-status zone and, to a smaller extent, fashionable “wife importation” on the part of polygynists.

COUSIN MARRIAGE AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF SPOUSES (FACTORS G AND D)

TABLE 3

HAD.	D+	D-	(N = 317)
G+.....	20 %	11 %	31 %
G-.....	28 %	41 %	69 %
	48 %	52 %	100 %

KAN.	D+	D-	(N = 77)
G+.....	13 %	14 %	27 %
G-.....	30 %	43 %	73 %
	43 %	57 %	100 %

The co-appearance of genealogical connections between cousin spouses and territoriality is 54 % more common with the Haddad. The inverse relation between cousin status and extra-territoriality is 27 % more frequent with the Kanembu. When territoriality is correlated with non-cousin marriages, which in majority are also unions involving partners

(1) In the area of Kanem we are dealing with, *canton* boundaries correspond very closely with those of the South-Kanemi chieftaincies at the time of colonization.

from different lineages, it becomes a more neutral variable as appears in lines 'C-' of Table I.

Referring back to tables 1 and 2 it can be suggested that rates of cousin marriage are comparable (Haddad : 31 %; Kanembu: 27 %) in relation to the number of extant marriages and their rate of occurrence identical in relation to all marriages, extant or terminated, contracted by persons alive today, but that a difference in emphasis emerges as other factors are correlated with these facts. The Rea tend to marry farther afield in terms of lineage affiliations whereas the Kanembu choose spouses in their own and intimately allied lineages while marrying farther geographically speaking. These conclusions relating to the present tend to bear out the general evolution of endogamy viewed through time and indicate an important correlation between the political status of a lineage and its capacity to make its marital practice reinforce the former and vice versa. Before developing the implications of this hypothesis let us take a closer look at cousin marriage, itself considered as an important but by no means the only index of endogamy.

Some aspects of cousin marriage

Patrilineal parallel cousin marriage may consolidate the lineage both politically and economically. If one views the unit in the context of its wider political alliances one would expect, to some degree, to find that the more far-reaching the political ties of a lineage, the more emphasis would be placed on cross-cousin marriage, both matrilineal and patrilineal. However, in practical terms, for cross-cousin marriage to effectively widen a lineage's political prerogatives, the spreading of links throughout the full politico-genealogical network would have to be strongly counterbalanced by politico-

economic motivations and controls destined to maintain the corporate unity of the out-marrying lineage seeking expansion.

Formally expressed preferences in Kanem, strongly influenced by the prestigious local interpretation of the Arabo-Islamic model, privilege patrilineal parallel cousin marriage, consider both forms of cross-cousin marriage acceptable and distinctly condemn matrilineal parallel unions. As regards the patrilineal/matrilineal opposition, both strata conform strongly with the patrilineal preference (73 % of cousin marriages among the Haddad versus 69 % among the Kanembu). The most striking difference between cousin marriage in the two groups lies in the respective emphasis on parallel and cross-cousin marriage (70 %/30 % among the Haddad and 47 %/53 % with the Kanembu). Whatever the formal category of cousin unions, their stability is considerable. Fifteen years after marriage, 67 % of all unions have ended in divorce among the Rea, 72 % in the case of Rea non-cousin marriages, 73 % for all Kanembu marriages and only 36 % for Rea cousin marriages. The latter, 72 % of which are first unions for both husband and wife, have a mean duration of 8 years as opposed to 11 years for Rea marriages of the non-cousin type and 13 years for Kanembu marriages in general.

At the individual level, the mobility of spouses among nobles as well as dependants is high. As with the Kanuri (1), serial monogamy is the dominant pattern of marital practice, although among both Kanembu and Haddad the rate of simultaneous polygyny oscillates around 12 % of extant unions. Social constraints on divorced women are not very rigid. Although a divorcee may always seek haven among her parents' people, actual revisionary rights of her agnatic kin are weak indeed. The divorced woman is to a large extent "socially neutral"; she is free to move around, engage in petty trading and seek out a new spouse without soiling the honour of her father's lineage.

One should of course emphasize that, marriage durations excepted, we are not dealing with absolute statistical realities. The classification of cousin marriages is not based on strictly defined genealogical categories but rather on the way each informant viewed the nature of traceable kinship links with his or her spouse. Thus, the statistics are obviously influenced by the expressed patrilineal preference. At the ideological level at least, the Haddad declare themselves to be "more patrilineal" than the Kanembu, claiming 57 % as compared with 44 % patrilineal parallel cousin marriages, indirectly

TABLE 4
Compared rates of cousin marriage

TYPE	HAD. (N = 633)	KAN. (N = 134)
Patrilineal Parallel	57 %	44 %
Patrilineal Cross	16 %	25 %
Matrilineal Parallel	12 %	3 %
Matrilineal Cross	15 %	28 %
Parallel	70 %	47 %
Cross	30 %	53 %
Patrilineal	73 %	69 %
Matrilineal	27 %	31 %
Occurrence	24 %	24 %

(1) COHEN, 1971.

suggesting, perhaps, that they are at least as fervent Muslims as the Kanembu nobles. Yet, in spite of informants' protests of strict conformity with the matrilineal parallel prohibition, such unions are four times more frequent than with the Kanembu (12 % against 3 %).

Among the Haddad it is apparent that patrilineal parallel cousin marriage does consolidate the core of the major lineage or, in spatial terms, those groups of hamlets attempting to assert their predominance within the maximal lineage. Furthermore, this type of union is cheaper. In accordance with the respective positions of the Haddad and the Kanembu in the system of socio-economic stratification, the value of marital prestations ranges from 250 Francs C.F.A. to 10,000 Francs C.F.A. with the former and from 2,500, to 100,000, with the latter (1). Whatever the kinship link, or absence thereof, the bride's or the groom's people stand little to gain or lose in the Haddad case. It could also be argued for the Kanembu that a lower sum of transactions in the case of a patrilineal parallel cousin marriages is amply compensated through gains of alliance after marriage; granted its longevity, this form of union seems to be more profitable on all counts. For the Haddad the material gain in any form of marriage is quite doubtful granted the general lack of capital resources entailed by Kanembu domination.

In the long term, informants make it explicit that a good marriage is one which brings you closer to a politically ascending major lineage. Even then, the actual material profit is dubious. Among the Kanembu, the maintenance of group unity is dependent on the intra-lineage redistribution of tribute income levied mainly from the non-autonomous Haddad, Kanembu dependants and, formerly, slaves. The fact is generally denied but low-status Kanembu *maskin* or poor are put to contribution; however, they remain as well off as high-status Haddad with few exceptions to date. In this context, autonomous as they are and, hence, exempt from direct tribute to the Kanembu, the Rea and their allies are singularly limited in their tribute levying capacity. In precolonial times the dependent Kanembu, infeodated to the Darka, still paid certain taxes directly to the Alifa of Mao and even managed to extract some labour from the theoretically superior Rea, Adia and Bara. The result of this state of affairs is that by contrast with the noble Kanembu maximal lineage, only the major lineage invested with the turban may collect tribute. These meager benefits are reaped from those non-lineage

members resident on the territory who find it more satisfactory to pay tribute to dignitaries of their own stratum than to be totally exploited by the Kanembu. The pre-requisite for such an "advantageous" position is of course liberty of movement, forcibly denied by the upper stratum before the arrival of the French and still today "discouraged". The internal consequence of this for the autonomous Haddad is to exacerbate competition among major lineages to acquire the limited and non-redistributive tribute levying capacity of the dominant sub-group. Tendencies towards fission, said to be inherent to the segmentary lineage system, may be operative but their most important determinant is economic.

One could hypothesize that patrilineal parallel cousin marriage is important in reinforcing the competing major lineages but that in the longer term the lack of gains to be had, the institutionalized hierarchy between siblings and sibling lineage segments as well as the fissionary character of the political and descent systems will generally defeat the purpose of such unions. The tendency towards fission has today attained such extremes with the Rea that the credibility and political effectiveness of the major lineages, let alone of the maximal lineage, is seriously put into doubt. The segmentary process has been limited to the traditional lineage land upon which all Rea villages are contiguous. The Kanembu have not only fewer villages per equal unit of population, but settlements of varying lineage affiliations are intermingled without endangering the corporate unity of kin and political groups. Again, freedom of movement and control over land, intimately linked to the inter-stratum power balance, strongly influence the operation of the kinship system. In the Kanembu case, dominance accentuates the unifying character of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage while inversely restricting the fissionary trend to which the latter can give rise in politically less stable groups.

In stating their political genealogical charters, the autonomous Haddad have erased the memory of any female ascendant as far as seventeen generations back. Interestingly enough, the Kogona volunteer to mention females while explaining the relations between their major lineages. Within minimal lineages 28 % of the cousin marriages recorded were declared to be of the matrilineal cross type and 53 % of them to be cross-cousin unions. Comparative figures for the Rea are 15 % and 30 % respectively. Of course, as the Kanembu say, the distant ascendants of matrilineal cross-cousins are generally brothers at some stage...

(1) One pound sterling = approximately 425 francs C.F.A.; One French Franc = 50 francs C.F.A.

From the point of view of kinship ideology, there would seem to be a gross correlation between the geographical and interlineage span of a group's alliance network and the matrilineal emphasis in accounting for genealogical and political ties.

From an economic point of view matrilineal cross-cousin marriage might be more expensive than its close to home patrilineal opposite but, over time, the gains acquired by far reaching cross-alliances will definitely reflect on a lineage's capacity to maintain and expand its tribute levying circuits. Among the nobles, cross-cousin marriages reinforce the economic and political standing of the maximal lineage as long as the unity of important sub-factions is simultaneously ensured by strategically placed patrilineal parallel cousin marriages. Such a situation is both a determinant and a consequence of a high position in the socio-economic stratification system and does not appear to be structurally linked with segmentation in the patrilineal system as such.

Whatever the strength of the patrilineal ideology, effective bilaterality in the choice of spouses will, in South Kanem, operate in favour of the maintenance of the existing power balance and is, to a degree, a prerogative of successful groups of conquerors. On the contrary, the adoption of such a strategy by low-status vassal groups could be a hindrance to their political reinforcement if not accompanied by a simultaneous increase of capital resources and the group's insertion into a wide ranging inter-lineage tribute collecting system. Among the Rea who belong to the highest status vassal group of South Kanem, patrilineal parallel cousin marriage has contributed to a weakening of the group's internal political coherence. In addition, heterogenous out-marriages attempting to break stratum and geographical barriers, numerous to the extent that a structurally important reversal of marriage patterns has recently occurred (See Graph D), have not resulted in a situation where geographically distant cross-cousin marriages enable the establishment and protection of new sources of tribute.

Conclusion

Finally, one may attempt to compare the general rate of endogamy among the Haddad and the Kanembu. By summing up cousin marriages of all types, in-lineage but non-cousin marriages and out-lineage, non-cousin marriages between partners originating from the same chieftaincy, one finds that the Haddad and the Kanembu have similar rates of overall endogamy: 63 % and 66 % respectively. This conclusion tells us very little indeed about the position of each stratum in the social

TABLE 5

"Cumulative" endogamy rates

	HAD. (N = 317)	KAN. (N = 77)	
Cousin Marriages.....	31 %	27 %	H : +15 %
In-lineage, non-cousin marriages.....	11 %	26 %	K : +136 %
Geographical proximity.....	21 %	13 %	H : +54 %
	63 %	66 %	K : +5 %

hierarchy. Yet it does suggest that in at least one Sahelian society, endogamy is not the monopoly of professional castes. A greater solidarity of dominant lineages prevails to the extent that marriages where lineage affiliation to the exclusion of traceable cousin links is an essential component, are 136 % more frequent with the Kanembu. Unions where geographical proximity in the origin of spouses is the salient variable to the exclusion of lineage or genealogical links are 54 % more common among the Haddad who are attempting to break stratum barriers by inter-lineage marriage alliance but whose freedom of action and movement is greatly restricted in the Kanembu governed chieftaincies which surround them. In both cases, factors directly related to the power balance account for as many or more marriages than those in which kinship—itsself a partly political variable—is the most apparent determinant.

The above remarks will obviously require much more refinement and can only become fully significant in a wider qualitative analysis of Kanemi politics, marriage and history. The main purpose of this paper is to underline the fact that endogamy cannot be considered a "state" or structural constant per se of any group. Rates of endogamy can only be meaningful if they are defined in accordance with the evolution of a group's social organization seen, as far as data permit, through time and in function of structures of dominance, both economic and political. A wider application of the rigorous methods for the study of endogamy presented by DUPRE in her *Organisation Sociale des Peul*, together with more refined techniques enabling the anthropologist to take the diachronic aspect of the phenomenon into account within the limits of human memory and historical record, would allow an interesting reappraisal of an important aspect of the study of Sahelian societies.

Manuscrit déposé au Service des Publications de l'O.R.S.T.O.M., le 24 octobre 1977.

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