

**MARRIAGE PATTERNS, POLITICAL CHANGE
AND THE PERPETUATION OF
SOCIAL INEQUALITY
[IN SOUTH KANEM (CHAD)]**

Edouard CONTE

R E M E R C I E M E N T S

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Edouard CONTE

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OF SOCIAL INEQUALITY IN SOUTH KANEM (CHAD).

The present study is a thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London. It was
examined at the Departement of Anthropology, University
College London, on 18 May 1982.

ERRATA

p. 431 Read 'Map 11' instead of 'Map 12'.

p. 541 Cf. GOLDZIEHER, I., 1880 ; this reference should
 read : Endogamy and polygamy among the Arabs,
 The Academy, XVIII, 26.

R E S U M E

L'analyse comparée des échanges matrimoniaux dans les deux strates endogames de la société kanembu que nous abordons en fonction des appartenances claniques, des liens de consanguinité et des origines géographique des époux a pour objet de contribuer à une meilleure compréhension des sociétés présentant des caractéristiques segmentaires mais dans lesquelles le mariage interne et externe au groupe de filiation unilinéaire n'est réglé ni par une norme endogamique ni par une prescription exogamique. Nous étudierons comment parmi les Kanembu qui peuplent les rives nord-est du lac Tchad, l'endogamie et l'exogamie claniques, consanguines et locales constituent des mécanismes interdépendants contribuant à la perpétuation des relations de dépendance qui fondent la stratification socio-politique intra- et interclanique. Dans cette société foncièrement inégalitaire, l'étude systématique quantifiée de la dynamique matrimoniale est une précondition de l'analyse des interrelations articulant les systèmes de parenté, lignager et politique. Les approches synchronique et diachronique préconisées ici, dépendantes l'une et l'autre d'un recours parallèle aux traditions orales claniques et aux sources historiques écrites, constituent deux aspects nécessairement complémentaires de l'étude de la transformation de l'organisation sociale.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to present the results of a comparative study of marriage patterns and lineage organisation among the two major social strata of the Kanembu people of Southeast Kanem in the Republic of Chad.

The lack of general ethnography on the peoples of Kanem required devoting Section I of this dissertation to the basic description of the social and political organisation of the Kanembu. Section II addresses the key problem of social inequality from a social organisational perspective. By combining the synchronic and diachronic study of endogamous practices and marriage patterns in general, I have attempted to develop a theoretical and methodological approach relevant to other hierarchised Muslim societies of sub-Saharan and northern Africa.

The Duu and the Kanembu strata are separated by important social and economic barriers among which the most important are the strict prohibition of marriage between the two groups and the monopoly of cattle ownership, traditionally reserved to the Kanembu agropastoralists. The Duu stratum is composed of artisans, hunters and an increasing proportion of dependent agriculturalists. In this society, endogamy and exogamy do not emerge primarily as functions of the kinship system but are strongly linked among both strata to the mechanisms of economic and political domination and the interlineage alliance system.

All marriages contracted by members of the Duu Rea clan are analysed in relation to locality, consanguinity and descent group affiliations. Comparative data were collected in five Kanembu villages. Interclan marriage is studied diachronically, with reference to parallel historical developments. It is argued that the synchronic and diachronic approaches are necessarily interdependent aspects of the processual study of social systems.

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My stays in the field were made possible thanks to the warm hospitality of my Duu, Kanembu, Kuri and Arab hosts. The grave circumstances with which they were confronted during the 1972 - 1973 drought peak, make my gratitude for their active and patient participation in my research all the greater. Collaboration with my field assistant and interpreter, Ali N'geringa, was both a rich and enjoyable experience.

On returning to Europe, my research was further supported by a British Council grant which enabled me to complete my residence at University College (November 1974 to June 1975 and October 1975 to March 1976). I was also granted an allocation de recherche by O.R.S.T.O.M. from April to December 1976.

During the writing-up period, I was greatly assisted by the members of staff of the Department of Anthropology at University College. Prof. M.G. Smith's concern for my work is, in particular, much appreciated.

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discussions have helped me to develop, under my full responsibility of course, lines of thought which are central to this thesis, but would otherwise have remained embryonic. Philip Burnham's personal help during the more difficult moments during and after fieldwork has, furthermore, much reinforced a valued friendship.

The understanding, encouragement and material sacrifices of my mother and late father have contributed more to my studies than can be expressed in a few short words. In times of optimism and relative discouragement alike, the presence and assistance of certain dear friends ensured the continuity of my work. I am especially grateful to Hane Erik and Bente Avlund Frandeen, Harold and Alma Raush and Regina Martinez.

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The many inadequacies of this study will be apparent to the reader. I hope, nonetheless, that it may in some way contribute to stimulate further research which is urgently needed better to deal with the social and economic problems of the people of Kanem.

PHONETIC NOTE

The Kanembukanembu language belongs to the Kanuri group as defined by Lukas (1936). It is a tonal language (cf. Lukas 1931 : 11) characterised by a wide range of vocalic variations. Three major dialects may be distinguished in central and southeastern Kanem, namely those of Mao, N'guri and Mondo (cf. Lukas 1937 : x). The speech of the Kanembu and Kuri living on the shores and islands of Lake Chad between Isserom and Kuludia is, furthermore, known as the dialect of Karga, after the name of the southeastern archipelago (cf. Lukas 1937 : x).

No systematic grammar of Kanembu has yet been published, with the exception of Lukas' 1931 study comparing the tongue of the Kaidi Kanembu with Kanuri, and Hutchison and Kourtou's (1970) elementary training course published by the U.S. Peace Corps. The absence of adequate source materials, the richness of dialectal variations and my lack of training in phonetics all forced me to use a most simplified method of transcription. The conventions adopted do not include tone signs and overlook certain vowel values. The Kanembu are frequently prone to contract words (i.e. assimilation of consonants) and in a variety of ways (cf. Lukas 1931 : 14-22). The spellings used in this study tend to reflect the most common usage in my area of study.

The following conventions are used :

<u>My conventions</u>		<u>I.P.A.</u>
a	=	a :
e	=	e (= ɛ), ɛ, ə
·	=	·
i	=	iː, Iə
o	=	ə (<u>cf.</u> Lukas 1937 : 1)
u	=	u :
ɣ	=	ɣ
j	=	dʒ

n'	=	ɗ
ny	=	ɲ
sh	=	ʃ
ch	=	tʃ

All other sounds may be read as in English.

In transcribing Kanuri terms, I have used the spellings and conventions defined by Lukas (1937).

The Arabic language is used by the Arab nomadic pastoral populations of North Kanem (Tukur dialect), the semi-sedentary Arabs of Lake Chad's southern shore and Dagana ("Shuwa" dialects) and the Tunjur of Mondo (cf. Conte and Hagenbucher-Sacripanti 1977). Arabic is also widely employed as a vernacular tongue by non-Arab Kanemi. The wide range of dialectal variations, especially in vowel usage and length, rendered any attempt at systematic transcription problematic. Consequently, vowel values are somewhat arbitrary and lengths are not indicated. Nonetheless, the works of Carbou (1913), Faure (1969), Letham (1920), Roth-Laly (1969 - 1972), Worbe (1962) and others were widely consulted for purposes of transcription.

The transliteration of literary Arabic terms follows generally accepted norms (cf. Cowan 1958).

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SECTION I
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL
AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION
OF THE KANEMBU

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1. Research conditions and the choice of a field

My research among the Kanembu people living along the north-eastern shores of Lake Chad was undertaken at the peak of the 1972 - 1973 drought which struck the entire Sahel. This tragic dry season was the culminating point of a drought cycle which began as early as 1967 (see Gallais 1977). In North Chad, this long climatic disaster was compounded by an endemic state of war, repression and rebellion (see Buijtenhuijs 1978).

Kanem is a relatively well-watered and fertile land in relation to other Sahelian regions at comparable latitudes. Thus, the 1973 drought peak did not entail large-scale loss of human life. It did, however, contribute to a high incidence of child mortality. Hunger, thirst and related illnesses also took their toll of the elderly and the weak. In addition, the drought has had a delayed negative action on human fertility from 1974 to the present (1981).

In 1973, the most visible consequences of the drought were the decimation of herds, flocks and wildlife, the loss of crops and trees and the desiccation of wells and lakes. 1974 fortunately brought sufficient rains for man and surviving fauna to struggle on, however precariously. Recurrent below-average rainfall since 1975 has, nonetheless, rendered the reconstruction of herds, the full replenishing of the watertable and the revival of the flora most laborious. Certain animal and vegetable species have been irreversibly pushed southward.

The environmental damage which occurred in South Kanem was considerably more serious in North Kanem and more northerly regions of Chad. This state of affairs provoked the southward migration toward Kanem and points south of numerous Daza, Teda, Arabe and Fulani from

their more northern Sahelian and Saharan habitats (see Map 3). These movements increased the environmental and, indirectly, the political pressures which the drought had already brought to bear on the Kanembu and other peoples of the southern Sahel and the Chadian savanna.

The chain of events to which I refer here affected a country lacking the elementary natural or financial resources to successfully combat drought and recuperate from its most flagrant sequels on its own. Even in "normal" times, Chad stands out among the world's fifteen most destitute countries and seems condemned to retain this dubious distinction for some time to come. Following years of drought and uninterrupted civil war, it is indeed doubtful whether Chad still effectively exists as a viable nation or state.

To conduct anthropological research in a crisis situation risks being disrespectful and insulting. On the other hand, it is neither responsible nor ultimately helpful for the researcher to adopt a posture of withdrawal which would amount to attempting to keep clean hands thanks to closed eyes. Shirking research in difficult contexts can only contribute to perpetuating ignorance on the state of societies, such as many of those which one may encounter in the Sahel, which are susceptible to undergo similar crises in the none too distant future.

Nonetheless, one may experience an unwholesome feeling of deception in accepting information and assistance from people who often hope that something concrete will be done in their favour if, through the researcher's channel, their problems come to be posed in the "right circles". Yet, the anthropologist's first obligation is that of circumspection in any contacts one may or must have with persons or institutions who wield some power of decision over the destinies of one's host group. In regard to the Chadian situation, one immediately recalls the representatives

of the state and the armed forces whether African or European ... The obligation of reserve may make it necessary to hold back information which could otherwise be of some direct use. Should one retain, for example, data on population and cattle movements which could be of value to doctors and veterinarians for fear of their being put to use by members of more martial professions ? Such situations are commonplace.

Among the host people, one is also bound by certain requisites of deference to existing hierarchies and power structures. In the course of inquiries, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain a position viewed by all as socially neutral. Access to certain spheres may exclude relations with rival interest groups and acquaintance with their specific forms of knowledge and strategies. As time passes, the researcher creates his own past, however brief, in relation to the society he is studying. This process of accommodation, sometimes characterised by strong feelings of rejection towards indigenous customs, in the long run modifies the content and spirit of the observer's perceptions. Finally, this process may render the anthropologist's transition back into his own society more difficult than was the initial approach to the culture studied.

The debate on the extent to which an anthropologist can hope to comprehend an alien culture as an in-resident observer has not been closed by the wide acceptance of valuable Malinowskian precepts concerning the conduct of fieldwork. Largely in view of the circumstances described above, my own fieldwork in Chad hardly corresponds to this ideal. My residence in Chad extended from the end of November 1972 to the end of October 1974. This stay was interrupted for health reasons by a four month stay in France during the spring and early summer of 1974. Of the twenty months spent in Africa, approximately six were lost for the

purposes of fieldwork due to administrative and security impediments. My presence in the field was divided into short stays of two to six weeks, totalling only eight months. The duration of trips was materially restricted by the amount of food and petrol transportable to bush areas lacking autonomous sources of supply. Field trips were separated by periods of comparable duration spent in the Chadian capital and principally devoted to preliminary data processing.

The lack of longer stays in the field and the linguistic diversity of my region of study caused considerable problems in language learning. By June 1973, I was able, in my own impressionistic fashion, to converse with Arabic-speaking informants. Tukur or "Shuwa" Arabic is the principal lingua franca along the eastern periphery of Lake Chad. The group with which I conducted most intensive fieldwork, the Duu Rea clan, are, however, native speakers of the Kanembukanembu language, which belongs to the Kanuri group. It was not until the last three months of my stay in Chad that I came to have a tolerable understanding of that tongue, in which I never achieved fluency. All conversations were thus conducted, thanks to the help of my assistant and interpreter, Ali N'garinga, a Kanembukanembu-speaking Kuri of Isserom who is also fluent in French and Chadian Arabic. Contacts with native speakers of the Buduma and Kuri languages of the Chado-Hamitic group, and Dazaga of the Kanuri group, were ensured thanks to local informants whose assistance was also enlisted for certain tasks of transcription and translation. Ali N'garinga and I made extensive use of the tape recorder, a practice which, in the great majority of cases, did not disturb the people with whom we were conversing. During stays in N'Djamena, recorded material was transcribed. Ali N'garinga would then establish a literal translation. On this basis, the two of us would then agree on a final translation. The responses to closed questions and other data

susceptible to be quantified was recorded on specially prepared cards in the field and underwent preliminary tabulations on returning to the capital in order to correct or reorient subsequent inquiries.

Following my appointment to the O.R.S.T.O.M. centre at Fort-Lamy (subsequently N'Djaména), it was decided that I would engage in the study of sedentary Sahelian populations along the eastern periphery of Lake Chad. Ethnographic studies in that area were required to complement parallel investigations being carried out among the pastoral Arabs of North Kanem as well as geological, hydrological and other natural science research, all under the auspices of the O.R.S.T.O.M. In view of the state of latent or overt rebellion then prevalent in the Muelim provinces to the east and north of Kanem, it was furthermore deemed advisable to remain in the Lake district, which had been vigorously "pacified" by Franco-Chadian forces in the late 1960's. Since 1969, political opposition there to the Chadian national authorities and their French allies had not taken the form of open hostilities. This state of affairs was maintained largely by the close collusion between the Kanembu Muelim potentate of Kanem, the alifa or mai of Mao, and the southern, Christian-dominated central government of Chad under Sara president Tombalbaye.

My fieldwork first took me to visit the so-called "Shuwa" Arabs of Lake Chad's southern shore (see Conte and Hagenbucher-Sacripanti 1977) and the Kuri populations of the Lake's eastern archipelago and shore-band. While pursuing exploratory inquiries around the northeastern tip of the Lake in the N'guri district (see Map 5), it immediately became clear that no contribution to the ethnography of the area could neglect the Kanembu, the numerically and politically dominant people of Kanem who were as yet almost completely unstudied. The Kanembu people live in an area on the Sahara's southernmost fringe to the north and east of Lake Chad which adjoins the Sahelian savanna to the south (see Map 3).

This situation allows the Kanembu to practise varied modes of livelihood including semi-sedentary pastoralism, sedentary agriculture (see Appendix I) and, until recently, mobile hunting and gathering. Furthermore, the long history of the Kanembu, ranging back to the mediaeval empire of Kanem-Bornu and expressed in a rich oral tradition and complex political organisation, makes Kanem an ideal location to document the transition between Saharan and sub-Saharan cultures.

It was clear from the outset that any study in Central Kanem, particularly the Mao district, could be impaired or interrupted if judged undesirable by authorities close to the alifa of Mao whose exploitative policies towards many of his "administrés" and collusion with president Tombalbaye were secrets to no one. My attention was thus brought to focus on the N'guri district some 50 km. to the south of the capital of Kanem, Mao. In addition to political and administrative constraints, my curiosity for the N'guri area was stimulated by Gustav Nachtigal's (1881) short but intriguing 1871 description contained in his monumental Sahara und Sudan, one of the few relevant works available to me at that time. Several complementary reasons led me to orient initial inquiries in South Kanem along a strip of territory contained between N'jigada to the west and Mondo to the east (see Map 5). This area is (a) the most densely populated in Kanem (b) central in relation to the Kanembu population zone (c) economically crucial to the peoples of Kanem, both sedentary and nomadic, as the region's principal source of cereals and (d) traditionally autonomous or, at least, recalcitrant vis-à-vis the Kanembu power centre, located in and around Mao.

My goal on arrival in the field was to undertake a general study of Kanembu political and social organisation on the model of classical social anthropological monographs. The type of information I sought and the manner in which I set out to collect it were strongly influenced

by (a) the dearth of ethnographic literature on the peoples of Kanem, (b) the dispersed pattern of Kanembu habitat, (c) the short duration of field trips and, of course, (d) the specific circumstances of the drought period. It was soon evident that prolonged residence in an "average" Kanembu hamlet with a population of some fifty persons, was not likely to furnish acceptable data on clan and political organisation, marriage patterns, economic life, tribute circuits, nor indeed on oral tradition, which there tends to focus on larger clan-scale socio-political units. The method adopted to deal with these major areas of concern combined an extensive survey on socio-political and matrimonial organisation and systematic qualitative interviews with a wide range of informants who represented most of the South Kanemi clans.

The Duu Rea clan, controlling 23 small villages was chosen for intensive study for reasons discussed in Section 4 of Chapter 5. The Rea, with a population estimated at 1,314, including children, are a sufficiently large group of study for sociological observations to be tested by certain simple statistical procedures (cf. Chapters 6 - 9). Initially, all adult members of the clan were contacted to establish a complete Rea census. Later, all married or once married members of the clan living on Rea territory were interviewed again on a variety of matrimonial, economic and other personal questions (cf. Chapter 5, Section 4). A complete set of succinct life histories was thus compiled.

The survey data gave a comprehensive view of Rea social organisation but did not constitute an adequate basis for qualitative political analysis or for formulating hypotheses on processes of change in Kanemi social organisation from the last years of the pre-colonial period to the time of inquiry. Consequently, I recorded a substantial corpus of oral history and tradition from Kanemi of different social statuses and political affiliations. I also sought to collect complementary data

on marriage and political organisation which could furnish a basis for assessing the wider representativity of the Rea material. Such research was extended to cover some 14 clans which dominate the political life of South Kanem and with whom the Duu Rea are intimately and competitively linked.

This approach to fieldwork is thus more dependent on relatively wide-based survey techniques than most anthropological research. Such a method could well elicit criticism, albeit on different grounds, from both the traditional Malinowskian and modern structuralist points of view. I would argue, however, that the procedures adopted constituted a justifiable response to a critical field situation. Prolonged field trips were materially difficult due to the scarcity of food and bad health conditions. The general scarcity of basic resources compounded by a delicate political situation furthermore entailed numerous movements by informants. The combination of these factors, in addition to administrative constraints beyond my control, implied that geographical immobility would have offered little opportunity to collect required data.

Under the circumstances, I cannot claim to have achieved a deep comprehension of the perceptions, emotions or even the normative views of my informants. A finer understanding of a culture so alien to my own origins would have required years of direct participation in Kanembu life. In this sense, the present study can only be qualified as preliminary. Nonetheless, it does offer what tries to be a systematic basis for analyzing a number of important issues about Kanembu social organisation and the fundamental inequalities which dominate human relations within that system.

2. A preliminary survey of Kanembu socio-political organisation in South Kanem

Having no direct knowledge whatsoever of Kanem and its peoples, my concern on arrival was to determine who lived where. My first discussions with residents of South Kanem showed that the 1956 1/200000th maps of the Institut Géographique National of France, although valuable as a basis, no longer accurately reflected the distribution of local groups or present-day Kanembu toponymy.

Since being granted independence from France in 1960, the Republic of Chad has been divided, according to the French model, into administrative circonscriptions, known in order of diminishing size as the préfecture, the sous-préfecture, the canton, and the village. In addition, if local conditions warrant it, an autonomous intermediary unit between the canton and the sous-préfecture known as the poste administratif may also be constituted. The senior administrative officials of these divisions are, respectively, the préfet, the sous-préfet, chef de canton, chef de village and chef de poste administratif. Only the chefs de village and chefs de canton are appointed from among the local population. Their accession to office and mode of succession are, unless some particular candidate is opposed by higher authorities, largely determined by the traditional criteria of patrilineal descent and order of birth. However, such local officials may be deposed by administrative decision at the recommendation of the sous-préfet or préfet.

In addition to his functions as an agent of the national administration, a chef de canton is always a clan chief as well as leader of his clan's dominant lineage. I use the term "clan" here in the traditional sense of "a group of persons of both sexes, membership of which is determined by unilineal descent, actual or putative, with

ipso facto obligations of an exclusive kind" (Notes and Queries ... 1951 : 89). By the term "lineage", I designate a group consisting "of all the descendants in one line of a particular person through a determinate number of generations" (Notes and Queries ... 1951 : 89). In Kanem, groups of both kinds are agnatically defined and legitimised.

Only certain clan chiefs have the possibility of becoming chef de canton. Cantonal boundaries were fixed by the French colonial government. These divisions partially reflect clan-vested land rights which prevailed at the time of colonisation. Cantonal delimitations varied considerably during the first four decades of this century but have changed little since the 1940's. (See Appendix 5 and Maps 13 and 14). Village chiefs are generally local lineage heads. Their appointment is dependent on the sous-préfet's approval which may or may not coincide with the desires of the candidate's clan chief and/or chef de canton.

My inquiries concerning ethnic clan and lineage distribution were carried out in 8 cantons, namely N'jigdada, Dibinenchi, N'guri, Baderi, Yalita, Am Dobak, Dokora and Molimari (also known as N'dingororom). Etiquette required that interviews be conducted successively with the above designated officials from the rank of sous-préfet to chef de village. Subsequently, complementary investigations were undertaken with the assistance of knowledgeable persons of all major clans in the eight cantons considered.

The population density of these divisions reached about 20 inhabitants per km² in agriculturally fertile zones. This figure is high in relation to drier areas and, in particular, to North Kanem, where densities of two persons per km² or less are common. In spite of the relatively high population density of South Kanem, local groups are small and dispersed. Their populations not infrequently are as

low as 25 and rarely exceed 150 except in the case of cantonal centres. The average local group in South Kanem counts some 50 residents (cf. Jacob, Delagarde and Kernen 1964).

When discussing the composition of the population of each canton elders would enumerate the clan and lineage of the chef de canton and then name the other clans represented in the circonscription. Afterwards, they would list the villages controlled by each clan or lineage. Small hamlets without a recognised chief were subsumed in the villages to which they were administratively linked. In designating clans and lineages, informants would usually use three proper names (see Tables 1 and 2 and Appendix 2). The first, such as 'Kanambu' or 'Daza' would indicate a unit of the highest order which can generally be described as an ethnic and/or distinct linguistic group. The second name would refer to a clan (kari or jile; see Chapter 3) recognising common putative descent. Distinct lineages bore a third proper name and were attributed control of specific localities.

At the highest recognised level of descent group segmentation, a distinction was quickly drawn between those communities of Kanambu-Kanambu-speakers, qualified simply as Kanambu, and those called Duu, a group presented as subordinate to the latter. The term Duu, I came to learn, designates a composite social stratum which includes all craftsmen and their kin in addition to the descendants of hunter groups and many non-craftsmen descended from or socially assimilated to the Kanambu. In many respects, the Duu are held in contempt by other Kanambu-speakers. Membership of the Duu stratum is both hereditary and perpetual, as is that of the Kanambu stratum. The perpetuation of the Duu/Kanambu distinction is ensured by a strict prohibition on intermarriage between members of the two categories as well as between

Kanembu Duu and non-artisans of all surrounding ethnic groups.

Having completed my survey of ethnic, clan and lineage affiliations by locality throughout the eight cantons mentioned, I had enumerated 29 named clans administering 314 villages among the Kanembu and 43 named Duu clans controlling 214 villages (see Tables 1 and 2).

TABLE 1

THE RESPECTIVE IMPORTANCE OF KANEMBU CLANS IN VILLAGE

ADMINISTRATION THROUGH THE CHIEFTAINCIES OF SOUTH KANEM

Clan Names	Total vil.	N'JIG -DADA	DIBIN ENCHI	BADERI	N'GURI	YALITA	DOKORA	AM DOBAK	MOLI- MARI
N'GIJIM	61	3	54	0	0	4	0	0	0
KAJIDI	36	34	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
GALAO	33	0	16	0	0	1	0	16	0
TWARI	24	0	1	0	0	21	0	2	0
BADE	23	0	1	15	4	1	1	1	0
BAREU	16	0	0	1	12	1	0	2	0
KOGONA	14	7	0	3	3	0	0	1	0
DIERI	12	0	0	0	0	2	0	10	0
RUDDU	12	0	4	0	8	0	0	0	0
SARAO	12	0	1	0	0	9	1	1	0
KANKU	11	0	0	2	4	0	1	4	0
MAGEMI	11	0	0	4	3	3	0	1	0
DIEU	10	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
N'GALA	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	0
N'JALIU	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0
KANGINA	5	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0
KORE	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
DEYA	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
KEI	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
KUBRI	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
BERNOM	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
KAFA	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
B'RAO	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
CIRIU	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
DUWA	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
KINGIRIU	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
MAWI	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TADU	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TIRA	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
29 CLANS	314	46	81	30	44	47	6	60	0

TABLE 2THE RESPECTIVE IMPORTANCE OF DUU CLANS IN VILLAGEADMINISTRATION THROUGH THE CHIEFTAINCIES OF SOUTH KANEM

Clan Names	Total vil.	N°JIG -DADA	DIBIN ENCHI	BADERI	N°GURI	YALITA	DOKORA	AM DOBAK	MOLI- MARI
DARKA	25	0	0	0	7	0	18	0	0
BARA	17	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	13
DIERI	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0
ADIA	14	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	12
BAREU	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0
KEI	12	1	2	0	4	0	2	0	3
REA	12	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0
KAKULURU	11	0	1	0	0	1	4	2	3
MAGEMI	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8
KUURI	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	4
KANKU	7	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	2
AIYERU	6	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	0
TIRA	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	2
N°JALIU	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2
YEYA	5	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
BODASA	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
GOYA	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
KAFA	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
KUBRI	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
MULIAMUSARA	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
SESEYA	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
TANA	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
DANGA	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
KUMBARIU	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
LEA	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MOLURU	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
YHEYIMBO	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
ASERU	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
BADE	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
BARIA	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
B°RAO	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
CORONA	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DII	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
GALAO	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
JULA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
KAJIDI	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
KAWLIA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
LUKUYA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MANA	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MOIRO	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N°GURDIMERU	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
SUTU	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TWARI	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
43 CLANS	214	8	25	1	23	20	35	39	63

Subsequent readings of Gustav Nachtigal's Sahara und Sudan showed that allowing for certain modifications, the specific territorial rights of these named socio-political groups of South Kanem preceded the establishment of the French colonial and Chadian national administrations. By his own admission, however, Nachtigal's detailed attempt to give an account of the divisions and population of the peoples of Kanem only partially reflects the complexity of Kanembu group organisation (Nachtigal 1881 : 343 - 345 and Map 9). Subsequent visitors were also impressed by this fragmentation of the population into named and apparently autonomous groups as well as by the division between Duu and non-Duu (cf. Landeroin 1911, Carbou 1912, Bouillie 1937, Catala 1954, Le Rouvreur 1962). Interestingly, in spite of constant population movements and political upheavals within Kanem before, during and after colonisation, the association between given group names and particular areas appears in most cases to have remained relatively constant over 100 years. (Compare the above-mentioned descriptions and the present survey).

Clan membership and government are organised on a patrilineal basis. Men's rights of access to land are restricted to the territory of their father's lineage. During the precolonial period, control over land resources and the administration of the clan in general were entrusted to officials whose accession to office was patrilineally determined. In spite of the waning of these functions under the pressure of the central state administration in colonial and post-colonial times, land rights are still at the core of a clan's autonomy. Despite important differences in land control, clans were depicted to me as jurally equivalent units which manage their own internal affairs. Within this framework, access to land is shared on a purportedly egalitarian basis among the patrilineal membership. Persons foreign

to the clan who wish to cultivate a clan's land, must, in principle, compensate the land-holding group from which they must seek rights of access after each harvest.

The clan was not, however, described to me as an independent, small-scale and autarkic polity existing in a political vacuum. Historically, I was informed, the alifa of Mao had pre-eminent rights over all the lands of Kanem. Hence, before the arrival of the French in 1899, it was necessary for any clan official appointed by his group's council of elders to obtain the investiture of the Kanembu overlord in Mao. This confirmation of functions validated the clan official's right to collect taxes from all those, whether members of his clan or not, who resided on the territory he administered. In turn, he was obliged to pass on to the central authorities of Kanem that share of fiscal revenue due to the alifa by virtue of his pre-eminent land rights. In the present day, rights of investiture have passed to the Chadian State as have certain of the fiscal prerogatives formerly vested in the alifa. The Kanembu potentate however, continues to exercise a certain "moral" pre-eminence in the affairs of Kanem and can still exercise considerable influence over accession to office at the cantonal level, the distribution of land rights among clans and certain fiscal matters.

My initial conversations with Kanembu left me with the impression of a patrilineal segmentary system in which ultimate authority in interclan relationships was vested in a central authority jointly exercised by the administrations of the Chadian state and the alifa of Mao. While continuing to investigate clan-specific oral traditions and genealogical charters which elaborated and expounded this ideal model, I felt that the best available means of arriving at a more

supple perception of Kanambu society was to pass from preliminary survey-type inquiries to a closer examination of community organisation as well as of those inter-community relationships which might serve as the basis of wider social groupings.

The first person by person village censuses I undertook showed that in general:

- the majority, often some two thirds, of the inhabitants of a local group belonged to the lineage in which the headmanship was presently vested.

- a substantial number, approximately one third in many cases, belonged to clans alien to that in which local ground rights were vested.

- among the latter, the majority of those who had been resident in the settlement for any period of time were affinally linked to "native" members of the local community belonging to the headman's lineage.

- the members of the locally dominant lineage were bound by numerous ties of kinship and alliance.

- male heads of households of the locally dominant lineage strongly emphasised the close agnatic ties between themselves and their headman.

The headman of adjacent communities are often linked by ties of cousinship as are most of the inhabitants of their respective villages.

Such sets of local groups, whether strictly contiguous or not, form socio-political units in which access to office and collectively controlled means of production are managed in terms of a common genealogical charter defined by traceable links of kinship and alliance.

The local community formed by all residents of the village group concerned is obviously not coterminous with the localised, land-vested, patrilineages

thus constituted. Aliens enter local communities through marriages contracted with friendly neighbouring or external lineages or by requesting rights of residence and access to land against specific compensation in kind or labour to the host community.

Lineage heads at the village group level are often linked by ties of traceable or putative kinship to heads of other co-ordinate units within their wider clan. Genealogical inquiries, however, quickly brought out that certain lineages neither claimed to be nor were recognised as being linked agnatically to the common trunk of the clan genealogical charter. Members of purportedly "brother" lineages as well as of agnatically unrelated groups, claim firmly that the latter are integral members of the wider clan. This can indeed be demonstrated by examining the community of interests linking the two types of groups with regard to fiscality, bloodwealth payments and land tenure. Agnatically unrelated groups of the clan may, however, not succeed to clan-vested offices which allow direct access to clan fiscal revenues.

The "agnatic principle" thus differentiates constituent groups of the clan as well as agnates and aliens in the local community. Differential land rights and fiscal prerogatives within local communities and between constituent lineages of clans of the two types suggested that the purported equality of co-ordinate segmentary units propounded in elders' statements had to be examined as a masking of what were in fact institutionalised hierarchical relationships.

A cursory examination of the distribution of land resources among clans and lineages was sufficient to bring out that:

- clans whose headmen are vested with canton chieftaincies generally control more land per unit of population than clans not vested with such office.

- where this is not the case (examples are developed below in Chapter 3, Section 5), chiefly clans are entitled to collect tax revenues from larger non-chiefly clans to which their own agnatically defined membership is not subject.

- all clans generally have adequate access to dune lands on which dry millet culture is practised but only a minority of clans, principally those vested with State-confirmed office, have access to irrigated lands which are essential to ensure the continuity of food supply.

- within clans, control over the most fertile plots is concentrated in the hands of chiefly and/or dominant lineages, generally to the exclusion of those lineages who may not claim agnatic ties with the latter. Thus, at a formal level, patterns of segmentation reflected in clan and lineage genealogical charters may be associated with a specific territorial distribution of localised communities comprised of groups of agnates and co-resident "aliens".

Inequality in access to fertile lands is apparent at both higher and lower orders of social organisation. Named "clans", in spite of their purported equality, are social units of extremely variable demographic scale and territorial access. Of 29 Kanambu "clans" in the eight cantons considered, one controls 61 villages, and their dependent lands, 4 more than 20 villages, 8 more than 10 and 16 from 1 to 5. It is obvious that, in real terms, genealogically autonomous "clans" counting but a few communities and some hundred members are comparable to but a single local community or small lineage of a larger clan. Named "clans" are thus quite different units when viewed on the ground, and this is naturally reflected in the nature of their interrelations.

Clans also vary in relative size and access to land from one social stratum to another. Tables 2 and 1 show that Duu clans tend

to be territorially more dispersed than their Kanembu counterparts. 43 Duu clans are recorded as controlling only 214 villages. Only 9 of the 43 Duu clans are composed of 10 or more villages. 16 groups count 3 villages or less. Furthermore, Duu local communities are smaller on average than those of the Kanembu. This distribution shows that Duu clans are structurally very different irrespective of any notion of purported "genealogical autonomy".

A few Duu clans, namely the Darka, Bara, Dieri and Rea are vested with cantonal chieftaincies. These chieftaincies are located at N'guri and Dokara for the Darka, and Yalita, Am Dobek and Molimari for the other three, respectively (see Map 4). These clans, taken in the above order, control 25, 17, 15 and 12 villages with recognised headmen, total populations in excess of 1,300 persons and sufficient adjacent fertile lands to remain economically as well as politically autonomous. Certain other Duu clans are relatively large but dispersed. The 12 villages controlled by headmen belonging to the Duu Kei clan are dispersed in 5 different cantons over which other clans either Kanembu or Duu, have pre-eminent fiscal rights. Similarly, the professionally specialised Duu Kakuluru blacksmith clan has 11 villages spread through 5 cantons. The majority of Duu "clans" are comprised of only one, two or three small local communities. These groups are appendages of larger Kanembu clans to which they are attached by collective and individual patron-client relationships. In many cases, Kanembu and dependent Duu clans share a single name, but this homonymy does not imply common agnatic descent. There thus exists a social and economic stratification among Duu and between Kanembu and Duu clans.

Social, economic and political inequalities are also flagrant within the Kanembu stratum and within its component clans.

Approximately three quarters of the Kanembu population (and an even larger proportion of Duu) are poor, dependant agriculturalists who succeed in accumulating little if any surplus as a result of their labour. This is the result of systematic expropriation of labour and produce in the framework of institutionalised hierarchical relationships.

3. General comments on dependency relationships in the Kanembu polity

Dependency relationships are established between dominant clans or notables and immigrant groups or persons or locally-born members of non-dominant lineages. Such links are generally formalised under a morfel or sharecropping contract, whereby the dependant hands over half of his harvest, exclusive of personal and other taxes to be taken from the remaining produce. In principle, such a relationship is not considered appropriate among members of the same patrilineage. This provision, however, does not exclude unequal redistribution of tax revenues and levies in kind between household heads of lineages presumed to exercise collective control over all lineage lands, including those rented out to non-members of the patrilineage. This means that, in practice, although access to individual plots within a lineage territory is ensured by agnatic descent, the revenues of lineage-controlled lands other than those actually cultivated by lineage members are distributed on an unequal basis. This differential distribution may be legitimised in terms of genealogical precedence and other principles which may serve to institute hierarchical distinctions between agnates. Such practices are in distinct contradiction to the notions of sibling solidarity and equality of status in virtue of common descent.

The perpetuation of agnatically acquired rights of access to land is subject to effective cultivation. Individual rights may revert to the patrilineage after a two-year lapse. Personal access to collectively-owned land appears to be strictly limited by these dispositions. In fact, degrees of differential distribution of land revenues are determined by privileged access to good land and irrigation facilities, and, foremost, the labour force a man controls.

During the nineteenth century, the maintenance of slave and serf labour thanks to millet surpluses was the most flagrant form of reinvestment of individually appropriated land revenues. The degree of produce and labour extortion which a notable could impose upon a Duu, a slave or indeed any dependent, whether or not he was of an equally noble clan as his own, was often substantially comparable.

The Duu stratum was fortunate enough to include certain chiefly clans which were able to achieve minimal conditions of economic and political autonomy. Whereas their political position was at least locally consolidated, the socio-economic advances they could realise were bounded by the fact that Duu status was not only hereditary but perpetual. The economic handicaps attached to their condition precluded under many circumstances, the possession and bequest of or access to important capital resources including reproductive cattle stock. During the nineteenth century, the greater part of the small and forcibly dispersed Duu lineage groups were professionally specialised. During the colonial period, their artisanal functions waned and they were integrated economically but not socially into a proportionately expanding mass of poor dependent cultivators which constituted the majority of Kanem's population.

The Kanembu poor or maskin were and are not restricted by the

constraints of forced stratum endogamy or professional specialisation. However, in opposition to the Duu, they have never acquired chieftaincies at the canton level. They continue to remain subordinated to a Kanembu aristocracy who has devised numerous ways of benefitting from the revenues the maskin generate. Dependent families tend to own few or no domestic cattle, even during periods of favourable climatic and epidemiological conditions. Significant proportions of their grain surpluses are appropriated by members of the ruling stratum rather than retained by the producers for investment in their own herds or necessary food stocking. Under such conditions, the nominal capacity of the maskin as non-Duu, Kanembu freemen to found clans has remained illusory. They may indeed engage in marriage exchange or political alliance with other Kanembu. Yet, in spite of the greater liberty of movement and access to land which developed during the colonial and independence periods, poor groups wishing to initiate a clan find themselves confronted with a fixed, presumptively perpetual distribution of rights over fertile land among a limited number of aristocratic lineages. The "political rights" of the poor remain void if they cannot constitute corporate land-holding groups.

The slave population of the later nineteenth century Kanem was dispersed, in its great majority, among the extended households of richer Kanemi. Significantly, the price of slaves was often expressed in cattle, a commodity to which the poor did not have free access. As opposed to the Duu and the free Kanembu maskin, slaves had no lineage organisation. By the time the colonizers finally put an end to the slave trade, servile status was beginning to fuse with maskin status. Male slaves were integrated among the "free" poor through enfranchisement coupled with adoption. Females were assimilated through marriage and possible subsequent enfranchisement. Their mixed slave/free progeny

were made Kanambu by patrilineal descent.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Kanambu society was thus cross-cut by three important cleavages opposing Kanambu vs. Duu, freemen vs. slave and master vs. dependent.

The Duu and Kanambu categories were and remain mutually exclusive. As a rule, Duu status is subordinate to Kanambu status. Each of these two categories, however, includes masters and dependents. Formerly, the great majority, though not the totality, of slaves were owned by the Kanambu.

As before colonisation, all Kanambu are freemen. A minority of them are masters or collectors of tribute whose status is largely legitimised in terms of genealogical position. A vast majority of Kanambu are tributaries.

The Duu are also freemen. A minority of them are "masters" but only unto their own "kind" and a few very lowly Kanambu.

The status of slave was less ambiguous in the sense that slavery formally implied strict social and economic dependence. Though hereditary, as is membership of the two previous groups, slave status was not perpetually ascribed.

Colonisation brought about the formal disappearance of slave status. Thus, today, Kanambu society may be described as divided between Duu and non-Duu, and, implicitly, into maskin and a rich minority with a high capacity for capital accumulation. The Kanambu lineage system recognises the division between Duu and non-Duu in genealogical terms. In contrast, the assertion of "equality" of co-ordinate units within a given stratum hides the socio-economically more relevant distinction between rich and poor which applies to both

strata. In other words, Kanembu lineage ideology negates the internal hierarchisation and institutionalised inequalities which prevail both within and between named, kin-focussed units which constitute the wider Kanemi polity.

The dominant Kanembu model of social organisation postulates a difference of "nature" and quality between Duu and non-Duu, despite the linguistic and cultural homogeneity of the two strata. As will be explained below, the Kanembu have sought to integrate the Duu politically by extending to them their own mode of lineage organisation. Today, the whole of Kanemi society, including the descendants of former slaves, is formally divided into discrete patrilineal clans. In practice, one must distinguish:

- autonomous clans and lineages which are territorially based in spite of differing degrees of geographical dispersion, and
- named, genealogically defined groups which lack autonomous control over a territorial basis.

The Duu stratum includes groups of both types. The Kanembu stratum is comprised of generally larger clans which often exhibit complex forms of internal stratification. Therefore, it is possible to distinguish autonomous from dependent lineages within wider clans, as well as aristocrats and dependents, within each constituent segment, whether autonomous or not.

The membership and alignments, although not the territorial basis of patri-focussed kin-based groups, may vary within the boundaries of each stratum in accordance with patterns of marriage exchange, both endogamous and exogamous, in relation to the clan or lineage. At the same time, marital prohibitions oppose the Duu and non-Duu strata and strictly perpetuate the assertedly intrinsic dissimilarities which define them. Thus, while political integration of the Duu into Kanembu

society is total thanks to the extension of the Kanembu lineage system, the social resolution of the Duu-non-Duu opposition, in contrast to that of the freemen-slave division, has been rendered impossible.

It is apparent that nominal membership of either category does not suffice to define a clan's or lineage's position in relation to the system of social stratification. The Kanembu ideology of hierarchisation of social strata, and of clans and lineages within each stratum, masks the structural opposition between autonomous and dependent Duu groups while instituting a socio-economically fallacious but politically advantageous distinction between autonomous Duu and Kanembu of all classes.

Diachronically, a dual process characterises the dominant/dominated relationship. On the one hand, forced endogamy of strata and the geographical dispersion of dependent groups accentuate segregation between dominant as well as super- and subordinate groups. On the other hand, aristocrats are free to reinforce institutionalised inequalities by manipulating tax, tribute and market circuits and by the selective attribution of offices to notables of dependent status. Aristocrats are furthermore qualified, within the limits of the stratum barrier which they perpetuate, to cross vertical barriers by hypergamous and hypogamous interlineage marriages.

4. Kanembu society and the segmentary lineage model

The hierarchical quality of social relationships at all levels of Kanembu society is striking to the unaccustomed outside observer. Among individuals, this is true of sex and age roles as well as of relations between collaterals. Kanembu kinship terminology clearly reflects an insistence on seniority, precedence and hierarchy (see Appendix 4). Relations between kin-focussed groups of all orders

are characterised by competitive rather than complementary opposition. A large body of oral tradition relating to interlineage and interclan alliances and hostilities underlines the inadequacy of interpreting intergroup relations primarily or exclusively in terms of agnatic descent and territoriality. At the societal level, the, or rather, certain, Kanembu present their polity as a segmentary lineage system governed by the principles of unilineal agnatic descent and priority of birth. In practice, even superficial observation suggests, notwithstanding the existence of a complex clan organisation of a formally segmentary type, that Kanembu society may be best understood in terms of the processes of social stratification which obtain within this centralised, though in some aspects confederal, political system.

These initial impressions contrast markedly with the model of the segmentary lineage system as developed by Evans-Pritchard among the Nuer (1940) and the Cyrenaican Bedouin (1949). This theory postulates the primacy of descent over all other relations of kinship and affinity. Social groups are seen as defined in terms of unilineal descent. Relations between the lineages and territorial groups thus demarcated are regulated by the rules of complementary opposition.

What are the major implications of these postulates as seen from the standpoint of Kanembu society? Firstly, intergroup relations which are neither territorial nor agnatic are "devalued" as are non-agnatic interpersonal relations. This means that at both the observational and interpretive levels, consanguinity and affinity are subordinated to the conceptually privileged principle of unilineal descent. The "kinship system" is radically divided from the "political system". Yet, at the same time, the total political system is defined on the basis of relations of complementary opposition between unilineally-defined kin-focussed groups. The primacy of the principle

of descent as a regulator of the form and boundaries of social groups, combined with the rule of complementary opposition governing intergroup relations, are taken as implying that there can be no centralisation of authority in segmentary lineage societies. Evans-Pritchard (1949 : 59) writes : "The tribal system, typical of segmentary lineage structures everywhere is a system of balanced opposition between tribes and tribal sections from the largest to the smallest division, and there cannot therefore be any single authority in a tribe". The field of "politics" is here effectively reduced to that of relations between local groups. This facilitates considering only relations of "complementary" opposition to the exclusion of hierarchical and inequalitarian aspects of social and political organisation. One may in this manner be led "to lift the social structure out of its historical setting, and at the point of interruption, ascribe it to general principles as if it were in timeless equilibrium" (Gough 1971 : 115).

These implications of the segmentary lineage theory have had a particularly unfortunate effect in modelling anthropologists' perception and understanding of numerous Mideastern, Saharan and Sahelian societies which exhibit varying degrees of "segmentation". We must here further consider the subordination of consanguinity and affinity to the primacy of unilineal filiation. Dumont (1971 : 68) comments as follows on this important point :

".....the presentation of non-agnatic kinship, and mythical kinship not, as simple means of establishing relations between agnatic and territorial groups can only be described as arbitrary. To a large extent, this is the consequence of an over-emphasis on the importance of groups which implies under-emphasising these relations between groups which are neither territorial nor agnatic." (My translation).

This comment is particularly relevant with regard to the interpretation of affinity and its effects on group boundary determination and reproduction as well as on political relations at the intergroup and societal levels. It is interesting to note that Evans-Pritchard "slips in" his application of the segmentary lineage model as observed among a Nilotic people with exogamous clans (Evans-Pritchard 1940) to the analysis of a North African Arab group in which marriages occur both within and between patrilineages (Evans-Pritchard 1949); all happens as if such a transfer had no effect on the central role of the principles of unilineal descent and complementary opposition. As Dumont brings out in relation to segmentary lineage theory, the unilineal descent group was defined by Rivers as exogamous. According to this author (Rivers 1926 : 85 - 87), the term "descent" can only be applied meaningfully to cases where membership of kin groups can be circumscribed through unilineal descent to exclusive and discrete units. In such instances, marriage is necessarily at the basis of an interclan relationship.

In Bedouin society, neither is there a rule of exogamy nor is there one of endogamy. Ample evidence of the simultaneous practice of endogamous and exogamous marriage in relation to kin groups defined in terms of strict agnatic descent among the Arab (cf. inter alia Robertson Smith 1885 : 60 - 61) was ignored by Evans-Pritchard and many of his functionalist colleagues when attempting to generalise the Nuer segmentary lineage model. The functionalist school seems to have emphasised endogamy and exogamy as rules as opposed to practices to such an extent that other evidence was overlooked both in the literature and in the field. Within a specific, bounded social unit, the simultaneous application of the two rules is obviously impossible. The practices of exogamy and endogamy may, however, be

synchronically compatible and complementary.

Logically speaking, it is clear that the agnatic principle cannot have the same meaning and social implications with regard to kin group definition among the Nuer and the Cyrenaican Bedouin. In the first society, exclusive and discrete groups may be defined by virtue of agnatic unilineality and exogamy, although, in practice, this does not exclude other modes of acquisition of group membership (See Gough 1971). Among the Bedouin, patrigrups are discrete but certainly not exclusive. Lineal "exclusivity" can only be proven a posteriori as relations of affinity give rise to relations of descent, through genealogical manipulation, mainly by means of "structural oblivion" of non-agnatic links (cf. Peters 1960). Where a rule of exogamy does not obtain and marriage practice is in part endogamous and in part exogamous, actual descent patterns are undifferentiated or cognatic. The word 'endogamy', however, does not even appear, either alone or in relation to exogamy, in The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. In spite of his detailed treatment of marriage practices among the Nuer, Evans-Pritchard (1951) maintains the primacy of descent over marriage rules. He gave such credit to this premise that he did not even consider the implications of marriage rules among the Bedouin. Bonte (1979a: 174 - 5) observes that in a segmentary system based on endogamous divisions, interlineage relations have another quality than in systems based on exogamous segments ; in the former:

"On the one hand, structures of complementary opposition are only defined by the genealogical chart. They exclude those alliance networks which cross-cut the segmentary organisation and function to reinforce the exclusiveness of unilineal descent groups in societies composed of exogamous lineages : agnation is here very clearly an ideology prevailing over conditions of descent which are in fact undifferentiated. On the other hand, the pursuit of marriage strategies

... occurs in a context of interlineage relations which include other forms of social practice and constitute a global structure of competitive opposition : competition for economic wealth, for the control and integrity of the men and women of the group, for power etc. " (My translation).

In functionalist segmentary lineage theory, "other forms of social practice", as here stated, and in particular the collective appropriation of means of production by unilineal descent groups, are largely subsumed under the category of 'corporateness'. The Kanembu case is of interest in exploring the relevance of such a concept in relation to systems presenting segmentary characteristics but not regulated by an exogamic norm at the clan level, as indeed occurs in many societies of the Afro-Asian Islamic culture area.

All social groups defined by unilineal descent may be corporate, but the assertion of a group specificity in genealogical terms in no way implies any parity in corporate attributes in relation to other units at comparable levels of segmentation. Clans and lineages in Kanem may vary in :

- a) population (from ca. 100 to ca. 10,000 members).
- b) control of irrigated land (from nothing to surfaces vastly in excess of what their own labour force can cultivate).
- c) control of offices delegated by State authorities and corresponding taxation rights.

The relative advantages a clan or lineage possesses in these respects contribute to define its political status as manifested in :

- a) its liberty of movement and, hence, of potential access to new resources.
- b) its ability to cope with, or indeed benefit by, crises such as droughts, interclan hostilities and national political upheavals.

In Kanem, the corporate functions of patrilineally defined groups vary to such an extent as to render the social organisation of these groups structurally distinct within the wider socio-political system. Under such circumstances, it would certainly be unwarranted to reduce kinship structures to relations of descent. Care must also be taken not to confuse under a single heading the structurally differentiated scopes of group political action and matrimonial exchange in a system of complementary opposition under the pretext that all types of political processes may be legitimised in terms of unilineal descent. Where such slips do occur in anthropological analysis, one of their consequences is to provoke (or legitimate) an obscuring of relations of competition and stratification.

A further distinction must be drawn between the territorial and genealogical definitions of patri-focussed groups. In the Kanemi system, both lineage and territorial groups are genealogically defined in terms of the unilineal principle. But, due to exogamous marriages and other modes of integration of individuals and groups into the local community, the two do not fully coincide in membership. Within lineages and clans, dominant segments legitimise privileged access to major collectively controlled means of production, mainly land, thanks to the idiom of purportedly patrilineal transmission of office and corresponding rights over management of individual ground access. This process of differential control of resources and power is illustrated in the "monopolisation" of clan genealogical charters by dominant segments. This procedure, sometimes refined to the level of an "art", is facilitated by the effectively undifferentiated nature of descent within the clan. The genealogical idiom negates, and with the passage of time, helps to obliterate and neutralise the memory of those competitive processes which maintain the inequalitarian distribution of rights and resources between and within groups.

In Kanem, the majority of named, "corporate" kin-based units do not dispose of sufficient productive resources for voluntary changes in the official version of their "dominant" descent lines to be socially and politically recognised beyond the limits of their own membership. The dominance of certain clans over others, of ruling lines over subordinate lines, signifies that the effective conditions of segmentation (as opposed to subsequent genealogically framed justifications) are explainable in terms of the wider centralised political system. It is not the process of segmentation which determines political structure. Observable forms of subordination are, on the contrary, largely influenced by the degree and modalities of political centralisation, and conversely, the devolution of political office and fiscal privileges vested formally in descent groups but effectively at the service of the aristocracy as a class.

There is a tendency in much anthropological literature to overlook the co-occurrence of elaborate and often segmentary lineage organisation in societies exhibiting centralised, hierarchical government and complex administrations. Southall's concept of the "segmentary state" based on a distinction between "hierarchical" and "segmentary" power structures (Southall 1953 : 246 - 249) recognises the importance of this problem without, however, fully resolving its implications. No recognition is given to the fact that this functionalist dilemma is a derived consequence of the attribution of logical and structural rather than mainly ideological primacy to the unilineal descent principle. As a result, there is a restriction of the political sphere to the inter-relations of hierarchically undifferentiated "corporate" descent groups rather than an extension to the wider system of which they are integral though unequal components.

Notwithstanding the theoretical reservations of certain functionalists, the co-occurrence of elaborate lineage organisation in centralised polities may be empirically demonstrated throughout Africa's Sahelian belt from Senegal to the Red Sea. For the Chadian Sahel alone, Nachtigal's rich accounts of the kingdoms of Bagirmi, Waday and Kanem, not to mention Bornu (Nachtigal 1879 - 1889), leave no doubt as to the degree of political centralisation which can be achieved in ethnically composite polities integrating one or several societies organised on the basis of agnatic segmentary lineages. In all of these instances, complex social stratification was and remains a correlate of developed political centralisation. It may also be demonstrated that under given historical circumstances, the lineage system is an idiom of organisation which may assist governments in tightening political control over agnatically defined socio-political groups and channelling the incorporation at a subordinate level of peripheral groups or captives.

The segmentary state theory cannot cope with the complexities of such situations in sub-Saharan Africa by simply juxtaposing the categories of state and state-less societies, which were originally posited as being diametrically opposed. The presentation of a "continuum" model of classification of types of political organisation to supersede this admittedly unrealistic dichotomy does not represent a theoretical advance since it does not put into question two premises of segmentary lineage theory which, according to Bonte (1979b: 219):

" (1) ... transforms the pluri-functional definition of kinship which is particularly determined by the organisation of production, into a structural distinction within kinship itself and (2) ... accepts the apparent determination of social organisation by unilineal descent". This implies negating the structural relation between centralised forms

of government, institutionalised social inequality within and between descent groups and lineage organisation as an historic process.

5. The object and organisation of the present study

The systematic study of marriage within and between non-exogamous unilineally defined groups belonging to different social strata in terms of descent, consanguinity and territoriality offers a crucial vantage point for understanding competitive opposition within lineage-based, centralised political systems. Kanem, in view of the universality of agnatic lineage organisation within a socially stratified society, is a favourable ground for such analysis. The highly developed clan-focussed Kanembu oral tradition illustrates the fact that lineages, clans and descent based societies are not static structures. The organisational development of such groups is necessarily subject to historical change. The same is of course true of the system of institutionalised social inequality which heavily determines both intra- and inter-group relations. The second and final section of this study is entirely devoted to exploring these themes.

This, however, presupposes certain preliminary descriptions which constitute the remainder of the present introductory section.

Chapters Two, Three and Four respectively deal with central aspects of Kanembu social, political and economic organisation. In all three of these chapters, special emphasis will be placed on the understanding of hierarchical relations within Kanembu society.

After the presentation of succinct historical references on the formation of the Kanembu people over the past millenium, present-day oral tradition is shown to reflect and legitimate the hierarchisation of socio-political groups. More detailed comments are then made on

historically subordinate social categories including slaves, serfs and artisans.

Kanembu socio-political organisation is approached through the definition of the clans and lineages. These groups will serve as common units of reference in the interpretation of oral tradition as well as marriage patterns. The administration of genealogically defined social units is then examined at both the clan and societal levels. Finally, the major socio-historical characteristics of each of the eight South Kanemi chieftaincies in which inquiries were conducted are depicted in somewhat greater detail.

The study of important features of social and political organisation in Chapters Two and Three gives the necessary framework for examining the circulation of wealth and associated power relations in Kanembu society. An attempt is made to reconstitute the complex traditional Kanembu agricultural taxation system which underpins the rank ordering of clans and lineages as well as of social strata. Complementary syntheses follow on artisanal production and trade and commerce. Chapter Four concludes by an overview of recent developments of the Kanembu economy in post-colonial Chad. These remarks underline the perpetuation of traditional socio-economic inequalities through State economic intervention.

CHAPTER TWO : NOTES ON THE COMPOSITION OF SOUTH KANEM'S POPULATION

1. Kanem and the Kanembu

In geographical terms, Kanem is the region which extends from the northeastern shores of Lake Chad to the southernmost confines of the Sahara at approximately 16° east longitude and 15° north latitude (See Maps 1 and 2). To the west, Kanem is bounded by the Niger-Chad border, which runs in a northeasterly direction from the northern extremity of Lake Chad. To the east, Kanem extends to the Bahr el-Ghazal (termed berim in the Kanembukanembu language.) This 500 km long depression, a former effluent of Lake Chad, originates at the lake's southeastern tip in a region known as Dagana. It then follows a northeasterly course which finally leads into the Jurab depression.

The geographical area thus defined is divided into two administrative unite (circonscriptions), namely the préfecture du Kanem with its capital at Mao and the préfecture du Lac which is governed at Bol.

Kanem préfecture covers an area of $114,500 \text{ km}^2$ including a band of territory to the east of the Bahr el-Ghazal. Its population is estimated at 193,000 (Decalo 1977 : 154) and mainly consists of Kanembu and Daza, with Tubu, Tunjur and other minorities (cf. Map 3 and Section 2 of this chapter). The préfecture is presently divided into three sous-préfectures (Mag, Moussoro and Nord-Kanem nomade). The province's population density is estimated at 1.7 per km^2 (Decalo 1977 : 154).

The préfecture du Lac, which was created in 1962 only two years after Chad's independence from France, covers only $22,000 \text{ km}^2$ (See Map 14). This area includes the littoral from the Niger border in the northwest to Dagana in the southeast as well as the lake's northern and northeastern archipelagoes. The province is divided into two sous-préfectures (Mag and

N'gouri). With a population of approximately 131,000, the préfecture has a density of 5.9 persons per km² (Decalo 1977 : 171). The Buduma, Kuri and Kanembu are the principal ethnic groups of the area (See Map 3).

As an historical term, Kanem refers to the core province of the Kanem-Bornu empire first mentioned by Arab chroniclers in A.D. 872 (see below Section 2). Kanem subsequently was relegated to the rank of a province in the Bornu empire until the final disintegration of this state during the 19th century (cf. Lange 1977, Lavers 1980).

In the present study, the term Kanem, unless otherwise specified, will refer to the areas of the Kanem and Lake préfectures, and, secondarily, of the Shari-Bagirmi préfecture (cf. Map 1), mainly inhabited by the Kanembu people. The adjective Kanemi will refer to this area and the adjective Kanembu to its major ethnic group. The Kanembu are mainly a sedentary group of Moslem agropastoralists living between the shores of Lake Chad and the 14th parallel. Other Kanembu populations are spread in a thin belt around the Lake's western shores through Niger and into Nigerian Bornu (See Map 3). Following Barth's (1965) initial exploration of Kanem (cf. Map 8), Nachtigal (1881 : 343-345) estimated in 1871 that the Kanembu of Kanem, including the divisions then known as Magemi, Bulala and Kuka, numbered some 40,000 persons among a total population of some 70,000. Le Rouvreur (1962 : 98), apparently on the basis of 1956 census figures, estimates the Kanembu populations of the Mao, Bol, Massakory and Mussoro divisions at 71,000. Provisional estimates referred to by Decalo (1977 : 158) suggest a fifty per cent increase of the Kanembu population between 1954 and 1977. This would imply a present-day (1981) magnitude of approximately 100,000 persons.

The modes of livelihood of the Kanembu and neighbouring groups are largely determined by the diversity of the lacustral, Sahelian and sub-Saharan environments and the cyclical climatic variations to which they

are subject. The area surrounding Lake Chad constitutes an ecological haven for both agriculturalists and pastoralists with its fertile irrigated lands and rich pastures. The lacustral periphery is privileged in relation to other Sahelian areas in that the yearly millet crop obtained throughout Kanem by dry farming is here complemented by several yearly harvests of grains and vegetables. These irrigated cultures are concentrated in the numerous riverain interdunary depressions (b'la) which characterise the landscape of southeastern Kanem. However, the productivity of the b'laa is directly influenced by the surface level of Lake Chad, which is subject to important variations mainly determined by seasonal and longer-term rainfall cycles. In view of the low declivity of the lands surrounding Lake Chad, relatively minor variations in surface level may entail the flooding or deflooding of vast areas of the riverain belt (cf. Figures 1 to 9). These changes regulate the fertility of and access to choice agricultural lands along the shore as well as the level of underground water deposits further inland.

When rainfall is adequate, the Kanemi environment offers excellent possibilities for the pursuit of an harmoniously balanced agropastoral economy. The predominantly pastoral mode of livelihood of the people of North Kanem is interdependent with the richer and more varied agriculture of the South. However, during dry cycles such as that which led to the great Sahelian drought of the early 1970's, the agricultural potential of the South suffers greatly, whereas northern pastorelists are forced southward from the fringes of the Sahara. This promotes economic as well as political tensions between northern and southern Kanemi.

A basic analysis of the Kanemi environment and modes of subsistence is given in Appendix 1. This presentation is indispensable to the understanding of Kanembu socio-political organisation and, in particular, the inequalities on which the relations between the land - and the cattle -

controlling nobility and the mass of dependent agropastoralists are based.

2. Notes on the formation of the Kanembu people

Oral tradition, as well as the works of Arab historians, (cf. Cuq 1975) and the African document in Arabic known as the 'DIwān salātin Bornū' (Chronicle of the Kings of Bornu) (cf. Lange 1977), suggest that the emergence of the Kanembu people resulted from the fusion of autonomous and immigrant Negroid agriculturalists and hunters associated with the "Sao" (or "So") culture with the groups of Saharan nomads designated by the chroniclers as the "Zaghawa" (cf. Chapelle 1957 : 4 - 7, 100 - 101).

The term 'Kānem' (كَانِم) is first recorded in an Arabic text of Al-Ya'qubi dated A.D. 872, where it designates a place described as the home of the Zaghāwa (Lange 1977 : 115). However, it is impossible to say when the term Kanembú may have come to designate a culturally distinguishable people rather than a very heterogeneous population sharing a broadly defined territory. The word Kanem is derived from the Tedaga term for 'south' (Tedaga : anum or anem; Kanuri : anēm; Kanembukanembu : anum) preceded by the nominal prefix 'k' and, thus, signifies 'land of the south'. The addition of the suffix 'bu' translatable by 'people (of)' (sing.-ma) gives the term 'Kanembú', which is etymologically more a geographical term than an ethnic designation. It is opposable to Tubu, 'people of Tu', or Tibesti, i.e. of the North (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 336 - 337).

Very little indeed is known with certainty about the populations of the Chad Basin at the presumed period of their encounter with the Zaghawa, about the 9th century A.D.; Trimmingham (1962 : 104) comments that :

"The term So, although it now belongs to the realm of myth, is useful since it was used by nomads for those inhabitants of the Chad region (other than paleonigratics) who had a well-defined civilization, which from the historical point of view is centred in the walled town state, divine kingship with ritual murder, and elaborate hierarchization of political organization. The So

languages belonged to the Chado-Hamitic linguistic group, represented today by the languages of the Hausa, Kotoko, Buduma (Yedina), Bolewa, Musgu and many others."

It is believed that the Sao were first pushed south of Lake Chad by the Zaghawa at the end of the tenth century (Trimingham 1962: 105).

The people of Tibesti (or Tu) certainly played an outstanding role among the central Saharan populations credited with the foundation of Kanem in the wake of the Sao retreat. As the process of southward migration from what is today northern Chad was pursued, a distinction developed between Teda and Daza. Nachtigal explains that:

"...the people of Tu call themselves Teda, and ... they were earlier much more widely scattered through the desert than they are now ... many tribal sections belonging to the Tu region are still found south of the great desert in Bornu and Kanem, and their migration thither appears to have taken place gradually, and for some of them only to have been completed quite recently. Along the Bornu road, Kavar and some of the smaller oases close to this little district have, on the contrary, been inhabited by Teda for many centuries.

The inhabitants of the little neighbouring territory of Borku are distinguished from the Teda, and go by the name of Ama Borku, i.e. the people of Borku, and likewise with the people of the Bahr el-Ghazal, who for the most part call themselves Daza. In spite of the diversity of names however, they are well aware of their unity which is, moreover, demonstrated by a common language, even though it is divided into two dialects; the whole family, for which its component parts have no joint name, can be conveniently divided between Teda, the inhabitants of Tu and Kavar, and Daza, the inhabitants of Borku, the Bahr el-Ghazal, and Kanem. The Arabs call the former Tubu and the latter Qor'an, but they also use, according to whether they live in the northern part of the desert or in the Sudan, either of these terms to cover the two groups, although the name Tubu belongs logically only to the inhabitants of Tibesti."

(Nachtigal, translated by Fisher and Fisher 1974 : 379 - 380)

Nachtigal's recapitulation of variations in group designations provoked by southward movements from Saharan toward Sahelian latitudes puts us on guard against the impression that the genesis of the Kanembu people is the direct result of "a" conquest during the 9th or 10th century. Chapelle (1957 : 41 - 48) underlines that southward migrations from Tibesti to Kanem occurred from the 10th to the 13th century and beyond. Groups of Teda

origin settled in Kanem moved to Bornu during the 13th and 14th century, giving rise to a Kanuri group distinct from the people of Kanem (cf. also Lange 1977). In contrast, populations of Teda tradition went northward from Bornu "back" to Tibesti during the 16th century. The 17th century saw elements of the Daza tribe known as the Kreda move from Borku and Ennedi (See Map 1) to the Bahr el-Ghazal and Kanem. This movement was followed by further Daza migrations from Borku to Kanem during the 18th century (Chapelle 1957 : 41 - 48; cf. also Urvoy 1949 and Lavers 1980).

The timespan and complexity of these movements as well as the absence of adequate sources make any attempt to determine in other than very general terms when and how the Kanembu and Kanuri cultures developed into "separate" entities from a common Teda/Daza source highly speculative. As migrations from the Sahara to Kanem and thence to Bornu are spread over centuries, so is the conquest of Kanem proper from the Sao. As the "Zaghawa" became "Kanembu", they were deeply influenced by "Sao" culture. As the "Kanembu" spread over into Bornu to become "Kanuri", the struggle against the Sao and the assimilation of many of their number continued. This process did not subside until the 16th century.

Kanemi history is largely known through dynastic traditions as recorded by Muslim chroniclers. Trimingham observes (1962 : 114) that: "Legend carries the dynasty which was to rule Kanem back to Dugu (c. A.D. 800) who is made to descend from Saif ibn Dhi Yazan, whence the ruling line is known as Saifi or Yazani" or commonly, Sefewa. Trimingham adds (1962: 114-115) that the early pagan section of the Sefawa dynasty "is referred to as the Duguwa or Bani Dugu, which, as Barth recognized, was probably a different dynasty." Lavers (1980; ms.:7) writes that:

"By 1000 A.D. a stable state had been established and imperial adventures begun. The court continued to be semi-nomadic, moving around the kingdom on royal progresses but, at the same time, a number of towns had developed as administrative and commercial centres. The office of Mai (king) had already developed religious attributes of a divine nature - Al Muhallabi reported that the people exalt and

worship (the King) instead of God, believing that it is (the Kings) who bring life and death, sickness and health!"

(cf. also Trimingham 1962 : 111)

Sources differ as to which ruler of Kanem was the first to adopt Islam (cf. Lange 1977 : 157 and Trimingham 1962 : 115). It is clear, according to Al-Maqrīzī's account (in Cuoq 1975 : 389), that by 1242 - 1252 A.D., Muslims from the kingdom of Kanem had founded a madrasa (Koranic school)/hostel in Cairo. Nevertheless, among the people of Kanem, as opposed to ruling dynasties, the propagation of Islam required centuries. Certain groups of South Kanem, notably the insular Buduma, refused to convert until the 20th century.

During the 12th century, a deep conflict developed between the ruling Magemi clan to which the Sefawa kings belonged and another Kanembu group known as the Bulala. Trimingham (1962 : 118) interprets this struggle for supremacy as "a pagan reaction against the islamizing tendencies of the Saifī house." The Bulala attack and conquest of Kanem under the reign of Sefawa Daud (A.D. 1377 - 1386 according to Barth) entailed the expulsion of the latter's dynasty from Kanem proper to Bornu:

"The ... Bulāla ... originating from a branch line of the royal family of Kānem, by their forefather Jīl Shikomēmi (a son of Dūnama Dēbalami ?) had founded a powerful principality in the territory of Fitri ("the lake"), over the numerous tribes of the Kūka (Leo's Gaoga)... Dāūd ben Nīkāle was driven out of Njīmiye, the old capital and finally killed by 'Abd el Jalīl, the Bulāla king."

(Barth 1965 II : 586)

Over the subsequent fifteen years at least, five of Daud's descendants and successors to the Kanem throne are said to have perished at the hands of the Bulala. One of these, Omar ibn Idris, is reported to have given up Kanem entirely, taking up residence in Bornu. The Bulala whose capital was Yao, just north of Lake Fitri, ruled Kanem for "122 years", according to Ibn Fartuwa (cf. Palmer 1928 I : 17). Idris Katagarmabe (r. 1502-1526) wrested Kanem back under his line's command by defeating the Bulala prince

Dunama in one of several expeditions to the province. Although Idris undoubtedly seems to have restored Sefawa suzerainty over Kanem, it is less obvious whether he effectively could or wished to exercise direct administration over the province. According to Trimingham (1962 : 124): "Most of the tributary states (i.e. of Bornu) east and south of Chad threw off any ties of allegiance after Idris's death". The Bulala became officially tributary of Bornu but, in practice, remained independent rulers for several decades more. However,

"In the years that followed the partitioning of Kanem between Bornu and the Bulala in the 1580's, the latter gradually lost their predominant position. The aggressive new Tunjur state, based upon Kadada, was pressing down the valley of the Batha towards Lake Fitri while Bagirmi pushed its frontiers up from the south"

(Lavers 1980; ms.: 19)

Tunjur oral tradition collected at their present centre of Mondo in Southeast Kanem refers to North-African origins; one of their villages was called Tunis at the time of Nachtigal's trip through the district. Carbou (1912 I : 74) relates oral sources mentioning a stay on the banks of the Nile. Trimingham (1962 : 139), is of the opinion that the:

"Tunjur were probably Nubians, who, through contact with Arabs, had become Arabic-speaking. They installed themselves in Darfur about the fifteenth century and remained in control until their supremacy was overthrown about the year 1630".

Very soon afterwards, the Tunjur chief Daud suffered a heavy defeat by the founder of the Waday sultanate, 'Abd el-Karim b. Jamel (cf. Lavers 1980 ms. :19). Migrating westward, the Tunjur are supposed to have entered the province of Kanem around 1650. There they inflicted a resounding blow on the Bulala, whose ruling clan fled east along the Bahr el-Ghazal before re-establishing themselves in Fitri. The Tunjur leader tried to settle at Mao but his strength was not adequate to completely usurp the seat of the Bornu governorate. This latter state reacted strongly and sent an army to Kanem under the command of a Magemi apparently brought up

in Hausa country since he was known as Dala Afuno. It is thus that the vice-royalty of Kanem was created under the reign of Haj 'Omar ibn Idris of Bornu who, according to Nachtigal's chronology, reigned from c. 1625 to 1645. It was then that the dynasty of alifas or governors of Mao began administering Kanem on an hereditary basis (See Lavers 1980; ms.:21-23 & n. 101, p. 52). The clan which formed around the line of Magami governors was named Dalatoo, in memory of the group's founder.

The chain of events surrounding the Bulala defeat provoked by the Tunjur invasion and the subsequent rebalancing of the political situation in favour of Bornu has to date remained deeply embedded in Kanemi oral tradition. Few clans today resident in Kanem can trace their ruling lines' genealogical charters further back than this historical "breaking point", which entailed not only considerable internal and peripheral population movement, but equally a full realignment of poles of sovereignty and subordination. All oral sources concur in depicting the period following the Bornuan reconquest as one of endemic unrest. Residual groups of Bulala origin or allegiance were quite successful in maintaining their own local integrity. Indeed, they are still represented today in the DibinENCHI-Nguri region. This continuity was achieved at the price of considerable social and economic autarky as well as shifting subordination to those authorities which successively exercised predominant influence in Kanem.

During the 18th century, crisis affected Bornu itself as vassals in Hausaland, Bagirmi and Kanem fought to break their ties of dependence with the Sefawa. Hostilities with the Saharan sultanate of Agades led to the loss of Bornuan control of the Bilma salt trade. Numerous repressive actions were undertaken against the Bedde. Insecurity on the northern frontier was such that the vassal Manga were forced southward into the heartland of Bornu. To the southeast, the kingdom of Bagirmi, formerly considered a vassal of Bornu, attacked and defeated Bornuan forces on the Logone and in southern Bornu and organised repeated forays into Kanem

(cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 691 - 718). During the reign of the Bornuan sovereign, mai 'Ali b. Dunama (c. 1750 - 1791), the Wadayans under king (kolak) Jawda (c. 1751 - 1785), and generally in alliance with their former enemies, the Tunjur, increased their military pressure on Kanem's eastern border along the Sahr el-Ghazal (Nachtigal 1889 : 278, translated by Fisher and Fisher 1971 : 212). Lavers (1980;ms.35-36) relates that: "These activities set in motion a series of migrations of Teda, Kanembu and Shuwa (i.e. Arabs) into Kanem and on into metropolitan Borno".

In Kanem, the Bornuan governors were forced to contend with internal as well as the just mentioned external threats to Sefawa authority. Landeroin (1911 : 38) reports, for example, that alifa Mele Kura undertook an expedition in the 1780's or 1790's, against a subordinate group of agro-pastoralists known as the Kanembu Kajidi along the southeastern shore of Lake Chad and exacted a large tribute from them. Reportedly, certain nobles were also reluctant to fulfill fiscal requirements. The Kanembu Megemi of Yaburi, south of the provincial capital in Mao, refused to pay tribute to alifa Mele on the grounds that they were of the same stock as the mai of Bornu and should hence be exempt. Thereupon, the alifa's Dalatoo, also of Megemi descent, burned the villages of Yaburi and Gobe, thus directly offending the mai.

Despite Mohammed el-Amin's 1824 victory at N'gala over the Wadayans (cf. Trimingham 1962 : 209), the latter continued to undermine Bornuan sovereignty in eastern Kanem with the help of their Tunjur allies (cf. Map 7). The Bornuans enlisted the support of Awlad Sliman Arabs from Fezzan to defend Kanem. At the same time, however, on-going competition among Kanembu Dalatoa factions served Wadayan interests. By the time of Al-Kanemi's death in 1835, the Wadayans had ensured their dominion over Kanem.

After their North African defeat by the Turks in 1842, the Awlad Sliman invaded Kanem the following year and imposed their will over the alifa (cf. Landeroin 1911 : 383 - 384). This Fezzani invasion sparked off a series of internal conflicts in Kanem which lasted until the end of the 19th century. From 1843 to 1850, the weakened Dalatoa joined the Awlad Sliman in raiding the peoples of Kanem and neighbouring areas (cf. Landeroin 1911 : 384). The Duu of South Kanem are the only group known to have successfully opposed these aggressions (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 331).

The Awlad Sliman were dealt a very heavy blow by the Twareg Kel Owi in 1850 (cf. Barth 1965 II : 274-276). In 1853, however, the weakened Arabs joined forces with the Duu of Bari (cf. Map 9) and defeated the Wadayans in South Kanem (cf. Barth 1965 II : 608). The Arabs then concluded an alliance with the Daza of North Kanem which allowed these two groups to maintain constant pressure on both the Kanembu and the Wadayans (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 32). In contrast, the internally divided Dalatoa proved incapable of using the temporary disadvantage of the Awlad Sliman to regain effective control over Kanem.

Throughout the 1860's, the destinies of Kanem remained subordinated to fluctuations of the relations between Awlad Sliman and Wadayans. The following decade saw both an increase of Awlad Sliman power (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 33) and the aggravation of hostilities between Kanembu and Duu. During the 1880's, the Duu Darka gained the upper hand over their former Duu confederate

clans as well as surrounding groups of Kanembu.

By 1894, the last vestiges of Wadayan influence in Kanem disappeared. That year Awlad Sliman and Dalatoa forces severely defeated the Tunjur at Mondo (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 92). This victory was marred however, by the outbreak of war between two Awlad Sliman factions. The peoples of Kanem took sides around each of the two parties and the conflict degenerated into a pan-Kanemi civil war which lasted until the almost bloodless French occupation of 1899.

The replacement of a Fezzani appointee by a French nominee as alifa entailed an increase of Dalatoa authority within Kanem. The newly-created subdivisions of Mao, N'guri and Bol were divided into numerous cantons (see Map 10). Officially, the alifa's domain was reduced to Mao canton, but, in practice, members of his kindred were appointed as cantonal chiefs throughout central Kanem.

The creation of the Colonie du Tchad in 1920 was accompanied by the consolidation of the more important local chieftaincies. This policy, called regroupement, led to the disbanding of smaller cantons in 1934. (See Maps 11 and 12). The Dalatoa, with the help of certain Daza, came to administer 90% of Kanem's population. One consequence of this decision was to withdraw all administrative prerogatives from the Arabs of Kanem. The new territorial divisions also implied the realisation of an old Dalatoa dream, namely full control over both the Kanembu and the Duu of South Kanem.

The integration of the Chad colony into the wider Oubangui-Chari-Tchad in 1934 during the Great Depression led the French to slacken in the implementation of their policy of direct rule. The lack of funds and colonial administrators was compensated for by a reinforcement of the administrative prerogatives of powerful sultanates such as Kanem.

Administrator Catala (1954 : 49) notes that:

"As of 1938, the alifa was in fact, with the support of the colonial authorities, a true ruler under a rather loose protectorate."

(My translation)

During the Second World War, French control over the internal affairs of Kanem was very limited. In 1945, the alifa controlled 22 cantons. Important decisions concerning the province were directly negotiated between the governor of the colony and the Kanembu paramount chief. The role of French local administrators and Kanemi dignitaries was thus reduced to a large extent.

The pre-eminent authority acquired by the Kanembu potentate was largely a result of the strong personality of alifa Zezerti. When he suddenly died in 1947, his successor, Mohammed was immediately forced to confront the renewed opposition of the "peripheral" chiefs of Kanem. By 1949, the alifa's power was once again circumscribed to Central Kanem. The appointment of new canton chiefs in 1953 confirmed this change in the political balance among the Kanemi chieftaincies.

French intervention in the designation of new local leaders had, however, diminished the credibility of many clan and canton chiefs among their own people (cf. Buijtenhuijs 1978 : 59-61). Following Chad's accession to independence in 1960, the alifa tried to profit from the decline of certain competing noble lineages in order to enhance his own bargaining position vis-à-vis the central government. The importance of Kanem's loyalty to Fort-Lamy in maintaining the fragile North/South balance which guaranteed the existence of the Chadian State also played in the alifa's favour. In view of these factors both the Tombalbaye and Mallum governments left considerable leeway to the alifa in his relations with the provincial administration and his role as "overseer" of Kanemi internal affairs.

In spite of the high degree of political and fiscal repression which continued to prevail in Kanem after independence, the Kanembu did not widely support the rebellions which broke out against the central government in other parts of Muslim Chad as of 1963. Buijtenhuijs (1979 : 410, n.4) links Kanembu passivity to the strengthening of the office of alifa during the colonial period. He contrasts this process with the decline of the royal houses of Bagirmi and rebellious Waday, and also underlines the weak role of the Islamic clergy among the peoples of Kanem.

The future role of the Dalatoa and the Kanembu nobility could be seriously compromised by the consolidation of a revolutionary North-South coalition government in N'Djaména with a united Muslim dominance. Continued fighting between northern Muslim factions will indirectly assist Kanem's ruling class in perpetuating under one form or another the system of institutionalised social inequality upon which its power is based.

3. Oral tradition and the hierarchisation of socio-political groups.

The very extensive body of present-day Kanembu oral tradition reflects major historical oppositions between component units of the Kanemi polity in some detail. No attempt will be made here to derive any historical or chronological conclusions from the materials of this type which I recorded in the field or those published by Nachtigal (1881), Landeroin (1911) and Carbou (1912). Oral tradition does, nevertheless, offer interesting insights into the differential integration of named clans into Kanembu "dynastic" society characterised by voluntary or imposed residence in Kanem, the espousal of Islam and the Kanembukanembu language, and subordination to the Dalatoo authorities. Perceptions of each group's respective social, political and religious status naturally vary from clan to clan and period to period. But, the comparison of clan-specific rather than pan-Kanemi accounts of the evolution of the Kanemi polity bring into focus a core of universally accepted points of reference around which different local variants are constructed and progressively transformed. Such ideologically weighted accounts of clan heritages and interests in relation to other comparable groups with which they interact are in turn relevant in understanding the articulation between Kanemi clan and lineage organisation and social stratification. The following illustrations, synthesised from a much wider corpus of oral literature, are presented with this purpose in mind.

Among the Kanembukanembu-speaking populations of Kanem, Nachtigal (1881 : 343-345) saw fit to differentiate Kanembu, Kanuri (or Magemi) and Dalatoo. The two latter groups are mostly Kanemi-born "Bornuans" of Kanembu heritage, stemming from 13th - 14th century migrations and who "returned" to Kanem following the 17th century reconquest. Presumed (vermutliche) Bulala and Kuka warranted a separate heading in Nachtigal's classification. These distinctions may be understood in terms of the

respective political statuses of the above mentioned groups rather than of cultural or ethnic specificity. Nachtigal's 'Kanembu', 'Bulala' and 'Kuka' are thought to have settled in Kanem in more ancient times than the 'Magemi' or 'Dalatoa' recently of Bornu proper. The political precedence of the "immigrants" from Bornu derives from the leading role of their ancestors in resecuring the mai's sovereignty over the estranged province of Kanem; this action ultimately resulted in the submission of the so-called Bulala elements as well as in the subjugation of large sectors of the Kanembu peasantry to the Dalatoa administration of Kanem.

The Magemi consider the kings (mai) of Kanem and Bornu as their ascendants. The prestige of the Magemi Dalatoa governors of Kanem (alifa) is based in oral tradition on this claim, in spite of the generally accepted "fact" that the first alifa, Dala, was of slave or captive descent. The Magemi clan, purportedly of Tubu origins, also derives its fame from having re-established Bornuan Sefawa sovereignty over Kanem by expelling the Bulala. The Magemi consider themselves to be Kanembu par excellence and their numerous lineages are dispersed throughout Kanem.

Several other Kanembu clans claim noble Tubu ancestry but are not considered of royal blood. Such are the Tomagri (or Twari or Tu) of the Dibinengi area, the Foda of the Mondo and Dagana regions, the Kubri located to the west of Mao and others such as the maraboutic clan of the Kangu (or Kanku) who are closely associated with the Kubri (or Kuburi or Kouri).

Another group of Kanembu is composed essentially of the N'gijim (or N'guyum) clan with its centre at Dibinengi, and the Diabu (or Diau) of the localities of Metalla and N'guri. These two clans claim to be direct descendants of the former Bulala of Metalla and may thus claim to be of "royal" descent ... albeit from a defeated dynasty. The N'gijim purport to be "brothers" of the Bulala. N'gijim, most of whom fled to the Lake

Fitri area during the mid-17th century where their descendants can still be found. Many Kanembu claim that the Ngijim and the Diabu are in fact descendants of Bulala captives. Carbou (1912 I : 47) suggests a plausible compromise, namely that the Kanembu Bulala stem from a mixture of Bulala who did not follow the defeated chiefs east c. 1650 and from ex-Bulala captives.

The Kanembu Gujeru of the Mondo area claim to be descendants of the Kuka people who were forced to abandon their home on the shores of Lake Fitri, by the very Bulala driven out of Kanem by the Magemi and the Tunjur.

Other clans today considered as Kanembu are marked by the memory of their one-time captive or dependent status. The N'gala (or N'galana) clan, equivalent in name to the N'galtekke mentioned by Landeroin (1911 : 353, n.3) state that their apical ancestor was a serf of the Tubu Lawel, the group from which the Kanembu Kubri are believed to have issued. Their dependent agriculturalist status is, however, deemed superior in Kanem to that of the Kanembu Kajidi, who are also believed to descend from a captive of the same Tubu Lawel. Nachtigal (1881 : 376) describes the Kajidi as Magemi slaves who intermarried with Kanembu.

Other "Kanembu" groups have resulted from mixtures of people of contrasting cultural and linguistic affiliations. To the south of Kanem, along the lakeshore, the Korio and the Kankina are examples of Kanembu groups who originally lived on the mainland but were made to flee south following various invasions and civil wars. They are closely associated with the non-Kanembu riverain and insular Kuri and are often bilingual in Kanembukanembu and Kuri.

To the north of Kanem in the Kanembukanembu-Dazaga linguistic transition zone, one finds two groups of very uncertain origins whose

specificity is largely a result of interethnic warfare. The Hammej are sedentary cultivators who Nachtigal (translated by Fisher and Fisher 1971: 164-165) describes as "...remnants of the original inhabitants of Kanem and closely related to the Bulala". Carbou (1912 I: 36, n.1) remarks that the term 'Hammaj' is the pejorative name which the Arabs use to designate the Kanembu. Nachtigal contrasts their apparently prestigious origins (Fedda, N'gijim, Bare, Dana - the last three of which indicate former Bulala affiliation) with their status of bonded agricultural serfs of the Daza. In spite of their subordinate position, the Hammej sought to maintain a Kanembu identity through language and custom in the face of pressure entailed by southward migrations of Daza. The Kumosoala, on the other hand, achieved a greater level of cultural syncretism. Nachtigal (1881 : 248-249, 325-6, 335, 343) believes them to be a mixture of Daza and Bulala elements. This semi-nomadic group, whose lands were cultivated by Hammej serfs during the later 19th century, speak Dazaga and are heavily intermixed with Awlad Sliman Arabs who first arrived from Fezzan in the 1840's.

The Qedawa of North Kanem described by Nachtigal (1881 : 319) trace ascendants among Kanembu of the Dibbiri (or Dieri) clan and Daza of the Jire clan. In 1871, Nachtigal observed that the clan was divided into two sections, one claiming Kanembu and the other Daza political allegiances. The Juroa of the southwestern villages of Chitati have similarly mixed origins (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 320).

In the Southeast of Kanem, the long transition of the Tunjur Arabs of Mondo and the surrounding area toward a sedentary and predominantly agricultural mode of life characterised by Kanembu material culture and Arabic/Kanembukanembu bilingualism offers a remarkable example of partial acculturation on the fringes of Kanembu country (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 328-330 and Conte & Hagenbucher-Sacripanti 1979 : 319 and 323).

The above examples drawn from Kanemi oral traditions suggest that Kanembu society is hierarchical and stratified in organisation rather than segmentary and egalitarian. The classification which emerges from the comparison of clan-focussed accounts shows that the Kanembu distinguish constituent units of their society according to ranked status criteria. These standards are based on or legitimated in terms of purported modes of integration into the polity. Clans are generally attributed one of the following heritages: (a) royal; (b) noble; (c) maraboutic; (d) defeated ex-royalty; (e) commoner; (f) captive. Many clans, or certain of their component lineages, are of mixed or disputed origins. One also encounters geographically peripheral groups which escape rigid classification with regard to both their political and their cultural affiliations. They are generally identifiable by a more or less durable tradition of bilingualism.

Such an ad hoc classification does not allow one to define with precision the "boundaries" of the Kanembu as an "ethnic" group, at a given historical period. For the Kanembu, the on-going debate on clan origins, as expressed by the evolution of oral tradition, is a political rather than an ethnic question. One of the major functions of oral literature is to account for changes in inter-clan networks of allegiances and alliances. These are largely determined by each group's capacity to constitute and maintain itself as an office- and land-holding entity with specific tributary or fiscal rights and obligations in relation to other clans as well as to superior authorities.

In the introductory comments on dependency relationships presented in Chapter 1, it is stated that Kanembu society, in historical terms, has been cross-cut by three major cleavages which divide (a) slaves from freemen (b) commoners from nobles and (c) Duu from non-Duu. These three divisions did not imply the existence of discrete social classes in that (1) Duu were in theory freemen but in practice shared in their majority the socio-economic

status of the slaves (2) the status of slave was hereditary but not necessarily perpetual whereas those of Duu or Kanembu noble or commoner were both hereditary and perpetual. Thus, the nominal divisions between social categories as well as among clans did not directly reflect the divisions between strata as defined by procedures of status acquisition and modification and socio-economic prerogatives and limitations. This implies that an understanding of Kanembu social organisation and, in particular, the lineage system presupposes the study of the principal relationships of dependence which define Kanembu social stratification.

Having considered dependence relationships in historical perspective, one must also take into account (1) the formal disappearance of slave status under the colonial régime without the elimination of all the forms of socio-economic subordination it entailed and (2) the evolution of the economic situation of the Duu category without a parallel transformation of the norms defining their jural and social position. The most notable consequence of these processes has been the widening of the commoner category into a composite class of dependents subject to distinct modalities of subordination. In order to best approach the study of this change, it is appropriate to examine the basic jural and economic definition of slavery in Kanem before considering that of commoner status. It will then be possible to look at the Duu category in terms of their cultural specificity and particular mode of integration into Kanembu society as a maritally, professionally and ritually distinct sub-group of the commoner class. This description should furnish the required ethnographic basis for undertaking an examination of Kanembu lineage and political organisation, and the ways in which the nobility legitimises the maintenance of its prerogatives.

4. Slavery

In Kanembukanembu, one distinguishes kala, male slave, from chir female slave. The term for slave, irrespective of sex, is kinji. The word wolodi (from the Arabic walad, boy) is also used in the sense of 'domestic slave' or, in more modern colonial jargon, "boy".

The majority of able-bodied male slaves were assigned to agricultural tasks, mainly working the soil, irrigation and harvesting. Domestic slaves sometimes had a more tolerable lot. Women attended to household duties such as cooking, providing grain and water-carrying. Men cared for domestic animals and served as orderlies and messengers for their masters. One informant describes servitude among pastoralists in the following words:

"They slept outside of the village, by the wells. During the night, they would draw water to bring to the village in the morning. They would eat millet husks. They had forgotten their languages. Their lacerations prevented them from fleeing."

Most slaves were captured or purchased from among the kiridi (pagans) of Bagirmi and sometimes of Bornuan territories. This commerce was sanctioned, indeed largely monopolised by the State of Bagirmi and later tolerated by the French at the beginning of their occupation. It is very difficult to give any estimates of the number of slaves sent yearly to Kanem. Chevalier (1907 : 357) thinks that 5,000 exported annually from Bagirmi to Bornu, Kanem and North Africa combined would be a low figure at the time he wrote. Often more than half the slaves died of ill-treatment on the way to the Bagirmian and Bornuan markets which the Kanembu attended. At Maesenia, capital of Bagirmi, the Kanembu would mainly barter salt cakes produced from the siwak-bush (Salvadora persica) as well as natron (hydrated sodium carbonate) extracted from the Lake's shores by Duu. The Bornu slave trade was financed by cattle sales when political conditions along the western tracks made conveyance feasible. Chevalier reports these 1903 prices in Bagirmi and Bornu (1907 : 358 - 359):

Male 1 - 3 years of age: sold only with mother

Male 5 - 8 years of age: 5 thaler

Male 8 - 13 years of age: 10 thaler

Male 14 - 19 years of age: 20 thaler

Male 20 - 25 years of age: 25 thaler

Male 30 - 50 years of age: little trade

Eunuchs : owned only by sultans

By comparison, a good horse was sold at about 50 thaler on the same markets. At that time in Kanem, an ox brought 5 - 6 thaler, a milk cow, 10, and two sheep, 1 thaler. (Chevalier 1907 : 399-400). Unfortunately, I have no evidence concerning the conversion rate for salt or natron at that time.

Women slaves were sold at lower prices with the exception of certain future concubines. The price differential between females and males often reached a ratio of 1 to 2. These prices are comparable to, though possibly somewhat higher, than those given for Kuka market of the 1870's by Nachtigal (1879 : 692); this author adds that a eunuch may fetch 50 to 80 thaler, and a concubine between 40 and 100.

Purchased slaves were in principle pagans whereas captives, in practice, were often Muslims. But the Chad islanders, for example, raided the Bornuan mainland and captured believers and infidels indiscriminately. The same was sometimes true of the Kanembu toward the Tubu, the Kreda or other neighbouring peoples. Personally, I have met several Duu kindira (hunter-diviners), mallam and cultivators who were affranchised descendants of Bornuan Muslims, some of whom had passed through pagan hands at the close of the 19th century. Duu status here represents a form of partial emancipation for "worthy" dependents.

All freemen (kambe) including Duu were entitled to purchase and own slaves. Richer Duu were able to exercise this privilege but it goes

without saying that most kinji (slaves) were owned by the Kanembu nobility. Bouillifé (1937 : 150) notes that many rich families of the latter category had 15 to 20 domestic captives, most of whom were taken as children during successful raids in nearby countries. Given the disappearance of the slave trade and the affranchisement of captives under diverse auspices (new lineage affiliations, emigration, foundation of new autonomous hamlets, new forms of clientage), it would be most difficult to assess the demographic weight of slaves and persons of servile descent in relation to the entire population of Kanem at any period. My guess is that in total they formed a group smaller than the Duu stratum (ca. 10%).

Slaves were jurally dependent on their masters to whom their inheritances if any, were left. Conversely, their persons were included in the master's estate at his death along with his cattle. Among rich Kanembu, slaves were sometimes transferred through marital prestations, but it was not possible to obtain any dependable data on this important practice. As the master's personal property, slaves could be submitted to corporal punishment (whipping) but such practices seem to have been rather less stringent and common among sedentary Kanembu than among surrounding peoples, with the exception of those of Bornu. To give but one example for comparison, the Kreda and Tubu pastoralists would not infrequently mutilate captives by cutting a knee tendon to ensure against escape.

The entire life's work of the slave was at the master's disposition, save minimal staple production essential to their individual or domestic subsistence. But it is important to note that in this respect, slave status was not fundamentally different from that of a great portion of the peasantry (maskin), including many share croppers and client Duu submitted to norms of dependence almost as constricting as those governing slaves.

A slave man could only marry a slave woman; the couple thus formed could not establish a jurally recognised domestic unit. Yet, a chir could

marry a freeman and increase his patrilineage. In both cases, the children of slaves belonged to the mother's master. The offspring of slave concubines or wives and free fathers were de jure members of the latter's patrilineage and therefore eligible to inherit. According to Kanembu and Koranic tradition, a kambe (freeman) could have as many concubines as he desired beyond the fourth legal wife as long as these were chosen from his captives. For the captive concubine or wife, the birth of the first child from her master entailed immediate affranchisement. In Kanembu society as among the Twareg Kel Gress described by Bonte (1975 a: 184-185):

"The reproduction of the slave is subjected to particular rules since the latter could found neither a domestic group nor a family (in the structural sense of the word as well as in practice, since instability of unions was high). The slave is in fact external to the social conditions of production. He is assimilated, according to Marx's formulation, under "natural" or "inorganic" factors. The demographic aspect of his reproduction is essential.... Slaves are at once the result and the instrument of unequal accumulation among production groups."

(My translation)

In view of slaves' incapacity either to belong to or found politically and socially recognised patrilineages, the kinji could not form a closed, self-perpetuating status group as could the kambe among the Kanembu and the Duu. The slave stratum was based on the negation of the patrilineal rights of its members, both male and female. It was endogamous for all its male members and endogamous or exogamous for female members. Demographically, the slave stratum tended to diminish when slavewomen/freemen marriages were frequent and slave purchases low. This situation has prevailed since colonisation. The mechanism of exclusion from the Kanembu lineage system and the forcibly imposed marriage practices just mentioned explain in large part the disappearance and "assimilation" of the slave stratum. Even though slave descent is not quickly forgotten, this process may be contrasted to the continued existence of the duu stratum as a closed group perpetuated by the endogamic norm.

Slaves were often affranchised some generations after the capture or purchase of their ascendants; the new "freemen" went to increase the ranks of the intermediate, highly tributary groups of the agricultural proletariat. "voluntary" slavery in the form of bond service could be the immediate sequel of emancipation. Affranchisement bargained against a contract of servitude or dependence could maintain control over servile labour for a freeman's eldest son while excluding the slave from possible divisions of estate at the master's death.

At the beginning of the 20th century the French forbade slave raiding and direct sales of human beings. Slavery and servitude were not immediately affected by the gradual abolitionist measures implemented by the coloniser; when these conditions were made law in 1956, the ensuing affranchisement ceremonials, notably in Mao, involved many persons born decades after conquest. Following these formalities, "ex"-slaves found themselves engaged in a transitional process during which their economic status was or is similar to that of the Duu farmer linked to a specific Kanembu community and lineage. They may be attributed unused lands for colonisation, usually at a certain distance from existing settlements, which are often cultivated by isolated, extended patrilineal families (a father, his sons, their wives and children). Nonetheless, they remain attached to their former master's lineage by links of political and tributary dependence. This situation may persist for several generations.

Affranchisement could be bought by payments in currency, goods or labour as well as negotiated against accession to metayer status. Legally, former slaves are free to leave their "home" area and settle where they please; some indeed have. Practically, this "liberty" of movement is restricted by the maintenance of heavy agricultural levies imposed on newcomers. The lack of bovine or monetary capital with which sharecroppers could give compensation for land rights is an obvious impediment to land

colonisation; so is the lack of political support from a constituted and autonomous lineage. The solidarity, silent or active, of the land - holding class is one key to the perpetuation of such inequalities in access to means of production. A Kanembu man told me that the slaves of the alifa of Mao are now free "but they respect their master; they will never forget. Even if one of them becomes a civil servant, he respects his master or his master's son when they meet."

5. Serfdom

The economic autonomy of the southern Kanembu cultivator, whether he is the descendant of a slave, a Duu or a freeman, is intimately linked to the extent to which he is granted access to irrigated lands and free to practice complementary cattle husbandry. In pre-colonial times, neither of these faculties were available as a matter of course to the dependent agriculturalist. Le Rouvreur (1962:92) writes with reference to late 19th century Kanem:

"the peasant worked mainly for his earth chief, the sultan and high ranking nobles. Whatever happened to remain with him was pilloaged by numerous raiding parties which originated from as far away as Tibesti or Air. It is hardly surprising that, today, the eldest of the Kanembu recall a homeland in which people concentrated themselves around a few large villages and which was overrun and emptied of cattle."

(My translation)

The French colonial administrator contrasts this state of destitution with that which evolved under the colonial "peace". It may indeed be argued that the French occupation reduced the importance of the security factor which had hindered the planting of vast virgin areas that were appropriate for dune cultures but too distant from settlement points to be protected from raiders. In some cases, it is also reasonable to suggest that the process of "internal colonisation" of South Kanem after 1900 entailed a significant reduction of nobles' control over their subordinates' freedom of movement. This probably facilitated the development of cattle raising

among commoners, particularly those from the densely populated and fertile land belt stretching from N'jigada to Mondo, who until then had only limited access to pasturage. However, the socio-economic repercussions of these developments in favour of the peasantry were notably restricted by several factors which Le Rouvreur does not mention:

(1) By the end of the colonial period, wadi cultures were the major source of cash revenue to the Kanembu farmer (cf. Le Rouvreur 1962 : 96 - 97). In contrast to pasturage, nearly all irrigated lands in Kanem were under cultivation in 1899 with the exception of certain Buduma- and Kuri-controlled lakeshore inlets and polders developed since that date. Since the beginning of the 20th century, there has been a great decline in the authority of lineage-vested earth chieftaincies which regulated individual access rights to collectively-owned wadis. This process has been paralleled by an increase of what is in effect the individual ownership of wadis by given notables. These big men receive the support of their richer clansmen in land acquisition procedures in return for a share of future land revenues (cf. Maillard 1951 a and b). Although more detailed studies would have to be carried out to bear out this assertion, it is more than likely that the Kanembu nobility of the few more powerful clans has consolidated if not increased its control over scarce irrigated lands since 1900. Since the late 1960's, the capacity of the poorer person to preserve his wadi cultivation privileges has furthermore, been gravely hampered by persistent drought and corresponding salinisation.

(2) The development of complementary husbandry among poor farmers in many cases implies moving away from the lands where they have acquired cultivation rights by descent or birth. By leaving to seek pasturage, they must often become dependent for cultivation rights on an alien lineage which will (a) require the payment of ground rent and (b) refuse access to irrigated lands restricted to its own members.

Among farmers who reside on their lineage territory of origin, farming and herding facilities are not equally available to persons of differing socio-economic standing. Persons who do not inherit cattle or wadi cultivation rights because of their low class and/or immigrant origins are commonly forced to enter into dependent sharecropping relationships with notables belonging to the agnatic core of the locally dominant lineage. It is a readily observable fact that many of the small agricultural colonies, sometimes constituted by a single extended family, which have sprung up throughout the lands controlled by powerful clans, are inhabited by the descendants of slaves, Duu, destitute immigrants, or indentured Kanembu. The surplus production of such units does not go to constitute the nucleus of the dependent's herd but reverts to the masters of the earth.

(3) The differential distribution of ground rents between social classes and their respective potential for capital accumulation, mainly in the form of cattle and grain stocks, are regulated by a complex fiscal system which today integrates practices elaborated under the pre-colonial Dalatoo administration with the taxation imposed by the Chadian State in accordance with norms developed under colonial rule. The description of this complex system presupposes a certain knowledge of the political and administrative structures which guarantee its operation. Consideration of this aspect of socio-economic inequality will thus have to be left for Chapter 4. For the moment, it may suffice to say that both Chadians and foreigners deem it to be the most exploitative fiscal system conceived in the Muslim areas of North Chad. It indeed plays a primary role in perpetuating the dependence relationships to which the great majority of Kanembu are subject.

In an attempt to describe the principal tenets of serfdom in Kanem, I will restrict myself for the moment to considering land access rights.

The latifundia as such was unknown in Kanem. Agricultural producers whether rich or poor directly controlled only the labour supplied by the

members of the co-resident family, sometimes incremented by that of their slaves. Individual stratum affiliation and class status were reflected in the amount of ground rent, taxes and tribute each farmer paid to different notables ranging from the local earth priest to the alifa of Mao. However, reciprocal arrangements, concerning labour prestations and accession to arable land were established between neighbouring clans and individuals. Given the extreme variety of local situations, I can only refer to those specific examples concerning which dependable data were obtained.

Example 1: At the turn of the century, a non-Kuri asking for farming rights in a Kuri-controlled wadi paid 1 thaler access rights to the local earth chief (mara b'lai). The earth priest (digeji) was then entrusted with the delimitation of the newcomer's plot. This surface did not exceed one zufa, i.e. the equivalent of a quadrilateral measuring 1 jerve (= 7 kwi) by 4 kwi or approximately 250 m^2 ; such an area could obviously only offer a complement of vegetables or grains to the domestic economy. For his services, the digeji was paid a fee of 1 zaka of millet known as the kalingerom. The farming rights thus acquired could be transmitted from father to son ... granted regular payment of the heavy ground rents demanded by Kuri chiefs.

Example 2: Bouillifé (1937 : 228) relates that in the Mao chieftaincy the alifa was considered the primordial owner of all lands. Requests for him to grant access rights had to be supported by gifts which could include millet, jewellery, and especially cattle. Authorisation to cultivate was then conferred publicly by the suzerain before a witnessing council of notables; the petitioner there engaged himself regularly to pay a tax known as the mu in compensation for this "favour". This rather formal ceremony of attribution reportedly had a converse which informants did not make mention of for the South : if a cultivator wished to relinquish his farming rights, an official request also had to be formulated. If permission was granted, the land reverted to the alifa. It is indeed common knowledge

that the closer one comes to Mao, the more restrictions one finds imposed on the liberty of movement of the peasant; however, I have no direct evidence which could illustrate just to what extent the alifa's men can or did exercise discretionary privileges with regard to the granting and retraction of ground access rights and corresponding fiscal burdens.

Example 3 : The preceding illustrations must not be indiscriminately generalised to other areas of Kanem. In many cases where non-natronated, naturally humid wadi lands are available, farmers will only have to give 5 or 6 zaka of cereals (approximately 12.5 to 15 kg) per year to the mara b'lai. Where wadis are permanently dry, or for periods of several years when rainfall is below normal, access may be "free"; this is often the case north of N'guri or N'jigdada. Given the very low productivity of such plots, cultivators will tend to concentrate on particularly fertile depressions, thus engendering strong competition for land. Attribution may then be determined by auction (buntu) (cf. Chapter 4). Maillard (1951 a : 50) quotes the case of Wadi Kolio where the mara b'lai collected access rights of 2,000 C.F.A. which at the time were equivalent to approximately 100 zaka of millet ! The potential effects of such practices for fortuneless persons in times of scarcity is clearly most grave. Though not sufficient per se, stable land rights are the best guarantee against hunger a family or a lineage can have; this privilege is largely a function of political and, formerly, military influence.

Example 4: Let us now consider in slightly more detail the land usage patterns of the Duu Rea. If a member of this lineage wishes to cultivate a luqen (variable surface measure) in a wadi controlled by the neighbouring Kanembu N'gijim, he must pay a flat duty of 500 C.F.A. (in earlier times, one silver thaler) to the mara b'lai or village chief (b'lama) of the relevant community. An additional payment of 10 to 20 zaka must furthermore be made yearly in wheat, millet, or another agreed staple.

The Duu Rea and the adjacent Kanambu Bareu both had clan-vested land access rights over given dunes and wadis in the North of the Bari district. It appears that initial compensation for wadi cultivation rights could not be demanded between members of these two associated groups. Similar franchises have sometimes prevailed between Rea and certain inhabitants of the eastern villages of the Dibinenchi chieftaincy. In such cases, reciprocal cultivation and labour prestation arrangements would be concluded on an individual basis between heads of family. If, for example, a Rea man cultivated land over which a Bareu had farming privileges, the latter would have to guarantee his tenant a minimal ration of foodstuffs (from his personal reserve) in case of famine. If the harvest was satisfactory, it was divided between farmer and tenants on a previously agreed basis, generally to the detriment of the Duu, who might also be paid in goats.

As the Rea acquired limited herds, the question of grazing rights in the rather densely populated northern sections of the lineage territory (cf. Maps 4 and 5) came to be of considerable importance both as regards their internal economy and in interlineage relations. Drought conditions became severe during the late 1960's and early 70's; it became necessary to undertake migratory movements to more southerly locations from February to June (cf. Maps 4 and 5). Two difficulties arose : one social, one ecological. As was expected, the Rea beasts were affected by the insects which pullulate around the approaches of the marshy Lake shores; this option was nonetheless preferable to starvation/dehydration ... In view of long-established "Shuwa" Arab and Kuri Kalea migratory patterns (cf. Conte and Hagenbucher-Sacripanti 1977 : map supplement), the Rea chose to concentrate their herds in the Gredaya area. Since the late 1960's, Nigerian Hausa groups had settled there, converting the village into quite an important cattle market. The Hausa newcomers were frequently involved in disputes

with the "Shuwa" and Kuri concerning their rather massive and efficient usurpation of culture and grazing rights. However, in view of the diversity of their economic pursuits (fishing, husbandry, agriculture and considerable overland and lacustral trade with Nigeria), the Hausa found themselves in a sufficiently strong position to demand 5,000 francs C.F.A. pasturage rights per herd of 40 to 60 head from the Rea. Not surprisingly, the Duu could count on no active support from the Kuri who have traditionally "discouraged" Duu herding undertakings. The net result of this situation was that the northern Rea villages had to sell most of their stock at prices five times lower than could be expected under average rainfall conditions; prize cattle went for 5,000 francs C.F.A. at Dibinanchi and, when transportation was possible, Maseakory. Some animals were squandered for 500 francs C.F.A. or less. A secondary repercussion of these conditions was that northern Rea farmers attempting to salvage fledgling herds had less time than usual to consecrate to their fields during the spring planting season.

It may thus be seen that the Rea have few possibilities of modifying their usage of land in accordance with the exigencies of environmental fluctuations. They do not have the political weight optimally to cultivate their own rather exiguous homelands while simultaneously undertaking temporary colonisation and pastoral migrations to more southerly grounds with a normally higher rate of rainfall. The Rea are handicapped in this respect by their Duu status, but it may not be said that their economic situation is less favourable than that of numerous lineages of Kanem, both Kanembu and Duu. As may be deduced from Appendix 2 and Maps 5 and 6, most Kanemi clans and lineages hold such narrowly bounded land access rights as to be very much at the mercy of natronisation or temporary exhaustion of the water table in their only wadi. When land resources prove inadequate, young men must leave the village and engage themselves

as sharecroppers on the lands of politically dominant lineages which often lack the necessary force to cultivate all the arable land they control. Officially "encouraged" "freedom" of access to arable soil is in manifest contradiction with the effective persistence of "traditional" patterns of land control.

'Sharecropper' may be translated as kulomatuma meaning 'he who seeks a plot' (from kulo, plot or farm cultivation and matu, to look for, and ma, person who). He obtains his seed from the person or group whose service he enters. On harvesting, the mud is set apart from the total yield. The remainder is, in theory, equally divided between employer and tenant, the former being responsible for payment of the digeji's (earth priest) dues and the latter for the libations and stipend of the faki (malleam) who undertakes propitiatory rites (cf. Maillard 1951 a: 64 - 65). This contract is known as morfai. The incoming worker may only be hired for one season at a time.

Morfai is also practised for date growing. In this instance the labourer entrusted with the upkeep and fertilisation of the trees - most of which are under Dalatua control - receives three quarters of the harvest as opposed to one quarter for the owner with the exception of the specific arrangements mentioned in Chapter 4. Such workers are most commonly of Duu or captive extraction.

The socio-economic importance of morfai cannot be exaggerated for those categories of the population to which autonomous land access rights are denied. To cite but one example, the Duu living in Kanembu villages or dispersed in small-scale agricultural camps on Kanembu lands have often remained "perpetual sharecroppers". In spite of the promulgation of the 1956 laws abolishing all forms of slavery and bondage, Kanembu overlords were secure in maintaining that produce levies of 50% or more were legitimate

morfei shares which the national administration was disposed to consider as rents. It will be noted that the 1956 dispositions did not put prevailing land control and ownership modalities into question; this, in practice, amounted to a derogation of the constitutional articles on bondage. Finally, the persistence of morfei sustained the frequent non-declaration of tenants' fiscal identity vis-à-vis all non-local authorities, thus leaving a supplementary margin of fraud in mud payments to wadi masters. At the same time, morfei proceeds are effectively non-taxable by the State.

When referring to 19th century Kanem, the concepts of 'slavery' and 'freedom' must be used in a relative fashion. The state of 'slavery' was mitigated by economic, social and jural processes of emancipation and assimilation which expanded the dependent labour force of the slave-holding category by the integration of captives into the subordinate peasantry. 'Freedom' was compromised by the fact that locally and temporally variable levels of surplus expropriation or labour control could qualitatively endanger a "freeman's" formal socio-economic prerogatives over long periods.

Islamic law recognises no intermediary condition between slavery and freedom. In present-day Kanem, nonetheless, serfdom persists under the multiple guises of "perpetual sharecropping", "negotiated bondage", residual servile status or *Duu* birth. The slave was an instrument of production owned by his master. The Kanemi peasant is frequently an instrument of production subjected to the control of a land-holding master for an indefinite period. Contemporary Kanemi serfdom is a phenomenon which must be defined situationally and by degree. It could tentatively be depicted as a social condition which implies that a large portion of an individual's or a group's revenues in cash and kind is extorted on a regular basis by virtue of institutionalised ties of dependence which the subordinate party generally does not have the power to modify unilaterally. As such, serfdom concerns the majority of the Kanembu population. The fiscal and

commercial mechanisms which ensure with varying levels of efficiency the expropriation of surplus production by a land-and cattle-owning aristocracy will be examined through the study of the circulation of wealth in Chapter Four.

5. Duu or Haddad Specificity

In many Islamic Sahelian societies, artisans and other specialists are frequently grouped into endogamous, professionally-defined castes. In contrast to neighbouring societies such as the Kanuri or the "Shuwa" Arabs, artisans of all trades among the Kanembu, as well as hunters, diviners, musicians, praise-singers, natron-miners, and other persons with expert knowledge, present the particularity of being amalgamated into a single endogamous and hereditary social stratum known as the Duu. Over time, the composition and economic role of this social category has varied through (1) the integration of non-specialised immigrants of low status and (2) the abandoning of their trades by many artisans and their progressive conversion into agro-pastoralists hardly distinguishable from the Kanembu maskin.

Duu status is simultaneously determined by complementary mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in regard to the Kanembu polity. The socially stigmatised Duu are excluded from "normal" intergroup relations through forced endogamy and different forms of professional specialisation. Their access to certain fundamental means of production, such as irrigated land and reproductive cattle, is restricted. On the other hand, they are strictly retained within the bounds of society through perpetual group-to-group and, therein included, person-to-person relationships of subordination. Such bilateral contracts define their access to productive resources, bind their political and, formerly, military allegiances and specify the scope of exercise of their artisanal services.

In relation to the logic of Kanembu social stratification, Duu status may be interpreted as a sub-case of the very broadly defined condition of serfdom discussed in the previous section. Ethnographically, however, the formation of the Duu stratum is quite complex; this process is of interest to the present study for several reasons.

Firstly, the Duu have been given many names by European writers. These denominations frequently correspond to divergent or distinct interpretations of Duu origins and status. The sparse and unrelated character of these references has led to much confusion. The object of the present section is to review these data and arrive at some clarification of the position of the Duu in Kanembu society.

An examination of the progressive integration of alien, originally non-Kanembu and often non-Islamic elements into the Duu stratum and thus, indirectly, into the wider Kanembu polity could shed some light on the genesis and process of expansion of Kanembu society. This point will be followed up in relation to the integrative functions of the Kanembu lineage, administrative and fiscal systems (cf. Chapters 3 and 4) and the detailed study of the marriage practices which perpetuate the separateness of the Duu and Kanembu strata (cf. Section II).

Finally, the absolute character of the Duu/Kanembu opposition, as contrasted with the relative character of the former division between slave and freeman suggests that the historical persistence of the Duu condition beyond that of slavery ideologically and economically guarantees against the disappearance of the concept of "natural" inequality upon which the Kanembu political and social stratification systems are founded. The relegation of certain categories of subordinate immigrants into the widening Duu stratum and other low status groups preserves Kanembu "purity" while offering a road for political expansion through the maintenance and extension of

tributary relationships.

In its widest acception, kanembu means anyone belonging to the people of Kanem and whose mother tongue is kanambukanembu. In current usage however, the term may be 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 recognised. Among freemen (kambe), a distinction is drawn between the 'people of the spear' (yam k'yaye) or Kanembu of "noble" descent in the widest sense, and the 'people of the bow' (yam k'riye). In Chadian Arabic, these distinctions are rendered by 'Kanembu siyad harba' and 'Kanembu siyad niehab,' literally translatable as 'Kanembu, masters of the spear' and 'Kanembu, masters of the arrow', respectively. In South Kanem, the latter expression refers to the group best known as the Haddad, who were first described by Barth (1965 II: 608):

"Mailo, a place with a lake full of fish (is) inhabited by a peculiar tribe called Haddāda or Būngu, 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 gōliyo (throwing knife). 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."

Twenty years later, Nachtigal (1881 : 259), the first European to visit the Haddad, was intrigued by the fact that the then apparently Islamicised inhabitants of the Bari district were called 'blacksmiths' since no more metalworkers were to be found there than among any other people of Kanem. Indeed, in both literary and Chadian Arabic, haddād (plur. haddādīn) signifies blacksmith. In the latter dialect the term is

extended to designate, as a group or as individuals, all craftsmen and their kin, in addition to hunters and many non-craftsmen descended from or related to the former. In this acceptance, the singular becomes haddādī and the plural haddād.

In Kanembukanembu, blacksmith is translated as kagelma. This term derives from the noun kagel or kakul, meaning anvil, and the suffix -ma which here indicates the bearer of a profession. Haddādī renders the term duu, also pronounced duqu or duyu. In Kanuri, the sister-language of Kanembukanembu, dūqū signifies musician, dūqūram craftswoman or female musician and duqūn means hatred or enmity (Lukas 1957 : 195).

The Kanembu make a linguistic and social distinction between blacksmiths (kagelma) and members of a "smith" (duu) lineage. A kagelma is always a member of a duu lineage and, in principle, a non-Duu who adopts the profession of blacksmith is thereafter, along with his descendants, considered duu with all the contempt this status entails. Even most non-smith duu would be very reticent to become kagelma.

The distinctions between northern and southern Duu hunters and, on the other hand, Duu smiths is manifest in the three principal tongues of Kanem. Northern hunters of semi-desertic areas who employ the net to trap different species of antelope are considered different from hunters of the lacustral periphery who carry the bow and poisoned arrow. We thus arrive at the following classification (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 49 - 50):

Arabic:

<u>Haddād</u>	{	<u>sindala</u>	سِنْدَل شِقَاب شِرْك	حَدَاد
		<u>nishāb</u>		
		<u>sherek</u>		

Kanembukanembu:

<u>Duu</u>	{	<u>kakele</u>
		<u>batara</u>
		<u>seseya</u>

Dazaqa:

Aza { agilda
 { batarda
 { segida

Sindala, kakela and agilda mean 'of the anvil'. Nishab, batara and batarda mean 'arrow maker' (Ar.) or 'of the quiver' (Kb., Da.). Finally, sherek, ssseya and segida mean 'of the net'.

The Duu of all heritages considered together, form approximately 1/5 or 1/4 of the Kanembu population but this proportion varies greatly from place to place. Their patterns of settlement are largely determined by the economic interests of their overlords as well as the degree of political autonomy they have been able to acquire. In the predominantly Arab and Daza nomadic zones of North Kanem, the Haddad and Aza represent only 1 to 5 per cent 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 consider endogamous professional castes. A few residual groups of hunters and gatherers (see Chapelle 1957 and Nicolaisen 1968), 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 Duu are often integrated into the "noble" villages, again in small groups of ten or twenty persons. They perform menial agricultural and cattle guarding duties in addition to certain artisanal activities. Among larger concentrations of population, they may live separately in 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 mostly of Daza rather than Kanembu origin.

Finally, in South Kanem, the Duu may be found in larger groups locally totalling from 20 to over 50 % of the population. Their status is highly variable and may range from that of "slave" among certain riverine Kanembukanembu-speaking Kuri groups to that of politically independent "tribes", as indicated above by Barth.

Whatever their demographic and political situations, the Duu today share 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. Nonetheless, the Kanembu and Duu Kanembu, freemen though they all are, may be differentiated by several important social and economic criteria:

- (a) Intermarriage between the two groups is strictly forbidden; membership of either is hence hereditary.
- (b) The ownership of bovines and mares has been traditionally reserved to the Kanembu.
- (c) With the partial exception of four politically autonomous Duu clans of the N'guri - Yalita area, the Duu are still to a large extent in a situation of politico-economic vassalage vis-à-vis Kanembu clans. This is manifest in tribute-levying practices - or tax payment as the expression today goes - as well as in the comparative standard of living of the two groups.
- (d) Commensality and many other forms of common social intercourse are very rare indeed between Duu and Kanembu.

Are the Kanembu and the Duu 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 the two strata of Kanembu society (as well as the 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 certainly does not argue for "pure" descent of the Duu from the Magemi, Kubri or Dalatoa lineages of Bornuan and Kanemi fame. At best, when lineage names of Kanembu and Duu groups are identical or similar, Duu 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 Mohammed or birth by a second wife of lowly origin. Duu tradition offers multiple but non-contradictory statements of origins, 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
- 3) descent from vassal groups of the Bulala
- 4) integration into Duu 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) incorporation of groups of political refugees of diverse origins, who, fleeing the repeated invasions which have plagued the wider Kanem all through its recorded history, were forced to barter their autonomy of movement and economic independence against "protection";
- 6) assimilation of elements not necessarily distinct from those which formed the Kanembu people but relegated to subservience during the formative centuries of the Kanem kingdom or during subsequent upheavals of the political system.

This great diversity of origins makes the multiplicity of names used to designate the Duu understandable. I must ask the reader to bear with me in reviewing the geographical, ethnic and chronological referents of these different denominations for the lack of a systematic nomenclature has led to considerable ethnographic confusion.

Without an attempt at clarification, notwithstanding the linguistic, historical and ethnographic uncertainty inherent to any such effort, the meagre and infrequent references to the Duu of Kanem and similar North Chadian groups will remain either useless or unused.

Of the many terms encountered in these texts, 'Haddad' is the only one which can be proven to have been uninterruptedly used in Kanem from the mid-19th century to present. Nachtigal, well aware of the usage of ethnic nicknames forged, often pejoratively, by groups other than that designated, wrote:

"The Arabic name Haddad (that is, blacksmith) is not to be counted among the arbitrary denominations recently chosen by the Awlad Sliman, as one would be entitled to suppose in view of the sparse attention they pay to the appellations used by the natives. It is, on the contrary, the correct translation of the name Azoa or Aza, which alone is used to designate Haddad among the Daza. The Haddad themselves, at least at present, give no explanation of any kind with regard to their singular name. Nor does one encounter in their tribe an exceptionally high number of ironworkers ..."

(Nachtigal 1881 : 259, my translation).

Nachtigal makes no mention of the name 'Būngu' which Barth (1965 II : 608) gives concurrently with that of 'Haddāda'. None of the Kanemi I spoke with ever mentioned the term nor indeed recognised it upon enquiry. The name seems to have fallen out of use between 1851, the year of Barth's journey to Kanem, and 1871, that of Nachtigal's visit to N'guri. The word 'Bungu' sounds neither Arabic nor Kanembukanembu, and I can suggest no etymology for it. Interestingly, however, during the course of an inventory of lineage names in South Kanem, it came to my attention that the ruling line of the Duu Dieri who live some 30 km E - S - E of the N'guri district, call themselves the 'Kerebongona' or 'Kerebongoya'. The term appears, under reserve of verification, to link a contraction of the word 'Kerebina' or hunter and the proper noun 'Bongo' in the plural form. Another related Dieri lineage define themselves as the Bongoya.

All through Nachtigal's accounts of the peoples of Kanem, the Haddad are considered to be a "tribe" (Stemme) in their own right rather than a social stratum. The German ethnographer does not mention the word 'Duu'. He reports that the Haddad call themselves ("die bei ihnen selbst gebräuchliche Name") Danoa or Danawa (Nachtigal 1881 : 259). He describes the Danoa tribe as having four main divisions (Abt(h)eilungen) in Bari (cf. Map 9), namely the Darkaua, Ariqimma or Ariqiwa, Amedija and Begarçâ, with splinter elements living in several localities of North Kanem (1881 : 345). Carbou (1912 I : 50) informs us that ca. 1910, the term Danoa was not used to designate collectively the four divisions just mentioned. He does, however, add that in Arabic and Dazaga dana (دنا) jointly denotes the bow and arrow, whence the expressions 'Haddad siyad dana' (حداد سياد دنا) and 'aza dana' respectively; these appellations thus denote Haddad hunters which, in view of their armament, reside in the lacustral periphery. My repeated questions concerning the Danoa elicited no reaction among my informants until one day, when I was collecting different versions of the Rea (Nachtigal's Ariqimma) genealogical charter, an elderly man spontaneously continued beyond the Rea eponymous ancestor, Reu, to his father, the common ascendant of the Rea, Adia (Amedija) and Bara (Begarçâ), and thence to Dana ... The only tradition known about Dana was that he was believed to be a hunter "from the North" who had come to settle in North Kanem whence his descendants moved south to become the Duu of the Bari district. The few data available about the terms are sufficient to illustrate that generic names, like the genealogical constructs of which they are elements, evolve from generation to generation.

Duu is the contraction of Dûyu, plural duyu (which according to the area and speaker may also be pronounced dûû, dûgu, etc.). Dugu is also a proper name. Legend relates (see Barth 1965 II : 581) that Duku or Dugu was the son of Ibrahim and Ghafaluwa, a woman of the tribe of Keyi, Ibrahim being the son of Sef and Aisha, the (mythical) apical ancestors of the Sefawa dynasty of Kanem. Dugu himself is recognised as the founder

of the early pagan branch of the Sefawa known as the Beni Dugu or Duguwa. Barth says that Dugu probably reigned during the second half of the 9th century and suggests that he died at Yira (Yeri Arfasa) in Kanem. The German explorer further notes that:

"There is still in Bornu a numerous family called the Duguwa, who refer their origin to Dugu; and it would seem that Duguwa is the name which really belongs to the dynasty as is intimated by the chronicle further on"

(Barth 1965 II : 581).

Eight generations later, purportedly in the 1080's A.D., Selma or 'Abd al Jelil, last of the Duguwa died at Ghumzu (Gumsu of Kanem?). Selma is said to have been succeeded by his son Hume or Ume, first Kanemi sovereign to embrace Islam and founder of the Bani Hume dynasty (Barth 1965 II : 582). This distinction between the two dynasties is not one of filiation but of creed according to this version of the "facts". Barth interprets 'Bani Hume' as meaning "nothing else than the Mohammedan kings, as contradistinguished from the Duguwa meaning pagans" (Barth 1965 II : 582). It would here be extraneous to investigate further this tradition for the fact that it exists is for me far more important than whether or not it is "true". Whatever the case, the denomination Duu, Do, Duyu, Duyua is today used to designate the so-called Haddad populations whose conversion to Islam is by any account or standard a recent one. The only "proof" of the relevance of this legend which I can furnish is that elders of the Duu of Bari refer to a certain Duyu as being an ancestor, even remoter than Dana, of all "Haddad". More knowledgeable lineage genealogists also mentioned their Keyi ancestress. By invoking the Duu tradition, I think that these men wanted to say that the Duu heritage is somehow prior to that of the Kanembu, the people of the lance, whose Islamic ideology belittled the "aboriginal" hunter heritage.

As mentioned, 'Kenāfiye' is another denomination which Barth suspects to be synonymous with 'Haddāda' or Bōngu' :

"....I must confess that I doubt whether the name Kenāniye be indigenous, but rather think that the people who bear it are identical with the Haddāda, or Bōngu, who seem to have once formed a very numerous tribe, and may have been the original inhabitants of Kānem altogether. At that time the principle seat of this remarkable tribe was Sūlū ... and (they) were therefore generally known under the name of "the people of Sūlū" أهل سولو. But being afraid of the Bōrnu king, whose wrath they had provoked by their predatory habits, they left their seats, while he was returning to Kanem, and retired to Kargha كرنه.

(Barth 1965 II : 634)

The account of the route taken by Idris on his first expedition to Kanem places Sulu or Suluwa (سولو) between Beri and Mao, that is, somewhere on the shore of the Lake's northern basin, above the 14th parallel. Imam Ahmad also mentions Ririkma (ريركنه) as a place of the Kenaniya. The contemporary village of Sulu is precisely in the Rig-rig district of the northwestern part of the Lake Prefecture. This would situate their approximate habitat between the northern limit of Lake Chad and southern Manga in western Chitati. Nachtigal (1881 : 259 and 331) reports the tradition according to which the Haddad might have in part originated from southwestern Manga, but there is no evidence to confirm this hypothesis as the German author himself makes clear.

Palmer's suppositions regarding the Kenaniya are both imaginative and speculative; they arise, in my opinion, from confusions of both linguistic and geographical nature. In his Sudanese Memoirs (1928 I : 11), the author sees them as "not racially unconnected with the Kanuri" and not of Tubu affinity as if the two, especially at that time, were necessarily incompatible. Palmer writes:

"The inference is therefore that, whether they were Haddadi or Bongo, (Blacksmiths) in part, as Barth suggested, they were of Barbar or Tuareg connection, and not dissimilar from the IkliIkli or Takili is the Tamashek term for slaves as a caste or grade of society and not primarily a place name.

In the days of Makrisi (circa 1400), there obviously were communities of Ikli resident in Kanem, and it seems therefore highly probable that these Kananiya were Ikli who had remained in Kanem throughout the civil war between the Saifawa and Bulala".

Palmer goes on to muse that the name Kenaniyya might suggest a link with the Abu Gousan, "half forgotten Barbarians of Kordofan" and furthermore that the "Ikli were a branch of the Zaghawa from whom the ruling dynasty were drawn ..." (Palmer 1928 I : 11). Hard evidence supporting any of these hypotheses is lacking, and we are no better informed on the semantic or ethnic referents of the term 'Kenaniya' taken in itself. The soundest remarks on the people(s) of this name remain the above quoted statement of Barth (1965 II : 634) but this does not suffice to establish any correspondence between the Kenaniya and the Duu. Nachtigal approaches the problem in another way, assimilating the Kanembu Kankina with the Kenaniya. They indeed are today resident south of Sulu along the shoreline and further to the southeast around Malleu situated between the Karga area of the Kuri Karea and the Bari district of the Duu, i.e. the regions where they are supposed to have migrated fleeing Idris' discontent. Still, until new evidence appears, if and when this happens, the putative Kenaniya - Duu link might best be removed from circulation.

The hypothesis according to which the Danoa or Duu of the Bari district could be of partly Manga descent (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 430 - 431 and Fuchs 1970) remains to be accounted for. My personal enquiries into a Manga - Duu connection did not elicit a reaction of total surprise among informants of the latter group, but they could furnish no details on the subject. It almost seemed that the Duu had become used to answering such enquiries which might well have been repeated by every European having passed through the N'guri area since the publication of Sahara und Sudan. There is no reason why only Ibn Fartuwa's accounts should nourish an ever-evolving interethnic mythology. Nonetheless, Nachtigal did reserve the designation 'Manga' for a people or group of peoples living to the north of Lake Chad and probably conquered by the Kanuri. As in so many other cases, the term carries with it the built-in ambiguity of being all at once a geographical, ethnic and pluri-ethnic proper name. One can but wonder whether there is

some relation between the ancestors of the present-day Manga of the Kanuri province of the same name and the Kananiya of the chronicles, be it but at the mythological level. The Manga armed themselves in the same way as the Danoa and the Kerebina, notes Nachtigal (1881 : 219 & 331). They are equally the only three peoples of the Lake's periphery to have completely surrounded their villages with thornwood barriers ... This, unfortunately, is the only "evidence" to bear out the tradition which declares the Manga to be, along with the Bulala, one of the component elements of the Danoa of southwest Kanem (See Nachtigal 1881 : 430 - 431). Confusion is only increased when one finds that, according to Nachtigal, the name Manga is not a local ethnic denomination the group concerned applies to itself, but rather a designation imposed by the usages of others such as Buduma, Daza, and Duu.

Of the names mentioned, most of the remaining elderly Duu hunters recognise only the terms Duu, Aza, and Haddad while only a few recollect the word Danoa. Yet, these men whose mode of livelihood is no longer viable in South Kanem, are most at home when speaking of Karbina (also Kerebina). Until a few years ago, it was a tradition for the Duu hunters (m'barama) to go and visit the Kerebina south of the Shari delta, from Lake Chad as far as Mandara (North Cameroon). As youths, they had been sent to the hunters of these southerly regions for long initiatory periods during which they would perfect their abilities at tracking, trapping, arms fabrication and poison making, as well as their knowledge of plants, healing, divination and other techniques. Lukas (1937 : 208 - 209) defines the Kanuri word Karbina as a "caste of hunters who also sell medicines". He gives as a synonym Kandira which is the very title still used today in South Kanem to honour old hunter-diviner-healers of repute... as well as to designate sorcerers. In Kanembukanambu, k'rbina derived from k'rnii, arrow, means archer.

The Kerbina (see Nachtigal 1881 : 403 - 404, 428 - 429, 542 and Carbou 1912 I : 18) are rightly or wrongly considered to be distant and dispersed heirs of the Sao peoples. During the 1870's, they made their living by hunting. They led a wandering existence in the wooded districts of Makari province. There, they trapped their game by closing off areas of bush with thornscrub, making hedge-like straw barriers and wooden palisades. The ensnared prey could then be slain with the bows and arrows with which all Kerbina men were armed. In Bornu, they sometimes formed villages of their own. Most Kerbina lived as have some Duu kindira to date, preserving their mobility, isolated in the bush with their families, sometimes settling for a period on the periphery or in the villages of different ethnic groups to whom they would sell their skins, meat and medicines and lend their various talents. They spoke Kotoke (Logon - Sprache) around Makari and a dialect of Buduma in Bornu proper, while also being convereant in Kanuri. Their mode of livelihood was an object of scorn for surrounding populations, including the sedentary Kotoko. Much ambivalence surrounded their relations with sedentary populations who considered themselves staunch Muslims. The latter would reproach them for their large consumption of bush pig, an animal considered haram, while purchasing pig tusks from hunters to protect themselves against the evil eye and other dangers... They were, as Nachtigal said of blacksmiths among the Tubu, (Nachtigal, translated by Fisher and Fisher 1974 : 401), exterior to the "society of citizens", masters of the bush. As Islam deepened its roots around Lake Chad, the Kerbina's mobile existence and cultural specificity like that of the Duu, became endangered. Environmental changes also substantially contributed to their progressive integration into and subordination by the dynastic societies of Bagirmi, Bornu and Kanem. By all accounts, the gradual dessiccation of the central Chad basin provoked the dwindling, disappearance or southward migration of many species, principally large game such as lions and elephants, which are documented even to the

north of Lake Chad until the early 20th century (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 58-69).

Since the 1972 - 1973 drought, the hunting culture - still observed by J. Nicolaïsen in 1967 (1968 and personal communication 1978) in both North and South Kanem - must be considered defunct. It is my opinion that a detailed reassessment of existing data and complementary ethnographic investigation throughout the Chad basin would reveal the existence of even more hunter and gatherer groups sharing many cultural premises which clearly distinguish them from both the Chad's islanders and mainland agro-pastoralists.

6. Concluding Remarks

The reduction of Duu identity may be attributed to a conjunction of causes including:

- the expansion of Kanembu lineage organisation to "marginal" groups of the region over a period of several centuries.
- the diminishing availability of game in a densely-populated Sahelian zone subject to repeated climatic crises.
- the sedentarisation and increasingly exclusive dependence of the Duu on agriculture, largely as a result of the two above mentioned factors.
- the expansion of Islam from the ruling to the subordinate class of Kanem and to peripheral ethnic groups such as the lacustral Budums and certain pastoral Da'a
- the waning of the Duu's formerly indispensable artisanal and ritual functions in a caste-bound society under the influence of economic changes linked to the process of European colonisation.

During the 19th century, the Duu as well as the Kanembu maskin (poor) were subjected to a dual taxation system as a result of their increasing dependence on Kanembu noble-dominated political structures. This fiscal system cumulated clan-based levies with pan-Kanemi taxes legitimated in

terms of Islamic law. Systematic plunder by Kanem's nobility and multiple foreign raiders further aggravated the extortion of the peasant's wealth. In spite of the endemic internal conflicts among Kanembu nobles throughout the 19th century, the province's rulers ensured during that period a considerable degree of correspondence between the government of the Kanemi polity and the administration of its component clans. This allowed the nobility to perpetuate itself as a politically fragile but economically efficient ruling class thanks to control of tributary and fiscal resources and of capital accumulation in general. The division between the nobility and dependent agriculturalists has perdured from pre-colonial times to present. The dependent agricultural class has been progressively widened since the mid-19th century by the integration into the Kanemi polity of peripheral groups such as certain Kuri or Daza and once-autonomous Kanemi such as the Duu. The disappearance of slavery under the French colonial regime was also a particularly important aspect of this process.

When French domination was instated, to the satisfaction of a divided and menaced Kanembu nobility, the rulers of Kanem were quick to ensure themselves an intermediary position between the new colonial administration and their maskin subjects, as they had previously done under Kanuri and Wadayan domination. Thanks to the cessation of outside raids and internal civil strife, it can be argued that the Kanembu nobility consolidated its control over the maskin as compared with the later 19th century. Whereas the colonial government favoured continued Dalatoa/noble precedence in inter-clan relations and territorial administration, the imposition of French taxation served in many regards as a "cover operation" to guarantee the perdurance of traditional forms of surplus extortion from the dependent peasantry. Such was the price of colonial peace.

In order to better understand these changes and continuities, we will now go on to look at the relations between Kanembu lineage organisation and

the internal administration of Kanem (Chapter 3). We will then (Chapter 4) consider the process of accumulation of surplus in the hands of the Kanembu nobility, upon which social inequality in Kanem is based.

CHAPTER THREE : SOME ASPECTS OF KANEMBU SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, we examined three major relationships of subordination which have obtained or still persist in Kanembu society. The principal criteria governing an individual's position in relation to the system of social stratification were seen to include (a) the mode of integration into the Kanembu polity (birth, descent, capture, immigration) (b) access to and control over basic means of production and (c) the capacity to retain and appropriate surplus production. These criteria are also of relevance in studying the hierarchical ranking of kin-focussed groups. Point (b) requires special attention in defining the organisation of and the interrelations between Kanembu clans and lineages in that it is essential to distinguish purely genealogically-defined groups from land-controlling socio-political units.

In the Kanembu political economy, certain members of the aristocracy exercise highly individualised forms of control over means of production and produce which could be equated with personal ownership. In Kanembu customary law, however, several distinctions are relevant in this regard (cf. Chapter 4). As a rule, land ownership rights are vested in collectivities, as are those of access to pasturage. In contrast, ownership rights over cattle are vested in individuals. The alifa of Mao, as religious leader of Kanem, has traditionally claimed pre-eminent rights over all lands directly under his control in contrast to those of vassal chieftaincies (See Maps 10 to 14). The consequences of this supplementary level of land and revenue control have greatly varied with the fluctuations of Dalatoo power. Similar concentrations of land control rights in the hands of individual notables, albeit without "religious" legitimation, underline the contradiction between the supposedly inviolable principle of individually proportional access to clan-controlled lands and the cumulative effects of differential distribution of produce or, put more crudely, the incapacity of most

Kanembu fully to dispose of the fruits of their labour. Nonetheless, the principle of collective land ownership may not be dismissed as a total jural fiction. As mentioned in Chapter 1, individual land access rights are acquired by patrilineal descent. This privilege is subject to certain major restrictions which underwrite the norm of collective ownership:

- 1) Land is not individually alienable and may be sold only by the collectivity;
- 2) Land access is transmissible by descent but must be maintained by the heir through regular cultivation;
- 3) The beneficiary is subject to the payment of appropriate tithes for collective propitiatory ceremonies and fiscal or tributary payments to clan or supra-clan authorities.

Thus, as a general rule, the Kanembu clan and lineage may be described as property-controlling groups with presumptively perpetual custody over given land resources. The wealth and resources of a descent group are not, however, necessarily proportional to its population. The principle of institutionalised socio-economic inequality applies to clans and lineages as well as to individuals. Certain groups do not have sufficient resources to ensure their own subsistence and must therefore enter into collective and, subsidiarily, individual share-cropping arrangements with more powerful clans. Other groups control such substantial amounts of land that they find it difficult to organise its cultivation effectively.

Keeping this wide variation in access to resources in mind, a major goal of this chapter is to describe Kanembu conceptions of clan organisation and to justify the terminology I will use in this study to designate descent groups. Having completed this preliminary task, it will be possible to look at the administrative organisation of the clan. The examination of intergroup relations which concerns much of Section II will then be prepared by a presentation of the Dalatoa administration of Kanem. The eight South Kanemi chieftaincies retained for study in terms of their

clan and lineage composition will also be the object of a short description. Considered together, these comments on Kanembu clan organisation will allow us to examine in Chapter 4 how the circulation of wealth within and between such units contributes to the effectiveness and perpetuation of the order of inequality which characterises Kanembu society.

2. Descent groups

The Kanembukanembu language designates descent groups by a set of five terms which refer to partially overlapping, genealogically defined units of variable size, span and depth. This terminology allows for a coherent, supple grading of segments but it must always be understood with reference to concrete situational usage rather than as a set of rigid, abstract and mutually exclusive definitions. I here present these words and attempt to grasp their referents from greater to lesser order of segmentation.

Kari, literally translatable as root in both Kanembukanembu and Kanuri, can designate an ethnic group such as the Kanembu, the Buduma or the Tubu. The Duu, who constitute an endogamous and corporate category (cf. Smith 1956 : 59 - 62) within an ethnic group, the Kanembu, may be designated as kari, especially when one wants to emphasise their social separateness.

Secondly, the word can mean clan, as defined by Fortes (1945 : 30 - 38) and, in this context, has a more specific connotation of common ancestry. For example, the Duu Darka or the Kanembu N'gijim are described as kari. The possible English renderings are: nation, tribe, ethnic group, clan and sometimes maximal lineage. The word Stamm, as used by G. Nachtigal is probably the best rendering of kari into a European language.

Jili, meaning 'kind' or 'colour' (kind, sort or nation in Kanuri) is used to designate the widest social unit based on the recognition of common putative ancestry in the male line. 'Clan' and 'maximal lineage' offer close approximations of this word's meaning. Ambiguity arises in terms of

the descent criterion, for the jili may include one or more minor segments which, though politically and socially recognised as part of the wider group, cannot prove links with the apical ancestor of the chiefly lineage at its core. J. Nicolaisen's usage of the word 'clan' with reference to Kanemi totemic emblems (1977/8 : 299 - 300) would be appropriate in this instance to translate jili. The term is not generally associated with the proper name of a major lineage (see below chieri) unless the latter is preceded by the name of the jili as in Kanembu N'gijim N'gaya.

As an adjective, chieri means 'old', as in Kanuri; as a noun, it can denote either an individual elder or any lineage smaller than or at most equal to the jili in depth and span but of a level of segmentation superior to that of the extended family. The chieri is conceived of in terms of traceable as opposed to putative descent, although links with its apical ancestor may be fabricated and recognised as such by those concerned. Chieri does not necessarily have a connotation of common residence of all its living members, though, in practice, these often reside in a small group of adjacent villages (cf. Chapter 7). The closest English equivalent is 'major lineage'.

Kifaday(e) is a composed term signifying 'mouth or door of the house' or 'threshold'. It is often used in the same way as chieri in the sense of descent group. Often translatable as major lineage, kifaday refers more specifically to the group of known relatives of common agnatic descent with whom the speaker regularly interacts. The kifaday may sometimes be constituted by no more than a single extended family, sometimes occupying an isolated hamlet (cf. Chapter 7) and formed around a core of male siblings, their parents and their children. It is often a co-resident unit of siblings and cousins forming a village unit. At the upper range of variation, the kifaday of such clans as the Kanembu N'gijim may be considerably larger than entire residual clans governing only one or two villages (cf. Appendix 2)

Fada or fado translate, as 'house', 'home' or 'compound' and refers to the basic residential or domestic unit. The fada is composed of a nuclear or extended family who permanently reside together in one compound. Especially among richer families, it may include as residents, though not as members, certain non-relatives, in particular servants of long standing. In view of the small population of many hamlets, the fada may, on occasion, be coterminous with the local group and, as such, may acquire a degree of political autonomy sufficient to warrant describing it as a 'minimal lineage'.

Conversationally, word choice is made according to context, the size of the group referred to, the political importance the speaker wants to award it and many other circumstantial variables; chieri might replace kiʔaday or jili be used instead of kari and vice versa. Each type of kin-based group is perceived by the Kanembu as socially and functionally overlapping with the next ascending and/or descending type of unit in order of inclusion. The set of terms described above prescribes a hierarchy of segmentary levels while allowing for considerable variation in size, span, depth, order of segmentation and political and demographic importance. Thanks to this flexible terminology, one is able to account verbally for changes in political status, rank ordering and demographic variation which clans and lineages undergo in the normal course of events. This, in itself, is of major importance : the Kanembu conceive of their lineage system as evolving through time. This is in no way contradictory with the presumption of group perpetuity and the positing of unilineal agnatic descent as a principle governing lineages' constitution and reproduction.

The formal disposition of genealogical charters varies from clan to clan but the patrilineal principle defines a common mode of reckoning. Through "invisible" manipulations which comply formally with this organisational norm, each group hallmarks the uniqueness of its own heritage and constitution. The developmental cycle of the lineage is not fully traceable in terms of

actual succession to office and phases of segmentation. Yet, charters do inform us, at least symbolically, of processes which intervene in the constitution and development of clans. These include:

- aggregation through intermarriage around leaders of successful political factions (e.g. the Dalatso).
- cultural and political integration of peripheral non-Kanembu groups (e.g. the Duu Bara, Adia and Rea).
- organisation of aggregate groupings of dependents on a pseudo-segmentary lineage basis; eventual nominal/genealogical autonomy is "granted" but the patron lineage effectively impedes full segmental development (e.g. smaller Duu and other dependent lineages).
- disintegration of political confederations entailing the transformation of "ethnic" groups into a plurality of dependent sub-groups which re-organise on a lineage basis (e.g. the "Bulala" of Kanem disintegrate into the Kanembu N'gijim, Duu Darka and other still extant groups).
- the outright conquest of tribal entities which are subordinate in their totality to a dominant group in spite of formal internal lineage divisions (e.g. The "Kanembu" Kajidi).

In view of such historical processes, it is understandable that no single genealogical construct pretends to offer an exhaustive account of the contemporary composition of Kanembu society. The latter is not a genealogically segmentary system in its totality but rather an avowedly composite and pluralistic aggregate.

The Kanembu terminology designating patrilineally defined segmentary units is sufficiently supple to allow for the necessary accommodations in group charters following the sometimes momentous processes just mentioned. This adaptability ensures the perpetuation of the dominant ideological idiom of clan organisation while legitimising flagrant departures from the norm of patrilineal descent.

The grafting of external persons or groups onto the main line of descent of a clan is not a simple procedure. Numerous options are available for reflecting new or changed relationships in a clan charter. The solution chosen often depends on the relative status of the parties concerned. Nobles or commoners of comparable status may simply choose to merge their lines by interpreting links of affinity as relations of descent at the following generation. Immigrant lineages who have systematically intermarried with all other lineages of their clan of adoption for generations may be refused a linkage with the main trunk of the clan genealogy while, vis-à-vis outsiders, they are portrayed as clan members.

Such discrepancies with regard to the principle of unilineal recruitment and common descent of all group members cannot always be expressed without ambiguity out of context by the set of Kanambu group designations we have reviewed above. For this reason, I will use the English terms 'clan' and 'lineage' as traditionally defined in anthropological usage (cf. Chapter 1, Section 2). Thus, for example, when referring to the 'Rea clan', I will subsume all component lineages of the group whether or not they can substantiate their descent from the clan's apical ancestor in terms of presently recognised genealogical constructs. By 'Rea lineage', I will designate only those descent groups whose claim to be direct descendants of the ancestor Reu is at present socially recognised within and beyond the Rea clan. In order to conveniently render the reciprocal genealogical standing of each constituent lineage of the clan, I will use, in decreasing order of segmentation, the adjectives maximal, major and minor. Where helpful, the English term will be accompanied by the appropriate Kanembukanambu word. Such usages are of course, understood to be chronologically and politically relative. For example, until the late 19th century, the Rea were but a "major" lineage of a much wider unit

grouping what are today generally recognised to be the Duu Adia, Bara and Rea "clans" (jili, kari). My choice of words will conform with the political relationships today prevalent in each group as codified in the current version of its genealogical charter.

3. The administration of the clan

The number and hierarchy of offices in a clan can be identified by reference to the genealogical articulations between named, and politically recognised lineages. As office-holding units, they control at least one spatially separate community. The only exception to this principle concerns the nomination and succession of certain officials entrusted with the material and ritual administration of clan-controlled agricultural lands; this distinction, however, is presently becoming obsolete for reasons which will be stated below.

The main principles invoked to determine and legitimate accession to office are patrilineal descent and birth order within the male sibling set. The highest office is that of clan chief. According to place, ethnic affiliations and historical circumstance, leaders of this rank are invested with the now approximately equivalent titles of kajala, mai, fugbu, durde, molima and others. The national administration confirms certain clan chiefs by investing them as government functionaries with the title chef de canton; the exercise of this prerogative offers a potential veto over their investiture. The function of clan chief was, and to a degree, remains crucial in ensuring relations with co-ordinate units as well as supra-lineal centres of power and decision-making. One must distinguish leaders governing chieftaincies resulting from the voluntary or forcible aggregation of several co-resident or adjacent clans and those whose competence is reduced to their own group alone. The title of molima appears to have been restricted to clan or lineage chiefs of the

latter category. In the present day, discrepancies may arise between the distribution of hereditary, lineage-based titles and that of cantonal functions by the State.

Before the colonial period, when the head of the predominant clan of an alliance was to be designated, elders of all confederate groups exercised a limited consultative role in the choice of leader, especially if a period of "regency" was to be necessary. A Darka elder alluded to such an occurrence in these terms:

"Darka chiefs would succeed each other from father to son. But, if at the death of the father the son was still very young, the elders of all six lineages of the confederation - five Kanembu and one Darka - would decide and make a decree. They would attach a (dum palm) leaf around the neck of the child if the five (Kanembu) lineages agreed. That was all. No one could (thenceforth) hinder the young chief. Because of his youth, a deputy (wakil) was designated to replace him until manhood. Our chiefs were thus appointed differently before the coming of the whites."

Similar procedures were prevalent among the neighbouring multi-clan groups dominated by the Kanembu N'gijim and the Tunjur Arabs. In alliances composed of lineages (kari, chieri) claiming common ancestry such as that constituted by the Duu Adia, Bara and Rea, who, at the end of the 19th century, were subordinate confederates of the Darka, the paramount chieftaincy was sometimes alternately entrusted to a notable of a different component group. Such permutations also occurred between lineage heads of the populous N'gijim clan. In the most powerful group of Kanem, the Dalatoa of Mao, lineage chieftaincies tended to be confined to land-controlling descent lines around whom localised, composite "lineages" concentrated.

Major lineages (chieri, kifadey) were generally led by a molima or a gira; the latter dignitary was described by a Rea notable as being comparable to "half a molima". In effect, the title corresponded to the functions of village group chief. Both are patrilineally hereditary, but accession to office gave rise to strong competition among village headmen

who tended to be closely related. Such conflicts continue to be commonplace. Each village and the lineage segment dominating it was and is presided over by a b'ilama. Those administering newly-founded hamlets could not be granted this title by lineage elders until they had proven able to attract and retain a sufficient amount of followers to pressure notables into acquiescence.

Whereas the patrilineal principle governs the transmission of office, the ultimate legitimation of authority may in practice be based on reference to right of conquest, priority of settlement or investiture by a higher authority, either Kanemi or external (Bornuan, Wadayan, Awlad Sliman, French or Chadian according to the time, place and level of office), and wealth. This is true both within and between clans and lineages. The institutions of bumtu and kabelo furnish interesting barometers of the effective economic and political balance among competing descent groups, factions and individuals.

Bumtu may be described as an "auction" for office or for land rights which may enhance the economic, fiscal and political prerogatives attached to an office. Contending elements rival to offer capital goods (cattle, horses, grain, money, luxury or manufactured items) to higher officials endowed with rights of investiture, creation of new tenures or control over fertile land. Seen from the payer's point of view, bumtu is a transfer of capital channelled up the political hierarchy in compensation for a devolution of control over a political and/or economic resource. Bumtu ensures a consolidation of capital, though under different material forms, for both parties in the exchange. For instance, when a lineage thus acquires rights over a wadi chieftaincy, the individual contribution of each peasant is compensated by a future reduction of his ground taxes. Membership of a land-controlling lineage used to entail perpetual franchise from ground taxes known as kwi, the duku'ya and the kiski (cf. Chapter 4) on the lands concerned by the transaction. The receiver of bumtu had unilateral power to

accept or refuse the propositions of subordinate lineages. The competitive nature of the sale of land rights gave the receiving party almost full control over the price. In view of these two modalities the alifas used buntu with great efficiency to eradicate indigenous fiscal practices and concentrate the flow of tax revenues in the hands of central potentates. It also constituted a "fine-tuning" mechanism of local feudal rights.

Buntu may operate either to counteract or reinforce patrilineal transmission of office and control over land. It is a means by which the accumulation of surplus goods or tributary resources can assist in overriding customary access to office by given persons, lineages, or factions whether these be justified by genealogical precedence or any other mode of legitimation. The "economic" sphere here intermeshes with the "political" directly. Through buntu, one can theoretically modify any particular distribution of office without invalidating formal principles of foundation of authority.

Buntu is complemented by a less competitive form of delayed unequal exchange known as kabelo which, to a certain extent, regulates capital accumulation by office holders. Kabelo presupposes a relation of vassality and wealth differential between the parties. The cycle of prestations is initiated by the dependent. The acceptance of a first present by his superior implies explicit reciprocal recognition of vassality and the consequent obligation of the patron to return a gift of markedly greater value within a period customarily restricted to a few months. Failure to do so would bring about a loss of face for the taker and entitles the initiator to reclaim his goods. This right is not precluded by the death of the receiver. Kabelo is a return flow of wealth from the top of the political hierarchy to dependants of varying status. As a system, it can be seen as a continuum of partially overlapping prestations involving couples of partners of adjacent status such as a villager and his headman, the headman and a gira

and so onwards to persons of the highest rank. These chains of reciprocal indebtedness within the feudal hierarchy in turn generate partially overlapping networks of obligation. When cunningly used by the subordinate, kabelo can be a means of challenging excessive fiscal or political exactions. When greater confidence reigns in a hierarchical relationship, it can replace pumtu auctioning to the advantage of a subordinate. When discerningly provoked and accepted by a superior, prestations may increase the political and fiscal allegiance of a dependent. Kabelo is one of the most double-edged of Kanembu fiscal/political institutions.

4. The Dalatoo administration of Kanem

The Bornuan Empire is reputed to have maintained a firm grip over its northeastern province of Kanem. Peace reigned with the then emerging eastern kingdom of Waday. Sultān 'Abd el-Kerim of Waday (r. 1635-1655) is even reported (Nactigal 1889 : 273) to have paid tribute to Bornu in order to dissuade the mais from supporting the Tunjur Arabs in any attempt at eastward expansion. In contrast, following the upheavals which signalled the final decline of the Bulala (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2), Kanem's eastern border was exposed to recurrent but localised raids by Daza and other groups which recognised neither Bornuan nor Wadayan suzerainty. Such limited hostilities also appear to have been a permanent feature of life among the tribes of Kanem.

Within the province, the Bornuan government initially left considerable local initiative to its feudatories and appointed administrators. Lavers (1986;ms.: 34) notes, however, that:

"The Caliphal administration became more elaborate and more centralised as time went on. Originally subject areas were loosely administered through their own chiefs. There would seem to have been a progression from conquered peoples through tributary and protected to those states that voluntarily placed themselves in a subordinate or pretended relationship where gift exchange rather than tribute was the rule."

The place of Kanem within the mosaic of peripheral Bornuan protectorates and dependencies is rather difficult to define. On the one hand, strong historical, cultural and putative genealogical ties linked the Bornuan dynasty to major Kanembu clans. On the other hand, the Kanembu had been in a manifestly subordinate position vis-à-vis Bornu ever since the expulsion of the Bulala. The Dalatoo rulers at the head of the eastern vice-royalty of Kanem were not of indigenous Kanembu stock. Indeed, the Dalatoo were reputed to be the "slaves" of the Bornuan Sefawa. Many noble lineages of Kanembu claimed common ancestry with the ruling dynasty of Bornu and felt themselves quite "superior" to the "servile" Dalatoo, who, nonetheless, furnished Kanem with its alifas.

This situation contributed to a certain ambiguity in the internal politics of Kanem. Many indigenous groups, both Kanembu and non-Kanembu maintained a considerable degree of autonomy with regard to resident Bornuan administrators. The oral tradition of Kanem does not often record Bornuan overseer-functionaries as having been a major obstacle in the conduct of most affairs. Areas such as the Bari district were, in many regards, autarchic. One important function of the Bornuan administration was precisely to maintain suzerainty at the lowest possible cost by ensuring the neutrality of such (often pagan) enclaves. This meant sending neither occupation forces nor punitive expeditions to the province in support of the alifa. Internally, it was important to impose imperial order without recruiting troops in groups alien to the Dalatoo, their allies and compliant subordinates.

Data concerning the precise working of the vice-royal administration is too fragmentary to draw any general conclusions about the Kanemi political system of the 18th and early 19th centuries. In any case, a listing of the presumed functions of kaigama, galadima, sintelma, kaqnostema, chima and other offices would be of little relevance in the present context. Some comment on the office of alifa is, nonetheless,

central to our interests. The word itself derives from the Arabic khalifa translatable as 'successor' or 'deputy' and used to designate the supreme head of the Muslim community. Many a time, it refers to the appointed successor of a sultān or to a ruler's or official's deputy. In Chad, the title is applied to the ruler of Kanem in his capacity of representative of the mai of Bornu.

The office of alifa is, in principle, hereditarily transmitted from father to son or from elder to younger brother. The first title-holder of the line was Dala Afuno (Afuno = Hausa), probably so-called because he was brought up in Hausaland before being appointed by Hajj Umar ibn Idris, mai of Bornu from c. 1623-5 to 1645, to reestablish Bornuan authority over Kanem following the decline of the Bulala and the subsequent influx of the Tunjur.

The attributes of the title were both temporal and spiritual, the two domains of authority being ideologically tightly linked. The alifa is first of all lineage head of the Dalatoa; as such, his domain proper includes the territories of the Mao chieftaincy as listed on Table 3. As spiritual leader of all the Kanembu, the Dalatoa chiefs also held suzerain rights over all lands controlled by members of the same descent and their dependants. In both cases, he acts as God's "manager"; concretely, this "spiritual" foundation of land control is expressed by the alifa's right to levy the zakat tithe (cf. Chapter 4) on the produce of both agriculture and animal husbandry. The alifa was also supreme judge of Kanem, though, in practice, he could not force all cases to be submitted to his jurisdiction.

Some of the alifa's followers believed that their leader was endowed with baraka ("grace") but this conviction was far from being general. In an effort to enhance the somewhat withering prestige of his line, the notoriously "expansionist" alifa Zezerti (r. 1934-1947) for

example, instigated a cult of his grandfather, alifa Aji, (r.c. 1883-1893, and c. 1895 - 1897), a faki, thrice haj, who had quickly come to be revered as a saint. His tomb is located at the village of Mao Kudu, 7 km southeast of the present préfecture, Mao. For some years previous to World War II, a pilgrimage was organised there during the month of November. However, lineage-focussed ancestor cults supporting would-be claims to baraka of reigning chiefs remain isolated and short-lived. During recent decades, alifas have sometimes sought to accentuate their "spiritual" role. Among a much more complex pattern of meanings which cannot here be explored, I would suggest that such emphasis can be seen as supporting the alifas' hopes of erasing by reference to a higher, all-englobing spiritual order, the stigma of subordination to Bornuan and later Wadayan and Awlad Sliman forces during the 19th century as well as to the French infidel during the 20th century (cf. Appendix 5).

The court of Mao was closely patterned after that of Bornu. Most dignitaries were close kinmen of the alifa. Formally, they may be divided into fief-vested and hereditary court office-holders and unlanded court dignitaries. Of course, the opposition between landed and fiefless must be nuanced by reference to the access these persons, and the lineages they represented, had to fiscal, tributary and booty revenues as members of the ruling body of Kanem's paramount chieftaincy. There lay, rather than in formal title, the most effective means of increasing following and dependents.

The highest dignitary of the court was the zeqbada. He was often a brother or close cousin of the alifa and replaced him in case of absence. In wartime, he was given command of one of the latter's banners. The office of zeqbada was quasi-hereditary and vested in the descent group of the alifas themselves. Bouilllié (1937 : 267) notes that the Zeqbada family has regularly contracted marriage alliances with the Muetafa family, to which

TABLE 3 : Major court titles in the Mao chieftaincy during the 19th century

A. Hereditary lineage-vested titles and their corresponding fiefs.

TITLE	FIEF	LINEAGE
<u>Alifa</u>	The Mao chieftaincy and Kanem in general	Kanembu Dalatoa
<u>Zaqbada</u>	Certain villages of the Mao district	Kanembu Dalatoa
<u>Jerma</u>	"	Kanembu Dalatoa Jermaburu
<u>Mala</u>	"	Kanembu Dalatoa Kingiriu
<u>N'qoa</u>	"	Kanembu Dalatoa Medelaru
<u>Kajala</u>	Kirbil	Kanembu Dalatoa ?
<u>Kajala</u>	Kalkala	Kanembu Dalatoa Malawaro
<u>Gerema</u>	Gumsu	Kanembu Dalatoa S'laa
<u>Gerema</u>	Burni	Kanembu Dalatoa Burniu
<u>Dalado</u>	Gumsi	Kanembu Dalatoa Doati
<u>Kaya</u>	Kumbagri	Kanembu Dalatoa Giyim

B. Titles not vested with a fief

TITLE	LINEAGE
<div> <div> Alifa's kin </div> <div> <u>Yerima</u> <u>Maina</u> <u>Maqiri</u> </div> <div> theoretically hereditary </div> </div> <div> <div> Alifa's counsellors </div> <div> <u>Khalife</u> <u>Wojiri</u> <u>Noqona</u> <u>Dima</u> <u>Jerma qana</u> </div> <div> theoretically non-hereditary </div> </div>	Generally Kanembu Dalatoa

the mother of alifa Zezerti belonged, for reportedly more than two centuries. Both lines are grouped together as Dalatoa and, on a wider scale, as Magemi in spite of the external origins of Dala Afumo. Relations between the alifa and his zaqbada were characteristically marked by distrust and covert, when not open, competition for supreme office.

The jerma acted as the alifa's minister of justice and of the interior. It was he who bestowed investiture upon a new alifa. When the throne was vacant, he was responsible for judgements and other legal procedures. During campaigns, the jerma and the warriors of his lineage were entrusted with the protection of the chief and would, in case of defeat, ensure the alifa's flight to safety. The jerma was assisted by an officer known as the jerma gana (small or lesser jerma) in whose compound prisoners were kept; as a "chief of police", the jerma gana arrested and interrogated suspects.

The jerma was chosen in a lineage constituted to ensure the perpetuation of its head's function and known as the Jermaburu. Catala (1954 : 9) relates that this lineage, probably of servile extraction, descended from "three unknown brothers" who one day arrived in Mao on horseback, clad in cotton armour and armed with bows and arrows, throwing spears and war hatchets. After prayer, one of the three is said to have held the bridle of the Mao potentate's mount and conducted him back to his residence. Thereafter, the office of jerma is purported to have remained in the lineage of these three brothers who so openly, and without outside reproach, chose to overlook the symbolic boundaries which serve to classify the weaponry of the mounted Kanambu warrior and the Duu or Aza hunter.

The head of the Dalatoa Kingiru major lineage, mainly resident in the Mao district, was known as the mala of Mao. He was an official advisor

to the alifa and an important military officer. His ample revenues were provided by both the alifa and the maskin of his fief.

The n'goa was a feudatory of comparable rank to the mala; he also held high military responsibilities. This charge was generally reserved to the head of the Dalatoo Medelaru lineage of the Mao district. (Catala 1954 :9).

In the Bornuan tradition, the kajala was a military officer of servile origin commanding a unit recruited, in principle, on the basis of common lineage membership. In the 19th century administration of Kanem, the kajala of Kirbil and Kalkala were close political assistants of the alifa to whose Dalatoo clan they belonged; both were lineage chiefs and resided in Mao. (Catala 1954 : 9 - 10). The kajala of Kalkala was designated to collect the land tax known as mud (Chapter 4) in the vassal chieftaincy of N'tiry to the east of Lilloa (Catala 1954 : 10). In time of war, they led their own lineages under the higher authority of the zaqbada, jerma and n'goa, who acted as general officers (Catala 1954 : 10).

The title of kajala was also conferred by the alifa on certain vassal chieftains such as the clan heads of the Duu Darka of N'guri, the Kanembu N'gijim of DibinENCHI, the Duu Dieri of Am Dobak and the Kanembu Kanku of Moal. It is probable that under Bornuan administration, certain Buduma clan heads had been gratified with this title, following their conversion to Islam, but these nominations did not entail, in this instance, a strict link of vassality. Among the Daza of northern Kanem, both tribal and clan chiefs were known as Kedjela if their group was of non-slave and non-Aza origin. At Mondo, the kajala was the direct subordinate of the fugbu or kerada and held functions comparable to those of the alifa's zaqbada.

The heads of Dalatoo lineages of lesser importance were given distinct titles implying virtually equal rank. The B'laa and Birniu chiefs of Gumsu and Burni, respectively, were known as gerema. The Doati of Gumsi were led by the dalada and the Giyim of Kumbagri by the kaya (cf. Catala 1954 : 8 and 10).

Fiefless title holders held no domain in sole virtue of their rank. Four titles were reserved to kin of the alifa; these were yerima, maina, maqiri and khalife. Of the alifa's counsellors, only the khalife were necessarily related to their master. The wajiri and noqona were selected on a wider basis, though generally from members of the Dalatoo lineage.

The title of yerima was given to the presumed heir of the alifa who was, in principle, either his elder son or younger brother. Other brothers and sons of the paramount chief bore the title of maina, meaning 'born of a king' or prince.

The alifa's mother was given the purely honorific title of maqiri. In contrast to Bornu, the sovereign's mother here had no official role, even in an advisory capacity.

The khalifes constituted a corps of moveable functionaries whose effective powers varied by individual and through time. The title was (and still is) granted to anyone with a particular mission or temporary responsibility to fulfill on the alifa's behalf. This function was thus very close to the word's Arabic meanings of 'deputy' or 'delegate'. In addition, the title was used in an honorific sense by a) brothers of the alifa (maina) who were in line for succession and b) cousins of the alifa (thus, male lineage members of the n'jiri or 'brother' category, discussed in Chapter 5, particularly those who were important notables such as the 'Kogona' chief of N'jigada and his close kinsmen.

The alifa was also surrounded by a group of private advisors known as noqona. These counsellors were generally chosen among different families of Dalatoo notables of the Mao chieftaincy. Their office was neither directly remunerated nor hereditary. The influence of the noqona depended at any one time on how useful they or their lineage were to the alifa. Their longevity in office depended heavily on the personal ties they could establish with the paramount chief. The noqona were most often only very distant relations of the Mao chief. Less suspect of wanting to usurp the potentate's prerogatives, and chosen so as to be less able to do so than the zaqbada, the jerma and others, the noqona were many a time asked to carry out delicate missions regarding interclan relations. They played the role of internal diplomats and sometimes resident observers. The senior noqona bore the title of wojiri.

Under Bornuan administration, the dima appears to have been a vice-governor and direct subordinate of the alifa. With the decline of Kukawa's influence, the function of this officer seems to have devolved on major vassal and allied chiefs, thus eliminating one intermediary instance of authority between the paramount chief and his dependents. The dima seems to have been entrusted with a type of imperial administration which partially paralleled and oversaw local government. In Nachtigal's time, the title was still carried by the chief of the Gala, but, as opposed to his predecessors, this notable did not administrate several Kanembu clans at once within a given territorial framework (cf. Nachtigal 1880 : 266-267). This leader's subjects seem to have been forced to retreat toward the Laka under pressure from the Awlad Sliman and Daza. For all practical purposes, the dima thus became a glorified district chief whose nomination came to require the benediction of the sultān of Waday rather than the shehu of Bornu. In the 1870's, the title holder was a Magemi though in earlier times Gala had been founded by the squally noble Kubri. At N'jigdada,

whers the Bornuans had formally maintained a dima, the office nominally still exists. The dima of this locality is the lineage head of the Diaru or Dimaru, a Dalatoa lineage and hence probably of Magemi origin. He was chosen among the people of his own lineage, little if any say being left to his subjects of other affiliations. The turban of investiture is still conferred by his cousin, the alifa. The evolution and progressive devaluation of this important office illustretes a certain centralisation of both administrative and political decision making under the direct surveillance of the alifa. It underlines the tendency for the Dalatoa to eliminate other powerful Kanembu lineages from government.

During the colonial period, the administrative and governmental functions of clans, notably in the case of the Dalatoa, have changed considerably as is shown in Appendix 5. The court of Mao as well as smaller canton courts have been maintained, but Dalatoa-controlled, clan-based government has had to adapt to a situation in which the definition of territorially-based administrative units and major forms of taxation are determined by an external superior authority. This does not imply, however, that the Kanembu nobility, qua ruling class, has lost control over tribute circuits and the accumulation of surpluses. The restrictions placed by the coloniser on plundering and certain overly visible forms of surplus extortion from the Kanemi peasantry were largely compensated by the stability of the French régime, the regularity of revenues, and consequently, the possibility of establishing an intricate network of patron-client relationships ensuring continued upward capital flow. This was possible thanks to the perdurance and reinforcement of basic social inequalities described in Chapters 1, 2 and 4. The nobility made the new political situation function to its profit by shrewdly maintaining its role as broker between a State organised in accordance with classical French centralist doctrine and an isolated, rural Kanembu population which

continues to this day to regulate its everyday business within the framework of the patrilineal clan.

The articulation of clan organisation and the pan-Kanemi administration of the Dalatoo and their allies was formerly achieved by linking the distribution of recognised offices within patrigrups at all levels of segmentation with that of control over productive land and fiscal prerogatives (cf. Chapter 4). The colonial regime partly upset this method of government but did not fundamentally modify the hierarchical flow of resources which is the foundation of Kanembu political organisation. Whereas in pre-colonial times dependence relationships tended to be organised between hierarchically ordered descent groups from lower to higher levels of segmentation, they have developed since 1900 on a person-to-person basis or between land-controlling notables and members of small village communities. This process has been facilitated by the fragmentation of formerly larger multi-clan local groups into villages organised around a single major or minor patrilineage. Concomitantly, there has been a personalisation of land rights at the expense of clan-vested rights which has been facilitated by the practice of bumtu. As a result of these processes, the class solidarity of the Kanembu nobility has been reinforced throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods.

Systematic military confrontation between noble factions so characteristic of the later 19th century was stopped by the French within a matter of years. The nobility quickly perceived the necessity of presenting a relatively homogeneous front to the central administration. The French organised state taxation on the basis of the administrative units it alone had the competence to create or dissolve, rather than on the basis of clan affiliation. It was thus imperative for the Kanembu nobility to gain maximum administrative powers at the canton level at which the central administration had great practical difficulty in intervening

regularly and efficiently. This system has consolidated the powers of those clan heads who are simultaneously chefs de canton while diminishing the access of the majority of clans to fiscal and tributary resources.

Since the later 1970's, the Chadian civil war has brought state administrative activities to a virtual halt. This situation widens the freedom of manoeuvre of the nobility in fiscal and tributary matters. The political organisation of Kanem will be largely determined in the near future by the success or failure of attempts to resuscitate the Chadian State. If such efforts continue to meet with failure, the Kanembu nobility should have no difficulty in reverting to "traditional" methods of exploitation.

5. The socio-political constitution of eight South Kanemi chieftaincies

In this section, I will present basic socio-political information concerning the eight cantons of the Préfecture du Lac in South Kanem where my field research was principally conducted. These data are structured around the comprehensive survey of village, clan and lineage affiliations introduced in Chapter 1, the corpus of oral tradition collected from many of the clans referred to here and the subsequent plotting of village distribution and movements on the 1/200000 th scale maps, published in Paris by the Institut Géographique National. (Consult Appendix 2 and Maps 4, 5, 6 and 14).

The first purpose of these pages is to inform the reader of the respective localisations and major political particularities of those South Kanemi clans which will be most frequently mentioned in the study of intergroup relationships in Section II. Secondly, in order to understand the Kanembu system of social stratification, it is also necessary to substantiate ethnographically the proposition that groups at genealogically comparable orders of segmentation in regard to the dominant Kanembu model of lineage organisation are often structurally different in social, economic and political terms.

N'JIGDADA

N'jigada canton has a population of some 3,100 (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 39) people, who live in 54 recognised villages and their dependent hamlets. The canton's capital, N'jigada, is only some 20 km north of Lake Chad's shore band (in relation to a "normal" surface level of 281.5 m), yet the chieftaincy extends northward into dry steppe areas resembling those of central Kanem. Agriculture is strongly concentrated in a limited number of irrigated wadis (cf. Figures 9).

The chieftaincy's population is predominantly Kanembu (c. 90%), a majority of whom are dependants of the noble Kogona clan. Only 8 of 54 village communities are under Duu (c. 10% of the population) control, whereas 34 settlements are inhabited by the dependent Kajidi whose socio-economic status is practically as low as that of the Duu. The distinction between aristocrats and commoners appears more clear cut in N'jigada than in any other canton considered here. This is largely attributable to the tight relations, notably of marriage exchange, which exist between the Kogona and the lineages of the alifa of Mao.

Kogona means 'courtier' in the Kanembukanembu and Kanuri languages. In South Kanem, the proper clan-name Kogona is synonymous with Dalatoo, derived from the name of the first alifa of Kanem. (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 326). Among the Kanembu maskin and the Duu, the term 'Kogona' has a distinctly pejorative connotation.

The Kogona clan was founded during the 17th century after the creation of the Kanem vice-royalty by mai 'Omar ibn Idris of Bornu. The Kogona originally constituted a military/administrative caste under the orders of the Dalatoo alifas. The hereditary transmission of offices among the alifa's officers favoured the creation of a Kogona descent group which was consolidated by frequent marriages between the kin of kogona and their descendants.

The proper names of the major lineages which today compose the Kogona clan in South Kanem are not derived from the names of their apical ancestors, as is commonly found among Kanembu descent groups (cf. Appendix 2). The denominations used emphasise the noble and/or foreign origins of the Kogona. The Kogona Sharu major lineage, for instance, derives its name from the Arabic term sharīf, meaning noble or descended from the prophet Mohammed. The Dimeru major lineage was purportedly formed by the descendants of successive vice-governors of Bornuan Kanem, known as the dima (cf. preceding section). The Kogona Tomari take their name from the noble Tu clan (cf. Chapter 2) which traces its origins back to the Tu or Tibesti mountains. The Kogona Bornyu claim to descend from the 17th century Bornuan administrators sent to Kanem from Bornu.

The "Kanembu" Kajidi form the largest group of Kogona tributaries, with 34 village communities. They are today a semi-servile population, depicted as descending from a slave of the Magemi (cf. Chapter 3), the royal clan with which the Kogona claim links. Le Rouvreur (1962 : 104) observes that the Kajidi rarely marry with other Kanembu and never with the Buduma or the Duu. These marital restrictions illustrate a wider phenomenon characteristic of Kanembu social organisation : the specificity and perpetuation of subordinate groups are often maintained by forms of descent group, stratum, caste or ethnic endogamy which impede the political unification of the lower class. In contrast to the Duu who have been prevented from owning large bovine herds, the Kajidi specialise in zebu-raising along the lacustral periphery. The Kajidi are also experienced in the treatment of the protein-rich algae known as dihe which is collected from riverain swamps (cf. Appendix 1).

In N'jigada canton, the Duu are relatively few in number and their lineages are splintered to the extent that they cannot constitute a political pressure group of any sort. They are here relegated by the Kogona to the

role of a subordinate, partially specialised population whose productive activities are complementary to those of the Kajidi. Three of the small Duu lineages, the Dii, Chorona and Moiro, the latter of which is a small blacksmith group, exist only in N'jigdada chieftaincy. The Duu Moloru and Yaya lineages are found only in this canton and neighbouring Dibinenchi. Only the Kei and Kubri are sections of important Duu clans present in several chieftaincies. Evidence from N'jigdada indicates that where power is concentrated in the hands of a single Kanembu clan, Duu lineages tend to be small and dispersed in a manner that well serves the economic and political interests of their patrons.

The seven Kogona communities are also dispersed but for diametrically opposed reasons. They are spread out among the clusters of subject villages which include 47 settlements and their dependencies, such as colonisation hamlets and seasonal agricultural or pastoral camps. The localisation of Kogona villages follows a "colonial" pattern, congruent with their functions of overseers and foremen. This distribution reflects the high degree of political and economic control this small, "imported" elite exercises over a subordinate class of agro-pastoralists and artisans in virtue of the support it receives from the Dalatoa of Mao.

DIBINENCHI

Dibinenchi, situated some 15 km to the east of N'jigdada, has a population estimated at c. 8,400 (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 39), c. 90% of whom are Kanembu and 6% Duu. The chieftaincy's ruling clan, the Kanembu N'gijim, is the largest descent group in South Kanem, with a membership possibly over 5,000. The N'gijim N'gaya major lineage, for example, itself divided into seven minor lineages, controls more village headmanships than all but five (N'gijim excluded) of the some twenty-nine Kanembu clans represented in the eight chieftaincies here considered. The N'gijim lineage

is reputed to have resulted from the amalgamation of certain residual Bulala elements and their subordinates and allies at the time of the reoccupation of South Kanem by the Bornuan Magemi and, subsequently, the Dalatoa (cf. Chapter 2).

The power structure in this chieftaincy is quite distinct from that observed among the Kogona of N'jigdada. In spite of its demographic and political weight within South Kanem, the N'gijim clan has never been in a position to contest the ascendancy of the Dalatoa and allied Magemi at the pan-Kanem level. Within Dibinenchi chieftaincy, however, we find that the N'gijim surpass in number and influence their Kanembu allies and Duu clients considered together. The gap in economic and social status between masters and clients in Dibinenchi is, in general, not so pronounced as between the Kogona and the Kajidi and Duu of N'jigdada. The main lines of political competition in the N'gijim canton are drawn between the lineages of the chiefly clan, notably the N'gaya and the Wolia (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 5). Other fragmented Kanembu elements of the Rudou, Kei, Bade, Kajidi, N'gala, Sarao and Twari clans vacillate between shifting N'gijim factions, unable to assert themselves as fully autonomous groups. Only the Kanembu Galao (16 village headmanships) of somewhat more northerly Kubri affiliation (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 330) can hope to influence N'gijim policies through selective alliances with the latter's factions.

Duu lineages of the canton are linked to the Kanembu N'gijim through presumptively perpetual ties of economic, political and, formerly, military clientage. Thus the Duu Tira are bound to the Kanembu N'gijim Tana, the Duu Kafa to the Kanembu N'gijim Wolia, the Duu Yeya to the Kanembu N'gijim K'datia, etc. The Duu associated with the Kanembu minorities of the chieftaincy tend to share the eponym of their patron; so it is for the Duu Galao, Kei and even Kajidi. Remaining Duu form professionally specialised lineages, which are today employed seasonally by all the above lineages,

both Kanembu and Duu. This is the case of the Duu Goya and Kakuluru blacksmiths. A unique example in South Kanem, one also here encounters sedentarised residual groups of Aza Seseya net-hunters who are culturally and politically associated with the chieftaincy's small Daza minority.

BADERI

Baderi, with a population of 3,600 (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 38) (approx. 91% Kanembu and 6% Duu), is among the new cantone which were created by the French in accordance with the wishes of the alifa of Mao in 1906 (cf. Appendix 5). Through this process, the once powerful N'guri chieftaincy was fractioned into "self-administered" units. These entities were founded in order to weaken the Duu Darka by a) dividing them administratively and fiscally from the other autonomous but client Duu lineages who had been their grudging yet objective allies, and b), to eradicate the "abomination" of having Kanembu lineages dominated by Duu.

How had this fundamental incongruity arisen ? According to a very well entrenched tradition recorded even in Bornu (see Palmer 1926 and 1928 I), the "Kanembu" Bade (or Bede) together with the N'Gijim, the Tira, the Feda, the Diabu (also known as the Dalawa), the Sarabu (Sarao) and the Darka share, to an undetermined but universally recognised extent, Bulala ancestry. Such connections, at least in terms of symbolic/mythical alliance if not of (putative) descent, can be suspected for the Kanembu Bareu, Rudou, Dieu and Kanku. These four lineages plus the Bade were subject to the Duu Darka through much of the 19th century and possibly earlier. A silenced cleavage here emerges between "dynastic" Kanembu descended from or long allied to the Dalatoo Magemi, and the then recently (17th century) reconquered southern "Kanembu" who had been Bulala subjects for centuries. The aspiration toward full integration of the southern Kanembu into the political sphere of Mao explains the virtual expulsion of the Duu from the Baderi chieftaincy.

The Bade are divided into Maraya, Kuruyu, Tomasiu, Watao, N'gurotelao, Talwaru and Nea. (See Carbou 1912 I : 43). None of these major lineages has such deep political roots or developed, institutionalised forms of internal self-administration as the N'gijim groups at a formally comparable level of segmentation.

Neither the Bade, nor the other Kanembu elements of the canton forged collective alliance mechanisms with sufficient rigour to counterbalance Darka organisational superiority in the political and, formerly, military fields. Only the French moves to favour the centralisation of provincial power in Mao reversed this situation. This policy is still promoted by the immigrant notables of three Kogona villages. During the pre-colonial period, Magemi elements had come south from the Mao district (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 335-336) following disaccord with ruling Dalatoa; they had no particular previous ties with the Bade and were not strong enough to upset Darka predominance. Remaining Kanembu groups are, like the Bade, long-present minorities of purportedly Bulala ancestry (Bareu, Tira, etc.)

N'GURI

N'guri is the strongest of the Duu chieftaincies, with a population of 3,200 (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 39) residents. Kanembu-held settlements outnumber Duu communities by almost two to one, the Kanembu account for ca. 54% of the population and the Duu 47%. The Darka control only seven villages. The Darka population is concentrated in large villages, a tactic which in the past often proved its worth. From these centres, control is exercised over 16 communities which have the unenviable status of "Duu of the Duu", as well as over 33 Kanembu settlements populated by 5 formerly subordinate clans of which the Bads are one. This high figure suggests that a considerable number of Kanembu vassal communities might have been subjected to the rulers of N'guri until the creation and subsequent

modifications of canton boundaries, coupled with a high emigration rate, reduced the Darka domain to a relic of its former self (cf. Chapter 8 and Appendix 5). It thus became impossible for the Darka even to contemplate competing either with the Mao chieftaincy, today invested with prefectural status, or neighbouring Dibinenchi and Mondo.

Today, the main political tension in the canton exists between the Darka, who are too few to impose their will, and a large community of formerly subordinate Kanembu (Bareu, Rudou, Dieri, Bade and Kanku) reinforced by 11 other Kanembu villages (Magemi, Daya, Kogona etc.). The cohesion of the latter is, however, not sufficiently imposing to dethrone the Darka, who benefit politically from the presence of the sous-préfecture in N'guri. In addition, with the exception of the Bareu, none of the other 9 Kanembu lineages are concentrated or large enough to establish efficient clientage networks in an exiguous territory where good land is controlled by the Darka. The Darka are sufficiently busy maintaining this status quo not to seek political influence much beyond the dunetops surrounding N'guri.

This is probably the canton where the demographic importance of the different clans present, or their splintered fractions, is most balanced. None of the three major blocks (6 non-Darka Duu clans, 5 formerly dominated Kanembu clans and 5 immigrant Kanembu clans) have effectively joined forces through matrimonial and/or political alliance. Each jealously keeps its name and impotence to itself. As in the case of the Bade chieftaincy, the Kanembu and Duu lineages here represented have widely dispersed. This phenomenon is particularly characteristic of the colonial and post-colonial periods. The political neutralisation of the area might to some degree have been favoured by the direct presence of the French and then Chadian national administrations. N'guri was indeed the first and only French outpost in the area we are studying and is today the only sous-préfecture between Massekory and Mao.

YALITA

The Duu Rea canton of Yalita extends south of N'guri toward the Lake shore and counts some 2,900 inhabitants (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 39). The clan composition of this chieftaincy's population has undergone fundamental changes over the last century. The principle factor in this movement was the emigration of the Rea's onetime senior allies, the Duu Bara and Adia. In a formal sense, the three clans today administer approximately the same territory referred to by Barth and Nachtigal as the Bari district (See Map 9). The Rea obtained the turban of the chieftaincy by default after the Darka ensured their own political dominance over the Bara and Adia, provoking an emigration of these two groups toward the Molimari area on the Bahr-el-Ghazal during the later part of the 19th century. The Kanembu of Yalita now hold more (though less important) village headmanships than the Duu, yet the latter still represent a majority of the canton's population (Duu 61%; Kanembu 39%). The shift in leading role among the Duu in favour of the Rea (compare the present situation with that mentioned by Nachtigal 1881 : 345) increased the relative local influence of the Kanembu; the mode of allocation of administrative functions to clans by the French probably compounded the effects of the pre-colonial change. A further consequence of these and other factors was the disappearance of the dominated Kanembu as a numerically and politically significant sector of the population. Today, they have only 4 villages.

The "Twari" remain the preponderant element of the Kanembu population along with the Sarao (30 of 47 villages). Nachtigal (1881 : 328 and 345) traces Sarao origins back to the Bulala, a characteristic the Duu would share to some extent. Twari presence in this area may be even more ancient, going back, as for the Duu, at least several hundred years. The German author notes:

"In Kanem, they (the Twari) now live with the Kanembu or as the Kanembu. The fact that their Tubu origins are not entirely forgotten and that one of their sections is supposed to be found among the Danoa who in all probability are among the most ancient of Kanem's residents, demonstrates to what extent they have transformed and integrated themselves."

(Nachtigal 1881 : 338) (My translation)

This is an interesting example in that it underlines a case of non-Duu recruitment into the Danoa group, suggesting that the Duu/Kanembu barrier has not always been an impermeable border defended by a staunchly applied endogamic norm.

Presently, the Rea, the Twari and the Sarao are the only groups to achieve sufficient demographic weight in the chieftaincy to be considered politically effective clans. In general, the ratio of dependent to dominant villages is reduced here compared to surrounding chieftaincies, with the exception of Baderi which likewise occupies a secondary political position.

DOKORA

The village of Dokora, about 55 km E - S - E of Yalita is the seat of a canton of approximately 1,500 residents. With Molimari, Dokora is the only chieftaincy of Kanem to display a clear Duu majority both in terms of Duu/Kanembu population balance (91% as opposed to 9%, respectively) and of village headmanships controlled (35 as opposed to 6). The Duu Darka Musaya, an important splinter group of the Darka of N'guri, are in a position to exert much influence over the weak dependent Kanembu population and over the 8 Duu lineages in the chieftaincy. It is clear that only the Darka can fully claim clan status. The stable position of this group in relation to other Duu and the Kanembu is, after a fashion, a model which the other Duu chieftaincies, including the Darka of N'guri, have sought to achieve in recent times with lesser success. Two factors contributing to the Dokora situation were the strong politico-military position of the Darka in general during the late 19th century and the propitiously timed occupation

of a political no man's land situated between the fringe of the Mao chieftaincy's zone of influence and that of the Daza toward the Bahr el-Ghazal. This implies a buffer role in the eyes of both these non-Duu groups which was understandably assumed by a militarily credible clan like the Darka.

The absence of other formerly allied Duu clans on Dokora territory (there is only one Bara village of low status) confirms the cleavage between the Darka and other autonomous Duu in areas peripheral to the ex-alliance territory (cf. Appendix 5). Except for a relatively strong implantation of blacksmith communities (4 Kakuluru villages), the remaining Duu population results from an agglomeration of splinter groups, none of which reach even viable major lineage size or status. The same can be said of the six Kanembu villages, some of which are former dependants of the Darka who migrated to this zone with their ex-suzerains.

AM DOBAK

Am Dobak is a large chieftaincy grouping some 3,600 inhabitants in which several clans compete for influence. The Duu and Kanembu populations are comparable. The chiefship is in the hands of the Duu Dieri who have hunted and cultivated in this zone for many generations. They have remained somewhat distant from the Bari district Duu clans they are akin to through their hunter origins and relatively autonomous status. It is interesting to see that the ruling lineage of the Dieri bears the name Kerebongona (compare with kerebina meaning hunter; another section is known as the Bongoya (cf. Chapter 2).

The Duu Bareu, of comparable position, do not hold land rights over the chieftaincy as a whole but do show a stronger degree of political cohesion than their very fragmented Dieri neighbours. Two large Kanembu groups also dispute the Duu Dieri's predominant position as confirmed by the

French. One of them is the theoretically dependent clan of the Kanembu Dieri. It is possible that this group might be a conglomeration of Kanembu immigrants from the west or northwest. The Kanembu Galao have their homeland between Dibinenchi and Mao. The presence of numerous Kanembu and Duu village communities of very diverse clan affiliations confirms that the Dieri canton is definitely an area of convergence and even colonisation for groups of all geographical and social origins.

In this situation, where local influence is the object of competition between several clans of comparable standing, all communities, however small, continue to assert formal allegiance to their clan of origin. Indeed, most of the clans of Kanem are nominally represented in this most complex and changing canton. The area's role as a haven for once subordinate groups is illustrated by the more important presence of the 5 formerly dominated Kanembu lineages here than in either N'guri or Am Dobak, controlled by their ex-masters. Further examples of immigration from the Kanembu west and northwest include sections of the powerful Kogona and their Kajidi subordinates, probably a large number of Galao from Dibinenchi chieftaincy, and poor Kore and Kangina from the lakeside limits of the Kuri zone.

In Am Dobak, an approximate balance in influence and control over land resources is operative between Kanembu and Duu of local and external stock. A correlate of this "equilibrium" is that the chieftaincy remains politically peripheral to the heart of South Kanem. This might presage a weakening of Duu Dieri influence over the long term in favour of the Kanembu.

MOLIMARI

Molimari groups roughly 3,000 almost exclusively Duu residents just north of the Bahr el-Ghazal and is the only Duu chieftaincy in which no village is controlled by the Kanembu. In pre-colonial times, the canton's

present territory corresponded roughly to the southern part of the Bari district. The homogeneity of the Duu population is however, not the result of a political or military victory over the Kanembu or the Kuri. The area was a traditional hunting ground for the Duu batara (cf. Chapter 2). During the 19th century it became an immigration zone for Duu agricultural settlements. The Kanembu colonised the lands to the east and south of Molimari and almost fully excluded the Duu from administrative functions in all but this, their own "reserve".

The separation of the Bara and Adia from the Rea in the north of the Bari district corresponded to a shift southward of Bara influence which the internal schism between Duu as well as the practical exclusion of the Rea from the southern territories. The Bara are thus administrative caretakers of an autonomous but weak and encircled chieftaincy : yet, with the Adia, they form a local ruling group which the various other Duu immigrants would have a hard time in challenging. As in the Am Dobak and Dokora cantons, arable land is plentiful and under Duu control alone : this could prove to be an important factor in the economic emancipation of many small Duu communities. Significantly, some of these splinter groups have stopped using the name of their original clan (e.g. Jula, N'gurodimeru, Yeyimbo, etc.). There has also been an influx of blacksmiths attracted notably by the freer access to land and even cattle but equally by the market centre of the sous-préfecture town of Massakory.

6. Settlement patterns and social stratification

Certain basic remarks may now be made regarding the distribution of village communities in South Kanem and their clan and lineage affiliations. In general, villages claiming allegiance to the same clan tend to be contiguous or nearby one another. Constraints of a military order which reinforced the geographical concentration of clan members have practically

disappeared. Nonetheless, Kanembu and Duu clans often reside on a compact though not necessarily exclusive territory where their villages form clusters within a radius rarely exceeding a few kilometres.

The highly probable increase in individual and collective movements from one chieftaincy to another since 1900 does not seem to have substantially modified the overall balance of Kanembu clans' politico-territorial control and residential distribution through a band of territory extending from N'jigdada to Mondo. In this area, the clan can frequently be defined as an homogeneous territorial unit characterised by a high level of economic self-sufficiency within the framework of the semi-sedentary agro-pastoral economy. In the case of politically more influential groups, colonial and post-colonial segmentation of village communities appears recurrently to have given rise to nearby satellite hamlets rather than distant colony settlements. Yet, this pattern is not always confirmed by inquiries concerning successive clan and village movements. The distribution patterns of villages in terms of clan affiliations may be better viewed on a continuum from high concentration to high dispersion, which itself must be qualified as a function of group population. At one extreme, clan cohesion may become a purely genealogical notion, with no two villages of common descent group affiliation actually being spatially contiguous. Cases of maximum dispersion of group members and village units often correspond to situations of:

- 1) political and economic subordination to the dominant clan in a given area or chieftaincy (as with the Kanembu Bade and many dependent agriculturalists).
- 2) professional specialisation of demographically weak lineages (such as the Duu Kakuluru and Goya of blacksmith status).
- 3) strategic distribution of population in order to achieve maximal control over dependent groups (this being true for the Kanembu Kogona).

Among the subordinate stratum of the Kanembu population, some Duu or Kajidi lineages, for example, attain a demographic scale which, given minimal conditions of economic autonomy (i.e. a certain access to irrigated land and pasturage and the right to purchase and raise cattle), allow them to compete with or at least resist some Kanembu clans politically. Nevertheless, proportionately more Duu than Kanembu clans and lineages assert genealogical autonomy without exercising corporate control over sufficient resources to achieve economic autonomy. It must be noted that, today, the majority of these small lineage groups are not professionally specialised but have, for the last century at least, been poor dependent cultivators subject to greater or lesser expropriation of produce by Kanembu and even certain stronger Duu clans. Of the latter, it is clear that the Duu Adia, Bara, Darka, Dieri and Rea clans have preserved and developed minimal conditions of economic and political liberty. This, I believe, is borne out by the historical material outlined in Appendix 5.

Among the Duu in general, one notes a marked tendency toward segmentation. It is important to investigate to what extent the desire for economic and social emancipation on the part of the Duu, combined with the progressive slackening of internal controls over their liberty of movement might have fomented a degree of fragmentation and dispersal such as to annul at the political level what has been gained in recent decades in terms of corporate access to land resources. Must subordinate groups within the Kanembu polity abandon their homelands to their masters in order to achieve an acceptable standard of living? These queries will be pursued in Section II, through the case study of the recent evolution of the Duu Rea clan.

CHAPTER FOUR : THE CIRCULATION OF WEALTH AND ASSOCIATED POWER RELATIONS

1. Introduction

In Appendix 1, we briefly considered the two most prominent forms of production in Kanem, namely agriculture and animal husbandry. We have observed that unequal access to agricultural lands and pasturage by different social classes entails differential forms of produce accumulation. This ensures the wealth and perpetuation of a small land-controlling class recruited on an essentially hereditary basis from Kanem's most powerful clans. The basic inequality which distinguishes this cattle-holding and tribute-collecting aristocracy from the dependent peasantry is directly experienced in the distribution and relative influence of lineage-vested offices. It is through the control of these administrative posts that the flow of tribute from the dependent peasantry to the aristocracy is managed and enforced.

Tribute collectors form a restricted, quasi-hereditary class organised in what may be described as a pyramidal hierarchy with the alifa of Mao and a handful of other notables at its summit. Aristocrats have the option of converting their proceeds of cattle and cereals into quasi-monetary tenders or of redistributing them to dependants to perpetuate or expand relationships of subordination. Persons who hold large amounts of grain, cattle or money have the possibility of realising supplementary profits by selectively commercialising them so as best to profit from seasonal fluctuations in availability (cf. World Bank 1974 : xi). The process of differential capital accumulation and the hierarchical ordering and structural differentiation of kin-based socio-political groups are at the basis of class divisions in Kanembu society. The complexity of this process warrants beginning this chapter on the circulation of wealth and related political

topics with a relatively detailed examination of the evolution of taxation in Kanem from the pre-colonial period to the present day. This exposé should be read as a complement to that on the administrative organisation of the Kanembu clan and polity presented in Chapter Three and of the relationships of subordination described in Chapters One and Two.

There is one further condition essential to the operation of the Kanembu economy which we have not yet discussed. This is the production of metal implements and other artisanal goods and services for the agricultural and animal husbandry sectors. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the artisanal sector was also the principal purveyor of arms to the repressive apparatus constituted by the aristocratic Kanembu warriors, their allies and clients.

In pre-colonial Kanem, the aristocracy controlled the production of manufactured wares by enforcing the monopolies of casteed Duu producers. Professional castes were organised on the basis of hereditary access to each trade and perpetuated by the general marital prohibition separating Duu and non-Duu. The waning of the patrilineal clan's military functions under French rule and the concomitant introduction of cheap imported industrial goods and primary materials by French merchants substantially modified the economic and social organisation of the Duu stratum. Interestingly, the important changes in the organisation of craft production which occurred during the first half of the 20th century did not entail the elimination of the marked social differentiation of the Duu stratum in relation to other Kanembukanembu-speakers. It would seem that the endogamic divisions and correlative hierarchical relationships between Duu and Kanembu lineages derive from the fundamental Kanembu principle of "natural" social inequality rather than solely from circumscribed, functional

socio-economic differentiations, such as hereditary group professional specialisation. It can be argued that the Duu - Kanembu division is, by its absolute quality, the ideological keystone of the Kanembu system of social stratification. Twentieth century Kanembu history demonstrates the perdurance of Duu status beyond the once critical dependence of the agro-pastoral economy on artisanal production. New forms of inequality in relationships of production between Duu and non-Duu developed through the artisans' inclusion in a widening dependent peasantry and the application of more "discrete" methods of surplus extortion by the aristocracy, thanks to the complicity of successive national governments.

We will continue this chapter by considering the evolution of trade and commerce within and beyond Kanem from the late 1800's to date. A large share of Kanem's staple production is consumed by the farmer and his family. Nonetheless, the market plays an important role in the conversion of non-durables into capital goods by those who can afford to stock staples long enough to profit from seasonal fluctuations in availability. A minimal description of market mechanisms is thus necessary to an understanding of the Kanembu class system.

Finally, we will try to illustrate how the creation of outside firms with relatively high capital endowments from the Chadian state and its foreign underwriters reinforced rather than weakened existing class differences. Indeed, so far, attempts to promote basic changes in the production, commercialisation and profit-taking procedures of the agricultural and cattle husbandry sectors offered unique opportunities for the Kanemi aristocracy to compensate for decreases in their fiscal and tributary income.

2. Taxation

The two major, hereditarily transmissible forms of wealth in Kanembu society are usufruct rights over fertile grounds and cattle. The first is subjected to a complex and locally variable set of obligatory prestations which reflect different levels of collective ground rights. The second, largely concentrated in the hands of the rich Kanembu, has traditionally not been so rigorously taxed as the produce of the land. Herds are the ideologically and fiscally privileged form of capital in Kanemi society. Agriculture however, is the indispensable mainstay of the economy and of the hisrarchical circulation of wealth, which principally benefits the owners of the largest herds.

In Kanembu customary law, rights over arable land are vested in named, locally-anchored or fully localised patrigrups whose leaders are office holders within the administrative framework defined by the alifal authority. These offices define nodal points of articulation in the relations between descent groups, themselves hierarchically ordered in a pyramidal structure. Distinct clans or lineages of unequal or comparable status may exercise varying degrees of control over a given plot or territory; they may also claim or forego different forms of taxation and tributs from persons and descent groups who exercise indefinite but not perpetual cultivation rights on these lands. The resulting confusion of jurisdictions is reflected in the sometimes partially overlapping, even redundant, functions of such local officers as the digeji, mara b'lai or b'lama. The potentially conflicting attributes of these offices reflect successive conquests and changes in the interlineage power balance. At the risk of oversimplification, it may be suggested that this process relegates occupants of longer standing from offices of economic importance to

offices of ritual importance.

Each male adult accedes to usufruct rights as a resident member of his father's lineage. When his father dies, a man "inherits" no more than the reaffirmation of a patrilineally transmitted right dependent for its fulfillment on his continued presence and labour. Both individual and collective usufruct rights over plentiful duneland and scarcer irrigated plots lapse if the land is not actually cultivated. Specific functionaries were and are entrusted with maintaining relative equality of access to scarce land and water in order that the domestic needs of all might be satisfied. Inequality emerges in determining the share of produce and, sometimes, corvées, each household head will have to furnish at harvest, planting and watering times to officials ranging from the digeji through lineage notables to the alifa of Mao.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the definition and application of norms of taxation vary greatly through time and from place to place. Given the multiplicity of historical precedents under the Bulala, Bornuran, Wadayan, Awlad Sliman, French and Chadian régimes, the definition of locally appropriate taxes in Kanembu jurisprudence is always open to debate and revision. One must also consider that the shifting power balance in interclan relations and the interests of successive overlords of Kanem naturally leave much room for variation in effective possibilities of tax collection once fiscal norms have been agreed upon or imposed. Thus, the following description could hardly purport to be exhaustive.

Land taxes may be formally divided into those applied to the produce of irrigated land versus non-irrigated land. In most places, wadi grain production in absolute quantities is smaller than that of dunelands. Yet irrigated farming is crucial in that it offers a

fairly dependable guarantee against the high yearly variations in yield of dry farming. The control over wadis is thus a crucial element in determining a clan's economic and political status.

The basic wadi tax, which is today the most general, is the mud. The term stems from the Arabic mudd or midd signifying a measure which varies in content from two pints to a bushel (Nachtigal 1971 : 413). The midd or midd el-fatr is the measure used in determining the volume of grain given in payment of the zakat el-fatr, theoretically payable on the 'Id el-Fatr, the feast day which ends the month of Ramadan. In Kanem, the mud is a ground rent collected by the alifa and the chefs de canton (formerly the most prominent chiefs) on the produce of wadis and palm groves. For wadis, the volume due is six zaka per plot of 10 to 20 ares and per harvest. One must be careful not to confuse the Koranic tithe or Zakat, and the Kanembu zaka or jaka which is a unit of volume often equivalent to approximately 2.5 kg of millet, though variable in space and time. Further confusion may also derive from the fact that the zaka is colloquially termed a koro, which is itself divided into six measures of about 400 g. of millet called zaka too. Maillard (1951a: 55) estimates that the mud represents a produce levy of some 12% for cereal cultures. In some areas of South Kanem, the mud was (is ?) collected by the digeji in the hut of the mera b'lei. The return is divided between the chef de canton and the mera b'lei in the respective proportions of 2/3 and 1/3. In precolonial times, the mud went to the "turban holders" of major chieftaincies only, such as Mao and N'guri. In vassal chieftaincies, the alifa claimed half the mud, leaving the remaining half to the local chief rather than the village headman. Such was the case in the former Duu and Teda-Daza areas of Dibinenchi, Bari Kolom, N'tiry and Matiu.

Date palms are taxed at a fixed rate of one zaka per tree.

Maillard (1951a : 55 - 56) notes that in the Mao chieftaincy, a grove owner could forfeit half of his palms to the alifa in order to be permanently exempted of the mud on the produce of his remaining trees. The alifa redistributed the palms thus acquired to his local protégé.

Payment of the mud was systematically practised at least as late as the end of the colonial period. The mud is still probably the most persistent of traditional forms of taxation.

The kwi is a ground rent equal to $1/6$ of every harvest. It is paid, contrarily to the mud, only by cultivators working a wadi plot under the jurisdiction of a mara b'lai not belonging to their own clan. The wadi chief redistributes the proceeds of the kwi among a variable number of notables of his lineage. This tax penalises emigration by men from their clan territory of origin but inversely advantages those clans who control sufficient lands to concede cultivation rights to immigrants. Kwi is the plural of kale, a cultivated square covering 3 to 4 m² of ground. Irrigated fields are divided into kwi separated by ditches 20 to 30 cm wide which canalise the water drawn from collective kemaye or shadoof wells. Seven kwi equal 1 jerwe or 'cord' (from je meaning fibre rope). The average individual wadi plot known as the zufa often measures 1 jerwe by 4 kwi.

Certain of Maillard's (1951a : 56, n.) informants assert that the kwi was formerly known as the kiski; others state that the kiski is the local Kanembu name for a tax which the Bornuan kogona who accompanied the first alifas to Kanem were later to baptise de(g)a. Maillard believes that at the time of the first viceroys, there existed both a kwi and a kiski, both being payable to the earth chiefs. The alifas, he suggests, then replaced the kiski by a tax of an equal amount due to their own treasury rather than to the mara b'lai and digeji.

Bouilllié (1937 : 227), probably referring to the nineteenth century, implies that the kiski was exclusively collected by the alifa and the fugbu in precolonial times. After the French occupation, however, it would seem that certain lesser chiefs reinstated this tax after selling all or part of their land to local notables :

"Formerly, the alifa of Mao and the fugbu of Mondo collected a sovereignty tax called kiski from all ethnic groups under their authority with the exception of their own. Understandably, this tax was to disappear as the country was organised in groupements and in independent cantons. In practice, the population was relieved of this tax for a few years, but some chiefs regained confidence and once again demanded it from those they administered or from their subordinates. These chiefs either sold all or part of their lands to a member of their family or to a notable of their canton."
(My translation)

Bouilllié (1937 : 227) rates the kiski at one half of the harvest of irrigated lands in addition to the kwi and the dea, not to mention the mararom, the jaka and the jaka digeji (see below). It is probable that he confused the kiski with the metayage levies, generally of 50%, due from tenants who engage in the morfai agreement (see above, Chapter 2, p. 86). Southern Kanembu with whom I spoke said that along the lake shores the kiski persisted at least until the first decades of this century as a yearly tax of 6 koro (15 kg) of millet payable as follows : 2 koro to the cultivator's village headman and 4 koro to the Kuri Kora paramount chief (today chef de canton of Isserom) who held global and pre-eminent land rights over the area.

Whatever its nominal rate, the kiski amounts to a capitation often disguised as a ground rent proportional to the surface cultivated. This is confirmed by the universal fiscal basis of the tax; according to time and place, the kiski was imposed on the produce of irrigated and/or dunelands. In this it is complementary to rather than a variant of the kwi. The ambiguities in the respective definitions noted

by Maillard (1951 a) might be related to the fact that the alifas used the kiesi as a means of acquiring pre-eminent land rights over lands to which they were, after all, foreign on their arrival in Kanem during the seventeenth century.

We will now make brief mention of those quantities due to the digeji. These are levied on the basis of land rights which are generally prior in origin to those of clans today invested with canton chieftaincies. Exception must be made for those Duu groups in which the functions of 'land priest' and lineage notable were not strictly distinguished. In South Kanem, the jerom or kanurom, the jaka k'lakum and even the jaka kuljo may be hypothetically viewed as residual elements of a fiscal system possibly developed under the Bulala. These practices lost force of custom in the face of the more centralised taxation slowly implemented by the Bornuan viceroys. However, the symbolic and political importance of these taxes cannot, even today, be neglected. They are now inadequate to keep substantial amounts of agricultural surpluses within the village community or the local chieftaincy, but they do serve as proof of priority of occupancy vis-à-vis stronger clans or the alifal government.

Jerom means 'rope tax' and kanurom 'fire tax'. Both names designate the payment made to the digeji who cleans the wadi by fire before planting and who surveys the surfaces attributed to each cultivator with a rope. This tax is also applicable when the digeji clears undergrowth in a wadi which has been temporarily abandoned, for example, following natural flooding which can persist for several years during periods of higher than average rainfall. At harvest time, the digeji is given a koro (2.5 kg) of millet, or, today, its monetary equivalent of the moment, by each family head in compensation for his services. The digeji's ritual purity and diplomatic talents ensure both the fertility of the fields and the peaceful distribution of plots.

A second due, known as the jaka k'lakum or 'zakat of the shaven head', is also given to the digeji at each harvest. This payment is concomitant with that of the dea (see below) to the local chief (mara). From the time of sowing to reaping, it is forbidden for the digeji to shave his head, for such an act would directly menace the harvest. The jaka k'lakum is fixed at one koro per individual plot (zufa) per harvest. This tax has what might be termed a Koranic counterpart in the jaka kuljo. Kuljo means soapberry tree (Balanites aegyptiaca). It is on a board made of its wood that Koranic inscriptions are written by the faki and then placed in the wadi during pre-planting propitiatory ceremonies destined to ensure the protection and fertility of the grounds. The malle, who may find himself engaged with the digeji in this ceremonial, is recompensed with a gift of 1 koro of grain per cultivator per harvest. The jaka kuljo, as the ierom and the jaka k'lakum, are still paid in many wadis.

The ground taxes we have just described are or are purported to be proportional to the surfaces worked by each farmer. We must also consider agricultural taxes which are capitations levied on all adult males; indeed, even non-farmers must settle them in kind or currency. Other than the rather poorly known kiski which seems to have been reintroduced in a modified form during the 1930's and 40's, the alifal administration imposed throughout Kanem, Mondo chieftaincy excepted (see below for this area), a head tax called the dea k'laverom. The dea, also pronounced dega, is a large hemispherical basket which, when filled to the brim, contains about 15 kg of millet or grains. It is hence equivalent to six zake (koro) of c. 2.5 kg. K'laverom can be translated as 'share of the turban'. Dea k'laverom could be rendered as 'sovereignty tax' or simply 'tribute'. The general rate applied is

said to have been 6 zaka a year per adult male. It was paid in kind. Proceeds went to paramount chiefs (Mao, Mondo) whose fellow lineage members were exempt. The individual's quota was supposed to have been stable whatever the surface he cultivated. Bouillière writes (1937 : 231) that in the Mao chieftaincy the dea was levied at one mud per lugan (individual plot of unspecified size) rather than per man. Given the arbitrary and changing quality of this chief's administration, such a statement is quite plausible. The dea brings to mind the old Muslim jiziya imposed on all active males among subordinated pagan populations. It would be very hazardous to venture any guess as to whether the dea levy is still directly or indirectly practised. Some informants referred to the persistence of such tribute around Mao and other places, especially among low status dependents. Further confirmation of this is required.

Kanemi ground taxes on the produce of dune cultures number only two to my knowledge. They are the dukuiya and the mararom. The first disappeared only a few years after the arrival of the French whereas the latter was collected into the 1930's at least. Their elimination tended to favour the herding elements of the population who had limited access to irrigated lands; I here refer principally to the North of Kanem. Inversely, it increased the relative value of wadi lands for those who exercised taxation rights over such grounds.

Dukuja designates the wooden, scaffold-like watch tower used to overlook fields, particularly to detect grain-eating birds and insects. The tax known by the same name was paid to the ground chief (generally a mara hlai). It complemented the kwi which taxed wadi produce. Its rate, like that of the kwi, was 1/6 of each harvest. The passing of the dukuiya from fiscal practice paralleled the introduction of more efficient tax controls by the colonial administration. The process of

"simplification" favoured by the French facilitated the encroachment of village headmen (b'lama) into the realm of competence of the earth chiefs (mara b'lai and digeji). Bouillie (1937 : 231) mentions the "douqouchi" tax being paid in the Mao chieftaincy at the rate of 1 mud per lugan to the "chef de tribu ou de village", the earth chiefs receiving only the mararom and jaka digeji respectively. [He does not report the dukuiya among the Tunjur and their subordinates (Bouillie 1937 : 230 - 231).] Dalatoo lineage chiefs are known to have received a dukuiya equivalent to the dea of the alifa or that of major South Kanemi chiefs. "Official" rates of ground taxation in Dalatoo country were/are higher (indeed double ...) at certain times and in certain places compared with those applied to cultivators of either the Duu or Kanembu chieftaincies of the South or the Mondo area).

The mararom or 'share of the chief' was paid to the earth chief concerned with the administration and distribution of dunelands. The functions of the mara and the blama are often no longer distinguishable and may be exercised by the same person. The mararom was a heavy tax of 6 zaka per plot and harvest and was paid in kind. It was equivalent to the mud or dea k'laverom but was entirely destined to the local lineage headman rather than higher authorities. It is said to have almost disappeared by the 1930's.

The last of the major taxes in Kanem is the sadaka which is legitimated on religious rather than temporal grounds. Its principle particularity is that it may be collected on herds as well as on harvest. It stems from the Islamic zakat, a prestation which is a legally required alms levied on Muslims at the rate of 1/10 on the produce of naturally watered lands and of 1/20 on that of irrigated fields, presumed to demand a larger labour input. In theory, payment of the zakat may be required on harvests exceeding 1600 rotls or approximately 720 kg. of

cereals. In Kanem, the principle tax on agricultural produce was not the Islamic zakat but the indigenous daa. The Koranic tithe, known throughout most of northern and eastern Chad as the zaka, is called sadaka or sadaa in Kanem. The sadaka should only be taken on individual grain harvests in excess of 80 mud of 6 zaka (koro), that is, about 960 kg. of millet. Bouillie (1937 : 229) notes that in practice, many chiefs demand it on yields of less than 20 mud. Under these conditions, the sadaka is no longer a legal alms mainly paid by the rich but an additional ground tax affecting the quasi-totality of the peasantry. Custom does restrain requisition of the sadaka to so-called plentiful years. Thus, little was collected during the famine year of 1949, but the due was immediately reimposed after a good harvest in 1950 (Maillard 1951b : 13). It is almost impossible to assess the extent of payments at present. Yet, it is common knowledge that the sadaka has not been phased out as have some of the previous taxes discussed. Its "Koranic and customary" character have made it particularly resistant to fiscal reforms undertaken by the colonial and then national administrations.

Was the sadaka ever a Koranic alms allowing for a certain redistribution of wealth in favour of the less privileged in Kanem ? It is rather difficult to see how the proceeds of the sadaka were or are recirculated by their "rightful" collectors. The tax is taken by the mara b'lai who was formerly assisted by the digaji or a comparable office holder. Two thirds of the alms went to the clan head or the alifa and one third remained with the village headman. Today, two thirds go to the alifa or the chef de canton and one third to the b'lama recognised by the Chadian administration. The sadaka may long remain a supple fiscal instrument which allows power holders to compensate for fluctuations and "disequilibria" affecting other

budgetary resources. The alifa, as religious head of Kanem, disposes of large shares of sadeka proceeds to the exclusion of the mallams. This prestation is "voluntary" and is hence not affected by national civil or fiscal law. The sadeka offers the additional facility to its collectors of being imposable on any form of wealth whether agricultural, animal or mineral. Thus it may indirectly replace, granted the power necessary to back such extortion, any other form of taxation which has become temporarily or permanently inopportune.

The tumna, a now-extinct tax on cotton, offers a revealing example of how the accumulation of marketable resources was controlled by the nobility. I believe that the word tumna is based on the verb tumturu which means to clad or to dress. Contrarily to other taxes and levies, the tumna was not handed over to local authorities by the farmer himself. The rate was arbitrarily and variably fixed by the alifa (Kanembu country) the mai (Kuri country) or the fugbu (Mondo chieftaincy) (cf. Bouillia 1937 : 228). It could vary from clan to clan or individual to individual. The mara b'lai or the digeji sought the assistance of elder women in the task of collection. They were sent to take a portion of the first harvestable cotton in all wadis where the culture was practised. The women were sent back to the fields a fortnight later to collect a variable quantity of fibre. The pickings were subsequently divided between the mara b'lai and the paramount chiefs who controlled the wadie concerned. Granted the semi-monetary role of gabak cotton strips, the tumna was an important lever in regulating capital accumulation among the Kanemi peasantry and, particularly, among the Duu weavers. Arbitrary fluctuation in the rate of taxation ensured the political and economic efficiency of this fiscal tool.

TABLE 4 : TAXATION IN KANEM

NAME OF TAX	PLACE	PERSON AND/OR REVENUE TAXED	AMOUNT	COLLECTOR
<u>MUD</u> (To date with local variations)	Kanem except Mondo	The produce of all wadi plots in the person of all who receive it.	6 <u>zaka</u> per harvest in kind	2/3 to the <u>chef de canton</u> or <u>alifa</u> 1/3 to <u>b'lama</u>
	Dibinenchi, Bari - Kolom, N'tiry, Matiu			1/2 of the <u>chef de canton's</u> share went to the <u>alifa</u>
	Kanembu of Baderi, N'jigdada and the Lake Shore			2/3 to <u>alifa</u> 1/3 to <u>b'lama</u>
	Mao, N'jigdada	Dates	1 <u>zaka</u> per harvest in kind	<u>alifa</u> , <u>dime</u>
<u>KWI</u> (Until 1950 or later in some localities)	Kanem except Mondo	Produce of each <u>kele</u> of natural wadis for those foreign to the lineage of the masters of the earth.	1/6 of each harvest in kind	1/1 to the <u>maru b'lai</u> or equivalent office holder with variable redistribution among members of his lineage
<u>JEROM/KANUROM</u> (To date in many wadis)	Kanem except Mondo	Each farmer	1 <u>zaka</u> after each plot distribution; in kind or today, currency	1/1 to the <u>digeli</u> or equivalent office holder
<u>JAKA K'LAKUM</u> (To date in many wadis)	Kanem except Mondo	The produce of all wadi plots in the person of all who receive it.	1 <u>zaka</u> per plot per harvest in kind	1/1 to the <u>digeli</u> or equivalent office holder
<u>JAKA KULJO</u> (To date in many wadis)	Kanem except Mondo	Each farmer	1 <u>zaka</u> per harvest in kind	1/1 to the <u>faki</u> responsible for propitiatory ceremonies at wadi

NAME OF TAX	PLACE	PERSON AND/OR REVENUE TAXED	AMOUNT	COLLECTOR/S
<u>DEA K'LAVEROM</u> (persistence difficult to assess especially around Mao, among subordinate lineages, ex-slaves etc.)	Kanem except Mondo before 1900	Each farmer's dune millet; in reality a capitation on all adult males	6 <u>zaka</u> per farmer; in kind or currency for non-farmers	1/1 to turbaned chiefs (Mao, N'guri, etc.)
<u>KISKI</u> (Until about 1910; then again, sometimes during the 30's, 40's ...?)	Mao, Mondo, N'guri ?	Capitation on all adult males except those of chief's lineage	probably 6 <u>zaka</u> per year in kind	All or most to the <u>alifa</u> , <u>fugbu</u> or <u>kajala</u> .
	Kur i Kora lands		6 <u>zaka</u> per year in kind	2/3 to the Kuri <u>mai</u> 1/3 to <u>b'lama</u>
<u>DUKUJYA</u> (Until about 1910)	Kanem except Mondo	Dune millet of farmers foreign to the lineage of the masters of the earth	1/6 of each harvest in kind	1/1 to the <u>mara</u>
<u>MARAROM</u> (Until 1930's at least)	Kanem except Mondo	Dune millet of all farmers	6 <u>zaka</u> per plot per harvest in kind	1/1 to the <u>mara</u>
<u>SADAKA</u> (Persistence difficult to assess)	Kanem	Cereal harvests in excess of 480 <u>zaka</u> or often less	When applicable 1/10 dune millet 2/10 wadi millet	2/3 <u>alifa</u> , lineage head or <u>chef de canton</u>
		Bovine herds	Progressive; cf. P. 164	1/1 <u>alifa</u> and some other Kanembu chiefs
<u>TUMNA</u> (Until 1940's)	Kanem Kuri Kora lands	Cotton harvests	At discretion of collector	Divided between <u>alifa</u> or <u>mai</u> and masters of the earth

Brief comparative reference to fiscal practices among the agro-pastoral populations of two neighbouring chieftaincies of South Kanem, namely those of Mondo and the Kuri lands, will help to better underline certain specific characteristics of the Kanembu system of ground taxation.

The Tunjur of Mondo were fiscally autonomous from Mao during most of the 19th century because of their status as vassals of the kingdom of Waday. The Wadayans considered the fugbu of Mondo to be governor in their name of Southeast Kanem. Thus, even Kanembu and Duu Kanembu resident there acquitted their taxes to the Tunjur chief or his local representatives. Until occupation by the French, three principal agricultural taxes were applied. The mud ez-zere or 'field tax' was probably comparable to the Kanembu dukuja. The zaka of one tenth of the harvest was levied also. Its rate was theoretically defined in accordance with Islamic law. Lastly, the m'qidi, of non-Arabic origin, was a tax comparable to the jaka k'lakum and the jaka kulja combined. According to Bouilllié (1937 : 231), the m'qidi was calculated at 3 zaka of millet per field and was split between the faki and the m'barema or mara b'lai.

The administrative reorganisation carried out by the French had as a consequence the disappearance of the mud ez-zere and the zaka. These taxes were replaced by a mud (Ar.) or dea (Kb.) rated at 6 zaka per individual plot ; two thirds of this went to the village headman and one third to the m'barema. This change favoured local authorities and land holders over Tunjur rulers all to the latter's despair and to the joy of the alifa.

The simplicity of Tunjur taxation compared to the Kanembu system may be accounted for largely by the absence of wadi cultures in those areas controlled by the fugbu. In spite of a presumably Bornuan component in the m'qidi, the Tunjur fiscal system was more in accord with

Sharia prescriptions than that of the Kanembu. Yet, the two systems do share a predominantly agricultural basis which largely exempts cattle from taxation (see below). This trait could possibly be related to the processes by which formerly nomadic rulers adopted an almost sedentary way of life among their subjects; this would have entailed the transformation of husbandry among the ruling class from an almost exclusive activity to a complementary one which ensured the accumulation of herds thanks to the systematic exploitation of the agricultural sector.

Ground rent also formed the keystone of the tax system among the Kuri and the Kanembu and Duu groups they governed. Nachtigal (1881: 375) reports how the Kuri Kalea paramount chief Kuku collected a dual ground tax at that time :

"Immediately after the Chad has again found a normal surface level following the rainy season, newly exposed arable land is surveyed, spearshafts being used as units of measure, and distributed among the inhabitants. Each pays a certain amount of cotton strips as land tax, in accordance with the share of the land he is allotted. At harvest time, he must further give some measures (mud, i.e. modius) of the principle cereal grown." (My translation)

This amounts to a seasonally renewable, monetarised compensation for land access rights on one's own clan territory coupled with a variable levy in kind on harvests. According to my informants, the situation was less enviable for the Kuri's dependents. At the turn of the century, the Kanembu Korio resident among the Kuri Kora paid 6 koro of millet to the chief of the later group, 6 to the mara b'lai and 1 to the digeji. The Duu Korio paid 12 koro per harvest to their dependent patrons; 6 were passed on to the mara b'lai (generally a Kuri Kora) and 6 kept by the latter. In addition, the Duu furnished labour prestations to the Kanembu Korio at planting and harvest times. This was compensated only by small gifts of fresh and sour milk and sometimes, a little liquid butter. Before the arrival of the French, all adult males,

whether Kanembu or Duu, paid an annual capitation of 10 koro of millet to the Kuri chief. This would appear to correspond to a local variant of the dea k'laverom and must be added to the kiski of 6 koro, 2 of which went to the b'lama and 4 to the Kuri chief. This is just one instance of how local realities could exceed already harsh general fiscal norms. Similar "surtaxing" was not untypical in the Dibinenchi and Bari districts, where I had more difficulty in obtaining dependable information.

Among all three of these semi-sedentary peoples practising a mixed economy (Kanembu, Tunjur Arab and Kuri), one notes a policy of making heavy levies on all forms of agricultural production while animal husbandry remains almost tax-exempt. The Kanembu Dalatoo system, however, is more complex and variable than that of their immediate neighbours in view of the size and composite nature of the population administered by the alifas. A major object of Dalatoo fiscal policy was to extinguish local taxes such as those which prevailed in the Kuri chieftaincies and which influenced the southern Duu and Kanembu. This goal of fiscal uniformisation was also favoured by the French through their Kanembu protégés in order to further the political centralisation of Kanem and adjacent areas. In Dalatoo-administered territories and their dependancies, Islamic fiscal prescriptions were (are) applied in an opportunistic and erratic fashion when compared with the practices prevalent among the Tunjur and also the more southerly "Shuwa" Arabs. Islamic legal heritage thus emerges as an ideologically necessary frontispiece which is always deployed but never consistently followed up. One finds systematic distortion of Sharia principles in exaggerated extensions of the basis and concept of zakat, illicit levies on small harvests, the non-redistribution of certain "alms", the imposition of capitations of a type only applicable to infidels ... in addition to a mud for Muslims resident on Muslim land.

Certain taxes mentioned above could be of pre-Bornuan origin. However, it is impossible to reconstruct them into a hypothetical system on the sole basis of informants' vague ideas about old forms of local government and fiscality. Still, even today, the levy rights of certain local communities may be granted a limited degree of recognition in preference to rights of conquest. The principle of legitimacy of certain degrees of land control on the basis of priority of occupancy and uninterrupted cultivation endured in the mararom, the jerom, the jaka k'lakum and even the jaka kuljo. This allowed some retention of resources by the dominant lineages of small territorial units in the face of larger clans.

Those taxes which are generally recognised as the most ancient reflect an agrarian fiscal basis in which two types of agricultural revenue are distinguished. The produce of dry farming was taxed by the dukuja and that of irrigated lands through the kwi. Both are rated at one sixth of the harvest and thus exceed Koranic norms. Both favour the fiscal autonomy of the village unit by reinforcing accumulation in the hands of the mara b'lai and the mara. The dukuja might well have been the major tax in volume of return and social importance for it affected the staple production of all adult males irrespective of their access to irrigated lands. Coupled with the kwi it ensured the pre-eminence of local, lineage-vested rights rather than the predominance of paramount chiefs. The latter's "sovereign" rights were recognised in the kiki, though it is now hard to tell whether this levy was originally a sovereignty capitation legitimated and monopolised on the basis of Bornuan power, a more local tax restricted to lower order chieftaincies, or both successively.

The Kanembu fiscal system elaborated by the alifas distorts Shari'a prescriptions and excludes the religious class in matters of taxation.

In addition, the Dalatoa achieved an almost total reduction of the former fiscal prerogatives of all subordinate political instances of the province.

Key procedures in the implementation of this policy were:

- a) plunder or the "right of requisition"
- b) the establishment of the dea k'laverom
- c) the replacement of the kwi by the mud.
- d) the abusive, "all-purpose" use of the sadaka

These tendencies emerge, according to oral accounts, at least as early as the middle of the 19th century, plunder, of course, being primeval. Plunder was theoretically eliminated by the French in its more overt forms. The three remaining practices, however, proved favourable to colonial policies characterised by fiscal "simplification", monetarisation and rechanneling of a share which once sustained village administration through the national administration.

The advent of colonial rule and the subsequent formation of the Chadian State brought the creation of national taxes. These new burdens for the peasant were not systematically compensated by the elimination of indigenous taxes. This was particularly true in those provinces where pre-colonial polities had attained high levels of administrative sophistication. Even the rebellions which have spread through North Chad since the early 1960's have had, by 1974, limited effect on abusive local fiscal practices, especially in Kanem.

The taxe civique has long been a primary object of popular discontent. Decalo (1977 : 270 - 271) states that it is :

"... payable annually by all men (and since 1968, with a great deal of resistance by all women as well) between the ages of 18 and 60 with an income of less than 60,000 CFA francs per year ... The tax varied in the past from 300 CFA in the north to 1400 CFA in the more prosperous south and urban centres, but in 1968 — when extended to women — it was decided upon a uniform 900 CFA tax plus 100 francs for the Rural Development Fund for an effective total of 1000.

Taxes are assessed and levied by village and regional chiefs who normally keep a certain amount for themselves, usually 10 percent ... With the increased fiscal stresses on the Chad budget in the mid-1960's major efforts were made to better and more fully collect the various taxes, causing serious unrest which was exacerbated by corrupt tax collectors doubling or tripling taxes assessed and pocketing the difference. A direct result of these practices were the various rebellions that erupted in the country One of the first actions of the Mission de Réforme Administrative (sic).... despatched from France to Chad to help quell civil disturbances in the country was to recommend that all taxes be annulled for a number of years in the light of the ravages of the civil war and Sahelian drought. Effective for 1971 this was decreed for the S.E.T. and other parts of Chad's northern and eastern prefectures."

In spite of increasing fiscal pressure and effective military repression (1967),/^{no} outright rebellion took place in Kanem. The alifa successively pacted with the southern-dominated governments of Tombalbaye and Mallum, and pursued a very heavy-handed "traditional" fiscal policy with the central authorities' implicit approval. With the victory of the very divided northern rebels, taxation could henceforth undergo important transformations at both the national and Kanemi levels.

As a general rule, herds in pre-colonial Kanem were of the domain of the plunderable rather than of the taxable. This might seem strange in an agro-pastoral society in which cattle-raising was the principal activity for certain sectors of the population and in certain areas, notably North Kanem. Such a fiscal disposition is, nonetheless, not foreign to the logic of Kanemi social stratification. The average size of a man's herd was related, by and large, to his position in the class system. The large herder was often a warrior whose main pre-occupation was to protect his cattle and that of his lineage members while plundering those of vulnerable neighbours. Cattle raids were not infrequently directed toward the rich Daza of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and other easterly zones under Wadayan protectorate. Low-status activities such as watering, caring for and pasturing herds were left to the cattle - poor or cattle-less slaves, Duu and other maskin subordinates.

As far as I was able to learn, the only major exception to the virtual tax exemption of Kanembu cattle was the rather lax enforcement of the religious sadaka on animal holdings. In principle, it was payable annually at the rate of one young bullock per 30 head of horned cattle (beasts of all ages being tallied), one mare on herds of 40 to 59 head, two young bullocks on those of 60 to 69, one mare and one bullock from 70 to 79 beasts, two mares on 80 to 129 head and so on. The total receipts of the sadaka was supposed to be allocated to the upkeep of religious establishments and the propagation of Islam... In virtue of their status as "protectors of the faith" for Kanem, the alifas were/are the main beneficiaries of these prestations. According to Sharia norms widely applied in North Chad under the name of zakat, herds of up to five camels, thirty bovines and forty ovines were supposed to be exempt (cf. Maillard 1951b : 8). This excludes from taxation most herders and almost all sedentary agriculturalists practising complementary husbandry. Even if strictly applied, which it certainly was not among notables, the cattle zakat known in Kanem as sadaka is less onerous than the ground rents and produce levies effectively required from the average cultivator. In Kanem, in view of the particularly heavy rate and cumulative character of agricultural taxation, farmers were often forced to sell cattle to pay off the alifa's emissaries, tallymen and raider/"protectors". In this case, we may speak of cattle taxation under the auspices of agricultural taxes.

Direct, and what tried to be systematic, taxation of herds was an almost immediate consequence of the French conquest. Until 1930, such fiscal pressure was relatively slight given the then high price of cattle and a sudden though not full reduction of cattle-looting as standard practice among rich and poor alike. The beginning of the 1930's saw an important slide in the market value of cattle and a simultaneous

increase in tax rates. A 1933 administrative report (Colonie du Tchad 1933) relates that a cow worth 250 francs of the time was taxable at an annual rate of 2 f in 1929 (= 0.8% of its value). By 1933, according to the same document, an equivalent beast brought only 50 to 60 f at sale and warranted a 3 f annual head tax (= c. 5%). By the late 1950's the average tax was around 100 francs C.F.A. (= 200 French francs of that time) for cows which sold for 4,000 to 6,000 C.F.A. (= c. 2%). The effects of such variations are most difficult to interpret given the persistence of a high but variable rate of concealment on the part of herders and not always very persistent efforts by the French to rectify misreporting. Increased taxation is sometimes compensated for by increased "fraudulent" commercialisation towards Bornu, regarded as a most honorable pursuit among all classes of Kanemi.

In 1968, an increased head tax of 170 francs C.F.A. (= 3.40 FF) was imposed by the central government. It was decided that it should be collected separately from the taxe civique which was also increased.

Nelson et. al. (1972 : 161) describe the fortunes of this misguided measure:

"The augmented cattle tax particularly alienated the Muslim stockowners of the northern, central and eastern areas, who were already disaffected ...

Between 1966 and 1970 receipts from the livestock tax declined steadily as herders successfully evaded collections or refused to pay a tax they regarded as discriminatory. Even in 1966, a peak year for collections, the livestock tax amounted to only half of the quotas assessed. It had been assessed in addition to the head tax, which is higher in the south, and was essentially a tax on capital. A number of other charges were levied on animals that were traded : vaccination fees and a variety of market and export duties. These were paid by the traders but were usually passed on to the herders. They amounted to more than 15 percent of market value on exported animals. The aggregate burden of these taxes on the herder may be on the high side. The ethnic groups of herding tradition have been particularly resentful because they felt that the taxes were spent on projects of economic benefit to the south; and they could often witness examples of misappropriation waste and high living by minor local officials."

The cattle tax mainly disadvantages the small herder. Large owners are generally notables who are free to acquit their obligations, if and when they do, with the redistributed returns of ground rents collected from the maskin and small cattle herders. The latter must pay both agricultural and cattle taxes to the national government through local notables and its sometimes corrupt representatives. This reinforces existing inequalities in the distribution of wealth and concomitantly reduces the ability of the poor to cope with the effects of drought on animal husbandry.

3. Artisanal Production

Artisans in Kanem do not form an ethnically homogeneous social stratum. The distinction between Dazaga - and Kanembukanembu - speaking craftspeople differentiates the Aza of smith heritage from the Duu of hunter heritage. The small blacksmith groups living among the Duu of south Kanem are to my knowledge all of Aza origin. These metal - workers are often descendants of immigrants from the Bahr el-Ghazal. Many continue to use the Dazaga language among themselves long after having settled in Kanembukanembu-speaking areas. The Kanembu subsumed all craftspeople into the Duu category whether they were of kagelma (blacksmith) or m'barama (hunter) heritage. They also widened the recruitment of the Duu stratum by the forcible incorporation of captive elements. Even today, a superficial analysis of Duu intra-stratum marriage patterns shows that its two culturally and professionally distinct sub-categories long remained reciprocally endogamous to a large extent. The isolating effects of marital avoidance among craftsmen were consolidated at the end of the 19th century by using the principle of patrilineal descent as an important organisational basis in the societal division of labour.

The Kanembu succeeded in integrating all artisans, irrespective of their cultural affiliations, into a single stratum such that all its component professional groups came to be organised as specialised subordinate lineages practising both subsistence agriculture and one or more trades but excluded from cattle husbandry (See Table 5). The artisanal stratum is internally hierarchised in accordance with ideological criteria of professional ranking akin to those prevalent among the Kanuri of Bornu and other Sahelian peoples. Trades are evaluated by members of all social classes on a scale ranging from lowly butcher status to that of goldsmith.

A consequence of these professional and ideological divisions, and the concomitant practice of geographical dispersion of craftspeople, is that Duu lineages are generally smaller and weaker than Kanembu lineages (cf. Chapter 4). Duu patrifocussed groups, as is true of many other dependent social units, may assert their genealogical autonomy but do not generally exercise corporate control over sufficient land resources to be economically autonomous. This exclusion from ownership or access to adequate means of production for the pursuit of a complementary agro-pastoral way of life has perpetuated Duu subordination in spite of the high economic value and the indispensable nature of their production and services.

Professional specialisation is lineage-specific among the Duu, yet artisanal production is undertaken by individuals or with the assistance of members of the domestic unit (fada). In pre-colonial times, only certain activities requiring intensive labour input such as iron ore extraction, smelting or net hunting were undertaken by large groups of craftsmen.

TABLE 5 :

Duu lineage professional specialisation

LINEAGE NAMES	Farmers	Blacksmiths	Hunters	Weavers	Dyers	Tanners	Shoemakers	Saddlers	Mortar Makers	Butchers	Diha Producers	Fishermen	Petty Traders
Adia	✓			✓			✓						
Ayeru	✓			✓	✓								
Bara	✓						✓						
Barabara	✓	✓											
Barau Chulumbu	✓				✓		✓						
Bodassa	✓						✓		✓				
Choronga	✓			✓									
Dalawadaya	✓	✓						✓					
Danka	✓			✓			✓						
Darka	✓			✓			✓						✓
Dieri	✓		✓				✓						
Galdin	✓			✓			✓						
Goya	✓	✓											
Guyu											✓	✓	
Kalla	✓			✓							✓	✓	
Kanku	✓			✓	✓								
Kerda	✓						✓						
Kawlya	✓	✓					✓						
Kei	✓		✓										
K'letti				✓	✓							✓	
Kodia	✓		✓			✓							
Koshia	✓						✓						
Kumbaru	✓			✓	✓								
Kuuri	✓			✓								✓	
Lera	✓												
Limbo	✓			✓									
Limbao	✓												
Loria	✓			✓			✓						
Lukuyin	✓						✓					✓	
Maada	✓							✓					
Mania	✓						✓						
Magami	✓			✓	✓					✓			
N'gala	✓				✓		✓						
Rea	✓			✓			✓						
Sarao	✓				✓								
Sesseye	✓		✓										
Tira	✓			✓									
Iwari	✓				✓		✓					✓	
Warda		✓											
Yeya	✓			✓									

Sources: Le Rouvreur 1962 : 379 and personal enquiries

The sexual division of labour reserved pottery and midwifery to Duu women who are frequently blacksmiths' wives. Cotton weaving may involve members of both sexes in different capacities. All other crafts are reserved to men. The only manufacture not monopolised by the Duu is the weaving of mats, baskets, rope and diverse recipients woven from the leaf or fibre of the dum palm.

The distribution of Duu products is organised in accordance with the way of livelihood of their patrons and, in particular, the relative importance for the latter of cattle raising as opposed to agriculture. "Perpetual" supply arrangements may link a specific Duu group to a given Kanembu lineage. In addition to its specialised production, the client producer with members of his family, also generally caters to multiple domestic and collective needs while performing menial agro-pastoral duties. In such a situation, Duu household heads are attached to individual patron counterparts, thus ensuring the full economic coordination of their respective domestic units. At the collective level, this bond is sometimes manifest in a shared lineage eponym. In certain circumstances, links of siblingship or adoption at the sub-apical level of the patron's clan genealogy may be invoked to legitimise a relationship of subordination in apparent contradiction with the universal endogamic norm. In such cases, the lineage denomination remains the "property" of the Kanembu.

In North Kanem, the Duu or Aza craftspeople tend to camp behind the huts or tents of their patrons or along their routes of transhumance (cf. Chapelle 1957). The artisanal functions of such clients are generally multiple, simultaneously involving metalwork, carving, tanning, leatherwork and pottery. Craftswares are bartered against milk, food staples, goats or poultry according to the terms of long-term contracts.

Bow-and-arrow and net hunting (cf. Nicolaisen 1968 and Chapelle 1957) seem to have disappeared almost completely from South and North Kanem, respectively, during the 1960's. Yet, long before this, essential transformations affected the mode of livelihood and consequently the social organisation of the Duu of m'barama (hunter) heritage. As southern hunters and gatherers tracked ever rarer, indeed disappearing species, their relationship with the dynastic Kanembu became one of reinforced political and economic dependence. This was paralleled by a tightening of professional specialisation by lineage groups, the group-hereditary transmission of specific and hence restricted artisanal skills and a reinforcement of the division of labour at the individual family and collective levels. During the nineteenth century, hunter lineages which had practised a full range of inter-related leather and woodcrafts were brought to exclusive sub-trades such as sandal-making or bannetry. Among the Rea, for example, both the Teteya and Kadiya lineages specialised in cotton production and strip-weaving. Gabak strips could be exchanged for other manufactured wares and foodstuffs of certain kinds, at seasons when they were widely available. The Kadiya, nonetheless, retained a certain ambivalent reputé as hunter-mediciner-diviners (kindira). The few slaves of the Rea were drummers.

For all Duu, whether of hunter or smith heritage, individually defined patron-client relationships were bounded by lineage affiliation. Those Duu subject to agricultural serfdom, like many non-artisanal Kanembu Kajidi, continue to live in small dispersed agricultural camps which are mutable in accordance with the exigencies of the land-controlling class. This condition is only a fine shade apart from that of slave.

French presence in Kanem was largely limited to government and military administration. The province attracted neither European funds nor settlers. Yet, the slowly evolving pre-colonial organisation we refer

to was deeply transformed during the first decades of this century. The iron and cotton industries were the first to be crippled. Metal imports, mainly of French origin, albeit small in volume, made the hard mining treks to North Kanem's low grade ferriferous sands and clays pointless. Iron founders were thus no longer indispensable to the agriculturalist or herder, and even less so to the then declining Kanembu military apparatus. The nobility's cavalry was henceforth confined to the exercise of ceremonial functions. The blacksmith's roles as producer of iron and purveyor of weaponry largely ceased. This restricted the importance of the blacksmith's role as political counsellor and untouchable messenger-middleman to the notable. It also rendered obsolete his traditional functions as recognised intermediary to subterranean forces of the other-worldly realm.

Industrial cottons were not imported in quantity until after 1945, but in the space of scarcely two generations after 1900, cotton growing, spinning, weaving and gabak production had become residual occupations continued only by a few elderly men and women. The tanning and sewing of leather garments, once so typical of the Duu, disappeared even before hunting, for the fringed hide-tunic and skirts once worn by all Kanemi came to acquire an un - if not anti - Islamic connotation along with the animal disguises and dances of the kindira (hunter diviner). Woodcrafts, leather work, pottery and matwork were negatively affected by the introduction of cheap metal and, subsequently, plastics but did not disappear. The availability of foreign commodities modified production in a fashion far more profound than the low nominal value of imports could at first view suggest. The lineage-based professional caste system had become largely obsolete by the second World War.

For the Duu, the change in function from exclusive producer to transformer of imported raw materials and/or trader of foreign and local

wares somewhat destigmatised and rendered more diffuse caste producer status. A growing involvement in "long distance" trade (from N'guri to Maesakory, for example) tends to promote concentration of a lineage's or village's activity around a specific product, often largely manufactured by women, such as dum-leaf goods and pottery. The Duu community thereby becomes a more widely based and more autonomous production unit than the domestic group was formerly. With the introduction of bulk sales of one product to outside merchants or individual consumers by way of the market place, cash sales can now exceed in volume individual- or lineage-defined patron-client exchanges. The latter were based on (sometimes deferred) payments in grains and animals at an exchange rate such that little of the food received could be capitalised through re-sale or trans - seasonal stockage. If this trend toward cash trade continues to develop, it could entail some capital accumulation within the craftspeople's families and domestic communities. This could weaken the traditional expropriative mechanism by which fixed rates of payment in a noble - dominated market only partially compensated the share of his own labour that the artisan channelled away from his personal staple production.

This process which is favourable to the Duu artisan is not facilitated, however, by the wider evolution of the Kanemi class system. The Duu are merging into a new expanding, homogenised stratum distinguishable from other poor agropesteoralists only by the endogamic norm and by the residual practice of trades which imports are rendering largely redundant. The modification of taxation and tribute circuits to the advantage of a national Chadian administration between 1900 and 1977 has indirectly assisted the Duu in acquiring limited land and cattle resources which make their economic position comparable to that of non - Duu dependents. However, the broadening class of poor freemen more dependent on agriculture than animal husbandry, remains enfeodated to the some 5 to 10%

of Kanemi society who accumulate all tributary revenues not passed on to the State as tax. This position ensures the aristocracy's continued preponderant control over capital resources. The restrictive concession of usufruct rights over means of production can thus provide a continuing basis for tributary exactions through share cropping and other profit-taking mechanisms.

4. Trade and commerce

Trade in pre-colonial Kanem was based on widely recognised rates of barter or substitution as well as on the use of or reference to different tenders. Certain basic commodities were exchanged at rates which remained quite stable. One unit of dates, for example, could be hed for two of millet. One ox could generally bring ten goats and a milk cow twenty. A gourd of rancid, liquid butter containing about a litre ordinarily varied in price from four to eight zeka of millet according to season, year and place. Some products were excluded from market transactions. Milk was only given or acquired in return for labour or as a compensatory prestation within a formally defined patron-client relationship. Other products were exchangeable within a restricted economic sphere such as the domestic unit or the village and marketed only in small quantities for specific purposes such as the acquisition of seed or a marriage or feast. This was generally the case for the two most important forms of wealth, millet and cattle.

These rules of barter and restrictions on exchange did not preclude the use of tenders with clearly monetary functions. The most ancient of these is probably cotton in the form of gabek. Duu weavers of the N'guri area recall that at the beginning of the century, 1 Maria Theresa thaler was exchangeable for 12 cotton strip rolls of 20 to 25 cm in diametre. However, its exchangeability for millet was neither constant

nor fixed. Urvoy (1949 : 151) points out the antiquity of the monetary usage of cotton in the Bornuan empire as well as its universality as a reference for the evaluation of other semi-monetary or monetary tenders. Nachtigal confirms that gabak was the most current means of payment in Bornu and neighbouring lands at the time of his stay in Kuka (1870). The specimens he encountered, much shorter than those woven in Kanem, measure only 4 to 6 cm in width and 3 to 4 m in length. He states (Nachtigal 1879 : 690 - 692) that gabak supplanted the copper rotl and continued to circulate along with the cowrie shell in spite of the introduction of silver coinage; however, its quality, and hence value, was then tending to diminish.

Cotton was not cultivated in large-scale plantations which would have been undefendable. The time needed to produce gabak (agricultural labour of men, harvesting by men and women and weaving by women) plus harvest taxation limited the inflationary potential. Availability was not such as to stop imports of Bornu cloth of both mediocre and luxury qualities; both were in fact also prized means of exchange.

Gabak was a precious asset for Duu cultivators who were forbidden to own capital in the form of bovines and horses. They used cotton strips as a prominent part of marital prestations as well as for tax payments at a time when many Duu still dressed in skins. As seen above, this form of accumulation was strictly regulated by the cotton tax called tumne. Yet, Duu populations of South Kanem placed a certain emphasis on cotton cultivation; residual cotton planting may still be found today. Many Dark a Ayeru, Rea, Choronga and members of other groups professionally specialised in gabak weaving. The decline of this profession along with other crafts was concurrent with colonial penetration, the increase and diversification of European imports and the monetarisation of commerce and taxation. The Kanembu nobility here lost a fiscal advantage

but the effect of the disappearance of this only "industrial" culture was proportionately greater on the Kanemi peasantry who lost a form of currency creation. It also closed the most profitable outlet for women's labour, especially in the case of the elderly who could give but little assistance in the fields. As monetarisation gained ground and cotton production decreased with the rise in textile imports, gabak, like silver coinage, was restricted in use to marital prestations, certain tax payments (through conversion into French-printed banknotes), blood-wealth and ground access tolls.

Silver currency in the form of the Maria Theresa thaler, Spanish duros and French francs never attained the quasi-universality as a means of payment as did cotton. This was partially due to its relative rarity and high value in addition to the inconvenience of its limited divisibility. Coins could only be quartered. This practical disadvantage was not palliated by the use of unpopular shells. The cowrie was subject to rates of fluctuation in exchange value sometimes tantamount to demonetisation. Ample but controlled availability coupled with easy fractioning made gabak the most adaptable and stable means of exchange.

French money did not come to be accepted as tender for all types of transactions and prestations. It was difficult to force a producer to sell goods for money when he deemed best to exclude them from circulation beyond his domestic unit or extended family. This is notably the case for staples such as cereals and milk which constitute the most valuable outputs of the Kanemi economy. Such a situation is expectable in a society where the domestic group as the basic unit of production is almost autarkic and the commercialisation of the produce of both husbandry and agriculture is correspondingly low. The preceding exposé on fiscalité shows why, furthermore, it would be perfectly illusory to expect large deliveries of basic commodities on the market places.

Exchange in Kanem is also based on a complex system of credit. Money lending is practised with interest rates running as high as 100% per transaction over variable time periods. Long-term loans are granted with prior agreement on the date of refund. They may be guaranteed on future harvests as well as with jewellery. In order formally to respect the Islamic prescription on usury, traders lend by selling goods at double their value on credit. The purchaser may then proceed to resell these items at the normal market price in order to obtain cash or some desired commodity. Many loans cannot be guaranteed with cattle because this entails trouble, expense and possible loss for the lender. However, there does exist a commonly practised form of livestock sale with privilege of repurchase known as rane. It could be described as a type of "pawning" which foresees compensatory payments covering the increase or decrease in value of each beast while in the custody of the acquirer. Bouillie (1937 : 239) gives a precise description of this type of transaction :

"This sale is concluded orally in front of two witnesses who may be kin to the parties. The time periods are variable : a fortnight, two months, a year ... Even if the animal dies, the seller must return the money whereas the buyer must return nothing, save the hide and the meat. If the animal bears young, these must be given to the seller. When, after the agreed period, the seller fails to provide the promised sum, the animal becomes the property of the buyer and the seller is then held to compensate any loss of value of the animal in cash. In contrast, if the animal's value increases, it is the buyer who must compensate the seller". (My translation)

An institution known as debdu ensures economic solidarity within the sphere of a man's kin, friends and acquaintances. It takes the form of a meal to which the latter are invited on the understanding that they will appear at the festivities with a preferably substantial gift of animals, cereals, cloth or silver or paper currency. Such meetings are called by a man to assist him in reconstituting his patrimony in times of exceptional need. After cattle epidemics or crop failure, debdu may occur in series, acting as a significant horizontal redistributive

mechanism within the scope of the lineage or village. Obligations of matrilineal kinship and alliance here find a most tangible manifestation though patrikin are expected to contribute more. Prestations are tallied and memorised by respected old women who by their very presence act as guarantors of future reciprocity. Their service is compensated by small gifts they receive from the organiser. Debdu is one of the more highly ritualised moments in the rather unceremonially oriented day-to-day life of the Kanembu. The meal is followed by dancing. During the encounter, participants are scrutinised by all present. Their respective contributions are assessed according to what it is thought their relation to the organiser renders appropriate. He who comes to the feast empty-handed would publically disavow a bond of friendship or kinship. He who refuses to come at all would be held in contempt. On the other hand, when one of the donors calls a debdu, he may legitimately expect from his former host and petitioner prestations equal but not superior in value to those he had contributed. Over the years, successive debdu feasts create a most intricate network of reciprocal obligations. For these to be met correctly and elegantly demands an acute awareness of proprieties and social nuance from each participant and, often, willingness temporarily to strain one's own resources.

We thus see that the pre-colonial and, to a large extent, the colonial economies of Kanem were characterised by a high degree of autarky of units of production, well developed credit mechanisms and partial monetarisation. As regards prices and barter rates, one finds a coherent but variable set of norms of exchange principally determined by the reciprocal convertibility of animals and dairy produce for agricultural staples and restrictions on the commercialisation of both these categories of commodities.

This does not imply that trade was negligible. Markets were held weekly at Mao, Dibinerchi, N'guri, Isserom (then called Kanassarom), N'gelea, Hartu and Massakory. Nineteenth century travellers record some interesting data on market transactions. Nachtigal (1881 : 262) visited N'guri market and found "a few donkeys and oxen ...small piles of cotton, maize and millet, spearheads and arrows and, as for foreign wares, a few very sought-after Bornu gowns." Although some 500 people were present, the explorer was poorly impressed and understandably so if one compares N'guri market with that he describes in Kuka (Nachtigal 1879 : 671 and ff.). Sales were mainly of secondary importance. A beast might be sold to obtain the necessary delicacies for a marriage feast; Duu artisans would sell or repair some implements, arms and domestic utensils against cereals. Large quantities of capital goods do not seem to have been exchanged through public market channels. Nachtigal himself was unable to renew his provisions of grain in Kanem even against high quality Bornu gowns. At that particular time, all farmers in the area had agreed to sell millet only in exchange for oxen in order to replenish their herds which had been reduced by lung disease (Nachtigal 1881 : 263).

Many Kanembu engaged in occasional trading but there was also a group of professional merchants in South Kanem. These jelabi traders of Mondo formed a lineage which Nachtigal (1881 : 346) estimated at some 300 members. They traded with Waday, Bornu and the Hausa states and sometimes even with Cairo. They exchanged Bornuan wares with other Arabs in return for camels, dates and ostrich skins which could bring 10 - 12 thalers apiece (Nachtigal 1881 : 234). Nachtigal describes the sedentary areas of Kanem as forming a modest commercial crossroads. There was some irregular traffic on the Bornu - Waday road but the mainstay of trade occurred between Kanemi herder-cultivators and the nomadic groups of the northern periphery. Kanem's main export to Bornu, whence

manufactured goods were imported, was cattle; part of the beasts came from southern herds and others were exchanged against millet with northern pastoralists before being led to Kuka. In times of food penury, the sale of cloth would give way to millet trade. Chronic political unrest often made millet unavailable on the internal market and rendered imports necessary (cf. Barth 1965 II : 282). On the other hand, the availability and trade value of cattle depended more on the effects of epidemics and plundering than on strictly commercial factors (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 249).

The imposition of French rule had several immediate effects on trade and commerce in Kanem. Hostilities between the colonisers and Waday (1900 - 1913) closed the Nile road, and, thus, the Bornu - Waday route. The fall of Bagirmi began to put a stop to the slave trade with that kingdom. The creation of two borders between Kanem and Bornu (i.e. the A.O.F./A.E.F. and Niger/Nigeria boundaries) made "smugglers" of most traders. Direct water communication over the Lake could not be adapted to the transport of large herds of cattle or camels. Lastly, hostilities with the Senussia in North Kanem had a lasting effect on the trans-Saharan trade.

The abrupt cutting off of Kanem's trade links with other lands does not seem to have had too great an effect on internal trade. One can argue that Kanem's autarky was counter-productive for the French in that it slowed the integration of the province into the colonial and imperial markets. The new masters attempted to control commerce in three ways: 1) the creation of a 1% import duty on all products. 2) Variable custom duties and 3) local market taxes in favour of those chiefs recognised by the administration. Commerce adapted to those unconstraining conditions but did not fundamentally change. It was generally easier to avoid the few resident French officials than it had been to escape rsiders in the past.

Chadian state policy is still of French inspiration. It consists in trying to integrate Kanem into the "national economy" (admitting for a moment that such an entity exists). A major tool in implementing this plan has been the creation of state monopolies entrusted with regulating potential export-producing sectors. The prices paid by these firms have been lower, sometimes scandalously so, than those current on local markets. Sales by farmers or herders are "encouraged" when not forced. The net result is the development of clandestine commercial circuits and an increase of cash flow through the hands of certain big men.

The effective non-integration of the Kanemi economy into that of the Chadian State is a major factor in keeping the province's external commerce at a very low level, although the area is rich in comparison to other northern parts of the country. To make matters more difficult, state-financed infrastructure is almost non-existent. Mao is linked to Massekory by a dirt track which is by no means adequate for low cost bulk transport of heavy or perishable commodities such as cattle, cereal or vegetables. Traditional commercial circuits subsist and strive to function on the margins of the state-imposed fiscal apparatus. Internal trade remains low in volume. There are almost no millet exports and attempts to instigate cash-crop production of wheat destined for export or for the cities have not been successful. Even if, under "normal" climatological conditions, cattle exports are in excess of the purported yearly 3% of the herd population, these generally Nigeria-bound exports have little global effect on the Kanemi economy.

Nevertheless, the market network does facilitate the following economic functions:

a) the distribution of imported domestic goods such as kitchenwares, cutlery, soaps, perfumes, clothes, plastic shoes, etc. which have gradually

come to supplant local artisanal production.

b) the marketing of garden produce (condiments, vegetables etc.), mainly undertaken by women, and which does represent a valuable complement to the staple diet.

c) nomad-sedentary commerce which, as before, basically involves the exchange of millet, wheat and dates against bovines. This trade is mainly carried out on the northern markets but is being considerably disrupted by the general southerly movement of nomads in response to the recent drought which, to an extent, continues today. Over the years, this pattern could considerably reduce the complementarity of the southern and northern Kanemi economies and create considerable tension over land use and water rights.

d) compensatory, sometimes speculative, exchanges of staples to make up for seasonal fluctuations in their respective barter rates. Such cash sales are often oriented toward the southeasterly markets of Massakory and BalaJa, whence goods can be transported to the capital, N'djamēna.

Important though these activities are, they do not detract from the fact that the major share of Kanem's herding and agricultural production does not leave the sphere of the domestic unit.

5. State economic intervention

We have so far dealt with socio-economic relations in Kanem from a mainly internal point of view. However, to achieve a fuller understanding of these processes, it is important to examine how the intervention of the Chadian State, often closely related to French interests and initiatives, affects and is affected by relations of production in the Kanem and Lake prefectures. With this intent, we will successively consider governmental attempts at monopolisation of

the natron trade and the agricultural development of the Lake Chad polders through the intermediary of State-controlled concerns. Both cases strikingly illustrate the use of dependent labour.

Natron wadis in central Kanemi are under the direct authority of the alifa. The richer natron sources along the Lake's northeastern shore are quarried under the control of the Kuri mai of Isserom and other chiefs of the area. The very painstaking and dangerous work of extraction is left to the Duu. Individual parcels are allotted when the mining season begins around February. Bouquet (1974 : 129) aptly illustrates the tributary relationships prevailing between feudatories and vis-à-vis labourers :

"At the end of the digging season, the alifa through the intermediary of the maie, collected a levy in natron from each miner. This tax could reach two tenths of the quantity produced payable at the time of extraction and an additional tenth on embarkation. In 1956, a decision of the Territorial Assembly of Chad rendered voluntary all forms of dues levied on any lands whatsoever, and consequently, forbade the use of force to back collection. However, we have been informed that in 1969, some slabs of natron from each shipment were routed to the alifa's residence.

This should not come as a surprise since J. Massen indicated in 1965 that the chef de canton levied dues at the Diklia deposits under no constraint since the payments were considered zaka (Koranic tithes). Another practice tolerated in this area persisted until 1965 at least: the chef de canton of N'gelea, considering the yield of the wadis of his domain to be too low, reserved for himself a part of the natron deposits (of the lands he administered) and had them worked by Duu. He left them half of the production. This was, once again, a case of morfeï (metayage)." (My translation)

In 1965, a state-controlled company called Société Nationale de Commercialisation du Tchad (SONACOT) was granted, among other prerogatives, a monopoly over the on-site purchase of white natron destined to the internal Chadian market. According to Bouquet (1974 : 134):

"This (monopoly) responded to the Chadian government's desire to control fully this (natron) trade and to free the Duu from semi-slavery". (My translation)

In its bid to capture the market, SONACOT offered 100 Fr. C.F.A. per first grade natron slab at the extraction site or 172 Fr. C.F.A.

at the lakeside port village of Gage-Sola whence a large share of production is shipped to Nigeria (Bouquet 1974 : 134). This was more than double the rate practised by Kanembu, Kuri and Kanemi merchants who have long dominated the trade. The offer of a high purchase price by an exterior, state-founded, monopolistic entity did not suffice to modify the nature of the tributary relationship between Kanemi notables and traders, on the one hand, and Duu labourers, many of whom come yearly from the Bari district, on the other. Bouquet, in accounting for this, underlines the systemic interrelatedness between feudal forms of local government, corresponding modalities of distribution of land access rights, manipulation of state fiscality by the nobility and the control exercised by the latter over semi-industrial natron production through indebtedment of the worker :

"At the extraction site, the traders or the mai would give as payment in advance one sugar loaf, for example, against ten natron slabs to be deducted from the output of the forthcoming mining season. These pre-payments also consisted of tea, cloth, millet, oil, etc. One would have thought that when SONACOT entered the market, the Duu would sell his slabs to this firm which offered better prices. The Duu could then have refunded in cash what he owed to the traders. But, this did not happen for the maie (chefs de canton) who were responsible, moreover, for the fixing of tax rates, brought pressure to bear on the Duu of their canton. This constraint could be aggravated by the wrath of customary law, the distribution of arable lands and other sanctions associated with the feudal system.

Under these conditions, SONACOT's intervention, far from incrementing the remuneration of the Duu, helped intermediaries to increase their profits by selling each slab to the company at 100 francs only a few metres away from where they bought it. The results were over-production (180,000 slabs in 1968) and a reduction in quality. The slab which had weighed 40 to 45 kg ten years before fell to 28 to 30 kg. Since their price was stable, usual buyers of white natron lost interest in the product. Enormous stocks accumulated in the SONACOT depots since the saturation level of the Chadian market does not exceed 100,000 slabs per year". Bouillie 1974 : 134 (My translation).

SONACOT's monopoly of the Kanem/Lake natron trade was withdrawn on 12 March 1970.

An even more ambitious State venture was the constitution of the Société d'Exploitation du Lac Tchad (SODELAC) in 1967 in replacement of the government-created Secteur expérimental de modernisation agricole du blé (SEMABLE) founded in 1961. In contrast to SONACOT, SODELAC based its venture on monopolisation and development of polder and wadi wheat production through government-supported constraints on producers and drastic, indeed indecent, underpricing. In addition to such gross manipulation, the Chadian government, not unattended by foreign advisers and financiers, saw fit to disrupt commerce between the Lake's shore and more northerly areas of Kanem by channelling production south to Fort Lamy :

"In 1964, an automated flour mill (Grands Moulins du Tchad), employing only seventeen persons, was constructed at Fort-Lamy to process the polder crop. Because the traditional (and now illicit) trade with the nomads continued to offer far more favourable prices, however, the official monopoly had never been able to purchase enough of the crop to pay for its operations and that of the flour mill" (Nelson, Robert McDonald et al. 1972 : 209). Little consideration seems to have been given by SODELAC to a) ensuring the necessary equilibrium of sedentary-nomad exchanges of wheat against animals and b) promoting an increase in production and proper stockage of grain staples during the drought period initiated in 1965 - 67 .

By the drought peak of 1972 - 73, when markets in North and even South Kanem priced millet at over 250 Fr. C.F.A. a koro against an average agricultural monetary income of c. 8,000 francs a year, SODELAC sought to purchase more nutritive wheat at 40 or 50 francs a koro ! It is highly likely but difficult to prove that all quantities which were "obtained" from cultivators at that price were either sped away by road to the Grands Moulins du Tchad or commercialised at prices resembling that of acquisition. The black market flourished.

SODECLAC did not achieve its goal. In 1972 - 73 for instance, of an estimate 7,000 tons of wheat produced, only 448 were purchased by the company (Decalo 1977 : 222). This poor performance of a national enterprise is related to the fact that, as in so many similar cases, a sweeping attempt was made to restructure distribution without taking into account the social conditions which govern producers' access to means of production. Nelson, Dobert, McDonald et al. (1972 : 211) do nonetheless deftly note : "... the disappointing progress in extending the area actually under cultivation was attributed in part to social factors. The initial distribution of newly reclaimed land in 1952 had produced some inequalities. Some participants received too much good land and installed tenants and sharecroppers. Others received too little land ...". During visits to the cantons of Iscerom, N'garangu, N'guélea and Bol in 1973 and 1974, I found no lack of evidence to confirm that the "tenants" and "sharecroppers" here referred to were Duu, ex-captives or their descendents and other maskin. They were induced

- a) not to apply for cultivation rights in their own name and
- b) to contract morfe agreements to cultivate the plots allotted to their patrons under constraints similar to those described above by Bouquet with regard to natron extraction. It is, of course, "strictly" forbidden for a person other than the beneficiary of a polder concession to engage in its cultivation; the practice is, nonetheless, of public notoriety. A study for the Ministry of the Plan and Cooperation of 1964 - 1967 cites "the methods of compulsion, sometimes brutal and always clumsy, to which there has been recourse within the past few years to oblige the cultivators to farm the reclaimed polders" (quoted by Nelson, Dobert, McDonald 1972 : 211).

The same authors quote another study of the Ministry of the Plan which remarked that the reclaimed land "was only partially and irregularly cultivated, whereas frequent scarcities of millet reduced the poorest of

the riverine groups to virtual famine. This was attributed to the survival of feudal forms of social organisation and inequities in the land tenure system. The holdings were reportedly poorly distributed; they were usually sold to rich stockraisers and then sharecropped by the ethnic groups regarded by them as inferior, who were obliged to surrender much of the crop in tribute. It is not clear whether the stockraisers referred to were local chiefs or possibly Awlad Sliman nobles (Nelson, Dobert, McDonald 1972 : 212). The testimony I have heard, in particular that of Duu who sharecropped in the polders during years of acute aridity, does not mention by name the latter and certainly does not exonerate the former whether Kuri or Kanembu. No evidence obtained from either Chadian or French sources gives reason to believe that the findings of these and other reports are any less relevant in 1981. Beyond indirectly confirming the near-famine status which is so often the lot of maskin, these last remarks underline the relation between control over tributary labour force and the capacity to accumulate cattle and vice versa. Kanem's economy at large may be described as agro-pastoral. For a majority of the population, one must qualify this by recognising that this general complementarity is maintained through the tributary relationship in which many agricultural labourers support a few large herd owners. The latter may thus overcome drought periods with much less risk to their own lives than the former. The fortunes of the Chadian State's economic interventions in the area have been and will continue to be determined by this situation so long as a majority of the population may periodically be pressed by hunger and malnutrition. This is only possible through a conjunction of environmental factors and the socially prescribed modalities of access to fertile ground as defined by the dominant class.

6. Concluding Remarks

I believe that the evidence presented in this chapter largely substantiates the view that the Dalatoa and Chadian state taxation systems, Kanembu methods of socio-economic control over artisanal production and trade as well as the general economic policies of the French colonial, Tombalbaye and Mallum governments have jointly contributed to perpetuate the basic forms of differential capital accumulation which divide the social classes of Kanem.

In his study of popular rebellions in Chad from 1965 to 1976, R. Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 409 - 414) singles out the non-participation of Kanem in the northern uprising as an "anomaly" since (1) traditional fiscal levies are higher than in the predominantly Muslim areas of Bagirmi, Salamat and Waday and (2) dependent agriculturalists are portrayed, in my opinion justifiably, as "écrasés de misère et exploités sans merci" (Buijtenhuijs 1978 : 409 - 410). No single answer can be given to this paradox. The lack of material cover for armed bands is not a decisive argument since even more barren northern regions played an active role in the war which brought the divided Islamic rebels to power in 1979. The political collaboration of the alifas with the colonial power certainly has been a more important factor in stifling the spark of rebellion in Kanem.

"The recent economic gains of Kanem contrast with the decline of Waday. The process of colonisation entailed a period of economic stagnation for the Chadian East. The major trade routes which had shifted eastward to Waday's advantage during the 19th century, were severed by French intervention. Fort-Lamy, an entirely new city in the west of the country, surpassed Abéché as the nodal point of the Chadian basin, with Moundou and Fort-Archambault competing as strong seconds. One therefore wonders to what extent the Chadian uprising is not primarily a reaction of those who were subjected to relative impoverishment as a result of the colonial enterprise. This would explain why the West, which has benefited from indubitable economic advances since 1900, was not drawn into the whirlwind of armed revolt ... In any case, it is certain that the principle cleavage

between the North and the South is complicated by a secondary east-west cleavage within the North. This division is expressed notably in the outside orientation of the (eastern and western) regions which is, in my opinion, a major factor for understanding the Chadian revolution ...For the western populations, and especially the lacustral Buduma and the Kanembu, all indications would lead one to believe that they are foremost attracted to Northern Nigeria." (My translation) (Buijtenhuijs 1978 : 413 - 414).

Whereas Waday resisted French occupation until 1911 and thereby expended all its forces and ensured the defeat of its royalty as a viable internal authority (cf. Carbou 1912 : 105 - 272), the Dalatoa immediately linked forces with the European invaders. By so doing, they neutralised Wadayan and Awlad Sliman Arab influence in Kanem and reinvigorated their failing grip over the Kanembu. Under alifa Zazerti (1934 - 1947), the colonial authorities systematically supported the expansion of the alifat to incorporate all of "historical Kanem" (cf. Appendix 5 and Catala 1954).

This factor does not fully explain Kanembu passivity towards the rebellion, since alifal authority did diminish from the 1950's to the 1970's. The Kanembu greatly regretted their forced estrangement from a declining Bornu during the nineteenth century. Their relations with Waday were covertly, if not always overtly, hostile as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. Buijtenhuijs, quoting Beyrise (1957), Gentil (1969) and Works (1976), suggests that Kanem and the east-central provinces of Chad are separated by an "intellectual", religious and cultural barrier as well as a long-standing political opposition. All of these influences favoured tight relations between Mao and Fort-Lamy from the beginning of the Chadian Republic, in spite of the dominance of Christian-Animist elements in its government :

"The present alifa, in contrast to other major traditional chiefs, has been active in the ranks of the P.P.T. since the party's creation and was a member of Parliament before independence. Because of his activism, he finds himself in a strong position which allows him to keep southern functionaries at a distance. By thus lessening the causes of discontent among those he administers, he has been able to oppose, by the same token,

the establishment of FROLINAT in Kanem.

The other sultanates were less powerful since the French conquest and were not capable of such a strong position within the State. Their populations, less stringently controlled from the interior and less protected against the interferences of the central administration, were consequently more sensitive to insurrectional influences. It is interesting, furthermore, to note that the only other powerful sultanate of Chad is Dar Tama (Le Rouvreur, p. 156) in which the F.P.L. have not succeeded in establishing themselves." (Buijtenhuijs 1978:411; my translation)

It is not surprising that the embryonic "revolutionary force" which was constituted in Kanem shortly before the victory of the combined northern forces was a Nigerian rather than a Kanembu creation. French policy always sought to maintain the "integrity" of the western central A.E.F. federation by opposing a strong Kanem to the economic and cultural pole represented by British Bornu. However, it could well be argued that the colonial peace at last offered an opportunity to Kanuri and Kanembu to renew those links they had been forced to abandon during the decades of strife which closed the nineteenth century. The yet unanswered query is to what extent the present Nigerian government will seek to consolidate these relations across and around Lake Chad by reinforcing its financial and indeed military presence in the area. The discovery of petroleum around Mao could argue in favour of a more active Nigerian stance to counter that of Libya.

If Nigerian bids to replace French influence in West Chad do not prove successful in the face of Libyan intervention and certain northern Chadian interests, the Kanembu aristocracy may finally find their predominant role in Kanem, and the system of social stratification it rests on, sharply put to the question by competing Islamic forces.

SECTION II
MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN SOUTH KANEM

1. Endogamy and Exogamy

The object of the present section of this study is to examine in detail marriage patterns among the two major social strata of South Kanem, the Kanembu and the Duu. These two groups are separated by important social and economic barriers which have been described in Section I. The most important of these are a strict prohibition on intermarriage and differential access to land, cattle and tribute. In this inegalitarian society, the systematic study of marriage exchange within and between descent groups, local groups and social strata is a prerequisite for understanding the interrelations between the kinship system, lineage organisation and the wider political system.

Endogamy and exogamy are crucial, complementary mechanisms for the perpetuation of hierarchical relations in Kanembu society. Strict endogamy between castes or other closed social groups or categories guarantees what Bonte (1977 : 231) calls "perennially unequal relations" among producers. Kanembu social and economic organisation is indeed characterised by a "hierarchy of endogamous divisions in which membership is hereditary and permanent" (Berreman 1960 : 120 as quoted by Watson 1963 : 361). Within each of these hermetic social divisions, one observes in Kanem other forms of in-marriage which may be described as preferential rather than prescriptive. Among both Kanembu and Duu, different forms of in-marriage are practised regularly within specific kin groups or territorial groups organised around agnatically defined nuclei. Allies are also sought preferentially among kin in the office-holding class. These practices cannot be considered as static characteristics of Kanembu society. As Dupire states:

"Endogamy appears as a temporary mechanism linked to power in general, and to political power in particular, in societies in which the latter is vested in descent groups whose sections

(or divisions) are necessarily opposable and in which no strict rule of succession exists.... Most authors agree that politics must necessarily be taken into account in considering the lineage dynamics of endogamous societies. Certain authors however, interpret endogamy as a mechanism of consolidation of the minimal lineage in factional struggle (Barth), whereas others consider that endogamy generates segmentation (Murphy). These two aspects correspond to two phases of the same process which begins with generalised endogamy which consolidates the minimal lineage, involves restricted endogamy within its branches, and may result in segmentation."

(My translation)

Dupire's synthesis of the two main structural functional positions concerning endogamy (cf. also Lévi-Strauss 1959) represents an important step forward for the analysis of marriage and social organisation in Sahelian Africa. One of the main contributions of Dupire is to underline the processual and diachronic nature of marriage patterns (cf. in particular Dupire 1970 : 308). Bonte (1975 c: 32 - 33) is, however, justified in insisting, as Dupire (1970) herself recognises, that endogamy is always accompanied by a certain degree of exogamy. Marriage exchange patterns in general are part of a wider framework of competitive intergroup relations which include not only political activity but all other aspects of social and economic life (cf. Bonte 1975 c : 32 - 33; Conte 1979 : 284). Bonte (1975 c : 33) suggests that systems of kinship and alliance in many West African societies simultaneously exhibit apparently opposed tendencies toward generalised endogamy and exogamy. These systems may be characterised by the importance of the sibling group and of bifurcation within this group as well as of competitive opposition between segmentary units. In such highly adaptable forms of social organisation, the transition from group endogamy to stratum endogamy can signify the appearance and development of specific forms of class structure.

In Kanembu society, all descent-based groups are today ascribed membership in the Kanembu or the Duu stratum. Class differences, defined by differential access to means of production, tribute revenues and political

Offices, cross-cut both vertical lineage organisation and horizontal stratum organisation. Under socially controlled conditions, inter-group marriages may transcend class barriers. Yet, by definition, group out-marriage remains restricted to endogamous strata. When considered at the societal level, marriages contracted out of the clan, lineage or local group are structurally complementary rather than contradictory in relation to marriages endogamous to these units of social organisation. As Dupire (1970 : Chapter 7) and Bonts (1979 b : 222) show from distinct viewpoints, co-residence and inter-lineage marriage are essential conditions for the formation and perpetuation of agnatic lineages within which preferential endogamy is practised differentially and unexclusively over time.

In anthropological theory, endogamy and exogamy have traditionally been defined as rules respectively enjoining and prohibiting marriage within a specified group (Royal Anthropological Institute 1951 : 115 - 116). These definitions are logically coherent but theoretically and empirically inadequate. Total convergence between the rule of exogamy and actual marriage patterns is observable in relation to precisely defined clans, lineages and local groups among such peoples as the Nusr of the Sudan or the Tubu and Daza of North Chad. However, in Sahelian and Saharan Africa, and the Middle East, total convergence between the rule of endogamy and actual marriage patterns is observable only between societies, social categories or strata of given societies and not within their component descent-based groups. The ideal of endogamic marriage is never fully realised within clans and lineages. In the latter, in-marriages are always complemented by a greater or lesser proportion of out-marriages.

Hence, within descent groups, exclusive exogamy is an observable phenomenon whereas exclusive endogamy is not. The numerous situations characterised by a mixture of sometimes preferential in-marriage and complementary out-marriage in assertedly unilineal segmentary societies

justifies more extensive use of the term endo-exogamy already adopted, albeit non-systematically, by Dupire (1970) and Bonte (1975 c). When referring to descent-based groups, it is appropriate to contrast endo-exogamy, rather than endogamy to exogamy.

With this perspective in mind, I will attempt in this section to compare endo-exogamous practices registered among descent and local groups of the endogamous Duu and Kanembu strata in South Kanem. A main hypothesis of this study is that patterns of endo-exogamy do not substantially change over time in the context studied unless this process is accompanied by corresponding modifications of the power balances at the societal level. Within descent groups, kinship and residential patterns do constitute secondary factors determining endo-exogamous practices. However, the wider social and political significance of in- and out-group marriage practices does not undergo structural modifications unless the position of a given descent group in the system of social stratification itself changes. The modification of patterns of endo-exogamy among subordinate groups tends to be strongly influenced in their scope and significance by the economic and political interests of the dominant class. Such processes may require several decades to fully crystallise since social constraints and their accompanying ideological justifications may remain operative longer than the socio-economic system in which they emerged (cf. Conte 1979 : 284).

2. Early contributions to the study of endogamy and exogamy in the Muslim world.

The debate on the nature and functions of endogamy and exogamy and their relation to the social organisation and stratification of segmentary lineage societies are of quite general interest to anthropological theory and, more specifically, to West African and Middle Eastern ethnography of the last three decades. Before proceeding to explain the methodology

adopted to explore the problems raised in the above sub-section in relation to the Kanembu case, it is first useful to review the development of relevant ethnography and theoretical debates. For reasons which will be discussed, this corpus focusses heavily when not exclusively on patrilateral parallel cousin marriage among Muslim peoples.

As early as 1830, Burckhardt commented on the preferential character of cousin right FBD marriage among the Bedouin and Wahaby of Arabia (Burckhardt 1830 : 64). Interestingly, Burckhardt (1830 : 37, 63, 103) shows that marriage exchange patterns are limited by social inequalities and professional specialisation as well as by genealogical criteria and lineage affiliation. The social and professional divisions between slaves, artisans, farmers and pastoralists are enforced by endogamic barriers. Consanguineal preferences may be applied separately within each endogamic category.

Subsequently, Lane (1836 ; 1839) and Burton (1855) were to comment on Arab cousin marriage. In 1885, Robertson Smith made an important contribution to kinship studies in his Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia by examining marriage in relation to the clan rather than solely in terms of a genealogical classification. He presented every marriage as implying a decision as to the desirable social distance between spouses. Robertson Smith (1885 : 60 - 61) believed that in early Arabia descent group endogamy was practised but was not exclusive. Endogamy and exogamy were presented as having co-existed within the same social unit, thus allowing each group to maintain its social distinctiveness through selective in-marriage while maintaining necessary marriage exchange, either reciprocal or not, with other comparable component units of the polity.

The German orientalist, Julius Wellhausen was certainly the most original proponent of the thesis of complementary rather than categorical opposition of the practices of endogamy and exogamy. In his remarkable and

little-read 1893 study, Die Ehe bei den Arabern (Marriage among the Arabs) he observes that the ibn 'amm (FBS) category must not be misconstrued as being in arithmetical or binary opposition to that of ibn khāl (MBS). Nor, he adds, must the category of 'patrilateral kinsman' be set in strict opposition to that of 'matrilateral kinsman'. For the Arab, the relevant dichotomy is between the native or in-born person in contrast to the alien, the outsider (cf. Wellhausen 1893 : 436 - 437). The author argues that ibn 'amm/bint 'amm (FBS/FBD) marriage may not be simplistically reduced to a particular preference for a single type of consanguineal union bringing together paternal kin to the exclusion of maternal kin, but must be seen as a preference for in-marriage or endogamy.

The preference demonstrated for endogamy may derive from a parental desire to retain their daughter and her children nearby rather than seeing her subordinated to a distant son-in-law (Robertson Smith 1885 : 60-61; Wellhausen 1893 : 437). In a patrilineal, patrilocal and male-dominated society, such parental motivation can be reason enough for a man to choose a bride from outside his own camp (Wellhausen 1893 : 437). The collective duty of maintaining tribal solidarity may, however, pre-empt such personal considerations. Where polygamy is possible, the choice becomes less constraining for men. Under any circumstances the potential spouse's choice between different forms of in-and out-marriage is not simple and will necessarily reflect these and other contradictions of interest and personal leanings.

Exogamy is a political risk in that the children of outside mothers may be divided in their tribal and lineage loyalties. This danger may be mitigated by the relative social equality of spouses' social statuses. Endogamy often presupposes such compatibility of rank, which Wellhausen (1893 : 439) relates to the Arab concept of kufū (equal, comparable, a match for). Nonetheless, inequality of social status may obtain between marriage partners across as well as within tribal limits, particularly between

competing lineages or families. Wellhausen (1893 : 439) clearly demonstrates the structural interrelatedness of endogamy and exogamy on the one hand and hyper-, iso- and hypogamy on the other. He shows that marriage patterns in regard to lineage affiliations and political relations between descent-based groups are directly influenced by and contribute to perpetuate prevailing relations of social stratification within and beyond the patrigrp. Hence, the symmetry of genealogical status of two cousins (ibn 'amm/ bint 'amm) does not necessarily imply equality of status between them, in spite of the community of descent ties.

Wellhausen's argument is further enhanced by his realisation that the rank ordering of clans and lineages within larger tribal groupings is "fluctuating" and "changeable" rather than "strict" and "universally recognised" (Wellhausen 1893 : 439). The author notes, however, that "at a given point in time" a wider social consensus on group status does exist (Wellhausen 1893 : 439) and may influence marriage choices. Status differences between social strata may, in contrast, constitute quasi - perpetual impediments to certain forms of intergroup and interstratum marriage.

Having taken into account the social stratificational, political, religious and genealogical conditions of in- and out-marriage, Wellhausen postulates a high degree of reciprocal determination of these two apparently opposed modalities of marriage. He arrives at the hypothesis that, under the circumstances described for the Arabian peninsula, endogamy could be considered a pre-condition of qualified and restricted though not of generalised exogamy (Wellhausen 1893 : 439 n.1).

Unfortunately, the full theoretical consequences of Robertson-Smith's (1885 : 60-61) and Wellhausen's (1893) statements do not seem to have been perceived by most ethnographers of Arab and Sudanic social organisation until

recently. The general theoretical relevance of these contributions (Robertson Smith 1885, Wellhausen 1893) seems, in particular, to have passed unnoticed for the very functionalists who developed the segmentary lineage theory which Robertson Smith, and especially Wellhausen, implicitly criticise with regard to the interpretation of endogamy and exogamy. By categorising the two complementary practices as absolute rules, functionalism obscured observable empirical variations in marriage patterns in regard to descent, consanguinity and locality which would have had to be analysed to follow up Wellhausen's hypotheses.

To pursue such a task, it is initially necessary to differentiate between highly developed networks of consanguineal relationships in a group and "strict" or normative, exclusive endogamy. Any endogamic prescription (or rule) backed by customs and sanctions of diverse orders, both internal and external to the group considered, can, in effect, prevent all marriages between neighbouring or even intermingled religious or racial groups, social strata or castes. This norm does not, however, exclude the existence of exogamic as well as endogamic practices at all other levels of social organisation such as lineages, villages or kin groups. Endogamy and exogamy must therefore be considered at all these levels as functions of prevailing rules and patterns of consanguinity, group affiliation, locality and political alliances within an historically defined system of socio-economic stratification.

Two monographic works of the earlier part of this century made important contributions toward such a pluri-functional approach by considering all the marriages contracted by living members of a given community both individually and statistically; the first of these is Brenda and Charlee Seligman's The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe (1918) and the latter Hilma Granqvist's Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village (1931 and 1935).

Having observed that matrimonial barriers exist within nomadic tribes as well as between nomads and sedentaries, C. and B. Seligman (1918 : 132)

proceed to consider marriages of the Kababish Nurab division on the basis of genealogical categories and not exclusively in terms of the occurrence of FBD unions. The distribution of consanguineal unions (C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 139) shows strong endogamy at the level of the tribal division, a high proportion of consanguineal unions among in-division unions and a high, though not exclusive, practice of patrilineal cousin marriage of diverse descriptions. The anthropologist's distinction between real and classificatory cousins does not emerge here as relevant in any absolute sense. The memory of consanguineal relations is, moreover, shown to be selective and tinged by a male bias which may lead to considerable ambiguity in the interpretation of the term bint 'amm.

The Seligman's methodical empirical approach to cousin marriage proved more fertile than Jaussen's (1908), Westermarck's (1914 : 53 - 59; 1921 II : 35 - 239) Frazer's (1918 : 97 - 263) or indeed, Musil's (1928 : 137 - 139). All of these authors showed themselves to be limited by a normative and uncritical evaluation of "ibn 'amm" marriage which neglects Doughty's (1888 I : 316) linguistic hints as well as Wellhausen's (1893 : 436-437; 480 - 481) detailed analyses.

H. Granqvist viewed barriers to inter-marriage as what may be graphically described as a set of concentric circles. She opposed the outer limit as defined by differences of religion and race to the internal limit based on the exogamous prescriptions of the Koran (4 : 23-24; 33 : 51). Between these two limits, permitted consanguinity, claniship and locality intervene as the principle defining criteria in marriage choice (cf. Granqvist 1931 : 63 - 91, in particular pp. 66 - 67). This assessment of the valorisation of different levels of endogamy among sedentary Palestinian Arabs is quite concordant with Wellhausen's insistence on the importance of descent group endogamy. Granqvist was quick to recognise that the anthropologist will not arrive at an adequate appraisal of the fluctuations of

the socially acknowledged limits between consanguinity and clanship by solely focussing on the institution of FBD marriage. The ideological determination of such recognition may vary situationally or through time, as may selective genealogical memory (cf. Granqvist 1931 : 80, n.1).

The elaboration of a demographically formulated model to understand consanguineal marriage patterns brought Granqvist to consider the differential incidence of unions between kin from family to family and village to village as well as within either of these units over time. The author (Granqvist 1931 : 84) advocated the comparative and diachronic examination of variations in the potential and incidence of cousin marriage.

Granqvist also gave systematic attention to out-marriage. Under this heading, she included all non-FBD consanguineal unions in addition to extra-clan and extra-local marriages (cf. Granqvist 1931 : 75-76 and 84). She thereby recognised that networks of agnatic and non-agnatic consanguinity frequently overlap and that intra-clan "out-marriages" may serve to reinforce existing agnatic ties (cf. Granqvist 85, 87). The verbal preference recorded for agnatic in-marriage appears in contradiction with the higher statistical frequency of clan and local out-marriage. Furthermore, numerous case analyses of individual unions show that locality may relate differentially to each level of endogamy and exogamy, according to the specific meanings of notions of social proximity and acceptability in each set of marital circumstances.

The Swedish anthropologist concluded that she would only be able to "follow up many other historical, political and cultural" implications raised by her community monograph by studying in a like manner "a whole complex of villages" (Granqvist 1931 : 98). It is sad that no such studies were to appear in Middle Eastern or West African ethnology until the 1960's and 1970's (e.g. M. Dupire's Organisation social des Peul in 1970).

It is indeed strange that Wellhausen's and Granqvist's work, with their dynamic and complementary orientations, had little or no repercussion on British functionalism. Granqvist quoted Wellhausen on several occasions and was herself British-trained and in relation with major anthropologists of her day. In view of the epistemological importance of early studies on Arab marriage for the understanding of post-functional theories of social organisation in West Africa, an expanded version of the present sub-section is presented below as Appendix 3 under the title "Pre-structural-functional interpretations of endogamy in the Muslim world from Burckhardt (1830) to Granqvist (1931)".

3. Contemporary contributions to the study of endogamy and exogamy in the Muslim world.

The culturalist (or even neo-diffusionist) approach to endogamy in the post-World War II literature, of which Patai (1955) was an exponent, represented a considerable step backwards in relation to Wellhausen (1893) and Granqvist (1931). This trend, subsequently criticised by Ayoub (1959) and Davis (1977), among others, was a severe blow to the systemic study of marriage and social organisation. Heavy emphasis was laid on the legalities of supposed "cousin-right" marriage (e.g. Patai 1955) to the exclusion of marriage systems and exchange patterns. The scope of consanguineal marriage was arbitrarily reduced to almost exclusive consideration of FBD marriage (Barth 1954, Patai 1955, Murphy and Kasdan 1959 among others). Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage came to be presented as an isolated artefact, sometimes exclusively associated with Islam or nomadic pastoralism. Ayoub (1959 : 266) was certainly justified in questioning the "extravagant weight" granted to FBD marriage which led to neglecting the system of preferred endogamy, "at almost every level of social organisation" (Ayoub 1959 : 266) which is recognised by Arab societies themselves (e.g. Granqvist 1931). The overplaying of the role of FBD

marriage even concerns such orientalist as Chelhod who, in his meticulous Le mariage avec la cousine parallèle dans le système arabe (Chelhod 1965) most surprisingly makes no reference to Wellhausen. Many British and American anthropologists (cf. Fortes 1953a) did not take the notion of endogamy into account at all as Patai (1965) himself convincingly illustrates in a later article.

Murphy and Kasdan (1959) do not shun the notion of endogamy but in interpreting it in the Bedouin Arab context they remain fundamentally attached to the postulate of a necessary and absolute causal correspondence between "the" privileged form of consanguineal marriage and the principle of patrilineal descent (cf. Chapter 1, Section 4 and Bonte 1979b: 218). Murphy and Kasdan (1959 : 27 - 28) certainly fall under the scope of Ayoub's (1959:266) criticism in that they go as far as to consider FBD marriage as a "system" unto itself.

In order to resolve what they see as the contradiction of the co-existence of agnatic descent groups and veiled forms of bilaterality in one and the same system, Murphy and Kasdan (1959 : 26) are forced to distinguish different types of patrilineality at different levels of social organisation:

"parallel cousin marriage with patrilineality allows for agnatic segmentation and structural opposition that extends even to the level of the nuclear family ... at higher levels of segmentation, formal patrilinearity and patrilinearity as an ideology provide the basis for large scale integration of which Arab society is capable but which is beyond the reach of bilateral kindreds."

The implicit distinction between "effective" and "formal" or "ideological" patrilinearity is quite problematic. Is patrilinearity any less an ideology at lower than higher levels of segmentation ? The recognisedly bilateral aspects of Bedouin kinship and marriage patterns seem here to dissolve into a zone of theoretical "fog" somewhere between lower and higher levels of segmentation. To lessen the inconsistencies of this position, Murphy and

Kasdan (1959 : 26) tautologically invoke the very phenomenon they are trying to explain:

"It is, then, our hypothesis that the peculiar nature of agnatic sections among the Arabs is closely related to the practice of parallel cousin marriage."

Could it be that the purportedly "peculiar nature of agnatic sections among the Arabs" reflects marital practices not recorded and not considered compatible with patrilateral parallel cousin marriage by the authors ?

Murphy and Kasdan (1959 : 26) continue their explanation by stating:

"It might also be hypothesized that lack of internal solidarity and homogeneity in Arab kin groups is promoted by the combining of affinal and consanguineal ties."

Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage, still strictly isolated from all other forms of marriage is not explained, but attributed a negative social function and declared no less than an anomaly by Murphy and Kasdan (1959 :27):

"Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage could hardly be a cohesive factor but may well underlie the fission and faction that are so important a part of Arab society. Beyond this consideration, we must contemplate the anomaly presented by the existence of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage in a patrilateral system."

Recruitment by descent is presented as if it had to determine recruitment by affinity in an absolute fashion, with no possibility of in-group cross-cousin marriage or out-group parallel cousin marriage, for a descent group to be definable on a unilineal basis. This is to totally neglect the complementary character of multiple forms of endogamy and exogamy in a patrilineal society. Peter's (1960) sensitive analysis of segmentation among Cyrenaican Bedouin falls into a similar trap when the author fails to analyse the implications of MBD marriage which he clearly brings out in his description (Peters 1960 : 44).

It is logically inadequate to try to explain an isolated aspect of group development such as fission in relation to a single marriage practice

arbitrarily extracted from an articulated and complex marriage system of which it is an integral part. FBD marriage cannot exist alone in relation to the sole principle of unilineal descent. The same criticism can be addressed to Barth's (1953, 1954) reasoning which seeks to show that FBD marriage promotes the integration of the agnatic group. Lévi-Strauss (1959 : 19) was to comment that:

"In Barth's hypothesis, marriage with the patrilineal cousin strengthens the lineage and places it in a more favourable position for future competition. In Murphy's and Kasdan's hypothesis, social solidarity would be compromised if it were not linked to the historical continuity (of the descent group). In both cases, one is dealing with a dialectical relationship between the marriage system and political history."

(My translation)

Dupire (1970 : 573 - 574) in her already quoted comment adds that endogamy may be viewed as a mechanism of consolidation as well as of segmentation of the descent group at different phases of its development. This process is not explainable by rules of descent only. The apparent contradiction of what Murphy and Kasdan (1959) call "bilateral integration" in a society which defines its social and political organisation in function of strict patrilineal descent partly derives from the inadequate analytical definition of endogamy and its functions through time. While acknowledging the logical incompatibility of a principle of unilineal descent in conjunction with strictly endogamous marriage, Dupire remarks that for bilaterality to effectively become more than a tendency, the lineage system would have to account for the entirety of socio-political relations and lineage endogamy would have to be generalised (Dupire 1970 : 575-576). The logical impossibility of generalised lineage endogamy excludes the co-occurrence of these two prerequisites. Dupire maintains that endogamy is a temporary procedure necessarily accompanied by continuous exogamous practices, both of which have similar differentiating effects on lineage structure (Dupire 1970 : 576). Because of this she believes that it is

"arbitrary to establish a division between exogamous lineage-based societies exhibiting some form of complementary filiation (the Tallensi, for example) (and) endo-exogamous societies with bilateral tendencies" (Dupire 1970 : 576; my translation).

This, however, does not imply that the principles underlying unilineal descent organisation will not strongly influence the typological distribution of consanguineal marriages within the wider process of endo-exogamy:

"the choice (of a wife) in each society, will in priority, tend toward those categories of kinswomen which conform most with its institutions. When lineage structure and the transmission of wealth are exclusively patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, agnatic relationships will be predominant, whereas uterine and cross-continuous relationships..... will be lacking. The father's brother's daughter will be preferred over other cousins and unions with the mother's sister's daughter will tend to be nil" (Dupire 1970 : 486 - my translation).

Dupire's meticulous case analyses and comparative consideration of large samples from different sedentary as well as nomadic Peul groups from across West Africa, precisely on the lines suggested by Granqvist, warn against oversimplifying the analysis of marriage patterns by failing to distinguish the 'manifest' from the 'latent' functions of observed unions. The individual motivations of an agnatic marriage, for example, may well involve manifest functions such as private residential choice or economic interests (Dupire 1970 : 573 - 574). Detailed consideration of such variables is ultimately very important in understanding the specific influences which locality or co-residence may imply on the development of agnatic endogamy, or vice versa. (cf. Dupire 1970 : 304, 418-419, 501-503 etc.). In relation to more inclusive levels of social organisation, Dupire (1970 : 308) remarks that:

"Fusion, segmentation and fission are but empty concepts if their use is not justified by an attempt at historical and genealogical analysis, based on observed empirical data in order to perceive the forces in play : co-residence, intermarriage, political competition."

(My translation)

The successive reinforcements or abandoning of endogamy within local groups, lineage segments or larger descent groups reflects the competition for access to group-controlled wealth or political advantage. Dupire believes that the complex mechanism of endo-exogamy complements the process of lineage segmentation when there is internal competition for economic and political resources which are viewed as potentially stable (Dupire 1970 : 405). When different factions or segments are engaged in such competition, their marital choices may appear contradictory:

"....on the one hand, in order to increase their demographic weight, it is in their interest not to marry away their daughters; on the other hand, it is necessary for ...(these groups) to be linked by blood to those more powerful in order to obtain their political support."

(Dupire 1970 : 551; my translation)

Among weaker and stronger groups alike, this mechanism determines a relative balance between agnatic unions which primarily reinforce group solidarity and matrilineal and cross-cousin marriages which may form and consolidate alliance networks (cf. Dupire 1970 : 552 - 553). Within each group however, competition will adopt a segmentary pattern, potentially creating conflict among politically influential brothers, whatever prior marital relationships may prevail between their respective offspring, brothers children and descendants. These conflicts may entail a variety of responses such as changes in residence, divorces and alliances with maternal kinmen (cf. Dupire 1970 : 548). Dupire (1970 : 574) is, however, careful to remark that there is no absolute, direct relation between the relative frequency of endogamic marriage and lineage segmentation. Political and economic competition, particularly where land rights are involved, is seen as increasing inequality in society at large and restricting potential marriage exchanges through hypergamy and endogamy (Dupire 1970 : 514). Furthermore, Dupire (1970 : 574) believes that endogamy is mainly practised by both the most subordinate and the most powerful social categories, but she does not go as far as to present a general model of the

relations between the marriage and social stratification systems in unilineal, endo-exogamous societies.

Before proceeding to define a methodology for the conjoined study of marriage patterns and power relations in Kanembu society, which will largely reflect Dupire's contributions, I believe that further qualification is required in relation to two key issues, which are:

- 1) the empirical and analytical definition of endogamy, and
- 2) the interrelation of marriage patterns and social stratification.

Recognition of the processual aspect of endogamy implies an important revision of Lévi-Strauss's well-known distinction between "functional" and "true" endogamy (Lévi-Strauss 1949 : 53, 55). "Functional" endogamy is seen as "only" a counterpart to a rule of exogamy and implies the obligation to choose one's spouse among a specified category of kin (Lévi-Strauss 1949 : 53). "True" endogamy prohibits marriage beyond the recognised boundaries of society and may thus only express a "negative reality" (Lévi-Strauss 1949 : 55). Lévi-Strauss recognises that in "highly differentiated societies" the "negative"^{form} may take on a "positive" content by maintaining economic and social privileges within group boundaries. This point is, unfortunately, not developed, possibly because Lévi-Strauss does not see fit to attribute independent conceptual status to either 'endogamy' or 'exogamy'. Thus, in spite of an interesting initial parallelism between his conception of endogamy (Lévi-Strauss 1949 : 53, 55) and that of Wellhausen (1893 : 436-439 and particularly, 439, n.1), Lévi-Strauss's views do not appear able to account for the endo-exogamy characteristic of the complex marriage exchange systems which are observable in the Middle East, North and Sahelian Africa, and other areas.

Kaplan (1973), in an interesting criticism of Lévi Strauss' position, suggests a very useful and more universally applicable distinction "between

'endogamy' as implied by the positive marriage rule and 'endogamy' as implied by the ideal of marrying a close kinsman" (Kaplan 1973 : 558). With reference to the Piaroa of the Middle Orinoco, she (Kaplan 1973:559) notes that endogamy is viewed in a "fluid" fashion by this society and that "'marrying close' may be achieved in a number of different ways". Kaplan (1973 : 567) lists these as follows:

- "1. To marry MB Ch/FZ Ch; 2) to marry within one's immediate kindred; 3) to marry within one's kindred-based local group; 4) to replicate the marriage of one's parent(s), or that of any other member of one's nuclear family, that is, to participate in a particular marriage exchange over time."

Piaroa endogamy is thus synchronically flexible in that 'marrying close' may signify "any or all" of these in a specific situation (Kaplan 1973 : 567). It is also processually variable in its modalities and social significance:

"What is endogamous in one situation is not in the next : a political alliance affirmed by multiple marital alliances can be broken. In such a situation, dispersal occurs and what was once a marriage endogamous to the local group no longer would be so. On the other hand, a marriage that fits none of the above criteria becomes legitimised ('made endogamous') through the enactment of future exchanges." (Kaplan 1973 : 564)

On the basis of these distinctions between non-exclusive native meanings, Kaplan suggests a set of three analytical distinctions to replace Lévi-Strauss' bipartite classification of endogamy. She allows one to differentiate between a marriage rule specifying a specific category of marriageable kin and the reproduction over time of ascendants' marriages. In spite of the reciprocal determinations of these two types of endogamy, their analytic separation is important to any diachronic understanding of endo-exogamic process. Kaplan's (1973 : 567) classification is as follows:

- "1) 'group' endogamy : the obligation to marry within an objectively defined group ...
- 2) 'genealogical' endogamy : the obligation to choose as spouse an individual who is related to ego in some particular way...
- 3) 'alliance' endogamy (or the positive marriage rule): marriage which reaffirms a former alliance."

On the basis of this analysis, Kaplan (1973 : 568) concludes by remarking that when the three types co-occur, particularly in societies in which local groups are kindred-based, alliance endogamy contributes to group perpetuation.

However important the definition of endogamy may be, the phenomenon cannot be adequately analysed without reference to a global theory of social organisation, which, in the present instance, must be relevant to Kanembu society. Most of the 20th century authors reviewed so far do not attribute, in my opinion, sufficient importance to one of the major points which emerged from Burckhardt's work as early as 1830 : endogamic barriers maintain the separation between hierarchically ordered social categories or groups whose interrelations are characterised by institutionalised forms of social inequality. Burckhardt (1830 : 37, 63, 103) describes a rather complex system of social stratification among the Aneze Bedouin and their dependents in which the statuses of slave, artisan or dependent agriculturalist were no less stigmatised than in Kanem (cf. Chapter 2) or among the Twareg studied by Bonte (1975 a; 1975 b). The marriage patterns presented by Burckhardt (1830) from 19th century Arabia parallel the division of labour and intergroup political hierarchy in that society. The endogamic divisions which simultaneously affect marital, economic and political organisation are legitimated in terms of partly descent-based, partly racial and partly professional criteria.

Among contemporary West Africanists, P. Bonte is one of the persons who affords greatest attention to the role of endogamy in the formation of class structures (cf. Bonte 1975 c : 33; 1976 : 162). Bonte bases his approach on a fundamental criticism of the structural-functional segmentary lineage theory (See above Chapter 1, Section 4) in which he argues in favour of the notion of competitive rather than complementary opposition between descent groups. He believes (Bonte 1975 c) that the fact that

descent groups are immediately observable realities does not mean that social organisation may be explained in terms of descent alone. Bonte (1975 c: 4) portrays descent as a category which must be understood in relation to other characteristics of social organisation. One difficulty in applying this perspective has often been that segmentary lineage theory as well as certain native descent ideologies, mask hierarchical relationships and class structures in lineage-based societies by concentrating too exclusively on the correspondence between a rule of descent and marriage practices (cf. Bonte 1979 a and b). This leads to what Bonte (1978) has called the "fetichism of kinship" among anthropologists.

In all his writings, Bonte proposes a "pluri-functional analysis" of "kinship". He seeks to account for descent in terms of its role vis-à-vis the relations between political structures and class relationships rather than solely in the light of its own immediate structural characteristics (Bonte 1975 c: 4 - 5). Bonte (1979 a: 183) asks:

"...to what extent and how do the political functions fulfilled by kinship structures account for developed forms of social stratification and (to what extent) are ... these (structures) compatible with autonomous political organisation?"

(My translation)

To follow up such a query, one must analyse class structures in processual terms in order to explain the development of individual and collective dependence relationships. Endogamy may be defined in formal terms in relation to prevailing kinship and descent structures. But, as a mechanism of competition within a wider process of competitive opposition, it must be related to class structure.

The ideology of kinship may mask the nature of relations of production in societies characterised by unequal accumulation as described among the Kanembu (Chapter 1, Section 3; Chapter 4, especially section 2). Bonte (1979 a: 184) aptly illustrates the interferences between domestic, lineage

and political organisation among the Twareg:

"Although agricultural production is organised within the framework of the family group, that is to say as a function of the organisation and specific role of kinship relations, the tributary dependence status subordinates each ighawelen (dependant agriculturalist) family to the imajeqhen (noble nomadic herders) in a hierarchical relationship which implies the existence of these two groups as separate orders The tawehit (descent groups) appear, on the one hand, as descent groups integrated into a genealogical structure which supposes intergroup relations of complementary opposition. But, on the other hand, descent groups are political groups in which tributary relations obtain."

(My translation)

Bonte (1979 a: 185) hypothesises that in this society, the kinship structures "operate to regulate the contradictions arising from the development of class relationships."

Unilineal descent largely determines the access of producers to collectively owned or managed resources. Nonetheless, descent relations are not immutable, and this has major consequences on the nature of the lineage system. While descent relations fix the social limits of the community in a given place at a given time, they, in the Fulani and other Saharan and Sahelian examples:

"are frequently adjusted according to the patterns of real appropriation of the collectively used resources, and the patterns of cooperation and residential organisation around the wells. It is natural that this system does not develop into one of segmentary lineages since the allegiances of individuals to lineages and of lineages to larger groupings are constantly changing."

(Bonte 1979 b: 216)

Bonte (1979 a: 190) exemplifies the consequences of the adjustable character of descent relations in the context of Moorish society, where he describes the segmentary system as explainable by the centralisation of political organisation:

"Segmentation is mostly operative as an ideology and an aspect of political practice which justifies the relations between groups either during or after the competition for power."

(My translation)

Endogamy is one of the mechanisms guaranteeing the perpetuation of descent groups and, hence, of their concomitant process of adjustment in relation to the development of class structures.

Common to Seligman and Seligman (1918), Granqvist (1931), Ayoub (1959), Chelhod (1965), Cuisenier (1962), Holy (1974) and Bonte (1976) is the premise that the study of endogamy and marriage in general must be conducted on the basis of an ample, statistically significant corpus of data allowing the analyst to correlate marriage patterns with the observation of social, economic and political organisation. Other anthropologists such as Barth (1954) or Goldberg (1967) have also felt this necessity, but they have used marriage samples which were too reduced to support the analysis of intra-group variations in marriage practices which is a prerequisite of any dynamic understanding of endo-exogamic process.

Ayoub's (1959) article on parallel cousin marriage and endogamy "broke the ice" with a study of 514 marriage choices recorded among the Druze of Syria. On this sound statistical basis, Ayoub presents "the practice of preferential patrilineal parallel cousin marriage as but the most extreme example of a more general configuration of preferential endogamy" (Ayoub 1959 : 274). Following Granqvist's precedent, she views the distribution of marriages of men by origin of wife (N = 254) in terms of progressively more inclusive categories defined in terms of social distinctions specifically relevant to the Druze situation. These are the FBD/FBS relationship, common lineage and "family" membership, factional affiliation and, finally, Druze status (Ayoub 1959 : 268). This categorisation is refined by introducing the factor of locality through the observed frequency distribution of marriages out of the village by family and factional affiliation of spouse. Similar two-factor comparisons concern inter-lineage and interfamilial unions. Finally, indexes of preference are established by "using an index of homogeneity adapted from the techniques of relational analyses" (Ayoub 1959 : 274).

Ayoub's work no doubt contributed to stimulate a series of publications in the United States offering mathematical approaches to endogamy. Coult and Hammel (1963) developed a model of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage whereas in 1966, Gilbert and Hammel attempted to prove the existence of a preference for FBD/FBS marriage in the Near East through computer simulation. Their model (Gilbert and Hammel 1966) is restricted, however, to considering demographic data and the frequency of cousin marriages as factors influencing the probability of making an endogamous marriage. The authors do not give substantial attention to relating these data to "non-kinship distinctions" (Gilbert and Hammel 1966 : 88-90). The ideological referents of kinship categorisations and the discrepancies between native and external categories upon which the entire analysis is based remain unquestioned. While recognising Ayoub's criticism of the over-emphasis placed on FBD marriage, they continue to frame their model in terms of this category.

Similar criticism may be addressed to Goldberg's (1967) study of Tripolitanian Jews in Israel. His suggestions for "determining the probability of FBD marriage" are of considerable interest, yet his initial hypothesis contains an important error of logic. Following Barth (1954:171) and Cohen (1965 : 112), Goldberg (1967 : 177) remarks:

".... a number of authors have suggested that a FBD marriage strengthens the tie between brothers but that the strengthening of this tie implies the weakening of lineage-wide solidarity. To test this hypothesis, one would like to show that, controlling for lineage endogamy, lineage solidarity is greater where men marry distant relatives within the lineage than it is where men tend to marry their FBD".

This hypothesis gives a general significance to a specific phenomenon, FBD/FBS marriage. It attempts to compare this type of union's statistical occurrence, studied in relation to the notion of exclusive preference rather than that of exchange process, with an unmeasurable and ideologically undefined notion of "lineage solidarity". This leaves an open field to confusion between certainly differing native ideals and practices relating

to marriage exchanges and the here undefined anthropological postulates of sibling and lineage solidarity which derive from uncritical adhesion to segmentary lineage theory and, in particular, the concept of unilineal descent. Goldberg's statement hence differs fundamentally from Bonte's position according to which intra- and inter-descent group relations in hierarchical systems of social organisation recognising unilineal descent may be characterised by competitive rather than complementary opposition.

Randolf's and Coult's (1968) computer analysis of Bedouin marriage substantially improves on formerly published methodologies by the very fact that it focusses on the total range of marriage exchange rather than F8D/FBS-type unions in isolation. The authors recognise that the Bedouin "descent group is highly, though not exclusively, endogamous" (Randolf and Coult 1968 : 84). Departing from an abstract, solely mathematical methodology, they suggest that:

" A thorough empirical analysis of affinal relations in an Arab descent group might provide answers to the following questions:

1. With what frequency do the members marry kinsmen ?
2. What kinds of kinsmen are married and with what frequencies ?
3. Do high frequencies, where noted, indicate an actual choice, or preference, for the type of spouse chosen ?
4. Is there evidence of affinal exchange patterns and, if so, do these patterns differ when they take the form of descent-group endogamy and descent-group exogamy ?

An analysis of data as such can tell us neither why certain spouses are favoured over others nor anything else about the motivating principles in the marriage systems. This task remains the job of the anthropologist. We urge, however, that a clear and thorough empirical analysis may place in focus the theoretical task of explanation."

(Randolf and Coult 1968 : 84)

One major problem in such an endeavour is to appreciate the male bias introduced into data in patrilineal societies:

"When the wives of ancestors are not known, the potential ambilineal and matrilineal links cannot be reckoned. There will consequently be a higher proportion of strictly patrilineal links relating spouses who marry endogamously than would be expected if paternal and maternal kin were remembered equally well."

(Randolf and Coult 1968 : 85)

Does this mean that any such analysis is rendered worthless ? Not if one recognises with Randolf and Coult (1968 : 98), who in turn follow Gellner (1957), that kinship structure must be studied in terms of an ideal language. To carry the analysis of kinship and political representations as far as possible, it is essential to have systematic and preferably exhaustive data on marriage exchange within and between descent groups, local groups and other relevant socio-political units, in spite of the inescapable agnatic bias in the formulation of relationships between kin and genealogical memory.

The methodological problems posed by an approach which views the formal statistical analysis of social systems as a prerequisite of the qualitative analysis of social relations are important but not insurmountable. Davis (1977) underlines several major difficulties in the analysis of large-scale sample data referring to marriage exchange. The first is that of the definition of kinship categories:

"... the categorical use of bint 'amm and other similar terms is not uniform : different relationships are included (Marx, 1967:222; A. Cohen, 1965 : 107; M.R. Ayoub, 1959; V. Ayoub 1965; Khuri 1970: 617, n.1; Davis 1977 : 209)

One is also confronted with the definition of a relevant universe in the study of marriage exchange. Davis with reference to Marx (1967), Keyser (1973), Khuri (1970), Peters (1963) and Goldberg (1967), discusses the occurrence of F8D marriage but gives little consideration to the limits of the social universe in relation to which the sample is defined. Some authors use "the village" and others "the descent group" as reference groups, but little statistically-based consideration has been given to appreciating the variable relevance of social categories and boundaries in regard to patterns of marriage exchange. Finally, admitting that adequate answers were found to these issues in each case studied so far, there remains the touchy problem of intersocietal comparability. This question can only be

clarified through the long-term, collective efforts of all interested researchers. Such a task would require first and foremost abandoning any notion of strict determination of endogamous marriage patterns in terms of unilineal descent alone or of other mono-functional explanations as "propinquity" (cf. Gilbert and Hammel 1960 and Bourdieu 1977 : 39) or the invocation of any presumed univocal marriage "rule" (cf. Keyser 1973 and Davis 1977).

Bourdieu (1977) strongly criticises the study of endogamy through statistical techniques solely in terms of the "logical relations of kinship to which the structuralist tradition ascribes a more or less complete autonomy with respect to economic determinants" (Bourdieu 1977 : 38). He claims that the statistical analysis of genealogies implies "implicitly treating kinship as the necessary and sufficient condition of group unity" (Bourdieu 1977 : 33-34) and underlines that in such an approach, the notion of endogamous group remains undefined. One may reply however, that this is only true if the analyst chooses to adopt a monofunctional definition of the endogamous group in terms of descent boundaries which neglects the relations between genealogical forms and rules and their varying economic and political referents. The language of kinship and marriage exchange patterns is indeed, as Bourdieu shows, individually, contextually and socially relative. One can, nonetheless, without falling into "naive realism" (Bourdieu 1977 : 38 - 39) profitably examine the statistical regularities and variations of marriage patterns in relation to formal criteria of social organisation as well as specific social strategies and corresponding individual and collective interests. Such systematic analysis is not a way of avoiding "the problems raised by the notion of endogamy and concealed by the all-too-familiar concept of the group" (Bourdieu 1977 : 33). On the contrary, coupled with qualitative sociological analysis, statistical formalisation is an indispensable tool in understanding

what Bourdieu (1977 : 38) calls "the absolute relativism which bestows upon agents the power to manipulate their own social identity," within, one might add, certain culturally specific limits. This is not to deny that:

"....the constants of the field of potentially useful relationships (i.e. those that are actually usable, because spatially close, and useful, because socially influential) cause each group of agents to tend to keep up by continuous maintenance-work a privileged network of practical relationships which comprises not only the sum total of the genealogical relationships kept in working order (here called practical kinship) but also the sum total of the non-genealogical relationships which can be mobilised for the ordinary needs of existence (practical relationships)."

(Bourdieu 1977 : 39)

An analysis of marriage and endogamy which takes into account the relational complexity of the social context as fully as possible presupposes at very least, a pluri-functional approach based on a wide sample of occurrences. The development of pluri-functional models should serve to inter-relate, statistically and qualitatively, directly documented marriage exchanges with situational and temporal variations of the economic and political processes of which they are an element. This approach should facilitate the observer's task in distinguishing the convergences and differences prevailing between native and analytic perceptions of marriage.

4. The study of marriage patterns in South Kanem.

The study of marriage patterns in South Kanem required using a sample large enough to understand endogamic and exogamic process in relation to stratification criteria. This implied observing matrimonial exchanges in both the Kanembu and the Duu endogamic strata and choosing the clan, which is the largest descent-based socio-political unit recognised in Kanembu society, as a basic reference group in the study of marriage exchange. This option facilitates inter-clan comparisons with regard to major economic, political and social processes. Indeed, oral tradition is clan-focussed and collective land ownership rights and fiscal prerogatives are clan-vested.

The average Kanemi clan, with some 1,000 to 2,000 members, is a social unit of sufficiently large size to exhibit a high degree of complexity in marriage patterns as well as a certain autonomy of political action at the pan-Kanem level, as is illustrated by often very specific and detailed clan oral histories. At the same time, the Kanemi clan is small for purposes of statistical analysis of variations of marriage patterns among its component, locally-based descent groups, factions or status groups. It became clear in the field that the study of marriage patterns on the basis of a sample of marriages contracted by members of one or several clans would render impossible any appreciation of intra-clan variations. If a sampling method had been adopted, the study of clan organisation would have had to rely heavily on elders' understandably politicised and interested accounts and informants' statistically unconfirmable generalisations about marriage practices. It was necessary to study at least one clan in depth in order to arrive at a general view of Kanembu clan organisation and social stratification. This entailed recording the marital histories and complementary economic and personal data of all members and co-residents of a clan as well as documenting the marriages of their deceased parents. Given the magnitude of this task, it was necessary to choose between studying a Kanembu or a Duu clan. I opted for detailed examination of the Duu Rea clan for several reasons.

In view of the state of tension prevailing in relations between the two strata, it would have been extremely difficult to reside in a chieftaincy dominated by the Kanembu and, at the same time, develop relaxed relations with a sufficiently large group of resident Duu informants. My perception of the subordinate stratum of Kanemi society would thus have been largely dependent on statements by Kanembu aristocrats. Furthermore, the Duu who reside in predominantly Kanembu districts are more dispersed than those of the Duu-dominated Bari district inhabited by the Adia, Bara, Darka and Rea. By concentrating on smaller and more thinly-spread Duu groups, it would

have been difficult to achieve a sample population large enough to lend itself to the statistically-based analysis of social-structural traits. Finally, it was important to select a large group with a well-developed oral history in order to establish inter-clan comparisons liable to promote a better understanding of the political implications of marriage exchange patterns.

Five Duu clans, the Adia, Bara, Darka, Dieri and Rea corresponded to these criteria. The Darka, who constituted the most powerful of the pre-colonial Duu groups, are today split between two cantons (N'guri and Dokora) and hostilities between the two ruling sub-clans would have rendered exhaustive investigations touchy. The Dieri, a former semi-nomadic hunter group, present the disadvantage of residing in the periphery of South Kanem and are somewhat marginal to the political life of Kanembu society. The Adia and the Bara, before and after colonisation by the French, moved in their great majority to the Bahr el-Ghazal area between Massakory and Lake Chad's southeastern tip. They are geographically dispersed and also distanced from political process in Kanem's core. The Rea clan, on the other hand, presents several advantages. Its size is both manageable and large enough for basic statistical analysis (23 settlements and 1,314 residents). The majority of its population is concentrated in South Kanem's political centre, just south of the sous-préfecture of N'gouri. The Rea are thus in constant relation with the most powerful clans of South Kanem (the Kanembu Kogona and N'gijim and the Duu Darka). With the clan's major village, Yalita, just over 50 km south of Mao, the study of Rea politics is rich in implications for the understanding of relations between Kanem's paramount clan, the Kanembu Dalatoa under the alifa of Mao, and strong but subordinate clans of the densely populated Kanemi south. Lastly, some Rea are also settled along the Bahr el-Ghazal, near the Adia and Bara. The social and economic changes which have occurred among these southerly groups in relation to the northern

Rea are indicative of wider socio-economic processes which affect the entire Duu stratum and the maskin (dependents) of Kanem in general.

By carrying out complementary inquiries among smaller Duu settlements throughout South Kanem, I tried to evaluate major social-organisational differences between communities of varying size, characterised by differential population distribution patterns and extremely variable political statuses.

It was my hope to complete a detailed analysis of marriage patterns among the Kanembu Kogona clan of N'jigdada who are related to the Dalatoo of Mao (cf. Chapters 2 and 3). For reasons of time and cost, however, this task proved to be beyond my grasp. Nonetheless, the partial inquiries conducted in Kanembu settlements are presented on a comparative basis in Chapter 10 in an attempt to generalise certain observations to Kanemi social organisation as a whole.

The data collected among the Duu Rea and the Kanembu Kogona with their Duu dependents consisted in the following items for each married or once married person residing in the 30 settlements considered:

1. Name, nickname, patronym.
2. Approximate date of birth.
3. Clan and lineage affiliations.
4. Canton and place of birth.
5. Cantons and places of residence with spouse(s).
6. Distance from place of birth to place(s) of marital residence.
7. Artisanal and other professional activities.
8. Sex, name, date, canton and place of birth for each surviving child and, in addition, date of death for each deceased child.
9. Date, duration and, when applicable, mode of termination (divorce or death of spouse) of each marriage contracted.

These data were classified by marriage rather than by individual. Each person thus appears in the listing as many times as he or she has married. The sample thus includes certain marriages of Rea residents contracted outside of Rea territory with persons of non-Rea origins. For each marriage, the following information was gathered in addition to the personal items enumerated above:

1. The value of marital prestations exchanged including the yara, fida, niamom, rabitina and sadau (defined in the next section of this chapter), or, when applicable, a global sum; counterprestations from wife's family to husband and/or his kin are also recorded.
2. The wealth in livestock of each couple (cattle, goats, horses, donkeys, camels).
3. The list of close kin (parents, parents siblings, siblings and children) who have emigrated from Rea territory, with these persons' clan and lineage affiliations and place of residence.
4. The order of marriage for each spouse in relation to each union contracted.
5. The kinship relationship(s) prevailing between spouses.
6. The kinship relationship(s) of each spouse to the village headman.
7. Close kinship relationships with residents of other Rea settlements than that of informant's residence.

Supplementary information was solicited concerning the clan affiliations and decade of marriage of spouses' parents.

Genealogical charts were drawn to illustrate the relationships prevailing between the inhabitants of each settlement studied.

The total sample of extant and terminated marriages contracted by permanent residents of the Rea territory as of October 1974 is composed as follows:

TABLE 6 : Distribution of Rea extant and terminated marriages N = 633

	E + TM	EM	TM	Di	DH	DW	H ^O ,W	CM
VG 1	302	145	157	129	21	7	28	85
VG 2	206	106	100	66	27	7	34	79
VG 3	125	66	59	40	11	8	19	46
ALL	633	317	316	235	59	22	81	210

ABBREVIATIONS:

E + TM : Extant and Terminated Marriages

EM : Extant Marriage

TM : Terminated Marriage

Di : Marriage terminated by divorce

DH : Marriage terminated by death of husband

DW : Marriage terminated by death of Wife

CM : Cousin marriage

VG : Village Group

U : Data uncertain or missing

In the course of Section II (Chapters 6 to 10) marriage patterns will be examined at different levels of social organisation. We will begin by a description of marriage patterns of the Duu Rea clan (cf. Chapter 6). Three factors are given special consideration, namely local origins and residence, clan and lineage affiliations and consanguinity between spouses. Consanguineal and non-consanguineal marriages are then observed in their duration and incidences of termination by divorce, before looking at major factors which affect the potential for consanguineal and/or in-clan marriage.

In Chapter 7, the local group and the lineage are chosen as points of reference for the study of in-clan variations of marriage practices. An attempt is made to interrelate the forms of consanguinity and exogamy and

corresponding marriage prestations with local marriage and political strategies. On the basis of this presentation, the marriage strategies observed at the level of the settlement are synthesised so as to demonstrate the contrasts and interrelatedness of endogamous and exogamous practices in relation to the Rea clan.

Chapters 8 and 9 focus on the diachronic consideration of clan endogamy and the frequency of marriage within professional castes and Duu supraclan political alliances. This approach is based on the time-sequence ordering of marriages in terms of clan, caste and political affiliations.

Comparative comments relating to Duu and Kanembu marriage patterns are presented in Chapter 10. Marriage payment and consanguinity patterns of the two strata are contrasted. The socio-marital situation of small Duu groups resident among Kanembu nobility illustrates the differences between autonomous and dependent forms of lineage organisation and the consequences of social status on marriage strategies. At a more general level, the interrelations between common lineage affiliations, consanguinity and propinquity are compared for the Duu and Kanembu marriage samples. Finally, the evaluation of Kanembu marriage patterns in terms of clan and class membership complements the diachronic analysis of Duu marriage and political strategies offered in Chapters 8 and 9.

Before going on to the study of marriage patterns, we will conclude the present chapter by certain preliminary ethnographic comments on the cost and scope of choice in marriage which are valid for both the Duu and Kanembu strata.

5. Preliminary ethnography of Kanembu Marriage

5. 1. The constitution of the individual patrimony

In Kanembu society, male heirs are given strong precedence in the

transmission of patrimony. Both mother's brother and father play an important role in this process, the principal phases of which correspond to major transitions in the life cycle such as naming and circumcision.

The naming ceremony, chu, takes place seven days after birth. When a boy is thus received into society, his kinsmen offer gifts which will constitute the nucleus of his personal patrimony. The principal donation, when material circumstances allow, is generally a bull contributed by mother's brother. The maternal uncle will be expected to repeat or even increase this prestation at the time of his nephew's circumcision, which represents the most important rite de passage in the life of a Kanembu man. Ideally, the gifts then received form a substantial capital composed of cattle, important sums of money and camels. These items often revert temporarily to the custody of the young man's parents. At the time of his first marriage they may be used to pay brideprice. Circumcision gifts frequently exceed in value that of required marital prestations and, in such circumstances, are a guarantee of material viability of a new domestic unit. The contributions of a young man's matrikin are thus of considerable importance in ensuring his successful passage into adulthood.

In recent years, circumcision rites have become less frequent and regular. They used to be arranged by lineage notables on a yearly basis. Presently, boys of different ages are attended to collectively every five or six years. The operation takes place some distance away from the village and is followed by seven days of healing and seclusion in the bush. Bouquet (1974 : 50), underlining the role of mother's brother, gives the following description of the festivities which take place on the young man's return:

".... the children leave their retreat and parade through the village by increasing order of social status : thus, the Duu come first and the sons of notables last. They then go to bathe, don their men's clothes and take position on the village square, each before the mat where his gifts will be placed. The maternal uncle's gift is always the most valuable; it generally consists of a bull, a camel, a large sum of money or even of one of his daughters in marriage." (My translation)

A father exercises strong control over the wealth of the domestic unit over which he presides; this power was formally extended to his captive slaves. However, he is under the obligation to transmit an often important share of his patrimony to his children at the time of their marriage and to fulfil his obligations towards his sister's sons at their naming and circumcision. These transferrals of wealth inter vivos do not generally detract from the collective management of land and cattle by a father assisted by his sons until the patriarch reaches a very ripe age. The alienation of property or cultivation rights must meet with father's approval and may be decided by him alone. At death, a father's prerogatives pass to his eldest son. Dissension generated by a strict application of the privileges of primogeniture frequently provokes the break-up of small hamlets formed around an association of brothers, or at least, lesser degrees of estrangement between siblings.

In most cases, the widow receives only that which her children may choose to leave with her. If she does not remarry within one year to one of her deceased husband's kinsmen, her offsprings' obligation of support and keep lapse. Kanembu custom thus differs from Koranic norms in that it commonly precludes the quarter share reserved for the widow of a childless marriage or the eighth part of the widowed mother. The disposition prescribing that a daughter's share should equal half a son's share is not scrupulously observed either. These practices maintain an undivided inheritance in the father's line to an extent greater than that recognised as legitimate by Sharia.

The eldest male heir is entitled to a slightly larger share of his father's estate than his younger brothers. It is commonplace for the latter to ask him to manage the land over which his father had cultivation rights in order that the plot, especially wadi grounds, remain undivided. Sisters receive no compensation when land rights are thus amputated from the total

inheritance by their brothers prior to its distribution. The first born son also has a preferential right to the better part of his father's personal belongings, such as weapons, harnesses and other prestigious accoutrements. All the same, the partition of the father's herds and harvests is generally concluded on a more equal basis.

When the wife is the first in a couple to die, the same norms are applied : the widower is not considered to be an heir. If there are no children born of the union, the deceased spouse's siblings are first to inherit; the late wife's sisters accede to only half their brothers' entitlement.

The collectivity, principally the husband's patrilineage, is also considered a legitimate heir in the person of the village headman, who may claim a 1/10th share. In former times, the alifa would also avidly apply this disposition whenever possible and even increase its scope by disinheriting siblings of the deceased in the case of childless marriages.

5. 2. Marriage Prestations

We will here restrict ourselves to a normative and descriptive presentation of marital prestations. Our present purpose is to situate these transfers in relation to the wider system of circulation of wealth as it affects different strata and classes of the Kanemi population. In Chapters 7 and 9, the detailed comparative study of marriage practices among the Kanembu and Duu will be supported by the statistical analysis of prestations transferred in all recorded extant and terminated unions.

The cycle of marital prestations is initiated by token gifts to the future fiancée on behalf of the suitor. Ideally, one should offer a roll of cotton fabric (gebak) and a pair of sandals to the girl as well as some loaves of sugar, perfume and pomades to the members of her immediate family.

In good etiquette, the suitor is also expected to offer presents to his fiancée during such religious festivals as may occur during the period of betrothal (e.g. Tabasqi or 'Id ul-Fatr'). These are known as n'quurirom or 'share of the feast'. They must be repeated if, for example, due to difficulties in constituting the agreed bride price, the engagement is prolonged beyond the initially expected date of marriage.

The most onerous of all payment can be the bride price. In the case of a girl's first marriage, one speaks of the yara. This gift of the suitor to his future fiancée is presented by the former's mother to the latter's mother. In the case of a woman's subsequent marriage, the brideprice is called fida. These prestations consist of a negotiable sum of money, preferably to be paid in thalers or other silver coins. Among the poorest, the yara or fida may amount to less than a thaler or its 1973 equivalent of 500 f.C.F.A. On average, 3 to 10 thalers are given. In certain chiefly families, the sum may attain 200 thalers representing a fortune of some 20 prime head of cattle.

At present in South Kanem, brideprice is generally paid in currency. If a suitor or his family lacks cash, cattle may be sold to gather the necessary sum. In a majority of cases, the amount given is inferior or hardly superior to the price of a single ox.

Brideprice should be paid all at once. It is normal for the marriage to be postponed until this has been done. When a young man and his father have difficulty in doing so alone, father's brothers and other agnates may intervene to assist.

In case of divorce, especially where a first marriage is concerned, the brideprice should be refunded to the ex-husband. Any profit which the former wife's father has been able to make by investing this sum during the

course of the marriage remains with him. In certain instances, a woman's subsequent husband directly reimburses her prior spouse.

When cousins intermarry, brideprice is often, though not always, foregone. In marriage between distant kin, it may be reduced to a very low or even symbolic level. Yara or fida may also be dispensed with in the case of sadaka marriages concluded between a holy or especially worthy or desirable man, lacking in means, and a (generally) richer person's daughter.

The nierom or 'share of the marriage' may not be waived, low though its value may be. The term derives from the Arabic an-niqā meaning marriage. It is a gift from the fiancé to his future wife's paternal uncle (aba woli, FyB). The payment is made on the very day of the marriage. Amounts often range from no more than 500 to 2,000 f. C.F.A. However, this sum is on many occasions higher than the fida.

The sadau, from the Arabic as-sadāqah, is presented by the groom to the bride on the day of marriage in the presence of the latter's parents. The sadau is most frequently paid in cattle or goats. The number of head given is determined by prior arrangement between the two parties. Without this gift, the marriage ceremony cannot proceed. As of the time the spouses cohabit, it becomes the personal property of the bride. The sadau rarely comprises more animals than needed for purely domestic purposes and cannot be seen as forming the embryo of a viable herd. Among the Kanembu, one generally tries to give one or two cows; among the Duu, one or two goats or a small sum of money constitute a more common gift.

Whereas the sadau consolidates the personal link between husband and wife, the rabitina seals the new relationship established between their respective families. The term derives, once again, from the Arabic, rub' ud-dīnār meaning 'quarter of a dinar'; the latter is a gold coin of varying value formerly common in many Muslim lands. Both Kanembu and Duu

attach much importance to this gift from the groom's parents and immediate kin to those of the bride. This prestation is only made in the case of a woman's first marriage; its value and composition are extremely variable and directly reflect the status of the husband's lineage. Typical gifts are three goats, 2,500 f. C.F.A., or a horse; in one exceptional but interesting case, a family of Kanembu nobles offered fifty date palms.

Marriage prestations may also include additional jewellery when the husband's wealth allows. During the public marriage ceremony, the fiancés and their respective wali (witnesses), either the father or an uncle of each party, meet in the presence of the mallam. Village elders, generally related to the future spouses, also attend the ceremony in the name of the local community. At the request of the wife's wali, the husband's wali solemnly enumerates the prestations which his party has delivered or promises to furnish. It is not unknown for the groom's wedding day promises of jewellery and other gifts to be somewhat exaggerated. To reduce possible consequent embarrassment, it is customary to leave him a six-month lapse to comply. Earrings, bracelets and anklets may only be clumsily made copper trinkets available on any market place for a few francs. The wealthy however, may give pure silver jewellery made from melted coinage which, during the last century, tended to be restricted to chiefs' daughters. Whatever actually is presented to the bride within the prescribed time limit may be considered as part of the brideprice and, hence, claimable on divorce.

When the bride's wali has finished proclaiming the gifts offered by the groom, the officiating mallam seals the union by reciting the fatiha (opening sūra of the Koran). The wife, concealed under a dark shawl, is then conducted on the back of a mare, ox or donkey, according to means, to her new home. Along the way she is cheered by guests and accompanied by the shrill cries of her women friends and kin. On arrival, the tip of the headrope of the bride's mount is buried in the sand. The groom then approaches

and, before drawing the rope from the sand, remits a gift known as the jarm'buta to his wife or one of her kin. The name of this prestation is composed from the Kanembukanembu words jar, rope or headrope, and m'buni, m'buchi to tear away or off. The present generally consists of a sum of money ranging from 100 to 1,500 f. C.F.A. The nomadic, pastoral origin of this custom is apparent (cf. for example, Chapelle 1957 concerning similar practices among the Teda and Daza). This offering is restricted to first marriages among the Kanembu where it may replace the sadau. Among Duu, it has a rather "evolue" connotation. In both strata, remarrying divorcees or widows walk from the place where the marriage ritual is carried out to their new residence and are not entitled to any special gift.

If the bride is a virgin, the nuptial mat is exposed in front of her hut following consummation of the marriage. This event gives rise to a small celebration during which a lamb or a goat is sacrificed and its meat distributed to the poor. Under such circumstances, virginity compensation or ferorom ('the part of the girl') is given to the wife in the form of jewellery such as silver anklets or bracelets or lesser jewellery or coins. Clothing and, among the rich, cattle may also be given. As for the sadau and jarm'buta, these gifts become the personal property of the bride and are hence not refundable in case of divorce.

Rules concerning the type and value of prestations to be presented by the wife's kin to the husband and his kin are not formalised. Nonetheless, such counter gifts are the object of ardent and detailed negotiations which can last up until the very day of the wedding ceremony. In general, the wife's parents are expected to furnish a trousseau including those domestic furnishings and utensils essential to the setting-up of a new household. Today, this would mean a sheet and cover, possibly a mattress, a mosquito net, a teapot and glasses, a kettle, some metal basins and plates of different sizes, a Fulani-type engraved calabash, a hewn, chiselled, hemispherical wooden bowl for millet porridge (biri) and a set of clothes

for the husband. Most commoner families would have great difficulty in acquiring all of these objects in time for their daughter(s) marriage(s) and compromises are the rule. Richer families, on the other hand, try to diversify these essentials by adding imported goods such as a radio, a watch, a small carpet and much enameled metalware. Before imported cloth and metal goods were available, the main items brought by the bride were sleeping and sitting mats of different qualities, calabash vessels decorated with cowrie shells and kitchen utensils including the still indispensable wooden mortar and pestle.

Among the well-to-do, it is expected that the bride's parents bestow a horse on their son-in-law. Dowries of cattle, however, are rare even among the Kanembu. Sometimes one, two or three head will be donated to the husband or his kin to defray the high cost of the status-enhancing prestations or ceremonial expenditures. The expenses entailed by the feast can be a great burden for the groom's party. In addition to a gift for the mellam, an ox or several goats, substantial quantities of millet, maize, oils and condiments, sugar, tea and kola nuts for several dozen guests are required. Festivities may last as long as a week; hence, the wife's kin and friends of both spouses often bring some foodstuffs and small gifts to balance out the cost of the celebration.

Gift exchange among the Kanembu is difficult to characterise normatively. In particular, the role of cattle as a prestation varies considerably. Historically, the elimination of large bovine populations through the effects of cyclically recurrent droughts, as well as the introduction of money by the French and its gradual acceptance as universal tender, have contributed to the diminishing importance of cattle prestations. The ecological variations noted from the humid lake shores to the quasi-desertic areas north of Mao imply great differences in the availability of cattle, at any given time, on a North-South axis of only 100 km. At all times and places, access to cattle wealth has been differential and has been

strictly regulated in accordance with the criteria of social stratification.

In any case, certain marriage gifts remain indispensable for the maintenance of the contracting parties' self-respect. These include the fida, when appropriate, and the niarom. The amounts of subsidiary prestations are eminently debatable. On average however, marriage prestations do not represent a capital sufficient to (a) require great and protracted economic sacrifices on the part of a young suitor and his immediate kin on whom he can count for material assistance or (b) allow a young couple to constitute the nucleus of a herd. Marriage does not appear to be a basic mechanism of capital transfer either between generations or between lineages. If one adds up all the payments that a "proper" marriage should entail, it is immediately obvious that a large majority of Kanemi farmers could never hope to live up to the standards of those nobles who "set fashion".

Social status and the nature and value of marital prestations are, of course, intimately linked. Slave marriages were concluded on the basis of only token marital prestations. Slaves themselves were often used as marriage gifts for anyone opulent enough to acquire them. During the later 19th century, however, their exchange value is said to have generally been inferior to the cattle prestations which they accompanied. A marriage between two slaves required the prior approval of their respective masters. In many cases, such unions were arranged on the latter's sole initiative. The negotiations between owners, when the future spouses were not both the property of the same man, revolved around the subsequent use and control of the couple's labour force and the attribution of their offspring. To facilitate such arrangements, the Kanembu tended to arrange marriages between their own captives, or with those of kinsmen. When slave concubines were married to their masters, generally as a "reward" for their having borne boys, bridewealth was by definition excluded in virtue of the owner's rights as purchaser or heir.

The situation is more complex among the Duu. They are defined by the Kanembu as a unified stratum of society. In fact, the Duu are divided between the social classes : some are effectively freemen, though generally poor, and others are virtually slaves or serfs. The mode of transfer of marital prestations among the most dependent category of Duu illustrates the servile quality of their condition. Whereas the Kuri Kora and their Kanembu allies and clients prefer to organise marriage payments around the exchange of cattle, "their" Duu were forbidden to do so on their own. I quote a statement made to me by Kanembu Korio men resident among the Kuri Kora: "A Duu did not have the right to own cattle. When the time came for him to take a wife, he went to see his Kanembu. The Kanembu alone was allowed to make those payments which had to consist of cattle. Millet and maize were good only for the marriage feast. This meant one or two or at very most three head of cattle changed hands. They were given to the Duu's future parents-in-law. But these also did not have the right to keep the cattle. They passed them on to their own Kanembu with whose herd they would remain. The girl's parents gave the groom an azizi (gift, token of friendship) of some item of clothing and a little gabak".

Patterns of exchange similar to the one described here are still practised today. In blunt economic terms, the master of the Duu groom thus acquired extensive rights over the labour of the in-marrying Duu woman and of her eventual offspring at the price of "one or two or at very most three head of cattle". In the 19th century, this was cheaper than purchasing a slave woman. Furthermore, there was little risk of the new wife escaping, being captured by brigands or becoming ill on the road from Kuka market or Bagirmi. As opposed to the slave, the Duu did have the right to found a socially recognised domestic unit. However, in so doing, the Duu man became indebted to his patron for the animals required to take a wife. This could represent several years revenue in kind, considering the heavy

taxes and levies to which he was submitted. As a result he became or remained an indentured serf of his master for a very long time.

I have been told repeatedly that comparable arrangements were and are implemented among the Duu and Kanembu maskin resident on lands directly controlled by the alifa of Mao and the different branches of the Dalatoa lineage he heads ; I was unfortunately not able to check out these assertions personally. Duu resident in the former chieftaincies of Dibinenchi, N'guri and Bari Kolom were not, to my knowledge, submitted to this humiliating procedure. They could and do marry of their own volition and arrange payments within the restricted limits of their means. Their marital prestations commonly consisted of some gabak and a small number of goats. The cycle of gifts and counter-gifts was simplified in relation to the Kanembu norms related above. The bride's modest trousseau of Duu-made wares compensated a single payment covering the fida, nierom and sadeu all in one. In spite of increased monetary revenues, such paucity of prestations is still widely encountered today. Exceptionally, marital exchanges of richer Duu of the autonomous clans include an ox or even a mare as a sign of social emancipation.

5.3. Remarks on the description of relations of kinship and affinity

A detailed description of Kanembu kinship terminology is presented in Appendix 4. I will here restrict myself to certain specific remarks on this topic in order to underline that there is no single or logically imperative relationship between the ways in which ties of affinity and descent were denoted in the Kanembukanembu language as used in South Kanem in 1974 and the marital practices and forms of social organisation observable there at that same period.

In Kanembukanembu, all of ego's cousins are generally termed as classificatory siblings (n'jiri) (Cf. Appendix 4, Diagram 1). The only way

of terminologically distinguishing a kinsperson that an English-speaker calls a 'cousin' from one designated as a 'brother', 'sister' or 'sibling' is to use composite descriptive designations (e.g. FBS = tada abaniye kura/woli = son of my elder/younger father (i.e. FB) or fero ndiniye = daughter of my mother's (elder/younger) brother.

The terms for parents' same-sex siblings are constructed on the roots for F and M but must be distinguished from the latter by the addition of an adjective indicating seniority or juniority at birth order in relation to the speaker's F or M. The words for parents' opposite-sex siblings are distinct and, in the case of MB, etymologically different from those denoting parents (FZ = baa; MB = ndii). The reference terminology corresponding to parents' generation is thus governed by four criteria, namely sex, generation level, birth order in same-sex sibling sets and locality. The compound expressions indicating cousin relationships are often used in conversation to supplement the otherwise widely classificatory usage of n'jiri (sibling) when referring to instances of consanguineal marriage. Moreover, in spite of the generalisation of the Islamic naming system, there persists along with day-names, a series of nick-names expressing presumed moral or physical traits of a person. These designations may denote the order and/or circumstances of birth and the situation of parents prior to or after a given birth. Among these names, one encounters 'Kurchi' or person whose parents are cousins (n'jiri); 'Fendi' and 'Malui' are used for a boy or girl, respectively, born of parents who are cousins. It will be remarked, however, that these three terms give no account of the genealogical link(s) between related parents (cf. Appendix 4).

The colloquial non-differentiation of sex differences among siblings, the terminological assimilation of ego's descendants and their collaterals (cf. Appendix 4, Diagram 3) and the reduced scope of marital prohibitions

(see below) tend to denote a certain interpenetration of the 'kin' and 'affine' categories. These traits could be viewed as especially compatible with bilateral endogamous marriage practices within social groups whose political organisation is formally legitimated in terms of an exclusive principle of patrilineal descent. Yet, one must be most cautious and circumspect as regards drawing conclusions about Kanembu social organisation on the basis of kinship terminology.

In an area such as Kanem characterised by multiple inter-ethnic encounters and on-going linguistic, cultural and political intermingling, significant changes in kinship classifications are not uncommon processes. For example, with the regression of their native tongue in favour of Kanembu, the riverine Kuri have shifted from an Iroquois to an Hawaiian type cousin terminology since the end of the last century. Neighbouring Buduma appear to have replaced the classification of real siblings according to sex by their designation following birth order within same-sex sibling sets while maintaining a clear distinction between cousin and sibling (cf. Chevalier 1904, Landeroin 1911, Bouillie 1937 and personal inquiries in 1973). Many other recent examples of syntactical change in kinship classification, terminology and the expression of marital preferences could be drawn from South Kanem's complex ethnography.

By and large, one might venture to ask whether there are any parallels between the extension in the use of Kanembu criteria of kinship classification and processes of linguistic and political expansion of the central Kanembu vis-à-vis South Kanem and the lacustral periphery. In spite of an important Arab presence on the Kanembu's southern, eastern and northern confines (Shuwa, Dagana, Tunjur, Awlad Sliman, etc., as illustrated on Map 3), little or no interplay can be noted between Arabic and Kanuri group (Kanembu, Kanuri, Tedaga-Dazaga) terminologies. Arab influences reflect the emphasis placed on patrilineal ideology in the expression of

cousin preferences. Until much more anthropological and linguistic research has been carried out, hypotheses relating to the possible transformations of southern Kanemi kinship systems can only be speculative.

The possible variation of Kanembukanembu classifications and usage between Duu and Kanembu is also a particularly delicate topic. Though of very distinct formation in their modes of livelihood and cultural heritage, the Duu have not had a language or kinship system of their own within human memory or according to oral tradition. However, until the mid-19th century, the Duu counted few converts to Islam in their midst. A kinship terminology formally identical to that of dynastic Kanembu society, could well have expressed considerably different marriage practices. Today, it is still not unreasonable to expect important differences in social organisation between dominant Kanembu agro-pastoralists and residual Duu hunter communities or smith groups. The hierarchical ordering of component units of the Kanembu polity on the basis of reciprocal marital isolation implies that classificatory systems and marriage practices may neither be considered uniform nor univocal. In spite of the apparent "unity" or "homogeneity" of the Kanembu considered as a cultural and linguistic group, the undifferentiated study of "the" Kanembu kinship system would be methodologically as well as ethnographically misguided.

5. 4. Marriage prohibitions and preferences

When requested to offer a formal account of their marital practices, Kanembu tend to underline the primacy of the principle of unilineal agnatic descent and to present all marriage prohibitions and preferences as directly following from the vigilant application of this major organisational rule, in accordance with Sharia prescriptions. Most Kanembu would also recognise that the effects of the unilineal descent principle may not be fully understood without taking into consideration the complementary norm of seniority among same-sex siblings which is clearly expressed in Kanembu kinship terminology (cf. Appendix 4). The unilineal ideal is thus made

consonant with the self-avowedly stratified nature of Kanembu society. For the anthropologist, as for any astute Kanembu match-maker, village or lineage chief, marriage practices must be considered not only in relation to an agnatically based genealogical typology but equally as a process linked with the organisation and development of kin-focussed socio-political units and social strata.

Kanembu marriage prohibitions can be stated very simply from a solely normative point of view. It is forbidden to marry or have sexual relations with one's full or half siblings, parents and their real or classificatory siblings or spouses, as well as one's own direct descendants. It is prohibited to marry a kinsperson or non-kinsperson nursed by one's own mother. In addition, sororal polygamy is forbidden. This set of norms theoretically allows for all types of cousin marriages, whether cross or parallel.

There is no impediment to marriages between persons of different or the same line of descent, or within and between members of the patrifocussed clans and lineages which comprise such lines of descent. In contrast, marriage is or has been forbidden between certain social strata. A union between a Duu and a Kanembu is considered legally void and, in certain instances, criminal in local jurisprudence. A Kanembu woman having unknowingly married a Duu is entitled to immediate divorce and appropriate compensation. Such inter-stratum unions are, in practice, extremely rare. Before the decline of slavery, marriage between a slave man and a free woman was also unacceptable.

In all sectors of Kanembu society, cousin marriage is encouraged as a rule. Presently, the ideal Kanembu first marriage for both sexes is described by informants as a patrilateral and patrilocal cousin union. A clear ideological preference is manifested toward FBD/FBS unions, but it is difficult to appraise to what extent such assertions are advanced out of

a desire to demonstrate conformity with locally prestigious Arabo-Islamic norms. On the other hand, MZD/MZS marriage definitely is deprecated if not outright condemned. The least sought after cousins are true uterine relatives with whom no other complementary patrilineal tie may be invoked. In practice, in this latter instance, one is speaking only of cases where all ascendants linking two cousins are females. For a male ego, this category includes MZD ("same father, same mother" and "same mother, different father"), MMZDD, etc. This status may be expressed by the reciprocal term of address or reference ayana, meaning either uterine half-siblings or matrilineal parallel cousins. Thus, marriage is better not contracted between cousins whose mothers or maternal grandmothers have nursed at the same breast.

Informants recognise that these dispositions are not prescribed by Islamic law but maintain, even among mallams, that they shall continue to be followed out of respect for "tradition" (ada). One knowledgeable elderly man indirectly brought out the ambiguous character of MZD status in relation to marriage, and consequently the relative nature of genealogical criteria when viewed in terms of group evolution rather than individual pedigree, by commenting that one of the major social advantages of contracting a FBD union is that MZD's become "real" sisters. In the course of field inquiries, only 2 of 1,289 Duu marriages were admitted to be "real" MZD unions. Yet, marriages between classificatory matrilineal parallel cousins are statistically too frequent to be subsumed as "exceptions" confirming a patrilineal parallel cousin marriage norm. All categories of cousins, as well as kin of different generations who are not related in direct line of descent, may be considered as potential spouses.

Whatever the typological frequencies declared and observed, consanguineal marriages may only take on their full sociological significance when looked upon as interrelated occurrences in a much wider pattern

including all unions, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, parallel or cross, consanguineal or not. Those Kanembu who control and manipulate genealogical knowledge use a political idiom in the interests of which they seek to describe the marriage practices of their kin and affines as compatible with major principles of social organisation, such as the norms defining the boundaries, recruitment procedures and political competences of kin-focused groups. However, the Kanembu ideology of kinship and marriage does not purport to reduce the necessary complexity of social practice to a linear, immutable and self-reproducing continuum of events based on a single rule of descent and a corresponding consanguineal marriage practice. How then could the anthropologist feel authorised to limit attention a priori to a given, genealogically-defined category of union on the sole grounds that a putatively "dominant", "preferential" form of cousin marriage results from a given rule of descent ?

The sum of individual choices between in- and out-clan marriage and between a given type of cousin union or a genealogically unrelated partner defines a social group's marriage network at a given time. This pattern has a collective meaning in relation to the community's social economic and political organisation which transcends that of the individual sentiments, goals and choice processes which contribute to define it. The statistical distribution of genealogically-defined types of unions is thus a complex and relative set of indicators with little intrinsic meaning.

The relativity of type occurrences is confirmed by the liberty of choice the Kanembu have in the genealogical description of their consanguineal marriage ties at both the individual and the collective levels. A given union may be defined in the fashion most conducive to define and support a couple's position within their local community, lineage or clan of birth and/or residence. The description of a consanguineal marriage by spouses or the persons with whom they regularly interact may find more than one expression.

One may observe insistence on a patrilinear link to the exclusion of a known matrilinear tie, sometimes by tracing relationship through a more distant common male ascendant. People may insist heavily on the importance of a difficultly confirmable genealogical link when the assertion of consanguinity is deemed strategically useful. Under other conditions, a political rift for example, a close cousin union between spouses of different lineage affiliations may be silenced by a whole group of kin. If the logic of each union and its socially determined categorisation is clarified, it becomes evident that statistical typological distributions are random only to the extent that they may be limited by the biological availability of permitted spouses.

The examination of marriage patterns at the village and lineage level reveals a coherent ordering of marriage choices and definitional representations rather than haphazard distributions resulting from a conjunction of wholly non-coordinated individual acts. Informants are fully aware of the fact that the marriage pattern of their village or lineage is an ordered image which reflects their desired social distinctiveness in regard to other like and wider communities as well as their major social goals, limitations and strategies. The collective significance of marriage patterns is also relevant to other collectivities and at other levels of social organisation such as the lineage, the clan, certain inter-group alliances and even social strata. In such a complex universe of social practice and messages, any exclusive form of prescribed consanguineal union would be incompatible with the perpetuation and development of kin-focussed social units which are not strictly bounded by either an exogamic or an endogamic rule. These observations force one to reflect on the proposition that unilineal agnatic political organisation and ideology are logically and practically compatible with effectively bilateral marriage practices in endo-exogamous societies in which FBD/FBS marriage is the most commonly declared form of consanguineal marriage.

The Kanembu themselves honestly seem to attach more importance to knowing whether and how a marriage is an "in-group" or an "out-group" union in a given social context than to discussing the conformity of various consanguineal options with the principle of patrilineal descent. I voluntarily use such vague expressions as "in-" and "out-group" because the definition of socially and situationally relevant group memberships fluctuates in terms of a multiplicity of variables including political circumstance, demographic concentration, social stratification, prior marriage patterns, etc. and not just according to the norms which characterise the organisation of unilineal kin-based groups. The Kanembu describe out-marriage by the term arti. This term is a contraction of the Kanuri word ʔrɛ̀ɛqi, meaning 'luck', which itself derives from the Arabic. It can be translated by 'random' or, more colloquially, "gamble" and may have at least three complementary connotations when used to qualify a marriage; these are (a) to marry a non-cousin; (b) to marry a person not belonging to one's patrigrup and (c) to marry out of the political or territorial unit where one resides, (village, group of villages, lineage or clan territory...). The notion of out-marriage may be opposed to the expression kamu/kwa qatu kifadaye (to take a man/woman - i.e. marry - at one's threshold). Here, the term kifada (mouth of the home) may refer specifically to a patrigrup or, more generally, translate the connotation of social proximity and security.

Traditionally, close (kifadaye) marriages have a more favourable connotation than arti unions. Nonetheless, the notion of consanguinity is not central to the definition of either category but simply a possible aspect of both types of marriage. A close marriage in genealogical terms may well be socially judged arti if factors such as geographical distance, political hostility or other manners of estrangement of related lineages intervene. Conversely, unions between unrelated persons whose lineages share or wish to develop basic common interests may be viewed as close. In such cases, consanguinity is considered a logical, potential consequence of wider

social proximity for future generations but by no means an indispensable prerequisite to the voluntary development of tight-bonds between different patrigrups.

1. Presentation

The object of this chapter is to show how the marriages contracted by the permanent residents of the 23 settlements administered by the Duu Rea clan were distributed as of 1974 in relation to territoriality, the genealogical links which may prevail between spouses, descent group membership and political alliances involving two or more lineages or clans. The description of marriage in terms of these factors will serve as a basis for studying local variations of endo-exogamous marriage patterns (cf. Chapter 7) and the variations of inter-clan marriage exchange relations over time (cf. Chapters 8 and 9).

The geographical framework chosen for this study is designated as the Rea territory. The Rea have established 23 separate settlements which hold cultivation, water and pasturage rights over specific adjacent lands. As is shown on Map 4 these settlements may be divided into two groups of contiguous villages and hamlets centred around the villages of Yalita (Village Group 1) and Kiwa (Village Group 2). A third group, further to the south, is divided into two clusters of settlements around the villages of Dumsa and Tamadai I, designated as Village Group 3a and 3b, respectively; the two taken together are called Village Group 3. (Henceforth, Village Group will be abbreviated as V.G.)

I consider a permanent resident of the Rea territory to be any person who maintains usufruct rights (cf. Chapter 4) over a portion of the lands cultivated by the inhabitants of the twenty-three settlements in question as well as his/her co-habiting spouse(s) and dependents. The population of the Rea territory defined in terms of these criteria is estimated at 1,314 and will be designated as the Rea community.

The Rea community is a territorially-based socio-political group and not a patrilineal descent group. The Duu Rea patrician is a sub-group of the Rea community, which also comprises a set of non-Rea patrisegments.

The relations between Rea and non-Rea patrigrups resident on Rea territory involve ties of political allegiance and suppose access to means of production controlled by the Rea clan and compensatory taxation. In general, the patrigrups sharing the Rea territory are also linked by ties of marriage alliance.

Marital movements to and within the Rea territory will here be considered in terms of the distances travelled by spouses from their place of birth to their place of conjugal residence. Marriage movements will also be presented so as to account for the exchanges and transfers of spouses between different territorial/ administrative units. These include the individual settlement, the village group, the Rea territory, the canton, the préfecture, the Republic of Chad and relevant foreign countries. An imperfect but nonetheless systematic attempt was made to reconstruct the emigration patterns and geographical distribution of Rea who have left their home territory for an indefinite period (See below Tables 42 and 43).

The genealogical relationships obtaining between spouses, as stated by the partners themselves, were also recorded systematically. This naturally does not exclude the existence of other ties of kinship between husband and wife. Some of these links could be deduced from genealogical data and could warrant a computer reconstruction. However, the study of consanguineal marriage is not oriented here toward the formal classification of all theoretically extant kinship relationships between spouses. This would indeed be an impossible task in a strongly patrilineally-oriented society in which descent through women is quite methodically obliterated from genealogical memory.

A brief summary of the outstanding characteristics of Rea marriage patterns may facilitate the reading of the somewhat tedious, statistically-oriented description which follows.

As previously stated (cf. Chapter 3), the Kanembu ideology of marriage and social organisation has a strong patrilineal orientation. In Kanem, the most frequently expressed marriage ideal is that of contracting a union "close to home" in terms of both spatial and genealogical distance. Low average settlement population and the dispersed character of Kanembu and especially Duu habitat favours a high proportion of village out-marriage. This is more apparent for women than for men as is expectable in a system in which patri/virilocality is the predominant form of residence. In spite of the importance of village exogamy, however, the great majority of men and women chose a marriage partner living no farther than 10 km from their home village.

Nevertheless, lineage and clan exogamy were found to be more common than lineage and clan endogamy at the time of inquiries. Local groups are formed around an agnatic core composed of men belonging to the locally dominant clan. But, villages also include a varying proportion of members of other clans, including certain couples in which neither spouse is a member of the community's dominant patrilineal descent group. Conversely, many Rea, as is true of other clans, have emigrated to other parts of Kanem, of Chad and even abroad. Descent groups are locally-based but their membership is generally dispersed to a greater or lesser extent.

In the case of the Rea, clan exogamy and the emigration from the clan territory of at least 15% of the descent group's membership co-occur with the frequent practice of consanguineal marriage. One third of presently married members of the Rea clan and community declare themselves to be genealogically related. This proportion reaches one half when only

first marriages are considered. Real or classificatory patrilineal parallel cousin marriage is the predominant form of consanguineal union. However, all forms of cousin marriage as well as different types of intergenerational consanguineal unions are also practised on a regular basis. Consanguineal unions are shown to be more durable than marriage between non-kin.

Among the Duu Rea, the rate of polygamy reaches 116.3. However, a substantial majority of people practice serial monogamy. Most people do not marry more than twice in their lives.

In this chapter we shall show that the Rea and their co-resident allies and dependents tend to put into practice their expressed preference for consanguineal marriage whenever possible and in spite of strong tendencies toward local and lineage exogamy. Rea community marriage patterns can thus be described as ando-exogamous (cf. discussion of ando-exogamy in Chapter 5).

2. Locality, residence and marital movements.

A first assessment of spouses' settlements of birth in relation to couples' places of marital residence indicates that in almost half of the extant and terminated marriages considered (299 out of 618 cases or 48.4%) both spouses married out of his/her birthplace. In 30.8% (190) of the marriages, the wife came to reside in her husband's village. In only 10.4% (64) cases were both spouses born and married in the same place.

When one considers extant marriages only, wives either came from or went to settle in the husband's village in 51.4% of cases recorded.

This indicates a strong measure of conformity with the patri/virilocal norm favoured by Islam. At the same time, one observes (cf. Table 8) a very high level of out-marriage by women in relation to their place of birth (79.4%; 250 of 315 cases).

ABBREVIATIONS : TABLES 7 AND 8

- ++ Husband and wife marry in their common village of origin
 +- Wife comes to reside in husband's village of origin
 -+ Husband comes to reside in wife's village of origin
 -- Husband and wife establish residence in a village from which
 neither originate

TABLE 7 : Marital residence in relation to spouses' village(s)
of birth for extant and terminated marriages

V G 1		N = 302 - 11 U = 291	
H W			
++	28	9.6%	
+-	101	34.7%	
-+	33	11.3%	
--	129	44.3%	
V G 2		N = 206 - 2 U = 204	
H W			
++	30	14.7%	
+-	64	31.4%	
-+	25	12.3%	
--	85	41.7%	
V G 3		N = 125 - 2 U = 123	
H W			
++	6	4.9%	
+-	25	20.0%	
-+	7	5.7%	
--	85	69.1%	
ALL V G		N = 633 - 15 U = 618	
H W			
++	64	10.4%	
+-	190	30.8%	
-+	65	10.5%	
--	299	48.4%	

TABLE 8: Marital residence in relation to spouses' village(s)
of birth for extant marriages per village group

V G 1		N = 145 - 1 U = 144	
H W			
++	17	11.8%	
+-	62	43.1%	
-+	15	10.4%	
--	50	34.7%	
V G 2		N = 106	
H W			
++	20	18.9%	
+-	47	45.6%	
-+	12	11.3%	
--	27	25.5%	
V G 3		N = 66 - 1 U = 65	
H W			
++	0	0%	
+-	15	23.1%	
-+	1	1.5%	
--	49	75.4%	
ALL VG		N = 317 - 2 U = 315	
H W			
++	37	11.7%	
+-	125	39.7%	
-+	28	8.9%	
--	125	39.7%	

Uxorilocality accounts for a lesser but not negligible 8.9% (28 out of 315) of extant marriages. This figure may indicate a certain amount of cross-cousin marriages as well as immigration by generally dependent males.

Those marriages which are classified as neolocal in Table 8 (39.7%; 125 out of 315 cases) are largely accounted for by the following factors:

a) the repeated displacement of entire village communities, especially in V.G.3, over generally short distances. Such movements are primarily motivated by the exhaustion of dune lands where extensive millet cultivation is practised. In the more densely populated northern areas of the Rea territory, especially V.G.1., these movements are restricted by the more strictly codified land rights of neighbouring clans. In both the north and the south of the Rea territory, intra-community unions concluded within a periodically mobile local group, may, however appear neolocal in a formal sense.

b) the small population of Kanemi settlements. Village size averages 40 people or less in the area of V.G. 1 and 2 and some 50 to 60 persons in the area of V.G.3 (See Jacob, Delagarde and Kernen 1964 : 9). This pattern is determined by land usage requirements in the context of the South Kanemi agro-pastoral economy as well as prevalent modes of group segmentation. It can prove very difficult to find a suitable marriage partner in the restricted framework of the local group.

c) interlineage marriage exchange patterns and community marriage strategies which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Significant variations in residence patterns observable between V.G. 1 and 2 on the one hand, and V.G.3 on the other, must be interpreted in the light of these considerations. In V.G. 3, settlements have been unstable both geographically and politically. All villages of V.G. 3 except Dumsa belong to low status "adoptive" Rea lineages. In addition, the relative indeterminacy of land usage rights and the greater importance of semi-nomadic pastoral activities contribute to shorter community lifespans and higher community mobility than in V.G. 1 and 2. "Neolocality" thus appears predominant (75.4%; 49 out of 65 marriages). Conformity with the general virilocal preference is here masked by high mobility of the local group.

In the Kea community, only 17.3% (107/ 619) of all extant and terminated marriages recorded took place between inhabitants of the same settlement.

ABBREVIATIONS : TABLES 9, 10 and 11

F : Foreign = one or both partners originate from outside of Chad

K : Both partners originate from Kanem

Ca: Both partners originate from the same canton

VG: Both partners originate from the same village group

V : Both partners originate from the same village

U : Uncertain or unknown (eliminated from sub-sample)

TABLE 9: In-marriage in relation to the village, the village group and the canton for extant and terminated marriages per village group

N = 302

VG 1	N	n	%N
= V	296	52	17.6
= VG	296	68	23.0
= Ca	291	147	50.5

N = 206

VG 2	N	n	%N
= V	200	42	2.1
= VG	200	65	32.5
= Ca	194	106	54.6

N = 125

VG 3	N	n	%N
= V	123	13	10.6
= VG	123	23	18.7
= Ca	111	36	32.4

N = 633

VG 4	N	n	%N
= V	619	107	17.3
= VG	619	156	25.2
= Ca	596	291	48.8

This figure rises to only 25.2% (156/619) when the more inclusive VG is taken as a socio-geographic unit of reference and to 48.8 % (291/596) within the boundaries of the canton. These data suggest a priori a low

rate of cousin marriage and a high incidence of clan exogamy. The particularly low rate of in-canton marriage for V.G.3 (32.4%; 36/111) is mainly due to the fact that the group's component settlements are divided between two cantons, namely Keral and Kouloudia.

If only first marriages are considered, in-canton unions average a higher 56.9% (174/306).

ABBREVIATIONS : TABLE 10

1^y M : first marriage

2^y M : subsequent marriage

TABLE 10: Primary or subsequent unions per village group for
extant and terminated marriages

VG 1	n	%N	%N-U
1 ^y M	155	51.3	53.4
2 ^y M	135	44.7	46.6
U	12	4.0	100.0
N	302	100.0	(290)

VG 2	n	%N	%N-U
1 ^y M	102	49.5	51.5
2 ^y M	96	46.6	48.5
U	8	3.9	100.0
N	206	100.0	(198)

VG 3	n	%N	%N-U
1 ^y M	49	39.2	41.5
2 ^y M	69	55.2	58.5
U	7	5.6	100.0
N	125	100.0	(118)

ALL	n	%N	%N-U
1 ^y M	305	48.3	50.5
2 ^y M	300	47.4	49.5
U	27	4.3	100.0
N	633	100.0	(606)

TABLE 11 : Extant in-marriages in relation to territorial divisions per village group

N = 155

VG 1	n	%N
F	-	
K	66	42.6
Ca	89	57.4
VG	68	43.9
V	36	23.2

N = 102

VG 2	n	%N
F	2	2.0
K	36	35.3
Ca	64	62.7
VG	52	51.0
V	25	24.5

N = 49

VG 3	n	%N
F	1	2.0
K	27	55.1
Ca	21	42.9
VG	11	22.4
V	8	16.3

N = 306

VG 4	n	%N
F	3	1.0
K	127	42.2
Ca	174	56.9
VG	131	42.8
V	69	22.5

The average rate of village group endogamy for both partners simultaneously is 42.8% (131/306) (cf. Table 11) as opposed to an average occurrence of in-village marriage of 22.5 (69/306). These figures suggest a higher rate of local endogamy for first than subsequent marriages while underlining the difficulty of finding a partner at the village level.

The crossing of canton boundaries does not always accurately translate the geographical and social distance covered by a future spouse in spite of the fact that many of the more important clans tend to concentrate in a single canton (cf. Appendix 2). In the N'guri, Dibinenchi and Yalita areas particularly, settlements controlled by a clan may spread into several cantons administered by different groups.

To compensate for this bias in data classification, it is possible to represent marital movements in terms of the distance travelled by each spouse from his/her place of birth to his/her marital residence.

TABLE 12 : Distance travelled from locality of origin to marital residence per sex for extant and terminated marriages

KM	n H	nH/NH	nW	nW/NW	nH + nW	nH + nW / N(H + W)
0 - 5	75	35.7	120	31.3	195	32.8
6 - 10	23	11.0	58	15.1	81	13.6
11-20	41	19.5	93	24.2	134	22.6
21-50	30	14.3	61	15.9	91	15.3
51 +	41	19.5	52	13.5	93	15.7
n	210	100.0	384	100.0	594	100.0

$$\frac{\text{Total marital movements by men}}{\text{All marriages by men}} = \frac{210}{(633 - 63 \text{ U})} = \frac{210}{570} = 36.8\%$$

$$\frac{\text{Total marital movements by women}}{\text{All marriages by women}} = \frac{384}{(633 - 69 \text{ U})} = \frac{384}{564} = 68.1\%$$

We observe that 68.1 % (384/564) of all women left their village to marry as against 36.8 % (210/570) of men. By classifying these movements cumulatively within expanding radii from the spouse's village of origin, we find that almost half of all partners (47.1 %; 534/1,134) men and women grouped together, married in their place of birth, 64.7 % (734/1,134) no further than 5 km from it and 71.9% (815/1,134) within a 10 km radius.

TABLE 13 : Marital movements within expanding radii from village of origin for extant and terminated marriages

KM	nH	H%	nW	W%	N(H + W)	H + W%
0	357	62.6	177	31.4	534	47.1
5	435	76.3	299	53.0	734	64.7
10	458	80.4	357	63.3	815	71.9
20	499	87.5	451	80.0	950	83.8
50	529	92.8	512	90.8	1041	91.8
125	570	100.0	564	100.0	1134	100.0

The latter distance, corresponding to some two hours of walking time, fairly expresses the widest perimeter of most day-to-day social interaction. Men are more sedentary with regard to marriage than women but this differential decreases as the distance travelled increases: 87.5 (499/570) of men and 80.0% (451/564) of women marry within 20 km of their birthplace. This means that in spite of the relative infrequency of in-village marriages (cf. Tables, 7, 8, 9 and 10) people do indeed "marry close to home" (cf. Table 14). The corresponding Kanembukanembu expression, Kamu/kwa qatu kifadaye (to take a man/woman at the door of the house) is the closest indigenous rendering of the notion of endogamy.

3. Intra- and extra-lineage marriage

The residents of the Rea territory declared a total of 317 extant and 316 terminated marriages as of October 1974. Tables 14, 15, 16 and 17 account for marriage exchanges between the component lineages of Rea clan and non-Rea.

ABBREVIATIONS : (TABLES 14 TO 28)

R	:	Rea
O	:	non-Rea
R R	:	Rea man / Rea woman marriage
R O	:	Rea man / non-Rea woman marriage
O R	:	non-Rea man / Rea woman marriage
O O	:	non-Rea man / non-Rea woman marriage
R Q	:	Rea Kadia
R B	:	Rea Biremia
R T	:	Rea Teteysa
R Ka	:	Rea Kania
R Ko	:	Rea Kotolu

Total Lin : Total per lineage

TABLE 14 : Distribution of extant Rea in-clan and out-clan
marriages per Rea lineage

N (EM) = 317

	R R	R O	O R	O O	Total Lin
R Q	11	24	8	-	43
R B	8	12	3	-	23
R T	48	61	17	-	126
R Ka	18	10	4	-	32
R Ko	15	24	2	-	41
	100	131	34	(52)	265

TABLE 15 : Distribution of terminated Rea in-clan and
out-clan marriages per Rea lineage

$$N(TM) = 315 - 4U = 312$$

	R R	R O	O R	O O	Total Lin
R Q	18	32	14	-	64
R d	3	7	2	-	12
R T	33	48	16	-	97
R Ka	12	13	10	-	35
R Ko	12	18	2	-	32
	78	118	44	(72)	240

TABLE 16 : Distribution of extant and terminated Rea in-clan
and out-clan marriages per Rea lineage

$$N(E + TM) = 633 - 4U = 629$$

	R R	R O	O R	O O	Total Lin
R Q	28	56	22	-	106
R B	11	19	5	-	35
R T	82	109	33	-	224
R Ka	30	23	14	-	67
R Ko	27	42	4	-	73
	178	249	78	(24)	505

TABLE 17: Percentage distribution of extant and terminated in-and out-clan marriages for the Rea community and the Rea clan

$$N = 633 - 4 U = 629$$

	E M (N = 317)	T M (N = 312)	E M + T M (N = 629)
R R	31.5	25.0	28.3
R U	41.3	37.8	39.6
U R	10.7	14.1	12.4
U U	16.4	23.1	19.7
	99.9	100.0	100.0

$$E M - U U \quad T M - U U \quad E + T M - U U$$

$$(N = 265) \quad (N = 240) \quad (N = 505)$$

	E M - U U (N = 265)	T M - U U (N = 240)	E + T M - U U (N = 505)
R R	37.7	32.5	35.2
R U	49.4	49.2	49.3
U R	12.8	18.3	15.4
	99.9	100.0	100.0

Of the 317 extant unions recorded, 265 involved at least one Rea spouse and 52 were contracted between non-Rea partners of varying lineage affiliations resident on Rea territory. Of the 265 couples including at least one Rea, 100 (37.7%) were Rea in-clan unions, 131 (49.4%) were composed of a Rea man and a non-Rea woman and the remaining 34 (12.8%) were formed by non-Rea men resident on the clan territory of their Rea wives.

These proportions indicate a strong virilocal tendency and a high rate (52.2%) of out-clan marriage. The examination of spouses clan and lineage affiliations shows, however, that all residents of the Rea territory respect the endogamic norm which forbids marriage between Duu and Kanemhu.

In the present section, we will focus on the marriage patterns characteristic of the component lineages of the Rea clan. These lineages vary in size considerably. The Teteya group comprises 126 married couples, the Kadia 43, the Kotolu 41, the Kania 32 and the Biremia 23 (cf. Table 14).

The clan chieftaincy has alternated over the generations between the Teteya and the Kadia who both claim descent from Reu, the clan's apical ancestor. Reu is purported to have been the brother of Bar and Adu, respectively considered as founders of the Duu Bara and Adia clans with whom the Rea shared territory in the Bari district for an undetermined period.

The Kotolu, Kania and Biremia do not claim direct descent from Reu. Their Rea affiliations, however, have been recognised by the Teteya and Kadia as well as by neighbouring Duu and Kanembu groups since before colonisation by the French. The multiple ties of affinity interlinking the five Rea lineages have established mixed lines of descent of long standing. Furthermore, all of the five patrigrups act together as a corporate unit in the administration of their land rights, the payment and internal redistribution of bloodwealth as well as in their relations with neighbouring clans and the national administration.

Tables 18, 19, 20 and 21 illustrate the network of marriage alliances which interlink the lineages of the Rea clan:

4.3. In Tables 18 to 25, horizontal columns tabulate marriages of men of the stated lineages with women of lineages indicated in vertical columns. The vertical columns tabulate marriages of women of the lineage stated with men of lineages indicated in horizontal columns.

TABLE 18 : Distribution of extant Rea in-clan marriages by lineage

$$N = 100 - 11 = 99$$

	R Q	R B	R T	R Ka	R Ko	Total Lin.
R Q	4	1	4	1	1	11
R B	1	1	3	2	1	8
R T	2	3	34	4	4	47
R Ka	1	0	4	10	3	18
R Ko	2	0	1	3	9	15
Total Lin.	10	5	46	20	18	99

TABLE 19 : Distribution of terminated Rea in-clan marriages by lineage

$$N = 78$$

	R Q	R B	R T	R Ka	R Ko	Total Lin.
R Q	12	1	1	2	1	17
R B	0	0	2	0	1	3
R T	2	4	24	4	0	34
R Ka	2	0	5	5	0	12
R Ko	2	0	2	0	8	12
Total Lin.	18	5	34	11	10	78

TABLE 20: Distribution of extant and terminated Rea
in-clan marriages by lineage

H / W	R Q	R B	R T	R Ka	R Ko	Total Lin.
R Q	16	2	5	3	2	28
R B	1	1	5	2	2	11
R T	4	7	58	8	4	81
R Ka	3	0	9	15	3	30
R Ko	4	0	3	3	17	27
Total Lin.	28	10	80	31	28	177

TABLE 21: Percentage distribution of extant and terminated
Rea in-clan marriages by lineage

	R Q	R B	R T	R Ka	R Ko	Total Maj. Lin.
R Q	9.0	1.1	2.8	1.7	1.1	15.8
R B	0.6	0.6	2.8	1.1	1.1	6.2
R T	2.3	4.0	32.8	4.5	2.3	45.8
R Ka	1.7	0	5.1	8.5	1.7	16.9
R Ko	2.3	0	1.7	1.7	9.6	15.3
Total Lin.	16.5	5.7	45.7	16.3	15.8	100.0

Extant proportions of Rea in-lineage marriage may be deducted from

Table 18 :

Teteya in-lineage marriages	:	35/59	(59.3 %)
Kania in-lineage marriages	:	10/28	(35.7 %)
Kotolu in-lineage marriages	:	9/24	(37.5 %)
Kadia in-lineage marriages	:	4/17	(23.5 %)
Biremia in-lineage marriages	:	1/12	(8.3 %)

Each lineage, with the exception of the Kadia and their dependent Siremia neighbours of V.G. 1 is formed around a core of couples who have married within their restricted descent group and, by the same token, within their clan. However, all lineages have exchanged and continue to exchange spouses with all other co-ordinate divisions. The formerly ruling Teteya exhibit a high rate of lineage endogamy (59.3%) which most markedly contrasts with the almost total exogamy ($100 - 8.3 = 91.7\%$) of their Kadia rivals. The latter are few in number for a group entrusted with the administration of a canton counting over 2900 inhabitants. The Kadia have persistently married out of their own lineage and of the Rea clan as a whole.

The Teteya lineage is divided into four sub-lineages: the Alia, is the largest with 22 married couples, whereas the Deleya have 9, the Alia 6 and the Koyo only four. The Koyo must be considered an unsuccessful splinter group of Teteya Alia descent. Two household heads refused to recognise the existence of sub-lineages and declared themselves simply as Rea Teteya.

It will be noted, however, that only 11 of 34 Teteya in-lineage marriages occur between members of different sub-lineages :

TABLE 22: Distribution of extant Rea Teteya in-lineage marriages
per sub-lineage

N = 34	R T	R T W	R T A	R T D	R T K	
R T	2					2
R T W		5	1			6
R T A			13	2		15
R T D			3	4		7
R T K	1		3			4
	3	5	20	6	0	34

TABLE 23 : Distribution of terminated Rea Teteya in-lineage
marriages per sub-lineage

	R T	R T W	R T A	R T D	R T K	
R T	2	1				3
R T W		3	1	1		5
R T A			10			10
R T D	1		5			6
R T K						0
	3	4	16	1	0	24

TABLE 24 : Distribution of extant and terminated Rea Teteya
in-lineage marriages per sub lineage

	R T	R T W	R T A	R T D	R T K	
R T	4	1				5
R T W		8	2	1		11
R T A			23	2		25
R T D	1		8	4		13
R T K	1		3			4
	6	9	36	7	0	58

TABLE 25: Percentage distribution of extant and terminated Rea
Teteya in-lineage marriages per sub-lineage

	R T	R T W	R T A	R T D	R T K	
R T	6.9	1.7				8.6
R T W		13.8	3.4	1.7		19.0
R T A			39.7	3.4		43.1
R T D	1.7		13.8	6.8		22.4
R T K	1.7		5.2			6.9
	10.3	15.5	62.1	11.9	0	100.0

The remaining 23 extant Teteya in-lineage unions are internal to their respective sub-lineages.

The foundation of sub-lineages has generally been initiated, at least during the colonial and post-colonial periods, by the establishment of a separate settlement within the bounds of lineage-controlled lands. The splinter group often consists of a father and his sons or a set of brothers. Would-be sub-lineage founders tend temporarily to refuse marriage with other members of their lineage until their autonomy has been established or their attempt failed through lack of external recognition and/or internal disputes (cf. Chapter 7).

316 terminated marriages are declared by residents of the Rea territory. This estimate may be inferior to reality since there was often no way of checking, either directly or indirectly, on unions contracted far from our zone of inquiry or in the relatively distant past. Only formalised relationships confirmed by the exchange of marital prestations, however reduced, were recorded as 'marriages' as opposed to temporary concubinage. Granted these reserves, the data suggest that,

by and large, most people tend to remarry once during the course of their lives.

The figures (cf. Tables, 15, 19 and 23) tentatively indicate that rates of divorce and remarriage may be higher among non-Rea couples, particularly those born outside of Rea territory. In contrast, residence within one's own clan territory, considering the socio-economic rights and obligations this entails, correlates positively with marital stability.

The Rea Kadia emerge as the only lineage among which terminated marriages with Rea spouses are more frequent than extant unions with Rea (18 terminated vs. 11 extant marriages; cf. Tables 14 and 15). Kadia extant marriages with non-Rea spouses are, conversely, proportionately more frequent than among other lineages (cf. Table 14). Second marriages are least common among the Biremia (12 terminated vs. 23 extant), the Kotolu (32 terminated vs. 41 extant) and the strongly endogamous Tetea (97 terminated vs. 126 extant).

Unions between Rea women and non-Rea men and marriages between Rea men and non-Rea women appear to be equally stable (compare Tables 14 and 15). Rea in-lineage marriages, on the other hand, seem more stable than unions in which one or both partners are non-Rea (compare Tables 18 and 19).

4. Inter-clan marriage

Tables 26, 27 and 28 show that the Rea intermarry with almost all Duu clans of South Kanem. However, certain concentrations in the distribution pattern of these unions emerge.

TABLE 26 : Extent Rea out-clan marriages

- 1) MR/O marriages (Rea man/non-Rea woman) : $N = 132 - 1 U = 131$
- 2) O/R marriages (non-Rea man/Rea woman) : $N = 34$
- 3) FR/O marriages (Rea woman/non-Rea man) : $N = 65$

Clan	1	2	3
	MR/O	O/R	FR/O
1. Magemi	13	4	10
2. Bara	13	2	6
3. Kubri	13	5	4
4. Darka	11	4	6
5. Kanku	10	1	5
6. Adia	7	0	3
7. N'galana	7	0	2
8. Kakuluru	6	0	2
9. Kei	6	1	1
10. Kumbaru	6	0	3
11. Twari	6	5	5
12. Dieri	4	2	
13. Tira	4	1	1
14. Kawlya	3	0	4
15. N'gijim	3	2	
16. Bade	2	2	1
17. Bareu	2	1	2
18. Kafa	2	0	
19. Rudou	2	0	
20. Sarao	2	1	1
21. Warda	2	1	
22. Asua	1	0	
23. Ayeru	1	2	2
24. Goya	1	0	
25. K'leti	1	0	
26. Kuri	1	0	
27. Maada	1	0	
28. Sugurti	1	0	
29. Arodu			1
30. Lukuya			2
31. Yeya			4

TABLE 27 : Terminated Rea out-clan marriages

Lineage		R/D	D/R
1.	Kubri	18	8
2.	Bara	10	1
3.	Magemi	9	7
4.	Kangu	8	5
5.	Tira	8	0
6.	Bareu	7	1
7.	Kakuluru	7	3
8.	Dieri	6	2
9.	Kei	6	2
10.	Darka	5	2
11.	Twari	5	3
12.	Adia	5	1
13.	Kafa	3	0
14.	Kawlya	3	1
15.	Serao	3	2
16.	Warda	3	1
17.	Bade	2	0
18.	Kajidi	2	0
19.	Maoru	2	0
20.	N'gijim	2	1
21.	Kumbaru	2	1
22.	Danga N'jaliu	1	1
23.	Seseya	1	0
24.	Siraya	1	0
25.	Ayeru	0	1
26.	N'galana	0	1
		117	44

TABLE 28 : Extant and terminated Rea out-clan marriages

Lineage	RD	DR
1. Kubri	31	14
2. Bara	23	3
3. Magemi	22	12
4. Kangu	18	5
5. Darka	16	6
6. Kakuluru	13	3
7. Adia	12	2
8. Kei	12	3
9. Tira	12	1
10. Twari	11	8
11. Dieri	10	4
12. Bareu	9	2
13. Kumbaru	8	1
14. N'galana	7	1
15. Kawlya	6	1
16. Kafa	5	0
17. N'gijim	5	3
18. Sarao	5	3
19. Warda	5	2
20. Bade	4	2
21. Kajidi	2	0
22. Maoru	2	0
23. Rudou	2	0
24. Asua	1	0
25. Ayeru	1	3
26. Danga N'jaliu	1	1
27. Goya	1	0
28. K'leti	1	0
29. Kuri	1	0
30. Maada	1	0
31. Seseya	1	0
32. Siraya	1	0
33. Sugurti	1	0

131 extant interclan marriages were recorded between Rea men and non-Rea women representing 31 of the some 36 Duu clans present in South Kanem. 34 non-Rea men resident on Rea territory are married uxorilocally with Rea women. In a further 65 cases, Rea women were declared by in-resident kin to have married out of Rea territory into the homes of non-Rea men.

67 of 131 non-Rea wives came from only six clans, namely the Bara (13), the Kubri (13), the Magemi (13), the Darka (11), the Kangu (10) and the Adia (7). Three of these clans, the Adia, Bara and Darka, are

former confederates of the Rea. The Adia, Bara and Rea cohabited in the same areas and villages during the nineteenth century and still claim common putative ancestry. All three groups were politically dependent on a fourth, more powerful clan, the Darka, with whom they formed an alliance of autonomous Duu clans known as the Danoa (cf. Nachtigal 1880 : 331). Internal conflicts lasted within this alliance throughout the mid-and later nineteenth century. Subsequently, the political and administrative reorganisation of Kanem under French rule (1899 - 1960) resulted in:

- a) the territorial dispersion of the Danoa
- b) the consequent creation of numerous Adia, Bara and Rea settlements following the disbanding of larger, often multi-clan local communities, and
- c) the fractioning of the Darka chieftaincy and, concomitantly, the **founding of new Rea, Bara and Dieri cantons** (See Maps 10, 11 and 12).

It is apparent that pre-colonial, preferential marriage patterns linking the four Duu Danoa groups have, to a yet undetermined extent (see Chapter 9), long outlived the political and territorial unity of the Danoa alliance.

The Kangu, Kubri and Magemi are dependent Duu clans attached to politically prestigious Kanembu clans from which they borrow their names. Factors determining the statistical preference of Rea men for Duu Kangu, Kubri and Magemi wives are less clear on historical grounds. As may be seen from Appendix 2, their density in terms of the settlements they control around Rea V.G.1, 2 and 3 is not such to justify alone the high level of marriage exchange maintained with the Rea. The probabilities of random encounters of potential spouses with locally numerous Duu Twari or Sarao, for example, are larger. It is conceivable that preferential marriage of Rea with the Kangu and Magemi stems from nineteenth century southward migrations by Kanembu and Duu of these groups in an attempt to

reduce their dependence on the Kanembu Dalatoa and engage in new alliances in Danoa and N'gijim territory. Marriage exchanges with the Kubri could also be associated with late nineteenth and early 20th century migrations. However, it is difficult to substantiate these conjectures, even through attentive examination of oral accounts of interclan relations.

Another salient trait of the distribution of non-Rea wives according to clan affiliations is the marriage of 12 women of Goya, Kakuluru, Kawlya and Werda blacksmith descent with Rea men. Though small in absolute terms, this figure is high in relation to the local density of blacksmiths (kagelma). The likelihood of such unions is further decreased by the fact that smiths tend to use Dazaga rather than Kanembukanembu as their first language. However, the Rea clan head, who is chef de canton of Yalita, has successively married four smith women to the exclusion of possible non-smith partners. These unions symbolise the special relationship which prevails between Duu of smith and hunter heritages in Kanem and many other areas of northern Chad (Fuchs 1961 and 1970).

52 marriages with 21 other non-smith Duu remain to be considered. These appear to be distributed randomly in terms of clan affiliation. Hardly any clan represented in South Kanem is excluded from the Rea network of marriage exchange.

Nevertheless, Rea women are not the most sought after in South Kanem. If one takes a wife from one of the four Danoa clans, it can be more prestigious to ask for the hand of a Derka or a Bara. This is underlined by the widespread belief that the Rea still too often engage in black magic. Even among the Rea, the Kédia are to some extent ostracised on these grounds.

It is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the marrying-in of non-Rea women corresponds to the out-marrying of Rea women to non-Rea

men. 65 marriages between non-Rea men and Rea women outside of the Rea clan territory were recorded. This tally, unfortunately may not be considered comprehensive due to the fact that Rea emigrants are spread from Bornu to Mecca, rendering adequate checks impossible. However, the distribution per spouse's clan of the 99 reported cases of extra-clan marriage by Rea women is not seriously skewed.

The comparison of columns 1 and 2 of Tables 26 and 27 suggests that marriages on Rea territory between Rea men and non-Rea women tend to be more stable than unions of non-Rea men with Rea women. This is not surprising in a patri-virilocal system. Consideration of the combined distribution of Rea man/non-Rea women and non-Rea man/Rea women marriages in Table 28 gives reason to believe that uxorilocality in terms of clan affiliations by non-Rea men is not equal from clan to clan. There are, for instance, a high proportion of non-Rea men/Rea women unions in relation to Rea man/non-Rea women marriages with Kubri, Magemi and Twari men (14/31, 12/22 and 8/11, respectively). On the contrary, ratios involving Bara and Adia are low (3/23 and 2/12). It would seem that the rift between the formerly co-resident Adia, Bara and Rea rendered uxorilocality difficult in cases of intermarriage between the three clans. The men of these groups, which together previously formed a single putative descent group, abandoned multi-clan settlements and regrouped in autonomous settlements. Interestingly, however, these movements have not precluded continued and frequent wife exchange to date. In contrast, where interclan relations are characterised by a politically neutral or positive tradition, as with the Duu Kubri or Magemi, male emigration and/or uxorilocal marriage in a "foreign" clan territory may be facilitated.

5. Consanguineal marriage

Let us now study Duu Rea marriage from the point of view of consanguinity, a criterion which, in certain instances, has tended to be rather too exclusively equated with endogamy. According to the present data, unions between real or classificatory cousins account for approximately one third of extant and terminated marriages. Initially, 185 out of 633 marriages were spontaneously defined by informants as being consanguineal. Verifications of basic kinship data made 25 more cousin links immediately apparent. This brings us to a first corrected count of 210 out of 633 unions, that is 33.2% of extant and terminated marriages.

TABLE 29 : Rea Cousin Marriage

N = 210/633

Category	N	%
Pat. Parallel	116	55.2%
Pat. Cross	41	19.5%
Mat. Parallel	25	11.9%
Mat. Cross	28	13.3%
Parallel	141	67.1%
Cross	69	32.9%
Patrilateral	157	74.8%
Matrilateral	53	25.2%
Rate of Occurrence	210	33.2%

These estimates may, in future, be revised by elaborating computer reconstructions of kinship and alliance networks. In any case, the figures and percentages advanced in Table 29 and, below, Tables 30 to 33 are not purported to be "absolute rates" but rather quantified observations referring to a specific moment in time. They are strongly influenced both by informants' perceptions of the socially and personally appropriate genealogical definition of kinship ties with spouse(s) and by the previously

described methods of inquiry applied in the field (cf. Chapter 5). It is with these qualifications in mind that the following relative appraisal of consanguineal marriage is offered.

Patrilaterally defined relationships predominate (74.5%) in the consanguineal marriage corpus. In addition, one notes that parallel cousin unions are twice as frequent (67.1% vs. 32.9%) as those between cross-cousins. In spite of these clear trends, all types of cousin marriage are practised in the Rea community.

55.2% of consanguineal marriages are classified as patrilateral parallel.

ABBREVIATIONS: TABLES 30 to 33

- Col. A gives the occurrence of cousin marriages per genealogical type in absolute figures.
- Col. B A = agnatic = all ascendants linking H and W to their common ancestor are males.
 U = uterine = all ascendants linking H and W to their common ancestor are females
 C C = crossed continuous = H descends in the agnatic line from a male ancestor from whom W descends in the uterine line.
 D = discontinuous = neither of the descent lines linking H and W to their common ancestor is either agnatic or uterine.
- Col. C Generation differential from H to W.

TABLE 30 : Rea patrilateral parallel cousin marriage

$$N = 116/210 = 55.2\%$$

		A	B	C
1.	FBD	43	A	
2.	FBSD	8	A	+1
3.	FFBD	4	A	-1
4.	FFBSD	32	A	
5.	FFBSDD	1	D	-1
6.	FFBSSD	2	A	+1
7.	FFFBSSD	4	A	
8.	FFFBSSSD	1	A	+1
9.	FFFFBSSSD	1	A	-1
10.	FBDD	2	D	+1
11.	FFBDD	9	D	
12.	FBDS	1	D	+1
13.	FFBSDD	1	D	+1
14.	FMZDD	3	D	
15.	FMZSD	4	D	

Only 43 of 116 patrilateral parallel cousin marriages are "real" FBD/FBS unions. A further 52 cases are agnatic, i.e. all ascendants linking husband and wife to their common male ancestor are men. 16 of these 52 agnatic marriages involve a generational difference between spouses. Classificatory 'sibling's daughter/parent's brother' unions are more frequent than classificatory 'parent's sister/sibling's son' marriages (11 as opposed to 5). Distant agnatic cousin marriages are often considered by the Rea to be of great social importance. A FFBSDD or, indeed, FFFBSSSD union may symbolise the continuing or refound agnatic unity of two distant local groups of common stock. Three cases of FMZDD and four of FMZSD marriages were recorded. Informants here chose to declare the paternal link on the husband's side as determinant and to minimise matrilateral parallel connections linking husband's and wife's lines of descent from a common male ancestor. These unions are deemed socially "proper", that is to say not contrary to strong norms of avoidance attached to "real" MZD marriage. It is in such cases that Duu

and Kanembu find it difficult to explain away the logical opposition which they clearly perceive between the strong, Islamic-inspired patrilineal parallel preference and effective bilateral cross and parallel consanguinity.

Some Kanemi suggest that MZD type marriage could be of pre-Islamic origin. Matrilineal parallel cousin marriage is the least common form of consanguinity but its 11.9% occurrence (25/210) in the cousin marriage sample is not negligible.

TABLE 31 : Rea matrilineal cousin marriage

$$N = 25/210 = 11.9\%$$

		A	B	C
1.	MZD	2	U	
2.	MMZDD	1	U	
3.	MZSD	1	D	+1
4.	MMZSD	1	D	
5.	MMMZDSD	1	D	
6.	MFBD	3	D	-1
7.	MFBD	5	D	
8.	MFBS	9	D	
9.	MFBS	1	D	+1
10	MFBS	1	D	

Case by case observations show, however, that only 3 of 25 recorded instances are uterine MZD type unions, i.e. marriages involving no male links between spouses (MZD = 2; MMZDD = 1). The remaining 22 cases are matrilineal unions involving male links among either or both spouses' connecting ascendants (i.e. discontinuous). There are possibly other unrecorded cases of MZD/MZS marriage in which spouses have sought to classify themselves in function of other existing links of kinship in the father's line. Unfortunately, my data are inadequate to follow up this query systematically.

Patrilineal cross-cousin marriage is the second most frequent form of consanguineal marriage.

TABLE 32 : Rea patrilateral cross-cousin marriage

$$N = 41/210 = 19.5\%$$

		A	B	C
1.	FZD	15	CC	
2.	FZDD	5	CC	+1
3.	FFZD	1	CC	-1
4.	FZSD	3	D	+1
5.	FZSDD	1	D	+2
6.	FFZSD	4	D	
7.	FZDSD	1	D	+2
8.	FMBD	1	D	+1
9.	FMBSD	3	D	
10.	FFMBSD	1	D	-1
11.	FMBSSDD	1	D	+2
12.	FMMBDD	1	D	-1
13.	FMBDD	4	D	

Of 41 cases recorded (19.5%), there are 15 instances of FZD/MBS marriage and a further six unions in which the husband descends in the agnatic line from a male ancestor from whom the wife descends in the uterine line (cross-continuous : FZDD = 5 and FFZD = 1). In 19 of 20 cases of classificatory patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, there is a generation differential between spouses. In 12 out of 15 such couples, the husband is his spouse's classificatory uncle.

Ideological preference is given to matrilateral cross- as opposed to matrilateral parallel cousin marriage. 24 out of 28 cases, representing 28/210 or 13.3% of all consanguineal unions, correspond to the typological definition.

TABLE 33 : Rea matrilateral cross-cousin marriage

$$N = 28/210 = 13.3\%$$

		A	B	C
1.	MBD	18	D	
2.	MBDD	1	D	+1
3.	MMBD	2	D	-1
4.	MMBDD	3	D	
5.	MBSD	1	D	+1
6.	MMBSD	1	D	
7.	MFZD	1	D	-1
8.	MFZDD	1	D	

18 of 28 matrilateral cross-cousin unions are contracted between "real" MBD and FZS. This type of marriage plays an important role in reintegrating the daughters of emigrant kin more closely in to their parents' patrilocal group of origin.

Two of every three real or classificatory consanguineal marriages unite parallel cousins (67.1%). Three of every four consanguineal unions bring together patrilateral kin (74.8%) (See Table 29). The strong preferences for parallel and patrilateral cousin marriages are, nonetheless, far from implying prescriptive patrilateral parallel marriage, which the Duu and Kanembu, in any case, do not present as an absolute ideal. An emphatically patrilineal ideology, a marked tendency toward patri/virilocality and a general desire of the Rea to conform with norms of marriage they deem compatible with Islam are by no means seen as incongruous with effectively bilateral parallel and cross-cousin marriage or consanguineal unions involving a generation differential between spouses.

Significant variations may be noted between the types of consanguineal marriage practised and the distribution of these unions in terms of the

clan affiliation(s) of spouses. Marriages within the Rea descent group are clearly more consonant with the FBS/FBS preference than cousin marriages of the Rea community as a whole. Of 109 consanguineal marriages involving two Rea partners, 80 (73.4%) were patrilateral parallel. A further 13 patrilateral cross-cousin marriages bring the total of patrilateral cousin unions to 93 of 109 or 85.3%. Patrilateral parallel- and classificatory matrilateral cross-cousin marriages both occur 8 times (7.3% + 7.3%) (Compare with Table 29).

The cousin marriage sub-sample grouping cases in which both spouses are non-Rea includes only 34 unions. Nonetheless, it would seem that consanguineal marriages among members of non-Rea clans resident on Rea territory are distributed in a similar fashion to the consanguineal unions of the Rea in terms of genealogical types.

In contrast, cross-cousin unions predominate (25 of 44 cases or 56.8%) among consanguineal marriages linking a Rea to a non-Rea. 18 of the 44 unions of this sub-sample are patrilateral cross-cousin marriages (40.9%) and 7 are matrilateral cross-cousin unions (15.9%). These consanguineal unions were rendered possible by out-clan marriages at spouses' parents' and grandparents' generations. Allies' children are subsequently integrated into the Rea community by non-Rea man/ Rea woman and Rea man/ non-Rea woman cousin marriages. Such unions represent a considerable 67 cases, or 10.6% of all 617 extant and terminated marriages studied. Unions between Rea men and cousin wives of different clan affiliations are, in accordance with prevailing patrilocal emphasis in residence patterns, more frequent than non-Rea man/Rea woman marriages (44 compared to 23 occurrences).

Matrilateral consanguineal unions tend to be more common between Rea non-Rea men and their/women cousins. Such men tend to be sons of

immigrants rather than newly arrived bachelors.

These **matches** between Rea men and non-Rea women and non-Rea men and Rea women are the logical consequence of two formally "opposed" types of marriage, namely ideologically valorised in-clan cousin unions and widely practised clan exogamy. In spite of the manifest strength of the patrilateral ideology, the progeniture of in-marrying non-Rea men and women cannot be satisfactorily integrated into the Rea community through exclusive patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. The latter predominates within the Rea descent group but in this context lineage exogamy and interclan spouse exchanges sooner or later entail relatively reduced but yet significant incidences of other forms of cousin marriage, both patrilateral and matrilinear. In such a system, patrilateral parallel cousin marriage could not be exclusive without soon bringing about a curtailment of marriage exchanges with other Duu groups. This would lead to higher lineage and clan endogamy and the socio-political isolation of the Rea in relation to co-resident clients and the endogamous Duu stratum as a whole.

6. Marriage duration and divorce

The data thus far presented on patri/virillocality, in-clan marriage and consanguineal marriage suggest that there could be a positive correlation between these three factors and marriage stability. Consanguinity in particular, is more frequent in the extant (37.9%) than in the terminated marriage corpus (28.5%). However, given that the duration and mode of termination of extant marriages are by definition unknown, it is impossible to establish a direct comparison between the extant and terminated samples in this regard. In order to test the correlation between consanguinity and high marriage duration, we have applied the method for the study of divorce presented by J. Barnes (1967).

The main advantage of this procedure is to allow the conversion of extant into "terminated" unions on the assumption that the patterns of duration and termination observed among the terminated unions of a given group may be projected onto their extant unions. The resulting reconstructed sample is homogeneous and permits comparison of ongoing and past unions. Marriage survival tables and divorce risk tables have thus been established for all extant and terminated Rea unions and for two sub-samples of this corpus, namely cousin and non-cousin marriages.

TABLE 34 : Mean and median marriage duration in years

Marriage Type	Rea	Rea cousin	Rea non-cousin	Kanembu
All marriages:				
Mean	11.73	17.8	11.4	12.5
Medium	10-14 \pm 12	20-24 \pm 22	10-14 \pm 11	10-14 \pm 12
Marriages ending in divorce				
Mean	5.32	10.04	5.75	7.88
Median	0-4 \pm 4	5-9 \pm 7.5	0-4 \pm 4	5-9 \pm 5

TABLE 35 : Divorces per 100 marriages contracted within five-year periods after marriage

Nominal duration	Rea	Rea cousin	Rea non-cousin	Kanembu
0 - 4	41.480	8.008	44.059	38.095
5 - 9	61.591	26.669	69.749	57.355
10-14	67.068	36.384	72.397	73.307
15-19	69.191	42.197	73.896	77.374
20-24	71.74 5		76.714	78.332
25-29	72.978		78.285	78.332
30-34	73.673	44.993	78.528	78.332
35-44				82.338
45-54	73.985		78.847	

TABLE 36 : Divorces per annum per 100 marriages
existing at specific durations

Nominal duration	Rea	Rea cousin	Rea non-cousin	Kanambu
0 - 4 years	10.55	1.68	11.38	9.41
5 - 9	8.81	4.60	12.83	7.63
10-14	3.64	3.01	2.27	10.27
15-19	1.94	2.67	1.51	4.06
20-24	2.95		3.43	1.16
25-29	1.94		2.54	
30-34	1.47	2.11	.50	
35-44				4.84
45-54	1.29		.64	

TABLE 37 : Divorce Ratios

- 1) A = The number of divorces as a proportion of the total number of marriages
- 2) B = The number of divorces as a proportion of all completed marriages
- 3) C = The number of divorces as a proportion of all marriages except those ending in death

(cf. Barnes 1949; Cohen 1971 : 124)

	A	B	C
Rea marriages	42.9	78.9	48.5
Rea cousin marriages	30.2	67.5	35.4
Rea non-cousin marriages	47.0	81.7	52.5
Kanambu marriages	43.0	75.6	45.1

Divorce during the first five years of marriage is much more common among unrelated spouses than among kin. The divorce rate per 100 marriages contracted within the initial five-year lapse is 44.1% for non-kin but only 8% among kin. These levels correspond to 1.68 divorces per 100 marriages

per annum in the case of consanguineal unions as opposed to a rate of 11.4 divorces per 100 among non-kin. Consanguineal marriages enter into a relatively more uncertain phase from 5 to 9 years after inception. After a nominal duration of nine years, 26.7 of cousin marriages have been dissolved by divorce at an annual rate of 4.6. This incidence still remains much lower than the 12.8% per annum found among non-consanguineal marriages during the same 5 - 9 year interval. By the end of year '9' from inception, 69.7 of non-kin marriages have ended in divorce. The yearly rate of marriage dissolution for non-cousins **decreases** substantially after this "danger period" is past, as is shown in Table 36. After 34 years of marriage, nonetheless, only 45% of cousin unions have terminated in divorce as against 78.5% of non-cousin unions.

Consanguineal marriage thus corresponds to a decreased probability of serial polygamy. Many persons who marry a cousin in effect remain monogamous throughout their married life or remarry only once. This statement is supported by the fact that the mean duration of cousin marriages, irrespective of their mode of termination, is 17.8 years as compared with 11.4 years for non-cousin unions. The median duration for these categories are, respectively, \pm 22 years and \pm 11 years. Those marriages which are dissolved through divorce last longer among related spouses (Mean : 10 years; Median \pm 7.5 years) than non-kin (Mean : 5.8 years; Median \pm 4 years) (See Table 34).

7. Some factors affecting the potential for consanguineal and/or in-clan marriage.

In the preceding sections of this chapter, we have discussed the occurrence of consanguineal and in-clan unions and have related these rates to certain observations concerning locality, residence, marital movements, marriage duration and divorce. Duu Rea marriage patterns are

characterised by a balancing of marriage alliances within and outside of patrilineal descent groups (lineages and clans). The importance of "in-" with relation to "out-marriage" varies considerably from one local group to another and, although this has not yet been shown sufficiently clearly, from one Rea lineage to another. Rates of occurrence of consanguineal and in-lineage marriage have been presented either in an isolated way or in relation to the factors mentioned above. The purpose of the present section is to describe certain constraints which operate to determine the statistical feasibility of different types of in-marriage.

We will first look at the distribution of first and subsequent marriages per village group in relation to the local origins of spouses. In this regard, all extant and terminated marriages will be compared with the corresponding consanguineal marriage sub-sample. It is thus possible to determine whether:

- a) first marriages comply more than subsequent unions with the socially valued norms of genealogical and geographical proximity of spouses
- b) consanguineal marriages are more concentrated in spatial terms than non-consanguineal unions.

We will then seek to compare the degree of achievement of endogamic preferences with the endogamic options in spatial and kinship terms open to the unmarried population. This will imply considering how polygamy and emigration may restrict in-group marriage choices, and, finally what interrelations prevail between consanguinity and common clan affiliations of spouses.

The extant and terminated marriage corpus is almost equally divided between primary and subsequent unions (First marriages: 50.5%; subsequent marriages: 49.5%) (cf. Table 10.). The figures of V.G. 1 and 2 vary but

slightly from the Rea average with a slight advantage for first unions (cf. Table 10). In V.G. 3, the balance is broken in favour of subsequent marriages (58.5% vs. 41.5%). This implies a higher rate of termination by divorce of both kin and non-kin marriages in comparison with the geographically less mobile and politically more stable communities of V.G. 1 and 2.

Table 38 gives the distribution of first and subsequent cousin unions in terms of their respective order of marriage for husband and wife.

TABLE 38 : First and subsequent extant and terminated

Rea cousin marriages

$$N = 210 - 4 = 206$$

Oh : Order of marriage for husband

Ow : Order of marriage for wife

Oh	Ow	n	%N
1	1	144	69.9
2	1	16	7.8
3	1	5	2.5
4	1	1	.5
8	1	1	.5
9	1	1	.5
3	2	6	2.9
4	2	3	1.5
7	2	1	.5
12	2	1	.5
2	2	13	6.3
3	3	3	1.5
1	2	10	4.9
1	3	1	.5
		206	100.3

70% of cousin spouses were never married previously. 19% of cousin marriages were second unions for one (12.7%) or both (6.3%) spouses.

Cousin unions were primary for 81.7% of wives concerned and 75.3% of husbands. Those men for whom a cousin marriage was a fourth or subsequent union account for only 4% of the males in the sample. 16.6% of wives had concluded second and 2% third marriages with a cousin.

First marriages, whether consanguineal or not, tend to be concluded close to home. This is particularly true in relation to the village group within which 42.8% of first marriages are contracted (cf. Table 11), as compared with an average 25.2% for all extant and terminated marriages taken together (cf. Table 9). First marriage samples reveal an opposition between V.G. 2, where 51% of unions occur in the village group, and V.G. 3 where this is only the case for 22.4% of first marriages. V.G. 2 is dominated by the Rea Teteya who have the highest rate of in-lineage marriage among Rea lineages. In V.G.3, local exogamy correlates with high community mobility.

Are the territorial distribution patterns comparable for consanguineal and non-kin marriages ?

TABLE 39 : Extant and terminated consanguineal in-marriage in relation to territorial divisions per village group *

N = 210

V.G.1 N = 302

	n	U	n/N	%
CM	85		85/302	28.1
1st M	73	1	73/84	86.9
K	28	1	28/84	33.3
C	65	1	65/84	77.4
VG	40		40/85	47.1
V	28		28/85	31.8

V.G. 2 N = 206

	n	U	n/n	%
CM	79		79/206	38.3
1st M	48		48/79	60.1
F	2		2/79	2.5
K	19		19/79	24.1
C	57	1	57/78	73.1
VG	46		46/79	58.2
V	32		32/79	40.5

* N. B. Abbreviations for Tables 39 and 40 are given on p. 252.

V.G. 3 N = 125

	n	U	n/N	%
CM	46		46/125	36.8
1st M	25	2	25/44	56.8
K	26	6	26/40	65.0
C	13	6	13/40	32.5
VG	9		9/46	19.6
V	8		8/46	17.6

TABLE 40: Extant and terminated consanguineal in-marriage in relation
to territorial divisions for the Rea territory

N = 633

	n	U	n/N	%
CM	210		210/633	33.2
1st M	146	3	146/207	70.5
F	2		2/210	1.0
K	73	7	73/203	36.0
C	135	8	135/202	66.8
VG	95		95/210	45.2
V	68		68/210	32.4

Cousin marriages are generally arranged either with close kin within the local community or, to the contrary, to link more removed and geographically distant cousins across the boundaries of village groups. It is as if local communities on occasion seek to reinforce their distinctiveness vis-à-vis neighbouring villages or hamlets by "passing over the head" of the latter and establishing certain marital alliances relatively afar but with kin.

These observations help to clarify the co-occurrence of such factors as first marriage, often pre-arranged by spouses' kin, consanguinity and the specific spatial distribution of cousin marriages just described.

By implication, we may conclude that first marriages would, on average, tend to be concluded within shorter radii of spouses' homes than subsequent unions. This supposition must, however, be qualified by examining polygyny.

The incidence of polygamy among extant unions is an important determinant of the potential for in-clan and/or consanguineal marriage within a given group and at a given time. Table 41 establishes an overall ratio of 270 husbands for 314 wives which gives a rate of polygyny of 116.3.

TABLE 41 : Polygynous extant Rea marriages per village group

% of polygynous extant marriages (H/W)		W/H Ratio	
VG 1	18/145 = 12.3	VG 1	125/146 = 116.8
VG 2	14/103 = 13.6	VG 2	88/103 = 117.0
VG 3	8/65 = 12.3	VG 3	57/65 = 114.0
All	40/314 = 12.7	All	270/314 = 116.3

All	n H	n W
4	1	4
3	2	6
2	37	74
1	230	230
	270	314

VG 1	n H	n W
4	1	4
3	1	3
2	16	32
1	107	107
	125	146

VG 2	n H	n W
3	1	3
2	13	26
1	74	74
	88	103

VG 3	n H	n W
2	8	16
1	49	49
	57	65

$$N = 317 - 3 U = 314$$

This proportion shows only small variations between village groups. Only one man has married the maximum of four wives allowed simultaneously by

Koranic law, and only two husbands have taken three wives. Polygyny among the Rea community is therefore generally equatable with bigamy. Although no precise analysis has yet been undertaken, divorce does seem more frequent among polygamists than monogamists. Polygynists' wives, however, often do not marry more than twice during their lives.

19 of 75 husbands in extant cousin unions are married to 40 of 97 cousin wives. This implies a ratio of polygyny for extant cousin marriages of 129.3, as opposed to 116.3 for all extant marriages. This considerable rate and the substantial difference between the general sample and the cousin marriage sub-sample lead to two remarks.

It is probable that many men, in conformity with Rea marriage ideals, marry a cousin for their first wedding and then seek a second, unrelated wife of their own choice. Such plural marriages can represent the first step toward the latter severing of marriage between the cousins in a bigamous triad. This separation normally occurs after the married cousins' children have passed infancy. One objection to consanguineal marriage, often verbalised by men, is that they are harder to break due to familial pressures, especially when contracted within the localised patrilineal descent group. Polygamy, particularly bigamy, can allow a less abrupt issue from this situation than quick divorce with all its negative intrafamilial consequences.

Secondly, the observation of polygyny in relation to consanguinity suggests that plural marriage of men who count a cousin among their wives does much to reduce the matrimonial options of the unmarried. Young brides are sometimes "accumulated" by already adult or middle-aged men with means and some measure of status. Young bachelors, in particular those who reduce their range of potential partners by seeking a cousin spouse, often have no option but to wait, given the refusal of

most males to leave their home village at the time of first marriage. Even wealth cannot (immediately) compensate for the absence of a suitable cousin bride. This situation largely contributes to the age differential which, in general, may be observed between males and females at the time of first marriage. On the contrary, females often tend to be divorced or widowed by the end of their procreative life, at which time they are in most instances, taken under the protection of their son(s) and/or agnates. The latter's obligation, however, is moral rather than legal. Thus, women who have been separated from their kin for decades through exogamous marriage may have good reason to fear old age.

It has been shown in sections 2 and 3 of this chapter, that a majority of marriages lead women away from their lineages and father's place of residence, notwithstanding a 55.6% rate of first marriage consanguinity for females of the extant and terminated marriage corpus. Women whose first marriage is with a non-kinsman rarely engage in a subsequent consanguineal union. Exogamous forms of marriage are further reinforced statistically by the fact that divorcees of consanguineal unions of both sexes very seldomly remarry with a cousin. Once a cohort of Rea reach the age of maximal marital instability (5 to 10 years after inception for cousins and less for non-consanguineal spouses), the rate of cousin marriage may be expected to decrease rapidly for both sexes since many spouses have severed links with their communities of origin.

We have already examined these practices with reference to interclan marriage patterns for clan-exogamous men and women who remain in their clan territory (cf. Tables 26, 27 and 28). It was, however, impossible to demonstrate whether more people marry in than marry out of the Rea community and clan. Nonetheless, further attention must be given to the question of emigration since this phenomenon directly influences the scope of potential marriage options of those who remain at home.

TABLE 42 : Emigration within South Kanem

s = single m = married

M = Male F = Female

Canton	m M	s M	M	m F	s F	F	M + F
Baga Sola	2	1	3	2		2	5
N'garangu	1		1	1	1	2	3
Isserom	4		4	4	2	6	10
N'jigdada	1		1				1
Dibinenchi	3	1	4	5	1	6	10
N'guri	1		1	8		8	9
Motoa	1		1				1
Mondo				1		1	1
Am Dobak	1		1	1		1	2
Amerom					1	1	1
Malum				1		1	1
Kuludia	2	2	4	2		2	6
Karal	2	4	6	2	1	3	9
Molimari	1		1	3	2	5	6
Wandala				4		4	4
Yalita	6		6	2		2	8
Uncertain	4		4	5		5	9
TOTAL	29	8	37	41	8	49	86

TABLE 43 : Emigration out of South Kanem and Abroad

s = single m = married

M = Male F = Female

Place	m M	s M	M	m F	s F	F	M + F
Saudi Arabia	18	12	30	11	9	20	50
Sudan	2	1	3	3	2	5	8
S.A. & Sudan	20	13	33	14	11	25	58
Bornu	4	4	8	2		2	10
C.A.R. *	1	1	2				2
Mundu	2		2				2
N'Djaména	7	8	15	4	3	7	22
Mao	3		3	2	1	3	6
Maesakory	12	4	16	9	2	11	27
Mussoro	2	1	3	1		1	4
TOTAL	51	31	82	32	17	49	131
Abroad	25	18	43	16	11	27	70
Chad	26	13	39	16	6	22	51
(North Chad)	17	5	22	12	3	15	37

* Central African
Republic

217 adults were declared as emigrants in this community of only 587 married residents. Of these 217 people 80 were married males and 73 married females. Furthermore, 39 single men and 27 single women have departed on an indefinite basis. It is probable that more people have emigrated following family, political or legal rifts and have been selectively forgotten. In view of its high statistical incidence, it could almost be argued that emigration is a "mode of residence" unto itself.

Emigration within South Kanem outside of Rea-controlled settlements involves 86 declared individual cases (37 men and 49 women). 70 of these persons are married but could not be interviewed because of their geographical dispersion and are, hence, not included in the Rea marriage sample. No concentration of emigrants in particular areas or villages is noticeable. Indeed all surrounding and some peripheral cantons are minor foci of emigration. However, those territories under the control or strong influence of the alifa of Mao, particularly N'jigada and all the northern Kanemi cantons, receive only a handful of emigrants. Movements within South Kanem are, in a majority of cases, attributable to out-marriages of Rea men and women rather than to the departure from Rea territory of already married couples. Emigration by single or unbetrothed persons is much less frequent but, interestingly, no more so for males (8 cases) than females (8 cases). Single men have generally left to find paid employment whereas single women are often divorcees.

Departures toward non-Rea villages in the cantons of Yalita and Kouloudia (for inhabitants of V.G.3) are astonishingly infrequent. It seems that Rea clan members either marry within their clan territory or migrate to cantons where Rea officials do not exercise administrative and fiscal functions.

Persons who leave Kanem or Chad go almost exclusively to other Muslim regions and countries. Only 4 of 131 emigrants (cf. Table 43)

left for the Christian South (Mundu : 2; Central African Republic : 2) A moderate 22, of whom 15 were men, left for the capital to find jobs. Travel to N'djaména tends to remain the affair of the seasonal migrant labourer. It is possible that this will only change if and when the city takes on a more focal role in the national economy. For the time being, the devastation of an internationalised civil war makes any such development highly improbable. However, one potentially significant socio-marital function of the capital is that the Duu or their descendants there may eventually stand a chance of marrying a non-Kanemi Muslim in order to escape their ascribed caste status. To my knowledge, this has not yet happened. Massakory, a sous-préfecture town on the road from N'gouri to N'djaména is much too small and internally segregated in terms of ethnic, professional and class divisions for Duu to escape their condition. By profitably exercising their trades there, Duu may, nonetheless, gain access to an appreciable cash revenue which can widen marriage options within their stratum. Migration to Massakory tends to be long-term and involves some family movements as well as individual exterior marriages.

Other areas of Northern Chad offer little socio-economic opportunity for the emigrant. This void is accentuated by conditions of prolonged drought and civil strife, compounded by the lack of roads, hospitals and public services. Hierarchised forms of social organisation which entail the isolation of professional castes, notably in Waday, make it difficult for Duu to establish themselves and, in any case, severely restrict the "upward mobility" of the low-class immigrant.

70 Rea residents have left Chad altogether. Among these persons, one observes a marked inversion of migration patterns in relation to those typical of neighbouring Kanembu. The latter traditionally emigrate toward Bornu where young men complete their religious education and their

seniors engage in commerce. The Rea, occasional smuggling activities in North Cameroon or Nigeria aside, show a clear preference for emigrating to countries east of Chad. 50 of 70 relatives of in-resident Rea declared to be abroad were said to be in Saudi Arabia. I suspect that the majority of these 50 were in fact, slowly crossing the Sudan. Mecca and haj status are their ultimate goals which are achievable only after a trek of several years, interrupted by greater or shorter pauses for employment as manual labourers (cf. Worke : 1976). Only 10 Rea were declared to be in nearby Bornu just across Lake Chad.

Trips to the eastern Sudan are sometimes long-term family migrations. One notices the balance between the married and unmarried of both sexes. This is not an exodus of single male labourers but a planned procedure destined to enhance the status of migrants' lineages both economically and religiously.

The excess of male over female emigration to areas within Chad to the exclusion of South Kanem and foreign countries would, if anything, tend to slightly alleviate the plight of those young bachelors seeking rare brides at home. Within South Kanem, in contrast, women moving to their future husbands' villages predominate among emigrants, as is entirely expectable in a patrilocal, patrilineal system.

The migration patterns presented here in terms of geographical distribution, sex ratio and marital status do not lead one to hypothesise a strong correlation between high emigration rates and a restriction of potential matrimonial options within the Rea community. Regarding the near future, however, one must make due allowance for the potential effects of large-scale emigration beyond South Kanem. This seems to be a recent phenomenon, largely specific to the post-colonial period and which may be accentuated by the persistence of the Chadian civil war.

If the option of "voting with one's feet" (Buijtenhuijs 1978 : 88) remains of such importance, emigration will possibly become a major influence favouring out-marriage in terms of locality, lineage affiliations and consanguinity. Emigration may also come to play a major role in the process of gradual infringement and breaking of caste and class barriers by which marriage patterns have been strictly demarcated and enclaved for generations.

We will conclude this chapter by attempting ^{to} evaluate the existing potential for in-lineage and/or consanguineal marriage among the Duu Rea at the time of inquiry. A valid procedure for this would have to distinguish intergenerational in-marriage patterns on the basis of an inventory of all recognised and extant consanguineal links in the population considered. From the negative point of view, one would have to assess marital incompatibilities attributable to age impediments and kinship prohibitions. Unfortunately, the size of the Rea community rendered the collection of complete genealogies for all individuals materially impossible.

We are here limited to studying endogamic potential via a much looser set of indicators based on census data.

TABLE 44 : Maximum theoretical potential of endogamous marriage
in Village Group 1.

Reference Group : Unmarried Population (less divorcees over 25 and widows)

Name of Village	M	F	Balance	In-Lineage	CM	Type of CM
Yalita	6	1	-5	1	1	FFBSD
Burudu	6	3	-3	1		
Wallanji		1	+1			
Made 1	8	5	-3	3	3	FBD
Made 2	1	1		1	1	FBD
Made Kelia	6	1	-5	1		
	27	12	-15	7	5	3 Pat. //

In-clan : possibility, considering age-appropriateness, of marrying clan member.
CM: possibility, considering age distribution and prohibitions of marrying a kinsperson.

TABLE 45 : Maximum theoretical potential of endogamous marriage
in Village Group 2

Reference Group : Unmarried Population (less divorcees over 25 and widows)

Name of Village	M	F	Balance	In-Lineage	CM	Type of CM
Kiwa	1	1				
Wango	8	3	-5	2	3	1FBD, 1 FFBSD & 1 FZSD
Koleyrom 1	2	3	+1	1	2	Pat.X or Mat.// <u>inter alia</u>
Koleyrom 2						
N'girom 1		2	+2	} 2		
N'girom 2	2		-2			
Burbuna	4	1	-3			
Bulongo Yako						
Audurom						
Yikulu						
	17	10	-7	5	5	2 Pat.//, 1 - 3 Pat.X, 0-2 M.//

TABLE 46 : Maximum theoretical potential of endogamous marriage

in Village Group 3

Reference Group : Unmarried Population (less divorcees over 25 and widows)

Name of Village	M	F	Balance	In-Lineage	CM	Type of CM
Dumsa	5	2	-3	2	2	1 FFZSD, 1 FFFBSDSD
Kolon 1	2	6	+4	1	2	1 MFMSDD 1 FFBSDD
Kolon 2	1		-1			
Kolon 3						
Tamadai 1	2	2		2	1	1 FFBSD or 1 FMBSDD
Tamadai 2	4		-4			
Tamadai 3	3	3		1	2	1 FBD, 1 FBDD <u>inter alia</u>
	17	13	-4	6	7	

TABLE 7 : Maximum theoretical potential of endogamous marriage
in the Rea territory

Reference Group : Unmarried population (less divorcees over 25 and widows)

	M	F	M - F Balance	In - Lineage	CM	1st Cousine
Village Group 1	27	12	-15	7	5	4
Village Group 2	17	10	-7	5	5	1
Village Group 3	17	13	-4	6	12	1
Ree Territory	61	35	-26	18	22	6
Endogamic Potential	-	-	0.57	0.30	0.36	0.10

Local communities generally show a sex imbalance between unmarried potential cousin spouses among whom a general male/female ratio of almost 2/1 was recorded. This derives largely from the influence of patrilineality and patrilocality on marital practices and movements. The general sex ratio of the Rea population emerging from my preliminary census shows no imbalance in demographic terms. In particular, my data do not appear to reflect any appreciable under-declaration of the female population of marriageable age. The 2/1 male to female ratio between potential cousin partners can be related to:

- 1) a high rate of lineage-exogamous and/or consanguineal marriage for at least the last generation,
- 2) a considerable differential in ages of first marriage between the sexes. This is a traditional trait of Kanemi marriage practices and is today possibly reinforced by the progressive monetarisation of marital prestations (cf. Chapter 7).
- 3) a significant rate of polygamy.

At present, all marriageable Rea women could find, indeed choose, a husband from their village group or clan territory. For men, this

is true in only some six out of ten cases (cf. Tables 44 to 47).

Assuming that all 35 single women marry one of 61 potential husbands with whom they coreside on Rea territory, a maximum of only 30% of these unions could be contracted on an in-lineage basis and a maximum of 36% between cousins. Only every 10th union ^{could} at the point in time in question (October 1974), be concluded between first cousins.

Endogamic potential may be calculated as the ratio of marriageable men and women per relevant territorial unit, descent group or kinship category and expressed on a scale from 0 to 1.

TABLE 48 : Theoretical maxima of different forms of endogamous marriage for the unmarried

Type or Territory of reference	M			F		
	Abs Fig	Endogamy	Exogamy	Abs Fig	Endogamy	Exogamy
Village	27/61	.44	.56	27/35	.77	.23
Village Group 1	12/27	.44	.56	12/12	1.00	0.0
Village Group 2	10/17	.58	.42	10/10	1.00	0.0
Village Group 3	13/17	.76	.24	13/13	1.00	0.0
Rea Territory	35/61	.57	.43	35/35	1.00	0.0
Lineage	18/61	.30	.70	18/35	.51	.49
Cousin Marriage	22/61	.36	.64	22/35	.63	.37

Sex disparities in spouse availability imply considerable variations in endogamic potential. The potential for in-locality marriage, for example, is .77 for women and .44 for men. Differences are also substantial when the village group is taken as a spatial unit of reference for marriage exchange. Within V.G. 1, 2 and 3, respectively, the potential for male first in-marriage is .44, .58 and .78, whereas for women it is 1.00 everywhere.

With reference to the clan, the potential for in-marriage is .51 for women and only .30 for men. These estimates are in keeping with rates of first marriage consanguinity for the extant and terminated marriage sample. It thus seems fair to suggest again that when endogamy in its diverse modalities (consanguinity, common descent, co-territoriality or a combination of these factors) is a concrete option for potential spouses, it is most often practised. Nonetheless, in view of all that preceeds, the question immediately arises as to whether the endogamic potential recorded at the present stage of development of the Rea clan is not being progressively whittled down by an increase in exogamous practices ? If this supposed trend is to be verified or disproven, hypotheses must be formulated to account for modifications and variations in endo-exogamic process which could, in the long term, contribute to important structural modifications of the definition and boundaries of the Duu lineage system and stratum.

CHAPTER SEVEN : LOCAL VARIATIONS OF REA MARRIAGE PRACTICES

1. Presentation

In a complementary approach to the analyses presented in the previous chapter, we will now seek to identify major local and lineage-specific variations in marriage patterns among the Duu Rea, taking the village community or hamlet as our basic unit of observation.

The data basis here used includes information on the marriages of all members of each domestic unit, genealogical charts accounting for community composition, diagrams presenting ties of common descent between local groups, histories of village foundation and subsequent community migrations, and qualitative statements concerning individual and collective matrimonial strategies.

A first reading of this information leads to certain elementary observations which may be summed up as follows:

- As a rule, a majority of men from each community marry in their village of origin.
- Full sets of brothers and, even more so, half-brothers rarely remain residentially united for the greater part of their lives.
- The splits which prevail between male siblings in many ways orient and contribute to the definition of subsequent patterns of village endogamy. Equally, the genealogical, personal and politico-economic relations obtaining within the co-resident core of kinsmen around which communities structure themselves predetermine in numerous particulars potential consanguinity as regards both possible and preferred categories of unions.
- The relation between sibling residential and political solidarity and consanguineal marriage is by no means univocal. A high degree of cohesion among brothers may or may not be compatible with a marriage pattern characterised by lineage exogamy.

- Most women contract their first marriage with an elder cousin.

On the other hand, many Rea women marry out of the clan territory into other Duu groups of often lower political status than the Rea. Links of intermarriage are thus developed throughout the highly fragmented Duu stratum.

We will now proceed to examine how these general observations relate to the situation of each constituent local and lineage group of the Rea community. Special attention will be paid to distinguishing the matrimonial and economic strategies of Rea core lineages, i.e. the presently ruling Kadia and the formerly dominant Tetsya (and their sub-lineages), from the dependent Rea lineages (Biremia, Kania, Kotolu). The main object of this exercise is to show that endogamous and exogamous practices which may seem contradictory at the individual or village level, prove to be globally complementary when seen from the standpoint of the marriage patterns and strategies of the clan level. They must thus be analysed as forming a delicately balanced whole rather than as opposed or mutually exclusive categories.

2. Village Group 1

YALITA

Yalita, the residence of the Rea clan chief, is the largest village of the Rea territory, with 41 married women and 34 married men. This relatively recent settlement was founded by Ismaila, Shuku and Musa, respectively father and uncles of the present Rea Kajala, chef de canton Hasan M'bo'lo, around 1908 to 1910. These men were all born and married in the older Rea village of W'alanji (see below), located 1.5 km from Yalita at a period when many of their clansmen were still resident in the principal Bara villages of Bari and Bari Dina. The departure of the majority of Bara and Adia at the turn of the century entailed new residential and political arrangements among those who remain behind.

The Rea sought to occupy the vacuum left by the emigrant Bara and Adia who had suffered much in conflicts with the Darka during the latter decades of the nineteenth century (see Appendix 5). The Rea's new found position of leaders by default in the northern Bari district led to quarrelling between the Rea Teteya and the Rea Kadia lineages as well as to internal disagreements in each of these two groups. Rivalries among the Kadia led to a split in the Walanji community and the foundation of Yalita by the supporters of Ismaila and his brothers. The latter's success in obtaining cantonal chieftaincy rights from the French, which had originally been granted to the Teteya, allowed consolidation as a leading Rea community in spite of the reduced number of the Kadia.

The political necessity of making Yalita a "large" community, but one which might remain under Kadia control, has largely determined the composition and marriage pattern of the village's population. For Yalita men, marriages are strongly patri-/virilocal. Indeed, three quarters of the husbands were born in Yalita or its immediate surroundings. In contrast, the majority of their spouses marry into the community from a wide spectrum of South Kanemi clans. Their origins closely reflect the past political alliances of the Rea. Of 41 wives, 31 were born out of Yalita. 11 of these women came from precisely those villages in which most northern Rea lived during the decades prior to French colonisation, namely Bari Kolom, Bari Dina, Bari Gide, Walanji and Bolosidi. In contrast, only three women have married in from rival Rea Teteya-controlled Village Group 2.

With the exception of marriages which still testify to pre-colonial residential patterns and political alliances among Rea, Adia and Bara, the men of Yalita prefer to select outside wives from formerly allied clans in the western chieftaincies of Dibinenchi and N'jigada, as well as from

neighboring N'guri and Baderi. This pattern tends to exclude alliances with the eastern and southeastern Duu of Am Dobak, Dokora and Molimari with whom relations are neither hostile nor close.

The male population of Yalita may be divided into the agnatic core of mostly locally-born Rea and outside, generally non-Rea immigrants or dependents. Of 29 non-Rea men now married in Yalita or previously married to women now living in this community, only 4 were born on Rea territory. This results from a recent arrival of these immigrants, except in the case of one Duu Kubri family, and difficulty of long-term integration of non-Kadia into Yalita.

Few male immigrants are bound between themselves by links of kinship and alliance. On the other hand, among the Rea male population, 25 of 34 men are quite close junior agnates of the kajala (clan and canton chief). The presence of eight of his FBSS and five BS demonstrates a certain concentration of his uncles' and brothers' progeny. Certain of the kajala's brothers and their children, however, have left the area altogether to protest their brother's accession to the chieftaincy.

Yalita is not structured around sibling nuclei. Sibling rivalry is just as apparent as agnatic solidarity in the community's composition. Only one of the kajala's four brothers resides on Rea territory, in Yalita. Among the next descending generation, one finds only two sets of brothers. The youngest generation of married males counts only three sibling sets with two, two and three members, respectively. These brothers have yet to overcome the potential rivalries which may occur upon progressing toward adulthood. In practice, sibling groups almost systematically split; only 13 of 34 married males have a brother in Yalita.

The kajala counts only two married matrilineal kinsmen in his village and only three married male cross-cousins. Only 9 of 41 married women

are related to the clan head. This is partially a consequence of high female out-marriage but no less of the related absence of cousin marriages within the Kadia on a repetitive basis from generation to generation over the past few decades. Cousin marriages are no less frequent here than among the Rea on average (14 of 41 extant marriages) but their typological distribution denotes a clear departure from any patrilineal parallel ideal (only 2 real FBD unions) as well as the indirect consequences of conflicts between brothers over several decades. The remaining 12 cousin unions are crossed and/or discontinuous (2 FMZDD, 1 FZDSD, 1 FMBSD etc.).

The Kadia ruling family is too internally divided to allow for a systematic strategy of any kind with regard to consanguineal marriage. This situation has been prevalent at least since the separation of the Walaŋji community into two settlements. The result is that Kadia men marry distant cousins traced through father but to which they are attached through at least one intervening kinswoman (patrilateral discontinuous). These unions are not politically prestigious and do not create lasting relations of marriage exchange between the most influential Rea families.

The kajala himself is no exception to this type of practice. His first three marriages were contracted with non-Rea divorcees. As in the case of other polygynist Kadia notables, his senior wife is of blacksmith lineage. Only his third wife is a FZDD of Rea Teteya affiliation : the Kadia and Teteya maintain formal marital contacts to keep peace within the clan but these unions are not given priority and deference among notables of either group. Contrary to one's expectations, the 65 year old lineage chief has never taken a Kadia woman as wife.

Thus, among the ruling Kadia lineage, endogamous forms of marriage are rare and do not reflect a clear marital strategy. This situation may be linked to a high level of intra-lineal political discord at higher as well as lower orders of segmentation, and consequent segmentation of major lineages into reciprocally hostile or wary communities of very small size.

In Yalita, extensive exogamy has not been followed by any manner of systematic endogamic procedure which could have linked the children of in-married allies of external lineage affiliations into a coherent kindred.

Maritally, and thus to a certain extent, politically, the Kadia of Yalita appear weak. This tends to be confirmed by the pattern of marital prestations and cattle wealth observed among them. The kajala's marriages have always involved the giving of one or two cows to his bride or the killing of an ox for the festivities. They have never, however, involved capital transfers in the form of cattle. The fida (brideprice) paid by the head has never gone beyond a relatively meagre 10,000 francs C.F.A. This paucity of matrimonial gifts sets the tone for the other marriages contracted by the people of Yalita.

Given the ravages of the seven drought years which preceded fieldwork, it is extremely difficult to make any judgements on the distribution of cattle and domestic animals between individuals as well as to relate such data to marriage payments and social status. Cattle wealth normally varies from year to year and individual losses may take on very different proportions during a given period of bad ecological conditions. Be this as it may, only half the men in Yalita claim to ever have owned 10 or more head of cattle, a situation not atypical of the Duu in general. By the end of the 1973-74 dry season, it can be estimated that the combined cattle herd of all the villagers totalled 46 head. Even if losses had attained a high but not infrequent level of 50% from '72 to '74, this would not justify estimating the total Yalita herd at over 100 head prior to the drought peak.

On average, present day marital prestations tend to equal the market value of a milk cow (c. 5000 francs C.F.A.) during periods of normal rainfall.

It is rare for there to be more than three or four marriages a year in Yalita. The village's cattle capital is low if one considers that a Kanembu herd of not unexceptional size may count forty to fifty head under normal climatic conditions. The capital flow entailed each year by marriage in Yalita is probably generally inferior to the ceremonial costs of marriage ceremonies. It is not unreasonable to say that the people of Yalita, an exceptionally rich community by Duu standards, do not have the material means to implement a collective marriage policy which could consolidate and extend the political and fiscal authority of the Rea Kadia. Extensive and socially dispersed out-marriage, in addition to on-going quarrels among Kadia families, render impossible, for the time being, the consolidation of the Yalita Kadia through FBD marriage.

WALANJI

Walanji, whence some of the first settlers of Yalita came, is the only other Kadia village in Village Group 1. With 6 married men and their 8 wives, it may only be described as a residual community. Only the blama (village headman) is now a Kadia, though three other married men of non-Rea origin born in Walanji still cultivate the dune flanks around the village. Six of the eight marriages extant there are contracted between non-Rea. The last of the Rea, still at odds with their kinsmen of Yalita, have joined their distant Kadia cousins of Dumsa over the last decades. The population of Walanji no longer can achieve any significant degree of endogamy, either in terms of common lineage affiliations or consanguinity of spouses.

The blama's brothers are in Dumsa (Village Group 3) and there are thus only two siblings co-resident in Walanji. Visits between people of the two villages are still quite frequent but cousin or in-lineage marriages between the two groups are not possible any longer. The headman's sons have also left; he remains with patrilineal cross-kinsmen

and women whose presence is partly related to uxori-local marriages by non-Rea men at his and his father's generation. These families proved more fertile than those of older Rea residents. If their children choose to marry in this village, where they are assured access to sufficient fertile land, Walanji will continue to exist, but will be Rea only in name.

Neither the composition of marital prestations nor of herds indicates any accumulation of wealth in Walanji. Marriage payments are generally lower than in Yalita. With two exceptions, cattle were not transferred at marriage. The sadau (gift from groom to bride) and, though less commonly given, the rabitina (gift from groom's family to bride's family), are combined in the form of two or three goats. Older people mention that the payment of the niarom (gift from groom to bride's family) was customarily of 1 to 6 thalers. In recent marriages, the niarom generally reaches 1,000 to 1,500 francs C.F.A. (equivalent to 2 or 3 thalers). Brideprice (yara or fida), when paid, is of comparable value. In many instances it is grouped in a global payment with the niarom.

In spite of efforts to constitute a cattle herd, the inhabitants of Walanji have had to place strong emphasis on goat-herding over past years. However, even this activity has suffered during the drought, mainly because sales became necessary to obtain cash for millet seed and foodstuffs. The continued existence of Walanji appears to depend on its younger non-Rea inhabitants remaining and attracting some more outsiders, to cultivate the already long-worked duneside, around the village as tenants of the Rea Kadia. Walanji offers a perfect example of what may happen where the division of a local patrilineage entails the marital isolation of the least powerful of the resulting factions from the remainder of the major lineage and the clan. If the rift persists or is not healed, at least to the extent of fairly regular spouse exchange,

local and clan exogamy is an obvious consequence. After two to four generations, out-marriage may result in a total re-identification of the population in terms of lineage affiliations, with the newcomers standing as cross-cousins in relation to the originally predominant descent group. The immigrants may constitute an inter-marrying community isolated from their lineages of origin and tributary to the group on whose land they have assumed indefinite or perpetual tenantry.

BURUDU

This is exactly what happened in neighbouring Burudu. This community eventually came to be recognised as an integral major segment of the Rea clan in spite of its "alien" origins. The creation of Burudu can be traced back to the 1880's, a period of intense civil conflict that afflicted not only the southern chieftaincies but all of Kanem. The Duu Rea Biremia lineage is reputed to be of Duu Kreda origin. The group is supposed to have sought refuge among the Duu of Bari following Wadayan exactions in Mondo chieftaincy which was under Wadayan dominion through the later part of the nineteenth century. The name Biremia is presumed to derive from that of an elder known as Ali Boria or Bire.

Marriage patterns in Burudu reflect a high degree of lineage exogamy coupled with frequent cousin marriages and local endogamy. Polygyny, however, is not common here. 24 of 33 husbands are born in Burudu and a further 6 in neighbouring non-Rea villages. Only 14 of the 33 are Biremia and a further 4 of other Rea lineages. Fifteen of thirty-five wives are natives of Burudu; ten others come from exterior or Rea villages of the immediate periphery. Only 2 married women are Biremia, 9 are Rea and 26 non-Rea. Marriages within the Rea clan number only 3 of which only 1 is between Biremia. The most common form of marriage is that uniting a Rea man to a non-Rea woman (16); 5 non-Rea men have married

Rea women and 11 non-Rea couples are permanently established in the village.

This exceptionally high rate of lineage exogamy does not preclude consanguinity. Ten of twelve extant cousin marriages are patrilineal; six are patrilineal cross-unions. It could well be argued that this combination of patrilineal parallel and cross marriage has a unifying effect on the local kindred as well as on the core of Biremia agnates in a community which is not markedly dominated by a single lineage and where extra-lineage marriage is almost a norm. Marriage out of the lineage does not, under the circumstances, imply high dispersion of kin. In fact, 22 of 33 married males are related to the village headman. Contrary to Yalita and Walanji, the blama's (village headman) brothers have stayed together forming a strong sibling nucleus; his married agnates include 2B, 3S, 5BS, 2FBS and 2 FBSS.

The above observations suggest tight inter-relations between Biremia and immigrants, longstanding marriage exchanges within the village, and a certain degree of autonomy from other Rea. Other kinship data support this interpretation. Those wives born in the village are generally closely related to the blama, but one notes among them the absence of Z, ZD and FBD who have married out. Links of siblingship among the male population are strong, for we find 9 sets of brothers linking 21 of 33 married men. There is thus little male out-marriage but high male and female lineage exogamy. This feature is compatible with an emphasis on patrilocal, extra-lineage marriage for men. Most males continue to marry a patrilineal cousin as first wife though, more often than not, ^{not} a Rea cousin. The integration of outsiders through repeated marriage alliances from generation to generation allows men of Burudu to contract cousin marriages in some rather distant non-Rea localities. Biremia status within the Rea clan is tenuously but regularly maintained

by marital exchanges with Walanji and the Rea Teteya villages of Made 1, and Wango of Village Group 2.

These marriage patterns relate to important politico-spatial constraints. The Biremia have limited but guaranteed access to land yet their movements, imposed by the obligation to fallow and fertilise fields, are limited by the land rights of nearby Yalita and Made. The small size of this lineage makes it difficult for it to seek new lands and a corresponding village headmanship in an alien canton. These constraints directly influence their cattle-raising ability. A modest success in creating a herd nucleus was cut short by the effects of the drought. The Biremia's lack of cattle, partially determined by the insufficiency of pasture rights common to most small, immigrant groups, aggregated into an already established patron-lineage, is apparent in the almost total absence of cattle from Biremia marital prestations over the past decades. The villagers do, however, try to keep cash gifts at a relatively high level. At present, on average, the niarom here exceeds 2,000 francs C.F.A. whereas the yara is generally double that. The sadau, as was common among the Duu and the maskin, consisted of two or three goats but, recently, monetarisation of this prestation has become almost universal with a cash value often equal to the niarom. Somewhat higher prestations are considered appropriate with interlineage marriage.

The Biremia thus form a very tightly knit community but their possibilities for expansion are restricted. One clear option is open to them and that is the development of closer relations with the non-Rea of Walanji.

THE MADE SETTLEMENTS OF THE REA TETEYA WARIA

The most populous Rea group of Village Group 1 is the Rea Teteya Waria, who live in three adjacent localities known as Made 1, Made 2 and Made Kelia. Made is one of the oldest Rea settlements. Its existence is confirmed as early as 1871 by Nachtigal (1881 : 330). The German explorer reports that prior to his passage through the area, numerous Danoa had concentrated in the N'guri area to protect themselves from the Awlad Sliman Arabs :

"... Most of the Danoa formerly lived in the valleys located south of N'guri, very close to Lake Chad, which were grouped under the district name of Bari. These valleys were almost completely abandoned following a struggle between their inhabitants and their clansmen from N'guri.... as most of the former retreated toward N'guri and its surroundings. Strong unity was a matter of national survival (for the Danoa). Only by keeping together and by profiting from the natural defense offered by a thick forest cover could they hope to assert what remained of their autonomy vis-à-vis the Awlad Sliman and the Wadayans." (Nachtigal 1881 : 261) (My translation)

Teteya oral tradition relates this movement of the lineage away from the periphery of the lake some 20 km N.E. to around the villages of Bari and Bari Kollom just south of N'guri. The Teteya of the Made settlements claim to have split away from those of their lineage now settled around Kiwa in Village Group 2 some 6 generations ago. It was probably only a few years after Nachtigal's passage that some Waria of Made 1 and surrounding settlements founded Made 2. Disagreements between Teteya and Kadia may not be unrelated to the Teteya establishment of separate villages from the Kadia and the abandonment of common places of residence such as Kalla, and Bari. The founding of compact , separate hamlets around one or two wadis which could afford immediate refuge was appropriate from the security standpoint as well as from that of land usage. The most populous Danoa village at the time, N'guri, grouping some 600 huts according to Nachtigal (1881 : 259), dominated the largest wadi in the area, that of Wai. The Made settlements with less land, and

divided by factional conflict over the village headmanship, never achieved anything near this concentration of population.

Today, Made 1 counts only 24 married couples. Patrilocality is almost total among men (18/21) and, inversely, almost nil for women (2/24). Wives come in their majority (17/24) from nearby Rea and non-Rea localities. As in the case of Ydita, Walanji and Burudu, women from other Rea village groups are few (2/24 in Made 1).

Special relations of alliance are maintained between Made 1 and Burudu, separated by only 1 km. Seven women from Burudu (4 Darka, 1 Kei, 1 Sarao and 1 Rea Teteya) have married into Made 1. No reciprocity was observed. It appears that certain non-Rea Duu who are tenants of the politically weak Biremia are attempting to create relations of clientship with the more powerful Teteya in the hope that these will eventually succeed in wresting the canton chieftaincy from the demographically weak Kadia. Counter movements of Teteya women of Made 1 to allied families of Burudu should intervene when a certain number of Teteya girls reach marriageable age within a few years. This return flow of spouses could accentuate both local and lineage exogamy in Burudu.

Made 1 is an "adult" community with many children and an equilibrium between the sexes (57 M, 57 F). There will soon be a demographic potential for much in-marriage in this village. For the time being, though, only 4 cousin marriages were recorded. In terms of clan affiliations, the present pattern is very balanced (R/R : 6, R/D : 7, O/R : 5, O/D : 6). This indicates a general reciprocity in marriage exchange as well as a progressive integration of non-Rea immigrants through R/D - O/R alliances. In comparison to other settlements, one finds a rather high proportion of Rea women married here (10/24). Presently, almost systematic exogamy in terms of consanguinity co-occurs

with substantial local endogamy with relatively little emphasis on lineage exogamy.

Due to his age (c. 80) the b'lama has no male siblings in the village, but 16 of 20 remaining husbands are his descendants. This pattern is typical of a patricentred community which has been free from internal fission for at least one generation. Seven adult males are sons of the b'lama. Among 24 wives, the headman has only 2 FBD and 2 D. Most of his daughters and nieces have married out into lineages from which the community receives wives.

The conditions are established for there to be a high rate of consanguineal marriage in Made 1 through FBD unions among the b'lama's grandchildren, as well as through patrilineal and matrilineal cross-cousin unions between the headman's grandchildren and allied immigrants' children. In contrast, the regular out-marriage of the b'lama's female descendants strongly restricts the local potential of future MZD marriages, irrespective of the negative ideological connotation of this type of consanguineal union. Carefully chosen alliances with outside groups over two or more generations have done much to ensure the future autonomy of the people of Made from their Rea clansmen in general and rival Teteya lineage-mates in particular. This strategy will possibly entail a phase of higher local endogamy and typologically diversified cousin marriage.

Made 2 is a community comparable in size to Made 1 (24 extant marriages). One notes a high proportion of outside women (18/24) in Made 2 as well as more frequent cousin marriage as compared with Made 1. The men (19) of Made 2 are equally divided between "dissident" emigrants from Made 1 (6),

persons born in Made 2 (6), and outsiders (7). Hence, neolocality is the predominant form of residence for men, but given that immigrants' male children are settling in the village, patrilocality should soon increase. Eleven of twelve Rea husbands in the village (12/19) are Teteya Waria, leaving no doubt as to the political coherence of the village. With the exception of one non-Duu of Kotoko origin, all "external" husbands were born in the now disbanded Rea village of Are or the other Mades. Links with Made 1, for example, concern 6 husbands and 3 wives. These "immigrants" are long-standing allies rather than new-comers. The same applies to both O/R and O/O marriages among Made 2 residents. The community's marriage strategy is dual. It includes "close" marriages to maintain village unity and outside unions to maintain existing alliances.

Marriage exchanges with Made 1 and Made Kelia combined with village group and lineage exogamy over several decades have contributed to a very atypical distribution of cousin marriages in Made 2. Of 10 such unions, only 2 are agnatic (1 FBSD and 1 FFFBSD) whereas two were declared to be uterine (1 MMZDD and 1 MMMZSD). Four of six "patrilateral" marriages are reckoned through female ascendants (i.e. are discontinuous) (1 FMZSD, 1 FMZDD, 1 FZDD and 1 FFZSD). This could indicate frequent cross-cousin marriages one or two generations ago. Indeed, no two cousin spouses come from the same village. Functionally, these unions have "brought back" to Made 2 the daughters of emigrants, mostly women, who married out one or two generations ago. This policy partly explains an unusual distribution of categories of kinship links between cousin spouses.

The distribution is further clarified by the relations prevailing between the b'lama, on the one hand, and other men and women on the other. Fifteen of nineteen married men are kin of the b'lama. The latter, however, is still young. He has four young, co-resident brothers but no

married sons. The four brothers, sons of the former b'lama, co-reside with four of their father's sisters' sons. Local and lineage consanguinity at the father's generation within a given demographic context has here entailed a low level of real FBD/^{unions} at sons' generation. A relatively large number of discontinuous, bilateral cousin marriages have, however, effectively supported political solidarity in the present - day community, especially by reducing the possibilities of feud between the b'lama and his brothers and FZS. The older b'lama's female kin have married out so it is unlikely that the same type of distribution will be reproduced.

In Made 2, endogamous marriages have been practised for several successive generations but not on an agnatic basis. Women have married "back" to a village whence their grandmothers and aunts had married out while, locally, first cousins have avoided each other and married exogamously. This avoidance must be associated with internal quarrelling between inhabitants of the different Mades which resulted in the foundation of Made Kelia about 1950. The inhabitants of this village emigrated from Made 1 to Made 2 following a dispute between their present b'lama's younger brother and an elder agnate over the chieftaincy of Made 1. Having moved to Made 2, the dissidents became involved in a second dispute opposing the present-day chief of Made Kelia and the former b'lama of Made 2 who are FBS. This entailed a split and the founding of Made Kelia.

Made Kelia is still a community in the making. Six Teteya husbands and four wives of their lineage have been joined by 4 blacksmiths of the Duu Warda lineage and five blacksmith women. Five other non-Rea women have also married in. As often happens, fission and community foundation by a small group of agnates renders in-lineage unions difficult to contract for the latter for at least one generation thereafter. If the founding males remain together, endogamic potential may already be considerable,

and in-marriage politically opportune, by the second generation, which is in fact the first to be born in the new hamlet. In the present case, four cousin marriages have already been contracted (2 FBD, 1 MBD and 1 FMZSD). Among married men, the b'lama has 2 ZS and 4 ZSS. The original emigration of the b'lama's young sisters with him to Made Kelia from Made 2 renders future endogamic potential high, but with reduced possibilities of concluding agnatic and in-lineage unions. The fulfilment of these possibilities will largely depend on the present economic success of the 6 Teteya and their four Warda allies.

For the moment, Made Kelia remains the poorest of the three Makes, as is demonstrated by the lack of cattle and a low rate of marital prestations. In Made 1, the average brideprice is above 4,000 francs C.F.A. for more recent marriages and in Made 2 the figure is 7,000 francs C.F.A. Gifts of cattle are exceptional in both villages, where the sadau (gift from groom to bride) is generally constituted by the traditional "three goats", or, in many cases, simply forgone (especially in Made 2). On the other hand, gifts to wives' agnates tend to be more generous in Made 1 and Made 2 than in most villages as are, conversely, the presents from wives' to husbands' agnates. These presents, mostly of clothing, are considered of most importance in Made 2, where wives' families' gifts are often more valuable than the total of prestations made by husbands and their kin. In Made 2, the niarom (gift from groom to bride's FyB) for cousin marriages is only slightly lower than for non-cousin unions. The brideprice (yara or fida) is sometimes, but not always, dispensed with when spouses are related. Gifts between cousins are here more valuable than the average brideprice observed among the Rea in general. Instead of simplifying marital prestations, as may be noted in Yalita, Burudu and Welanji, the Teteya Waria, particularly those of Made 2, have tended to multiply secondary presents to more distant kinsmen, ^{and} villagers in

General, during the marriage feast, etc. If one sums up these expenses, it is obvious that they constitute a very effective barrier against the in-marriage of poorer men and women, (given the importance of counter prestations from wife's to husband's kin), whether Rea or not. Data on pre-World War II marriage gifts presented in silver coinage, shows that the Waria tradition of high-cost marriage is of quite long standing. However, since separating from their co-lineage-members of Made 1 and, subsequently Made 2, the Waria of Made Kelia have not been able to maintain such standards. The sadau has tended to decrease to two goats among the poor and brideprice (yara or fida) has been dispensed with frequently ! The people of Made Kelia have not been able to build up a herd of cattle which constitutes the indispensable pre-requisite of costly marriage prestations. The drought has accentuated this misfortune by inflicting proportionately more devastating losses than on the well-tended animals of Made 2. Thus, as in Made 1, particular attention has been given to keeping a balance between bovine and caprine herds. This careful strategy produces less profit in times of plenty but affords nutritional as well as financial compensation during dry periods, from which cattle tend to suffer more than goats. The wealth differentials between Waria illustrate the difficulties of starting a new village against the will of co-lineage members in an area of high population density where cultivation and pasture rights are most strictly regulated.

3. Village Group 2

KIWA

Lineage fragmentation and sometimes excessive population dispersion have also been a problem for the largest Rea minor lineage, the Teteya Alia of Village Group II. The Alia claim to be seven generations removed from Brahim, son of Tetey and (elder) brother of Umar, founder of the Waria. The Alia occupy the villages of Kiwa, Wango, Koleyrom 1 and the

hamlets of Koleyrom 2 and Audurom. Kiwa was the seat of the first Rea canton under the French from c. 1902 to 1935 at which date the chieftaincy was transferred to the Kadia at Yalita. It is no longer the largest Alia village, but remains the political centre of the lineage as well as of Village Group II in general.

The loss of the Rea turban favoured several fissions among the Alia. The nobles of Kiwa reacted to this process by engaging in a very strict marital strategy destined to reinforce their claims against the Kadia, whom they view as usurpers who owe their position to collaboration with the French and, later, the Chadian government. The community can be described as one of the "more endogamous" among the Rea on several grounds. Sixteen of eighteen married men were born in Kiwa itself, one in Wango and one in Burudu. Nine of nineteen wives are from the village, three from surrounding Teteya communities, the remaining women being from nearby but non-Rea localities. Fifteen of eighteen husbands are Rea (13 Rea Teteya Alia) as are nine of nineteen wives (6 Rea Teteya Alia). No exterior or immigrant couples are established in Kiwa. Marriages with non-Rea are more frequent than unions with Rea (R/R : 6, R/O : 10, O/R : 3), but R/O unions are preferably contracted with cousins.

Extant cousin marriages are in fact more numerous than Rea in-clan marriages (11/6). Conversations with the people of Kiwa suggest that unions between cousins have long been more frequent than non-cousin marriages. Here, the encysting effects of systematic FBD marriage are clearly understood and verbalised. The residence pattern in Kiwa is assertedly patrilocal but cousin marriages are more frequently than not matrilinear. The typological distribution of Kiwa cousin unions is worth quoting :

FBD	:	1	MBD	:	3
FFBSD	:	1	MBDD	:	1
FMBD	:	1	MFBD	:	1
FZSD	:	1	MFBSD	:	1
FFZSD	:	1			

From the political standpoint cousin marriages serve two major functions. In the first place, a non-FBD union will generally be preferred if it helps to reinforce relations within the tightly knit, restricted notable group of Kiwa. Secondly, ^{there is} an ongoing exchange of cousins with the Duu of N'guri (principally the Darka) who would be inclined to support the Rea of Kiwa against the Kadia of Yalita if a bid for the Rea turban became feasible and opportune, as it well might due to the present process of disintegration of the Chadian national administration in the context of the current civil conflict. The exclusion of other Alia as cousin spouses isolates and bolsters the men of Kiwa within the minor lineage. The exclusion of other Rea reinforces the Teteya within the clan.

The typological diversity of in-village cousin unions can only serve the above purposes if, simultaneously, the agnatic unity of the community is strictly enforced. And indeed it is. The b'lema only admits kin and some few allies into the community. He is surrounded by his F, 1 FB, 7 FBS, 4 B, 1 S, 2 FBDs, 1 FZS and 1 FwB. One finds 5 sets of brothers linking 13 of 19 adult men. Most of the latter co-reside in Kiwa with one or more nephews. This distribution testifies to the maintenance of patrilocal residence for men over at least three generations. Where relative demographic autarky, sibling solidarity and patrilocality are effective rather than ideal norms in a small agnatic group, matrilineal and/or cross-cousin marriage may, over several decades, ensure continued group unity and prevent fission more effectively than extensive patrilineal parallel cousin marriage. In such a situation, it is not surprising that the level of polygyny is consistently low and marriages generally quite stable.

In Kiwa, religious practice is strongly emphasised. Six men of Kiwa have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and two are mallams; the younger men

intend to persist in this path. Kiwa men are neither rich nor poor. They have relatively little irrigated land but benefit from good conditions for millet culture and ample room for grazing. No one has a large herd but each man owns a few cows. Many animals have been sold over the years to finance travel to the Holy City and, in general, to pay for the religious education of the village's young men, in Nigeria if necessary.

In this community, cousin marriages are considered to be in everyone's interest. One thus finds a higher proportion of sadaka (free) cousin marriages (especially for haji and mallam) than anywhere else among the Rea. Often, not only the brideprice (yara or fida) but the niarom are foregone by the bride's family. In other cases, a symbolic gift such as sugar or tea may replace all prestations. In Kiwa, more capital is directly invested into the religious and political advancement of men than into their marriages.

WANGO

During the 20th century, Kiwa has operated as a centre for dispersal of Rea throughout the territory of Village Group 2. Around 1915, some Alia of Kiwa were forcibly resettled by the French some kilometres to the east at Koleyrom along the N'guri-Maseakory trail. In protest over a further administrative decision to attribute the fertile wadi of Kashelanga to the neighbouring and rival Dau chieftaincy of Am Dobak, some of the Alia then at Koleyrom moved to establish the village of Wango^c. 1920 - 21. Today, Wango is slightly larger than Kiwa (26 extant marriages). The community's structure differs in many particulars from that of the Alia notables of Kiwa just examined.

Sixteen out of nineteen husbands were born in Wango, one in Kiwa
 lieu
 and two in the Darka chef de canton, N'guri. The origins of wives are more

diverse than those recorded in Kiwa - 6 out of 26 come from Wango, 8 from other Rea villages (notably Kiwa and Burudu) and 13 from non-Rea settlements (not infrequently N'guri). Low local endogamy for women corresponds with high patrilocality for men, lower than average consanguinity and a high rate of polygyny. Fourteen of nineteen husbands are Teteya Alia. Five external men have been received into the village, but not other Rea. The 19 (of 26) exterior women have come mainly from the Duu Magemi, Tira and Kanku clans. All seven extant cousin marriages are patrilateral, six of which were contracted between parallel cousins.

Frequent marriages with exterior women (one now finds 14 R/O, 6 R/R, 5 O/O and 1 R/O unions) coupled with strict patrilocality can favour patrilateral parallel cousin marriage after one or two generations. The presence of several distant patrilateral parallel cousins among the b'lama's kinswomen is due to systematic but not universal FBD unions over the past thirty years or so. The village headman however, lacks matrilateral kinswomen because of persistent female exogamy. Most men have brothers here, but few women have sisters in their village of marital residence.

In spite of a relative infrequency of consanguineal unions in Wango, marriages appear to be stable. Only 9 divorces were registered for a total of 44 extant and terminated marriages. Mortality is an equally important cause of marriage termination.

Cattle wealth among the men of Wango is greater than in Kiwa. Goat herds are large and the villagers owned 6 horses and 7 camels worth 20,000 francs C.F.A. or more each. More cattle have been invested in polygamous marriages than Kiwa and fewer men plan to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Indeed, cattle have almost become a standard if not a required component of marital prestations. The sadau and rabitina are neglected and goats

have disappeared as a marriage payment in favour of calves and one or preferably several cows. This is no less true for cousin than non-cousin marriages. The mode of payment here most prominent is to group the husband's prestation into a global sum of cash called njarom which attains 6,000 to 7,000 francs C.F.A. (the value of a good milking cow). Exceptions are found for sadaka marriages and some few very poor persons. The wife's kin equip the bride with bedding, crockery and other household utensils and give the husband a gift of clothes or of animals approximately equivalent in value to the njarom he paid. This is a clear example of how Duu who dispose of sufficient grazing lands, which is the case throughout Village Group 2, may with some decades of effort raise the value of marital prestations to a level comparable to that of many Kanembu farmer/herders. Inversely, this helps to create certain economic barriers to intermarriage between richer and poorer Rea groups.

KOLEYROM 1

As mentioned above, Koleyrom was founded by Teteya Alia settlers from Kiwa ca. 1915 upon instigation of the French, whose intent was that the new village serve as a rest halt for troops. The community split twice within the few years following its foundation, giving rise to the creation of two small hamlets, Koleyrom 2 and Yikulu. Many of the inhabitants then spent 6 years in Wango and 8 in Auderom before reestablishing Koleyrom at its present site around 1937. Because of insufficient access to irrigated lands, the farmers of Koleyrom have made several major moves since that time in order to cultivate virgin fields for extensive staple farming.

Local endogamy is low for both men and women (5/10 men and 5/12 women were born here), but consanguinity is most frequent (10/12 unions). This results from on-going marriage exchanges with Rea and non-Rea settlements

close by. Koleyrom 1 is the only village with more Rea women (6 Teteya Alia and 2 Biremia) than Rea men (3 Teteya Alia and 2 Biremia). There could be a positive correlation in this village between female patrilocality and a high consanguinity rate. All types of cousin marriage have been and continue to be practised here with a preference for patrilateral parallel unions. Women often marry out within a restricted cluster of small neighbouring hamlets. This practice makes numerous cousin in-lineage but, strictly speaking, locally exogamous marriages possible.

The b'lama has five male patrilateral cross-cousins among nine husbands other than himself. An equal number of married women are his patrilateral cross-cousins. This pattern is related to a combination of uxori-local marriage by exterior men destined to compensate the breaking-up of several sets of local brothers, and a set of FBD marriages among remaining Rea during the last generation. At present, many Rea women are again marrying out as the community seems to stabilise, partially thanks to present O/R and R/O unions which tighten bonds between immigrants and locals.

Forced movement due to the drought rather than a persistence of old quarrels could, however, interrupt this pattern. The men of Koleyrom have lost many animals over the last four years, thus increasing their dependency on a not very fertile soil. Although they have attempted to eliminate the goat sadau with its "maskin" (poor) connotation from marriage payments, only a minority of unions involved calves or cows. The brideprice (yara or fida) has persisted and the niarom has been established at some modest 2,000 francs C.F.A. Cousin marriages are definitely cheaper in this village than non-consanguineal unions. Koleyrom seems to lack a few men to achieve an ideal balance between expanding cattle-raising and indispensable millet growing. Underpopulated villages are somewhat disadvantaged in this regard when compared to larger

communities where a more efficient distribution of labour can be achieved by allowing some men to undertake longer migrations during drought while others remain at home to tend fields.

KOLEYROM 2

Koleyrom 2 is a splinter hamlet of Koleyrom founded by a man now over seventy, following disagreements with this village's notables. He was accompanied by his three sons and their families but they did not succeed in attracting other dissidents or immigrants. The "settlement" is presently reduced to its would-be-headman. Pushed by drought conditions, his sons have all left for the Bol area in search of paid employment. Whether they will return later is an open question. In any case, it would represent a deep humiliation for them to return to Koleyrom 1.

AUDUROM

Audurom is a more successful splinter hamlet established by Teteya Alia of Wango following a dispute concerning the chieftaincy of the latter village at the time of Chad's independence. "All" five husbands are Teteya Alia as are five of their six spouses, the remaining wife being Kania. With five extant cousin marriages, contrary to the out-marriages of Koleyrom 2, the hamlet is almost completely endogamous (FFBDD, FFBSD, MFBDD, MMBDD and FBSD). The b'lama lives with 1 B and 3FBs as well as his widowed father, the hamlet founder. The residential and political solidarity of these few men is supported by several FBD marriages among their immediate ascendants in Wango, Koleyrom and Yikulu. As opposed to their neighbours of Koleyrom 2, they have not cut all bridges with the Alia. Three of the wives are patrilateral parallel cousins of the b'lama. The intermeshing of Audurom's inhabitants through cousinship, however, does not preclude certain tensions within couples concerning the hamlet's isolatedness. If divorces are avoided, Audurom could be

strengthened by multiple FBD marriages between spouses' children. Economic factors could work against this consolidation. The hamlet is poor, and possibly, too small to become much richer. Total marriage costs here have never exceeded 3,000 francs C.F.A. and a reduced herd of 9 cows barely meets the domestic needs of thirteen adults and nineteen children.

YIKULU

The situation of Yikulu is even more tenuous. The now elderly founder (70+), invoking descent from Kowo, his FFF and common ancestor of the Alia and Deleya Teteya, attempted almost half a century ago to found a Teteya Koya lineage ... of which he and his sons appear to be the only members today. Presently, only one son and one nephew of the "blama-" founder lives with the still respected elder, several others having been forced to migrate to the Lake shores to farm irrigated ground as tenants of the Kuri Kora. If the founder were to die before the effects of the drought have been overcome, it is likely that Yikulu will disappear, as will the pretence of a Teteya Koya lineage.

N'JIROM 1

N'jirom 1, founded just before or after Koleyrom (c. 1912 ?) by Teteya then resident in Kiwa presents several interesting particularities. The village is also known as El-Ajiri or, place of the haji, and three residents have indeed completed the pilgrimage. The b'lama traces descent from his FF, Delley of the former village of Kalla and a grandson of Kowo. The Deleya of N'jirom 1 and 2 have sought to achieve a reputation of exceptional piety.

Four of the six heads of family here were born in Kiwa and two in the Sudan of emigrant Rea parents working their way to Mecca. Only one of seven wives is from Kiwa. The six others come from adjacent communities (Audurom and Koleyrom or Bari Dina and Kalla, with which marriage links have been maintained long after the Rea left these communities around the

turn of the century). Only one married woman is a native of N'jirom. Three marriages are contracted between Rea, with four unions linking Rea to former neighbour/ally lineages (Adia, Kangu and Bareu). Two patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are extant but five wives have no close genealogical connection with their spouses.

This low occurrence of cousin marriage does not here reflect a deviation from the FBD ideal but is probably a transitory circumstance. All husbands are closely related to the b'lama (1 FB, 2 B, 2 FBS, 1 ZS). This is the result of a conscious effort to create a small but solidary residential group. Many of these men's parents married cousins, and there is an express desire for their children to do likewise. Men hope that the village will expand slowly and naturally. They are quite reluctant to admit non-agnate outsiders who would fail to share their marital and religious goals.

Certain material means are available to implement the desired social strategy. Twenty-two surviving cows share pasture with a goodly number of goats, and three camels used for trade and transport. The local norm regarding marriage prestations is that at least one cow be included in the transactions, with cattle being preferred to cash. Yara, fida and niarom are paid in addition at about 3,000 francs C.F.A., with brideprice foregone in most cousin marriages. Plans for temporary migrations east were being discussed to offset the effects of the drought and allow some younger men to undertake the pilgrimage.

N'JIROM 2

N'jirom 2 is the second RTD community. It was founded about 1941 by settlers from Kiwa rather than from N'jirom 1. Residential experiments (1940's - 1950's) with the people of N'jirom 1 failed in spite of assertions

of common union lineage affiliations. With N'jirom 1, this village shares lineage homogeneity of its men. All seven husbands are Teteya Delaya and six of ten wives are Rea (2 Teteya Delaya, 3 Teteya Alia and 1 Kania). Five of six husbands were born in N'jirom 2 and are the sons of the first settlers. The wives come from Village Group 2 (N'jirom 2 - 2, Audurom - 2, Mango - 1, Burbuna - 1) and Kalla -1 and N'guri -2. This is hence a "very Rea" group in terms of locality and lineage membership. Ties of cousinship (2 MBD, 1 FBD, 1 FFBSD) between spouses link the community to Koleyrom 1 and Audurom.

Local and lineage in-marriage are not accompanied by a high level of consanguinity. But, all males are linked to the b'lama (1 R, 1 FB, 5 FBS). As in N'jirom 1, if co-residence persists until the children of the younger spouses become adults, cousin marriages will become a possibility for all. Whether or not this potential is fully realised, marriage choices here will surely remain extremely selective.

Required marital prestations are set at a level inaccessible to most Duu and even to many Kanembu. Requisites include both animals, preferably including one horse as a gift from wife's kin to husband and large sums of money. The nlarom rate is fixed at 5,000 francs C.F.A. and the yara (brideprice in a first marriage), for there have been almost no subsequent marriages here, varies between 10,000 and 20,000 francs C.F.A. In addition, the husband should offer a cow to his bride as sadayu. These prestations are more costly than in any other Rea group. Since few Rea have the means to meet such standards, the consequence of this policy could be a reinforcement of endogamy, and of consanguinity in particular and selective exterior marriages with notables' daughters.

BURBUNA

The status of Burbuna in Village Group 2 is comparable to that of

Burudu in Village Group 1. Burbuna was first settled c. 1905 - 1910 under the leadership of the present headman's grandfather, a Rea Kania of Kiwa. The origins of the Kania are difficult to establish. It is probable that they descend matrilaterally from the Teteya and that their male ancestors of unknown stock associated themselves with the Rea seven or eight generations ago.

Local and lineage endogamy are strong and cousin marriages frequent (9 of 17 EM). Only 5 husbands come from beyond Village Group 2 and 8 of 17 women are locally born. Six others are from very nearby localities. There is but one non-Rea married male, and fourteen Rea are Kania as are 10 of 13 Rea women. Outside couples are thus non-existent and intra-lineage marriage prevails. (R/R : 12; R/O : 4; O/R : 1). Cousin marriages in Burbuna are at present almost exclusively patrilineal parallel (FBD : 4, FFBSD : 3, FFFB SDS : 1, FMBSD : 1). Eleven husbands are first and second degree patrilineal parallel cousins of the b'lama. This is evidence of male sibling co-residence one and two generations ago and partially explains how a high rate of agnatic marriage is possible. Lineage in-marriage has been practised for at least three generations in Burbuna. One equally finds the highest level of agnation between b'lama and villagers' wives observed in any Rea settlement. Women have long married in with their FBS. Emigration from Burbuna has not generally been permanent. Kania born outside of Burbuna have tended to settle in their lineage's only locality.

The Kania have almost no cattle (1 cow per couple) but do own a few dozen goats, a dozen donkeys and two camels used for transportation. This poverty is reflected in their marriage prestations. In only one set of transactions recorded in Burbuna was a cow or even a goat exchanged. Brideprice (yara or fida) and gifts from groom to bride (sadau) are systematically dispensed with in both cousin and non-cousin marriages.

The niarom, which in fact amounts to an overall payment, is as low as 100 francs C.F.A. In only 5 of 41 unions recorded did it exceed 2,000 francs C.F.A. The Kania are essentially millet farmers, with no irrigated wadi, and goat herders who may be considered as the lowest status Rea lineage, to the exclusion of a residual community of former Teteya slaves.

BULONGO YAKO

Bulongo Yako was created as a cattlepark by a slave named Mursal Musai around 1920. The hamlet was under the administrative jurisdiction of the Teteya Alia b'lama of Kiwa. During the colonial period, the locality proved to be a sort of "transit centre" for the relatively restricted community of Duu Rea slaves. The hamlet has thus lost many of its inhabitants as they left Rea territory to become free if still poor Duu.

Today, there are only four couples living in Bulongo Yako, and the hamlet will probably disappear within a few years. The children of the people still present in the hamlet have married exogamously in all senses of the term. Patrilocality is now nil as the few remaining young people seek to marry away from their slave heritage, albeit with the children of former captives and/or Duu. The process of social emancipation is rendered more difficult by a complete lack of cattle and a still persistent residual social stigma of inferiority which contributes to maintain ex-captives and their offspring as an endogamous category of Kanemi society.

4. Village Group 3

Village Group 3 is divided into three settlement nuclei, namely Dumsa, Kolon and Tamadai. The latter two are sub-divided into three hamlets each. Dumsa and the three Kolon are in the riverine canton of Kuludia, administered by the Kuri Kalea. The three Tamadai, located

some 15 km to the SSW of the Kollon area, are situated in the canton of Karal which stretches west along the Lake shore to the Cameroon border and is controlled by the Assala Arabs who are subsumed under the vernacular denomination of Shuwa.

Throughout the 19th century, Dumsa and its vicinity were at the centre of the hunting grounds of the Duu of Bari. Tamadai, as were the now disbanded communities which preceded it, are located at the southern limit of the Bari district. Since these communities are not in the canton of Yalita, they are supposed to pay taxes due the Chadian State to the local Kuri and Arab chefs de canton. In practice, their inhabitants are very isolated from the political centres of the cantons they reside in and know how to make themselves scarce when appropriate. It is from this area that yearly hunting expeditions were organised toward Beghmi and Mandara.

DUMSA

Although closely linked to Yalita and, formerly Walanji, Dumsa men traditionally migrated south of Lake Chad, to what is now North Cameroon, to learn hunting techniques with local kindira (hunter-deviner-medicine men). These Rea, 9 Kadia and 3 Kania, 8 of whom are from Dumsa and 4 from Walanji, still feel attached to their hunting heritage. Non-Rea men are not established in this autarkic community. Seven of fourteen marriages occurred between Rea, and seven between Rea men and outside women. Only 2 wives are locally born and three have immigrated from Yalita. There is full local and lineage endogamy for men as well as a 50% cousin marriage rate.

This type of organisation was conceivably quite characteristic of late 19th and early 20th century m'barana (hunter) communities. In such hamlets, hunter men shared ritual status and professional secrets as members

of a local group, and a seasonally migratory hunter group. For a man to marry out was to lose the powers, natural and supernatural (if such a distinction may be considered relevant for the kindira) acquired by birth into a casted community and initiation over the years by its adult male members. This process was completed by long training periods among distant but ritually allied groups of pagan hunters to the south.

Under the circumstances, men could not, because of divorce or disputes with agnates, simply pack and leave. Marital movements by men to neighbouring hunter groups, such as the Dieri immediately to the east in the Bari zone, were extremely difficult. Conversely, exterior wives tended to come either from distant settlements or migrant groups of common lineage and totemic affiliations or distant non-related Duu rather than neighbouring hunter confederates. In the present day, wives have been exchanged with Tira, Magemi, Kei, Kubri, Warda, Kakuluru etc., but not the Dieri, Darka, Adia or Bara.

Close cousin marriages are contracted within the village, whereas distant patrilineal parallel unions are concluded with Kadia of the north, and MBD-type unions with distant non-hunter groups. As expectable, men in the village tend to stand as FBS or distant patrilineal kin. Men and women tend to be both distant patrilineal and/or cross-cousins. Real FBD marriages have not been practised over the last generation. More distant but frequent cousin marriages have occurred between members of the same major lineage. This could facilitate FBD marriages at a later date. In recent years, however, brothers have tended to separate, with one sibling remaining in the village and one or more emigrating in the hope of better economic possibilities.

The Rea of Dumsa have little or no game left to hunt and have not adapted to cattle raising. Their marriage payments are thus low. Two

goats for the sadau, some mats brought by the bride for bedding and two or three or sometimes a few more silver thalers for yara/fida and niarom.

THE KOLON SETTLEMENTS

Many informants claim that the original Kolon settlement, as a relatively stable locality rather than a mobile community, is as old as Dumsa, and goes back to at least the middle of the nineteenth century. The genealogical charter of the Kotolu of Kolon, as today remembered, records only six generations and no link can be proven with the main Teteya or Kadia descent lines. Did the Kotolu, formerly among the southernmost Duu hunters, remain peripheral to lineage-focussed modes of political competition prevalent among more northerly groups in more direct contact with the Kanembu and Darka ? Oral tradition asserts that the village was founded by the present 70+ year old ex-b'lama's FF, M'bodü Kangwi who migrated south from the Bari Kolon area with a group of Kadia. His father is given as Kangu Mania, suggesting a link with the Duu of the Kanembu Kanku, then vassals of the Darka ... In any case, in spite of prolonged co-residence with southern Rea, and some intermarrying, the Kotolu have kept both their residential and genealogical specificity.

In recent years, two fissions have occurred in the community following arguments between the sons and brothers of the above-mentioned retired b'lama. This conflict of long standing has entailed the creation of two hamlets, Kolon 2 and Karun Kolon. For the time being however, all three continue to be bound in regard to bloodwealth settlements with the Kadia of Dumsa. In the most recent case of this type (1973), representatives of all the southern communities came to Yalita to partake in negotiations.

Marriage patterns in the 3 Kolon hamlets are almost diametrically opposed to those of Dumsa. Endogamy is shunned. Internal conflict has atomised the group. Kolon 1, also known as Kolon Kankia, counts but seven extant marriages, Kolon 2, formed in 1970, 3 and Karun Kolon,

established in 1972, three. The few Kanembu Bareu and Twari who, following the tradition of 19th century links with the Rea, Adia and Bar., resided in Kolon, have left for more peaceful and secure parts. The effects of the drought combined themselves with those of quarrels among those who formerly constituted the group's agnatic core. The survival of splinter hamlets is most uncertain.

Prior to 1970, marriage payments in Kolon closely followed the pattern described for Dumsa. Consanguinity appears to have been in a declining phase and old marriage exchange relations with the Bareu, the Magemi, the Warda, the Kubri and other Duu from Molimari, Am Dobak, DibinENCHI and N'guri chieftaincies were not consolidated.

In recent years, the economic fortunes of the Kotolu have not been good. The lineage has failed to acquire herds in the south, as they failed to acquire wadi rights in the north. The Kotolu suffer from being economically, geographically and even genealogically peripheral to the Rea core. It would seem that to survive as autonomous if dependent units, groups such as the Kotolu, the Biremia and the Kania of Burbuna have opted for continued links of vassality within the Rea lineage. In practice, this means leaving control over access to land to the two strongest major lineages, the TeteYa and the Kadia.

Other Kania and some Kotolu have opted for a more radical solution which consists of attempting to implement a new mode of livelihood, largely dependant on cattle raising. This "solution" is not new. Efforts aimed at the constitution of herds were made by Duu along the Bahr-el-Ghazal during the 19th century. But it was difficult to acquire cattle and, in particular, reproductive stock. Many times hunters whose livelihood was on the wane, resorted to cattle raiding, an activity which was facilitated by their expert usage of the bow and poisoned arrow. Several factors counteracted these endeavours. Firstly, the Duu had no

grazing rights. Once cattle were acquired, hunters lost their mobility and had to devise new defensive strategies against "Shuwa" and eastern Arabs who directed punitive expeditions against the Duu. Last but not least, the Duu lacked the knowledge and techniques of herding, with which the Kanembu themselves are not excessively well endowed in comparison to Arab and Kreda pastoralists.

THE TAMADAI SETTLEMENTS

When one first visits the three villages of Tamadai located on Arab-administered land at the border of the Kanembukanembu- and Arabic-speaking zones, it is striking to observe the differences in material culture which contrast with all Rea settlements from Kolon and Dumea north. The Kanembu crinoline shaped huts give place to admittedly imperfect but functional Shuwa-type domed huts designed to house both man and animal. Tamadai 2 is composed of 7 Shuwa-type huts and 5 "mixed" Kanembu-Shuwa-inspired structures. Such mixtures illustrate a technological transition which may be associated with the passage from a primarily agrarian economy to semi-sedentary and agro-pastoralist livelihood, as well as with the environmental transition from the riverine NE - SW oriented dune chains to the low, flat sedimentary, alternatively sandy or clayish bed of the Bahr el-Ghazal. In Tamadai 3, there is no Kanembu hut at all. 19 Arab-type huts are used for habitation and protecting smaller animals, such as young calves. 5 huts were exclusively for animals and 13 "mixed style" constructs affording both domestic and stabling facilities. The spatial distribution of huts in a wide oval delineating a central corral contrasts with the concentrated circular pattern leaving only a small prayer square in the hamlet centre characteristic of Kanembu dune-summit settlements.

The Tamadai communities also differ from the north in their mobility pattern. The original Tamadai was founded by Kotolu of Kuli Kotulori

(a now extinct northern village) who had spent some 40 years in Kolon. They then migrated south to the Bahr el-Ghazal and founded Arera, the first Rea "pastoral" settlement. After five years at Arera, Tamadai 1 was created c. 1950 and has moved within a limited periphery since then. Tamadai 2 and 3 were both founded in 1967, the former by Kotolu of Tamadai 1 who are still dependent on this village's b'lama and the latter by Kania of Are and some Kotolu. Are was founded around 1955 by an inhabitant of the present Tamadai 3, who originally came from a hamlet in the village cluster of Wole. The inhabitants of Wole were formerly northern Duu and descendants of hunters who had progressively migrated south during the 19th century. Wole disappeared in the 1960's, following floods. The site of Are, first settled by Kania, was definitively abandoned in 1970. Other movements have certainly occurred since fieldwork was completed.

Residence patterns in the three Tamadai are erratic yet not without their own logic. Not one married person was born in their village of residence. Rea spouses come from the depopulated Kolon hamlets, Are and Wole. Outside spouses come from the dispersed Duu villages of Keral, Kuludia and the Bara chieftaincy of Molimari to the east. No marriages were recorded with the non-Kanembukanembu-speaking Haddad Arabs of Keral canton.

Patrilineal unity is however, maintained. Ten of eleven Tamadai 1 husbands are Kotolu, as are 7 of 9 Tamadai 2 husbands; the joint hamlet of Tamadai 3 is divided between 7 Kotolu and 6 Kania married men. All men of Tamadai 1 are brothers, uncles/nephews and/or patrilineal cousins among themselves. Only in Tamadai 2 does one find four husbands not related to the local agnatic nucleus.

Compared with other Duu villages studied, the major novelty in marriage patterns concerns the origins of wives. Outside wives, in terms

lineage affiliations, are Adia, Bara, Magemi, Kubri, K'letl, Kei and Sugurti. Occasional observations in several other southern Duu communities confirm that a new marriage exchange network is being formed in the mainly Bara and Adia chieftaincy of Molimari and the Duu areas of Karal and Kuludia cantons. Dumsa is a transitional community in the sense that marriage exchanges continue with the north. It is also an archaic community in its persevering attachment to the hunter heritage. Marriage exchanges between the Rea (and other Adia, Bara etc.) groups of the south and the Valita nucleus seem to have ceased to a large extent as long as three to four decades ago.

Marriage patterns are re-organised within the social and geographical limits of the Bahr el-Ghazal, where incipient pastoralism is explicitly valorised and promoted against the still severe socio-economic constraints affecting all Duu. This collective strategy does not exclude patri/viri-locality, in spite of apparent neolocality which is a consequence of new more widespread migration patterns, and still values consanguinity. 16 of 36 extant unions are cousin marriages. Consanguineal marriages are preferentially patrilateral parallel with occasional FZD and MSD unions. This distribution resembles that characteristic among neighbouring semi-sedentary, agro-pastoral "Shuwa" (to the west) and "Dagana" (to the east) Arabs.

Arab influences among the Tamadai Rea are perceptible. Pastoralism, however, cannot be improvised and the correspondence of marital prestations with those found in Dumsa and Kolon are a tell-tale sign of continuing economic difficulties and hardship. The people of Tamadai have systematically instituted the "pastoral" jarm'buta marriage payment (See Chapter 5) but cattle are by no means yet the mainstay of marriage exchange.

Some non-Duu disparagingly comment that the Duu of the south have more donkeys than cattle. To be just, one must note that they also own a few

horses, more than in the north. In Tamadai 2, the village herd of some 70 goats belong in the majority to neighbouring Kanembu. Only a few head of cattle have survived the drought. Tamadai 1 counts 30 head of cattle and 40 goats. This is not a rich "Shuwa's" herd but nonetheless constitutes a respectable amount of beasts. The "richest" of the hamlets is Tamadai 3. I there counted 20 donkeys (a small fortune of transport animals) for a population of 33 adults and 35 children. I also saw 71 caprines, 38 milk cows, 4 bulls and 11 calves, in other words, a viable herd capable of surviving the drought. It is possible that some, but only some, of these animals were on loan from non-Duu herders, and that villagers claimed them to be their own. Notwithstanding, Tamadai 3 is a truly agro-pastoral community. This example happily illustrates that there is an accessible economic option open to poor Kanemi devoid of capital within the framework of the traditional Sahelian economy. Until now, this has only been accomplished in southern areas where the Kanembu do not directly control the allocation of ground and pasturage rights and, directly or indirectly, influence fiscality.

5. Marriage practices and marriage strategies

The examination of marriage patterns from the point of view of the village unit rather than as a series of rates applicable clan-wide reveals a multiplicity of local circumstances and strategies. Any wider understanding of marriage patterns as they appear at the clan level (cf. Chapters 6 and 8) must be based on the systematic analysis of observed local variations as they relate to major political and economic factors which determine interlineage relations within the clan.

We will now attempt to better understand endo-exogamic process in the Rea clan by bringing out observed consistencies between given types of marriage practices and distinct phases of community development. For

purposes of clarity, we will distinguish situations which favour endogamy from those which tend to favour exogamy. We will first examine situations which tend to favour exogamy.

In villages where one observes a high and persistent rate of female exogamy, one expectably finds a low level of consanguinity.

In certain situations, competition between brothers may determine the out-marrying of their progeniture, both male and female, thus negatively influencing endogamic potential at succeeding generations. The children of out-marrying men or women do not generally return to their parent's village of birth.

The strongly valorised norm of residential solidarity and wider co-operation between agnates is, in practice, contradicted by the competitive tendencies which often develop over access to fertile land resources and to offices, such as that of b'lama (village headman). Under such circumstances, the potential occurrence for endogamic marriages both consanguineal and/or lineal and local is consistently inferior to the full demographic potential for such unions in a given locality.

In communities where given sets of brothers enter into conflict at rather regular intervals, patrilineal cross-cousin marriage may frequently emerge as an endogamic counterbalance and stop individually-focussed quarrels from provoking a break-up of the village. This option seems less applicable when severe internal discord arises in a major lineage of dependent status whose membership of the clan is not genealogically ratified but only politically, that is provisionally, recognised. Such groups may prefer or be forced to engage in rather systematic exogamy. Widely-spread, sometimes preferential marriage exchange agreements are concluded with external clans, notably in the south of the Rea territory, who may grant their partners alternative land access rights. This amounts

to saying that differential political status may generate endogamic barriers between politically allied major divisions. Conflicts of this type also occur between sections of major lineages. The establishment of endogamic tendencies between lineage groups may push competing units of lower status to marry out of the clan. Endogamy is then understandably looked upon as undesirable, at least temporarily, in that it can be isolating and compound already prevalent weaknesses.

The divisions just mentioned are generally at least partially responsible for most village dispersals and movements to which land exhaustion, shifts or oscillations in mode of livelihood also contribute. In new or regrouped settlements, major lineage affiliations are quite homogeneous among men. Although males ^{may} be linked by several generations of patrilineal co-residence, younger women immigrate and emigrate with some frequency.

Village communities are neither effectively nor presumptively perpetual. In many cases, their lifespan in a given location or radius may be around three generations, or among recent herders, less. If a residual hamlet definitely disintegrates, remaining younger married couples may disperse into distinct "ascending" lineage groups with which they may claim some tie of allegiance. Given the political restrictions then affecting them, the option of founding a new hamlet is often considered as too ambitious. Except in cases of military defeat or following natural catastrophes such as the cholera epidemic and drought of recent years, village formation is generally a voluntary act of simultaneously political, economic and personal character. It has become a more accessible possibility, notably to the weak, since certain binding defense obligations waned at the outset of the French occupation. The endogamic potential of subsequent generations varies considerably according to the circumstances which preside over the beginnings of each community.

For liberated slaves, exogamy from an autonomous residential unit has, over the past decades, been a pre-condition of emancipation in terms of locality, and of the foundation of autonomous minor lineage segments. Forced endogamy within arbitrarily constituted slave villages was a most efficient means of class boundary maintenance. The widest-based exogamic potential in Kanemi society was to be found among free farmer-herders who, with middle-range wealth and ensured access to land, were restricted neither by the constraints of retention of lineage-vested office nor those, even more rigorous, of professional caste membership, dependent or slave status. Endogamy and exogamy may thus entail very divergent consequences and restrictions for different social strata and classes.

The following examples all portray specific Rea hamlets in which endogamy is very much more a part of marriage strategy than the general estimates of Chapter 6 would suggest.

When families belonging to different (ex-) professional castes unite residentially in a single agricultural group, one finds socially binding interlineage, locally andogamous unions but an initially low frequency of consanguinity. This may change considerably in a matter of years. Alliances of this type imply mutual political support between formerly non-interacting, mobile artisans but not dominance. Endogamy here serves to forge new links and counters the social isolation of craftsmen.

The reinforcement of the dominant segment of the major lineage previously vested with the Rea chieftaincy, the Teteya, proceeds simultaneously through the refusal to admit any consequential number of external couples into their village and the predominance of matrilineal and cross-cousin marriages which expand their intra-lineage network of kinship and alliance on their own terms. This particular endogamic strategy contrasts manifestly with the patrilineal preferences, low consanguinity and high

exogamy found in the main village of the now chiefly Kadia major lineage.

In another smaller community whose members were bound by strong agnatic ties, patrilineal parallel and cross-cousin marriages are practised as systematically as possible by, at the same time, consolidating the local male core group and selectively extending it through the retention of sisters, daughters and nieces in the residential unit.

Yet a different group has sought to ally the ideologically most respectable form of consanguinity with a specific long-term socio-political strategy destined to enhance its position through means other than direct competition for office. This involves combining the pilgrimage to Mecca by several of the hamlet's men, agnatic co-residence and inter-marrying of their children. FBD marriage does consolidate this strongly Islamic "brotherhood" and aids in progressing from religious prestige to political credibility. Both of these elements contribute to undermining the restrictions attached to Duu status.

Locally exogamous marriages between such small contiguous communities forming a village cluster may reinforce agnation on a broader scope with some unions occurring between second rather than first degree cousins. Marriage between even more distant patrilineal kin, both parallel and cross, has been sought to re-unite members of a common major lineage estranged through migrations and fissions when relatively greater demographic and political weight allowed them to colonise new lands. To combat the decline of their influence and over-stretched resources, families may regroup into a single body. The bolstering of one hamlet here marks the death of another. In such "pairing up", however, the availability and need for spouses are not likely to concord. This necessitates some degree of in- and out-migration, generally of women, before the group achieves matrimonial and demographic balance. The endogamic principle which

inspired the merging may only be fully revived at the next generation, if the venture is a success. In this case as well as when splinter communities of several disbanded localities converge, one may note an increase in non-patrilateral parallel forms of cousin marriage.

Having presented some of the great variety of endogamous and exogamous patterns which may be observed at any one time within a single clan, I will now indicate some of the intergenerational changes which may affect community endogamic potential. The present comments will initiate our diachronic consideration of Duu marriage.

TABLE 49 : Cousin marriage and parents lineage affiliation(s)

	N	F&M =MJL	% N	F&M =Clan	%N
H	175	43	24.6	68	38.9
W	168	49	29.2	70	41.7
H + W	183	11	60	22	12.0

MJL = Major Lineage

F = Father

M = Mother

It does not appear that cousin marriages are often repetitively contracted from generation to generation within localised patrigrups. In particular, patrilateral parallel cousin marriages are rarely systematically reproduced within the agnatic line. Considering the Rea clan as a whole, the four parents of cousin spouses are members of a single major lineage in only 6 % of cases recorded (See Table 49), or of a single clan in only 12 % of cases. When restricting ourselves to one or another of cousin spouses, we find common major lineage affiliation among 24.6 % of husband's parents and 29.2 % of wives' parents. The

corresponding figures for common clan membership are 38.9 % and 41.7 %, respectively.

When co-resident kinsmen opt collectively to marry exogamously, often to assert their political specificity vis-à-vis their major lineage and clan, consanguinity increases sharply at the following generation if the initial agnatic political solidarity of the dissident group perdures. The consanguineal potential will naturally tend to be predominantly patrilineal. In this perspective, the incidence of given marital residential patterns is only significant inasmuch as it is related to the strategy which determines it. High neolocality may reflect, for example, the establishment of strongly patrilineally-focussed, virilocal patterns to follow.

When exogamy is coupled with a contextually high rate of consanguinity which in the Rea case could be tentatively situated in the area of 40 %, it reinforces the potential for consanguineal marriage at the subsequent generation. In spite of verbalised preferences, one may, in such an event, find a rather weak degree of agnation as well as unions between second degree and more distant cousins.

Where the lineage community is divided into sometimes extremely small residential groups, the type distribution of possible consanguineal unions will, on demographic grounds, be very erratic. Thus, a similar politico-marital or community economic strategy may, in different hamlets, have to be pursued through an unpredictable variety of consanguineal forms and genealogical artifices. This variability is prone to increase in an inverse relation to community size. The implications of this point are compounded in view of the low village group in-marriage rate mentioned in Chapter 6. Type frequencies of consanguineal marriage must consequently be related to individual community residence patterns if conclusions at the clan level are to find appropriate relative validity.

If in-marriage is practised between brothers' sons and daughters at the second generation following village foundation, the possibilities of FBD and FZD unions are, as we have seen statistically (cf. Chapter 6), predominant at the clan level though they may not be pursued at all by certain communities at given generations.

Whatever its typological traits, systematic endogamy can be and is a cogent strategy for small hamlet populations in spite of increasing pressures toward out-marriage in the contemporary context. When all founding members of a village choose in-lineage, consanguineal marriage, the liberty for their children to marry endogamously will be as strong as sex and age composition of the second generation will allow, in other words optimal for prevailing conditions. If this type of marriage is practised consistently for two or three generations, a rare but observable occurrence, demographic disequilibria, not to mention the imperative of minimal outside alliances, are liable to make a certain percentage of exogamous unions necessary.

In practice, over the past two decades, endogamy and exogamy have been of comparable statistical importance. If the former is to prevail in a village, men who emigrate for economic reasons or to marry must return to their village, sometimes after years of absence, to ensure that their offspring marry there. This goal, which is present in the minds of many, demands a locally variable minimum of productive resources, particularly in irrigable land. Irrespective of marriage strategies, village expansion may be slowed or checked by land scarcity; it is not a coincidence that the average village population in South Kanem is only around 50. Granted these prerequisites, when FBD marriage is concluded in all possible instances, major lineage and clan endogamy is likely to exceed consanguinity and may involve the entire community. If, in addition, exogamy is local rather than lineal and/or non-cognatic, it

reinforces consanguinity and, more specifically, agnation.

I believe that the instances quoted amply illustrate that the significance of consanguineal marriage types cannot be defined univocally, albeit within a lineage group whose members share the same norms of kinship and alliance preferences. At the same time, lineage exogamy and consanguinity are not contradictory or incompatible within the co-resident group, either synchronically or on an intergenerational basis. Endogamous practices take on different but interrelated meanings and implications at successive stages of community development.

CHAPTER EIGHT : A DIACHRONIC APPROACH TO THE ANALYSIS OF
REA MARRIAGE PATTERNS

1. Methodological issues relating to the diachronic study of
marriage patterns

The local and intergenerational variations discussed in Chapter 7 show that the study of Rea marriage patterns at the clan level must be based on as full an understanding as possible of the relations between observed marriage distributions in terms of kinship and clan affiliations in each local group and lineage constituting the clan and of the historical processes of community development characterising each of these component units. Such an analysis cannot logically be conducted in the ethnographic present only. In societies without detailed written civil and historical records, however, the conjoint diachronic analysis of marriage patterns and related processes of socio-political change at any level of social organisation may be difficult if not impossible.

In the Rea case, the relatively small number of consanguineal marriages recorded as well as the difficulties of inventorying all genealogical relations between parents and grandparents of presently living spouses render a diachronic analysis of unions between kin in terms of relational categories impossible at the present stage of research. A parallel explanation will be attempted in this chapter, nonetheless, by using simple information on the clan affiliations and approximate wedding dates of all presently married persons on Rea territory and spouses' parents, whether alive or deceased. Unions can be approximately dated in relation to a calendar of local events established on the basis of French local archives material dating as far back as 1899. Salient occurrences in individual life histories, individual fertility records, successions in clan and lineage offices, climatological, epidemiological and other data contribute to form a parallel event sequence, largely familiar to most

adult clan members and long-time local residents. By reference to these series, marriages can be chronologically ordered. In order to reduce the margin of error in dating, unions were grouped into cohorts generally spanning ten years. In certain instances, where cohort populations were too low to warrant statistical consideration, 20 year spans were used to account for specific periods. The 1289 marriages considered are sequentially distributed as follows:

1895 - 1904 : 46	} 127	1935 - 1944 : 201
1905 - 1914 : 81		1945 - 1954 : 286
1915 - 1924 : 112		1955 - 1964 : 207
1925 - 1934 : 169		1965 - 1974 : 187

(See Appendix 6)

Dependable and readily verifiable data about clan affiliations were much less difficult to assemble. It is most exceptional for descent group membership to be misreported. Some inaccuracies were encountered, however, in the statement of clan ties of immediate female ascendants and collaterals, testifying to the patrilineal bias of Rea genealogical memory.

This uncomplicated sequential presentation of marriage data on the basis of clan affiliations can furnish important clues as to changing patterns of clan endogamy and exogamy, interclan political alliances and major changes in the social and political organisation of professional castes as well as social strata and classes. Notwithstanding the potential value of this technique for both sociological and historical investigation, the nature of the data basis used here entails inherent restrictions on the time periods to which it may be applied and the validity of the results it affords. Chronologically, it is limited by human genealogical memory with regard to the clan affiliations of female ascendants from grandmother's generation up in what, as just mentioned, is a patrilineally defined and biased system. Hence to guarantee the accuracy of all data, I limited my

inquiries to the parents of living spouses.

An even greater difficulty is offered by the fact that as we project back into time, it becomes increasingly difficult to assess with exactitude the representativity of the cohort sample in relation to the full average Rea population at each interval considered. The recording of extant and documentable unions without recourse to a statistical sampling technique offers undisputable validity only for the present. The living and deceased parents of all young and middle-aged Rea residents do not account for the total population of the ascendant generations still represented in the group. Under the circumstances, one could argue, particularly with regard to the earlier decades considered, that the figures recorded are biased in favour of high rates of endogamy due to the under-representation of clan segments which have emigrated or to outsiders whose presence in the Rea community was relatively transient.

Notwithstanding, several empirical considerations argue in favour of the meaningfulness of the earlier sub-samples and, by the same token, of generally higher rates of clan in-marriage at the beginning of the century. Pre-colonial South Kanemi communities, especially among the Duu, were at once materially fortified and socially very isolated, due to the often hostile state of interclan relations which culminated in pan-Kanemi civil strife both during the late 1870's and from 1894 to the arrival of the French in 1899. Emigration from South Kanem, as referred to in the preceeding chapter with regard to village movements mainly concerned the Bara and Adia lineages of the Danoa "clan" (cf. Appendix 5).

The Rea population was geographically more stable than that of the other Duu lineages of the area, including the Darka. Genealogical checks of major descent lines, notably those of office holders, destituted or in power, indicate continuous presence of the Rea on their present territory from the end of the 19th century to the present. Most immigrant families

also exhibit significant residential stability though, naturally, for sometimes shorter durations. This lends weight to the assumption that earlier sub-samples, in spite of their reduced size, may be considered as projected back randomly from a full present-day cohort.

It would be preposterous to pretend that the figures given are mathematically rigorous and sociologically significant in an absolute fashion. Their systematic presentation may, however, facilitate constructive criticism of their strength and weaknesses in view of refining the diachronic method suggested in other Sahelian contexts. Until more satisfactory answers may be found in response to the above methodological queries, my working assumptions in the present study may be summarised as follows: the recording of all extant and documentable unions of the Rea community without recourse to a sampling technique, coupled with parallel consideration of family residential stability, village movements and emigration entitles one to postulate that the samples referring to earlier decades are to an appreciable degree sociologically representative of their respective cohorts. By graphically emphasising time sequences rather than a generational representation more commonly adopted in the literature (cf. for example, Dupire 1970), we are in effect ordering a series of continuous and interrelated sub-samples of contemporaneous marriages of decreasing statistical representativeness, but not necessarily of proportionately diminishing sociological significance.

These assumptions cannot be fully validated statistically. The results of the present exercise were, however, quite systematically compared to historical and oral tradition materials which they are intended to complement. The analysis of clan- and lineage-centred oral tradition and French administrative sources and their comparison with data on spouses' clan affiliations furnished important elements of evaluation of the social and political relevance of changes in ^{marriage} patterns and clan organisation.

In the field, the clan was chosen as the basic unit of reference with regard to both social structural and politico-historical inquiries . Systematic treatment of archival material was not undertaken in Chad. My investigations were mainly oriented there by the contradictions and convergences in the oral traditions of neighbouring Kanembu and Duu clans with regard to key events and socio-political pressures covering the years immediately preceeding the colonial period to 1974.

Upon returning to France, I was able to obtain a remarkably complete synthesis of events in the Mao chieftaincy and South Kanem published by R. Catala, a former French administrative officer who had served in the area. His 1954 manuscript entitled L'évolution des chefferies africaines du district de Mao de 1899 à 1953 made my own materials much more meaningful and greatly facilitated chronological checks of events related to me orally as well as of genealogical data.

Lack of space makes it impossible to undertake here a point by point comparison of major political trends in the Duu and Kanembu chieftaincies of South Kanem from the late 19th to the late 20th century with concurrent changes in marriage exchange patterns. A brief summary of my historical materials is presented, however, in Appendix 5. This document includes the minimal data necessary to define the socio-political categories in terms of which the study of marriage exchange is framed at both the intra-stratum and the comparative levels in the remainder of this chapter and in Chapter 9. Despite its preliminary character, this exercise is, I believe, of use if only to better ascertain the difficulties of trying to synthesise in a diachronic approach statistical data on social-structural change and parallel oral history material from a society with few or no written records.

2. A diachronic approach to the study of Rea in-clan and out-clan marriage

The matrimonial exchange patterns studied in this section are observed from the standpoint of the Rea clan. The members of this descent group are designated collectively here as 'R'.

Members of the formerly confederated Duu clans (Adia, Bara and Darka) (cf. Chapter 2 and Appendix 5) living on Rea territory are designated as the Autonomous Duu category, abbreviated 'A'. In spite of the tensions and altercations which have divided these co-clansmen for over one hundred years, it is legitimate to here consider them as a distinguishable category in relation to marriage in view of their shared political status in Kanem. This is expressed in the assertion of common ancestry between the Rea, Adia and Bara and of common putative Danoa clanship linking these three groups and the Duu Darka. As will be demonstrated below, the effective dissolution of autonomous Duu interdependence at the political, territorial and military levels following the Kanem civil war of the 1890's and the French occupation reduced but did not eliminate marital exchange between the four Danoa clans. Interrelations between the Rea (R) and other autonomous Duu (A) will illustrate the progressive distancing of the component descent groups of the Danoa "clan" alliance.

A third category is represented by the kakulu (blacksmith) lineages (abbreviated 'S') which, as previously stated, (cf. Chapter 2) may be distinguished from other Duu groups by (a) their professional specificity; (b) their Daza origins and (c) their organisation (dictated by the exigencies of their profession) into numerically smaller local descent groups than the R and A clans.

Other Duu clans or local lineage segments characterisable by their politically dependent status vis-à-vis Kanembu clans will be classified together as Outside Clans (abbreviated 'O').

We will first proceed to examine the changing patterns of clan in-marriage among these four categories (see Curves $R = L$, $A = L$, $S = L$, $O = L$, Graph 1) and on the Rea territory in general (see Curve T, Graph 1). These trends will then be compared with those of category in-marriage, irrespective of clan boundaries for the A, S and O sub samples (see Curves R/R , A/A , S/S , O/O and T', Graph 2).

Rea clan in-marriage (R/R) will then be cumulated with unions among and between R and A (i.e. $R/R + R/A + A/R + A/A$) to consider what is termed "Danoa clan in-marriage" (see Curve AM, Graph 3). By then including marriages among the dependent smith groups of the R and A, as well as unions between S, R and A (i.e. $AM + (R/S + A/S + S/R + S/A + S/S)$) we may better understand politically significant changes in marriage patterns within the Danoa community in its widest sense (see Curve AM', Graph 3).

The marriages of members of the Rea clan with those of outside (O) clans ($R/O + O/R$ gives Curve C, Graph 4) are compared with the development of Rea in-lineage unions as a percentage of all unions recorded. To emphasise the trends emerging from Graph 4, Rea in-clan versus out-clan marriage is also presented as a proportion of all R unions only ($N = 891$ instead of 1,289) in Graph 5.

Category out-marriage for the R, A, S and O sub-samples is then studied by sex in Graphs 6, 7 and 8 in order to acquire some idea of possible changes in residential preferences at marriage through time.

Graphs 9 and 10 focus on marriages between Rea. Marriages within the same major lineage are traced in relation to all marriages involving at least one Rea partner ($N = 891$) and all unions contracted between members of the Rea clan ($N = 357$) respectively.

We then examine in Graph 11 marriages among Rea and the three other autonomous Duu clans considering them as a single category ($R + A$).

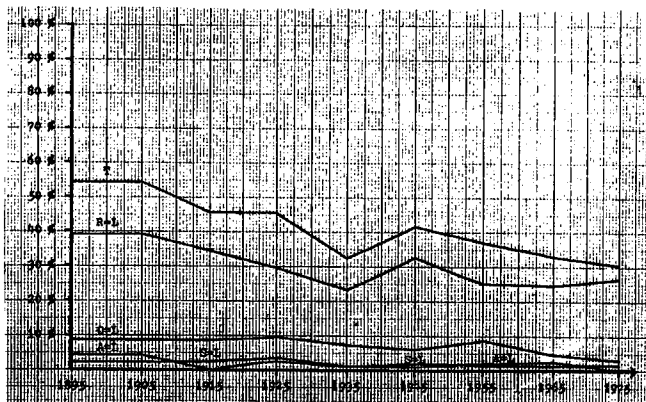
to the exclusion of smiths (S) and outsiders (O). All Rea marriages are used as a reference sample (N = 891).

Finally the marriages of outsiders are examined in terms of exchanges with the Rea in Graph 12.

* * *

Rea in-clan marriage (Graph 1) decreases slowly from 1895 to 1934 (39.1% to 23.1% of all marriages recorded). It then temporarily climbs to 32.8% (1935 - 1944) and subsequently stabilises at an average 25.5% (1945 - 1974).

Graph 1 : Clan in-marriage N = 1,289



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All M	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
R=L	N 18	N 28	N 33	N 39	N 66	N 72	N 51	N 50
	% 39.1	% 34.6	% 29.5	% 23.1	% 32.8	% 25.2	% 24.6	% 26.7
	127/46/36.2							
A=L	N 2	N 0	N 3	N 2	N 2	N 5	N 5	N 0
	% 4.3	% 0	% 2.7	% 1.2	% 1.0	% 1.7	% 2.4	% 0
	127/2/0.8							
S=L	N 1	N 2	N 4	N 2	N 4	N 4	N 3	N 3
	% 2.2	% 2.5	% 3.6	% 1.2	% 2.0	% 1.4	% 1.4	% 1.6
	127/3/2.4							
O=L	N 4	N 7	N 11	N 12	N 12	N 25	N 9	N 4
	% 8.7	% 8.6	% 9.8	% 7.1	% 6.0	% 8.7	% 4.7	% 2.1
	127/11/8.7							
T	N 25	N 37	N 51	N 55	N 84	N 106	N 68	N 57
	% 54.3	% 45.7	% 45.5	% 32.5	% 41.8	% 37.0	% 32.9	% 30.5
	127/62/48.8							

$$T = R = L + A = L + S = L + O = L$$

Outside, Autonomous and Smith in-clan marriages represent minor percentages of the marriage recorded for the Rea territory. In view of the sub-sample sizes, their fluctuations may not be studied individually on the present graph. However, when in-clan marriages (abbreviated = L) for all four categories are combined, Curves A = L, S = L and O = L appear, in general, to follow the pattern set by Curve R = L.

Curve T, which cumulates all in-clan unions, suggests possible general levels of in-clan marriage for each decade. The high level suggested for 1895 - 1904 is compatible with conditions of insecurity and conflict and consequent residential concentration. Marrying out of the exiguous Rea, Adia and Bara clan territory around the different Bari villages south of the wadi of Wai was often a politically sensitive and physically perilous matter. The foundation of new autonomous hamlets in this exiguous area or its densely settled periphery was restricted by the grudgingly accepted imperatives of solidarity between the Danoa (cf. Nachtigal 1881: 259 and 261). The Duu, Adia and Bara, under the "protection" of the Duu Darka, shared villages reportedly larger than today's settlements (comparison of own interviews with elders and Nachtigal 1881 : 259 and 261). Only that declining sector of the population which continued to depend on hunting as a principal or major source of subsistence, maintained greater residential autonomy throughout the southern sector of the Bari district and beyond (cf. Nachtigal 1881 : 259 and 330 - 331).

This should not be taken to imply that the Rea lived in strict autarky. The immigration of outsiders was to an extent encouraged. The low population of clans (see Nachtigal 1881 : 343 - 345), sometimes counting only a few hundred souls each, was maintained by a high mortality rate. This was attributable to disease, particularly during or immediately after childbearing and birth, constant plundering, vendettas, internal warfare and the dangers of large game hunting and cattle raiding.

These factors, in addition to epidemics, droughts and food shortages, could easily deplete the marriageable population with suddenness.

Groups of Rea did undertake migrations toward the southeast or the islands of Karga in the hope of settling out of range of Dalatoa or more immediate marauding neighbours. The more important of these movements were due to political strife among Danoa (cf. Appendix 5). The cyclical movements of Lake Chad, exposing and then inundating once again very fertile soil also provoked temporary changes in hunting and cultivation patterns (cf. Appendix 1). Similar political and environmental factors in turn entailed repeated influxes of small groups of refugees, often of servile or captive origin, preferring to opt for the relative security of life with the autonomous Duu than integration into Kanembu groups. Lineages of the Rea clan such as the Biremia, the Kania and the Kotolu are cases in point.

Following the establishment of the small but powerful French colonial military administration, the collective use of force by clans and coalitions ceased to be a permissible recourse in the competition for the control of land and fiscal proceeds. As traditional military alliances and antagonisms were superseded by a new balance of power, inter-community hostilities were circumscribed, in all but exceptional cases, to cattle-raiding and isolated acts of vengeance. Consequently, the security imperative no longer inhibited long-distance marriage exchange or economically motivated migrations.

Nonetheless, clan endogamy does not show itself to be very sensitive in the short term to the abrupt disappearance of corporate military prerogatives nor, indeed, to the shock of the colonisation process in general. It can be argued that the rapid reorganisation of the Kanemi political system quickly reduced security constraints, as shown by the rapid disappearance of village protective systems, but did not thoroughly

upset the rank hierarchy prevailing between clans or the system of social stratification.

Until 1935, population movements bringing about previously unaccustomed forms of contact between clans and ethnic groups, coupled with the disruptive influences of now overtly but non-violently unleashed tensions among Danoa favoured a moderate decrease in the frequency of in-clan marriage. On the other hand, the persistence of the endogamic norm dividing Duu and Kanembu and the momentum of already established multigenerational marital exchange cycles within and between clans tended to limit the breaking-down of traditional patterns.

The decrease in Curve T from 1895 to 1934 is principally attributable to the fact that fewer Rea marry within their own clan. This observation and the above considerations suggest the following hypotheses:

The 1905 - 1935 decrease of in-clan marriage among the Rea is in part related to this clan's new-found political prominence, however precarious, in a residual Danoa community in which henceforth only the Darka and Rea counted in the N'guri - Bari Kolom district. The Rea had to marry out more in order to compensate for the large exodus of Adia and Sara as well as to reorient local tribute and power networks in which, up to now, they had only been second partners. The relative solicitude of the French administration toward Bari Kolom and subsequently Kiwa canton facilitated this.

Is the 1935 - 1944 increase of $R \approx L$ unions a statistical accident due to sample inadequacies or the result of socio-political trends ? I would argue, although no irrefutable proof can be given, that this temporary return to a higher level of Rea in-clan marriage may be related to the understandable inability of the Rea to react politically to the simultaneous dismantling of the southern chieftaincies and the reinforcement

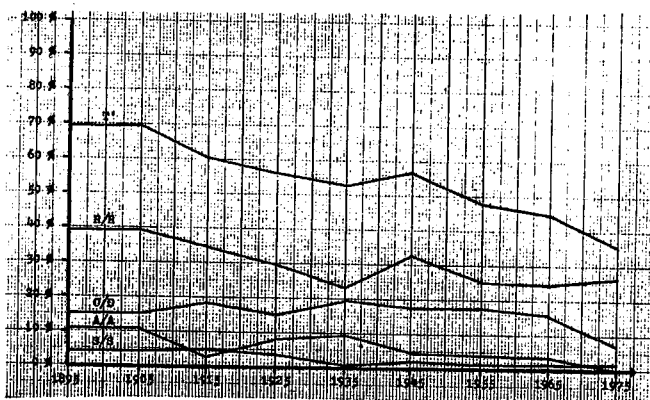
of the alifa's authority under French auspices. As shown in Appendix 5, this process culminated in the quasi-autarky and autocracy of alifa Zezerti during the Front Populaire and World War II periods.

From 1945 to 1974, the stable political situation of the Yalita canton corresponds to a stable rate of in-clan marriage. The downward inflection of Curve T could be attributed to the progressive socio-marital integration of non-Rea elements in the absence of significant collective immigration during those decades.

Graph 2 depicts marriage within the R, A, S and O categories irrespective of clan divisions within each category. Curve R/R is naturally the same as Curve R = L of Graph 1 since the R category consists of a single clan. The O/O Curve is expectably higher than Curve O = L of Graph 1. Comparison shows that in-clan marriage is nonetheless substantial within the O community on Rea territory. This could indicate long-term settlement of many immigrant descent lines. O / O marriages are maintained and indeed increase from 1895 to 1964 and then suddenly decreases. This pattern will be shown to be significant in relation to Curves R/O, O/R and C of Graph 4.

Curve A/A evolves inversely from Curve R/R from 1915 to 1944 following a 1905 to 1914 decrease attributable to Adia and Bara emigration. After major population movements have occurred and subside, it would seem that resistances to marriage emerge between the Rea and other Denoa between whom political relations are tense due to past differences. A certain distancing in marriage exchanges becomes more perceptible as the colonial administration begins to regulate what were formerly their common affairs (land usage, local taxation). Inter-clan alliances between non-Rea autonomous Duu become politically obsolete. From 1945 to 1975, A/A unions decrease and disappear as remaining Adia and Bara are absorbed by marriage into the Rea community.

Graph 2 : Category in-marriage N = 1289



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All M	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
R/R N	18	28	33	39	66	72	51	50
R/R %	39.1	34.6	29.5	23.1	32.8	25.2	24.6	26.7
	127/46/36.2							
A/A N	5	2	9	16	9	11	7	0
A/A %	10.9	2.5	8.0	9.5	4.5	3.8	3.4	0
	127/7/5.5							
S/S N	2	4	4	1	4	4	3	3
S/S %	4.3	4.9	3.6	0.6	2.0	1.4	1.4	1.6
	127/6/4.7							
O/O N	7	15	17	33	35	50	32	13
O/O %	15.2	18.5	15.2	19.5	17.4	17.5	15.5	7.0
	127/22/17.3							
T' N	32	49	63	89	114	137	93	66
T' %	69.6	60.5	56.3	52.7	56.7	47.9	44.9	35.3
	127/81/63.8							

$$T = R/R + A/A + S/S + O/O$$

S/S marriages are few in number. They diminish in relative importance but do not disappear as some immigration continues in this category and personal and political relations between blacksmiths and the Rea are developed.

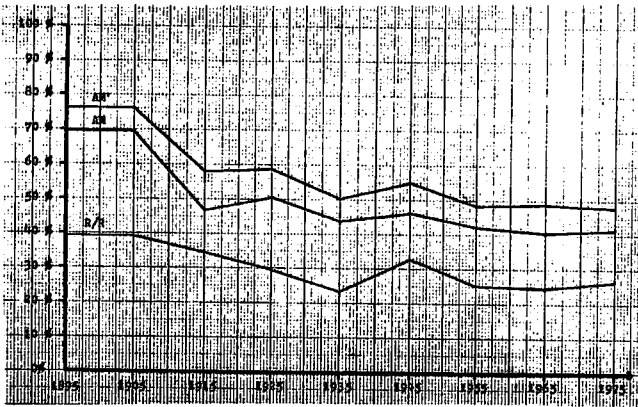
Curve T' shows a significant decline in in-category marriage in general from 69.6% in 1895 - 1905 to 35.3% in 1965 - 1975. Category in-marriage is, not surprisingly, higher than in-clan marriages per category. However, the A, O and S categories are composed of multiple clans and lineage segments. With the exception of small smith groups, they may not be considered as politically or economically corporate units on Rea territory. One observes a greater decrease of in-category marriage among the A and O categories than among their Rea hosts (cf. Graphs 1 and 2). In-marriage among non-Rea proves most sensitive to the general political evolution of Kanem from a clan/coalition-based polity to a province of a centralised State. This change implied that an externally-controlled administration increasingly infringed on the traditional attributes and functions of corporate, kin-based socio-political units. It is only natural that endogamy patterns were more resistant in descent groups such as the Rea than in multi-clan coalitions which had ceased to function as politico-military alliances of a category of outside dependents linked only by their shared subordination to a given host clan.

We will now compare the evolution of R/R unions with that of marriages between R and formerly associated groups, restricting our consideration to the A on the one hand (Curve AM) and including the S on the other hand (Curve AM'). Curves AM and AM' experience a sharp decline in the years following the French occupation and then reflect considerable constancy from 1915 to 1975. The high 1895 - 1904 levels (AM = 69.6% or 32/46; AM' = 76.1% or 35/46) are based on a reduced sample and are thus subject to caution. It may be said, nonetheless, that a high level of in-marriage between Rea, Adia and Bara and, to a lesser extent, with the Darka, is consonant with the fact that the members of the three former groups did not constitute separate territorial entities. The majority of their combined population was concentrated on a territory of only a few square

kilometres 4 km southwest of the large Darka centre of N'guri which Nachtigal (1880 : 259) described as having over 600 huts.

Graph 3 : Marriage among the Danoa

N = 1299



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All M	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
R/R N	18	28	33	39	66	72	51	50
%	39.1	34.6	29.5	23.1	32.8	25.2	24.6	26.7
	127/46/36.2							
AM N	32	38	57	74	93	121	84	78
%	69.6	46.9	50.9	43.8	46.3	42.3	40.6	41.7
	127/70/55.1							
AM' N	35	47	66	85	111	139	101	89
%	76.1	58.0	58.9	50.3	55.2	48.6	48.8	47.6
	127/83/64.6							

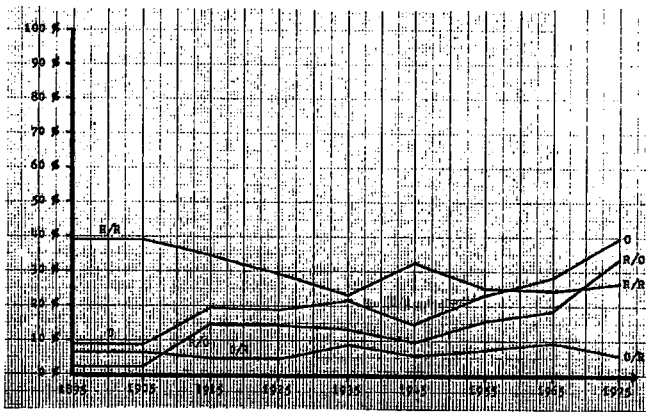
$$\begin{aligned}
 AM &= (R/A + A/R + A/A) \\
 SM &= (R/S + A/S + S/R + S/A + S/S) \\
 AM' &= R/R + AM \\
 AM' &= AM + SM
 \end{aligned}$$

It is interesting to note that despite political rivalry between Rea, Adia and Bara notables over local chieftaincy rights and the residential dispersion of these clan members, preferential marriage among members of autonomous Duu groups has prevailed until today over other forms of in-marriage. Curve AM shows an estimated decrease from 76.1% to 58.0% of

all marriages from 1905 to 1914 but from only 58.0% to 47.6% from 1915 to 1975. Such stability could be an indication of a high level of Danao endogamy during the years preceding the arrival of the French. I am also inclined to think that this trend illustrates the persisting strength of inter-stratum marriage prohibitions which have not been drastically affected by the formal constitutional abolition of slavery and serfdom. Danao "clan-endogamy" is certainly no longer a political imperative as it was during the 1890's in the midst of a civil war, or prior to that date. The stability of such a pattern may be interpreted as largely a consequence of the system of social stratification which has undergone less change than the political system.

It is consistent with what preceeds that at the beginning of the century, Rea marriages with outside clans, as a percentage of all marriages recorded, account for less than one tenth of the unions sampled. On Graph 4 Curve C ($= R/D + D/R$) equals only 8.7% for 1895 - 1904, as opposed to 39.1% for R/R unions and 76.1% for AM' (cf. Graph 3). From 1905 to 1934, Curve R/R decreases to 23.9%, whereas Curve C increases to a comparable 21.9%. As will be shown on Graphs 6, 7 and 8, the upward movement of Curve C is mainly due to the higher level of immigration of non-Rea Duu women who come to marry Rea men. The temporary increase of R/R marriages (23.1% to 32.8%) from 1935 to 1945, which I have linked above with the reinforcement of the alifa's government, is contemporaneous with a decrease of Curve C (21.9% to 14.9%). It appears as if the weakening of the clan's political function, following that of its military role, brought about a certain retraction of the Rea, and possibly other groups, onto themselves.

Graph 4 : Rea in-clan and out-clan marriages compared N = 1,289



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All m	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
R/R N %	18 39.1	28 34.6	33 29.5	39 23.1	66 32.8	72 25.2	51 24.6	50 26.7
	46/127/36.2							
R/O N %	1 2.2	12 14.8	16 14.3	22 13.0	19 9.5	45 15.7	39 18.8	63 33.7
	13/127/10.2							
O/R N %	3 6.5	4 4.9	5 4.5	15 8.9	11 5.5	21 7.3	20 9.7	11 5.6
	7/127/5.5							
C N %	4 8.7	16 19.8	21 18.8	37 21.9	30 14.9	66 23.1	59 28.5	74 39.6
	20/127/15.7							

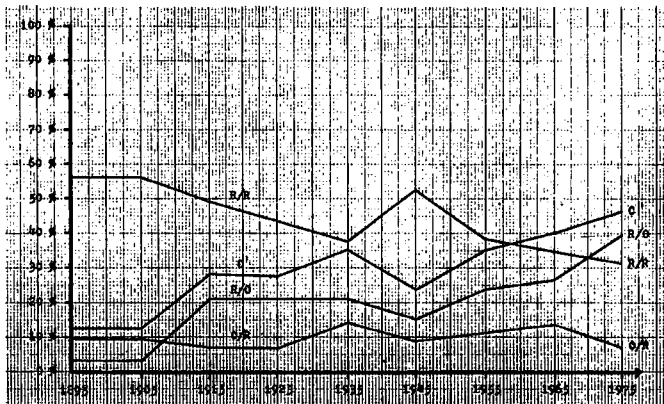
$$C = O/R + R/O$$

This situation is quickly reversed after World War II. By about 1957 - 1958, Rea marrying outside men and women became as numerous as those who chose a partner within their own clan. Curve C meets Curve R/R. About 1969 - 1970, Rea men marrying exogamously with respect to their descent group of origin came to equal those who married endogamously.

During the entire 80-year span considered here, the proportion of local marriages of exterior men to Rea women remained quite stable, never exceeding 10% (see Graphs 6, 7 and 8). The R/R Curve stabilises from 1955 onward whereas marriages involving one exterior partner timidly, from 1955 to 1964, then appreciably from 1965 to 1975 exceed in-clan unions. This change is structurally important: the ideology extolling the desirability of descent group endogamy and consanguinity is, at clan level, no longer consistent with actual marriage practice.

By restricting the reference population considered to the Rea and members of outside clans (N = 891) to the exclusion of other Danao (A) and smith groups (S), the process leading to these significant inversions of trend may be represented even more clearly (Graph 5).

GRAPH 5 : Marriages between the Rea and outside clans N = 891



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All R	32	57	76 ^c	106	126	188	147	160
R/R N %	18 56.3	28 49.1	33 43.4	39 37.1	66 52.4	72 38.3	51 34.7	50 31.3
R/O N %	1 3.1	12 21.1	16 21.1	22 21.0	19 15.1	45 23.9	39 26.5	63 39.4
O/R N %	3 9.4	4 7.0	5 6.6	15 14.3	11 8.7	21 11.2	20 13.6	11 6.9
C N %	4 12.5	16 28.1	21 27.6	37 35.2	30 23.8	66 35.1	59 40.1	74 46.3

$$C = R/O + O/R$$

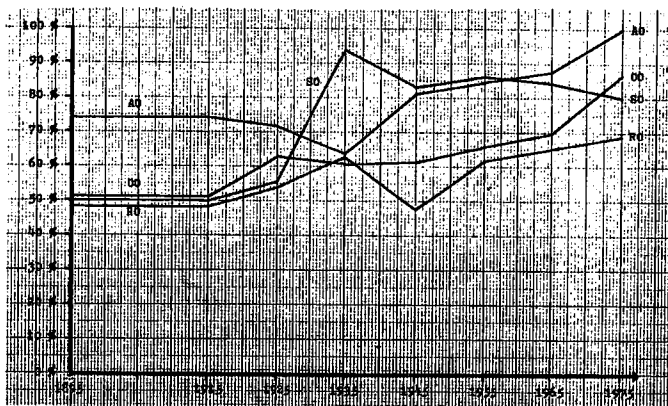
The rejection of in-clan marriage, especially by the younger generation, today involves several arguments. At a personal plane, marrying out may be a rejection of elders' authority. The study of divorces having occurred over recent decades indicates that first arranged marriages tend to be of short duration (cf. Chapter 6, Section 6), 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 are thrust at marriage in their place of birth. On a wider scale, the refusal of in-clan marriage by youth is a way of reacting against the frustrations of inferior Duu status. This practice cannot, in the short run, destroy the Kanembu/Duu marital barrier, but widespread inter-clan marriage, even if restricted to the Duu stratum, tends to reduce the social specificity of genealogically defined political units. In view of the socio-economic considerations presented in previous chapters, there is no reason to expect that trend C will reverse itself in the near future.

In a strongly patrilineal and virilocal system with marked endogamic characteristics, it would not be reasonable to expect that changes in relation to out-clan marriage have affected men and women in the same way and to the same degree. This is clear from the comparison of Curves R/O and O/R of Graphs 4 and 5. It is also understandable that this process will have had different implications among the R, A, S and O categories.

I will first compare out-marriage by category for both sexes considered together (Graph 6) and then proceed to distinguish men and women (Graphs 7 and 8). For the 1895 - 1914 period, Curves O/O (marriages between O men and R + A + S women), S/O (marriages between S men and R + A + O women) and R/O (marriages between R men and A + S + O women) of Graph 6 gravitate around the 50% mark. The very high level (74.1%) of Curve A/O (marriages between A men and R + S + O women) is due to the special relations, marked

by Rea/Adia/Bara clan endogamy, between A and R and the importance of R/A unions.

GRAPH 6 : Category out-marriage for men and women N = 1,289



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All M 1289	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
All R ⁰ N	14	29	41	66	60	116	96	110
All R	32	57	76	105	126	188	147	160
% R	43.8	50.9	53.9	62.9	47.6	61.7	65.3	68.8
	43/89/48.3		107/181/59.1		176/314/56.1		206/307/67.1	
All A ⁰ N	9	11	23	28	39	60	42	35
All A	14	13	32	44	48	71	48	35
% A	64.3	84.6	71.9	63.6	81.3	84.5	87.5	100.0
	20/27/74.1		51/77/66.2		99/119/83.2		77/82/93.9	
All S ⁰ N	1	5	5	15	20	25	16	12
All S	3	9	9	16	24	29	19	15
% S	33.3	55.6	55.6	93.8	83.3	86.2	84.2	80.0
	6/12/50.0		20/25/80.0		45/53/84.9		28/34/82.4	
All O ⁰ N	4	19	29	51	55	97	74	85
All O	11	34	46	84	90	147	106	98
% O	36.4	55.6	63.0	60.7	61.1	66.0	69.8	86.7
	23/45/51.1		80/130/61.5		152/237/64.1		159/204/77.9	

Between 1915 and 1934 Curve A/O naturally decreases due to the decline of local Danoa population through emigration to the southeast. Curve S/O moves upward with the concomitant decline of smith professional specialisation which had implied a certain level of marital segregation from other Duu.

O/O and R/O begin to loosen under new socio/political circumstances.

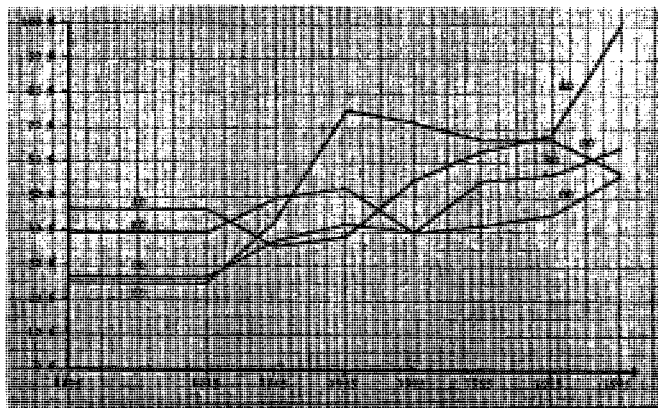
The 1935 - 1944 decade shows a reversal of the trend for husbands of category A, who again tend to marry more with their estranged Rea allies, as for husbands of categories S and R who revert to a higher rate of category in-marriage. Outside husbands (O) do not seem affected by this change. Individual outsiders and small lineage segments of very diverse origins do not constitute a socially or genealogically homogeneous category as do A, S and R.

There is an almost generalised increase in out-marriage from 1945 to 1975. Non-Rea Danoa disappear as an autonomous category; few A arrive and those already present are all women mainly married with Rea. The unions of outsiders follow a similar but less marked course. Groups or individuals of category O who are not on their own clan territory of origin and do not achieve sufficient numerical strength acquire dependent status vis-à-vis locally dominant groups or continue their migrations in search of land. Curve R/O ascends but to a lower level than Curves A/O and O/O. The Rea clan core remains more endogamous than exterior lineage segments resident on its territory, in spite of a significant rise of Rea out-marriage which increases from 47.6 % in 1945 to 68.8 % in 1974. One notes that the rate of in-category marriage for this last year, 31.2% approximately corresponds to the rate of cousin marriage, 33.2%, established for that same year (cf. Chapter 6).

For smiths, a fast rise of category out-marriage from 1925 to 1935 brutally modifies the "traditional" endo-exogamic balance of this professional caste. After this shock, which corresponds to an increase in inter-marriage between smiths and other Duu, a small but stable endogamous core group of smiths is maintained.

It is in keeping with the Kanemi tradition of patrilineality and patrilocality that from 1895 to 1914, males of all categories marry in their majority within their own category. The A and R categories ~~dis~~exchange spouses and hence present the highest initial rates of out-marriage.

GRAPH 7 : Category out-marriage for men N = 1289



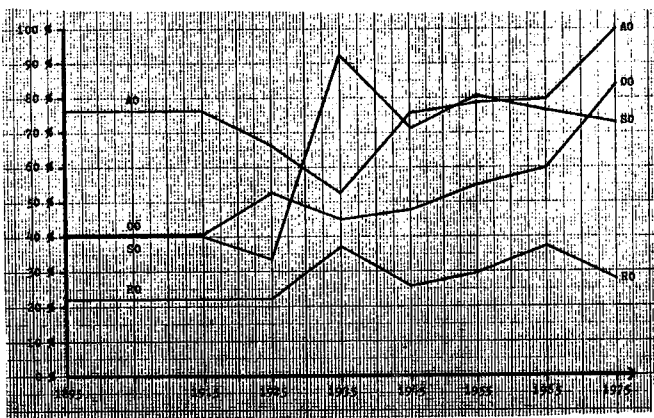
Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All M	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
All R ^o MN	9	21	31	43	43	86	67	91
All RM	27	49	64	82	109	158	118	141
% RM	33.3	42.9	48.4	52.4	39.4	54.4	56.8	64.5
	76/30/39.5		74/146/50.7		129/267/48.0		158/259/60.0	
All Ao N	2	4	5	10	11	19	15	9
All AM	7	6	14	26	20	30	22	9
% AM	28.6	66.6	35.7	38.5	55.0	63.3	68.2	100.0
	13/6/46.2		15/40/37.5		30/50/60.0		24/31/77.4	
All So N	0	2	3	3	10	8	6	4
All SM	2	6	7	4	14	12	9	7
% SM	0	33.3	42.9	75.0	71.4	66.6	66.6	57.1
	8/2/25.0		6/11/54.5		18/26/69.2		10/17/58.8	
All Do N	3	5	10	24	23	36	26	17
All OM	10	20	27	57	58	86	58	30
% OM	30.0	25.0	37.0	42.1	39.7	41.9	44.8	56.7
	30/8/26.7		34/84/40.5		59/144/41.1		43/88/48.9	

Outsiders were few in number at the time and smiths remained among their own. This, in view of the small size of the smith community, implies a strong proportion of consanguineal unions. Male out-marriage rises moderately for categories A, R and O but jumps from an estimated 25% to an estimated 75% from 1914 to 1934 for smiths. This indication could not be extended as is to all the smiths of South Kanem, but it does suggest that those allied to other autonomous Duu, instead of being socially ostracised and cantoned in separate hamlets, lost their corporate identity and were accepted into a wider community. At this time, the A/O, R/O and O/O curves keep a low profile, suggesting the continued importance of patrilineal and patrilocal marriage. Over the forty remaining years represented, all curves confirm in an accentuated manner the trends indicated during the corresponding duration on Graph 6.

Initial category out-marriage for non-Rea women (1895 - 1914, Graph 8) are expectably higher than for non-Rea men. The women here considered are marrying into the Rea territory and/or clan. Conversely, few Rea women marry non-Rea men on Rea territory.

Danoa emigration is reflected in the 1915 to 1934 decrease in Curve A/O which is parallel to that registered for men (Graph 7). Rea women show themselves to be slower to marry out of their clan than their kinsmen. Out-clan marriages were not a widely established practice in the still tightly-knit Kanemi communities of the beginning of the century. Out-marriages of women of category O were slow to increase because the newcomers had to establish their presence and develop their social networks before such exchange could develop on a systematic basis. Smith women, on the contrary, at first married out of their socio-professional category more than smith men, in accord with the allied but separate status of their lineages among the Rea until the 1920's.

GRAPH 8 : Category out-marriage for women N = 1289



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All M	46	81	112	169	201	286	207	187
All Ro F	5	8	10	23	17	30	29	19
All R F	23	36	45	62	66	102	80	69
% R F	21.7	22.2	22.2	37.1	25.8	29.4	36.3	27.5
	13/59/22.0		35/107/32.7		47/168/28.0		48/149/32.2	
All AoF	9	7	18	18	28	41	27	26
All A F	12	9	27	34	37	52	34	26
% AF	75.0	77.8	66.7	52.9	75.7	78.8	79.4	100.0
	16/21/76.2		36/61/59.0		69/89/77.5		53/60/88.3	
All S o F	1	3	2	12	10	17	10	8
All S F	3	7	6	13	14	21	13	11
% S F	33.3	42.9	33.3	92.3	71.4	81.0	76.9	72.7
	4/10/40.0		14/19/73.7		27/36/75.0		18/24/75.0	
All O o F	1	14	19	27	32	61	48	68
All O F	8	29	36	60	67	111	80	81
% O F	12.5	48.3	52.8	45.0	47.8	55.0	60.0	84.0
	15/37/40.5		48/96/50.0		93/178/52.2		116/161/72.0	

This situation quickly reversed as the social, ritual and economic barriers to community exogamy fell.

Curve 0/0 shows that unions by women were, in percentage terms, almost equal to out-category unions by 0 men in 1935. This reflects

immigration of single males from 1915 to 1934. The 1925 - 1934 O/O decrease for women probably denotes parallel immigration of external families replacing emigrant Danoa. Comparable increases in Curves A/O, O/O and R/O for this decade could have resulted in an equalisation of A/O, O/O and R/O rates for women as a wider-based community composed of more numerous descent lines began to take shape, thanks to greater freedom of movement in Kanem and land evacuation by emigrants of former years.

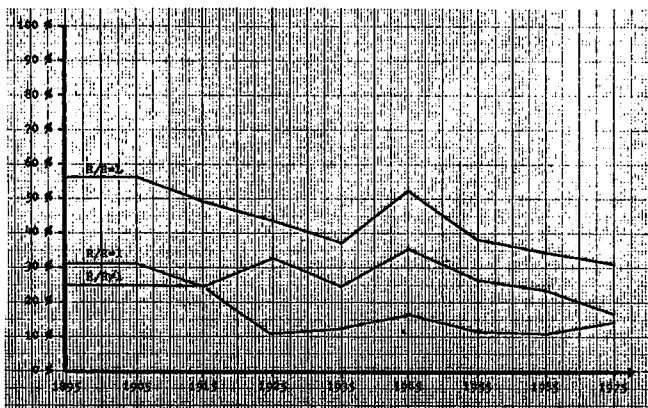
The political stiffening of 1935 - 1944 corresponds to an inversion in orientation of all O curves of Graph 8 which is more pronounced than parallel reverseals for men shown on Graph 7. Out-marriage decreased for Rea and, even more so, with women as their categories became more maritally solidary in the face of the elimination of the administrative-territorial units on which their socio-political autonomy depended (cf. Appendix 5). The partitioning of cantons into groupements could have favoured in-marriage by changing the focus and territorial/demographic scope of political competition. As a result, it seems that non-Rea Danoa women whose families had chosen not to follow the majority of their clansmen to the Massakory area multiplied ties with the Rea after the original beginning of the century grievances became less relevant due to the menace of political oblivion implied by the reinforcement of Dalatoa authority.

During the past thirty years, the persistently low level of Curve R/O as opposed to the climb of an already initially high Curve R/O of Graph 7, testifies to the maintenance of an endogamous Rea clan core. At the same time, exogamous relations have been developed by the Rea by means of male out-marriage in which wives are brought into the home clan and territory. Curve R/O of Graph 8 does not, of course, fully account for female out-marriage which is largely extra-territorial. The recent peaks of Curves A/O and O/O indicate the maturation of multiple modalities of inter-clan marriage exchange in a geographically circumscribed area, as the material

presented in Chapter 6 confirms. The relatively low level of Curve 0/0 for men (cf. Graph 7) in relation to that for women points out, nevertheless, that small partially endogamous groups of outsiders have taken up permanent residence on Rea territory.

I would now like to concentrate attention on the Rea clan, and the extent to which R/R unions have been contracted within Rea major lineages. Prior observations suggest a fundamental long-term change from what may be summarily termed a strongly patrilineal and locally endogamous pattern of marriage toward a dissolution of clan boundaries within the broadest relevant endogamous category, the Duu stratum. The trends noted in this section as well as the relations which today prevail between consanguinity and in-lineage marriage (cf. Chapters 6 and 7) lead to the hypothesis of a higher rate of cousin marriage between Rea at the turn of the century. No quantitative validation of this statement can be offered here on a diachronic basis for reasons explained above. One can only remark that cousin marriage is most unlikely to have exceeded clan in-marriage, which is estimated to have varied from 56.3% in 1895 - 1904 to 31.3% in 1965-1974. Graph 9 compares this evolution (Curve R/R = L) in the relations between major lineage in- and out-marriage. Marriage within the major lineage has been consistently lower than within the clan. At the beginning of our span of study, it can be presumed to have been just over 30%. It is plausible, given the presently observable occurrence of consanguineal unions between partners of different major segments (cf. Chapter 6, Section 3) and an increased frequency of in-clan marriages in general as we project back into time, that the rate of consanguinity among Rea would have tended to be higher.

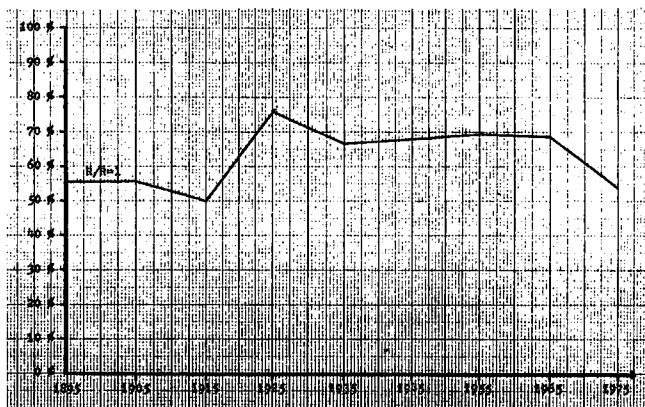
GRAPH 9 : Rea major lineage in-marriage N = 891



If we restrict our group of reference to R/R marriages only (Graph 10; N = 357), it appears that unions within the major lineage, contrary to other Rea marriage patterns, have remained proportionately stable if not slightly incremented through to 1965. Two significant variations must be marked. The absolute decrease of R/R=L and R/R=L marriages (with the exception of 1935 to 1945) corresponded from 1915 to 1964 to an inverse reinforcement of R/R=L in relation to R/R=L (see these curves on Graphs 9 and 10). This probably signified an absolute decrease in Rea major lineage out-marriage higher than that noted for Rea major lineage in-marriage. Such trends confirm the continued importance of the maintenance of a consanguineal lineage nucleus for the perpetuation of the lineage as a corporate kin-based group in the face of persistent increases in the frequency of more erratically distributed R/O unions. The marital and socio-political viability of this core group does seem to have been affected by the R/R/C and R/R/R/O inversions of the 1950's and 1960's (see Graphs 4 and 5).

GRAPH 10 : Rea major lineage in-marriage

N = 357



Years	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All R:N = 891	32	57	76	105	126	188	147	160
R/R=L N %	18 56.3	28 49.1	33 43.4	39 37.1	66 52.4	72 38.3	51 34.7	50 31.3
	89/46/51.7							
R/R = maj lin	10 31.3	14 24.6	25 32.9	26 24.8	45 35.7	50 26.6	35 23.8	27 16.9
	89/24/27.0							
R/R = maj lin	8 25.0	14 24.6	8 10.5	13 12.4	21 16.7	22 11.7	16 10.9	23 14.4
	89/22/24.7							
N = 357 R/R=majlin %(R/R=L)	10 55.6	14 50.0	25 75.8	26 66.7	45 68.2	50 69.4	35 68.6	27 54.0
	46/24/52.2							

When clan out-marriage exceeds clan in-marriage, it would seem that formerly stable Rea major lineage in-marriage frequencies and, by the same token, that of consanguineal unions are negatively affected (See graphs 9 and 10).

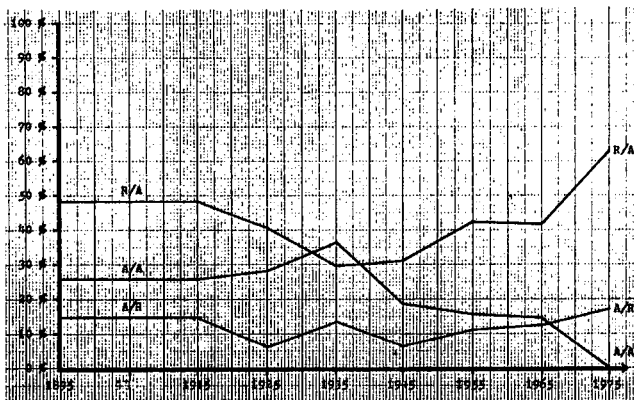
In the wake of these important transformations, a high degree of residential endogamy has continued to prevail among men (cf. Chapter 6, Section 2), notwithstanding the dispersion of many village clusters (cf. Chapter 7) and of local confederations grouping several clans, such as the Danoa. The decrease in clan in-marriage could, thus, be more than proportional to the presumed decrease in the rate of consanguineal marriage. The proportion of marriages among kin at a given time and the degree to which they reoccur in each line of descent from generation to generation appear closely linked to the temporal stability and, to a certain extent, the changing composition of each settlement's population. Consanguineal marriage is often most frequent at the peak of a community's lifespan which, in many cases does not exceed three generations.

The process of community formation still bears the mark of population movements initiated at the close of the 19th century and of the forms of inter-clan contact and collective exploitation of land resources these entailed. It would seem however, that the consequences of Danoa emigration and outside immigration into Rea territory sparked by the French occupation are reaching a term at present as regards inter-clan marriage on the Rea territory.

Darka, Adia and Bara men have emigrated, aged and died. The women of these groups had sometimes taken Rea husbands whose clan affiliation passed on to their common offspring. This transformation spelled the end of a pattern of marital exchange which may well have dominated the Duu communities around Wai during much of the 19th century. This pattern arose in the framework of a confederation of co-resident or adjacent lineages of mainly hunter origin, practising preferential inter-marriage. A high demographic potential for in-marriage and consanguinity was countered by political changes entailing a redistribution of land resources among the former confederates as well as changes in individual and collective

residence patterns.

GRAPH 11 : Marriage between other Danoa and the Rea N = 305



Year	95 - 04	05 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 - 74
All A N = 305	14	13	32	44	48	71	48	35
A/A N %	5 35.7	2 15.4	9 28.1	16 36.4	9 18.8	11 15.5	7 14.6	0 0
	27/7/25.9							
R / A N %	7 50.0	6 46.2	13 40.6	13 29.5	15 31.3	30 42.3	20 41.7	22 62.9
	27/13/48.1							
A/R N %	2 14.3	2 15.4	2 6.3	6 13.6	3 6.3	8 11.3	6 12.5	6 17.1
	27/4/14.8							

Greater clan exogamy was the consequence of this process.

Non-autonomous Duu clans, with the possible exception of the Duu Dieri of Am Dobak canton have achieved neither the population size nor the level of control over land resources which characterise the Adia, Bara, Rea and Darka clans. In view of these demographic and economic conditions, increased clan exogamy among autonomous Duu since 1900 could only have developed thanks to marriage exchanges with a considerable variety of geographically dispersed, serfry lineages or segments of

shallow genealogical depth. This pattern is not likely to engender a renewed phase of high consanguinity, either among the four clans of Danoa origin or their new marriage partners.

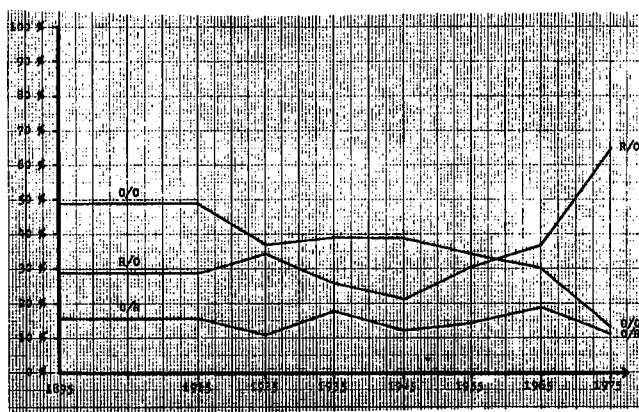
As observed in Chapter 7, the establishment of new politically and residentially autonomous descent groups tends to lead to an initial increase in local and lineage exogamy and a corresponding decrease of consanguineal and in-lineage marriages. The autonomous Duu have indeed compensated for the weakening of political and marriage links among themselves through wide-spread forms of emigration and clan exogamy. Ties of Danoa clanship have ceased to exist and have given way to the foundation of four distinct autonomous Duu clans.

External lineages segments residing on Rea territory are losing their genealogical specificity within a demographically and territorially expanding Rea host clan. In-marriage among immigrants and their descendants has almost totally been replaced by clan-exogamous unions with the Rea (see Graph 12).

In view of the process of delayed reciprocity which most frequently characterises interclan marriage exchange in the area, the dynamics of endogamy thus appear to be "programmed" for some years to come, barring structural changes in the wider polity which could ensue from the civil strife by which Chad is plagued. The time is now approaching when clan exogamy may account for two thirds of all marriages. Simultaneously, Duu stratum endogamy will continue to be fully enforced by the Kanembu. This will tend to exacerbate class tensions between Duu and Kanembu, though in a fashion distinct from that which may obtain between lower and upper class Kanembu. The Kanembu maskin, especially women, may, under given condition, marry hypergamically. In contrast, endogamic barriers, as we have already seen, categorically exclude this possibility for the Duu,

whatever "class" of union their political and economic status would otherwise allow them to engage in. For these reasons, the comparison of Duu' and Kanembu marriage patterns presented in the following chapters will foster a better understanding of Duu' matrimonial practices in relation to the forms of social organisation and class structure characteristic of Kanemi society at large.

GRAPH 12 : Marriage between outside clans and the Rea N = 616



Decades	95-04	05-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74
All O N = 616	11	34	46	84	90	147	106	98
O/O n % N	7 63.6	15 44.1	17 37.0	33 39.3	35 38.9	50 34.0	32 30.2	13 13.3
	22/45/48.9		50/130/38.5		85/237/35.9		45/204/22.1	
O/R n % N	3 27.3	4 11.8	5 10.9	15 17.9	11 12.2	21 14.3	20 18.9	11 11.2
	7/45/15.6							
R/O n % N	1 9.1	12 35.3	16 34.8	22 26.2	19 21.1	45 30.6	39 36.8	63 64.3
	13/45/28.9							

1. Presentation

Comparative data analogous to those presented for the Duu Rea in Chapters 6 to 8 were collected in five Kanembu localities belonging to the Kogona and N'gijim clans in the cantons of N'jigdada and DibinENCHI. These are N'jigdada, N'grobi, Mui, Bili and Bakale. Seventy-seven extant and sixty terminated unions were recorded among the inhabitants of the communities studied. The diachronic sample, established in the same way as among the Duu, includes 311 marriages.

Members of the Kanembu Kogona and N'gijim clans will be classified together as 'local nobles' (abbreviated 'L'). The Kogona (cf. Chapter 3) are of Bornuan descent and have, at least among dignitaries, traceable links of kinship with the alifa of Mao and his immediate entourage. The N'gijim on the other hand, are, again with reference to the core of the clan dignitaries, and with allowance made for the progressive assimilation of exterior elements into the group, of Bulala descent. Schematically speaking, when the Bulala masters of Kanem, who were purportedly descended from the Sefawa at an earlier stage of Kanemi history, were expelled by the Tunjur Arabs in the middle of the 17th century, those who remained behind constituted the core of the N'gijim clan in the case of nobles and that of the Duu Darka in the case of dependants.

In view of their descent (cf. Nachtigal 1880 and Carbou 1912) it could be objected that the Kogona and N'gijim are not "sufficiently Kanembu" and, thus, are not appropriate clans to select for purposes of comparing the interrelations between politics, social stratification and marriage among the Kanembu and the Duu. But, the choice of descent groups here used reflects my view that the power of a clan in economic, political and, formerly, military terms is much more relevant in determining patterns of in-clan and out-clan marriage than changing local representations of ethnicity, clanship or "genealogical authenticity" during any given

historical period. It is true that marriages are often spoken of by the Kanem' in terms of ethnic and clan affiliations, as is shown by numerous sayings relating what are considered the clan-specific character traits of women. Such expressions of ethnicity and clan identity, together with clan-focussed genealogical traditions, constitute a complex and supple socio-political idiom which each local group adapts, over time, to its own needs. This language is used in re-defining inter-group relations, particularly in periods of turmoil, and in justifying dominance during times of relative stability. A clan's control of land, tribute and armed men, are, however, more important factors in relating economic and political trends with quantifiable kinship and marriage data.

The periodic takeovers at the top of the Kanemi power pyramid by groups of widely varying territorial and sometimes linguistic origins have rendered Kanembu "ethnicity" an even more complex notion. The comparative examination of clan genealogical charters suggests that the more powerful a group is, the less "Kanembu" its pedigree turns out to be at the apical and sub-apical generational levels. This is due to the successive "usurpations" of patrilineal legitimacy by victorious factions with the object of converting themselves into socially recognised "descent" groups as soon as possible.

The preceding parenthesis does not in itself justify the assimilation of Kogona and N'gijim into a single category. In other areas of Kanem, around Mao, for example, it could be erroneous to define the dominant stratum as a unit composed of several clans. The situation in the south however, results from a secular conflict between what might be termed Bornuan and Bulala "poles of sovereignty". Bringing things down to their simplest expression, the Kogona, under the Dimaru lineage, are the alifa's police force in the south. 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, thanks to their powerful Dalatoa cousins, have dominated important tribute circuits and have enjoyed a stability in office (that of dima at N'jigdada) greater than that of the Dalatoa. A somewhat analogous relationship may also be discerned between the Adia, Bara and Rea and the Darka, respectively. Alliance between coalitions or groups sharing a common historico-cultural heritage does not preclude the development of overt conflicts for either office or regional ascendancy, as is demonstrated by frequent in-fighting among Dalatoa or between N'gijim and Darka during the later 19th century.

Since the classification here suggested is based on criteria of social stratification and economic control within a politically defined territory, it has been further necessary to distinguish among nobles those individuals indigenous to the unit considered and those who have settled on the territory through marriage. Kanembu clans controlling the zone studied (L') are compared with outside Kanembu clans of noble status (abbreviated 'N'). These two sub-categories will be opposed to that of persons belonging to groups of free but dependent status (abbreviated 'D').

2. Economic aspects of Kanembu marriage

2.1 Cattle ownership

It seems appropriate, before examining Kanembu marriage data properly speaking, to offer an approximate evaluation of the cattle wealth of the communities studied. This overview will allow us to make a very general comparison of Kanembu and Duu herd levels and, on the other hand, to note any outstanding inequalities in wealth between Kanembu of different socio-economic standing. I must repeat that the indications given here must be viewed with caution given the trauma experienced by herds and flocks during the 1972-73 drought peak.

Sixteen Kogona Sharu of N'jigdada are estimated to have owned 113 head of cattle in August 1974. Twenty-five N'jigdada informants claimed to have owned a combined total of 331 head two years earlier while 9 stated that all their animals had been lost. Though this count and estimate could be underestimated in the case of nobles through concealment of cattle loaned to dependants and exaggerated among commoners, both are plausible. Of 25 owners and former owners, 13 had spent three to six years in Nigeria for Koranic studies and had on multiple occasions participated in the cattle trade with Bornu.

Maskin villages dependant on the Kogona Sharu appeared no better off than Duu Rea villages with approximately one head of cattle observed for each adult male. Twelve farmer-herders in the Kanembu N'gijim village of Bakale held some 80 head and claimed losses amounting to 34 head during the drought. This level of wealth is quite general for those Kanembu of the South who are not subservient to the Dalatoa through the intermediary of the Kogona.

Among nobles, each family owned 5 to 10 sheep or goats. A retrospective estimate of 20 is not unreasonable for the pre-1972 years. Among the maskin (poor), some men had essentially ovine/caprine herds and engaged in some sales. As a rule, however, ownership of sheep and goats is proportional to the number of cattle owned.

The gap in stock ownership between rich and poor is accentuated by the fact that every adult male noble tends to own his own horse. Among the maskin, one rarely sees more than one horse per village, as opposed to several in a community of middle wealth.

2.2. Marital prestations

Among the Kanembu nobility, the yara (bridewealth for a first marriage) presently tends to oscillate between 5,000 and 10,000 francs C.F.A. In exceptional cases, such as certain chiefly marriages, it may attain 100,000

francs C.F.A. During the earlier decades of this century, yara payments were made in thaler. Presently, paper currency is most widely used, to the exclusion of cattle. This was confirmed for informants who own or have owned several dozen head of cattle and is thus a matter of custom rather than wealth. Persons who have resided and worked abroad consider it fashionable to pay yara in Sudanese pounds, Saudi riyals or other currencies which can only be converted in N'djaména or Nigeria.

In sadaka marriages, where the yara is dispensed with, the indebted groom offers a knife to the officiating mallam. The yara or fida (bridewealth in a subsequent marriage) as may be appropriate, is only exceptionally waived in non-sadaka marriages. Payments are often somewhat higher than for non-cousin unions contracted in the same locality among partners and families of comparable status. This is verified for marriages going as far back as c. 1919.

The niarom is paid systematically by grooms of all localities and classes to wife's FyB. Among Kogona nobles, it ranges from 2,000 to 5,000 francs C.F.A., and for earlier marriages, 1 to 7 thaler. On some occasions, this sum is replaced by a mare, the most prestigious of all gifts. Upper-class first marriages almost always involve a prestation in animals with a preference shown for calves, cows and horses (in that order). Mares are restricted to the niarom. Rarely, however, are large numbers of animals exchanged between the two families. Among nobles, there is a tendency to try to balance the values of niarom prestations and counter prestations. Departures from this custom often involve an excess of counter prestations when a girl is married hypergamously.

Yara (brideprice) prestations among Kanembu maskin (poor) are not uncomparable to those of poor Duu. They average around 2,500 francs C.F.A. with the niarom varying between 1,000 and 3,000 francs C.F.A. Animal

prestations are rare among the poor, as is shown by a lesser frequency of jar m'buta ceremonies (cf. Chapter 5) and gifts. Many first marriages among the maskin involve no counter prestations at all to the groom. People do, however, strive to make a gift of clothes to him and to endow the wife with some domestic objects. Occasionally, these objects are replaced by one cow for the couple's usage.

Marriage prestations among the more well-to-do Kanembu N'gijim are commonly composed of a single payment of some 5,000 to 10,000 francs C.F.A. covering both the yara and the niarom. This practice was also recorded among some Duu (cf. Chapter 7). As noted for many Rea marriages, N'gijim sadau payments (from husband to wife), which vary from 1,500 to 4,000 francs C.F.A., are transferred for first marriages only and preclude the rabitina (gift from husband's family to wife's family).

Among most Kanembu the jar m'buta, a prestation from husband to wife which is presumably of pastoral origin, is paid almost systematically for first marriages and dropped in the case of subsequent unions (cf. Chapter 5). One could argue for a certain parallelism between the value of this prestation, generally ranging from 1,000 to 7,000 francs C.F.A. among nobles and 500 to 2,500 francs C.F.A. among poor commoners, and the quality of gifts from wife's family to husband, especially when cattle are offered. Conversely, gifts of cattle are generally not transferred for subsequent marriages in which jar m'buta is not paid. Likewise, cattle do not customarily constitute a counter prestation for the fida (bridewealth in a subsequent marriage), a gift which appears to be given more systematically among Duu than Kanembu. These practices are consonant with the fact that a patrilineage's rights over a woman member are particularly weak among both strata from the time of her first divorce. On the contrary, stricter control is exercised over women, whether yet unmarried or divorced, as regards hypergamy and hypogamy.

I would suggest (cf. Chapter 5) that marital prestations are not intended fundamentally to modify the socio-economic status of either party in the contract or to ensure a concentration of capital within a patrilineage or specific line of descent in the case of in-lineage and/or consanguineal unions. Marriage prestations do, however, tend to reinforce and perpetuate class boundaries, whatever their nominal "value". The comparison of variations of marriage prestations among Kogona nobles, well-off N'gijim, richer Duu and maskin of both strata confirm that:

- a) what represents a "moderate" marriage payment for a rich father constitutes an absolute impediment to hypergamy for a poor family of the same or a different social stratum;
- b) given the status connotations of an individual's public declaration of prestations at marriage, and intra-familial pressures, a richer suitor can generally be shamed away from a hypogamic union which may be desired on personal grounds;
- c) the possession of even a few head of cattle can allow a nobleman or commoner dignitary to exercise considerable, often determining, influence over the marital destinies of his dependants, whether they are free Kanembu or Duu or of captive descent.

3. Duu among Kanembu

The mechanisms of dependence in regard to individual and collective marital choice and options may be further clarified by reference to the situation of dependant Duu resident in Kanembu-controlled localities. The 77 Kanembu couples interviewed were found to "host" 11 Duu families in their midst. The majority of these (7) were attached to the 34 families of the chiefly Kogona Sharu lineage in N'jigdada. The 4 others were attached to Kogona in other localities. No Duu entertained a patron-client relationship with Kanembu maskin resident in Kogona-controlled territory. In the N'gijim community of Bakale, only one Duu of the associated Tira Barkoya lineage was in residence.

Discussions with the Duu Kogona Sharu, who share their master's lineage name, concerning the marriage practices of their kin indicated a frequency of consanguineal marriage comparable to that observed among the Rea. The male members of their small community are related by a tightly woven network of kinship ties. All male informants commented that the presence of their male ancestors among the Kogona dated back several generations. Their wives, with two exceptions, were from outside their village of marital residence and belonged to outside lineages. It was said that marriage links had long been established with Duu Maoi (Dalatoa Magemi dependants), Tunjur, N'gijim, Tira, Kei and Danoa. Local men consistently marry patrilocally but the "lineages" or rather segments they represent have little scope either geographically or demographically. Systematic out-marriage by women maintains a wide-spread network of marital exchange between such segments while still allowing for consanguinity, often between spouses of different "lineages" at a rate comparable to that characteristic of the Rea Kadia or Tetea. This promotes solidarity through diffuse marital exchanges within the Duu stratum while impeding the creation of politically significant lineages such as the Darka or the Rea. The immediate cause of this situation is obvious : males are bound to their patrons' service and village by the relative economic advantages of subordination. Their socio-economic status is enforced by multiple forms of "persuasion" or direct constraint as well as by the hereditary character of the social stigma attached to Duu condition.

The rather high level of marital prestations among Duu resident with the noble Kogona testifies to the economic compensations granted to clients. Marriage payments of Duu Kogona Sharu mimic those of "their" Kanembu, but at a lower level. Yara (bridewealth) payments vary from 2,500 to 6,000 francs C.F.A. and the niarom (gift from husband to wife's FyB) ranges from 1,500 to 2,500 francs C.F.A. The rabitina is here paid in

cash rather than in less prestigious goats as among many Duu. This payment often reaches 1,000 to 1,500 francs C.F.A. Thanks to the (binding) "generosity" of Kanembu patrons, one or even two or three cows (but not bulls) may be transferred as counterprestations to the Duu groom. In such instances, a jarm'buta of 500 to 2,000 francs C.F.A. will be given by the husband to his wife. Where no cattle change hands, valuable domestic goods and utensils are given. Among the Duu Kogona, the yara is generally paid, even in cases of cousin marriage. When summed up, prestations compare handsomely with those of most Rea.

In other Duu communities dependent on averagely wealthy Kanembu, prestations, whether furnished in goods or animals, may be dispensed with although a small jarm'buta (100 to 500 francs C.F.A.) will be offered. An average total cost of 3,000 francs C.F.A. is not uncomparable to that of many Rea. As regards animal capital however, the eleven families visited possessed only six cows. Four horses were found but only among the Duu linked to the Kogona Sharu. Less fortunate Duu had only a few goats and donkeys and lived in what may in local terms be considered poverty.

The scanty quantitative data collected, complemented by discussions with informants, do indicate a certain evolution in dependent Duu marriage patterns over the last decades. The eleven couples interviewed had contracted 19 marriages. Basic data on their parents' marriages covered a further 31 cases. Older unions of mens' parents substantiate "preferential" exchange between Duu (Kogona) Sharu and Duu (Dalatoa) Maoi in accordance with the desires of their related masters. Unions of womens' parents show locally exogamous movements forming a constellation spreading over much of South Kanem. Correspondingly, lineage endogamy among these dependent Duu was rare. Sharu/Maoi unions negotiated by Kanembu patrons have become less frequent since about 1945. The reproduction

of the dependent class is today served by male local endogamy, supported by limited economic advantage giving the dependent ensured access to reasonably fertile land. Some informants suggest that there is a silent agreement among the Kanembu upper-class not to grant analogous favours to immigrants who seek to "desert" other notables' fiefs.

4. Aspects of consanguineal marriage

The marriage sample recorded among the Kanembu suggests an incidence of consanguineal unions of approximately 24%.

TABLE 50: Kanembu Cousin Marriage

N = 32/134

Type	Absolute Figures	Percentage
Patrilateral parallel	14	43.75
Patrilateral Cross	8	25.00
Matrilateral Parallel	1	3.13
Matrilateral Cross	9	28.13
Parallel	15	46.88
Cross	17	53.12
Patrilateral	22	68.75
Matrilateral	10	31.25
Rate of Occurrence	32/134	24.1 %

This estimate has not been revised by systematic genealogical cross-checks as was done in the case of the Duu marriage corpus. The actual rate among the Kanembu could thus be somewhat higher than that recorded.

Kanembu and Duu consanguineal marriage patterns both emphasise patrilateral parallel cousin unions. Among the Kanembu, however, this form of cousin marriage appears to account for less than half of the consanguineal unions registered (44% as opposed to 55% among the Duu). Patrilateral cross-cousin marriages represent 1/4 and 1/5 of the consanguineal sub-sample among the Kanembu and the Duu, respectively. The frequency of

patrilateral cousin marriage, both variants combined, is comparable in both social strata (69% for the Kanembu and 75% for the Duu). It would seem that matrilateral cousin marriages are somewhat more frequent among the Kanembu (31% in contrast to 25% for the Duu).

The major formal difference between the two strata resides in the respective frequency of cross-cousin marriage. In the Kanembu sample one finds 25% of patrilateral and 28% of matrilateral cross-cousin unions, accounting for 53% of all cousin marriages. Among the Duu, one finds a 20% incidence of patrilateral and a low 13% of matrilateral cross-cousin unions. Together, these account for only 33% of Duu consanguineal marriages. Real MZD unions seem rarer among Kanembu than Duu. MBD unions however, are second in frequency only to FBD unions among the Kanembu.

TABLE 51: Kanembu cousin marriage per type

		A	B	C
Patrilateral Parallel	FBD	11	A	
	FBSD	1	A	+ 1
	FFBSD	2	A	
Patrilateral Cross	FZD	4	CC	
	FZDD	1	CC	+ 1
	FMBD	1	D	- 1
	FMBSD	2	D	
Matrilateral Parallel	MZDD	1	U	+ 1
Matrilateral Cross	MBD	8	D	
	MMBSSD	1	D	+ 1

A = Occurrence in Absolute figures

B = Type A Agnatic

U Uterine

CC Cross continuous

D Discontinuous

C = Generational gap of husband in relation to wife

As in the analysis of Duu marriage patterns, the classification of consanguineal marriages among the Kanembu 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 Duu declare themselves to be "more patrilineal" than the Kanembu, claiming 55% as compared with 44% patrilineal parallel cousin marriages, indirectly 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%).

The balanced distribution of parallel and cross-cousin marriages reflects a dual aspect of marital strategy among the Kanembu. Firstly, power must be retained and concentrated in office-holding groups through alliances within the clan. Secondly, inter-group alliances must be maintained intergenerationally if structures of economic and political dominance are to perdure. I refer specifically to the distribution of offices, the transmission of which is legitimised in terms of descent, and tribute collection monopolies or sharing prerogatives attached to these offices. It is largely the changing balance between the two types of cousin marriage which expresses the state of hierarchical relations between clans and lineages albeit, sometimes, with a generational gap. There is no logical or systematic contradiction between these practices. On the contrary, both must co-exist if either patrilineal parallel - or matrilineal cross-cousin marriage are not to lead to their ultimate logical consequences which could be, respectively, encystation and dispersion with effective disintegration of certain patrigroups.

Patrilineal parallel cousin marriage may consolidate the clan 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 clan'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 clan seeking expansion.

One could hypothesise 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 institutionalised 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 clan, are 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 Duu have erased the memory of any female ascendant as far as seventeen generations back. Interestingly enough, the Kogona invoke ancestresses in relations between their major lineages. From the point of view of kinship ideology, there would seem to be a gross correlation between the geographical and interclan span of a group's alliance network and the matrilinear emphasis in accounting for genealogical and political ties.

From an economic point of view, matrilinear cross-cousin marriage might be more expensive than its close to home patrilinear opposite but, over time, the gains acquired by far reaching cross-alliances will definitely reflect on a clan's capacity to maintain and expand its tribute-levying circuits. Among the nobles, cross-cousin marriages reinforce the economic and political standing of the clan as long as the unity of important lineages and factions is simultaneously ensured by strategically placed patrilinear 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 patrilinear system as such.

Whatever the strength of the patrilinear 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 interclan tribute-collecting system. Among the Rea, who belong to the highest status vassal group of South Kanem, it could be argued at the clan as opposed to the major lineage or village levels that patrilinear parallel cousin marriage has contributed to a weakening of the group's internal political coherence.

In addition, heterogeneous 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 4), have not resulted in a situation where geographically distant cross-cousin marriages enable the establishment and protection of new sources of tribute.

5. The interrelations between common clan affiliations, cousin status and the geographical origin of spouses in the extant marriage sample

TABLE 52: Clan affiliations and cousin marriage (Factors L and C)

DUU	C+	C-	N = 317
L +	21 %	11 %	32 %
L -	10 %	58 %	68 %
	31 % *	69 %	100 %

KANEMBU	C +	C -	N = 77
L +	21 %	26 %	47 %
L -	6 %	47 %	53 %
	27 %	73 %	100 %

*(A non-revised count of cousin marriages is used in Tables 52 to 54 to minimise relative variance between the Duu and Kanambu samples).

The proportion of persons marrying cousins is equal among the Duu and the Kanambu. However, the percentage of persons choosing spouses from non-cousins of their own clan is higher among the Kanambu. This would indicate a relatively greater cohesiveness of the major lineage and the clan in the case of the Kanambu, as compared with a more marked tendency of the Duu 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 clan level is distinctly weaker than among the Kogona. Without entering into the intricacies of intraclan 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.

Although the proportion of persons marrying cousins outside of their own clan is low in both groups in relation to the total number of extant marriages, it is nonetheless higher among the Duu. This could be an indicator confirming that over the last couple of generations, as restrictions on the movements of the Duu have lessened, the Rea have sought to marry with as many outside clans 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 clan are more frequent among the Duu.

TABLE 53: Clan affiliations and the geographical origin of spouses
(Factors L and D)

DUU	D+	D-	N = 317
L +	20 %	12 %	32 %
L -	28 %	40 %	68 %
	48 %	52 %	100 %

KANEMBU	D +	D -	N = 77
L +	27 %	19 %	46 %
L -	16 %	37 %	53 %
	43 %	56 %	99 %

Inversely, marriages between members of the clan born in the same canton are more common with the Kanembu, just as unions between members of the same clan born in different cantons are more frequent than among the Duu. The first figure reconfirms the existence of a greater degree of marital and, indirectly, of political solidarity in the Kanembu clan. The second figure brings out a complementary aspect of this process.

"Out-of-canton" marriages with persons of different clans are only marginally more frequent with the Duu, but the significantly higher occurrence of unions between members of different Duu clans sharing common geographical origins (75% more frequent than symmetrical unions with the Kanembu) suggests that immigrants into Duu territory tend to settle on a permanent basis. Whereas the Duu 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 clan names in "mixed" marriages and comparing this information with the political standing of the clans concerned, there would appear to be a "grab whom you can get" distribution with the Duu 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 clan affiliation, located close to the centre of power in Mao. The Rea have inter-married with some 30 different clans over the past few decades and many immigrants have been residentially and sociologically integrated with this clan. The high frequency of out-clan marriage of persons born in a very narrow radius is thus no surprise. The 37% of out-clan, out-of-canton marriages among the Kanembu, comparable with the 40% of the Duu, 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 polyg/nists.

TABLE 54: Cousin marriage and the geographical origin of spouses
(Factors C and D)

DUU	D +	D -	N = 317
C +	20 %	11 %	31 %
C -	28%	41 %	69 %
	48 %	52 %	100 %

KANEMBU	D +	D -	N = 77
C +	13 %	14 %	27 %
C -	30 %	43 %	73 %
	43 %	57 %	100 %

The co-appearance of genealogical connections between cousin spouses and territoriality is 54 % more common with the Duu. 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 from different clans, it becomes a more neutral variable as appears in lines 'C-' of Table 54.

Referring back to Tables 52 and 53, it can be suggested that rates of cousin marriage are comparable (Duu : 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 data. The Rea tend to marry further afield in terms of clan affiliations whereas the Kanembu choose spouses in their own and intimately allied clans while marrying further 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 clan and its capacity to make its marital practice reinforce the former and vice versa.

6. 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 organisation. Less attention will hence be given to relating historical trends with changes in patterns of in-marriage than in the Rea case. Statistically, the group of reference is the local nobility.

Graph 13 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 Duu clan endogamy. Ethnographers have always emphasised Duu endogamy implicitly opposing it to Kanembu exogamy or free choice in marriage (cf. Chapelle 1957; Fuchs 1961; Le Rouvreur 1962; Fuchs 1970). 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 clan-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 13, Curve L/L) is more than compensated for by a numerical extension of unions with exterior noble women (Graph 13, Curve L/N). The Kogona and N'gijim marriage patterns are thus affected by the general relaxation of 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 14 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 noble man/local/woman marriage unthinkable until 1915. In spite of the L/O increase it remains true to say that hypogamy is permitted for nobles, but hypergamy is barred to dependants.

Graph 15 compares the functioning of the clans 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 clan or 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 change 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 interstratum 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 hypothesise that if it is practised by all noble clans simultaneously and enforced among low-status clans, it tends to perpetuate hierarchical inequalities of wealth and power.

Thus, on the one hand, inter-class marriages accrue between low- and high-ranking persons, generally from the same district. On the other hand, noble intra-caste unions decline. Notables marry in a fashion less in keeping with agnatic endogamy in order that the ruling caste may develop into a ruling class. While incrementing its hitherto relatively low reproductive capacity, the noble group expanded the geographical base of its marriage networks to cover the full zone of government and influence of the alifa of Mao.

In the colonial and post-colonial contexts there arose specific needs for a more effective popular underpinning in government than under Bornuan, Wadayan or Awlad Sliman influences during the 19th century. As of the beginning of the 20th century, the Kogona had to politically substantiate their claims toward the Administration as regards canton jurisdictions, tax assessment and collection, acceptable rates of tax and tribute retention by aristocrats, and tolerable degrees of exemption and evasion by commoners. New solutions also had to be found to supplant certain forms of individual and collective constraint, and of reprisals and extortion applicable in pre-colonial times. This predicament required great political agility. Nonetheless, during the first decades of French occupation, the Kanemi rulers had an exceptional opportunity to apply a policy of territorial integration and expansion. The price for this was successfully to accommodate the strong social and economic expectations of the people they now had to govern instead of dominate and the political demands of the administration which they served.

From the standpoint of the organisation of agricultural production, the Kogona lacked the labour force within their own clan to exploit the considerable territory they disposed of in South Kanem. The gradual dissolution of maritally bounded groups of labourers, slaves, Duu and other low-status dependents such as the Kajidi required new incitements in order to

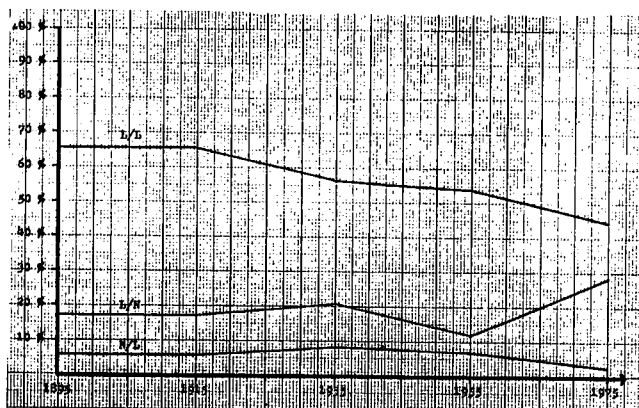
make the distribution of workers correspond to the usage of lands sought by ground-controlling Kanembu. By offering restricted farming rights to formerly powerless peasants, marrying certain dependent women and granting selective tax advantages and tribute franchises much has been done to further this endeavour.

Endogamous marriage and selectively oriented exogamy constitute only one aspect of the maintenance of Kanembu predominance in the face of endogenous social and economic changes reflected in distinct but comparable marriage trends among both the Duu and the Kanembu. No single preferential form of consanguineal marriage is adequate to respond to the strategic exigencies of such a complex situation. The changing but perduring position of superiority of upper-class Kanembu has accentuated for them the unifying effects of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage within a group of widening demographic scope and far greater political influence than the autonomous Duu. Matrilineal cross-cousin marriage inversely restricts fissionary tendencies to which the exclusive practice of patrilineal cross-cousin unions would give impetus, while simultaneously favouring a subsequent reinforcement of the latter's potential. Patrilineal cross-cousin marriage may institute and maintain the unity of factions composed of several patrilineages controlling sufficient resources to influence the marriage patterns of dependents seeking access to lands, water and pasturage. Among the maskin, particularly after the "freezing" of many pre-colonial land control patterns by the coloniser and his Chadian successors, a relatively high rate of patrilineal parallel-cousin marriage, as observed among the Rea, can contribute to a weakening of clan cohesion. This is especially so when the management of fertile lands and distribution of tax revenues is sub-divided through repeated and rapid segmentation of patrilineages which form the clan core.

Among both Kanembu and Duu, we see that a continuous but not abrupt increase of clan exogamy coexists with consanguineal marriage patterns which differ by endogamous stratum in relation to the emphasis respectively placed in each on cross- and parallel cousin unions. These changes are not limited in terms of the descent boundaries separating corporate patrigrups but rather along the firm barrier of inter-stratum marriage prohibitions. Emigration, lineage exogamy, the quest for religious prestige, contraband, and attempts by dependents to convert to "noble" herding activities all attenuate the social and economic consequences of the endogamic prescription but do not erase its still generalised applicability and sanctions. The extension of herding to some Duu and the relative dwindling and reorganisation of the crafts do not modify the fact that the Kanembu still exercise a strong hold over capital resources with the exception of a few fertile areas administratively placed by the Chadian State under Duu control. Though Duu cattle ownership may no longer be peremptorily forbidden, much can be done to control its expansion through tacit sales restrictions and market controls on breeding stock.

The infringement of the norms of interstratum and interclass marital segregation is an indispensable pre-requisite of a less inequitable distribution of productive resources and capital goods. Until this occurs, the exogamic trends prevalent in Kanemi society within the boundaries of endogamic strata do not preclude conflictual developments in relations between Kanembu and Duu. Much now depends on the evolution of the wider civil conflict in Chad and the durable changes this struggle may entail with respect to the status of the Kanembu oligarchy.

GRAPH 13

Marriage between local and exterior Kanembu nobles

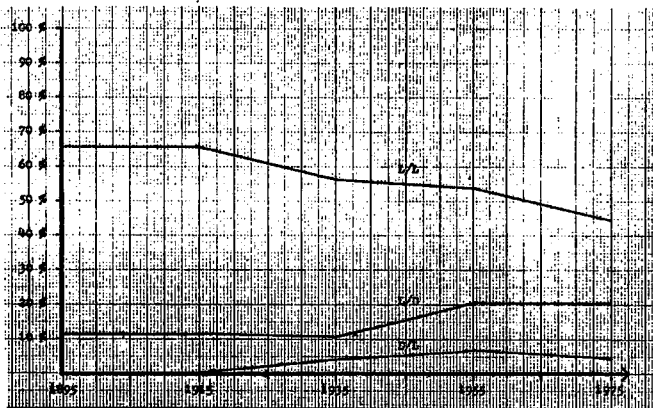
L/N = local noble man /exterior noble women

N/L = exterior noble man/local noble woman

L/L = local noble man/local noble woman

TABLE

Years	20	95-14	15-34	35-54	55-74
All L N = 273		35	48	102	88
L/L	n % N	23 65.7	27 56.3	55 53.9	39 44.3
L/N	n % N	6 17.1	10 20.8	12 11.8	25 28.4
N/L	n % N	2 5.7	4 8.3	7 6.7	2 2.3

GRAPH 14 Marriage between local Kanembu and their dependents

L/D = local noble man/dependent woman

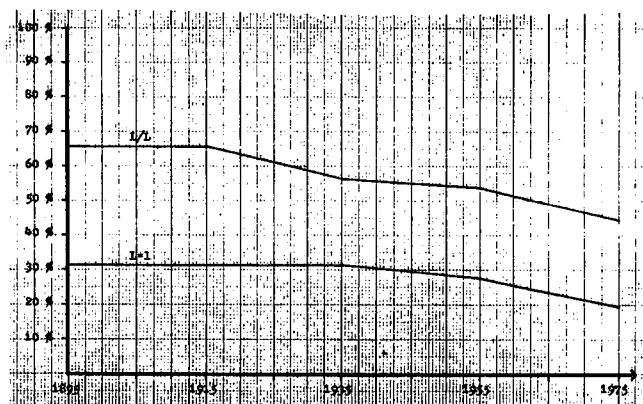
D/L = dependent man/local noble woman

L/L = local noble man/local noble woman

TABLE

Years	(20)	95-14	15-34	35-54	55-74
All L	N = 273	35	48	102	88
L/L	n % N	23 65.7	27 56.3	55 53.9	39 44.3
L/D	n % N	4 11.4	5 10.4	21 20.6	18 20.5
D/L	n % N	0 0	2 4.2	7 6.9	4 4.5

GRAPH 15 In-Lineage marriage among Kanembu nobles



L/L = maj. lin. = marriages between local nobles belonging to the same major lineage

TABLE

Years	(20)	95-14	15-34	35-54	55-74
All L	N = 273	35	48	102	88
L/L	n % N	23 65.7	27 56.3	55 53.9	39 44.3
L = 1	n % N	11 31.1	15 31.3	28 27.5	17 19.3
L = 1	n % N	12 34.3	12 25.0	27 26.5	22 25

1. Factors conditioning the study of Kanembu society

I have tried to construct the present study so as to respond to two major concerns. Firstly, I have had to devote considerable, although strictly limited, attention to the basic ethnography of the Kanembu people. This preliminary task was dictated by the very restricted, fragmentary and dispersed nature of published data on the subject. Secondly, I have sought to address the key problem of social inequality among the Kanembu from a social-organisational perspective. By focussing on endo-exogamous practices and marriage patterns in general, I have attempted to develop a theoretical and methodological approach relevant to other hierarchised Muslim societies of sub-Saharan and northern Africa.

While sharing many socio-organisational and cultural traits with other Sahelian peoples at comparable latitudes (cf. Nachtigal 1879, 1881 and 1889, Landeroin 1911, Carbou 1912 and Le Rouvreur 1962), present-day Kanembu society has been conditioned to a great extent by exceptional ecological and historical conditions. The Kanembu inhabit an environment which, due to the presence of Lake Chad, is more subject than other Sahelian areas to cyclical and local variations in the availability of water, fertile land and pasturage. In addition, Kanem has played a crucial role as a power centre and crossroads of interethnic encounter in the history of the Kanem-Bornu empire (cf. Chapter 2, Lange 1977 and Lavers 1980). These historical developments over the last millennium have directly influenced the structure of power and unequal access to natural resources, up to the present day (cf. Chapter 3, 4 and Appendix 1).

In Kanembu society, agriculture and pastoralism are economically complementary but often politically antagonistic modes of livelihood. Pastoralism and, consequently, capital accumulation are dominated by the ruling class, as is the labour force of the mass of dependent agriculturalists

and poor agropastoralists. During times of plentiful rainfall, fertile irrigated lands extend further northward as the surface level of Lake Chad and the underground watershed rise. Southern agropastoralists have sufficient pastures to develop and commercialise both bovine herds and grain and vegetable surpluses. At such times, Kanembu, Daza and Arab pastoralists retreat northwards towards the fringe of the Sahara and maintain an important grain versus cattle trade with their southern neighbours. During extended periods of drought, however, southern and northern interests become progressively more irreconcilable. Northern herds descend southwards, impinging on the densely inhabited agricultural zones and limited pastures and water points of southeastern Kanem. Grain surpluses vanish, except for the rich. The North-South trade then becomes impossible and conflicts over pasture and water rights intensify.

It will be noted that the traditional seat of Dalatoo government at Mao is located on the dividing line between the southern agropastoral zone and the North of Kanem which is almost exclusively suited to animal husbandry. The Kanembu nobility has always refused the systematic taxation of herders while developing an extremely complex and exploitative system of agricultural taxation. The latter, as we have seen in Chapter 4, reflects in its structure both the feudal/ administrative organisation and the class structure of Kanembu society. These factors allow the nobility to increase both herd and agricultural revenues during times of plenty and to ensure their own survival and the continued dependency of the maskin during times of dearth.

It so happened that my fieldwork took place during one of the worst environmental disasters Kanem and the Sahel have known in the reach of human memory. This coincidence served to reinforce my own awareness of social inequality. I came to see how the latter phenomenon is based on a unique conjunction of environmental circumstances and fluctuations and the

hierarchical character of Kanembu political organisation. In the following pages, I will try to sum up how changing forms of Kanembu social and marriage organisation are necessary to the formation and maintenance of hierarchical political and class structures. Finally, in Section 3, I will recall how the alliance of the synchronic and diachronic approaches to social organisation is both relevant and necessary to the understanding of hierarchical Sahelian societies.

2. Changing marriage patterns and class structure in Kanembu society

The comparative examination of Duu and Kanembu clan histories and marriage patterns suggest that descent groups adapt differentially to political processes, such as that of colonial domination which affect society as a whole. This adaptation is strongly influenced by the class relationships prevailing among the members of each descent group and social strata.

I have shown that the Duu cannot enhance their social status through marriage with Kanembu, whether noble, commoner or maskin. The endogamic prescription serves to maintain an immutable barrier between groups at different extremes of the social scale such as the Kanembu nobility and formerly casted Duu. It also divides Duu and non-Duu commoners of comparable dependent status. Duu marriage strategies are thus more restricted in terms of class mobility than those of any other social category, including the descendants of slaves and captives, today considered as Kanembu maskin. As long as the interstratum endogamic prescription continues to restrict marriage options in this fashion, Duu marriage patterns will only transcend class divisions within the hereditarily maintained boundaries of their stratum.

Today, the major class division prevailing among Duu demarcates a numerically restricted group of land-controlling dignitaries belonging to autonomous "Danoa" clans from the mass of landless Duu, dependent on

dignitaries of their own stratum or, in most cases, Kanembu patrons. This apparently simple situation is the result of a complex historical process.

Around the middle of the 19th century, the Duu of the Bari district were described by Barth (1965 II : 608) as staunchly independent pagans. This testimony was given to the explorer by a presumably non-Duu informant. Even allowing for a certain degree of exaggeration, it is most probable that a majority of Duu then continued to reject Islam, as did their Kuri and Buduma neighbours of the lacustral periphery. At that time, the Duu of Bari were still semi-nomadic hunters who practised complementary agriculture. Their non-Islamic religious beliefs were largely focussed on the privileged relation of the hunter with animal and plant spirits, with which on-going contact was maintained through individualised divination procedures.

The Kanemi blacksmith-founders of the same period were mostly Dazaga-speaking, casted artisans living in small groups, distributed through Kanem in function of demand for their services. Oral tradition holds that the smiths of precolonial times practised professional endogamy, which seems to have been broken only by ritually required unions with Duu hunters. Older smiths have no doubt that their fathers' mining and smelting activities brought them into direct contact with the forces of the underworld in a fashion not congruent with a deep-felt attachment to Islam. Smith-hunter unions ensured a delicate spiritual balance between the forces resident above earth and in the air and those confined underground.

Restricted exogamous unions linking professional castes were the complement of a high level of caste endogamy. In this context, there does not seem to have been a particularly strong preference for F8D marriage, but rather a general inclination to consanguineal marriages of different

classifications, as were best suited to the transmission of specialised professional/ritual knowledge. Such is the opinion of the oldest of the hunter-diviners (kindira) and of the blacksmith-smelters (kakulu).

The religious and professional differences between casted Duu and the majority of the sedentary agropastoralist Kanembu, whose nobility had converted to Islam centuries before, obviously constituted strong ideological barriers to intermarriage. The casted status of artisans also afforded means of direct control over arms and tool production to the Kanembu noble and farmer. Nonetheless, the socio-economic and religious integration of Kanembu society was well underway before the impact of French occupation. By 1871, Nachtigal (1881 : 259) observed that the autonomous Duu Danoa of N'guri were Muslim cultivators, similar in language and dress to their Kanembu neighbours. This was probably less true outside of the Darka capital, among the more southerly and southeasterly Duu "of the interior" whom Nachtigal did not visit. Many Duu of the Bari district continued to live as hunters, isolated from the Kanembu and isolated among themselves, into the early decades of this century.

Before the arrival of the French, many casted artisans, especially smiths and hunters, benefitted from relatively high revenues in kind. Their economic status was thus distinct from that of dependant agriculturalists of both the Duu and the Kanembu strata. Through the development of herder/farmer - artisan contractual relations, many semi-mobile Duu settled on Kanembu lands. Artisanal trades became more and more subsidiary to sedentary agriculture. The exclusive association of Duu workers to Kanembu lineages or families with corresponding access rights to Kanembu-controlled lands or produce ruled out Duu mobility both in geographic terms and with regard to the option of choosing one's patron. The formalisation of Kanembu-Duu dependence relationships considerably hindered any concentration of capital in Duu hands during those decades of the 19th and early 20th

centuries which were characterised by the gradual monetarisation of the Kanembu economy.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Section 6, the establishment of French rule combined with the disappearance of many species of game entailed a radical transformation of professional *œtes*. Hunters became almost completely sedentary and smiths abandoned smelting. As these two major castes became more fully integrated into the dominant agro-pastoral sector of the Kanembu economy, professional endogamy among Duu soon dwindled. This initiated the formation of a matrimonially homogeneous Duu stratum. Simultaneously, Danoa dignitaries were acquiring administrative and fiscal control over their traditional hunting grounds which the French were constituting into cantons. These rights, restricted though they were compared with those acquired by major Kanembu clans, ensured a new-found political and economic security for autonomous Duu vis-à-vis Kanembu neighbours.

These processes, which occurred largely during the first twenty years of French dominion, acted to reinforce the already existing division between the few land-controlling Duu families and their numerous subjects, more exclusively dependent than ever on agriculture. Non-autonomous Duu, whose dependent agriculturalist status was prior to colonial rule, remained subordinated to the Kanembu aristocracy, who deftly adapted to the new political situation.

We have also seen (cf. Chapter 9) that one of the more marked trends observed among the Kanembu nobility in its adjustment to colonial rule, was the extension of their marriage network towards the commoner population. By developing formerly shunned alliances, interclass marriage emerged within their own stratum. Noble-commoner unions were generally not founded on simultaneous or delayed reciprocity within or between spouses' clan(s).

Noble lineages took wives from a diversity of commoner lineages.

Commoners were recompensed individually and collectively by economic benefits, mainly in the form of increased but still restricted access to land and cattle. Few noble women were ceded in marriage to commoners.

The political cohesiveness of the Kanembu stratum was reinforced by interclass marriages, while, at the same time, intra-stratum class divisions were perpetuated by the non-reciprocal character of such unions. The combination of traditional isogamous and endogamous marriages among both nobles and commoners with non-reciprocal hypogamous noble-commoner unions left the aristocratic status of nobles intact thanks to the hereditary agnatic transmission of titles. Nobles thus maintained an ample measure of socio-political control over their commoner associates.

In spite of interclass marital inequality among Kanembu, interclass economic bonds and a certain convergence of political interests were developed by the concession of privileges of access to means of production to certain commoners. The economic advantages which were granted on the one hand, were financially compensated for on the other by the continued manipulation of tax and tribute circuits by the nobility, with the connivance of the French. Gradually, richer land-controlling commoners of the southern chieftaincies who had assisted the nobility in extending dependence relations with artisans and landless peasants, forged tighter economic as well as political and marital bonds with aristocratic families of allied lineages or clans. These parallel strategies fostered the transformation of the noble warrior caste into a wider-based, land-controlling class.

At the opposite end of the socio-economic scale, the access to fertile land and cattle by ex-slaves, former artisans and their dependants and landless immigrants was quite strictly regulated by the fiscal and economic mechanisms described in Chapter 4. These three groups quickly acquired a common socio-economic status and were integrated into an expanding

class of "free" but markedly subordinate agriculturalists. This process caused by shared economic constraints and the political incapacity to found viable lineages was not paralleled by a comparable extension of marital exchanges. The combination of the principles of hereditary stratum membership separating Duu from Kanembu, and of agnatic transmission of clan membership and corresponding economic rights, explains the continued marital division of the expanding dependent peasantry. Stratum endogamy proved impervious to the combined currents of religious, cultural and economic unification to which the component groups of this class had been subjected since pre-colonial times. The full or partial categorical endogamy of the Duu, Kajidi, Kanembu maskin, captives' and slaves' descendants of both strata, residual professional castes, acculturated sedentarised Daza elements and others favours the continued political and socio-economic fragmentation of Kanem's subordinate class.

The two preceding paragraphs confirm that endogamy in Kanembu society is not a restricted practice characteristic of the weakest and most powerful social categories only. It has long been a key mechanism in the perpetuation of the structural inequality of all strata and classes. Endogamic barriers between social categories, whether absolute, as in the Duu-Kanembu case, or "traditional", as in the Kajidi-Kanembu noble case, favour a bipolarisation of class structure. The consolidation of two opposed classes is reflected in the simplification of taxation and tribute methods and the persistent increase of interclan marriage exchange within each stratum. These developments point to a reduction of the economic functions of descent groups of all depths and scopes, as is borne out by the diminishing importance of clan-vested offices. Correspondingly, one notes among the members of the new oligarchy an increase in the sale of supposedly clan-controlled land rights by the nobility to commoner dignitaries of means (cf. Maillard 1951 b) with whom aristocrats have been intermarrying

for at least two generations.

Interrelated changes in marriage patterns and class structure in 20th century Kanem have modified the social, political and economic referents of the concept of "marrying close" (cf. Chapter 5). It is true that the FBD preference, compatible with the dominant Kanembu form of lineage organisation progressively imposed on peripheral and subordinate groups of Kanemi, remains a constant genealogical reference point in determining desired social distance between potential spouses. Yet, the reinforcement of a bipolar class structure has implied a substantial loosening in the fulfilment of expressed marital preferences in relation to both locality and descent.

Modifications in the social meaning and economic implications of all forms of endogamy and exogamy over eighty years were largely determined by the interests of the Kanembu nobility. This view is supported by the observation of marriage patterns in relation to the physical dispersal of dependent Duu, the disappearance of professional endogamy, the impossibility for Duu and Kanembu/maskin to found viable lineages and the maintenance of the endogamic barrier which impedes the matrimonial unification of the lower class. In contrast, the upper class extended and consolidated its social basis through a careful balance of lineage, clan and class exogamy, counterbalanced by the solidification of its aristocratic core through reciprocal interlineage marriage exchange and in-lineage consanguineal unions.

If fundamental social inequalities are to be maintained in Kanem stratum endogamy appears as a necessary condition of extensive but not generalised clan exogamy. The absolute norm of stratum endogamy impedes marriage between certain categories of social and economic equals. Without this prescription,

changes in the relative occurrence of consanguineal marriage and local and descent group endogamy could have resulted in the isolation of the Kanembu ruling class.

3. Concluding methodological remarks

In these concluding pages, I wish to insist on the necessary complementarity of the synchronic and diachronic approaches in the analysis of social organisation. On the one hand, I have established in Section II of this thesis that only an exhaustive sample of unions meets the minimum methodological criteria which are required for the study of the marriage exchange patterns at the clan level. I have underlined, furthermore, that the diachronic study of social organisation demands that quantifiable data be interpreted in an historical perspective. The present study shows that a diachronic/historical approach may be adopted with profit in societies with few or no indigenous written records, such as the Kanembu and many other Sahelian peoples. This may be achieved through the careful analysis of clan-focussed oral tradition in relation to simple, quantifiable social structural data covering a timespan of three to four generations.

The comparison of the data presented in Chapter 6 with that discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 readily brings out grave deficiencies which would be inherent to a purely synchronic analysis of endo-endogamy framed in terms of consanguinity and/or descent (cf. Chapter 5, sections 1 to 3). Confinement to the "ethnographic present" would lead one to attach credit to the appearance given by my synchronic statistical presentation (cf. Chapter 6) that Duu endogamy is a secondary phenomenon in an essentially exogamous society. This view would be "confirmed" by analogous comparative material presented for the Kanembu (cf. Chapter 9, Sections 2, 4 and 5). In spite of the exhaustiveness of the data base used in the Duu case,

such a synchronic approach could well comfort certain functionalist views pertaining to the supposed "necessity" of exogamy in many unilineal sub-Saharan African societies (cf. Chapter 1, Section 4 and Chapter 5, Section 3). In addition to this serious methodological danger, this mode of analysis would be regrettably compatible with the marginalisation of the diachronic dimension in the study of social organisation which is so often encountered in anthropological literature.

I have recorded in Chapter 6 that in 1974, Duu clan endogamy was a significantly less frequent practice than clan exogamy. The respective rates of occurrence of these two types of unions were not, however, expressions of an indefinitely stable structural trait or constant which could serve to "classify" Duu social organisation along Murdockian lines. On the contrary, the marriage distribution observable in 1974 was the result of a fundamental inversion of the endo-exogamic balance which had taken place only a few years previously (cf. Graphs 4 and 5).

Chapter 7 summarises variations in marriage patterns as of 1974 in local communities at different stages of their developmental cycle (cf. Fortes 1953b). This chapter underlines other major inadequacies of applying purely synchronic, typological criteria and considering descent to be a universally determining causal principle. The frequency and modalities of consanguineal marriage in a given village or village group cannot be taken as representative a priori of any other coordinate unit or of the Rea clan as a whole. At a wider level of social organisation, detailed comparative study of other Kanemi clans would have to be undertaken before one could determine to what extent the phenomena observable for the Rea clan are typical of other component descent groups of Kanemi society.

As far as the Rea clan is concerned, partial so-called "representative" sample data would have permitted me to draw only very general conclusions such as the higher incidence of clan exogamy than of clan endogamy at the

time of inquiry. In addition, the lack of exhaustive marriage case records could only have led to insufficiently nuanced assessments of variations in social organisation at the local group and minor and major lineage levels, which, in turn, are necessary to make clan-wide observations meaningful (cf. Romney 1971). These considerations show that the comparison of clan-wide marriage patterns (cf. Chapter 6) and local or lineage-based distributions in terms of descent group affiliations and residential criteria (cf. Chapter 7) could not have been expected to give dependable results if selective inquiries had been conducted on the basis of statistical sampling techniques.

It is materially impossible to study a large number of major clans marriage by marriage in a society such as the Kanembu. However, I am of the opinion that more is to be learned about Kanembu social organisation at large by meticulously studying one clan than by studying marriage exchange on the basis of a sample "covering" a sprinkling of marriages from different clans, castes and social strata. Such wider-based selective inquiries may, however, achieve relative significance (cf. Chapter 9) if the dynamics of marriage exchange are previously understood through the exhaustive analysis of a clan of sufficient size for key relations between its component sub-groups to be studied in a statistically meaningful way.

The methodology I am defending has important repercussions on the conduct of fieldwork. The Malinowskian ideal of "fully" understanding a small-scale society through protracted "participant" observation, and presumably acute personal sensitivity toward the rationale of an alien culture, here reaches a methodological barrier, in spite of its otherwise irreplaceable value. There is, of course, no reason why "good" ethnography should be considered in any way contradictory with the quantitative study

of social organisation. This is amply shown by M. Dupire's prolonged and rigorous comparative observation of Fulani groups throughout the Sudanic belt and neighbouring zones. My limited Kanemi experience suggests that much could be achieved if two or three anthropologists would simultaneously join forces in the field in order to collect **exhaustive quantitative** social organisational data and detailed oral historical data from several clans belonging to the different strata and classes of Kanembu society. This would imply a qualitative jump in analytical insight analogous to that achieved through replacing selective by full sampling at the clan level. A multigroup data base (cf. that recorded by Dupire : 1970) is, in addition, an important pre-condition for the development of the diachronic and historically-oriented study of social organisation.

The time-sequence presentation of the evolution of intra- and interclan marriage patterns used in Chapters 8 and 9 facilitates the detection and graphic representation of major trends of change in social and political organisation. It must be recalled, however, that this method of description is, at this preliminary stage of analysis, only of indicative value. It is restricted by the impossibility of recording the unions of deceased Rea married during the timespan considered, but who do not appear in the sample due to the extinction of certain lines of descent, emigration, patrilineal bias, genealogical amnesia and other causes. Hence, one cannot rigorously assess the representativeness of recorded cohorts in relation to the full married population during the decade or timespan considered. This difficulty increases, of course, as one projects back from the period for which the largest sub-sample of marriages is recorded (1945 - 1954 in the Rea case).

Nonetheless, such statistical representations facilitate the comparison
^{ti} of quantitative data on social organisation, both synchronic and diachronic

with the detailed and complex corpus of clan-focussed oral tradition which offers indigenous interpretations of political trends over a period comparable to or exceeding the time depth of statistics on marriage exchange. In spite of the above-mentioned methodological limitations, the diachronic study of Duu and Kanembu marriage patterns shows that fluctuations in interclan marriage exchange can be viewed as related to the major trends of 19th and 20th century Kanemi history and in particular, to changes in class structure.

To mention but one example, the 1894 - 1899 Kanemi civil war which was stopped by the establishment of colonial rule (cf. Appendix 5) provoked a realignment of interclan alliances as well as important modifications in the respective positions of many clans in the Kanembu political hierarchy. Durable rifts between former allies accompanied changes in class relations discussed in Section 2 of this chapter. This entailed statistically important reorientations of interclan and interclass marriage exchange patterns without, however, destroying the absolute endogamic barrier dividing Duu from Kanembu. It also favoured the dispersion of many lineages and clans, notably through southward and southeasterly migrations from the N'guri-Bari area to the Bahr el-Ghazal and Dagana. Each of these complex processes in turn imposed quantitative limits on formerly preferential modalities of matrimonial exchange, while simultaneously fostering new marriage patterns.

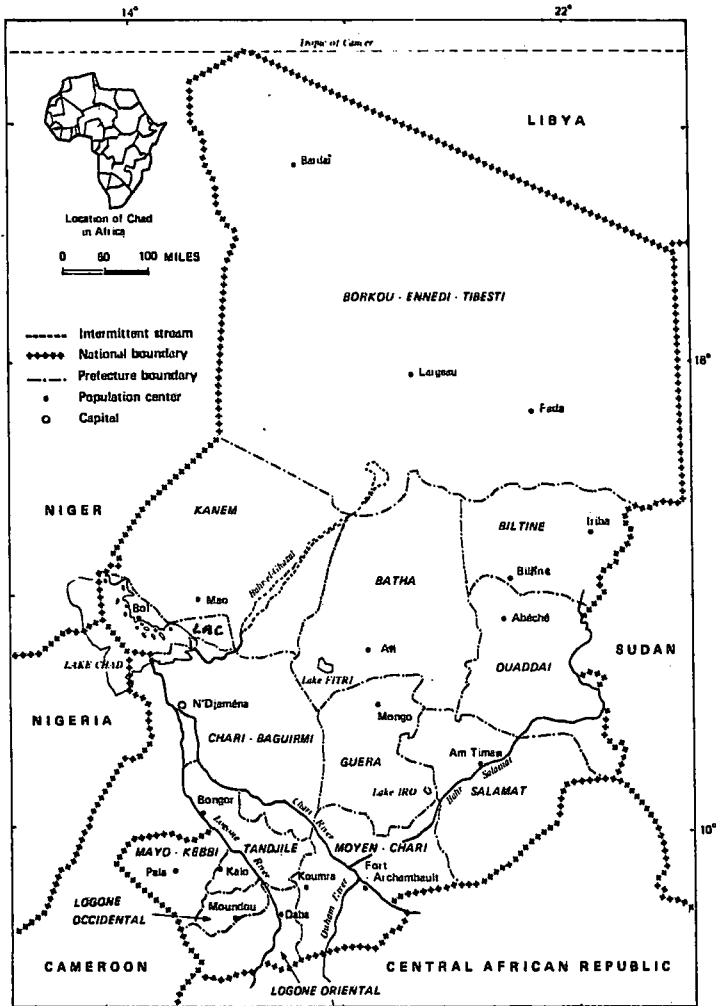
It is important to consider the variable time gap separating certain events or the initiation of longer-term political processes and the perception of consequent changes in marriage exchange trends as represented on Graphs 1 to 5. The impact of the political upheavals which affected Kanem between 1895 and 1905 only become fully apparent in quantitative terms after a time lapse of ten to twenty years (c. 1915 to 1935). Political restrictions and repressive measures imposed by the alifa which culminated

in the dissolution of numerous cantons in 1934 (see Maps 11 and 12) had effects on marriage patterns that were more quickly visible. The political and geographical separation of the Danoa clans initiated around 1880 or earlier, and confirmed by the subsequent Kanemi civil war and French occupation, directly affected Rea marriage patterns until about 1970. In contrast, an event of lesser magnitude such as the apogee of Dalatoa influence c. 1935, perceptibly constrained marriage patterns for some ten years only. These examples illustrate that in studying "synchronic" marriage distributions one must remain aware that the patterns observed at a fixed point in time reflect only the temporary balance of a complex series of influences. At any given moment, some of the processes affecting each marriage choice and distribution are, naturally, on the wane, whereas others may not yet have made their full effects felt. Only historical analysis can help the anthropologist to identify and best appreciate the specific weight of major contributing factors at given times.

A clan population is composed of individuals belonging to three, four or five generational sets. Consequently, it is necessary to take into account the political development of their descent group over a sixty to one hundred year period at least to the fullest extent allowed by available data. This effort is a pre-condition to any social-structural analysis of the genesis and contemporary significance of the marriage distribution observable by the fieldworker. Furthermore, it will be noted that most samples include marriage choices directly influenced by socio-political processes initiated at a period beyond the reach of the memory of the eldest clan members. A clear illustration of the historical persistence of specific marriage exchange preferences is offered by the still high rate of marriage among former Danoa groups a century after this alliance was shaken by serious internal warfare (c. 1880) and notwithstanding the geographical dispersal which affected the autonomous Duu from c. 1880 to c. 1910). Just as social constraints, including preferential forms of

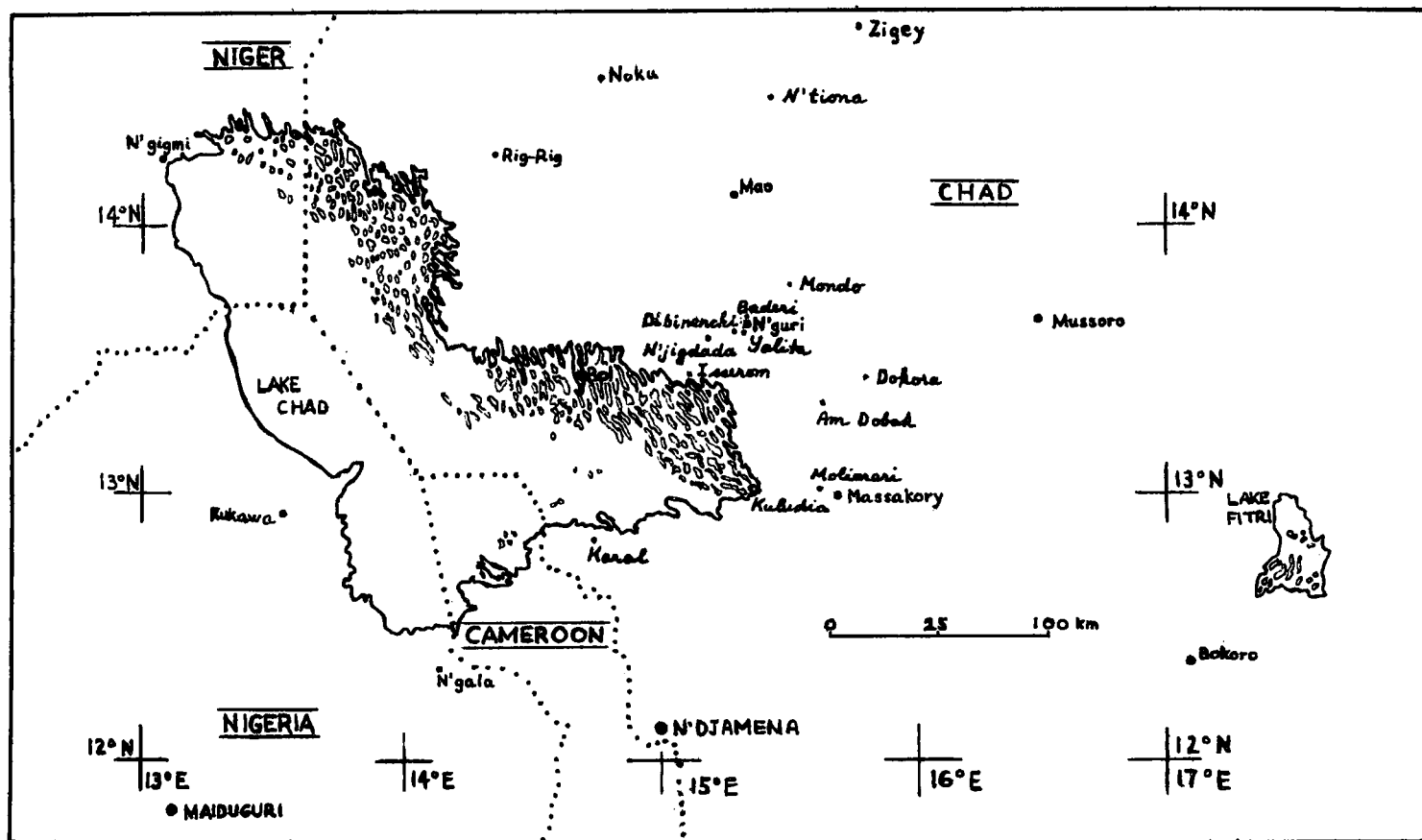
marriage exchange, may be operative longer than the socio-economic contexts in which they were generated, political processes may continue to influence intra- and intergroup marriage patterns long after being formally resolved, or indeed, after fading from human memory.

The study of social structure demands that quantifiable data be examined in historical perspective. The paucity of written records referring to many Sahelian societies does not constitute reason enough to circumvent this methodological imperative. In the Kanembu case at least, valuable progress toward this goal could be achieved by the systematic study of a wide corpus of individual marriage histories in relation to statistically documentable community and lineage marriage strategies and trends over recent decades. This effort would have to include the parallel study of oral history, complemented, wherever possible, by external archival and documentary sources. This implies, first and foremost, detailed thematic and content analyses of the existant variants of the oral history of those clans involved in the marriage exchange processes considered. It is hoped that through such concurrent efforts anthropologists of the Sahel will progress away from the constricting illusion of the "ethnographic present" so long entertained by "atemporal" functionalist interpretations of the theory of unilineal descent. The synchronic and diachronic approaches here advocated are not simply complementary. They are necessarily interdependent aspects of the processual study of social systems.

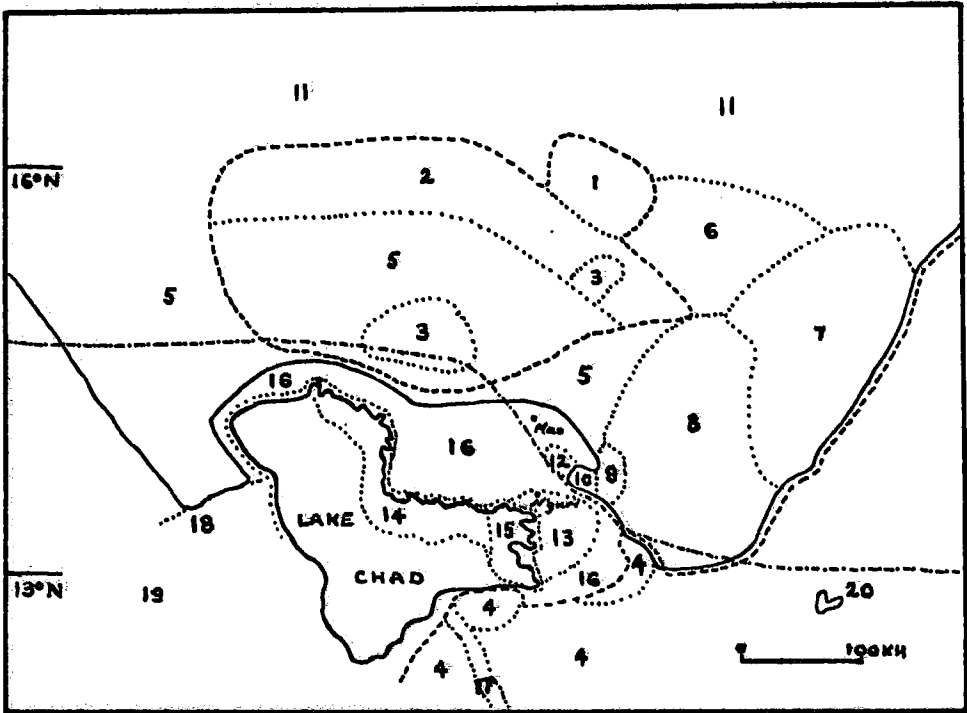


MAP 1: The Republic of Chad

Source: This map is redrawn from Nelson, Dobert, Mc Donald et al. 1972:xiv.



MAP 2: The Central Chad Basin



MAP 3: The Peoples of Kanem

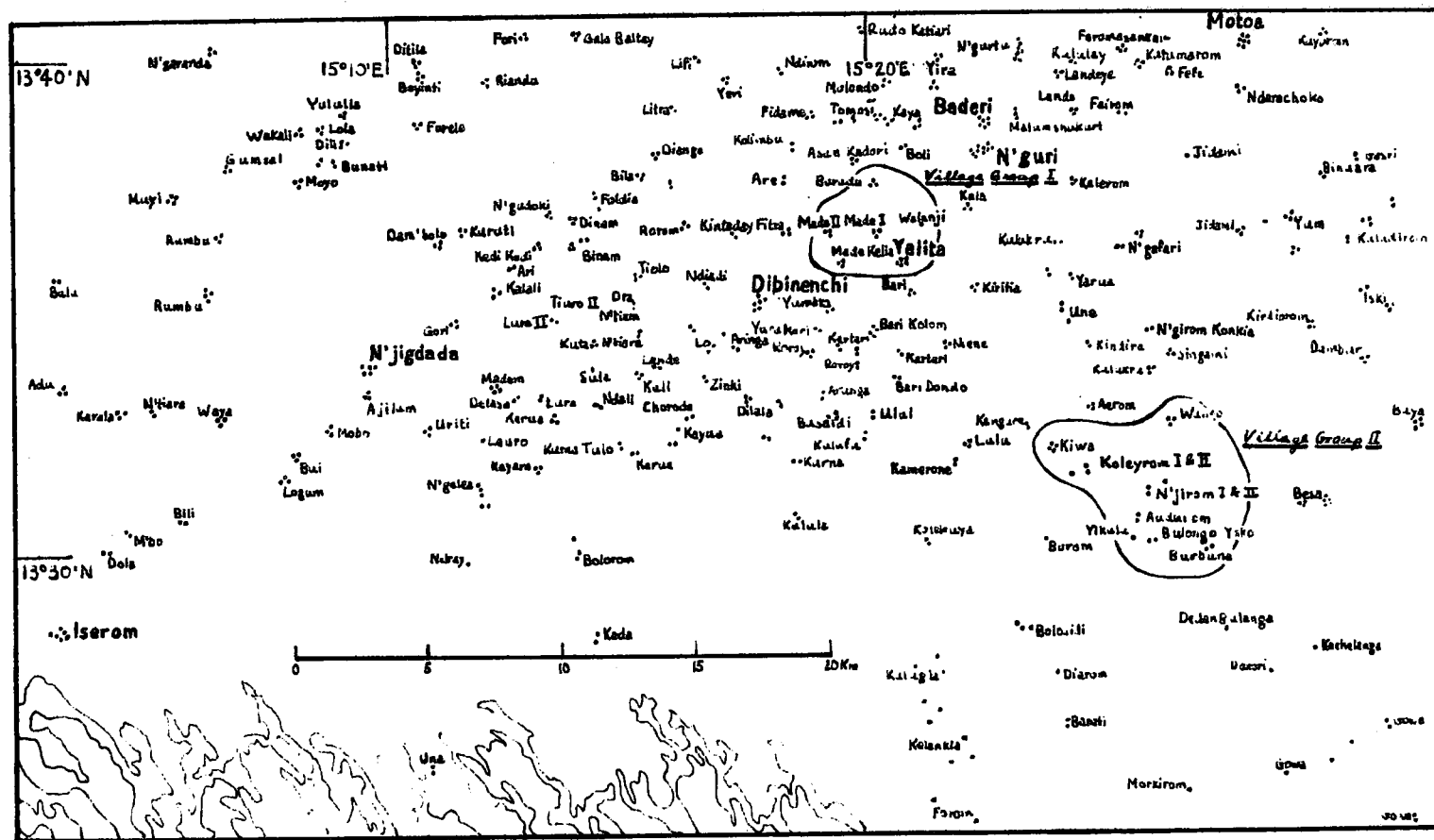
- Southern limit of Tubu habitat
- Northern limit of Arab habitat
- Northern limit of Fulani habitat
- Interethnic boundaries

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. "New" Awlad Sliman Arabs | 11. Teda |
| 2. "Old" Awlad Sliman Arabs | 12. Tunjur |
| 3. Hasa'una Arabs | 13. Duu |
| 4. Semi-sedentary "Shuwa" Arabs | 14. Buduma |
| 5. Daza of Manga | 15. Kuri |
| 6. Jagada | 16. Kanembu |
| 7. Keshherda | 17. Kotoko |
| 8. Kreda | 18. Mober |
| 9. Ankorda | 19. Kanuri |
| 10. Warda | 20. Bulala |

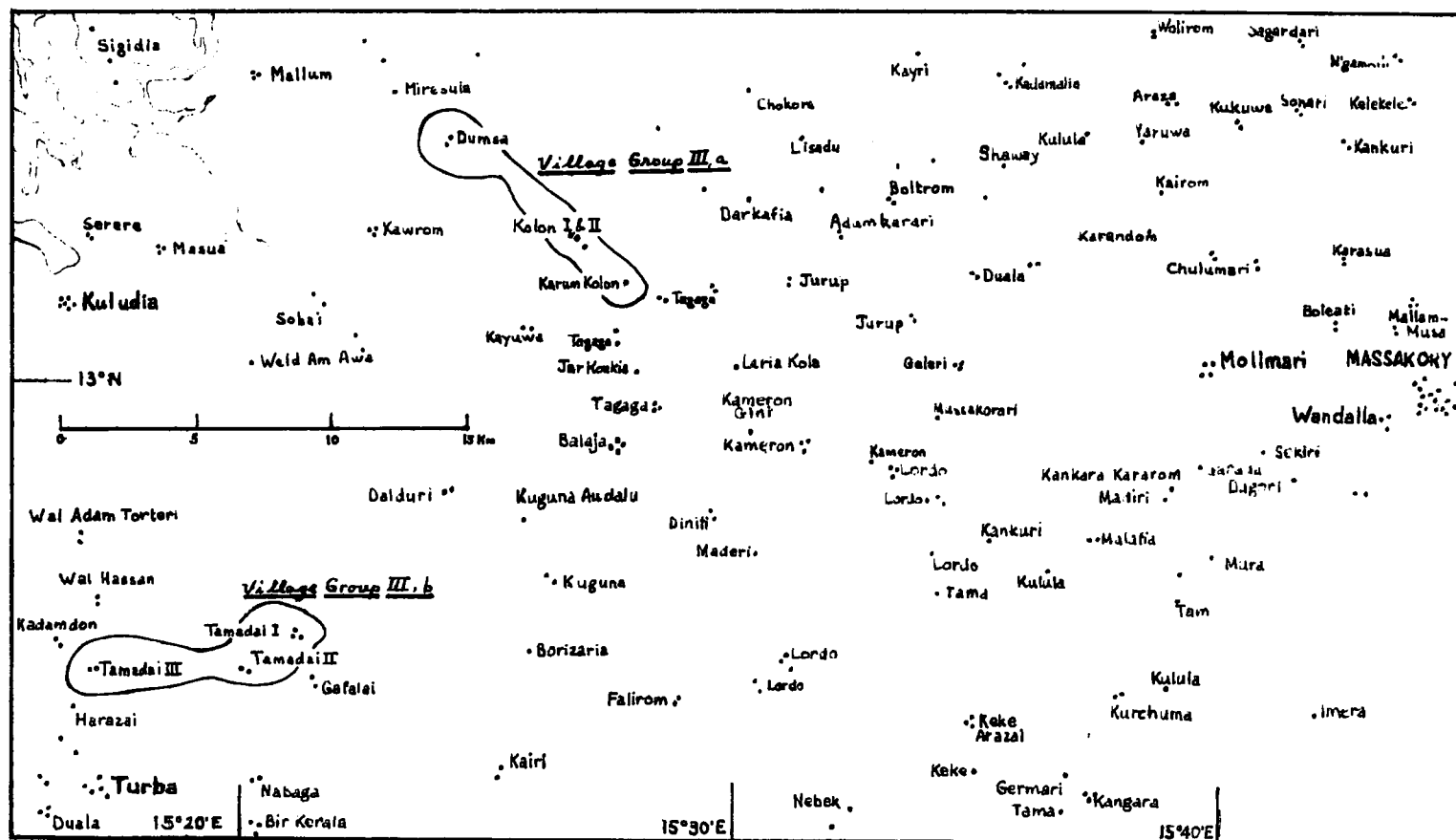
Source: This map is redrawn on the basis of Le Rouvreur 1962:63.



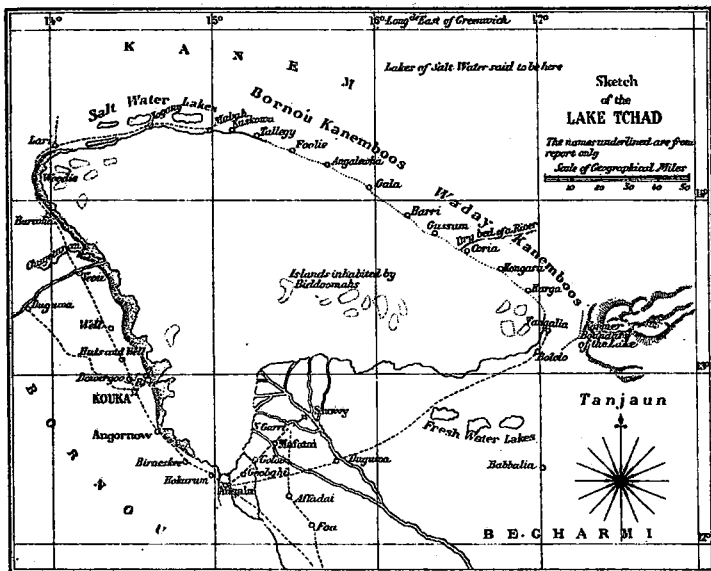
MAP 4: The Location of Rea Village Groups



MAP 5: Southeastern Kanem: Rea Village Groups I and II (N'jigdada, Dibinenchi, Yalita, N'guri)

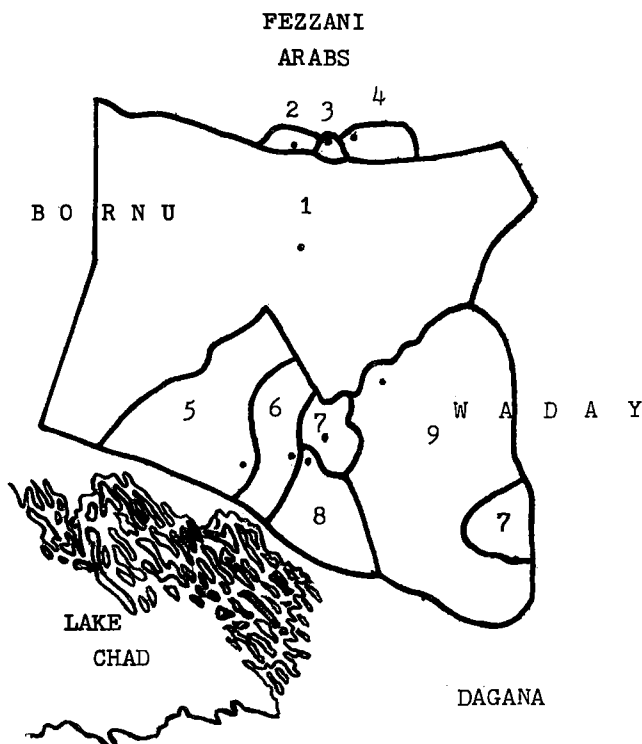


MAP 6: The Western Bahr el-Ghazal Depression: Rea Village Group III (Kuludia, Molimari, Massakory)



MAP 7 : Lake Chad according to Denham (1824)

Source: Denham, Clapperton & Oudney:1831



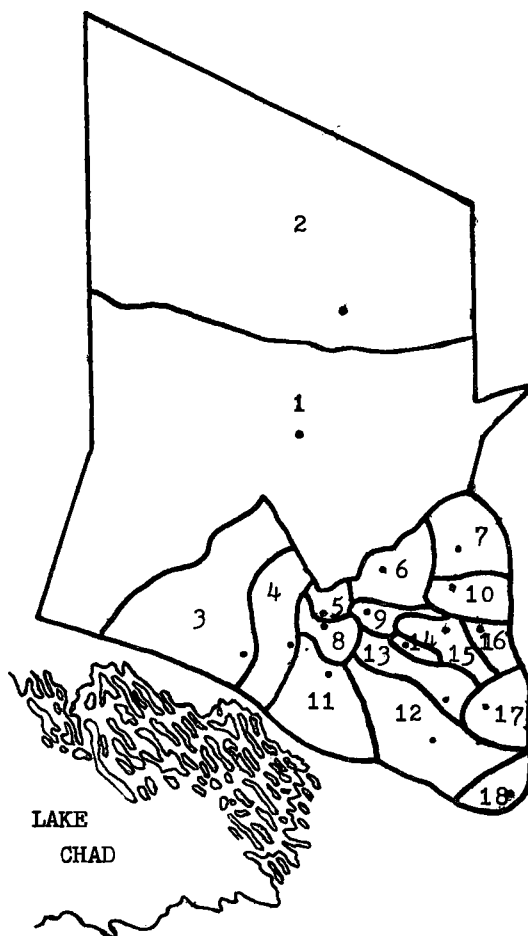
MAP 10: The Chieftaincies of Kanem in 1899

CHIEFTAINCY	RULING CLAN
1. Mao	Kanembu Dalatoa
2. Korofu	Daza Kumosala
3. Foskey	Daza Medelea
4. N'tiry	Daza-like Kanembu
5. N'jigdada	Kanembu Kogona Dimaru
6. Dibinenchi	Kanembu N'gijim
7. N'guri	Duu Darka (Danoa)
8. Bari Kolom	Duu Bara (Danoa)
9. Mondo	Arab Tunjur

Source: Catala 1954, French archival documents and oral accounts

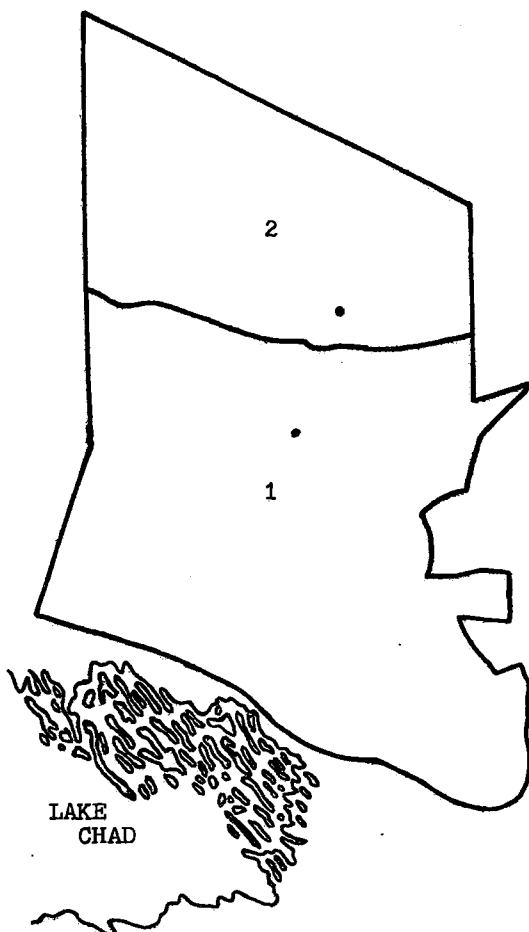
KEY TO MAP 11

<u>CANTON</u>	<u>RULING CLAN</u>
1. Mao	Kanembu Dalatoa
2. N'tiona	Daza Dogorda
3. N'jigdada	Kanembu Kogona Dimaru
4. Dibinenchi	Kanembu N'gijim
5. Baderi	Kanembu Bade
6. Mondo	Arab Tunjur
7. Meshimere	Daza Anakorda
8. N'guri	Duu Darka
9. Motoa	Daza Warda
10. Ilili	Daza Warda
11. Kiwa	Duu Rea
12. Am Dobak	Duu Dieri
13. Moal Kulkulia	Kanembu Kanku
14. Agafur	Kanembu Bade
15. Murzugi	Kanembu N'tielu
16. Safa	Daza Keshherda
17. Dokora	Duu Darka
18. Bir Bulu	Kanembu N'gala



MAP 12: The subdivisions of Mao (1933) and
N'guri (1911 - 1934)

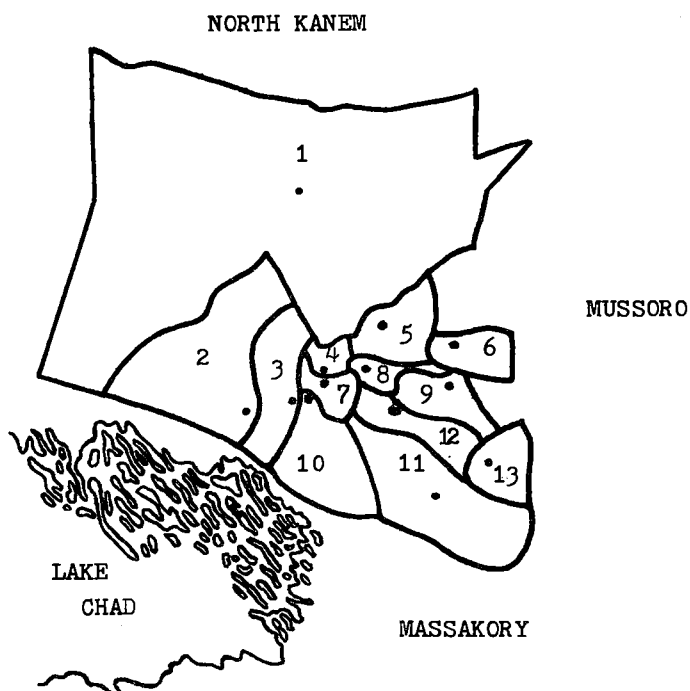
Source: Catala 1954, French archival documents
and oral accounts



MAP 12: The subdivision of Mao from 1935 to 1949

CHIEFTAINCY	RULING CLAN
1. Sultanate of Mao	Kanembu Dalatoa
2. <u>Canton</u> of N'tiona	Daza Dogorda

Source: Catala 1954, French archival documents
and oral accounts

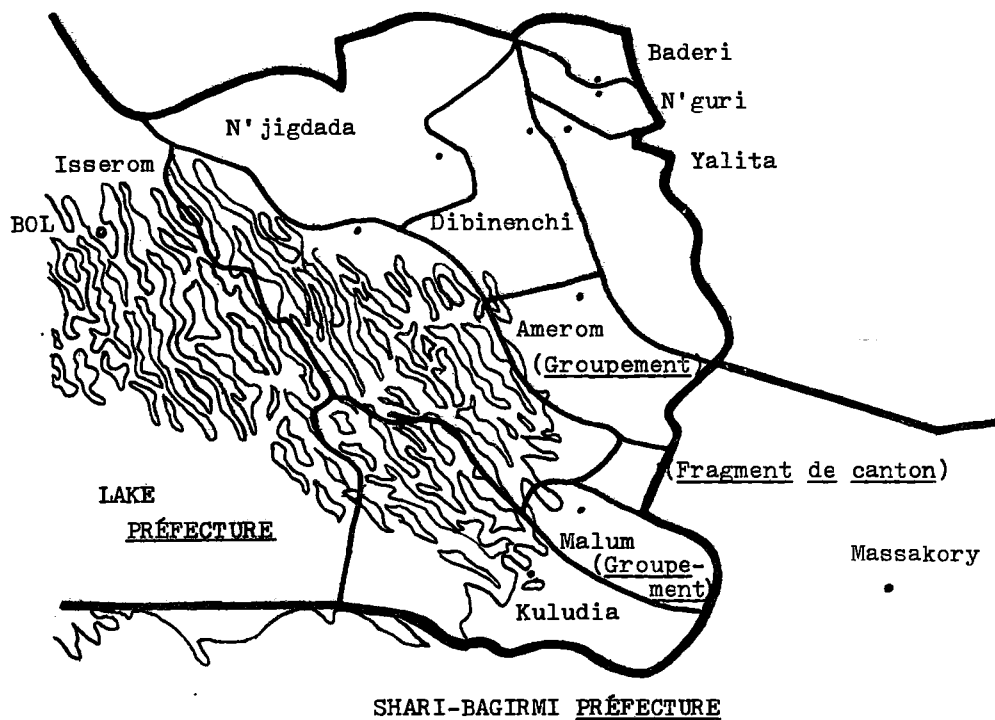


MAP 13: The cantons of the district of Mao in 1953

<u>CANTON</u>	<u>DOMINANT CLAN</u>
1. Mao	Kanembu Dalatoa
2. N'jigdada	Kanembu Kogona Dimaru
3. Dibinenchi	Kanembu N'gijim
4. Baderi	Kanembu Bade
5. Mondo	Arab Tunjur
6. Ilili	Daza Warda
7. N'guri	Duu Darka
8. Motoa	Daza Warda
9. Murzugi	Kanembu N'tielu
10. Yalita	Duu Rea
11. Am Dobak	Duu Dieri
12. Munusa	Kanembu Kanku
13. Dokora	Duu Darka

Source: Catala:1954, French archival documents
and oral accounts

KANEM PRÉFECTURE

Sous-Préfecture of MaoSous-Préfecture of Massakory

MAP 14: The administrative divisions of the
Sous-préfecture of N'guri

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION	RULING CLAN
1. <u>Canton</u> of N'jigdada	Kanembu Kogona
2. <u>Canton</u> of Dibinenchi	Kanembu N'gijim
3. <u>Canton</u> of Baderi	Kanembu Bade
4. <u>Canton</u> of N'guri	Duu Darka
5. <u>Groupement</u> of Amiron	Kanembu N'galana
6. <u>Fragment de Canton</u>	Kanembu
7. <u>Groupement</u> of Malum	Kanembu
8. <u>Canton</u> of Isserom	Kuri Kora
9. <u>Canton</u> of Kuludia	Kuri Kalea
10. <u>Canton</u> of Yalita	Duu Rea

Source: Jacob, Delagarde & Kernén and Ordonnance N° 38 PR
of 11 October 1962 (République du Tchad)

APPENDIX I: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE KANEMI ENVIRONMENT
AND MODES OF SUBSISTENCE

1. The Kanemi Environment : Lake Chad and the Mainland

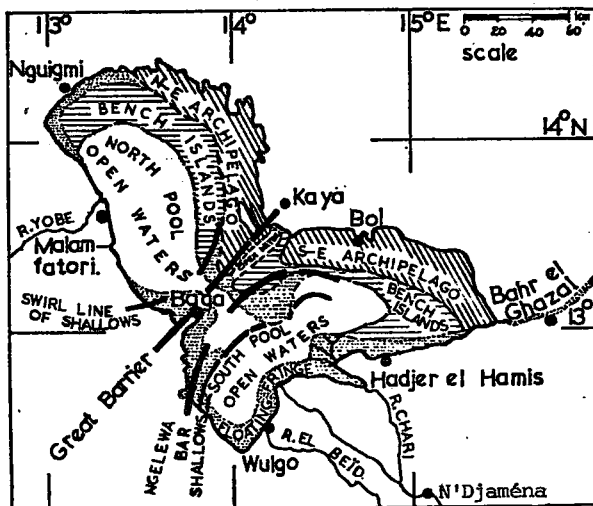
1.1. Introductory comment

Our summary consideration of the Kanemi environment will be limited to suggesting how major geological, geographic and climatological factors affect the mode of livelihood of the Kanembu. Along a north-south axis extending from Sudano-Sahelian latitudes (12° - 13° N Lat), through the Sudano-Saharan zone (around 14° N Lat) to the fully Saharan belt, which in Kanem descends as far south as $15^{\circ}30'$ N Lat, one may observe impressive transitions in rainfall, temperature, evaporation rates and soil constitution. Cyclical variations in rainfall impose transitory and sometimes long-lasting changes on productive activities.

These ecological processes periodically jeopardise the ability of the inhabitants to survive on the produce of their lands, to maintain reserve food stocks or to accumulate cattle. This fragility of the ecological balance was sadly confirmed during the 1972 - 73 drought peak. The incapacity of farmers to guarantee sufficient food production from year to year or even season to season largely explains why plots of irrigated, salt-free sedimentary soils are the major object of political and economic competition in Kanem.

1.2. Lake Chad

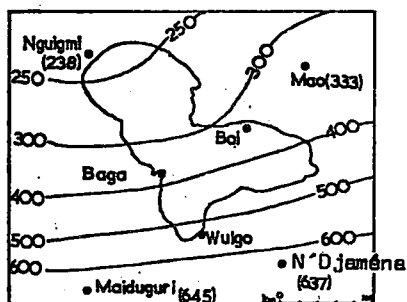
Lake Chad is located between $12^{\circ}20'$ and $14^{\circ}20'$ north latitude and 13° and $15^{\circ}20'$ east longitude. This situates it, on average, between the 240 mm and 500 mm rainfall isohyets.

Figure 1 : Topography of Lake Chad

Source: Sikes 1972 : 72

Figure 2 : Annual isohyets in the Central Chad Basin

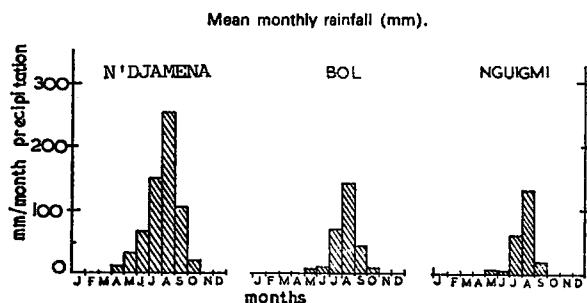
Annual isohyets (mm)



Source: Sikes 1972 : 98

As is typical of Sahelo-Saharan climates, the rainy season in this area extends from the month of July through to September. It is generally followed by a dry season of eight to nine months. The volume of precipitation may vary drastically according to the year and to latitude.

Figure 3 : Mean monthly rainfall at N'Djamena, Bol and N'gigmi



Source : Sikes 1972 : 98

Locally, important variations may occur. For example, at Bol, 46.1 mm fell in 1913 and 699.5 mm were registered in 1954. Year to year differences can also be astounding; from a 1949 level of c. 90 mm, rainfall attained 350 mm in 1950 and then 225 mm in 1951. Regarding village to village variations, Billion, Calède and Sabatier (1963, quoted by Bouquet 1974 : 70) note a 1962 rainfall of 248 mm at the southwestern corner of Bol-Gini polder against 401 mm for the northwestern extremity, only 5 km distant.

Only 10% of the Lake's annual water intake is furnished by rainfall; 83% comes from the Shari river and 7% from the combined flows of the El-Beid, the Yedseram and the Komadugu-Yobe. (Kanem itself is devoid of either permanent or seasonal water courses.) Evaporation loss in the lake is equivalent to c. 2.2 m per annum on average (cf. Bouchardeau et Lefevre 1957), only 10% of water losses being due to infiltration.

The average altitude of the Lake's surface oscillates around the 283 m contour. Bol is situated at 287 m, N'guri at about 305 m, the Bir Liri plateau between N'guri and Mao at approximately 330 m and Mao itself at 357 m. The northeastern shore of the Lake (on the Amerom-Baga Sola axis) is delineated by a stabilised erg. The ridge line of these

dunes, which form both the islands of the eastern archipelago and the hill formations of South Kanem, are oriented northwest to southeast. The altitude variation from dune top to the bottom of the interdunary depression ranges from 10 to 20 m in the Bari district, to 6 to 10 m around Saga Sola, 100 km west of N'guri. These depressions, whether dry or inundated, are known as b'la in Kanembu, and wadi in the locally used Tukur dialect of Arabic.

The emergence of these formations is recent in geological terms. It is estimated that "Lake Chad" receded to about the 305 m level around 2,425 B.P. \pm 360 (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 25; see also Bouchardeau 1958, and Tilho 1910-1914). At 300 m the Bari district began to rise above the surface, thus placing a chronological limit on the population of our area of study proper some time about the beginning of our era.

Geologists will long debate about the surface levels, extension and possible divisions of Lake Chad at successive stages of transgression and desiccation. Some theories contest the existence of a single continuous body of water, generally designated as the Paleochad. Let it here suffice to note that the variations in surface level observed during the 19th and 20th centuries have had important consequences on present-day population distributions, on migratory movements and on the differential access of the ethnic groups and social strata of South Kanem to the most valuable of the region's agricultural lands. The amplitude of such variations may be appreciated thanks to the hydrographical studies undertaken by O.R.S.T.O.M. Touché^o de Lussigny (1969) reconstructed the changes in Lake Chad's surface level for the period 1851 to 1957. The figures referring to the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century are based on explorer's reports by Denham (1824), Barth and Overweg (1851), Vogel (1854), Nachtigal (1871), Chevalier (1907) and Tilho (1907).

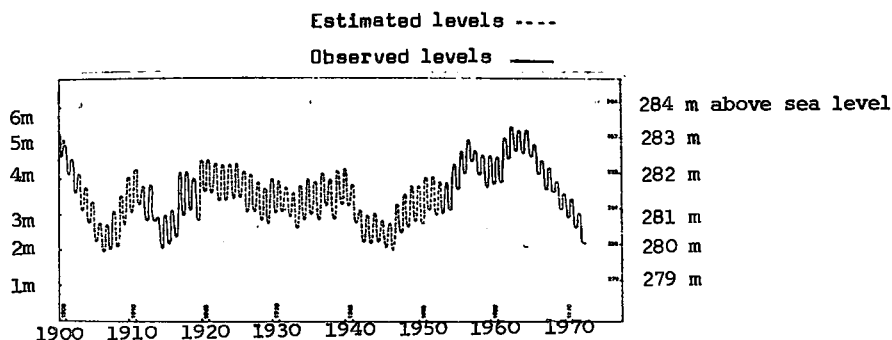
TABLE 55: Reconstruction of the approximate levels of the Lake surface
from early observations between 1851 and 1920
 (After Touchefeu⁶⁹ de Lussigny)

Year	Observer	Bahr-el-Ghazal inundations	Presumed lake level elevation MSL	depth at Bol
1874	Nachtigal	180 km	284.45 m	658 cm
1870	Rohlf's	120	283.75	588
1866	Nachtigal	120	283.75	588
1854	Barth	95	283.45	558
1873	Nachtigal	95	283.45	558
1900	Foureaux	70	283.15	528
1851	Barth	60	283	513
1892	Foureaux	60	283	513
1920	Tilho	several kms	282.42	445
1903	Audoirt		water at 1.2 km from N'g igmi	
Feb.'04	Tilho		281.42	355
1905 ¹	Freydenberg		281.25	338
Nov.'07 ²	Tilho		280.80	293
Jun.'08 ³	Tilho		280.10	223
Jly'07	Tilho		279.87	200

1. Lake divided into two separate parts by Great Barrier
2. Northern pool dry to the north of the latitude of Bossou
3. A few pools between Baga and Baga-Sola; the Great Barrier passable on foot.

Source : Sikes 1972 : 87

FIGURE 5 : Annual variations of the surface level of Lake Chad
from 1900 to 1972



Source: Chouret & Lemoalle 1974

These data on surface altitude in turn permit estimates of inundated surface to be formulated.

Table 56 : Surface level, lake depth and surface area of Lake Chad

Date	Lake level (Ref.IGN** base-line, 1956)	Depth at data station, Bol*	Surface area of Lake Chad
circ.	m MSL	m	km ²
1904	281.50	3.63	16.000
1908	280.50	2.63	12.700
1950-1	282.00	4.13	20.000
1956	282.65	4.78	21.600

* Zero on the Bol scale is at 277.87 m MSL on the lake floor

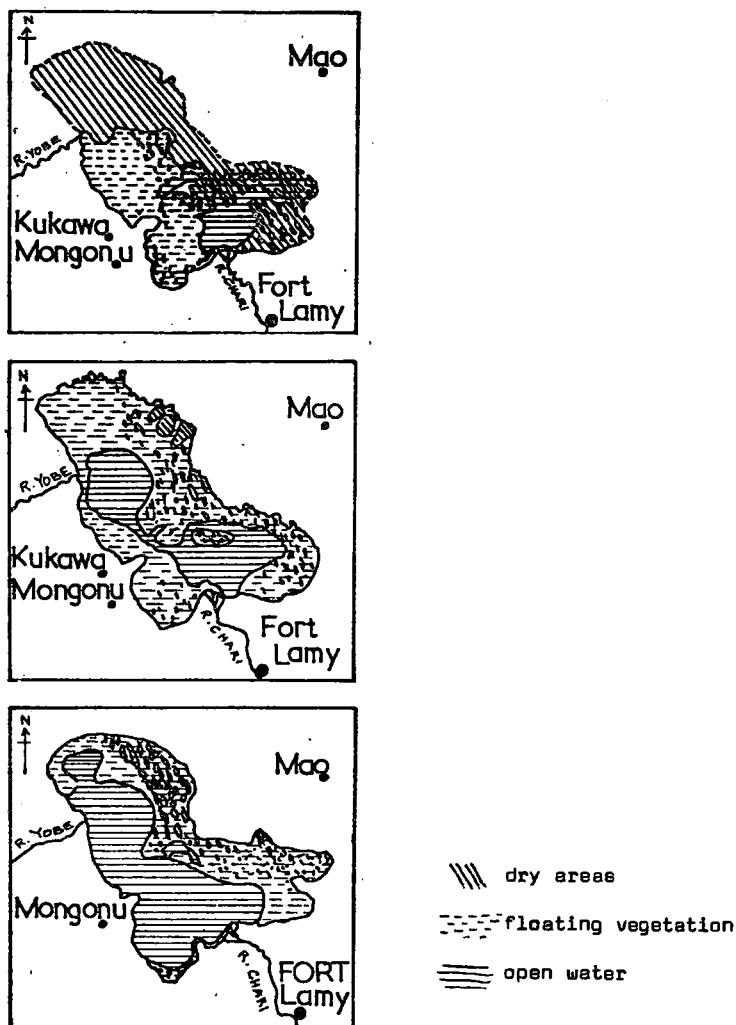
** IGN : Institut Géographique National.

Source : Sikes 1972 : 87

Chouret and Lemoalle (1974 : 1-2) advance the opinion that what Tilho (1928) classifies as "le Grand Tchad" -that observed by 19th century explorers but never since - varied from 20,000 km² to 25,000 km².

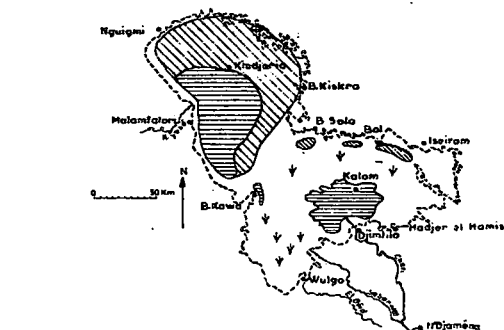
Tilho's "Tchad normal" of 1917 to 1918 and 1967 to 1969 covered 15,000 km² to 20,000 km² with surface level oscillating around 282 m. Finally, the "Petit Tchad" at 280 m or less was observed by Tilho in 1905 and recurred in 1973. The water surface then shrank to 9000 km², endangering the very existence of the Lake and of numerous species of fish and animals.

FIGURE 5 : The 'Great', 'Medium' and 'Little Chad' according to Tilho



'Great', 'Medium' and 'Little Chad'

- (a) Little Chad, about 1908 (Northern pool dry)
- (b) Medium Chad, about 1904
- (c) Great Chad, 1957 (extensive open water in both pools)

FIGURE 6 : Lake Chad in July 1973

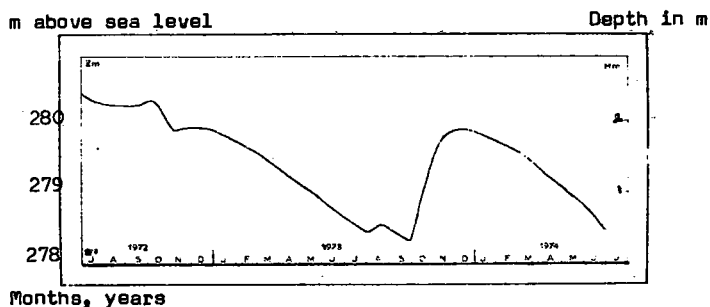
▼ Dried out zone with vegetation

≡ Open waters

≡ Archipelagos

N.B. The broken line indicates the lake shore at the 281.8 m level which corresponds to the "Tchad normal"

Source: Chouret & Lemoalle, 1974

FIGURE 7 : Variation of Lake Chad's surface level at Bol

Source : Chouret & Lemoalle, 1974

1.3. The lacustral fringe of Kanem

The northeastern islands of Lake Chad and the adjacent riverine fringe are formed of stable sand dunes oriented NW - SE, similar to those of the mainland. When Lake Chad is at its normal level, (c. 282 m), the islands may reach 10 km in length but do not exceed 2 km in breadth

(Le Rouvreur 1962 : 222). They are separated by sometimes navigable channels, which in the areas of the archipelago closest to the mainland become muddy depressions during the dry season. Vegetation cover is a function of proximity to the water mass. Channels commonly harbour swamps heavily congested by papyrus (kirta in the Buduma language), as well as by hordes of mosquitoes. Fallen seeds and grasses come to form "floating islands" which may reach 100 m in diameter (Le Rouvreur 1962 : 222); these are composed of a combination of Vossia cuspidata, a grass, Cyperius papyrus, a reed-grass known as Phragmites and Typha domingensis, or reed-mace (Sikes 1972 : 113).

The islands of the southeasterly archipelago, known collectively as Karga in Kanembukanambu, are often surrounded by floating papyrus/reed banks followed by a zone of inundation or swamp fringe where pasture grasses (Leersia Lexandra and Echinochloa pyramidalis or, in more northerly zones, Pennisetum repens and Sporobolus spicatus) as well as the ultra-light ambach (Herminiera elaphroxylon) grow (Sikes 1972 : 114).

The edges of the southeastern islands are favourable terrain for dum-palms (Hyphaene thebaica). Higher and drier portions, especially on the more northerly islands, carry Acacia seyal, the desert date (Balanites aegyptiaca) and the Sodom apple (Calotropis procera). Large interior portions of many islands may, however, completely lack trees and may, during periods of low rainfall, offer the steppe appearance of inland areas.

1.4. Mainland Kanem

Most Kanembu live on the mainland to the East and North of Karga between the 13° and 14°30' N. Latitude. In order to understand the major local variations of the agro-pastoral economy they practise, it is necessary to illustrate the vegetational transitions which occur along

a north-south axis from Dagana to north of Mao.

At the southern extremity of this zone, ^{the} Bahr el-Ghazal runs along a west-east axis between Lake Chad and Massakory at a latitude where the Sudan savanna gives way to the Sahel. Sikes (1972 : 105-106) writes:

"The Sudan savanna tends to consist of a fairly open type of woodland with broad-leaved trees such as Piliostigma reticulata, Bauhinia rufescens, Ziziphus mauritiana and Adansonia digitata (the baobab), but dominated by thorny acacias such as Acacia seyal, Acacia teretilis, Acacia Arabica and Acacia albidia or, in certain areas by the doum palm, Hyphaenethebaica."

The same author (Sikes 1972 : 108) notes:

"Travelling northward, a transitional zone is passed consisting of low scrub grading to the true Sahel, characterised by its flat topped Acacia raddiana trees, some gnarled, low Commiphora africana trees, Hyphaenethebaica (doum palms) and low bushes called Leptadenia pyrotechnica."

The Sodom apple is also common here.

As one reaches the Sahelian zone to the north and east of Lake Chad, the dune pattern of Karga continues. One encounters numerous b'la or channels, also known as wadis, carved by lacustral transgressions in past millenia. In well irrigated b'la such as those of the Bari district just south of N'guri, one finds thickets called kharim (Kb). These are composed of acacia, capers, desert date trees and Sodom apple bushes which are however, less common than further to the south. The jujube trees in this area are still numerous and tall. The dune lands which dominate the b'la, though parched during the dry season, are transformed into grass-covered pastures for some brief weeks during July and August.

Above N'guri, progressing towards Mao, one meets with a steppe called kiri by the Kanembu. Every hour of northward march through this expanse sees the disappearance of some species of tree or plant. The kangar

(Acacia nilotica or arabica), the kitir, (Acacia laeta), the karamga (Acacia seyal) and the karaq (Acacia albida) become ever rarer, as does the kjajelia (Bignonia) and the different caper trees.

Further on, near Mao, is an undulating plateau, called bodu in Kanembukanembu, which is formed by stable, grassless dunelands. This scarcely populated area is known under the proper name of Bir Lure. Bila here become fewer and shallower. The undulating countryside is marked only by some circular or oval depressions where scant desert scrubs contrast with an otherwise dismally naked landscape.

The area surrounding Mao is characterised by the alternation of high dunes (30 to 60 m) and depressions at almost regular intervals of 3 to 6 km. Duneland flora is basically restricted to seasonal grasses. The wadis, however, harbour extensive palm groves. This duneland continues to approximately 15° N Latitude, some 80 km south of Mao. The Naval Intelligence Handbook for French Equatorial Africa (H.M.S.O. 1942:48) reports that:

"The whole area between 15°N and 18°N and west of longitude 20°E is commonly called Bodile, and is divided into five sub-areas: Eguei, Moji, Toro, Kiri and Djourab. It is a dull empty country of vague horizons, areas of dunes, single or in groups, mobile or static, alternating with flat hard-surface plateaux."

Here begins the Sahara proper.

2. Kanemi agriculture

2.1. Water availability and natronisation

Kanem is an extraordinarily favoured land with regard to agriculture. The sandy soil which dominates the landscape is everywhere appropriate for extensive millet culture and the alluvial soils found in wadis are often ideal for year-round cultivation of a variety of crops. The key to Kanem's great agricultural potential is the universal sufficiency of water, to the exclusion of periods of protracted drought. Dune fields between 13° N latitude and 14°20' latitude - an interval roughly corresponding to that

separating the 450 mm and 300 mm rain isohyets - may carry one annual staple crop of millet without irrigation. Between these same latitudes Kanem's fresh watershed is accessible from wadi bottoms at depths ranging from 3 m (around the Lake) to 15 m (in north Kanem, for example). In the b'la, irrigation is carried out thanks to the shadoof (Ar. shadūf) a device consisting of a long pole which pivots on a cross-bar supported by two stakes of acacia wood. The longer extremity of the pole carries a leather bucket or calabash hanging from a dum-leaf twine rope. The shorter side is mounted with a moulded-on clay counterweight. The ground water extracted from the adjacent shallow well provides sufficient irrigation for a plot of some 25 to 50 ares, approximately.

Many wadis, however, are plagued by problems of salinisation. Depressions with alluvial bottoms are successively flooded and dried for varying intervals determined by rainfall patterns and, in the south, the movements of Lake Chad's waters. During the dry season, evaporation is very intense. According to latitude, it may attain an annual average of 2.5 (i.e. 2,500 to 3,500 litres per square metre of Lake surface) to 3.5 m (Dabin 1969 : 11) . Where one finds a permanent water table at shallow depth, such as below wadi bottoms, rainfall, evaporation rates, soil constitution and other complex factors produce concentrations of resurgent salts which crystallise at surface level or between the surface and water levels. This process is known as natronisation.

"Natron is a complex carbonate of sodium and magnesium which occurs as lumps in the soil on the north side of the Lake in interdunary areas, and in some places forms level deposits in pans."

(Sikes 1972 : 92)

Where and when pluvial or artificial drainage is inadequate, cultivation may become impossible temporarily or permanently.

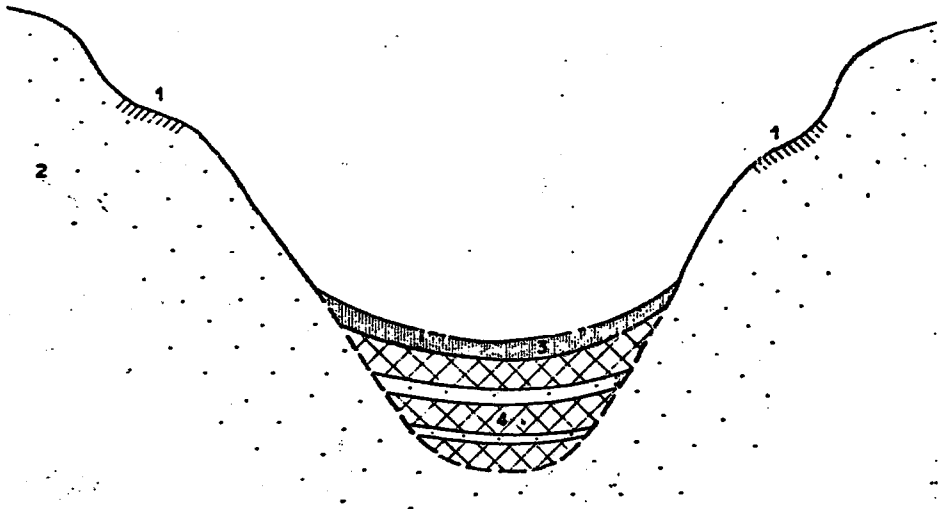
Natronisation may determine shifts in land usage and subsequent conflicts over wadi control. A second factor of mobility in the agricultural usage of land is the exhaustion of dune lands after approximately 10 years of millet culture. The geographical stability of sedentary Kanembu agro-pastoral communities, which today form the bulk of the population, is largely dependent on rainfall and water levels as well as on their capacity to enrich the dunelands in and around villages thanks to cattle dung. We will return to the question of soil utilisation patterns after our discussion of Kanemi herding.

2.2. Staple Crops

The main staple crops of the Kanembu have traditionally been sorghum, millet and, to a lesser extent, beans. These plants may be grown with progressively decreasing yield from the Bahr-el-Ghazal depression in the south to some 40 km north of Mao in central Kanem. Patterns of staple crop cultivation may be adapted to climatic and soil variations by the use of crop associations and varieties of the above species.

One finds three main varieties of sorghum: a) Mero kime (Kanembu-kanembu, abbrev. Kb.) (Durra ahmar Arabic, abbrev. Ar., red millet, Sorghum durra var. rubra) is planted toward the beginning of July, in alluvial wadi bottoms or at the foot of the dunes upon which villages are located for reasons of security and hygiene. Red millet is not the most appreciated cereal among many Kanembu, but it offers a sure and generally good yield since its growth period corresponds with the peak of the rainy season. Mero kime can be harvested progressively, according to need from the beginning of September.

FIGURE 8 : Wadi Section



1 : sabulo-argillaceous or argillo-alluvial terrace (corresponding to a former shoreline at 287 m)

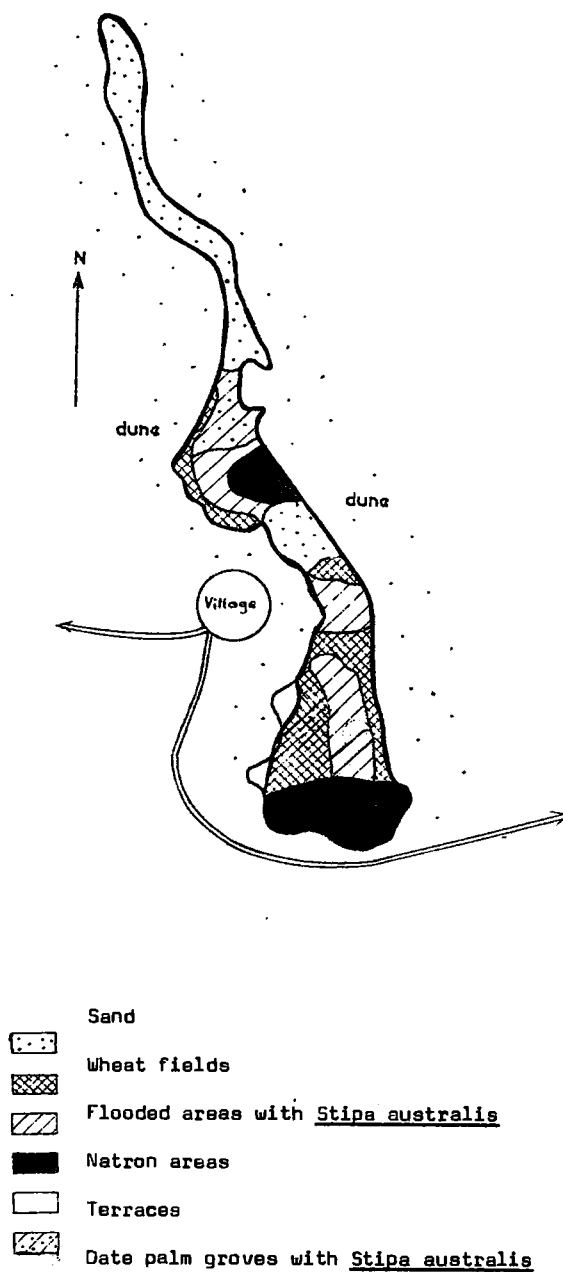
2 : sand

3 : occasionally conchitic alluvium

4 : alternate strata of lamellar clay and colluvial sand

Source : Piss and Guichard, 1960.

FIGURE 9 : N'jiqdada wadi



Source: Pias and Guichard, 1960

b) Kerom (Kb.) is a second variety of Sorghum durra (variety unidentified) which resembles panicum. It is planted around the first half of June and reaped in September. Kerom will give high yields in case of early and regular rains but when precipitation arrives late or first showers are belied by a dry June and early July, the farmer risks a very poor result.

c) Mero bul (Kb.) (Masakwa - Ar. - Sorghum durra var. nilotica) is transplanted in October or November and is ripe by January or February. A good crop of mero bul, a cereal which appeals to the palate of the Kenambu, can be an essential asset in facing the last weeks of a particularly long dry season and the rainy season. This is especially true when the subsequent liqi millet crop (see below) turns out to be poor. Unfortunately, mero bul cannot be planted everywhere for it requires the denser, more argillaceous soil which is found to the south around Massakory and along the Bahr-el-Ghazal toward Mussoro.

Two types of millet are widely grown:

a) Argum (generic term for millet in Kb.) (dukhun - Ar. - millet, Pennisetum thyphoides) is well adapted to sandy soils, in contrast to mero bul, and is almost always grown on dune tops, often around and between the huts of villages. Planted in June or July, according to latitude and the date of first rains, its growth period is eighty days, somewhat longer than that of sorghum. As in the case of mero kime, argum's yield is generally guaranteed by July and August rains. When rainfall is below average, however, the consequent lack of staples will be felt throughout the following year.

b) Liqi (Kb.) (Liifi - Ar. - Pennisetum thyphoides, variety unidentified) is a variant of argum characterised by a smaller and thinner head. It is cultivated in the richer soils of dried wadis or irrigated fields at the end of April and harvested by July, given sufficient humidity. Richer communities and clans with ample fertile wadi grounds at their disposal are

distinctly privileged with regard to the ligi crop which ripens at the time of the year when staples are scarcest.

The third staple culture, less grown today than in former times, is n'galo (Kb.) (lubia - Ar. - bean, Dolichos lubia). In the past, the bean was the first crop to be planted on unflooded, dry wadi beds but it could equally be cultivated on more sandy soils of the interior, particularly dune tops, at the beginning of the rainy season. It requires only sixty days before the first produce is available.

The dune plot of a nuclear family averages 1.5 to 2 ha. The average staple output is 500 to 700 kg/ha, granted adequate rainfall. During a dry year, dune millet production may drop to 200 kg/ha. Under such circumstances, complementary irrigated cultures and even gathering are indispensable to survival. Contrary to many Sahelian farmers, however, the Kanembu is by no means devoid of options allowing him to combat the effects of even severe drought. These include putting to advantage the different growing seasons of the variety of staples adapted to his environment, concentration on irrigated cultures including both wadis and artificial polders, and gathering.

2.3. Complementary crops

Wheat and maize are two of the main crops cultivated on naturally humid and watered fields. It is believed that wheat was introduced to the Kanembu by refugee Awlad Sliman Arabs from Fezzan (Libya) about the middle of the 19th century (cf. Le Rouvreur 1962 : 91). The hard-grained variety found in Kanem is called k'la or k'lk'a (Kb.) (game - Ar. -). Planting is spread from November to April and maturation requires 90 to 120 days. Masar (Kb.) (Masar - Ar. - maize, Zea Mays) has an 80 day growth period and may be sown at two different periods during the year. Masar kulfa-ye (Kb.) or 'maize of the dry season' is planted at the end

of March or later and generally ripens, rains allowing, by the beginning of July when other staples may be in very short supply. Masar kulfa-ye (Kb.) is sown immediately after this harvest and cut at the end of October. These commodities, principally produced in South Kanem, were and remain an important part of herder/farmer exchanges. They are often exchanged for cattle, kola nuts and manufactured goods traditionally brought from North Africa along the Bornu-Kanem-Tripolitania route. Lavers (1980; ms.:26) suggest that masara (flint maize) was introduced to Bornu in the late 16th or early 17th century when contacts with Egypt seem to have been strong.

Irrigated fields also bear many secondary crops on an almost year round basis. These include kurchi (Kb.) or cucumber, planted between rows of beans, n'qita (Kb.) or hot pepper, dangali (Kb.), a variety of sweet potato, and sagade (Kb.) or gourd. Potatoes are planted from July to January. Tomatoes sown in January are picked in May. Onions may be grown from December to April and melons from November to April (cf. Le Rouvreur 1962 : 96).

From N'jigada northwards, wadis are often partly occupied (See Figure 9) by date-palm groves (diina - Kb., tamr - Ar., Phoenix dactylifera). Some fig, lemon and banana may also be found. Dates are collected between July and August when grain is at its scarcest. This crop is thus of particular interest in North Kanem where water resources allow fewer complementary irrigated cultures than in the South.

As early as the beginning of the 19th century, polders were created in the inlets of Lake Chad to extend cultures requiring a humid soil. Dikes 50 to 100 m long, 2 - 3 m high and 2 m wide were erected across channels (Bouquet 1974 : 99). The water in the blocked-off section would evaporate leaving a deposit of rich alluvium. The dikes, which lasted some 8 to 10 years, then prevented flooding during subsequent rises in water level. After this period, the dikes were broken to allow for

refertilisation over 3 to 4 years and were then repaired. According to Decalo (1977: 221- 222) :

"available land for the creation of polders is estimated at around 60,000 hectares of which 30,000 are under use; of the later 9,000 are actually under crop, the remainder either dry or being refertilised."

Small polder plots of about 35 ares are distributed among local farmers. Maize output on these attain 3,600 kg/ha (Bouquet 1974 : 105). The average individual wadi plot covers only 25 ares, but wheat outputs may reach 2,000 - 2,200 kg/ha on the actually cultivated surfaces (One quarter of the total surface is "lost" to small earthen separations which form a grid pattern considered most efficient for shadoof irrigation.) (cf. Bouquet 1974 : 94-95).

As polders, or to the North, rainfilled wadis dry out, farmers cultivate closer and closer toward the centre of the depression. Wells are progressively dug to irrigate the dried-up periphery. Both wadis and polders may, except in particularly long periods of drought, give three crops per year.

2.4. Gathering

The food resources to be gained by systematic gathering under circumstances of exceptional climatic duress offer a further margin of security to the population of Kanem. The fruit of the Kerchum (Kb.) (dum - Ar. - dum palm, Hyphaene thebaica) is ripe in January. It can either be eaten straightaway or dried and pounded into flour in May to July. This is equally true of the fruit of the Kurna (Kb.) (nabak - Ar.- juiube, Ziziphus mauritiana) which also ripens around February. By mixing the flour of the two with water, one obtains a firm gruel which, dried, is known as kuntu (Kb.) The pulp of the n'golo (Kb.) (fruit of the kon'ge (Kb.) i.e. hijelij (Ar.), desert date, Balanites aegyptiaca) is eaten raw

as, on occasion, is that of the jujube.

From December to March, especially in the North, gum resin is used as food. Of the many varieties of gum trees to be tapped, the most important are the kul(k)ul (Kb.) (Kittir abyad - Ar. - Acacia senegal), the k'ndil (Kb.) (Kittir 'Azraq - Ar. - Acacia nilotica or Arabica). The kulul grows in interdunary depressions whereas the Acacia laeta flourishes in the finer sand of dune tops.

Mixed with water, the ashes of Salvadora persica, branches and leaves furnish a vegetable salt deposit after evaporation of the solution. The berries of this shrub are comestible as are those of the kurna tree (Ziziphus spina-christi). The seed of the mojer (Boscia senegalensis) or the abundant grain of kreb grasses (generic name for Sahelian gramineae, particularly Dactyloctenium aegyptium), which grow during the rainy season, may be prepared as millet porridge if this staple is lacking. In former times, ostrich eggs were also sought. Honey combs are collected in large empty gourds left in the bush for this purpose. In certain inlets along the northeastern shores of the Lake, women collect and dry in the sand a blue alga known as dihé (Kb.) (Spirulina platensis) which gives over 3000 calories per kilogramme when dry. In this form, it contains between 40 and 50 % of protein.

Other substantial sources of protein are to be found in dried fish from the islands as well as in domestic poultry, guinea fowl and other small game.

3. Kanemi cattle husbandry

Up to 1969 and even since the beginning of the 1970's drought cycle, Kanem préfecture has been the most important cattle-raising area in Chad. Cattle density in the Lake préfecture is also very high. Bovine herds are principally composed of Arab and Fulani varieties of Bos indicus

in the peninsular zone. On the islands and lakeshore, the so-called Kuri cow, a variety of Bos Taurus characterised by a very thick horn base, is predominant. Cross-breeding of the two types is increasingly common.

The evaluation of total herd size and composition for Kanem is rendered difficult by the fact that the French and later the Chadian administration used cattle wealth as a basis for taxation. This practice was an unwelcome innovation in relation to the plunderable but tax-free status of herds in pre-colonial Kanem. Fiscal considerations have led to a gross underestimation of herd importance. Reports by veterinary services were, on the contrary, often two to five times higher than taxable figures although they sometimes exaggerated in the opposite sense. 1969 livestock distribution figures quoted by Decalo (1977 : 75) give 1,000,000 cattle for Kanem préfecture and 250,000 for the Lake préfecture. Bouquet (1974 : 119) gives comparable Chadian **Veterinary service** estimates of 1,100,000 bovines for Kanem and 270,000 for the Lake (Year unspecified).

TABLE 57 : Estimates of Livestock numbers in 1971

	Cattle	Sheep/ Goats	Horses	Camels	Donkeys	Pigs
KANEM	1,100,000	800,000	20,000	60,000	70,000	1,000
LAC	270,000	100,000	5,000	2,000	10,000	-
TOTAL	1,370,000	900,000	25,000	62,000	80,000	1,000

Source : World Bank, 1974.

It is important to break these general figures down by ethnic group. Le Rouvreur's (1962 : 98) estimation of the Kanembu-owned cattle population (1958 figures) is based on a considered view of veterinary statistics and personal observation.

TABLE 58 : Kanembu herd populations by district

KANEMBU POPULATION	DISTRICT	BOVINES	DONKEYS	HORSES	DROMEDA -RIES	OVINES & CAPRINES
32,000	Mao	100,000	10,000	3,000	3,000	60,000
15,000	Bol	35,000	2,000	300	100	12,000
16,000	Massakory	30,000	2,000	1,000	200	25,000
8,000	Mussoro	10,000	1,000	300	50	5,000
71,000	Totals	175,000	15,000	4,600	3,350	102,000

Source : Le Rouvreur, 1962.

Bouquet (1974 : 84) estimates the number of bovines per inhabitant at 2.8 among the insular Buduma, 1.7 among the Kanembu of Liwa and N'galea and 1.2 among the Kuri of Isserom. Comparisons of the human and bovine populations given by Le Rouvreur (1962 : 98) indicate Kanembu herd wealth of 3.0 head per person in the Mao district, 2.3 in the Bol district, 1.9 at Massakory and 0.8 at Mussoro.

During a year with normal rainfall and which is exempt from any natural catastrophe, 10% may be advanced as an average natural increase in herd size. 1954 estimates quoted by Le Rouvreur (1962 : 98) indicate that, on the negative side, sickness alone accounted for losses totalling 6% of the herd population. The causes of death may be distinguished as follows : anthrax 3%, em lukma (unidentified disease), 2% , and rinderpest 1%. Losses to hyena depredation accounted for another 1% of fatalities and, still for the same year, sacrificial killings purportedly reached 2.6%. Commercialisation was judged to have reached 3% of the herd population. Total herd reduction thus reached an estimated 12.6% as opposed to a 10% natural increase.

"Exceptional" factors of bovine mortality are often responsible for much greater losses over short periods. The flooding of Lake Chad from

1954 to 1956 is believed to have caused 25% to 30% losses among Buduma herders (Bouquet 1974 : 87). The 1973 drought peak entailed horrendous mortality. Decalo (1977 : 74), apparently quoting official sources, reports that :

"over 15% of Chad's cattle perished in the north ...Many young and pregnant cattle were, moreover, sold to Nigeria in an effort to salvage at least some profits from the rapidly decimated herds. It has been conservatively estimated that it would probably take at least a decade to raise Chad's herds to their former size."

Veterinarians working along the eastern shore zones for the Lake Chad Basin Commission in 1973 and 1974 have reported (personal communications) local losses averaging from 25% along the southern shores of the Lake to as much as 90% in North Kanem. My own attempt to estimate herd losses from 1971 to 1974 in thirty villages between N'jigada and N'guri suggest losses from 30% to over 60% (cf. also Gallais 1977 and Clanet 1977). The persistence of arid conditions from 1975 to 1980 has certainly either compounded these deaths or, at best, impeded active herd reconstitution. Prolonged droughts provoke massive southward movements of nomads' and semi-nomadic herders' animals to the grasslands of South Kanem. This creates over concentration of animals on those riverain pastures controlled by the Kanembu and other sedentary groups and, furthermore, exposes unadapted northern herds to disease in the tsetse-infested regions of the lacustral periphery.

In pre-colonial times, raids and tribute exaction also constituted major sources of herd depredation. French archives attest that cattle raiding continued well in to the 1930's. During the first decades of this century, the colonial authority imposed a cash head-tax on cattle which forced most herders to sell some beasts in order to meet their obligations.

Kanembu herding is mainly characterised by its sedentary nature. The only notable migration is the annual natron cure. During this period of less than a fortnight, herds are brought to the wadis around Safay,

N'gurulie, Leni or Bir Tine (Le Rouvreur 1962 : 88). During the remainder of the year, from November to June, the herds pasture within a 5 km radius around the herd owner's village; the animals are brought for the night to the dune fields to ensure fertilisation. Such intensive movements on a reduced area are not solely beneficial : certain experts believe, according to Le Rouvreur (1962 : 88), that the quantities of pasture grass stamped into the sand during the animals roamings are superior to the amount actually eaten. The sedentary stationing of herds thus severely limits cattle carrying capacity in densely populated areas. Under conditions of sufficient rainfall c. 1960, it was estimated that 100,000 head of cattle were concentrated in a 35 km belt between Dibinenchi and Mondo (Le Rouvreur 1962 : 88). Under drought conditions which recur at periodic intervals, the arrival of hungry herds from North Kanem may upset the grass/animal ratio in such a fashion as to contribute to mortality rates comparable to those observed in 1972-73 in a matter of months.

Le Rouvreur estimates that in South Kanem an average herd includes some 42, but never more than 50, beasts (Le Rouvreur 1962 : 88). This author's figures for the Mao district suggest a cattle population of about three zebus per person in Central Kanem:

"That amounts ... to a herd of thirty zebus for a family including, for example, the husband, a wife and her mother, another wife, and six children... This is a figure which may appear considerable, but of thirty animals barely half are adult cows and of the latter, only half again give milk at any given time." (Le Rouvreur 1962 : 88)

(My translation)

A Kuri cow weighing about 500 kg can, when productive, give some 8 - 10 litres of milk per day under normal climatic conditions (cf. Fuchs 1966 : 77). It must of course, be noted with relation to the recent drought that:

"Under the prevailing harsh conditions, calves and humans increasingly competed for the same milk supply during the dry season."

(World Bank 1974 : 17)

My inquiries in the N'jigdada - DibinENCHI - N'guri area indicate lower herd size and important differentials in the distribution of herds between persons of greater and lesser wealth. In villages of poor dependent cultivators after the 1973 drought peak, many, if not most, heads of family did not own a single head of cattle (cf. Chapter 7).

The possible causes of mortality just discussed, the dangers of pasture saturation in densely populated agricultural areas, and the socially unequal distribution of herds make it understandable that the importance of cattle raising varies significantly in South Kanem on a cyclical basis. During the later part of the 19th century, civil war also contributed much to the decimation of Kanemi herds. Reports on Kanemi animal husbandry confirm such trends. Barth (1965 II: 248) notes of northwestern Kanem where intensive bovine and ovine herding has long held a greater role in the economy than in the South:

"The Kanembu, like the Fulbe, go with their herds to great distance during certain seasons of the year; and all the cattle from the places about Ngörnu northward are to be found in these quarters (i.e. around the Komaduqu Yobe) during the cold season."

Le Rouvreur (1962 : 92), quoting oral accounts which were confirmed to me, relates that Kanem was almost empty of cattle in 1899 at the arrival of the French. Such fluctuations, typical of many Sahelian situations, lead to high price variations for cattle as well as shifts in the importance of cattle as a capital good.

4. The agro-pastoral balance

When millet and other staple grains are plentiful or only locally or relatively rare, cattle, though only "semi-durable", offer a potential for longer term savings and capital accumulation. At the end of the dry season or during periods of moderate scarcity, people holding large stocks of staples may advantageously convert them into cattle. During prolonged droughts, however, millet continues to rise in price beyond the point at

which cattle begin to lose value due to their lack of transportability, milk-giving capacity and reproductive potential. To give an idea of an extreme situation, in 1973, a koro of millet (unit of measure equivalent to approximately 2.5 kg of grain) was sold for as much as 250 francs C.F.A. (£1.00 = c. 500 francs C.F.A.,) whereas many untransportable cows were being "given away" for as little as 500 F. This contrasts to the situation recorded by Le Rouvreur (1962 : 103) in 1957, a plentiful year. One koro of millet was then sold for 40 francs C.F.A., while a cow varied in price between 4 and 6000 francs C.F.A. The convertability ratios of cows and millet thus varied in these two instances from $1/2$ to $1/100$ - 150 respectively.

As clearly confirmed by my own observations, the smaller the herd, the more difficult it becomes for a pastoralist to survive such catastrophes. After the losses recorded in 1973, many poor cattle holders were forced to return to exclusive millet cultivation in the hope of achieving such profit as necessary to reconstitute the nucleus of family herd. Lack of rain since 1975 as well as lack of fertilizer due to reduction in herd size make this a difficult goal to achieve.

Large herd owners retain a greater capacity to ensure timely conversion of cattle into staple grains and grain into money - and then vice versa - under almost any circumstances of climatic hardship. At many periods, cattle husbandry may only be a secondary resource in relation to agriculture, yet its socio-political regulation constitutes a class boundary enforcing mechanism which has survived many changes in the formal balance of political power in Kanem over the last century. The balance between herding and agriculture from class to class is regulated by a complex and long-established taxation system which today still guarantees the upwards circulation of large quantities of millet while avoiding the taxation of herds. Surplus staple production upon which cattle accumulation is largely dependent, is further limited by the lack of collective silho facilities such as those which

the French attempted to maintain, in contrast with subsequent Chadian governments. The relation between staple production and cattle wealth underpins the Kanemi system of social stratification. I thus further refer to this situation in studying the Kanemi economy and the complex agricultural taxation system which stifles its development (cf. Chapter 4), as well as in examining the distribution of cattle in relation to Duu (cf. Chapter 7) and Kanembu (cf. Chapter 10) marriage prestations and strategies.

APPENDIX 2

THE ETHNIC, CLAN AND LINEAGE AFFILIATIONS OF THE VILLAGES OF EIGHT
SOUTH KANEM CHIEFTAINCIES.

	KANEMBU	DUU	DAZA	ARAB	OTHERS	TOTAL
N'JIGDADA	46	8	0	0	0	54
DIBINENCHI	81	25	6	0	0	112
BADERI	30	1	4	0	0	35
N'GURI	44	23	4	1	1	73
YALITA	47	20	0	0	0	67
DOKORA	6	35	2	0	0	43
AM DOBAK	60	39	1	0	1	101
MOLIMARI	0	63	0	0	0	63
TOTAL	314	214	17	1	1	548

Chieftaincy: N'JIGDADA 54 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage: Kanembu Kogona Sharu

Kanembu	Kogona	Sharu	3			
"	"	Tomari	2			
"	"	Dimeru	1		7	7
"	"	Bornya	1			
Kanembu	Kajidi			34		
"	N'gijim	?	2			
"	"	Kalero	1	3		39
"	Kubri			2		
Duu	Choronia			1		
"	Dii			1		
"	Kei			1		
"	Kubri			1		
"	Lera			1		
"	Maira			1	8	
"	Moloru			1		
"	Yeya			1		
						8

Chieftaincy : DIBINENCHI

112 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage:

Kanembu N'gijim N'gaye

Kanembu	N'gijim	N'gaya	15			
"	"	Kada	9			
"	"	Wolia	7			
"	"	Dileu	6			
"	"	Kedetia	5			
"	"	Mawa	4	54	54	
"	"	Keleru	3			
"	"	Bar Kura	2			
"	"	Mangana	2			
"	"	Tana	1			
Kanembu	Galao	Bineu	?			81
"	"	Dilia	?			
"	"	Maraya	?	16		
"	"	Sulo	?			
"	Rudou			4	27	
"	Kei			2		
"	Bade			1		
"	Kajidi			1		
"	N'gala			1		
"	Sarao			1		
"	Twari			1		
Duu	Tira	Dalaya	1			
"	"	Kalekoraya	1			
"	"	Kalewolia	1	4		
"	"	Maladia	1			
"	Yeya	Kalaya	2			
"	"	Kalekoraya	1	4		
"	"	Koria	1			
"	Tana			3		
"	Goya			2		
"	Kafa	Guju		2	25	25
"	Kei			2		
"	Seseya			2		
"	Baria			1		
"	Galao			1		
"	Kajidi			1		
"	Kakuluru			1		
"	Moluru			1		
"	Sutu			1		
Daza	Diri			2		
"	Karta			2		
"	Yemaya			1	6	6
"	Rudou			1		

Chieftaincy : BADERI

35 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage

Kanembu Bade

Kanembu	Bade		15	15	
Kanembu	Magemi		4		
"	Kogona		3		
"	Kanku		2		
"	Bareu		1		
"	Duwa		1	15	30
"	Kei		1		
"	Kubri		1		
"	Mawi		1		
"	Tira		1		
Duu	Seseya		1	1	1
Daza			4	4	4

Chieftaincy : N'GURI

73 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage :

Duu Darke Yunaya

Duu	Darka		7	7	
Duu	Ayeru		5		
"	Kei		4		
"	Kuuri		3	16	23
"	Kumbariu		2		
"	Bade		1		
"	Goya	Kawlia	1		
Kanembu	Bareu		12		
"	Rudou		8		
"	Dieu		5	33	
"	Bade		4		
"	Kanku		4		44
Kanembu	Deya		3		
"	Kogona		3		
"	Magemi		3	11	
"	Chiriu		1		
"	Kingiriu		1		
Daza	Adura		1		
"	Ciriu		1	4	4
"	Tau		1		
"	?		1		
Arab	Beni Wall		1	1	1
Hausa			1	1	1

Chieftaincy : YALITA

67 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage : Duu Rea Kadia

Duu	Rea	Teteya	6			
"	"	Kadia	2			
"	"	Waria	2	12	12	
"	"	Biremia	1			
"	"	Kania	1			20
Duu	Bara	Keyena		3		
"	Adia	Fachaya	1			
"	"	Karia	1	2	8	
"	Kakuluru			1		
"	Kanku			2		
Kanembu	Twari	?	15			
"	"	Keria	4	21		
"	"	Barabara	2			
"	Sarao			9		
"	N'gijim			4		
"	Kangina			3		
"	Magemi			3	47	
"	Bernom			2		47
"	Dieri			2		
"	Bade			1		
"	Bareu	Shareo		1		
"	Galao			1		

Chieftaincy: DOKORA

43 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage : Duu Darka Musaya

Duu	Darka	Musaya	6			
"	"	Kuria	3			
"	"	Medalaya	3			
"	"	Kernaya	2	18	18	
"	"	Moloru	2			
"	"	Guria	1			
"	"	Yunaya Kalamia	1			
Duu	Kakuluru	Daudia		4		
"	Kanku	?	2			
"	"	Guria	1	3		
"	N'jaliu	Karea	2			
"	"	Sarao	1	3	17	
"	Danga	Karea		2		
"	Kei	Kalea	1			
"	"	Kalkalao	1	2		
"	Bara	Kania		1		
"	Bodasa	Malan'gaya		1		
"	Kubri			1		
Kanembu	N'jaliu	Kanemburu	1			
"	"	Musuru	1	2		
"	Bade	N'deresia		1	6	
"	Kangina			1		
"	Kanku	Bora Kalea		1		
"	Sarao	Bar N'gaya		1		
Daza	Medelea			1	2	
"	Warda			1		2

Chieftaincy : AM DOBAK

101 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage : Duu Dieri Kerebongona

Duu	Dieri	Salia	4			
"	"	Adamia	2			
"	"	Bongoya	2			
"	"	Filalao	2	15	15	
"	"	Kakulua	2			
"	"	Kia	2			
"	"	Kerebongona	1			
Duu	Bareu	Bar Chulumia	8			
"	"	Maramadia		12		
"	"	Bar Chulumia	2			
"	"	N'gafia	2			
"	"	Tongori	1			
Duu	Kakuluru	?	1	2		
"	"	Musaya	1			
"	Magami	Sewa	1	2		
"	"	Galjaya	1			
"	Aseru	Bar Chulumbu		1	24	
"	Bodaea			1		
"	B'rao	Gumsaya		1		
"	Ayeru	Dalaya		1		
"	Goya	Kawlia		1		
"	Kafa			1		
"	Kuuri	Tiria		1		
"	Yeyimbo			1		
Kanembu	Galao	Dalaya	6			
"	"	Malaya	6	16		
"	"	Malru	4			
"	Dieri	Kafuya	7			
"	"	Gadiu	2	10		
"	"	Kiya	1			
"	Dieu	Malru	4	5		
"	"	Dalaya	1			
"	Kore			4		
"	Kangu	N'garao		4		
"	N'gala			4		
"	N'jaliu	Karaya	2			
"	"	Kanemburu	1	3	60	60
"	Bareu	Seyu		2		
"	Kafa			2		
"	Twari	Kereya		2		
"	Bade	Tomosu		1		
"	B'rao	Burkuyu		1		
"	Kajidi			1		
"	Kangina	Maradalaya		1		
"	Kogona	Dalaya		1		
"	Magami	Yawru		1		
"	Serao			1		
"	Tadsu			1		
Daza	Kalamia			1	2	2
Felata				1		

Chieftaincy : MOLIMARI (N'dingororom)

63 village headmanships

Politically dominant lineage :

Duu Bara Moliמודuru

Duu	Bara	Moliמודuru	8			
"	"	Culumia	2	13	13	
"	"	Kania	2			
"	"	Maladamia	1			
Duu	Adia	?	10	12		
"	"	Keria	2			
"	Magemi	?	6	8		
"	"	Galjaya	2			
"	Kuuri			4		
"	Kakuluru			3		
"	Kei			3		
"	Muliamusaru			3		
"	Bodassa			2		
"	Kanku			2		
"	N'jaliu			2	50	63
"	Tira			2		
"	Kawlya			1		
"	Kubri			1		
"	Jula			1		
"	Lera			1		
"	Lukuya			1		
"	Mana			1		
"	N'gurodimeru			1		
"	Twari			1		
"	Yeyimbo			1		

APPENDIX 3

PRE-STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL INTERPRETATIONS OF ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY
IN THE MUSLIM WORLD FROM BURCKHARDT (1830) TO GRANQVIST (1931).

Following publications by Barth (1954), Patai (1955), and Murphy and Kasdan (1959), Ayoub notes in a 1959 article that :

"There has been within recent years a new and repeated recognition of the existence of preferred patrilateral parallel cousin marriage in patrilineal societies in the Moslem Middle East"

Ayoub (1959 : 266)

The author observes with regard to this form of marriage that her purpose:

"is not to question its truth but instead to question the extravagant weight which it has received to the neglect of the greater configuration of which it is but the most startling instance. The contention is that preferred patrilateral parallel cousin marriage, that is father's brother's daughter's marriage, is better seen as but the most extreme expression of an overall pattern of preferred endogamy - endogamy at almost every level of social organisation which society recognizes."

Ayoub (1959 : 266)

Questioning the primacy of the principle of patrilineal descent, Ayoub (1959 : 266, n. 2) asks "whether a society in which the preferred type of marriage is within the kin group can be termed anything else than bilateral ?"

Why indeed did research on preferential FBD marriage have to be revived in the 1950's ? Why did its study often obscure that of other forms of consanguineal marriage ? Why was its geographic area of observation restricted to the "Moslem Middle East" where it often tended to be construed as a "consequence" of Islam ? What are the connotations and implications of the word 'preference' in this debate ? Finally, how is it that endogamy became largely equated with preferential patrilateral parallel cousin marriage and dissociated from the complementary practice of exogamy ?

Writings of the 1940's and 1950's on Arab Islamic societies contrast markedly with the characterisations of Sahelian African societies by contemporary anthropologists of structural-functional inclination.

Greenberg's 1947 article entitled 'Islam and clan organisation among the Hausa' is symptomatic of the manner in which the ethnography of the peoples of the "Muslim Middle East" was judged to be irrelevant for the African context on the basis of an a priori theoretical judgement concerning the nature of preferential patrilineal parallel cousin marriage, its relationship to rules of descent and the implications of Islam for social organisation. Greenberg (1947 : 193 - 194) contrasts the prevalently endogamous nature of Arab and Berber clans with African "clan exogamy". He portrays the advent of Islam as having entailed a process of transformation of the Hausa clan system and posits : "the extinction of clan structures among the fully assimilated (Hausa Muslims)" (Greenberg 1947 : 207). Greenberg argues:

"One of the most striking differences between the clans of recent converts and the Pagan Hausa is that the former are no longer exogamous; marriage within the clan is allowed though not required. The pagan cross-cousin marriage is replaced by the favoured Moslem form of parallel cousin marriage between the children of two brothers. The loss of clan exogamy is everywhere found immediately after conversion and it is one of the first effects".

(Greenberg 1947 : 207)

In this passage, the assimilation of parallel cousin marriage and endogamy on the one hand, and cross-cousin marriage and exogamy on the other, is very clear. Endogamy and exogamy are considered as exclusive categories. Similarly, Islam and "Paganism" are opposed and casually associated with contrasting forms of preferential consanguineal unions. Greenberg, apparently ignoring the consequences of profound social and political change in then British-occupied Nigeria, observes that, "one of the results of conversion is the almost immediate lapse of the political functions of the clan" (Greenberg 1947 : 208). Leaving this gaping omission aside, one could reply that very little evidence is available from any Sudan society concerning the presumed process of evolution from "preferential cross-cousin marriage" in a "unilineal exogamous clan system" to "preferential parallel cousin marriage" in a "unilineal endogamous clan system". In view of this

important lacuna, we are all the more bound to examine the logical foundations of these two "complementary" propositions. Both statements stem directly from the functionalist postulate of the primacy of descent over all other relations of kinship and affinity and the consequent "preferential" character of a single type of consanguineal marriage deducible from a given rule of descent. This position ipso facto tended to exclude from ethnographies the study of all consanguineal unions which did not correspond to the preferred type, as well as non-consanguineal unions.

Ayoub, in contrast to Greenberg, emphasises the excessive attention given to the category of union privileged by the rule of descent. She does, however, share with Greenberg a certain ambiguity in the use of the term "preferential". These authors do not clearly distinguish between the ideology of unilineal descent and the effective social organisation of societies which proclaim such a principle or, as Scheffler (1966 : 548) phrases it, "between indigenous ideological forms such as concepts and rules, and the forms of social transactions which may be conceptualized and regulated by rules." While correctly perceiving the potentially bilateral character of kin groups in which preferred FBD marriage is practised, Ayoub does not examine non-preferential unions on an equal footing.

In earlier years, as noted in Chapter 1, Evans-Pritchard himself, having formulated a model of segmentary unilineal exogamous clans in Nuerland (Evans-Pritchard 1940), went on totally to ignore the nature and implications of consanguineal marriage among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica (Evans Pritchard 1949). It is possible that the ascendancy of the Nuer paradigm contributed to later ethnographies ignoring that Middle Eastern and North African Arabs, both sedentary and nomadic, as well as many peoples of the Sudanic belt practise multiple forms of consanguineal marriage and an often higher proportion of non-consanguineal unions. In spite of the central importance of the agnatic principle in group formation, in the transmission of offices

and property and in many other fields, we have observed that Kanembu kinship terminology and marital customs allow for all the practices just mentioned. Are the Kanembu any different in this respect from dozens of other Sudanic groups or indeed from the archetypal Badawi of Jabal Shammar or the Nejd ?

Before attempting to substantiate the preceding commentary by the chronological examination of pre-structural-functional interpretations of endogamy and exogamy in Muslim societies, it may be useful to recapitulate Koranic norms regarding consanguineal marriage. As Greenberg remarks: "The change in marriage preference among the Hausa is all the more remarkable since Islamic law neither forbids cross-cousin marriage nor requires that between parallel cousins" (Greenberg 1947 : 208). In effect it is stated in the Qur'ān (Surat al-Nisā'; 4 : 23 - 24):

"And marry not those women whom your fathers married ... Forbidden to you are your mothers, and your daughters, and your sisters and your fathers' sisters, and your mothers' sisters and your brothers' daughters, and your sisters' daughters, and your (foster) mothers that have given you suck, and your foster-sisters and the mothers of your wives and your step daughters, who are your wards being born of your wives to whom you have gone in - but if you have not gone in unto them, there is no blame on you - and the wives of your sons that are from your loins; and (it is forbidden to you) to have two sisters (in marriage)..."

The only direct reference to cousin marriage in the Qur'ān is to be found in Surat al-Ahzab (33 : 51) which sets forward the marital dispensations applicable to the Prophet Mohammed :

"O Prophet ! We have made lawful to thee/the daughters of thy paternal uncle, and the daughters of thy paternal aunts, and the daughters of thy maternal uncle, and the daughters of thy maternal aunts ..." /

/ بَنَاتِ عَمِّكَ وَبَنَاتِ عَمَّاتِكَ وَبَنَاتِ خَالَكَ وَبَنَاتِ خَالَاتِكَ /

This passage would be literally interpreted as implying that no one but Mohammed should engage in the types of consanguineal unions listed.

It may be noted that the only "contradictions" observed in Kanembu marital practice vis-à-vis Koranic norms are the occasional marriage of a man to his FZ or to a "cousin" of another generation, who will be correctly

addressed as "aunt" or "niece". This is not peculiar to Kanembu society, having been observed, inter alia among the Kababish Arabs described by the Seligmans (1918 : 138).

Descriptions of FBD marriage among the Arabs may be found in travellers' accounts published in the early 19th century. Burckhardt comments on the "preferential" character of cousin-right FBD marriage in his 1830 work on the Bedouin and Wahabi :

"A man has an exclusive right to the hand of his cousin; he is not obliged to marry her, but she cannot without his consent, become the wife of another person."
Burckhardt (1830 : 64).

It is clear from Burckhardt's writings that the choice of a spouse is not solely determined by genealogical criteria and lineage affiliation; social inequalities and professional specialisation also regulate marriage patterns. In contrast to the Kanembu, the "Aneze" (عَنِيزَة) Bedouin

"always abstain from cohabitation with their female slaves, but ... marry them to their male slaves ... The slaves, though emancipated, still retain the stamp of servile origin... The descendants of slaves intermarry among themselves, and among the szona or workmen who have married in their tribe." (Burckhardt 1830 : 103).

Burckhardt describes a rather complex system of social stratification in which the position of artisans is no less stigmatised than in Kanem. Manual occupations with the exception of tanning and weaving, agriculture, are regarded as degrading by the pastoralist (Burckhardt 1830 : 37).

These socio-professional divisions were enforced by several endogamic barriers between groups :

"The Aneze never intermarry with the szona, handicraftsmen or artisans; nor do they ever marry their daughters to Fellahs, or inhabitants of towns."
(Burckhardt 1830 : 63)

Aneze marital patterns parallel the division of labour in their society. The norms governing consanguineal marriage are applied separately within each endogamic category. The only possibility of intermarriage between Arab and Black occurs between the two lowest socio-economic groups, namely

the artisans, the slaves and their respective descendants. The freeing of a slave does not exempt that person or his offspring from respecting the endogamic barriers which delimit his stratum of origin.

Subsequently, both Lane (1836, 1839) and Burton (1855) were to comment on Arab cousin marriage. Lane (1836 : 62, n.11) recognises the preferential character of FBD unions : "A cousin (the daughter of a paternal uncle) is often chosen as a wife, on account of the tie of blood, which is likely to attach her more strongly to her husband."

In his 1885 Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, Robertson Smith made an important step forward by examining marriage patterns in relation to the clan rather than solely in terms of a genealogical category. Robertson Smith presents every marriage as implying a decision as to the desirable social distance between spouses, and argues that this question cannot be resolved in function of an ideologically valorised genealogical criterion alone :

"There is ample evidence that there was no law of endogamy among the Arabs at and before the time of Mohammed; they could contract valid marriages and get legitimate children by women of other stocks, i.e. of other tribes. There is also evidence that parents were often unwilling to give their daughters to be possible mothers of enemies to their tribe. This reluctance however, would not greatly diminish the frequency of marriages with aliens, since women were continually captured in war and marriages with captives were of constant occurrence. Moreover, a man might often find a wife by agreement in a friendly tribe where there could be no political reason for the woman's kin objecting to the match. So far as the husband was concerned, marriage with a woman not of the kin was often preferred, because it was thought that the children of such a match within the havy (clan) led to ugly family quarrels ... And to a woman's kin, ... the price paid by a husband was often important ... It does not seem likely that strict endogamy was practised by any Arab tribe in historical times. For the capture of women was always going on in the incessant wars that raged between different groups, and there was also an extensive practice of female infanticide. These two causes taken together would render a law of endogamy almost impossible when every tribe was anxious to have many sons to rear up as warriors."

(Robertson Smith 1885 : 60-61)

The implications of Robertson-Smith's statement on the study of Arab marriage practices remain of fundamental theoretical importance. Descent group endogamy is practised but is not exclusive. Endogamy and exogamy co-exist within the same social unit, thus allowing each group to maintain its social distinctiveness through selective in-marriage while maintaining necessary marriage exchange, either reciprocal or not, with other comparable component units of the polity.

Unfortunately, the potential theoretical consequences of Robertson-Smith's insights were ignored by the functionalist school in spite of the weighty arguments and convincing ethnographic observations which were advanced to substantiate them between 1893 and 1931. The categorical character of the rule of endogamy masked the relative character of the social practices it legitimated.

The German orientalist, Julius Wellhausen, was certainly the most original proponent of the thesis of complementary rather than categorical opposition of the practices of endogamy and exogamy. In his remarkable and little-read study of 1893, Die Ehe bei den Arabern, he notes that ibn 'amm (ابن عم), FBS, and bint 'amm (بنت عم), FBD, are reciprocally entitled to make first claim for each other's hand. The author immediately qualifies this statement by observing that the ibn 'amm (FBS) category must not be misconstrued as in antithetical or in binary opposition to that of ibn khāl (ابن خال), MBS. Nor, he adds, must the category of 'patrilateral kinsman' be set in strict opposition to that of 'matrilateral kinsman'. For the Arab, the relevant opposition is between the native or in-born person in contrast to the alien, the outsider (Wellhausen 1893 : 436 - 437). Wellhausen takes the biliteral root 'ain - mim (عم) in its senses of 'general', 'common', 'public', 'people', rather than giving exclusive consideration to the derived themes 'amm (عم), plur. 'umum (عموم) = FB or paternal uncle and

'amma (عَمَّة), plur. 'amat (عَمَّات) = FZ or paternal aunt (Wellhausen 1893 : 480 - 481). He is correct in insisting that bint 'amm is a person of the same clan, kindred or tribe and not only a F8D. This interpretation leads Wellhausen to conclude that ibn 'amm/bint 'amm marriage may not be simplistically reduced to a peculiar preference for a type of consanguineal union bringing together paternal kin to the exclusion of maternal kin, but must be seen as a preference for in-marriage or endogamy. The bride, according to Wellhausen's understanding of Arab marriage preferences, should not be chosen from outside of one's effective social circle. This perception of social, genealogical and spatial proximity does not here preclude a clear awareness of the importance of out-marriage or exogamy, as a complementary to endogamy. To marry a stranger or alien is perfectly legitimate in spite of any feuds which may prevail between the respective groups of origin of potential spouses.

The preference demonstrated for endogamy may derive from a parental desire to retain their daughter and her children nearby rather than allowing her to depart "among enemies" where little pressure could be exercised on the son-in-law (Robertson-Smith 1885 : 60 - 61; Wellhausen 1893 : 437). It is clear, particularly in a patrilineal, patrilocal and male-dominated society, that this parental motivation can inversely be reason enough for a man who is desirous of marrying to choose a bride from outside his own camp (Wellhausen 1893 : 437). At a higher level of consideration however, the collective duty of maintaining tribal solidarity may tend to pre-empt such personal considerations on the part of the potential husband. The effective diversity of marriage patterns will naturally reflect such contradictions of interest which weigh on an individual's choice between exogamy and endogamy. Where polygamy is possible, the choice becomes less constraining for the man. In the last instance, no superior authority can force a man to select one or the other option. The risk of exogamy is that, subsequently, the children of outside mothers may be divided

in their tribal or lineage loyalties, and this situation may offer inroads for the acquisition of excessive influence of mother and her kin in the husband's patrigrup. Wellhausen is careful not to equate agnatic recruitment in the lineage, inheritance practices and modes of transmission of office with the automatic political alignment of the son of a mixed marriage with his patrigrup (Wellhausen 1893 : 438).

The political risk of exogamy may be mitigated by the relative social equality of spouses' social statuses. Endogamy often presupposes such compatibility of rank which Wellhausen (1893 : 439), with reference to the Arab concept of kufu' (كفو = equal, comparable, a match for) renders by the German Ebenbürtigkeit. Its contrary, Nichtebenbürtigkeit, or the unequal social status of marriage partners, may occur not only between tribes but also within tribes, particularly between competing lineages or families of larger patrifocuseed groups. Wellhausen (1893 : 439) thus clearly reveals the structural interrelatedness of endogamy and exogamy on the one hand and hyper - iso - and hypogamy on the other. In other words, marital choices in regard to lineage affiliations and political relations between groups are directly influenced by and perpetuate prevailing relations of social stratification within and beyond the patrigrup. Hence, the symmetry of genealogical status of two cousins (ibn 'amm/bint 'amm) does not necessarily imply equality of status between them, in spite of the community of descent ties.

It is theoretically important that Wellhausen does not restrict his consideration of differential status of spouses by positing social equality within the descent group (Stamme; Sippe). He thus finds himself in a position to refine Burckhardt's view of impediments to marriage by jointly examining status differentials both among lineages of a clan or tribe and between social strata (Compare Burckhardt 1830 : 37, 63-64 & 103 and Wellhausen 1893 : 439). Descent group solidarity is not presented

as a sufficient condition of exclusive endogamy. Wellhausen's argument is further enhanced by his realisation that the rank ordering (Rangordnung) of clans and lineages within larger tribal groupings is "fluctuating" and "changeable" rather than "strict" and "universally recognised" (Wellhausen 1893 : 439). The author notes, however, that "at a given point in time" (my emphasis) a wider social consensus on group status does exist (Wellhausen 1893 : 439) and may influence marriage choices.

Other status differences are shown as constituting quasi-perpetual impediments to certain forms of intergroup and interstratum marriages. Their effect may be more or less restrictive and, on an intergenerational basis, more or less hereditary with regard to specific lines of descent. Marriages between free persons and slaves are categorically prohibited. Unions with a person of mixed blood or a freed slave are "loathed" among the free.... but not quite inconceivable. Marriages with persons of "alien" or "doubtful" origins in relation to one's clan cannot give rise to "noble" or "solid" relationships, but are not formally prohibited. Moreover, the effect of such relationships is not uniform for both sexes, in that males, especially nobles, may honourably contract hypogamous unions (Wellhausen 1893 : 439 - 440).

Having taken into account the social stratificational, political, religious and genealogical conditions of in-and out-marriage, Wellhausen postulates a high degree of reciprocal determination of these two apparently opposed modalities of marriage. He remarks that marriage restrictions and injunctions operate as if to render socially "dangerous" exogamy as similar as possible to the preferred but difficult option of endogamy. This leads to the hypothesis that endogamy under the circumstances described could be considered a precondition of qualified and restricted though not of generalised exogamy (Wellhausen 1893 : 439, n. 1). The supple manner in which Wellhausen portrays the practices of endogamy and exogamy as

necessarily complementary aspects of the marriage process brings to mind P. Bourdieu's questioning of their absolute conceptual opposition in modern anthropological works under the guise of rules:

"Marriage with a patrilateral parallel cousin ... appears as a sort of scandal in Claude Lévi-Strauss's terms only to those who have internalised the categories of thought which it disturbs. In challenging the idea of exogamy, the precondition for the continuation of separate lineages and for the permanence and easy identification of consecutive units, it challenges the whole notion of unilineal descent as well as the theory of marriage as an exchange of one woman against another, which assumes an incest taboo, i.e. the absolute necessity of exchange."
(Bourdieu 1977 : 30)

Unfortunately, the theoretical implications of Wellhausen's work were not drawn on by the ethnographers of Arab and Sudanic social organisation during the first four decades of the 20th century. In retrospect, we may indeed doubt to what extent Wellhausen's dynamic and structural approach could be fully grasped before the development of the segmentary lineage theory propounded by British functionalists which it implicitly challenges.

Nonetheleas, in his study of Arab and Berber marriage ceremonies in Morocco published in 1914, E. Westermarck bears out Wellhausen's observations to the effect that:

"cousin marriages served the purpose of strengthening the kinship tie, and that the same was the case with other marriages contracted within the same village. In Morocco, marriages between members of the same village are encouraged by the Berbers of the Rif, who, in order to keep away alien elements from the community, deny the right of inheritance to a woman who leaves her village; yet marriages between persons belonging to different villages are not rare among them. In most parts of Morocco such unions are of frequent occurrence. Much less frequent of course are marriages between members of different tribes; but even Berbers and Arabs sometimes intermarry when they come into much contact with each other."

(Westermarck 1914 : 56)

This commentary is of interest in that it illustrates the sexually selective economic restriction of female exogamy operating to reinforce patrilineality and patrilocality. Westermarck also clearly formulates the inverse relationship between exogamy, on the one hand, and socio-geographic proximity

on the other. Conversely, endogamy is reinforced by such proximity and *vice versa*.

Westermarck's description does however, challenge Wellhausen's (1893 : 439, n. 1) analysis on one crucial point :

"Strict endogamy is not unheard of in Morocco. The Ait Zihri, who are known for their exclusiveness, are reported to marry only between themselves and also to refrain from all sexual intercourse with strangers; and among the Ait Hassan, a fraction (*tāqbilt*) of the Ait Warāin, no stranger is even allowed to be present at a wedding. There are, moreover, prohibitions of intermarriage referring to some special tribes, subdivisions of tribes, or villages, in connection with other peculiarities in their social relationships."

(Westermarck 1914 : 57)

The reference to the Ait Zihre, or Zkara is based on Mouliéras' 1904 ethnography, Une Tribu Zénète Antimusulmane au Maroc (Les Zkara). Does Mouliéras really imply that the Zhara practise "strict endogamy" ?:

"Endogamy, that is the prohibition for one to marry outside of the tribe, is a rule, at least as far as marriage unions with Muslims are concerned, which does not bear exceptions. The hatred and disdain for the Mohammedan religion which the Zkara suck with their mother's milk, suffice to explain the insurmountable dread inspired to them by the very thought of any union at all with the partisans of he who dared say that the holy war for God's cause was the most meritorious of works after faith in God and his prophet."

(Mouliéras 1904 : 82-3 ; my translation)

Mouliéras pursues his argument by conceding that this religious endogamy is not absolute since unions between Zkara "libre-penseurs" and Jews and Christians have "come to be accepted" (Mouliéras 1904 : 82-3); this Westermarck does not mention. Many instances of religious impediments to intermarriage exist between non-Muslim minorities and Muslims all through North Africa and the Middle East (consider, in particular, the Ottoman period with its complex jurisprudence in this regard). This does, of course, define one very important endogamic barrier but does not imply "strict endogamy". Furthermore, the account of the "Christian-minded" French colonialist referred to by Westermarck can but shock by the author's religious bias. It does however, appear that the Zkara's refusal to adopt Islam is maintained and perpetuated in part thanks to highly developed,

though not exclusive endogamic practices. In this they do not differ in practice from many Sudanic Muslim groups or sub-groups:

"The Zkara may marry very close kin. They are only forbidden to marry their mothers and their sisters. With these two exceptions, unions are authorised between uncles and nieces, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, sons-in-law and mothers-in-law, fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law, men and women suckled at the same breast and first cousins. Granted the endogamy which has prevailed among these people for centuries, one can easily imagine that all of these natives are now consanguines and that these links of effective kinship are constantly being reinforced."

(Mouliéras 1904 : 83 : my translation)

One must, nonetheless, differentiate between highly developed networks of consanguineal relationships in a group or endogamous sub-group (which may equally occur with much tighter marriage prohibitions) and "strict" or normative, exclusive endogamy. An endogamic prescription backed by customs and sanctions of diverse orders, both internal and external to the group considered, can in effect prevent all marriages between neighbouring or even intermingled religious groups, social strata or castes. This norm does not exclude however, the existence of exogamic as well as endogamic practices at all other levels of social organisation such as lineages, villages or kin groups. Endogamy and exogamy must therefore be considered at all these levels as functions of prevailing rules and patterns of consanguinity, group affiliation, locality and political alliances.

Brenda and Charles Seligman's monograph on the Kababish Arabs of the Sudan, published in 1918, makes an important contribution towards such a pluri-functional approach by considering all the marriages contracted by the living members of a given community both individually and statistically. The Seligmans begin by indicating which endogamic barriers create divisions within nomadic tribes as well as between nomads and sedentaries:

"(Kababish) marriages with members of another tribe are uncommon, and even before the Mahdia, when the Kawahla and Shanabla were one with the Kababish, intermarriage was unusual. Marriage with sedentaries is so rare that it may be called occasional."

(C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 132)

The authors then proceed to consider marriages in terms of genealogical categories without affording exclusive attention to FBD unions. Thus, they do not fall into the trap so clearly indicated by Wellhausen of equating "bint 'amm/ibn 'amm" marriage or preference with consanguinity.

"Marriage (is) arranged with the father's brother's daughter (bint 'amm) in preference to any other ...as these first marriages are arranged by the parents while the children are quite young, the couple have no choice in the matter, but a man will arrange his own subsequent marriages. Unless a man's first wife were his bint 'amm, he could not afterwards marry a bint 'amm without divorcing his first partner, as the position of second to a woman of another family would not be considered of sufficient honour ...The mother's brother's daughter is said to be the next best marriage, and, failing her, the mother's sister's child would be considered."

(C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 132)

These statements are borne out by the data and commentary of the Seligmans offer on Kababish Nurab marriage patterns:

"Sixty marriages are recorded ... These ... include unions of 41 Nurab men with 57 women ... Three Nurab women ... whose marriages are not included in the analysis, married men of other tribes:

Marriages with the paternal uncle's daughter	19
" " " " " son's daughter	2
" " " " grandfather's brother's son's daughter	4
" " " " great grandfather's brother's great granddaughter (2 of these women are considered to belong to other Khašm biyût)	4
" " " " great great grandfather's brother's great granddaughter (considered as belonging to another khašm beyt)	1
" " " maternal uncle's daughter	1
" " " grandfather's brother's daughter's daughter	1
" " " father's sister	1
" " " Nurab women (some said to be of the family of Salim, and so probably related in paternal line, but relationship unclassified)	10
" " women of other divisions of the Kababish	10
" " women of other tribes	1
" " women of the Ghazai (<u>a formerly Kababish division</u>)	2
" " women of the sedentary division of the Kababish	1*

(C and B. Seligman 1918 : 138)

Several remarks must be made on this distribution:

1) 43 of 60 (57 + 3) marriages were concluded within the Nurab tribal division.

2) Of the 43 in-division marriages, 33 are presented by informants as consanguineal.

3) Of the 33 declared consanguineal unions, 30 are considered patrilineal and only two are given as matrilineal.

The distribution of consanguineal unions presents several theoretically relevant particularities:

a) "Where paternal grandfathers were brothers the offspring were regarded as though their fathers had been brothers." (C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 138). The terms ibn 'amm or bint 'amm are used to describe patrilateral uncles and aunts irrespective of the number of generations separating them from their linking agnatic ancestor. Although Arabs generally prefer a close cousin spouse to a distant one, the anthropologist's distinction between "real" and "classificatory" cousin is not here relevant in an absolute sense. The Seligmans add, however, that: "In these cases no attention was paid to the fact that one of the contracting parties might belong to a generation earlier than that of the other." (C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 138). Finally, the genealogical distance between spouses sometimes reaches such proportions that distantly related agnates come to belong to different kheshim buyut (= fractions or lineages; same etymology as the Kanembukanembu kifaday : "mouth" of the homes/houses), that is segmentary divisions of a formerly united descent group. Descent group endogamy and consanguinity thus may or may not fully coincide.

b) In this respect, the authors bring out the tautological but important proposition that consanguinity must be socially recognised, i.e. remembered and invoked, to be socially relevant. Consanguinity, endogamy and exogamy are not "objective", necessarily genealogically traceable (in contrast to legitimated) "realities". The memory and recognition of these practices are, moreover, selective : "Of the ten marriages recorded with unnamed Nureb women it is probable that the majority were between the children of two

brothers" (C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 139). This selectivity is coloured by male bias in the collection of data and, more generally, the control of genealogical knowledge. The authors identify this sensitive topic as one source of ambiguity in the interpretation of the term bint 'amm:

"These cases were mostly told us by men, and men do not usually remember the exact relationship of the women; if pressed they would probably say the woman in question was bint 'amm to her husband for all Nurab are awlad 'amm. To obtain more exact genealogical information it was always necessary to make inquiries from the women, and this was done as often as possible."

(C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 139)

c) The complete statistical enumeration of all marriages contracted by informants and the recording of all categories of consanguineal union allow the authors better to show the patrilineal bias in the presentation of Nurab consanguineal marriage patterns than their predecessors in former studies; this bias may be linked not only to selective genealogical memories and the multiple referents of the 'awlad 'amm' (أولاد عم) category but equally, to the mode and order of betrothal of children :

"The fact that only one marriage has been recorded with the maternal uncle's child is at first sight surprising, when it is remembered that the Kababish always say that this is the next best marriage if the father's brother's daughter is not available. The explanation for this apparent anomaly is really very simple; the children are betrothed while they are young, and the children of all the brothers are soon all promised. Though families are not large - except those of great men who keep harims - only sons are rare; as a rule a man will marry and remarry until several sons are born to him; so that it would be unusual for a man to have no brother whose daughters he might ask for his sons. If, however, a man should have no brothers, or his brothers should have no daughters, it is quite probable that though he might wish to arrange marriages for his sons with his sisters' daughters, they would be already promised to the sons of her husband's brothers, whose proposals would have the first consideration."

(C. and B. Seligman 1918 : 139)

The Seligmans' methodical, empirical approach to cousin marriage proved more fertile than Jausse's (1908), Westermarck's (1914: 53 - 59; 1921 : II: 35 - 239), Frazer's (1918 : 97 - 263) or indeed Musil's (1928 : 137 - 139) interpretations. All of them, considered with the benefit of hindsight, have shown themselves to be limited by their normative and

uncritical evaluation of "ibn 'amm" marriage. This, as Ayoub (1959) noted, leads to the isolation of this practice from the wider marriage system and social structure in relation to which it is meaningful. The successive oversights of these ethnographers are partly attributable to an inadequate linguistic perception of the full range of referents of the term "'amm" in spite of Doughty's (1888 I : 316) early hint and Wellhausen's (1893 : 436 - 437, 480 - 481) detailed analysis.

A careful reading of all her predecessors and exceptionally meticulous and sensitive ethnographic observation led H. Granqvist to offer a most detailed description of Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village (Granqvist 1931). It would be impossible to synthesise the vast case material she presents here; we will focus our attention on her Chapter 3, 'The Choice of a Bride' and notably, the section entitled "From which circles a bride is chosen" (Granqvist 1931 : 46 - 108 and 63 - 91, respectively). Granqvist opposes the "outer limit", as defined by differences of religion and race, to the "internal limit of marriage" based on the "exogamous rules of the Koran as to forbidden relationships of blood (consanguinity), affinity and fosterage." Between these two limits permitted consanguinity, clanship and locality intervene as the principle defining and distinguishing criteria:

"With the exception of the relatives who fall within the sphere of forbidden kinship, marriage between blood-relatives is much esteemed and the nearer the relationship, the more highly it is esteemed. A bride is chosen from three different groups; she is taken from the bridegroom's own clan (hamule), clan or hamule marriage - and is preferably a cousin; cousin marriage forms a special group of the clan marriages; or one chooses her from another clan but inside the village - village marriage; or one chooses her outside the village from another place - marriage with a "stranger" or a "foreigner".

The most important of these groups for the fellahin themselves is the first, especially cousin marriage, although it is not always easy to draw the boundary line between cousin marriage and clan marriage." (Granqvist 1931 : 66 - 67)

This assessment of the valorisation of different levels of endogamy among sedentary Palestinian Arabs is quite concordant with Wellhausen's insistence on the importance of descent group endogamy or iyal 'amm marriage:

"The importance of father's brother's son (ibn il-'amm) always being also a son of the clan is supported by the fact that no very strict division is made between the two ideas. Very near relatives are also often called "children of the clan" (ulād il-hamule). On the other hand, one says ibn il-'amm and bint il-'amm and perhaps means second cousin, or bride and bridegroom belong to different generations of the family ... Even in the case of more distant relationship, they speak of ibn il-'amm and bint il-'amm ..., although they are quite ready to use instead the expressions ibn il-hamule and bint il-hamule ... The important thing is the knowledge of a common origin."

(Granqvist 1931 : 79 - 80)

Granqvist is quick to recognise that the anthropologist will not arrive at an adequate appraisal of the fluctuations of the socially acknowledged limits between consanguinity and clanship by solely focussing on the institution of FBD marriage. The ideological determination of such recognition may vary situationally or through time, as may selective genealogical memory legitimating assertions of common blood:

"It is interesting to see that the fact of a common origin is not enough but people must be clearly conscious of it. As soon as the memory of the common ancestor becomes dim, the band by which blood relationship is conditioned begins to loosen."

(Granqvist 1931 : 80, n. 1)

The author is thus brought to present genealogical categories from a Palestinian Arab point of view. She insists on the qualitative difference of descent ties transmitted in the male as opposed to the female line and questions the relevance of the cross-versus parallel cousin opposition :

"Up to now in the question of cousin marriage we have only considered brother's children (ulād il-'amm). When it is a question of Arabic conditions, where the father's brother's son (ibn il-'amm) and the father's brother's daughter (bint il-'amm) stand in a special category, the boundary line for cousin marriage cannot be drawn between cross-cousins (the children of a brother and a sister respectively), who are marriageable, and ortho-cousins (the children of two brothers or of two sisters) who are not marriageable ... Instead we get the following classification : marriage between the children of two brothers (ulād il-'amm) which is much to be desired ... and on the other hand marriage between the children of sisters (ulād il-bawat) and cross-cousins (ibn il-hāl and bint 'amme or ibn 'amme and bint il-hāl which are not regarded with the same degree of favour. That is to say, as soon as the relationship is reckoned with a woman as connecting link, whether a man's bride is the daughter of his mother's sister, his mother's brother or his father's sister, then such

marriages are not looked upon with so much favour."
(Granqvist 1931 : 76 - 77)

Granqvist (1931 : 76) advances principally an economic argument to explain the "strong position" of ibn 'amm against other cousins in matters of spouse selection. Informants' accounts show (cf. Granqvist 1931 : 76 et al) that this state of affairs is largely affected by prevalent norms of inheritance:

"Today, as in former times, it seems that marriage with the father's brother's son (ibn il-'amm) is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger taking possession of the property and inheritance of the family ... And even if it be seldom that a man die without leaving any sons, yet the possibility affects it so far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear especially desirable. A stranger shall not enter the clan, if, at the same time, he belongs to another clan, as does every mother's brother's son (ibn il-bāil) except when the girl's father has married inside his own clan. Experience shows that more often he is from another clan or another place. The same thing holds good of the father's sister's son (ibn 'amme) to a girl "

(Granqvist 1931 : 77 - 78; Cf. also: The Bible : Numbers XXVII : 8 - 11 and XXXVI : 3; 8 - 11; The Qur'an IV : 12 agg.; Wellhausen 1893 : 436; Westermarck 1914 : 53; Westermarck 1921 II : 69; Goldziher 1880: 26; Louis 1921 : 29).

This argument is circumstantially sound in cases where females may and do come to inherit. The explanation is, however, inadequate in those Muslim societies, notably in the Sudanic belt of Africa, where women's Shari'a inheritance rights are partially or not at all respected. Objection may also be made to this argument among the large subordinate strata of such Sudanic populations who generally leave but few personal belongings to their heirs, whereas means of production are collectively owned. The relative distribution of wealth within a clan, tribe or society thus emerges as a relevant factor in assessing the motivations and determinants of classificatory or real consanguineal marriage but only becomes fully significant in relation to wider social and political strategies. Granqvist does not fully develop the possible relationships between preferential forms of marriage and the distribution of wealth in the hamule. Her methodical approach, however, does lead her to supplement her case material with statistical inquiries designed to assess the numerical occurrence of patrilineal parallel cousin marriage.

It appears that "only" 13.3% (35/254) unions occurred between FBS and FBR. The percentage increases to "26.1 per cent if one includes marriages with second cousins and those cases where the wife is her husband's father's cousin or his cousin's daughter." (Granqvist 1931 :81). Granqvist (1931 : 82-83) reports that 33.7 % of unions are contracted within the hamule, suggesting that "this seems to be in opposition to all the praise that is showered upon cousin marriage" (Granqvist 1931 : 82). The arguments invoked by the author to interpret this situation are of two orders:

1) Demographic: The availability of potential wives in relation to marriageable men is shown to vary from clan to clan and village to village. Granqvist suggests that there could be a relationship between disequilibrium in the sex ratio and the relative incidence of cousin-marriage. She regrets, however, not having sufficient data to explore this hypothesis while underlining the difficulty, even for a woman, to obtain reliable data from mothers on the respective survival rates of all the boys and girls born. Whatever the reasons for imbalances between males and females in village populations, she believes them to affect the rate of male out-marriage:

"... there are too few women within the smaller circles formed by the different clans, and the same is the case within the large circle formed by the village as a whole. In so far as the men do not wish either to remain unmarried or to limit themselves to one wife, they must take wives from outside and this they do. They take their wives partly from other clans in the village, partly from other places."

(Granqvist 1931 : 85)

2) Variations in cousin marriage patterns in time and space: The elaboration of a demographically formulated hypothesis concerning consanguineal marriage patterns leads Granqvist to observe the differential incidence of consanguineal unions from family to family and village to village as well as within either of these units over time:

"...in the first stage of a family's development there can be no question of cousin marriage, either because it is considered more advantageous to make alliances outside the family or because there are not enough cousins suited to each other. Thus cousin marriage indicates that a family has attained a certain power and size, so that a man can marry one of his own relatives in the village, and that fact raises the prestige of cousin marriage.

(Granqvist 1931 : 82)

Regretting the inadequacy of data collected from one place only, Granqvist advocates the comparative and diachronic examination of variations in the potential and incidence of cousin marriage:

"If Artas ... is a place where cousin marriage is increasing, there may be other places in Palestine with a more undisturbed culture where cousin marriage has already reached its highest point or is actually on the decrease. It would be interesting to draw a complete curve ..."

(Granqvist 1931 : 84)

In spite of the lack of comparative and diachronic data, the author proceeds to consider systematically out-marriage defined in the widest sense, i.e. including all non-FBD consanguineal unions as well as extra-clan and extra-local marriages (cf. above-quoted statement on cross - and parallel cousin marriages : Granqvist 1931 : 75-76). Out-marriage presents the advantage of greater choice and, where propitiously concluded, may lead to the establishment and consolidation of socially desirable inter-family relationships-in-law (nasab):

"From one point of view marriage between the children of sisters or cross-cousins can be regarded as due to a desire to continue relationships-in-law (nasab) in order to maintain and extend relationship in the female line."

(Granqvist 1931 : 85)

Such out-marriages within the clan may reinforce existing agnatic ties, especially where multiple or repeated from generation to generation. Networks of agnatic and non-agnatic consanguinity frequently overlap:

"Where marriages between blood relatives in the male line are fairly usual ..., the bride and bridegroom from the same clan also reckon relationship-in-law because their parents were related. But the fact that they are from the same clan is in this case so significant that one speaks of ibn il-'amm and hint il-'amm even where the relationship with a woman as the connecting link is more intimate."

(Granqvist 1931 : 87)

This in part accounts for the predominance of patrilateral parallel cousin marriages in tables based on informants' own perception of the genealogical link with their spouse as those collected by Seligman (1918:138), Granqvist (1931 : 194 - 195) and, subsequently, others:

Outside the hamule:

"... the relationship-in-law (nasab) gets its real importance as a principle beside or in contrast to cousin marriage in the Arabic meaning i.e. marriage between brothers' children (ulad il-'amm) ... as the father's brother's son (ibn il-'amm) takes precedence of a mother's sister's son (ibn hale) or a cross cousin (ibn il-hāl; ibn 'amme), so have the latter precedence of a man not of the clan, who cannot claim any relationship with the bride. "We have the first right to our sister's daughter." (as one informant said)".

(Granqvist 1931 : 87)

It is thus obvious that each cousin marriage must be understood in relation to its implications for a family's blood relationships, or qaraveb and its relationships-in-law, or nasab. The factor of locality (as denoted in the expression of ibn il-balad or 'son of the village') may relate differentially to in - and out-marriage in the genealogical sense in each specific set of circumstances. The social proximity and acceptability of a marriage are relative notions. It is therefore necessary to examine each marriage in the group studied before formulating statistical generalisations about the interrelations between such aspects of marriage as consanguinity, descent and locality. A statistical approach however, is indispensable to confirm or disprove analytical hypotheses derived from case studies and in trying to grasp fluctuations and apparent inconsistencies of marriage ideologies in contrast to marriage strategies and patterns.

Granqvist compares in-and out-marriage numerically and reveals the statistical predominance of "exogamy". Her comments on the formal contradiction between the oft-repeated preference for agnatic in-marriage and the frequency of clan and local out-marriage corroborate Wellhausen's hypothesis concerning the restricted character of both endogamy and exogamy

in Arab societies and, hence, their necessary co-occurrence and reciprocal determination:

"There are 89 marriages where the wife is from the same clan or 33.7% of the whole 264 marriages included in my statistical tables; there are 62 marriages in which the wife is from another clan but from the same village, i.e. 23.5% are village marriages; finally there are 113 marriages between men of Artas and stranger wives, this is to say 42.8%, or nearly half of the marriages are with wives from other places. In numbers, the preponderance is wholly in favour of the latter type of marriage. We have already emphasised the dissonance between the ideal and reality which is to be found here. It has been simply impossible to describe cousin marriage without to some extent touching upon marriages with strangers. The fellahin themselves are so sensitive of the difference between cousin husbands and wives on the one side and stranger husbands and wives on the other side, that they appear to find it difficult to characterise the one without the other, just as light and shade complete each other. Thus things are painted in black and white and cousin marriage is emphasised to the disadvantage of marriages with strangers, as diametrical opposites ... On the whole it appears that in spite of all theories, people are pleased with the stranger women in Artas."

(Granqvist 1931 : 92 - 93)

Having compared the normative, the qualitative and the statistical approaches to marriage, Granqvist concludes that she would only be able to "follow up many other historical, political and cultural" implications raised by her community - monograph by studying in a like manner "a whole complex of villages" (Granqvist 1931 : 98). Unfortunately, the proponents of the segmentary lineage model were not to take up these crucial hints in either the Muslim world or the non-Muslim Sudan for many years.

APPENDIX 4 : KANEMBU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

1. 0. Introductory Remarks

1. 1. The socio-linguistic context

The presentation of Kanembu kinship terminology is important in attempting to understand the structure and recent evolution of the Kanembu - Duu lineage system. In the following pages, I will be careful not to argue any direct causal relations between kinship terminology, marital practice and expressed preferences, and lineage organisation. At the same time, an effort will be made to depart from formal terminological study in order to better appreciate the way in which the Kanembu speak about kinship and marriage in everyday life.

The Kanembu speak in a very concrete and matter-of-fact manner. In this regard, the comparison of Kanembukanembu with Kanuri is of interest in that these two sister-tongues theoretically dispose of comparable lexical and syntactical potential concerning the formation of abstract or conceptual terms. A Kanuri will not hesitate to use prefixes such as n-, nem- or ker- as in kâmbâ = freeman nâmbâ = freedom; kaleâ = slave nemkaleâ = slavery; mâlâm = scholar or mallam ker mâlâm = scholarship. Kanembukanembu tends not to use such abstract nouns and this is only partially compensated for by the use of compound nouns and the six case suffixes. The repercussion of this tendency on the description of kinship and alliance is that one is at a loss to define relations in the abstract such as 'siblingship', 'brotherhood' or 'paternity'. This usage is so well rooted that it is almost inconceivable in Kanembukanembu to use kin terms without adjoining the possessive prenominal suffix. People speak of abani, my father, or abango, his father, but not of "aba", a father or father. Here, I will, of course, first list terms according to their radicals but this is only an anthropological fiction destined to make referents and etymologies clear.

For Kanembukanembu speakers, both terms of reference and address are formed by using pronominal suffixes and case endings; the resulting words subsume a given relation between speaker and an individual or individuals concretely referred to or addressed. Therefore, the inflexions and possessive suffixes given below are not only instrumental in forming compound or descriptive terms of reference but must also be considered as integral components of Kanembu kinship terminology if one wishes to respect the latter's semantic context... and be understood by the Kanembu.

1. 2. Word Formation

1. 2.1 Possessive Suffixes

Kanembukanembu, like Kanuri, generally uses suffixes where English uses possessive adjectives (See Lukas 1931 : 28). These suffixes are:

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1st P <u>-ni</u> (my)	1st P <u>-nde</u> (ours)
2nd P <u>-num</u> (thy)	2nd P <u>-ndo</u> (yours)
3rd P <u>-n'qe</u> (his, her)	3rd P <u>-n'qedi</u> (their)

-n'qe may also be pronounced -n'qe, -n'qu or even -n'qe.

1. 2.2. Case Endings

Nom. -yi (i, yeyi)

Acc. -ya (before ya : i becomes y and u often changes to w; after a : ya becomes wa)

Gen. -ye (be after words ending in m)

Dat. -ro

Inst. }

Abl. } -n, or also for

Loc. }

Abl. }

Loc. } -lan, b'en or yen

The plural is formed by the suffix -wa (rising tone) or, after i, y or a. An "emphatic plural" may also be formed by simply repeating the noun.

2. 0. A DESCRIPTION OF KANEMBU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY.

2. 1. The fourth ascending generation and above

All members of the fourth ascending generation and above, independently of sex or seniority, are termed n'jukwa. This term can best be translated as a collective noun designating all ancestors. Its main referent is: the (male) genitors of our lineage (whom the speaker has not generally known during the course of their lives). If, in reciting a genealogy, for example, one wishes to refer to a specifically designated member of this generation, the term can be doubled as in n'jukwa n'jukwani, i.e. my grandfather's father (FFFF, etc.)

2. 2. The third ascending generation

Sex is here distinguished, male members being called n'jukwa and female members kaka or the phonetically contracted variant of this term, kaa. Line of ascent in relation to ego, either male or female, is not specified except by the adjunction to the above words of descriptive terms such as abani, ayani (F and M respectively).

2. 3. The second ascending generation

The terms and connotations are identical with those just described for the third ascending generation.

2. 4. The first ascending generation

The more complex reference terminology corresponding to parents' generation is governed by four criteria, namely sex, generation level, birth order within same-sex sibling sets and laterality.

The terms for FB and MZ are built on the roots for F and M but must be distinguished from the latter by the adjunction of the adjective of seniority or juniority of birth order in relation the ego's father or mother. Hence:

(F) aba (FeB) aba kura (FyB) aba woli (or gana) and

(M) aya (also pronounced ya, aye or ye) (MeZ) ya kura and (MyZ) ya woli

The words for parents' siblings of opposite sex are etymologically differentiated from those for parents. The adjective denoting birth order is not used with the same strictness and regularity as above:

(FZ) baa (contracted from bawa or baba) baa kura (FeZ) and baa woli (FyZ)

(MB) ndii is not, however, generally used with kura or woli.

2. 5.0 Ego's generation (See Diagram 1)

The considerations which intervene in the description of ego's generation are siblingship, birth order, generation level and, to a lesser extent perhaps/for parents' generation, sex.

2. 5.1 Real siblings

The major referents of n'jiri are 'sibling' and 'brother'. No single, etymologically distinct word designates 'sister', which is obtained by the juxtaposition of fero (girl, daughter) with n'jiri, giving, literally, 'girl sibling'. Present-day reference terminology is articulated in the following manner:

<u>Referents:</u>	Sibling(ship)	:	<u>n'jiri</u>
+			
Sex	Male : <u>tada</u>	:	<u>tada n'jiri</u>
	Fem. : <u>fero</u>	:	<u>fero n'jiri</u>

Seniority is expressed by yaya (or yaa) for elder and juniority by kete or kray for younger. By the introduction of these adjectives/substantives we arrive at the following combinations for elder siblings : yaya n'jiri (masculinity prevails) and yaya tada (seniority prevails). In the case of

elder sister, the term for sibling is not generally used; hence, eZ : yaya ferr. One could almost say that, for male ego, this term means "a daughter of my parents born before me" but not "a person wielding authority over younger brothers".

The respective birth order of siblings is of such importance to the Kanembu that the designation of seniority (yaya) or juniority (kete) may, analytically speaking, override the notion of siblingship in terminological usage.

Younger brother, kete n'jiri or kray n'jiri is usually expressed by kete tada meaning younger son (of my parents). In principle, kete and yaya are adjectives (though the noun/adjective distinction is very tenuous in Kanembukanembu) meaning younger and elder but their everyday use is revealing. Whereas the replacement of n'jiri by tada stresses the person's dependent status vis-à-vis parents' generation, the dropping of tada in kete tada gives the expression keteni (kete + affix possessive pronoun, 1st person singular) translatable as junior or "the young fellow", clearly underlining the doubly subordinate position of younger brother. In my experience, this abbreviation is more often used in the case of younger male siblings, as if when referring to sisters the 'féro' of kete féro or kray féro, when standing alone,^{were}/slightly derogatory. Much younger real and classificatory siblings may be called tada or féro, more in the sense of 'boy' or 'girl' than of 'son' or 'daughter'.

2. 5.2 Classificatory siblings

The only way of terminologically distinguishing what the English - speaker terms 'cousin' from 'brother' or 'sibling' is to use descriptive terminology:

FBS : tada abaniye kura/woli

FBD : féro abaniye kura/woli

FZS	:	<u>tada baaniye kura/woli</u>)	
FZD	:	<u>fero baaniye kura/woli</u>)	
MBS	:	<u>tada ndiiniye (kura/woli)</u>)	N'JIRI
MBD	:	<u>fero ndiiniye (kura/woli)</u>)	
MZS	:	<u>tada yeniye (kura/woli)</u>)	
MZD	:	<u>fero yeniye (kura/woli)</u>)	

In these descriptive terms the possessive pronominal suffix 'ni' defines the relation described by the compound term with regard to ego and the genitive ending 'ye' the relation between aba, baa, etc. and tada/fero. The adjective of seniority qualifies the birth order of ego's parent's sibling vis-à-vis ego's parent. These expressions are most often used in cases of genealogical determination and are almost never used as address terms.

2. 5.3. Hierarchy

It can be seen that while all members of ego's generation may be grouped under a single classificatory denomination (as opposed to parents' generation), Kanambu terminology is at its most precise when giving shades of nuance to the reciprocal standing of all those, siblings or cousins, classified as n'jiri. I would suggest that the major semantic function of the criteria used in describing the people of ego's generation, (siblingship, birth precedence, generation level, sex) is to offer speakers a subtle code of hierarchy which can be applied in both public and private circumstances. The simple but precise mechanics of intragenerational terminology largely exclude reference to lineality : the conversational frequency of the compound expressions just listed is very reduced in common speech and the most current formulations (n'jirni, kteni, kteni fero ...) have no expressed lineal referent and do not allow any distinction between parallel and ~~cross-cousins~~.

2. 5. Half-siblings

Half-siblings may be referred to and addressed with simple terms which denote the parents they share : abana = of one father and yana (ayana or yiana) = of the same mother. Some informants assert that the use of such terms is restricted to or at least more common among half-brothers than half-sisters or half-siblings of opposite sex. It may in any case be said that male abana may socially be considered as quasi-full brothers, the same being correlatively true for half-sisters; the mother link between males tends to be considered less important than among females.

2. 6. The first descending generation

Sex is, terminologically, the only criterion used to distinguish ego's first generation descendants. Ego's children as well as his siblings' (n'jiri) children are all classificatory brothers and sisters among themselves. The words tada and fero do, nonetheless, suffice to distinguish ego's progeny from all other generations except when used to designate much younger members of the 'n'jiri' category as already noted.

2. 7. Second and subsequent descending generations

At this level, sex no longer intervenes and generational opposition is the only criterion which distinguishes grandchildren from all ascendent generations : all grandchildren, real and classificatory, are referred to as dio. If one wishes to state their sex, classificatory terminology may be used : tada dioni, fero dioni.

3. 0. AFFINITY (See Diagram 2)

Kanembu kinship terminology counts only four basic words to deal with affines, yet the difference between consanguinity and affinity is made very clear at all generational levels. Senior affines include all members of

ego's wife's father's and grandfather's generations ; these persons are termed kesai. Out of respect, ego's patrilineal affines, especially males, are addressed as kinamen but often referred to as kesai. A sex distinction can be made : kesai kwa = male in-law of senior generation = real and classificatory father in-law and kesai kao = female in-law of senior generation = real and classificatory mother in-law.

When one observes a large age differential between husband and wife's kin, kesai may be used by ego to refer to elder members of his own generation. Equally, if ego marries a woman much younger than himself whose real or classificatory sibling has contracted a union with one of his own (patrilineal) kinamen of the n'jiri category, husband may refer to wife as kamu, fero or n'jiri. The converse is, of course, true for female ego.

Among ego's affines, age-mates and juniors are referred to as ndui (or tuqui, tuwui according to Lukas 1931 : 115) from the Kanuri tiq). Descriptive terms which one may form from ndui are tada/fero n'duini = male/female in-law of comparable or junior status which must be differentiated from tada/fero nduiniye = son/daughter of my in-law (sex unspecified) of comparable or junior status = nephew/niece in-law.

4. 0. THE REFERENTS OF KANEMBU KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

4. 1. Reference terminology (See Diagram 3)

On the basis of the above observations we may now review Kanembu kinship terms and their genealogical referents :

ABA	:	F, (any older male)
ABA WOLI	:	FyB, (FZyH)
ABA KURA	:	FəB, (FZəH)
AYA	:	M, (any older female)
YA, YE WOLI	:	MyZ, (MByw)
YA KURA	:	MəZ, (MBəw)

BAA, BABA	:	FZ
(BAA WOLI)	:	(F/Z, FByW)
(EAA KURA)	:	(FeZ, FBew)
NDII	:	MB
N'JUKWA	:	FF, MF, any male belonging to the second, third, and subsequent generation of ego's ascendants, ancestors of either sex.
KAA, KAKA	:	FM, MM, any female belonging to the second, third and subsequent generations of ego's ascendants.
N'JIRI	:	Sibling, B, all cousins.
TADA N'JIRI	:	B, all male cousins.
FERO N'JIRI	:	Z, all female cousins
KETE, KRAY	:	Junior sibling, especially yB
YAYA	:	Elder sibling
KETE TADA	:	yB
YAYA TADA	:	eB
KETE FERO	:	yZ
YAYA FERO	:	eZ
ABANA	:	1/2 B, 1/2 Z of same father
YAANA, AYANA, YIANA	:	1/2 B, 1/2 Z of same mother
TADA	:	Boy, son, junior male cousin, real or classificatory siblings' male children.
FERO	:	Girl, daughter, junior female cousin, real or classificatory siblings' female children.
DIO	:	Grandchild
KWA	:	Man, H
KAU, KAMU	:	Woman, W
KESAI	:	Senior in-law, <u>i.e.</u> spouse's parents and their collaterals and ascendants to the 'ancestor' level, spouse's real and classificatory senior siblings in some cases.

KESAI KWA	:	Senior male in-law
KESAI KAU	:	Senior female in-law
NDUI	:	Junior in-law, <u>i.e.</u> all of spouse's kin and affines of ego's generation and their descendants.
TADA NDUI	:	Junior male in-law
FERO NDUI	:	Junior female in-law

4. 2. Descriptive terminology

Descriptive terms are obtained by juxtaposing basic terms with the affix pronoun 'ni' or, sometimes, 'ngo' combined, when necessary, with the genitive inflection 'ye'.

4. 3. Address terminology

All persons of parents' generation are addressed by ego with the same terms used for reference; in this case the use of the possessive suffix is compulsory. (Its absence would be somewhat disrespectful in that the terms for father and mother can be used toward elder strangers without the possessive.) Thus : F = aba + ni = abani ... MeZ = ye + ni = kura = yeni kura.

Persons of grandparents' generation are all addressed by two simple terms which distinguish sex : n'jukwani and kaani.

In any other but the most formal circumstances, members of ego's generation are addressed by any one of the simple terms listed above. The choice of terms may be made in accordance with the aspect of the relation which the speaker (ego) wishes to accentuate in a given context : n'jirni (siblingship, equality), ketani, krayni, yayani (juniority/seniority); tsdani, feroni (seniority based on a large age differential between siblings real and classificatory, which reduces the potentially conflictual aspect of the relation; may also be used pejoratively). The designation of cousins follows these lines but the above-mentioned (2.5.2) composite terms

are of course used when genealogical determination is necessary in discussions relating to marriage, kinship and the lineage or, possibly, in circumstances of great formality.

When speaking to one's own children, tadani and feroni are generally used. Due to age differential between niece and nephew and aunt and uncle, etc. these two terms may be qualified by kura (elder) or woli (younger). Grandchildren, whatever their sex, are addressed as dioni.

Husband and wife may address each other as kwani (my husband) and kauni (my wife); the husband may also call his wife "the mother of X" if she has borne children with him. Polygamists may add kura (elder) or woli (younger) to kauni.

5. HIERARCHY WITHIN AND BETWEEN GENERATIONS

All terms save those referring to great-grandparents and great-grandchildren of ego unambiguously denote the generation to which the designated kinsman or kinswoman belongs. The only exceptions to this rule occur when a notable age difference separates individuals and makes the use of reciprocal terms implying relative age equality awkward. Nonetheless, Kanembu kin terminology effectively underlines generation differences with those ego can be expected to interact in the course of a normal lifetime.

We also have seen that within ego's and ego's parents' generations great emphasis is placed on stating birth order within sibling sets. Both generation level and birth order reflect age differences, which in turn express certain norms of social hierarchy and precedence. The Kanembu-kanembu language might not be a model for the formulation and use of abstract terms but it must be credited with a knack for rendering very complex situations in a nutshell thanks to colourful nouns/adjectives which in English must often be translated by long periphrases. This faculty is developed in the realm of nicknames which, when considered as complementary

to kinship terminology, can be divided into three categories expressing the moral or physical traits of a person, the order and/or circumstances of birth and the situation of parents prior to or after a given birth; the following examples of the last two types are particularly relevant to the hierarchical trend of Kanembu kinship classification:

SHUKU	:	given to a male when he is born after the death of an elder brother.
SHUI	:	given to a person whose father or mother was born after the death of an elder sibling.
BAI	:	born several years after the birth of the mother's first three children.
M'BÜLU	:	third consecutive male child of a couple.
KURU	:	first-born or eldest son.
KAFANI	:	girl born before a boy and after the consecutive birth of several younger sisters.
KULU	:	girl born after three consecutive male births.
GACHI	:	the remaining one, applied to a person whose younger siblings are deceased.
ANJA	:	twins
KURTU	:	born after twins.
KURCHI	:	person whose parents are <u>n'jiri</u> (cousins).
FENDI	:	girl whose parents are cousins.
MALUI	:	boy whose parents are cousins.
WOLI	:	younger of two siblings bearing the same name.
GANA	:	synonym of WOLI
ABA	:	bears the same name as his father, <u>etc.</u> ...

Apparently not satisfied by the details furnished on birth order and precedence between siblings by their kinship terminology, the Kanembu can sum up a person's sex and birth order by an astonishing array of "titles". For both reference and address, it could be argued that the use of such nicknames amply compensates the lack of sex distinctions which characterises kinship terminology stricto sensu.

The giving of nicknames is reported by some informants to be quite an ancient custom; they were used as names among non-Islamicised or nominally Muslim Kanemi well into the 19th century as they still are among the Buduma. In quoting genealogies, former chiefs are often remembered by their nickname rather than their patronym. Islamic names, generally used in combination with nicknames, are often "abbreviated" into unrecognizable forms (e.g. Halima → Kosso; Abdulai → Kale; Kajida or Hadeta → Kufra; Musa → Kala).

Alongside a well developed kinship terminology, the set of four basic terms reserved for the description of ego's affines seems rather poor. They principally denote juniority or seniority of the latter in relation to ego but fail to establish any intra- or inter-generational hierarchy among the two gross categories which affines comprise. The terminological emphasis placed on the hierarchical ordering of kin finds its sociological counterpart in the importance given to seniority within corporate descent-based socio-political units such as the kiifaday and the kare.

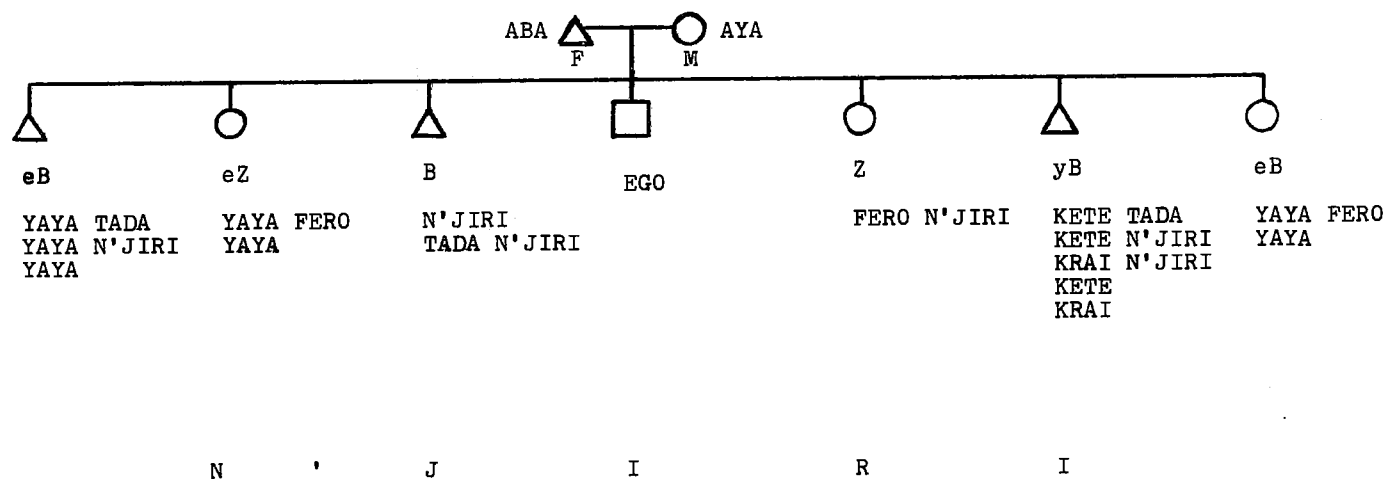


DIAGRAM 1: The designation of siblings in Kanembukanembu

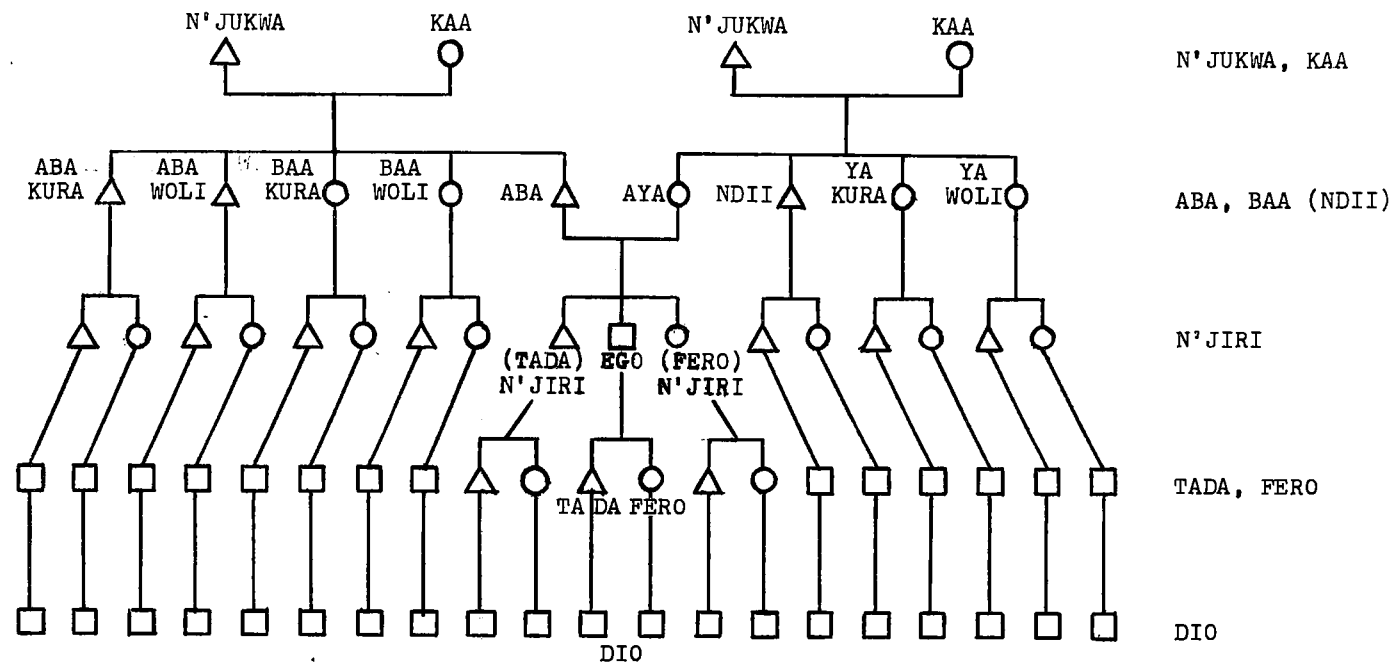


DIAGRAM 2: Kanembu kinship terminology

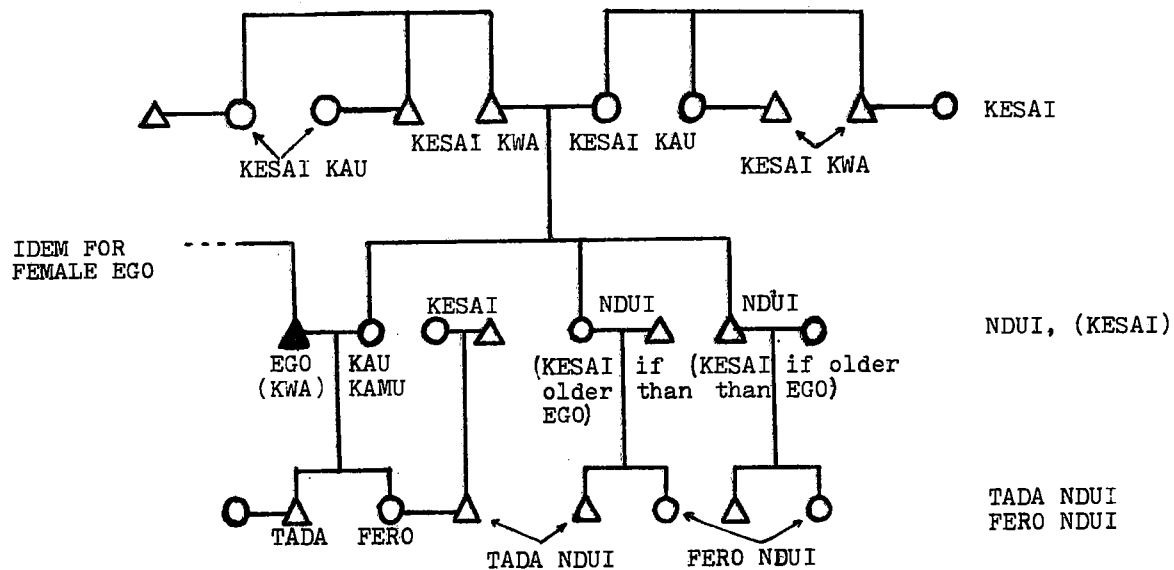


DIAGRAM 3: Kanembu alliance terminology

APPENDIX 5 : THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE DJU/KANEMBU CHIEFTAINCIES
FROM THE 19TH TO THE LATER 20TH CENTURY

During the XVIIIth century, Kanem was a Bornuan province governed for the Mals by the alifas of Mao, descendents of Dala Afono (cf. Chap. 2, Nachtigal 1879; Urvoy 1949; Landeroin 1922; Lavers 1980.). Around 1808, (cf. Lavers n.d. : 37) alifa Mele Kura was destituted and imprisoned by the Bornuans for "insubordination". Mele escaped, fled to Waday, and was replaced in the governorship by his younger brother Haji (Landeroin 1911 : 381). Sultan Sabun of Waday (r. 1803 - 1813) agreed to place a force at Mele's disposal so that he might regain his office under Wadayan auspices (Landeroin 1911 : 381). This venture was successful and Haji fled to Bornu. His elder brother was to die only four years later, c. 1814. At Mele Kura's death, Shehu Lamine proclaimed Ali Mairom, Haji's and Mele Kura's elder brother, as alifa (cf. Landeroin 1911 : 381), in an attempt to check the Wadayan menace on the eastern confines of his empire, only recently shaken in the west by the Fulani wars. This initiative brought only temporary success. When Ali Mairom died c. 1825, Lamine was forced to undertake an expedition to Kanem to ensure that the latter's successor would maintain the province under Bornuan dominion (Barth 1965 II: 601-602). This task was allotted to Mairom's younger brother, Mele Gana.

Enlisting the support of Awlad Sliman warriors from Fezzan, the newly appointed alifa briefly kept in abeyance the Tunjur Arabs of Southeast Kanem who had sided with the Wadayans. Around 1827 - 28 however, the pretender, alifa Beker, and a contingent of Wadayans defeated Ahmadu Kalle, the successor to Mele Gana who had been assassinated (Landeroin 1911 : 382). Bornu's claims to sovereignty over Kanem thus faded into the realm of dreams and a de facto bipartite division of the province was established (See Maps 7 and 9). Over the years leading to Lamine's death in 1835, four alifas were to succeed each other on the throne at Mao. Competing

Dalatoa factions accommodated themselves with seeming ease to Wadayan predominance. The title of alifa was officially exchanged for that of agid (although the latter does not seem to have been adopted in popular usage).

In 1842 - 43, the Awlad Sliman Fezzani Arabs returned to Manga, Egey and Kanem in large numbers not as mercenaries as on prior occasions, but rather as "landlords". They summoned then alifa Amadu to offer him their "protection", reasoning that Waday was too far off and Bornu too weak to satisfactorily discharge this function. The "offer" was accepted. The endemic conflict between Bornu and Waday in the midst of which previous alifae had tried to hold their own, was now definitely superseded by another conflict of influence which was to entail an almost incessant state of civil unrest and often war for the population of Kanem until the end of the 19th century (cf. Landeroin 1911 : 383-384 , Carbon 1912 : I :81).

Between 1842 and 1850 the Dalatoa often combined forces with the Awlad Sliman in raids which took them east to the Bahr-el-Ghazal, to south and southeast Kanem and beyond to Dagana (Landeroin 1911 : 384). The Duu of South Kanem, contrary to many of their neighbours, were notably successful in opposing these plunderers (Nachtigal 1881 : 331) thanks to their hunter's armament and techniques. In 1850, the Awlad Sliman were "overpowered and massacred" by surprise at the hands of the Twareg Kal Dwi (Barth 1965 II : 274 - 76). Against all odds however, the Arabs emerged from this state of "dissolution and ruin" (Barth 1965 II : 274 - 276) to that of masters of Kanem over a period of three decades. The surviving Fezzani Arabs having no strong protector in central Kanem or even less in Waday "made a strict alliance with the Haddâda, and in consequence defeated in their wooded district, the officer of Wádáy called the Agid el Bahr" (Barth 1965 II : 608) in 1853. Around 1855 - 57, alifa Amedu Kale abandoned Mao and fled to Waday upon learning that the Awlad Sliman were

marching on Mao. At that time, according to Barth's (1965 II : 276) information, the Arabs could not have had more than some 250 horseman under their direct command. These facts clearly underline the weakness of the Dalatoo as well as the local vulnerability of their far-off Wadayan patrons.

Carbou (1912 I : 32) notes that the weakened Arabs, not lacking in boldness after their 1853 defeat of the Agid el Bahr, concluded an alliance with the Daza Gadoa under Barka Halluf. They together pillaged and raided Kanem, attacking even subjects of the Sultan of Bornu (in the west of the province) who had rearmed them after their 1850 disaster. They also turned east again and dealt another blow to the Agid el Bahr (Carbou 1912 I : 32). It could well be during these series of raids that the Kanemi capital, Mao, was abandoned by its leaders and sacked. According to Barth (1965 II:606), the city was walled in 1851; Nachtigal (1881 : 251) describes Mao in 1871 as little more than an open village which had been moved some kilometres south since the 1850's.

Competition over the nomination of successive alifas opposed Waday to the Awlad Sliman and their Duu and Daza allies through the 1850's and 60's. At one point the Arabs even gave military assistance to a pretender to the throne of Waday (Carbou 1912 I:33). Nachtigal depicts relations between Wadayans and Arabs at that time as follows:

"... Since the beginning of his reign, Mohammed Ali of Waday (r. 1858 - 1874) had endeavoured to protect his vassals in the west, northwest and north of the kingdom from the incessant incursions of these restless neighbours in Kanem by bringing all parties to conclude binding friendship treaties. In addition, he recognised that Kanem, where he sought to make his hitherto nominal authority more and more effective, was dominated by the Awlad Sliman to such an extent that they were neither to be altogether neglected nor easily subordinated. They terrorised not only the indigenous Daza and Kanembu, but were decidedly more powerful than Waday's governor who resided in Mao. Indeed, King Ali had found it necessary to reinstate (Alifa) Mahamadu, who had been destituted for gravely insulting him, because the Awlad Sliman did not wish to tolerate the latter's successor, (Alifa) Musa, as their neighbour in Mao. It is also possible that the glory-seeking prince was entertaining

hostile designs against Bornu. The warlike Arabs could naturally be instrumental in carrying out such plans, although it would have been difficult to persuade them to take an active part in an enterprise against their benefactor, the old Shēhu Omar. In any case, Ali had to ensure their neutrality."

Nachtigal 1881 : 47 (My translation)

The 1870's saw an increase of Awlad Sliman influence over Kanem in general as well as the development of serious conflicts between the Kanembukanembu-speaking populations themselves. Carbou (1912 I : 33) mentions that by 1871, after having mainly remained in the Borku region north of Kanem, Awlad Sliman raids attained Dagana to the south and Darfur to the east. They had, however, abandoned raids on South Kanem where the alifa was forced to pay tribute to the Arabs (cf. the relation of one such occasion involving the transfer of 500 head of cattle by alifa Musa in 1871 : Nachtigal 1881 : 279). The Dalatoo also engaged in attacks at this time against more easterly dependants of Waday, under whose authority they, in principle, remained. The Dalatoo further became involved in hostilities with the Tunjur, in whose interest it was to be more loyal subjects of Waday than the Dalatoo. Indeed, the Tunjur still entertained dreams of enticing the Kanembu from power.

At the same period, the lineages allied with the Kanembu N'gijim of Dibinenchi were competing for local supremacy. This sporadically led to armed conflict with the Darka and their allied lineages. Neither of the two coalitions were free from additional internal dissensions. The development of internal struggles was facilitated by the area's role as a strategic buffer zone between the Wadayan and Fezzani zone of influence (see Maps 7 and 9).

In 1874, Yusuf Wald Ali became Sultan of Waday. He was reputed to be a weak king and during his reign, Fezzani influence became predominant throughout the western part of Kanem. The Wadayane did, nonetheless, manage to maintain their precedence over the Tunjur, in spite of Dalatoo

armed intervention, as well as over Foskey, a northern Kanemi fief of the Daza Medelea (cf. Maps 9 and 10). Notwithstanding their reduced numbers, the Medelea had substantial influence over other Daza groups of the area, in particular the Dogorda of N'tiona, who were vassals of the Fezzani, and also the Daza of Mao chieftaincy. They did not pay mud to the alifa but their chief did receive investiture from him after being designated in accordance with the decision of their own notables and after appointment by the king of Waday (Catala 1954 : 14).

The reign of alifa Mustafa Mahmadu lasted almost a decade from c. 1880 to 1889. As often occurred, the governor's statement in office was followed by demonstrations of authority against some of the subject populations of Kanem. In this instance, according to Landeroin (1911:385), the Tubu Dwarda were disciplined for having refused to pay "taxes". The reign of Mustafa, apart from this incident, is quite difficult to retrace for we dispose of no travellers' or later administrators' accounts. Furthermore, the period was beyond the reach of human memory at the time of my fieldwork. However, it can be suggested on the basis of Kanembu and Duu oral sources, that Mustafa's accession to office approximately coincided with an aggravation of conflicts for regional supremacy in the south.

The Darka fought with their Kanembu subjects who were previously under Bara suzerainty, namely the Rudou, Kanku, Bade, and N'jaliu. The Bara, along with their Adia and Rea clansmen, joined forces with the Kanembu N'gijim and their Duu subjects. This "war", breaking traditional patterns of interclan and interstratum solidarity in the South, established a certain Darka supremacy in the area. Oral sources also testify that after this conflict, the Darka pursued their advantage by concluding a temporary alliance with the Wadayans which implied at least short-term neutrality of the Tunjur of Mondo. The Duu of N'guri were thus in a

posture to inflict another defeat on the N'gijim, with whom they claimed common Bulala ancestry, forcing many, by the admission of their own experts in oral history, to flee into Kuri country. Alliance with the N'gijim thus, did not prove very fruitful to the Bara who report that some of their number found it necessary to migrate south, leaving the Rea in a precarious situation.

At the end of the decade, 1889 according to Landeroin's (1911 : 385) data, Abd al-Jelil, chief of the Awlad Sliman, summoned alifa Mustafa to Chitati to recognise Fezzani suzerainty over Kanem. This gesture was, of course, a direct affront to Waday. Mustafa refused to submit to Abd el-Jelil's demand and the Arabs did not then hesitate to make good their ultimatum by marching on Mao. The alifa fled to Waday where he soon died. By not reacting to this provocation, Waday conceded de facto recognition of Fezzani supremacy over Kanem. Abd el-Jelil was quick to instate Haji, son of Mamey, alifa of Mao in 1893. Sultan Yussuf of Waday is even said to have gone so far as to return some 200 camels to the Awlad Sliman, which had been confiscated from them by the Agid el-Bahr, Walidi Shaib (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 34). With the exception of the districts of Dibinenchi and N'guri, all of Kanem was controlled or directly menaced by the Awlad Sliman. Mondo was in a very dangerous position. Although regularly visited by the Wadayans, the Tunjur fief was at the mercy of a surprise attack by the Fezzani, who constantly sought slaves to be sent to the Kawa market or traded for southern grain. In this situation, the isolated Tunjur could count on no support from the Dalatoa on the southern Kanembu and Ou.

In 1894, the Fezzani and the forces of alifa Haji attacked Mondo. The large village was plundered and Tunjur Fugbu Othman put to death without the Wadayana reacting to the murder of their chief vassal in Kanem (Carbou 1912 I: 92-93) . Indeed, the forces of Agid Walidi Shaib as well as of

his successor Haggat Kebir were engaged in yet another struggle, against Rabah (the Conqueror) (cf. Carbou I 1912). The sack of Mondo entailed a fierce competition for the Tunjur kadmul (turban). Abd el-Jelil invested Ahmed Wald Mehmed, of a Dalatoo mother, as fugbu. Carbou reports that Ahmed reigned for nearly one year :

"Internal struggles and foreign intervention ravaged Tunjur country and many inhabitants fled to DibinENCHI. Fugbu Ahmed weld Uthman succeeded Ahmed. In 1893, Ahmed Wald Uthman had just finished a stay in Waday and was passing through Fitri. In the meantime, a new rival, Ahmed Weld Idrisi Weld Jiber was gathering Tunjur and Duu Dier at At-Tait and Melokun. Fighting broke out. The fugbu kept the upper hand and Ahmed (Weld Idrisi), defeated and wounded, fled to Mao. The Dalatoo later proposed a peace settlement to the Tunjur. In order to forget the past, they offered three women and three horses : the Tunjur accepted the three horses and peace was sworn on the Koran." (Carcou 1912 I: 81)

(My translation)

Following the assassination of Abd el-Jelil, paramount chief of the Awlad Sliman, in 1895, war broke out between the Awlad Sliman Myaisa and Jebair under Sheikh Sherif ed-Din and the followers of Sheikh Rhet, son of Abd el-Jelil. This conflict degenerated into a pan-Kanem civil war. Sheikh Rhet was actively supported by the majority of the Fezzani, Fugbu Adum's Tunjur and Kajalla Bar's Duu Darka and Kanembu of N'guri. Sherif ed-Din won some support, the extent of which is difficult to assess, from the Kanembu N'gijim and possibly, from the Duu Adia, Bars and Rea. Sherif's protégé in Mao, alifa Jerab, son of alifa Musa, was put out of office by Sheikh Rhet's partisans. Jerab thence took refuge among the N'gijim in DibinENCHI and was replaced by a cousin, alifa Mustafa, son of alifa Haji, following a very short-lived reconciliation with Sheikh Rhet. Carbou gives an exact account of how the peoples of Kanem took sides in the civil conflict originated by the discord among Awlad Sliman :

"It is said... that the Sheikh (i.e. Abd el-Jelil) paid for the lack of sympathy which he had shown toward Senussi propaganda with his life. The Sheredet fled, being more or less accused of having participated in the murder and fearing, in addition, the hostility of Sherif ed-Din.

Discord arose between Sherif ed-Din and Rhet, son of Abd el-Jelil. Fighting broke out between them. Rhet had the support of the Sheredat, Hewat, Magarba, Bedur, Gedatfa, Mejabera, of some Khuwan and of numerous inhabitants of Kanem : Tunjur, Dalatoa of alifa Aji, Duu of kajala Bukar (N'guri), Aburda Goran, Ankude, Duu Dieri, Dogorda, Famala, etc. - totalling about 5,000 men. Sherif ed-Din supported Ahmed, a young brother of Rhet with the help of the Myaissa, Jebair, Gadoa and of alifa Jerab's people.

The principal encounter between the two sides had taken place at El-Usfer at the time the Meynier expedition arrived in Kanem."

(Carbou 1912 I : 93 - 94) (My translation)

The "conquest" of South Kanem by the French was achieved by demonstrations of strength at Dibinenchi and N'guri. Only a few shots were fired, during almost ritual encounters. On the arrival of the Joalland-Meynier column at Dibinenchi, the destituted "alifa" Jerab and his host, N'gijim kajala Abdu, immediately surrendered to the French (16 November 1899). Jerab, posing as the reigning head of Kanem, signed a peace treaty with France (25 November 1899) which stipulated :

"Article One ... Alifa Jerab places the cantons of Dibinenchi and N'guri under the protection of the French Government. The country extends as far north as Chitati, to the west of (lake) Chad, to the land of Dagana in the south and to Waday in the east.

Article Two ... The French Government relieves Kanem of all obligations to which it was subjected vis-à-vis Waday.

Garrisons ensuring the effective defence of Kanem against the incursions of Waday bands will be placed in the country of alifa Jerab."

(My translation)

Jerab was assigned a guard of 60 riflemen by the French which enabled him to overthrow and execute his cousin and rival, alifa Mustafa who had the support of the Duu of N'guri and the Tunjur. Jerab's fortunes quickly reversed. In 1900, he was captured by the Tunjur near Mondo, following the withdrawal of his rifle detachment by the French. He was then delivered to Sir Alali in North Kanem before Said Barrani, leader of the Senusiya and executed by the Aulad Sliman of Sheikh Rhet. Subsequently, Barrani succeeded in reconciling the two opposed Fezzani factions as well as in allying the latter with several thousand Twareg from Air and Damergu who had fled the French occupation of Niger. Disposing of a small army

of seasoned warriors, he ordered the fortification of Bir Alali in order to break the French advance (cf. Carbou 1912 I : 95 - 99 and Catala 1954 : 18 - 19). To check the Senusiya opposition to their advance, the French occupied Dagana and Massakory in October 1901 and invested Ali, brother of Jerab, known as Mala, as alifa. Mala was designated to lead a column which was to attack Bir Alali. This venture was a failure and Mala's forces retreated to N'guri. A French post was established in this settlement while, simultaneously, Mondo was secured by colonial troops (cf. Catala 1954 : 18). Three months later, in January 1902, the French themselves captured Bir Alali, thus sealing the occupation of Kanem.

French protégé alifa Mala entered Mao some days later, evincing his distant kinsman alifa Mahmat, son of Zegbada Mamey and a Fezzani appointee. Mala's hereditary primacy over the surrounding chieftaincies as well as his right to collect the mud from the area's Kanembu residents were underwritten by the French in recognition of services rendered. Mala in turn rallied the Daza Dogorda who lived to the north of N'tiri and had cooperated with the Fezzani, as well as the chief of Rig-Rig to the west and the Kuri and the Buduma. At this point, the degree of effective influence of the Dalatoo over the peoples of Kanem was, thanks to French support, as strong or stronger than at any time during the 19th century.

Many of the southern chiefs were maintained in their functions such as Darka kajala Bar of N'guri, Bara mulima N'jukwa of Bari Kolom and N'gijim kajala Abdu N'jukwai of Dibinanchi. A change of dynasty was, however, decided for the Tunjur whose large chieftaincy was divided into ten different cantons between 1908 and 1912 (See Maps 10 and 11). Links between Mao and N'jigdada, on the other hand, were reinforced as Dima Jiber, clan head of the Kanembu (Kogona) Dimaru, was succeeded by his son-in-law Khalife Aji, brother of alifas Jerab and Mala (cf. Catala 1954 : 18 - 19).

By a decree of 5 October 1910, the Caroledu Kanem was replaced by a Circonscription du Kanem which included "the Kanem plateau, the wadis surrounding (Lake) Chad and the Bahr el-Ghazal, Bagana, the nomadic populations of the Bahr " (quoted by Catala 1954 : 23), the extreme north of Kanem still being occupied by the Fezzani.

By decree of 23 December 1912, the Mao subdivision was divided into three new subdivisions administered from Mao, N'guri and Bol, respectively. As previously occurred in Mondo chieftaincy, the new subdivisions were divided into numerous cantons. This directly reduced the alifa's ability to maintain his fiscal and dynastic claims in the South. The Mao chieftaincy was effectively reduced to Mao canton and rights of suzerainty including certain fiscal prerogatives, both official and de facto were restricted to N'tiry, Foskey, Korofu, the Kedalea, the Iroa, the Noria and the Gadde (Catala 1954 : 23 - 27). This blow to the alifa's authority was compensated by the investiture of the alifa's kinsmen as chiefs. This policy led to an appreciable consolidation of Dalatoa influence in Kanem's Kanambu core area.

On 7 March 1920, the hitherto Territoire militaire du Tchad was rechristened the Colonie du Tchad. French policy makers deemed it therefore advisable, in word if not always in deed, to consolidate the authority of those local chiefs in power in 1899 or their successors. Catala (1954 : 29 - 30) states:

"In the subdivisions of Mao and N'guri as, moreover, in the rest of Chad and French Equatorial Africa, one witnessed a process of regrouping and renovation of chieftaincies in view of reconstituting indigenous societies. This was to promote their advancement to a higher level of development within their traditional setting."

(My translation)

In practice, this conjoint recognition of the shock administered to African societies and of the necessity of "évolution", was concretised in Kanem by

the disbanding of recently-created smaller cantons from 1920 to 1934. In the north of Kanem, such was the fate of Delefianga (1922), N'tiry (1924), Korofu (1928) and Foskey (1928 ?) (Catala 1954 : 30 - See Maps 10 and 11).

The policy of "regroupement" resulted in the creation of a domain for Kosso Duguchi of N'tiona, who was proclaimed kajala by the alifa in 1930 (See Map 11). This political operation was undertaken to establish an intermediary authority between the peoples of North Kanem and the French administration acceptable to both the Dalatoa and the colonial power, rather than to promote the northern pastoralists and their dependants "to a higher level of development within their traditional setting." On 20 December 1933, the subdivision of Mao was divided along ethnic lines into four cantons controlled by the Has'auna Rhuar Arabs, the Has'auna Hamat Arabs, the Kanembu subject to alifa Zazerti, who had replaced Mala in 1934, and a "Goran" canton under the Daza Kosso of N'tiona. The two latter chiefs, who were on excellent terms, controlled 90% of Kanem's population (Catala 1954 : 32). This agreement, which excluded the Arabs from any significant say in Kanem's affairs, used the Daza presence in a "buffer zone" north of Mao to enhance the alifa's position in Kanem proper and to allot him the greater initiative in the South, which he and his ancestors had coveted for so long.

In 1934, the Colonie du Tchad was integrated into a wider entity of mixed Muslim and animist Christian composition with Muslims being a distinct minority, known as Oubangui-Chari-Tchad. The governor of this colony was responsible to the federal governor general of the A.E.F. (Afrique Equatoriale Française). Under this new administrative arrangement, Kanem and its eastern neighbour Batha were grouped into a single département. The French chef de département was assigned to Mussoro and not Mao. This gave greater freedom of manœuvre to the alifa on his own lands.

The French sought to build up "powerful" sultanates throughout Muslim Chad (with the exception of the desertic North) centred at Abeshé (Waday), Fitri (in Bulala country), Fort-Lamy, the capital, Massenya (Bagirmi) and, naturally, Mao. A circular of the governor general of A.E.F., quoted by Catala (1954 : 36), declares this policy to be opportune :

"... because it alone is capable of promoting durable progress in these immense territories ... where direct rule, moreover poorly suited to the mentality of the population, encounters insurmountable difficulties in view of the (poor) state of finances and (the lack) of personnel."

(My translation)

Chad was too large to be administered directly by the relatively small group of administrators and technicians assigned to the colony. At this early stage of the colonial period, the only African personnel to have been trained in the French service were some few local interpreter/guides and infantrymen brought in from other distant colonies. The governor general thus favoured an ambivalent "limited indirect rule" option. The necessity of such a policy at the time was directly related to the Great Depression, the brunt of which struck France, somewhat belatedly, as of 1933 - 34. These circumstances offered great potential for alifa Zezerti and represented a great danger for the chiefs of the N'guri district. The ultimate objective of the alifa, supported by relative French impotence, was to eliminate all chefs de canton (cf. Catala 1954 : 38).

By decision of 30 September 1934, all Kanembu of the Mao and N'guri districts were put under the direct command of the alifa. On 12 August 1935, the Duu cantone of Am Dobak, Dokora and Kiwa were amalgamated into the Sultanat de Mao (cf. Maps 11 and 12). Baderi-N'guri canton was divided into four groupements, each controlled by a resident representative of the alifa. Mao itself was divided into four groupements, Tarfe, Yelle, N'geleya and Yagubri, respectively administered by brothers and a cousin of Zezerti who were required to reside in Mao (Catala 1954 : 42).

All other chefs de canton in the South, including those of N'jigada and Dib:nenchi, were also demoted to chef de groupement and supervised by an envoy from Mao with ample powers. Catala (1954 : 49) writes:

"As of 1938, the alifa was in fact, with the support of the colonial authorities, a true ruler under a rather loose protectorate."

From 1939 to 1945, French regulation of the alifa's policies was almost nil. In 1943 - 44, a "palace" was built for the Kanembu potentate with "captive" labour. In 1945, he was awarded the Légion d'Honneur and the colonial power paid for his pilgrimage to Mecca. As the French reestablished their presence, the alifa's instructions came directly from the governor and not through the chef de subdivision who was the officially appropriate intermediary. The colonial government pursued the alifa's opponents and potential contradictors, enabling him to consolidate his hold over 22 cantons (Catala 1954 : 50 - 54). In 1947, governor Rougé, as quoted by Catala (1954 : 56) declared :

"....the representative of the colonial government in Mao is under strict instructions : Kanem is to be administered with the Sultan (i.e. alifa) and by the Sultan. This is necessary and indispensable in order to counterbalance the Nigerian Sultanates."

(My translation)

The governor's vision of a "weighty" and internally centralised Kanem sultanate acting as a counterweight on the imperial map to British Bornu proved overly dependent on the person of Zezerti as opposed to the function of alifa. On 26 September 1947, Zezerti died of cancer in his middle age, shortly before he was to have been designated chef supérieur of the districts of Mao, Zigey, Rig-Rig, Bol and Massakory. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Mohammed Ali (cf. Catala 1954 : 53 - 56). The idea of a Grand Sultanat was abandoned almost forthwith due to the revived opposition of peripheral chiefs. Catala (1954 : 59) notes the loss of their

"sentiments de déférence et de respect amical" toward the Dalatoa chief.

By the end of 1949, the alifa's authority was once again circumscribed to the chieftaincies of Mao, Tarfe, N'galea, Yelle and Yabugri. The twelve cantons of N'guri subdivision were to be administered by the governor, the alifa retaining only specific supervisory rights (cf. Catala 1954 : 63). The alifa's envoys were recalled to Mao in 1950. That same year, Mao's authority over the North was restricted by the creation of the District Nomade du Nord Kanem. As of 1953, new chefs de canton received their kadmul (turban) of investiture from the French resident officer (See Maps 12 and 13).

Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 59 - 61) distinguishes two stages in French policy towards the Sultans and chiefs of the North of Chad. During the first period, pre-colonial polities were fragmented and pro-French Chadians were put at the head of the resulting splinter-units. This process is characterised by Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 60, quoting Le Cornec 1963) as "la fonctionn^risation du sultan". Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 61) portrays this policy as :

"the policy of the 'great turbans' ... which, more than before, attributed authority to chiefs belonging to the former ruling families. However, the colonial government continued to intervene in succession procedures whenever it deemed appropriate. Thus, in most cases, the authority of native chiefs was far from being ensured."

(My translation)

The situation in Kanem, however, was not so easy for the colonial power to manipulate. During the colonisation process the province's importance as a buttress against British/Bornuan interests generally seems to have operated in favour of the alifa, at least in the medium term. As the day of independence approached, relatively rich and densely populated Kanem was of capital importance in ensuring the North/South balance on which the existence of the Chadian State was to directly depend.

During the 1960's and early 1970's, the alifa's position was officially restricted to that of a chef de canton. In spite of a 1963 State decree relieving chefs de canton of their tax-collecting duties, and a 1966 decision nullifying their role as justices of the peace, the alifa was generally treated by the Tombalbaye and Mallum governments as a sultan. Indeed, his cooperation was needed in checking any possible radicalisation of Muslim Kanem within the framework of a Christian/Animist-dominated République du Tchad in which Muslims, though in a slight numerical majority, were under-recognised and underrepresented in the State apparatus.

Since the end of the colonial period, insubordination and insurgency in Kanem have been more than rhetorical hypotheses for those in power in Fort-Lamy, later N'djaména. Such fears were well justified since successive governments have condoned, if not sometimes encouraged, the persistence of numerous aspects of the taxation system described in Chapter 4.

As of 1963, rebellions against the central authority broke out in several areas of North Chad, especially in the East-Centre regions. In December 1967, violent encounters with government forces occurred in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, at Dum-Dum on the southeastern Lake shore and Iranga, south of Noku. Following an encounter in the Prefecture du Lac that month:

"...an important rebel band moving through open territory is said to have been located from the air (probably by the French air force!) and subsequently annihilated by the Chadian army."

Buijtenhuijs 1978 :

(My translation)

This encounter and its outcome were confirmed to me by a high-ranking French officer (interview 1973) who estimated the size of the rebel group to have exceeded 250 men.

Following these hostilities, the revolt did not spread in Kanem as it did in the eastern préfectures and the Borku-Ennedi-Tibesti préfecture which was occupied by French forces after independence in 1960 until 1965.

This passivity is remarkable since fiscal abuse was decidedly stronger in Kanem than in other northern areas. Swift and massive military repression as of 1967 is an important but not an adequate explanation of Kanem's apparent acceptance of the existing régime. Abba Siddick, a northern revolutionary leader quoted by Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 410) states :

"... in Kanem, feudal structures persist. The peasants, or rather the serfs, live on land which does not belong to them and work for the benefit of true overlord-owners. Political action is difficult and alienation is acute (Nineteen questions to Abba Siddick, p.12)."

(My translation)

Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 410, n. 4) suggests that this situation is the result of the reinforcement of the office of alifa by the French during the reign of Zazertî (1934 - 1947) as opposed to the decline of the royal house in Waday following a difficult French conquest (cf. Carbou 1912). It may also be noted that the Islamic clergy is relatively weak in Kanem and exercises little political influence. In central Kanem, the ulema have tended to be closely subordinated to the alifa's wishes.

Buijtenhuijs (1978 : 411) analyses the alifa's role in Kanemi politics as follows:

"The alifa of Mao is a true despot, powerful and feared, even sometimes in Fort-Lamy. He is a ruler who responds to the summons of the sous-préfet when he feels like it and ignores them when it suits him better (Official document 27, p. 14). A French soldier (interview August 1974), moreover, gave me to understand that the alifa has even succeeded in keeping the sous-préfecture over which he exercises direct authority, free from the presence of Sara civil servants by naming members of his sizeable kindred throughout the public service. The same informant spoke of a sort of secret agreement, said to have obtained between president Tombalbaye and the alifa, according to which the latter would remain loyal to the régime on the condition that he would be allowed to maintain his internal autonomy, with the préfet of Kanem serving rather as an ambassador to the alifa. This may be a bit exaggerated but is not altogether impossible."

(My translation)

The military coup of 1975 resulted in the death of a by then demented Tombalbaye. Prior to this, it would seem that the authorities in Mao were impervious to, though hardly unaware of the fact that the chances of

Frolinat and other Muslim rebel groups to take control of Chad and thus, indirectly, of Kanem and the Lake area, were steadily increasing. Alifa Mohammed apparently felt it a better risk to deal with an unstable military régime both constrained and willing to tolerate his continued rule over Kanem, than with popular movements intent on liquidating autocracies of the type he led. This is, on the face of matters, quite understandable. What is more paradoxical is why the peoples of Kanem, submitted to diverse forms of repression and under the duress entailed by the drought, did not join a rebellion which, by 1975, was even beginning to make inroads in some southern regions. In theory, one rebel organisation did emerge in Kanem at the beginning of 1978, under the denomination Conseil de Commandement des Forces Armées Occidentales, led by a certain Mahmat Abderrahman. Buijtenhuijs (1978: 453) hypothesis with regard to this spurious group is, in my opinion, not without foundation :

"As far as I know, the western army only comprises a few dozen soldiers and one wonders if it is not manipulated by Nigeria, which wants to be associated with the settlement of the Chadian civil war and which, in turn, possibly represents American interests in the region."

(My translation)

The subsequent participation of Nigerian troops in the armistice forces sent to Chad following the fall of the Mallum government in 1979, under the combined pressure of different North Chadian rebel groups, supports this view, as does the yet small-scale extraction of oil by an American firm north of Mao, under a permit granted by Tombalbaye.

If the present revolutionary régime of N'djaména is consolidated under a North/South coalition government with a Muslim dominant, profound political and, eventually, social-structural changes are likely to ensue for the peoples of Kanem. Pessimists might object, however, that the alifal authority has over past decades and centuries weathered equally intense storms.

* * * * *

I would now like to complement the preceeding historical comments by certain data referring to the southern Duu chieftaincies, in order to facilitate understanding the interrelations between general political trends and changes in marriage patterns observed at the clan and cantonal levels (Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9).

As has already been made clear, the Darka chieftaincy at N'guri exerted a pre-eminent influence over all the Duu of South Kanem prior to 1899. This chieftaincy was also a credible competitor for regional ascendancy in its repeated struggles with neighbouring Kanembu groups. Following hostilities with the Duu Bara and their Adia and Rea clansmen (c. 1880 according to Catela 1954 : 13, as early as the 1860's according to my oral data supported by Nachtigal 1881 : 261), the Darka gained the balance upper hand over surrounding Kanembu. As the power/was thus reversed in the Bari district, the Kanembu Kanku, Bade, Bareu, Dieri and Rudou, until then Bara subjects, were drawn into a close "alliance" with the Darka. As Kanembu, they paid certain taxes to the alifa, but as residents of N'guri and Bari, they were also subject to certain forms of taxation and military obligations vis-à-vis the Duu. This situation was unique in Kanem and may be attributed to a multiplicity of factors, among which Darka Bulala origins, Duu military self-sufficiency, and quarrels between Kanembu which had entailed southward migration from the Kanem plateau to South Kanem stand out. The Darka themselves, along with other autonomous Duu, did not pay mud or tribute to either the Dalatoa, the Fezzani or the Wadayans.

After briefly contemplating resistance to the French, Darka kajala Bugar submitted to the invaders on 24 December 1899. Of all the chieftaincies of South Kanem, it is reasonable to maintain that the Darka were to suffer the greatest territorial, fiscal and political disadvantages from the establishment of colonial rule. In 1904, the Daza Warda and the

Duu Warda blacksmiths under malum Shukuri, former dependants of the Darka who were exempted from the mud by virtue of their special religious status (cf. Catala 1954 : 21), were attached to the newly founded canton of Motoa . In 1906, the Kanembu Bade of Baderi, a town located just one dune away from N'guri, were granted the chieftaincy over a new canton, constituted on what had formerly been the northern part of N'guri canton. This act terminated Kanembu dependency on the autonomous Duu. In 1909, the Darka of Dokora were granted a separate canton. This consummated previously extant tensions between the Darka Yunaya and Musaya descent lines.

In accordance with above-described French policies and Kanembu pressures, N'guri canton was integrated into the Kanembu Bade-led canton of Baderi-N'guri in 1932. Three years later, the new entity was split into four groupements : Baderi came under the control of the alifa. Of the three remaining segments, one was left under the Darka and the two others were granted to the former Kanembu vassals of the Darka. All three of these units were administratively joined to Motoa canton, itself under the authority of the alifa's representative in Baderi (cf. Catala 1954 : 47 and 82 - 84). After the escapade of the Grand Sultanat, N'guri canton was reconstituted in 1949 in its present form (See Maps 13 and 14), ensuring the Darka enough land to live on but definitively taking from them the attributes which established their privileged position in later 19th century South Kanem.

The situation of the other southern Duu claiming a more direct and unmitigated hunter heritage than the Darka, is tightly intermeshed with that of the N'guri Duu, mainly for military reasons. Prior to French conquest, the hunters "capital" was located at Barikolom. The chieftaincy alternated among the Rea Kadia, the Rea Tetey, the Bara of Barikolom and the Adia of Bari. In 1899, the chief of the autonomous Duu hunters was mulima N'Jukwa of the Bara. The alifas claimed Barikolom as a vassal fief, but this status was considerably tempered in practice by Duu military

autonomy, which contrasted with Dalatua vulnerability to invaders. According to the treaty of Wai concluded with the French in 1899, mulima N'Jukwa and Darka Kajala Bar were maintained in their offices.

From 1902 to 1908, Bari Kolom chieftaincy remained geographically undivided as part of the N'guri subdivision of the Mao district. Demographically and politically, however, the cessation of the Kanemi civil war following the establishment of French rule led to the explosion of inter-Duu antagonisms. These had long been contained by obligations of solidarity in the face of a permanent Kanembu menace aggravated by Fezzani and Wadayan expansion. The political reasons explaining the surge of tension among Duu were reinforced by a desire to break long-standing territorial enclavement around Wai wadi, the most densely populated nucleus of Kanem, and to colonise new land.

Adia, Bera and also Kanembu migration toward Dagana and the Bahr el-Ghazal was thus amplified (cf. Chapter 7). Accordingly, in 1908, the French transferred the cantonal seat from Bari Kolom to the Rea Teteya village of Kiwa.

With demographic and political tensions so notably reduced in relation to the 1890's, Kiwa's fortunes persisted for some years in spite of the departure of former Duu allies. When the Circonscription du Kanem, having replaced the Cercle du Kanem (by decision of 5 October 1910), was divided into six subdivisions (by decision of 23 December 1912), fifteen cantons were established from the five previously existing ones (See Maps 10 and 11). Kiwa nevertheless, was maintained (cf. Catala 1954 : 23). The excessive fractioning of surrounding cantons from 1902 to 1920 assisted the Rea in consolidating their own initially weak position. This reinforcement was encouraged by the policy of the resident French subdivisional officer from 1912 to 1915/16. The main effect of his action was to clearly delimit land rights between clans by transferring

the responsibilities formerly assumed by the land chiefs to the canton chiefs. Furthermore, suzerainty rights of the alifa over the cantons of N'guri subdivision were (temporarily....) suppressed (Catala 1954 : 24-25).

French policy was, in general, considerate of Duu interests and attempted occasionally to rectify major disparities in their relations with the Kanembu. The limited effectiveness of this action was almost inevitable to the extent that the colonisers were willing, at the same time, to grant substantial concessions to the alifa in order that the Dalatoa might in effect compensate the deficiencies of an undermanned French administration. Thus, a decision of 18 December 1933, stipulating the creation of a single Duu canton regrouping the cantons of Am Dobak, Bio-Bulo, Dokora and Kiwa was not applied (Catala 1954 : 34). This certainly could have had far reaching effects on Duu-Kanembu relations, particularly with regard to the control of land resources. On the contrary, however, the subdivision of N'guri was dissolved on 7 September of the following year and integrated into the subdivision of Mao. Kiwa canton was maintained but effectively passed under direct Dalatoa supervision. On 12 August 1935, Kiwa was incorporated into the Mao chieftaincy (Catala 1954 : 45).

By 1941, after the fall of France, alifa Zszerti felt himself secure enough to further strengthen his hold over greater Kanem by fractionning the long-hostile southern chieftaincies. In keeping with this policy, Kiwa was split between rival Rea mulima Musa and Bara mulima Bukumi. "In passing", the alifa declared himself entitled to supplementary investiture taxes and buntu proceeds from the Bara. A year later, old mulima Musa was replaced by his brother mulima M'bodu Bugar. In 1948, the Rea section of Kiwa was divided in two by alifa Ali, Yalita going to mulima Musa Shuku, SSS of mulima Waday, S of Chorko. Mulima M'bodu Bugar

had since been convicted of theft and was replaced by his "nephew" mulima Hasan at Kiwa I (cf. Catala 1954 : 84).

As French influence was reestablished, the "cantons" of Kiwa I, II and III were reunited under the Rea Kadiya of Yalita. The Bara of Bari now greatly reduced in number, were left only with the office of b'lama of the village of Yawla. Following the conviction for theft of their chief, the Teteya of Kiwa were also deprived of their command. In April 1953, mulima Musa Shuku was killed by a guard. He was followed in office by his son M'bodou. The investiture was performed by the French chef de Région and not the jerma of alifa Ali. Musa died soon thereafter (c. 1956), and was replaced by his uncle Hasan M'bolo who remains chef de canton to date (1975). Under his tenure, social and economic conditions in the canton have been "stable". However, Hasan has had neither the means nor, apparently, the will to seek a renewal of bonds with other Duu and to close the socio-economic gap which divides the latter from the Kanambu of his canton. On the other hand, the alifa's influence has decreased locally since independence and this, in the long term, might allow the Rea to increase their herds, granted two ever uncertain requisites, namely, an improvement of climatological conditions and civil peace in Kanem.

APPENDIX 6 : The sequential distribution of the Rea marriage sample

1895 - 1904

N = 46

%	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	39.1	15.2	2.2	2.2	58.7
A	4.3	10.9	0	0	15.2
S	0	0	4.3	0	4.3
O	6.5	0	0	15.2	21.7
(H)	50.0	26.0	6.5	17.4	99.9

n	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	18	7	1	1	27
A	2	5	0	0	7
S	0	0	2	0	2
O	3	0	0	7	10
(H)	23	12	3	8	46

1905 - 1914

N = 81

%	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	34.6	7.4	3.7	14.8	60.5
A	2.5	2.5	0	2.5	7.5
S	2.5	0	4.9	0	7.4
O	4.9	1.2	0	18.5	24.6
(H)	44.5	11.1	8.6	35.8	100.0

n	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	28	6	3	12	49
A	2	2	0	2	6
S	2	0	4	0	6
O	4	1	0	15	20
(H)	36	9	7	29	81

Abbreviations: R: Rea
A: autonomous Duu
S: smiths
O: outsiders
H: husbands
W: wives

1915 - 1924

N = 112

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	29.5	11.6	1.8	14.3	57.1
A	1.8	8.0	0	2.7	12.5
S	2.7	0	3.6	0	6.3
O	4.5	4.5	0	15.2	24.1
(H)	38.4	24.1	5.4	32.1	100.0

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	33	13	2	16	64
A	2	9	0	3	14
S	3	0	4	0	7
O	5	5	0	17	27
(H)	43	27	6	36	112

1925 - 1934

N = 169

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	23.0	7.7	4.7	13.0	48.4
A	3.6	9.5	0	2.4	15.5
S	1.2	0	0.6	0.6	2.4
O	8.9	3.0	2.4	19.5	33.7
(H)	36.7	20.2	7.7	35.5	100.0

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	39	13	8	22	82
A	6	16	0	4	26
S	2	0	1	1	4
O	15	5	4	33	57
(H)	62	34	13	60	169

1935 - 1944

N = 201

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	32.8	7.5	4.5	9.5	54.3
A	1.5	4.5	0	4.0	10.0
S	1.5	1.0	2.0	2.5	7.0
O	5.5	5.5	0.5	17.4	28.9
(H)	41.3	18.5	7.0	33.4	100.2

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	66	15	9	19	109
A	3	9	0	8	20
S	3	2	4	5	14
O	11	11	1	35	58
(H)	83	37	14	67	201

1945 - 1954

N = 286

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	25.2	10.5	3.8	15.7	55.2
A	2.8	3.9	0.7	3.2	10.6
S	0.4	0	1.4	2.4	4.2
O	7.3	3.8	1.4	17.5	30.0
(H)	35.7	18.2	7.3	38.8	100.0

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	72	30	11	45	158
A	8	11	2	9	30
S	1	0	4	7	12
O	21	11	4	50	86
(H)	102	52	21	111	286

1955 - 1964

N = 207

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	24.6	9.7	3.9	18.8	57.0
A	2.9	3.4	0.5	3.9	10.6
S	1.4	1.0	1.4	0.5	4.3
O	9.7	2.4	0.5	15.5	28.0
(H)	38.6	16.4	6.3	38.6	99.9

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	51	20	8	39	118
A	6	7	1	8	22
S	3	2	3	1	9
O	20	5	1	32	58
(H)	80	34	13	80	207

1965 - 1974

N = 187

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	26.7	11.8	3.2	33.7	75.4
A	3.2	0	0	1.6	4.8
S	1.1	0	1.6	1.1	3.8
O	5.9	2.1	1.1	7.0	16.0
(H)	36.9	13.9	5.9	43.3	100.0

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	50	22	6	63	141
A	6	0	0	3	9
S	2	0	3	2	7
O	11	4	2	13	30
(H)	69	26	11	81	187

1895 - 1914

N = 127

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	36.2	10.2	3.1	10.2	51.7
A	3.1	5.5	0	1.6	10.2
S	1.6	0	4.7	0	6.3
O	5.5	0.8	0	17.3	23.6
(H)	46.4	16.5	7.8	29.1	99.8

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	46	13	4	13	76
A	4	7	0	2	13
S	2	0	6	0	8
O	7	1	0	22	30
(H)	59	21	10	37	127

1915 - 1934

N = 281

%	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	25.6	9.3	3.6	13.5	52.0
A	2.8	8.9	0	2.5	14.2
S	1.8	0	1.8	0.4	4.0
O	7.1	3.6	1.4	17.8	29.9
(H)	37.3	21.8	6.8	34.2	100.1

n	R	A	S	O	(W)
R	72	26	10	38	146
A	8	25	0	7	40
S	5	0	5	1	11
O	20	10	4	50	84
(H)	105	61	19	96	281

1935 - 1954

N = 487

%	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	28.3	9.2	4.1	13.1	54.7
A	2.3	4.1	0.4	3.5	10.3
S	0.8	0.4	1.6	2.5	5.3
O	6.6	4.5	1.0	17.5	29.6
(H)	38.0	18.2	7.1	36.6	99.9

n	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	138	45	20	64	267
A	11	20	2	17	50
S	4	2	8	12	26
O	32	22	5	85	144
(H)	185	89	35	178	487

1955 - 1974

N = 394

%	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	25.6	10.7	3.6	25.9	65.8
A	3.0	1.8	0.3	2.8	7.9
S	1.3	0.5	1.5	0.8	4.1
O	7.9	2.3	0.8	11.4	22.4
(H)	37.8	15.3	6.2	40.9	100.2

n	R	A	S	O	(w)
R	101	42	14	102	259
A	12	7	1	11	31
S	5	2	6	3	16
O	31	9	3	45	88
(H)	149	60	24	161	394

APPENDIX 7 : THE SEQUENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE KANEMBU MARRIAGE SAMPLE

Abbreviations: L : local nobles
 N : exterior nobles
 D : dependant
 H : husbands
 W : wives

1895 - 1914

N = 41

%	L	N	D	(W)
L	56.1	14.6	9.8	80.5
N	4.9	4.9	0	9.8
D	0	0	9.8	9.8
(H)	61.0	19.5	19.6	100.1

n	L	N	D	(W)
L	23	6	4	33
N	2	2	0	4
D	0	0	4	4
(H)	25	8	8	41

1915 - 1934

N = 62

%	L	N	D	(W)
L	43.5	16.1	8.1	67.7
N	6.5	3.2	0	9.7
D	3.2	6.5	12.9	22.6
(H)	53.2	25.8	21.0	100.0

n	L	N	D	(W)
L	27	10	5	42
N	4	2	0	6
D	2	4	8	14
(H)	33	16	13	62

1935 - 1954

N = 118

%	L	N	D	(w)
L	46.6	10.2	17.8	74.6
N	5.9	1.7	1.7	9.3
D	5.9	1.7	8.5	16.1
(H)	58.4	13.6	28.0	100.0

n	L	N	D	(w)
L	55	12	21	88
N	7	2	2	11
D	7	2	10	19
(H)	69	16	33	118

1955 - 1974

N = 90

%	L	N	D	(w)
L	43.3	27.8	20.0	91.1
N	2.2	0	0	2.2
D	4.4	0	2.2	6.6
(H)	49.9	27.8	22.2	99.9

n	L	N	D	(w)
L	39	25	18	82
N	2	0	0	2
D	4	0	2	6
(H)	45	25	20	90

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