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The Political Structure of the Bamoun Kingdom in Cameroon and the Urban-Rural Relationship

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This paper's basic aim is an analysis of the political system of the Bamoun kingdom and its dynamic process of state and capital formation, combined with an analysis of the urban-rural relationship in the particular perspective of the anthropology of complex societies.

The diachronic process of kingdom's development, integrating many chiefdoms and villages, will be synchronically analyzed by means of a comparison of the capital and village political systems. In the process of state formation, the Bamoun society with many chiefdoms coming under its rule could be vertically structured by reproducing in the roles of the village and lineage chiefs in the villages the very same functions attaching to the role of the kingdom's chief in the royal capital. This will be shown here. Thus, a single, continuous line of multi-layered ruler-ruled relationships has been formed, encompassing everyone from the king in the royal capital at the top to ordinary Bamoun people in rural societies at the bottom. In this paper, it will be made clear that the Bamoun state has been formed with economic, legal, political and military consistency from its summit to the base.

The Bamoun use raphia palm and oil palm in a variety of ways in daily life, creating the raphia palm culture complex which extends from economic functions to religious meanings. The Bamoun kingdom utilizes this raphia palm culture complex to reinforce its political system. The way in which the raphia and oil palm culture are combined with the social and political system will be made apparent.

As well, the relationship between the political structure of the Bamoun kingdom and its Islamization will be analyzed. Faced with the new civilization of Islam, the Bamoun kingdom adapted the Islamic network into a political organization, using the network to its own advantage to reinforce its own political foundation.

Through these analyses, the writer intends to form a dynamic anthropology of complex societies, states and cities, combining their structure and history.

INTRODUCTION

The Bamoun (Bamoum or Bamum) kingdom in Cameroon, in Central Africa, is a composite multi-layered society of complex organization. Starting as a mere chiefdom, it established a multi-layered political structure, of the ruler and the

ruled, through repeated conquest, subjugation, and peace agreements. State formation can be recognized in this process. The political process of the state formation represented the maturation of the kingdom's political apparatus and involved the formation of a close-knit relationship between the royal capital and village communities, as the state was formed out of the integration of villages by the royal capital, the center of power. Therefore, it is significant to contemplate the structure of the royal capital, the center of power per se, along with the process of the absorption and rule of villages.

In this paper, therefore, the author shall attempt to examine the political structure of the Bamoun kingdom—which succeeded in establishing a complex chieftainship society—in terms of the Bamoun's unique political organization and the process of its improvement and consolidation through Islamization. The author shall do so by focusing, in particular, on how the traditional Bamoun political structure is affected by the raphia-palm culture complex and on how this political structure, in turn, affects the urban structure and the city-village community relationship.

1. THE BAMOUN KINGDOM AND RAPHIA-PALM CULTURE

1) The Top-down Political System and the Grass Roots Kinship System

The political system of any ethnic group or state, if it is a ruling apparatus imposed "from the top" only, is unlikely to last for long due to the lack of popular identification and support. Likewise, people identify with neither values nor a culture which support a particular political system without engaging popular viewpoints "from the grass roots."

Thus, it becomes necessary for a top-down political system to adapt to and combine itself with the daily rounds and customary system of the people. In the Bamoun kingdom, it is the system of *nji* that serves this purpose. *Nji* is an honorific title granted by the king. A person with this title is positioned at the juncture between the political system of kingdom and the popular kinship system.

A *nji* is a sort of prince, as well as a lineage chief or a clan chief, with many family chiefs under him. In other words, one *nji* has many *nganjuh*, or family chiefs, within his own lineage. Such family chiefs, and their polygamous families, usually live in houses or on land which their *nji* rents to them within his territory. Although a *nji* may "give" a piece of land to a *nganjuh*, the *nji*'s decisions and commands, which cannot be rejected, can change ownership at anytime. A *nji*'s absolute authority and political power within his lineage are guaranteed by the vertical line of descent and rule of king-*nji-nganjuh*: a *nganjuh*'s father is a *nji*, whose father is in turn the king or *mfon*, by both the multi-layered parent-child relationship and the ancestral-temporal relationship. The authority of the successive Bamoun kings, who are the ethnic group's chiefs, gods, and ancestors all at the same time, along with the life force of the king (*mfon*), which embodies the entire ancestry of the Bamoun ethnic group, position a *nji* as "the king's child,"

empowering and deifying him.

A *nji* exercises absolute authority over all agricultural produce and other products generated within his territory, including oil palms and raphia palms planted there. In not only the traditional but also the present-day economic system, the economic value of palm wine, which is generated naturally by and extracted from raphia palms, is high as it sells well on the market.

For example, one *nji* named Njikumunjua of Njimom Village, 24 km northeast of Foumban, owns a vast stretch of land comprising mountains, hills, rivers, forests, farms, and fields. The majority of Fongû, one of the seven sections constituting the village of Njimom, belongs to him. Those living nearby and not belonging to his lineage group may ask the *nji* for permission to use raphia palms, which are left untended due to the lack of labor within the clan. Such a request and negotiation took place on August 23, 1984 at *nji* Njikumunjua's residence in Njimom Village. Following the negotiation, the following written contract was signed by the *nji*, i.e. the owner of the raphia palms, and the user:

Njimom Village, August 23, 1984

I, Njikumunjua, hereby sign and permit Mr. Mumben Tathio to extract palm wine from the raphia palm fields which I privately own in Njimom Village. In return, Mr. Mumben agrees to pay (return) me 3,000 CFA per month. The payments shall commence on the last day of October.

In determining Mr. Mumben's ability for the aforementioned payment, a delay in payment of up to six months shall not be held against him.

(Signed) Owner

(Signed) Mumben

(Signed) *Nji*'s witness

(Signed) User's witness

As shown above, four persons, including the witnesses of the raphia palm owner and user, signed the contract approving the right to use raphia palms to distill palm wine. On the *nji*'s side, raphia palms may be described as a hen that lays golden eggs; he can receive 3,000 CFA without any effort on his part. In such a negotiation, it is always the *nji* that determines the lease of the raphia palms. Even when the raphia palms in question are located on a piece of land already rented to a *nganjuh*, the *nji* alone can make decisions and freely take advantage of the economic value of the palms. Moreover, *nji* have the symbol of raphia palms conferred upon them by the king, as a guarantee of their new or continuing status as *nji*.

What are *nji*'s role and authority in the traditional Bamoun society like? Let us consider this in the context of the political structure of the Bamoun kingship society and examine how the cultural symbol of raphia palms is related to and supports the Bamoun political structure.

2) Political Structure of the Bamoun Kingdom

The Bamoun king, (*mfon*), is the sole and paramount chief of the Bamoun

state. The paramount chief has subordinate chiefs (*mfontuo*) and rural village chiefs working under him. The king gives his collateral relatives royalty regions within the state to rule and develop, where they act as founders and develop their respective lineages and clans. The royal family and princes who thus become the founders of lineages and then *lineage's* chiefs are all given the title of *nji* by the king. Basically, the term *nji* means "the king's child." However, not all *nji* who have become village chiefs and regional leaders were originally princes: court ministers, those awarded land, a wife (or wives), and the labor force of the king employed for their services in war, those recognized as "kings" for their special skills despite their descent from the conquered, and those among the leaders of the conquered recognized as "children" of the Bamoun king for their allegiance to the king (or for appointment as regional chiefs) also become *nji* and as village chiefs and regional chiefs, are assigned to several parts of the Bamoun state, *ngu*. Those recognized as village chiefs by the king have had their own clans develop in several regions across the Bamoun state. A *nji*, as a village chief, is also a lineage chief. Thus, since the 11th King Bouombouo, the Bamoun kings have successively given birth to hundreds of lineage groups within the state through regional conquest and development¹⁾.

The king in the royal capital reigns over hundreds of lineage groups developed in villages throughout his kingdom and, as the "parent," distributes land, labor force, and women (as wives) to his "children," i.e. village chiefs, so that these lineage groups and village communities prosper. The king solves problems in accordance with the ancestral rules and customs of the Bamoun and mediates between villages to settle conflicts and disputes; he summons up soldiers from villages to fight other chiefdoms and rewards them with slaves (labor) and women (wives) as trophies of war; and he officiates sacred rites for the ancestral kings and the whole ethnic group to pray for and maintain peace in all villages and the prosperity of the kingdom.

On the other hand, a village chief, a *nji*, who rules a village community within the kingdom, divides the usu-fruct of his land granted by the king among family chiefs in his village or lineage group. In doing this, a *nji*, who is the lineage chief and the village chief, acts as "parent" to his "children," the family chiefs. The allotment of not only land, but also labor and spouses, to family chiefs is carried out solely according to the judgement and decision of a *nji*, "the king's child" empowered by the divine king. In this sense, it can be said that a *nji* has absolute authority, approved by the king and ethnic ancestors, over his family chiefs. A *nji* mediates between families and lineage groups to settle conflicts and disputes; summons up soldiers from families in his village to fight for the Bamoun king and kingdom; distributes trophies of war, including slaves and women rewarded by the king, among the families; and officiates sacred rites for all the lineage chiefs who have ever existed, i.e. ancestral *nji*, to protect the village and lineage from evil magic

1) King Bouombouo created 112 villages, King Nsangu 165 villages, and King Njoya 169 villages [TARDITS 1973: 486].

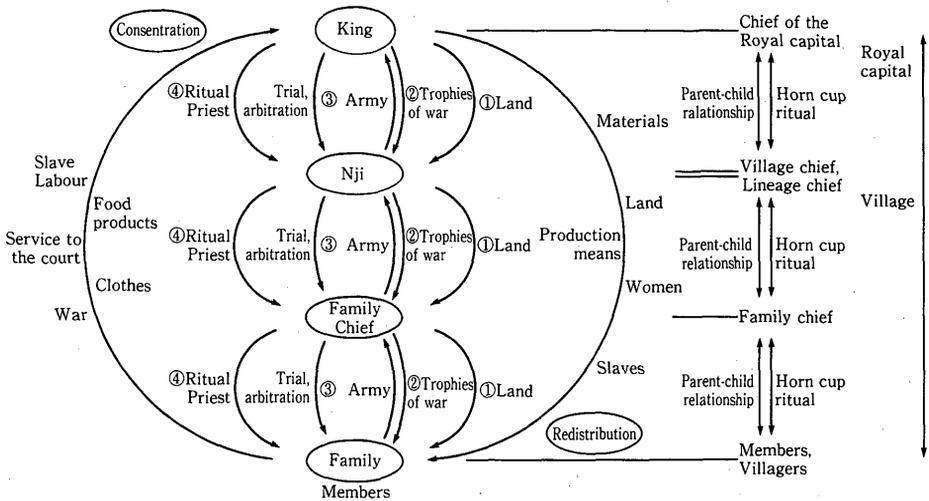


Fig. 1

and to pray for peace in all families of the village and for the prosperity of the entire region.

It is clear, therefore, that the role of the kingdom's chief in the royal capital, *mfon* (king), toward regional village chiefs, *nji*, is identical to and linked with that of *nji*, village and lineage chiefs toward their villagers and family chiefs in the village, although the scale of their power differs (Fig. 1). The role and authority of *nji* is the same wherever *nji* are posted, whether in a rural village or a ward (quarter) of the royal capital. The fact that authority granted to a person who has become a *nji* is enormous is deeply connected to the present-day meaning of *sû nji*, the ritual for producing new *nji*, which will be described later. Either a biological or a nominal parent-child relationship is constituted by each of the following pairs: the king and any given *nji*, who are lineage chiefs scattered throughout the capital and villages; a lineage chief and any given family chief; and a family chief and any given family member. Therefore, a single, continuous line of multi-layered ruler-ruled relationships is formed, encompassing everyone from the king in the royal capital at the top to ordinary Bamoun people in rural villages at the bottom. The political structure of the Bamoun state is thus formed and supported by economic, legal and political, military, and religious consistency from top to bottom².

3) Political System of the Bamoun Kingdom and Raphia Palm Culture

As mentioned above, the political system of the Bamoun state is basically structured so as to constitute economic, political, military, and religious consistency and continuity. This consistency and continuity characterize the roles and

2) This political hierarchy is analyzed in the writer's urban theory on chiefdom's or kingdom's, with special emphasis on the spatial development of the urban-rural relationship [WAZAKI 1984].

Table 1 Succession Ritual Instruments of the King, Nji, and the Family Chief and their Continuity

	Drum	Ritual parasol	Double gongs		Long trumpet
Royal Capital (King)	kindi	taara veta	menjamdu		kakaki Large
Village (Nji)	ndam	taara veta	kuwom		ntā Medium
(Family Chief)		taara veta			Small

	Horn cup	Palm wine	Liquor pot		Forest of palm wine
Royal capital (King)	Horn cup of the country (du ngu)	Palm wine of the country (zu ngu)	wide	makākugā	Forest of the country sen ngu (sen mfon)
Village (Nji)	Horn cup of the country (du ngu)	Palm wine (zu nfu)	medium	makākugā	Forest of nji (sen nji)
(Family chief)	Horn cup for liquor (du nzu)	Palm wine (zu nfu)	small	makākugā	Raphia forest sen nkaara (sen nganjuh)

**Fig. 2** Long trumpet *kakaki* played in praise of the king.

meanings underlying the actions of the king, i.e. the supreme ruler, village chiefs (*nji*), and family chiefs, ranging from the center of the kingdom, the royal capital, to individual families in rural villages. It should be noted that this political mechanism also has the function of symbolic and cultural intensification, realized through cultural symbols existing both in the royal capital and village communities to which raphia palm culture is closely related.

Let us study Table 1. It shows the political mechanism of the Bamoun kingdom as comprising the three levels of the king, *nji*, and the family; as well as the corresponding levels of royal capital, village community, and family. At the same time, it compares religious ritual instruments and cultural symbols used on each level. First, let us take as an example the long trumpet, a ritual instrument called a *kakaki* (Fig. 2). It is played in front of the king for benediction, praise, and purification when the chief of the kingdom marches. Similarly, on the village level, the long trumpet called a *ntá*, which is of the same shape but slightly smaller than a *kakaki*, is played in praise of the village chief when a *nji* marches. The function and the form of these ritual instruments are identical on both the level of the king (royal capital) and of the *nji* (village), but their size and the sphere of their political influence clearly differ.

Next, let us consider a U-shaped pair of bells generally called double gongs. There is a pair of double gongs called *menjamdu* for the king in the palace (Photo. 1). The *menjamdu* bells are rung at the time of a king's death. At the king's funeral, the bells are placed on the left side of the king's head when he is laid on his deathbed. At the same time, a parasol called a *taara veta* is placed at the top of the head of the bed. The king's double gongs and parasol remain with the king's deathbed for seven days in this manner. The king's large drum, *kindi*, is beat to announce approaching enemies or to summon people into the square in front of the palace (*ku-yen-ja*), whereas the king's double gongs are rung when his soldiers are about to go to war. The drumstick used with the double gongs, which convey



Photo. 1 The king plays *menjamdu* double-gong, inspiring his Bamoun children to "go to war"

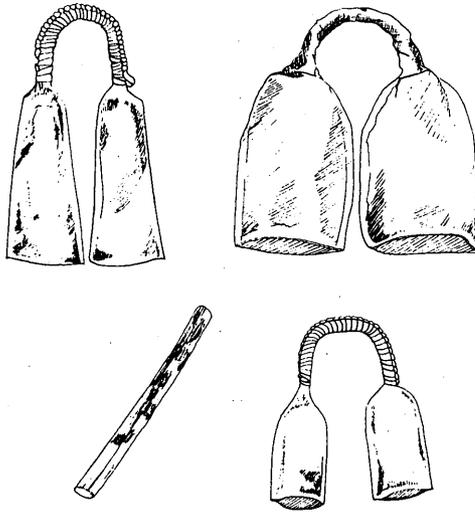


Fig. 3 Double gongs: Nji's *kuwom* and family chief's small *kuwom*.

highly important meanings, is made from the scraped surface of the trunk of a raphia palm tree (*kam zu*). When *sû nji* is performed in the royal capital to produce a new *nji*, the king attends the ritual in war costume and inspires the new *nji* to "go to war," beating his *menjamdu* (Photo. 1), as "the king's child" is expected to fight for the Bamoun king.

In village communities, on the other hand, at a *nji*'s residence, there are double gongs called *kuwom* (Fig. 3). Smaller than the king's *menjamdu*, *kuwom* are of exactly the same shape as the king's bell. A *kuwom* is rung at the time of a village and lineage chief's death. As with the king's double gongs, a *nji*'s double gongs are placed on the left side of the *nji*'s head when he is laid on his deathbed at his funeral. At the same time, a parasol called by the same name as the king's, *taara*

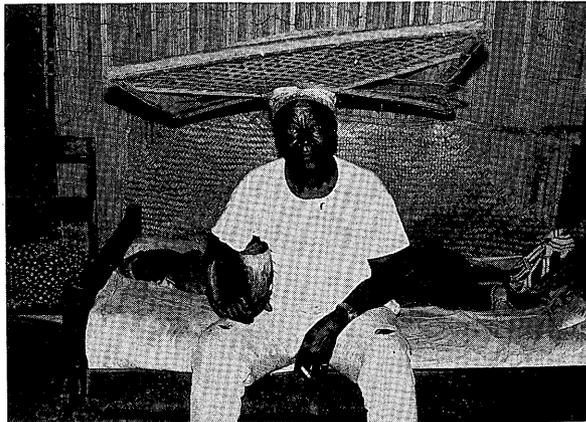


Photo. 2 *Taara veta*, raphia palm-made ritual parasol

Fig. 4 Horn Cup *du nzu*

veta, and made of raphia palm is also placed at the same location of the bed in the same manner as for the king. A *nji's taara veta* and the king's differ in size, but their shape and name are identical (Photo. 2). Moreover, a *nji's* double gongs and parasol also remain with the *nji's* deathbed for seven days, as for the king's funeral. A *nji's* large drum, a *ndam*, like the king's, is beat to announce approaching enemies or to summon people into the village square, and a *nji's* double gongs are also rung to inspire villagers and lineage members. Furthermore, the drumstick for a *nji's* double gongs is also made from *kam zu* of a raphia palm tree, like the king's. Both the king's and a *nji's* parasols are made by braiding hard-surfaced long strings of scraped raphia-palm *kam zu*, which shine like the trunk of a bamboo tree.

It is clear, then, that almost all important ritual instruments in village communities used for *nji* correspond to those in the royal capital used for the king. In other words, ritual instruments used at the village level, i.e. a *nji's* ritual instruments, are miniatures of those used in the capital or at the king's level and have an identical role, usage, and form. This fact secures the political hierarchy of the royal capital and villages, and the continuity and identity of the line of rule connecting the king to *nji* and to the people. It should also be noted that cultural symbols of raphia palms and their symbolic meanings are used in the form of the double gongs and the parasols.

Let us compare rituals in the royal capital and a village for the exchange or succession of a chief. In this case, in accordance with the political system of the Bamoun state, the three levels of the kingdom chief in the capital (*mfon*), a village and lineage chief (*nji*), and a family chief in a village (*nganjuh*) are involved (Fig. 1, Tab. 1).

First, for the succession ritual at the level of family chiefs who rule Bamoun villagers in rural communities, *du nzu*, a cup made from a wild ox's horn (Fig. 4, Photo. 2) and meaning "a cup for liquor"; *zu nfu*, palm wine extracted from raphia palms³⁾; and *makaakugaa*, a pot for holding liquor (Fig. 5, Photo. 3) are prepared. For the succession of a new family chief, the rite is attended by the *nji* who rules him in the village and secures the legitimacy of his authority. The *nji* pours palm

3) Palm wine always accompanies rituals of propitious nature such as liberation and benediction. A marriage vow is completed when a woman and a man drink palm wine together. It is also raphia palm that is used to celebrate birth and to protect a new mother's body after delivery. Lamaré gives an example of such use: a belt made of raphia palm is wrapped around a new mother's abdomen for protection [LAMARÉ 1975: 181].

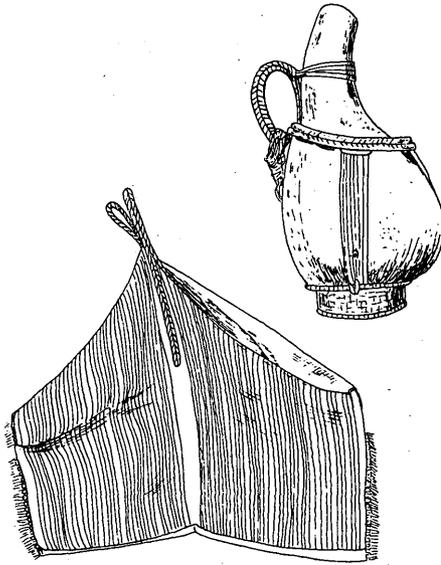


Fig. 5 Bag (*Pwa kpetkambum Pamom*) containing *makaakugaa* (right)



Photo. 3 Palm wine pot *makaakugaa* and enemy teeth

wine from the pot (*makaakugaa*) into the cup (*du nzu*) and gives it to the new family chief. Receiving the approval of the king, who is god himself, and the *nji*, the god's child, the new family chief in turn gives palm wine to his family members over whom he is now to exercise his authority. The family members take off their hats and squat down in front of their new chief, who is seated with a horn cup in his hands. Then they receive palm wine from the horn cup in both of their bare hands and drink up the wine. By doing this, they express their complete acceptance of the new family chief's authority and rule. The manner, which expresses solemn respect, is derived from the notion that Bamoun people clearly see the king's

ancestral gods at the extension of the line of patrilineal lineage through this succession ritual.

For the succession ritual of a *nji*, a chief at the level of lineage, village, or *quartier* (quarter or ward), a cup made from a wild ox's horn (*du ngu*), which means "the horn cup of the ancient land" or "the horn cup of the country"; *zu nfu* (palm wine); and *makaakugaa*, (liquor pot) are prepared. These three ritual instruments for a new *nji* are identical to those for a family chief succession ritual, except for the horn cup and *makaakugaa*, which are larger than for a family chief. As well, the horn cup is called by a different name: at the level of the family chief, it is called "a horn cup for liquor," a generic name with little marking; whereas at the *nji* level, it is called by a specific name suggestive of clear-cut political and territorial definition and expanse, "the cup of the ancient land" or "the cup of the country." A person who is to become a new village chief, a *nji*, visits the king's palace in the royal capital to receive palm wine poured out of the king's horn cup by the king himself, and to receive the king's recognition that he has become a new *nji*, i.e. "the king's child." With this recognition and secured legitimacy of his new status, the new *nji* returns to his village, where he gives palm wine in the horn cup (*du ngu*) to the many family chiefs whom he is to rule and protect and whose prosperity he is supposed to secure. At this time, the family chiefs, who have been in power longer, take off their hats and squat before the seated new *nji* to receive and drink palm wine in both of their bare hands (Photo. 4). By doing this, the family chiefs express their complete acceptance of the new *nji*'s authority and rule.

Finally, at the top of the kingdom's power structure, for the succession ritual of a king, a cup made from a wild ox (*du ngu* or "the horn cup of the country"); palm wine called *zu ngu*; and the *makaakugaa* pot are also used. This means that the basic material compositions of instruments used for the succession ritual of the state's supreme chief, the king, are precisely identical to the composition of the instruments used in the succession ritual of a lineage chief *nji* or a family chief in a



Photo. 4 Palm wine ritual by a new *Nji*

village community, although the instruments used differ in size, terminology (for the horn cup and palm wine), and the range of territory indicated. In this example, a cultural structure corresponding to and inseparable from the continuity of political rule is found. For the king's succession ritual, the horn cup is called "the cup of the country," while the palm wine is called "the liquor of the country." This is the largest scale of political territory in the Bamoun state. As well, the word "ngu," which means "of the country," indicates metaphorically the chronological depth and traditional legitimacy of the rule of the Bamoun state by the successive kings.

The three levels of names for the horn cup can be compared. The horn cup for a family chief is called "a horn cup for palm wine" or "a horn cup for liquor." The cup has no specific distinction suggesting the family chief's rule over the Bamoun people at large. Rather, the most commonplace, small-scale political sphere of the daily-life of the Bamoun people is indicated. For both *nji* and the king, the horn cup is called "*du ngu*." The Bamoun explanation is that in the case of a *nji*'s horn cup, the word *ngu* means "the country," but more accurately "ancient land" or "ancient homeland." This means that, the horn cup is suggestive of the origin of the Bamoun. Why, then, is the name suggesting the largest domain of the Bamoun, their origin, or the country, given to the horn cup for *nji*? The answer to

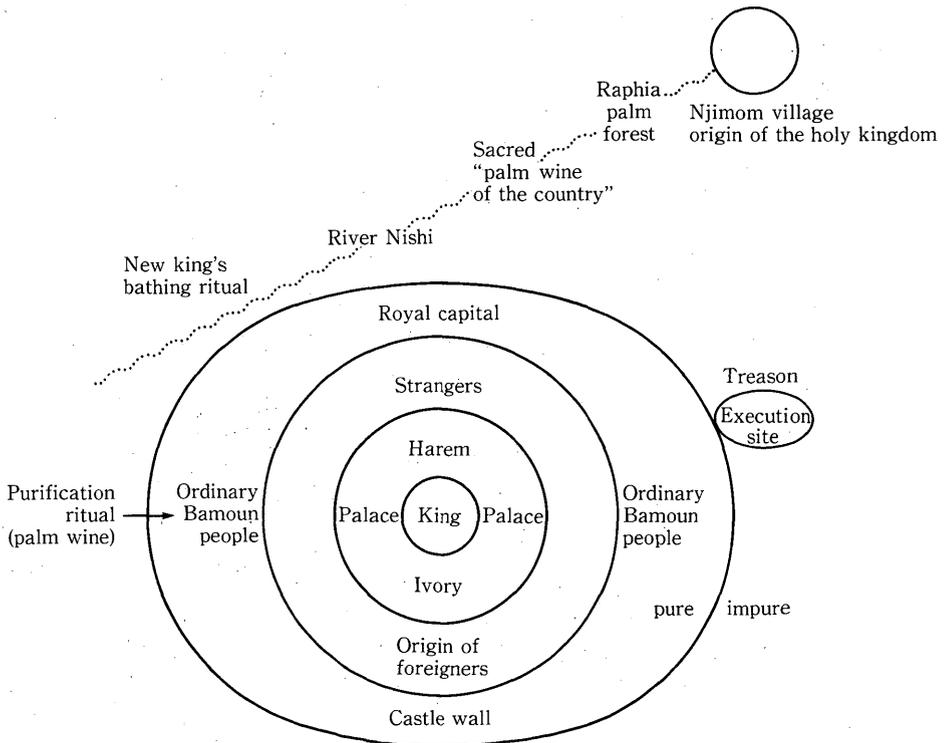


Fig. 6

this question can be found in a Bamoun proverb. The Bamoun people think as follows: "the Bamoun country and the king are likened to a wild ox, and the *nji* are its horns; they charge at enemies to protect the country." *Nji* is the "horn" which supports "the country" itself. Therefore, the same horn (cup) overlaps the two levels of the king and *nji*, meaning "the country" for the king, and "the ancient land and the country" for *nji*. When the king is considered as a wild ox (i.e. the country), *nji* become its part, "the horn of the country." A family chief, on the other hand, is never likened to any part of a wild ox. In this sense, the king and *nji* become one as "the parent and children," figuratively forming a wild ox, i.e. the country. Therefore, the king and *nji* are inseparable. This is how the name, "the horn cup of the country," emerged.

As part of the succession ritual, the new king bathes in a river called Nshi, "the ancestral river" (Fig. 6), which flows near the royal capital from the direction of Njimom, the origin of the Bamoun. He does this in order to be purified and approved by his ancestors, i.e. the successive kings, and the land of origin. Then, he returns to the palace and gives "palm wine of the kingdom" in the horn cup (*du ngu*) to selected people among those he rules and who thus directly receive the king's sacred power, the accompaniment of his authority. These people, selected for the honor of receiving liquor from the divine king in person, are the king's children and "the king's children." This means that *nji*, who are village and lineage chiefs, receive palm wine from the new king, along with princes, the king's blood relatives. First, *nji*, who have been in their respective positions longer than the new king, take off their hats and squat in front of the seated new king, and they receive palm wine from the horn cup in both of their bare hands to drink. By doing this, *nji* express their complete acceptance of the new king's authority and rule.

One should notice, in comparing the religious rituals of the Bamoun kingdom on the three levels, and specifically those of the succession ritual for the king, *nji*, and family chiefs, the existence of consistency and continuity in the ritual instruments, the name of the palm forest where palm wine is distilled, the ritual forms and manners, and the meaning behind them. It should also be noted that it is always the "power" and sacredness of the Bamoun palm culture that give birth to a "chief" on all levels from the king to the people. In Bamoun society, the ritual of the royal capital is transplanted to a village community exactly as it is. In other words, the ritual in a village community is a carbon copy or a miniature of the ritual in the royal capital. Therefore, it is quite natural that the order of the royal capital is adopted entirely in a village community and, as a result, a village community in a substantive sense succeeds in becoming a royal capital. One sees a village community and finds a royal capital there.

Because of this continuity of the palm wine ritual, supported by political and economic continuity between the king and the people or between the center of sovereign power, the royal capital, and rural villages, the Bamoun king's rule over remote villages in regions far removed from the capital becomes easier and stronger. Conversely, the Bamoun people can find the essence of the royal capital, and feel

the presence of the king in the palm wine rituals carried out for *nji* and family chiefs in their village, without having seen their divine king in person, or however far away they live from the center of the state. Thus, the people can confirm their link with the king, the very presence of their god and ancestors, and find peace there, acquiring the wholeness of their Bamoun identity. Moreover, raphia palm trees have an extremely close presence for individual villagers, who enjoy palm wine on a daily basis. Therefore, the fact that such raphia palm trees serve the role of securing the kingdom and giving birth to the king, *nji*, and chiefs of families, to which the people personally belong, completes the establishment of the political structure of the Bamoun kingdom, which extends even to little corners of rural villages. At the same time, it also gives the people individual psychological security.

Amid the continuity found between the rituals in the capital and village communities, the only different points are the size of ritual instruments and the extent which their respective names suggest (Tab. 1). The folk names for the horn cup and palm wine plainly mean: "a horn cup for liquor" and "palm wine" on the level of the village family chief; "the horn cup of the country" and "palm wine" on the village *nji* level; and "the horn cup of the country" and "the liquor of the country" on the level of the king in the royal capital, with "the country" indicating the largest unit of political territory in the Bamoun kingdom.

These points of difference indicate the absolute difference between the king and the other chiefs as well as the difference between the capital and village communities. In other words, they suggest the absoluteness and supremacy of the king and the preeminence and centrality of the royal capital in a chieftainship society of kingdom. In this sense, the capital and village communities are continuous in some areas while, at the same time, they are separation in others. Junzo Kawada, in his study of the characteristics of the royal capital of the Mosi, whose society is based on kingship, also compares the capital, central cities ruled by regional chiefs, and rural villages, pointing out continuity and separation among them [KAWADA 1980]. It is thus believed that, in the case of a chiefdom or kingdom, it is significant to study a city by contemplating the relationship between the capital and village communities.

Raphia palm-based religious symbols correspond to and correlate with the continuity of political rule extending from the top to the bottom, forming an indivisible link and intensifying the political structure. This compound structure of religious symbols underlies Bamoun society and its culture. With palm wine made from raphia palm trees at the center, the compound structure comprising valuable instruments, cultural symbols, and rituals and faith is linked organically with the corresponding political, economic, and social structures of the Bamoun kingdom, thereby ensuring for the Bamoun people, ancestral power, and the legitimacy and the source of life.

As mentioned before, in the succession ritual, the new king bathes in the River Nshi, "the ancestral river," to purify himself before entering the palace as the

approved new king. As shown in Fig. 6, the sacredness and purity of the river come from the raphia palm forest called *sen ngû*, or "the forest of the country," on the upper reaches of the river, which can be considered the origin of the Bamoun as well as of the palm wine extracted from this forest. The founder of the Bamoun state, King Nchare, is buried in the forest, from where the river flows. Palm wine is also transported on the river. From these facts, it can be said that purification with palms is also involved in the new king's entry into the palace.

In this regard, the royal capital should be seen, in terms of its structure, as a symbolic space. The inside of the royal capital is protected by palm wine and the palm culture in contrast to its outside. Based on the distinction between the "inside" and the "outside," the structure of royal power and of the community in which this power culminates, i.e. the royal capital itself, will be analyzed in the following chapter.

2. THE "INSIDE" AND THE "OUTSIDE" OF THE ROYAL CAPITAL

1) The "Inside-Outside" Boundary of the Royal Capital and the Purification Ritual: the Symbolism of Palm Wine

For the Bamoun the royal capital Foumban is the center of the political domain, and of the greatest sacredness. Therefore, a strict control system was established to prevent invasion of the capital by other ethnic groups and enemies. Since the reign of the 11th King Bouombouo, the capital has been protected by the mound wall surrounding it. In those days, the wall had 8 gates, each of which was guarded by a group of 15 young men organized by a quarter chief, *mfojom*. The eight gates corresponded to the eight traditional quarters (*quartier; nju*) which comprised the royal capital Foumban. This means that each of the quarters of the capital was responsible for one gate. Each group guarded a gate day and night, questioning all passengers coming in and out of the capital, and checking their belongings or passes if they were exiting the capital. For a person of another ethnic group about to enter the royal capital, the traditional Bamoun liquor, i.e. raphia palm wine, was poured around the person's feet to purify him or her and the boundary, before entry was permitted. In Bamoun society, palm wine is a basic and important ritual symbol. It was therefore used in the purification ritual before the entrance into the center of the sacred land, particularly for people of other ethnic groups because of the notion that Bamoun land was pure and the outside world was impure. Moreover, the purification ritual for members of other ethnic groups, using palm wine, secured their freedom in Bamoun society. Therefore, it can be said that the purification of members of other ethnic groups at the wall gate also had the purpose of granting them "citizenship" inside the Bamoun royal capital. Likewise, when a person desired to liberate a slave from slavery or poverty, he did so by pouring palm wine over both the slave's feet.

There is another example of the ritual of admitting people of other ethnic groups into the Bamoun. When the Bamoun constantly fought against other

ethnic groups, especially during the reign of King Bouombouo, it was customary that only the Bamoun king had the authority to punish or murder the chief of a defeated chiefdom, when one was brought to the royal capital. It was customary that a defeated chief enter the capital enclosed in oil palm leaves for his purification and protected by Bamoun warriors. Once inside, he stood before the Bamoun chief and then knelt down to scoop up and drink palm wine of subordination and submission with both his hands. After this, he was a subject of the Bamoun king. If he refused to undergo this ritual, however, he was killed before the onlooking crowd [*Sultanat Bamoun* 1985: 19-21]. Thus, the palm wine in the royal capital had the function of recognizing a conquered chief as a subordinate chief in the Bamoun kingdom. While this is part of the process of defining the conqueror-conquered relationship, it is also regarded as a ritual of purification and liberation.

The sacredness of the royal capital must be protected and maintained not only by chiefs of other ethnic groups, but also by the Bamoun king himself. For example, when the king returns after having been away from his political territory, the kingdom (*ngu*) or the royal capital (*ku-nju*), he must cleanse himself of the impurity of the outside world. For another example, it is a traditional custom for the king to pour palm wine before crossing the River Noun at the southern edge of the kingdom, forming the boundary between Bamoun and the Bamileke Chiefdoms, and when entering the capital through a castle wall gate. In recent years, *siqr*, the words of blessing by *nga maasa mfon*, the admirer of an Islamic sultan, are often used in lieu of palm wine to break through the boundaries and to return to purity from impurity. It can also be replaced by benediction greetings by *kom*, the king's immediate adviser and minister. In either case, it is clear that great importance is attached to benediction or purification upon entry to the royal capital. Thus the inside and the outside of the capital are symbolically distinguished. The king purifies himself with palm wine upon entering the royal capital while at the same time purifying his subjects and the capital itself, which have been deprived of their central sacredness due to his absence, with his own words of benediction to the Bamoun people and the capital on the ritual site of his return.

Another example of symbolic distinction of the inside and the outside of the capital can be found in its relation to war. According to Joseph Mfochivé's description, in 1894, a civil war broke out between Prince Njoya and Chief Retainer Gbetkom over the right to succeed the 16th King Nsangû. In 1896, Prince Njoya returned to the capital as the victor, but had to wait outside of the royal capital Fouban for seven days to purify himself. Moreover, the trophies of war and prisoners were exposed to smoke at the wall gate entrance as a purification rite. The game was also smoked and purified before it was offered to the gods and spirits of the Bamoun kingdom. Warriors returning to the capital had to step over their ancestral graves to purify themselves [MFOCHIVÉ 1983: 106-107]. The game and prisoners from the outside of the capital were considered impure, and could exist inside the capital only after purification. This is another indication of the

symbolism of the inside and the outside of the capital.

In this last example given, palm wine was involved in the purification ritual as well: palm wine was poured over the ancestral graves. Traditionally, when the king returns to his capital after a visit away or a war, his body, i.e. the symbol of the state, is purified with palm wine both at the entrance gate, which defines the boundary between the outside and the inside of the capital, and at the River Noun, the boundary between the Bamoun kingdom and other countries⁴).

2) The Concept of the Royal Capital and the Symbolism of Urban Space

(1) The Concept of the Royal Capital

In their concept of community, how do the Bamoun people distinguish urban and rural communities from each other in the domain of the daily round? In the Bamoun language, a country and a town are called "*ngu*"; and a village "*nju*" or "*nsa-ngú*," but basically "*ngu*." "*Nsa-ngú*" actually means a small (*nsa*) *ngu*. At least from this folk terminology for the different forms of community, it is clear that the Bamoun people do not necessarily differentiate between urban and rural communities.

However, they have a special term for their royal capital Foumban. It is called by its proper name per se, Foumban, or more closely to its Bamoun pronunciation, Fomben. Foumban or Fomben means "the Mben's *fom*," the word *fom* meaning ruins. Thus, Foumban means the ruins of the Mben people. This name comes from the historical fact that the Pamom, the founding group of the Bamoun kingdom from the northeastern land of the Tikar ethnic group, conquered the Mben, the aborigines. Bamoun is also derived from the name "Pamom." Therefore, Foumban, the name for a city, refers to the origin of the powerful conqueror kingdom, in which the Bamoun take pride.

Another aspect of the concept of the Bamoun royal capital Foumban, height sensitivity of the Bamoun people, should be noted. In general, a Bamoun person attaches the prefix *ku* when referring to a place located higher than his or her vantage point; *ma* when referring to a lower place; and for a place at roughly the same height as his or her vantage point, *fu*, if close, and *nji* if slightly distant or very remote (Fig. 7). For example, the word for school, *ndalewa*, changes to "*kundalewa*" when one looks up at the school from a lower place and "*mandalewa*" when looking down from a higher place, even though it is the same school.

It is obvious that the height sensitivity of the Bamoun people is subject to geographical, environmental, and topographical conditions. Moreover, it actually

4) Raphia palm is involved in almost all aspects of Bamoun daily life including food, clothing, and shelter. It is also believed to realize sacred-profane interchange, to bring "ancestral power" to life, and to invoke strong feelings and a sense of identity. Such a sacred symbol deserves distinction from other symbols for its special role of realizing a cultural complex. Ortner terms such a sacred symbol a "summarizing symbol" [ORTNER 1973: 1338-1346].

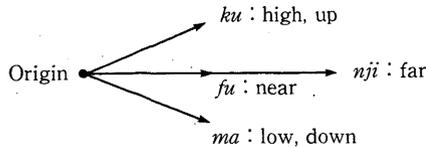


Fig. 7

transcends simple consciousness of such outward conditions; it includes, among others, religious piety which is reflected in their social and psychological consciousness. The differentiation of the royal capital from rural villages among the Bamoun people reflects this point. Even though their villages are located in mountainous and undulating areas, the village dwellers, in many cases, call the royal capital Fouban, not *Ma-nju*, but *Ku-nju*. The Bamoun people do so out of their respect for the place of their supreme chief, the king. The Bamoun people are aware of the loftiness of this particular place because it is the king's residence. Thus, it can be said that while the people's general distinction between a city and a village is not well defined, they have in their consciousness a clear-cut distinction between the supreme city where the king lives and the rest of the kingdom.

In this context, it is important to note the fact that the royal capital Fouban is called *Ku-nju*, or *Nju* without the prefix, since "*nju*" means one's hometown or native place. Generally, when Bamoun people wish to say "return to one's hometown or ancestral land," they use the expression, "*nju pua*," which means "my hometown (or ancestral land)." "The village you come from" is "*nju pugn*." All the Bamoun people use the generic noun "hometown" (*nju*) in reference to Fouban. Thus, for all Bamoun people, no matter in which villages they live within the kingdom, as well as other Bamoun who live in other areas away from the Bamoun province, Fouban is their hometown, the land of the kingdom's origin. The consciousness of the royal capital as the place where all things begin and are generated is reflected in the name for Fouban.

The height sensitivity is also related to the rigid distinction between the "inside" and the "outside" of the royal capital, which can be found in honorific titles given to people connected with the king.

(2) The Symbolism of the Royal Capital as Seen through Honorific Titles

One traditional rule of the Bamoun state is that only three generations of the king's lineal descendants are allowed to live in the royal capital, and those of the fourth and following generations must live outside the capital. The same applied for collateral royalty. This rule was originally established for two main reasons. One was the need for a larger number of people outside the capital, to develop the territory which was being expanded by the Fouban-based 11th King, Bouombouo, who repeated the pattern of war and conquest. It was then necessary to decrease the number of people living in the capital, and develop rural villages to increase food production in order to support the population in the capital. The other reason concerned the royalty's attribute of ambivalence, in that they were

basically friends and foes at the same time. In other words, for the king, the royalty could be both his supporter and potential rival for the throne. For this reason, stability in the capital was maintained by keeping only three generations of the king's descendants inside the capital and dispatching those of the fourth and following generations to villages, thereby keeping some potential threats out of the capital.

Let us examine the honorific titles and names given to royalty in the Bamoun kingship system. First, the king is called *Mfon*, and the king's children are all given the title *nji*. Only one of the all the existing *nji* succeeds to the throne. In other words, when *Mfon* is in the first generation, those of princedom, *nji*, are in the second generation, and *nganjuh* the third. No title exists for those in the fourth and succeeding generations. This indicates the significance of the third-generation title *nganjuh* in that it forms the dividing line. The word *nganjuh* may be analyzed in detail to examine its meaning: it consists of *nga*, which means "people," and *nju*, "hometown." *Nju* or "hometown" can also be interpreted as the original land or territory, or the land of origin. While the title *nganjuh* is more commonly used these days to mean a "master" or "head of a family," it is clear that it originally meant "people of the original territory" or "people in the land of origin." Needless to say, "the original territory" here refers to Foumban, the capital. This in turn means that *nganjuh* refers to people in the royal capital⁵⁾. As already mentioned, the king's descendants up to the third generation from himself, i.e. the generation of *nganjuh*, are allowed to live in the capital. *Nganjuh* themselves can be residents of Foumban. Therefore, the *nganjuh* title indicates that its bearer is a rightful resident of Foumban, proving that the title *nganjuh* serves as the symbol of division between the inside and the outside of the city (the royal capital). The continuity and scope of the titles, *Mfon* for the king, *nji* for princes, and *nganjuh*, form a

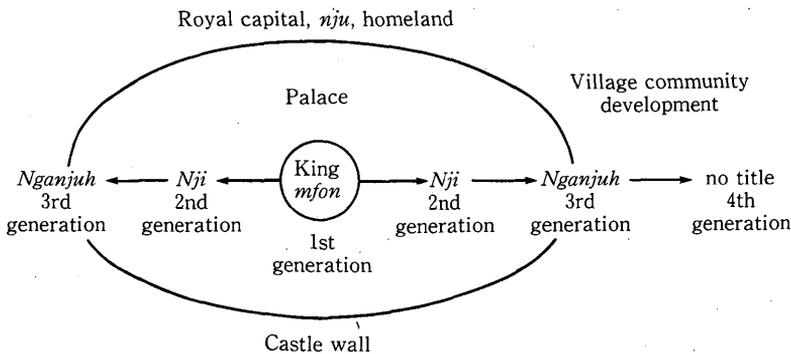


Fig. 8

5) In the Bamoun language, the palace is usually "nshut," but it can be replaced by *nju*, i.e. "hometown." This suggests that the hometown of the Bamoun at large is *nju* as the royal capital and *nju* as the palace. Tardits argues that the king's *nju* is the premier hometown in Bamoun society [TARDITS 1980: 572].

single symbol of a city, or the capital in this case (Fig. 8).

As mentioned above, the titles *nji* and *nganjuh* are originally the sign of privileged urbanity limited to within the capital. The 11th King Bouombouo is known to have had a system of granting the *nji* title to conquered chiefs, leaders of artisans, and village chiefs. The process and significance of the expansion and development of the Bamoun state are clearly seen in this system.

Next, let us consider the above in connection with the history of settlement of conquered artisans in the royal capital Foumban.

3) The Internal Organization and the Family History of the Founders' Group

3-a Internal Organization

The first characteristic which the founders' group of *Quartier* (quarter or ward) Njinka in Foumban has as a group is that they are artisans.

At the same time, since this artisans' group is formed in a specific area within Qr. Njinka, it can be assumed that the group fundamentally has, as one premise for its formation, the nature of a community-based residential group in Qr. Njinka. There are, of course, some "day groups." Still, of 31 artisans who congregate there, only 7 commute from other quarters, and the remaining 24 live together in a section called by the French name of *Artisanat* Njinka in Qr. Njinka⁶. Fig. 9 shows the structure of this artisan organization of 31 persons in terms of status (patron, independent artisan, or apprentice) and work activity or area of responsibility (manufacture, supervision, or sale).

This community-based group also has at its core the members of a patrilineal lineage originating from Njikomo, who was a founding ancestor two generations before the quarter's family chief. Fourteen of the 31 artisans are members of this lineage group, and the rest include their conjugal relatives, descendants of servants provided by the king to *njikomo* two generations earlier, and others from nearby

Table 2 Family-Oriented Njinka Foundry Group and its Patron-Disciple Relationship

		Founding ancestor Njikomo's Lineage	Lineage group of servants given by the king
Rank 1	Patron ①②	① Lineage chief ② Same lineage	
2	Patron ③④⑤	③④ Same lineage	⑤ Servant's descendants
3	Patron ⑥⑦⑧	⑥⑦⑧ Same lineage	
4	Independent artisans	Same lineage, Matrilineal members	Servant's descendants
5	Disciple	Same lineage, Conjugal relatives, Territory-linked participants	Servant's descendants

Note: The Bamoun king gave servants to the founding father Njikomo; today, their descendants are fictitious members of Njikomo's lineage.

6) The artisans and their composition shown here are as of 1974; it is assumed that the current artisan composition is slightly different from this since some of the apprentices must have become independent, fully qualified artisans.

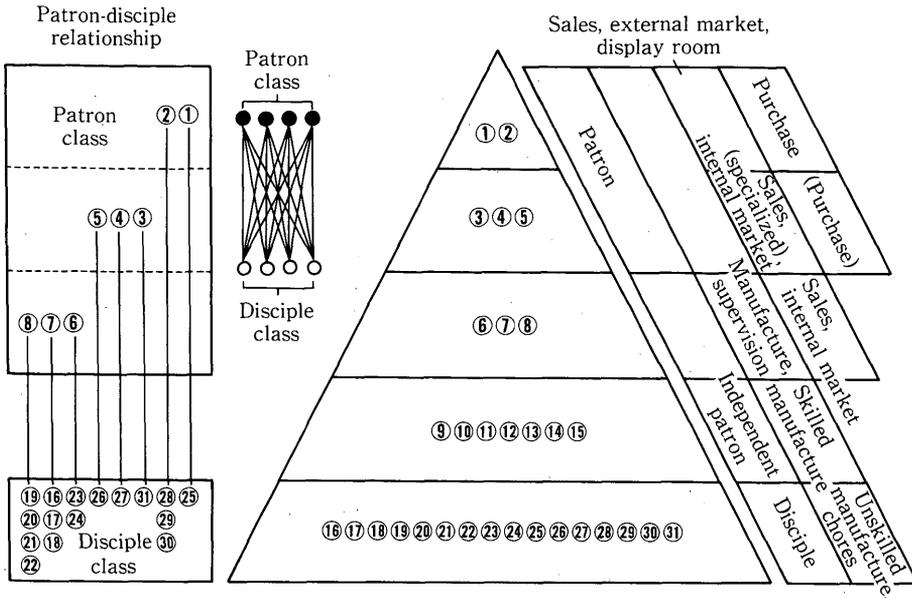


Fig. 9

areas. In other words, the Njinka founders' group of Bamoun has developed basing itself on the equivalent of the blood relationship between surname-sharing founders' found in Japan, while at the same time incorporating a shared-territorial bond.

As mentioned above, patrilineal lineage is at the core of the founders' group. Let us examine if there is correspondence or disparity between the patron-apprentice relationship within the group as an artisan organization and the blood relationship as a lineage group. In Tab. 2, patrons, apprentices, and artisans of the Njinka founders' group shown in Fig. 9 are arranged to show if they are members of the same lineage as that of Njikomo, who once lived in Njinka and started foundry activities. In addition to the natural fact that the lineage chief is the highest-ranking patron, the table shows that members of the foundry initiator's lineage mainly occupy higher-ranking patron's positions while lower-ranking independent artisan and apprentice positions are mostly filled by the lineage group's matrilineal or conjugal relatives and shared-territory-based members. It also shows that the deputy lineage chief and the lineage chief's younger brother, although still quite young, already occupy the third highest-ranking patron's position. At this point, there is not even an independent artisan among the shared-territory-based members, who are all apprentices⁷⁾. In other words, the vertical patron-apprentice relationship of an artisan organization corresponds to the central-peripheral relationship of lineal and collateral members of a lineage: the

7) According to Tardits, Bamoun blacksmiths are also organized around patrilineal families; a new comer of non-blood relationship is, as a rule, posted under one of a patron's sons to learn skills from him as his adopted son [TARDITS 1980: 350-351].

hierarchy of the founders' group corresponds to that of a lineage.

Therefore, it can be said that the development of the Bamoun founders' group is diachronically and historically identical in nature to that of the Japanese same-surname founders' group, which incorporated artisans connected by shared territory into the group while maintaining members of the same surname at its core. This is proved by the fact that, up until King Njoya's reign, foundry artisans never had to make brass castings for anyone except the king and *nji* since they were taken to Foumban. Artisans of one blood related group were sufficient in number at that time since brass castings were not yet part of the consumer economy. King Njoya, however, discontinued the monopoly on brass castings in order to produce enough to trade them with neighboring societies. It is assumed that, as a result, more non-blood related apprentices were taken in as the products became part of the present-day market economy.

This observation corresponds to Yoshihiko Amino's analysis of a case from Japan's Medieval Period. According to Amino, the *ban* organization, which existed up to the Kamakura Period (late 12th–mid 14th centuries), bound by "*en*" or personal connection based on blood relationship of same-surname founders, was replaced by an organization based on shared territorial bond and regional-community ties. At the same time, the hereditary succession of individual foundry businesses and the blood relation-based custom of handing down technical skills were strongly maintained, although they also had a somewhat fictitious aspect [AMINO 1984: 493–496]. Then, although on different scales, the direction of the change which the Bamoun founders' group adopted, that from insisting on blood relationship to admitting territorial bond while keeping lineage relationship at the core, is quite similar to this case from Japan's Medieval Period. This in turn reflects the history of the acquisition of full Bamoun citizenship by the conquered in the Bamoun kingdom, since the time when the Njinka artisan group was originated as a technical group conquered by the Bamoun and brought over to the capital, Foumban.

3-b. The Historical Movement of the Founders' Group

The establishment of an artisan section in the Bamoun's royal capital, Foumban, began during the 11th King Bouombouo's reign. Up to the 10th king's reign, the kingdom expanded its territory sometimes by victory in war, but more frequently through development of rural areas by the Bamoun royalty and their retainers. The Bamoun political sphere, expanded in this manner, i.e. not by conquest but by the expansion of Bamoun blood relationship, is called *shishet ngû*, "the core of the country." King Bouombouo waged war against one place after another from the country's core centered in Foumban and repeatedly conquered new territories, expanding his sphere of rule into the present *ngu* (the country). Among villagers and residents of the territories of chiefs conquered by King Bouombouo, those with superb technical skills were taken to Foumban. They included blacksmiths, founders, textile artisans, and so forth. These skilled

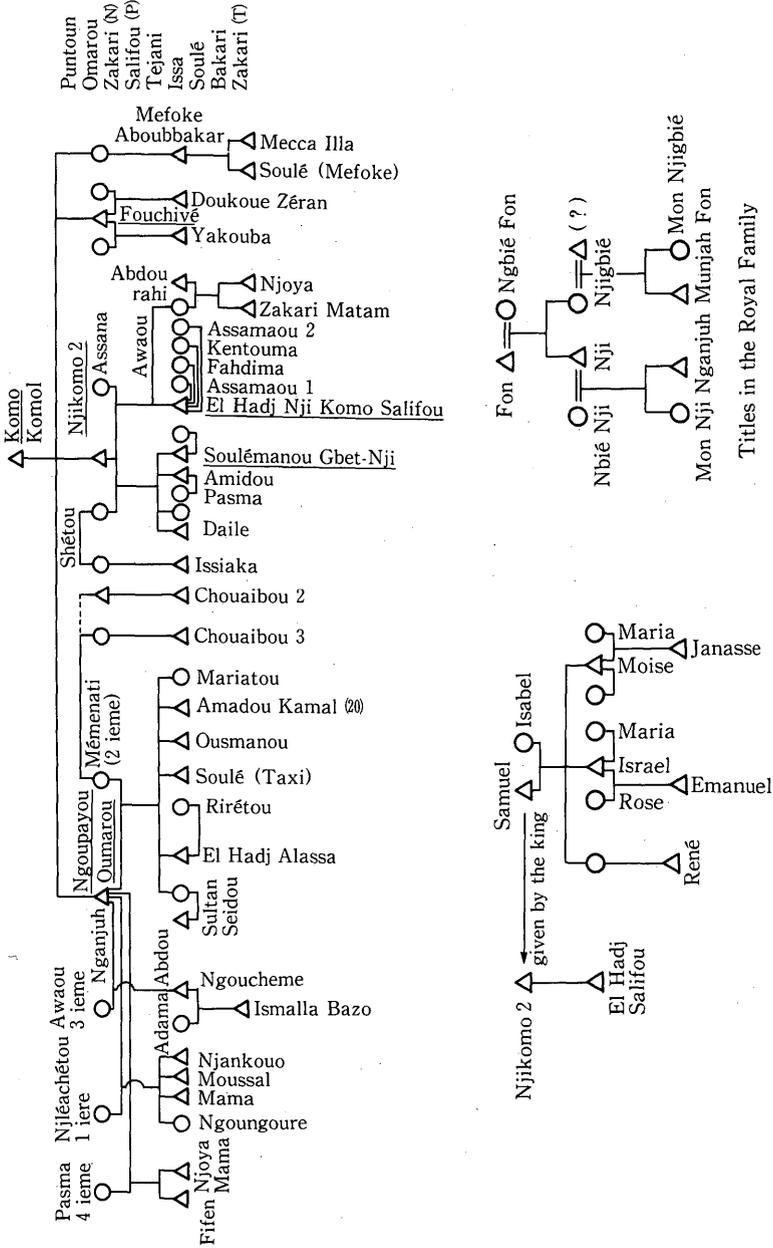
workers in captivity were made to live immediately around the king's residence (Fig. 6), and were allowed to use land freely, the way the court officials who directly waited on the king in the palace were. The captured artisans then became lineage chiefs in the capital, developing their respective lineages. They devoted themselves to specialized work such as brass casting and worked for the king. In other words, they became the king's artisans among the Bamoun.

The history of the Magnam people is a good example of such artisans. The Magnam people, who were called "Pa-Magnam," were skilled in decorating textile with pearls. Once, the Magnam king's children, captured as prisoners by the Bamoun kingdom's counselor, Nji Ase, did a piece of cloth work which stunned King Bouombouo. Impressed, the king gathered their fellow artisans, who were scattered about the country, and had them live in one group within the capital. The Magnam people thus settled in Qr. Njiyoum, continuing their work to the present. Today, their descendants are known as creators of the most highly acclaimed "Bamoun" embroidery in Cameroon. Brass ornaments have been used since the early years of the kingdom and are closely connected to its origin, although, in those days, there was no specialists of the lost wax process in the capital. There was, however, only a limited number of metal craftsmen such as blacksmiths and founders. King Bouombouo found specialists of the lost wax process among the people of conquered territories and took them to Foumban. Metal craftsmen began to congregate and live in the capital, particularly in Qr. Njiyoum and Qr. Njinka, very close to the palace. As well, the conquered Kum, Ndinga, and Ngwat peoples settled in Foumban as blacksmiths and founders employing the lost wax process.

The origin of Foumban's brass founders, therefore, dates back to King Bouombouo's conquest of new territories and the assimilation of conquered skilled workers. According to Tardits's record, the Njinka founders' group originated from Pa Ngwat south of Foumban, who were conquered by King Bouombouo, pledged their loyalty to the king without resistance, and later came to play an important role in the political structure of the Bamoun kingdom [TARDITS 1980: 137, 159-160, 319].

The author investigated the family history of the Njinka founders' group and found some differences from Tardits's statement. The place from where the founders' group came is called Mancha Village, 28 km south of Foumban and, in fact, corresponds to the place where the Ngwat people once lived. While it was possible to clarify that the ancestors of the founders' group were Pa Ngwat who lived around the present Mancha Village, it was impossible to determine the time factor. The members of the Njinka founders' group themselves insist that they have been living there since King Bouombouo's reign; however, the family history of their lineage cannot be traced back to the 11th King. Yet, it is at least certain that their ancestors lived together in Njinka and were engaged in foundry by the direct order of the preceding King, Njoya.

Let us study the family tree drawn up from the family history of the Njinka



Note : Servant given to Njikomo by the king
Fig. 10

founders' group (Fig. 10). Since the generation depth stretches to two generations before the present Njikomo, it could reach King Bouombouo. The present Njikomo is of the third generation; the second-generation Njikomo's grave is found in Njinka, but the founding Njikomo's grave cannot be located there. Interchange between the preceding second-generation Njikomo and King Njoya can be verified by the fact that the king provided Njikomo with servants.

It is not important, at this point, whether the origin of the Njinka artisan group can be traced back to King Njoya or to King Bouombouo. More important is that, under the strong authority of the Bamoun king, whether it was King Bouombouo or King Njoya, the foreign group of Pa Ngwat were taken from their native Mancha Village to Foumban, the Bamoun royal capital, where they settled down and formed an artisan group, putting their skills to full use. By the unique Bamoun definition of political sphere, Mancha Village is part of the Bamoun "country," although it is located outside "the core of the country" over which the members of the conqueror-ruler group are scattered. Because of this, the Njinka artisan group members are aware that their ancestors did not belong to the Bamoun ethnic group, although they themselves have established their Bamoun identity. How?

As already mentioned, the Njinka artisan group originally came from Pa Ngwat; the Bamoun king highly evaluated their foundry and machine-making skills. They were already artisans before they came to Qr. Njinka. In fact, the milling machine, which the then lineage chief Njikomo Amadou made, is displayed in the museum in the Foumban Palace for its excellence even today. It is clear that they contributed significantly to the technical development of the Bamoun state.

When Pa Ngwat from Mancha Village settled in Njinka, their lineage chief Komo was given the title *nji*, "the king's child," by the Bamoun king. Thus, Komo came to be known as Njikomo and became "the king's child." In other words, the foreign ethnic group Pa Ngwat was adopted into the Bamoun through their lineage chief's transformation into "the king's child." The traditional titles of the Bamoun kingdom are still used today among the founders' group, including *nji*, *gbenji* (the deputy *nji*, who comes after *nji*), *nganjuh* (the king's child *nji*'s child), and so forth.

It can be said that the Njinka founders' group, originally the foreign ethnic group Pa Ngwat from Mancha Village, established their true Bamoun identity through the history of their direct association with the kingdom, from their arrival at "the core of the country" or the essence of the Bamoun kingdom, the royal capital Foumban; to the provision by the Bamoun king of land adjacent to the palace, where they resided for many years; the appointment of their leaders as *nji*, "the king's children"; the provision of the king's slaves as their servants; and their contribution to the kingdom's technical development.

A similar example can be found in Japanese society during the Yamato Administration of the Ancient Period. According to Motoichi Kamata, the Yamato Administration put subordinate rural groups under the ruler's leadership as "*tomo*," as well as newly arrived foreign ethnic groups and technical experts of Korean origin as a new type of "*tomo*" [KAMATA 1984: 255-262]. The principle

applied in this case is precisely the same as that of the Bamoun's *nji* system. Moreover, people of foreign ethnic groups were treated basically as artisans in the medieval society of Japan up to the Kamakura Period.

Yoshihiko Amino, who argues that Chinese traders were allowed unrestricted activities in Japan in those days, takes notice of the fact that it is identical to the case of the "Kugonin" (court attendant) and points out that there was also a system at that time in Japan by which foreigners were accepted into society as artisans [AMINO 1980: 163]. It is often pointed out that, in the Sudan, metal craftsmen such as blacksmiths and founders are generally respected and despised at the same time⁸). Katsumi Tamura says that, in the Sudan, there are various systems of state organization and divine kings, and that blacksmiths and other skilled workers concentrate around the palace where brass and copper manufacture, by the lost wax process and other techniques, are in full bloom. At the same time, extremely strong contempt exists as the result of the formation of a "caste system" [TAMURA 1983: 252]. This argument applies to almost all artisans in Qr. Njinka, except for the part about "contempt." Why? The author presumes that the reason lies in the *nji* system. A *nji* is a "prince" and therefore is respected by people. Because of the *nji* system, even foreigners, granted the *nji* title, could establish their own definite place in the social system of the Bamoun ethnic group. As mentioned above, those originating from conquered families of foreign origin occupy the central positions in an artisan group, and the one among them at the top is given the prince's title, *nji*. As well, such artisan groups even take in "ordinary" Bamoun people (not originating from conquered families) as apprentices, in peripheral or lower-ranking positions in the artisan community. Pa Ngwat have established themselves as full Bamoun citizens and Fouban residents to such an extent that they can subjugate even "ordinary" Bamoun.

Let us examine the *nji*—the king's child—system of the Bamoun state, with reference to the above-mentioned example from the Japanese Medieval Period. One should notice that since *nji* means "the king's child," it reinforces and verifies a blood relationship, although nominal, with the king, securing the title bearer's honorable status. Meanwhile, the *nji* system also serves as a device for incorporating a variety of foreigners and other peoples firmly into the Bamoun's political and social system, although its membership may be limited, rather than excluding those outside the pure blood relationship of the ethnic group⁹). In other words, the *nji* system functions as a flexible "receptacle," maintaining exclusiveness

8) According to William A. Shack, African strangers can be found in occupational categories other than industrial artisans, including traders, personal jesters, minstrels and musicians [1983 (in Japanese translation): 70].

9) In the "*nji*" title presentation ritual which was performed in 1984 in Fouban, Haoussa, Fulani, French, and many other foreigners were made the Bamoun "king's children." Such official recognition by authority is conducted, as in the form of the Bamoun *nji* system, and in the connivance of Japanese Emperors at counterfeit certificates for founders.

by defining the title bearers as “the king’s children,” while at the same time serving as an open system to adopt foreign elements which may be advantageous to the kingdom. As well, it certifies the title bearer’s identity as a member of the Bamoun and a Foumban resident by conferring the status of “the king’s child,” which is not indiscriminately accessible, and by permitting the title bearers to live close to the palace, thereby reducing the distance from the king and allowing a fictitious unification with him. The *nji* system, in a sense, is a system of assimilating foreigners as rightful citizens. Thus, Foumban has succeeded in developing as an advanced urban society, rather than as a huge village community, thanks to its residents of various characteristics and backgrounds¹⁰.

Next, let us contemplate the origin of the sacredness of the royal capital. The analytical method employed here is that of moving from surrounding villages to the central city, and from the central facilities in the city to the core of its political structure. This means that the origin of the *nji* system, which grants the sacred certificate for membership in the principedom in order to subsume foreign ethnic groups, will be identified and located within the urban structure of the royal capital.

4) The Symbolism of Urban Quarters

The height sensitivity of the Bamoun people mentioned earlier is reflected most clearly in the urban quarters (*quartier*) of the royal capital. Further, the characteristics of the Bamoun royal capital can be found in the meaning of the *quartier* system. The method of analyzing African chiefdom societies through the arrangement of symbols and quarters in a city is adopted by Shunya Hino and Masao Yamaguchi. Hino derived the centrality of the Fulani (Peul, Fulbe) chief and the characteristics of Ngaoundéré, a northern Cameroonian city, as a Fulani city, by comparing old and new quarters there [HINO 1987]. Yamaguchi derived the symbolism of urban space of the Jukun ethnic group from his analysis of the relationship of locations of the royal palace and the queen mother [YAMAGUCHI 1971: 106–111]. In this paper, let us first consider the terminology for quarters in the royal capital Foumban.

There are eight traditional quarters in Foumban: ① Funten, ② Fuyum, ③ Manka, ④ Njinka, ⑤ Njintout, ⑥ Kunga (Kounga), ⑦ Njisse, and ⑧ Manben. These quarters first emerged with the allotment of the land of Foumban by the chief of the royal capital, i.e. the king, to his eight chief retainers (*Mfoyom*). Today, in addition to these traditional quarters, there are several others. It is important to note that prefixes which indicate relative height or distance, such as “ku,” “ma,” “nji,” and “fu,” are attached to the names of all these quarters, both old and new. For example, one can tell that the vantage point for Qr. Funten is located close to Qr. Funten since the prefix “fu” is attached, whereas the vantage point for Qr.

10) Yoshihiko Amino states that urban development in the last half of Japan’s medieval period presumably progressed against the backdrop of the settlement of artisans (in a wider sense of the word) in node-like areas (e.g. ports, harbors, provincial capitals, ancient security offices, shrines, etc) [1984: 486].

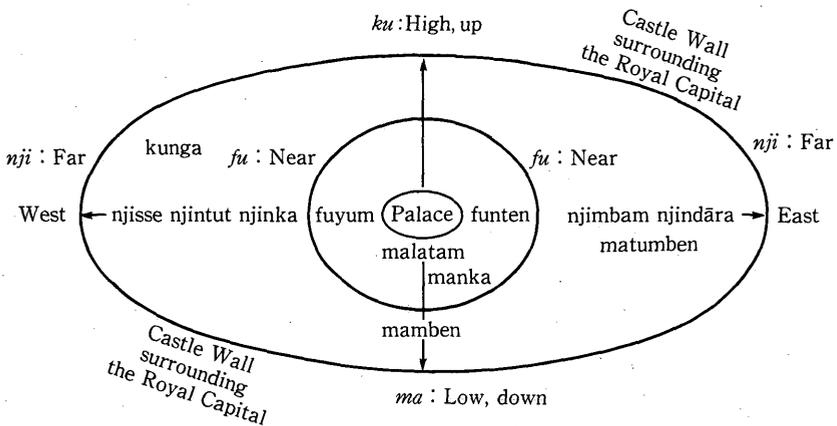


Fig. 11

Manka is relatively higher because "ma" is attached.

Analyzing place names in this manner, it becomes clear that the vantage point in whose perspective the naming choices have been made is a particular single point in the royal capital, namely, the palace, i.e. the king's residence (Fig. 11). As shown in Fig. 11, an urban center is situated where the lines extended from respective quarters, in accordance with the implications of their names, cross. Just as the city in which the king resides is considered the origin and the center of the kingdom as seen from villages, the palace is the very center of the city.

Thus, in the system of quarter names, the centrality of the palace in the group's chief city, Fouban, becomes apparent. The centrality, furthermore, is evidence of not only the symbolism of the quarter names, but of the city's position in the economic and transportation systems as well. This is obvious from the fact that the central urban facilities of ethnic group, religion, economy, and transportation, including the royal palace, the central mosque, the market, and the bus station, are located adjacent to each other in one area of Fouban, interconnected with one another for increased efficiency.

Throughout Chapters 1 and 2, the political structure of the Bamoun kingdom before Islamization, the traditional political and social structure, has been discussed with particular focus on the capital-village community relationship and the internal structure of the capital as a city. In the following chapter, the political system of the post-Islamization Bamoun state will be examined.

3. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE BAMOUN KINGDOM AS AN ISLAMIC STATE

As discussed in the preceding chapters, the Bamoun kingdom established its

- 11) Shohei Wada argues that it is important to note the fact that the national principle, following the introduction of Islam, is also based on traditional African culture before Islamization. Wada calls such traditional African culture, social foundation "paleo-

own unique, traditional political-cultural apparatus based on the raphia-palm culture complex, prior to its Islamization¹¹⁾, subjugating village communities and ruling the expansive Bamoun kingdom. The political, economic, military, religious, and cultural relationship and continuity between the royal capital and the village communities are seen in this system. The sacred center of the capital is also identified. As well, the Bamoun state has traditionally maintained the *nji* system, which subsumes foreign ethnic groups by granting a select few from among them the prince's title. Then, a new principle for incorporating foreigners into the Bamoun society was introduced: Islam. It is thus important to elucidate the state formation and expansion of the Bamoun state through an analysis of the Bamoun Islamic community.

During the reign of the 17th King, Njoya, Islam was introduced into the Bamoun state. In 1917, *Mfon* (traditional Bamoun king) Njoya became Sultan Njoya. The title for an Islamic king, Sultan, was added to his traditional title *Mfon*. Even after the Bamoun state became an Islamic state, it continued to conquer neighboring chiefdoms with the new "magico-religious" power of Islam. It also continued to rule village communities in the kingdom and quarters in the royal capital, according to the new Islamic principle. This fact indicates how the Bamoun state developed the Islamic network into a political network to its advantage, and how it was necessary to have such a political apparatus.

In view of the above, let us analyze the penetration of Islam into the Bamoun state and its development there from the standpoint of political integration into the kingdom.

1) The Multi-layered Structure of the Royal Capital and the History of Islamization

In this section, for diachronic analysis of the Islamization of the kingdom, the Islamization process shall be traced in a synchronic-diachronic manner, from the theoretical viewpoint of the organization of the Bamoun state and its royal capital, thereby allowing examination of both the sociopolitical structure and the history of the city simultaneously.

The Bamoun king, in his capacity as the sultan of the Islamic Bamoun society, has a considerably strong power, including the right to designate *Imaams* (Chiefs of mosque organization) and 17 *Mwalim Guuras* (great Islamic leaders). For this reason, it is assumed that the Islamic society has a set of detailed measures for reign and rule. Then, how does the kingdom rule and control the Bamoun people who, as ordinary Moslems, follow many Mwalims (Islamic teachers) living all over the capital in their respective quarters? It is important to note, in connection with this, the mechanism of regional control over ordinary Moslems.

First of all, one should study Tab. 3 and note from which quarters within Fouban the 17 Mwalim Guuras (great Islamic leaders) have been selected. Of the

African culture" [1990: preface v-xi]. For details of the Bamoun palm culture complex, refer to Haruka Wazaki's explanation [1990].

Table 3 17 Mwalim Guuras (Grand Mwalims) in Central Mosque in Fouban

Title	Title	El Hadj	Name	Qr. (Ward)	
1	Liman	E.H.	Adamou Mfonzie	Njiloum Qr.	14
2	Adjoint Liman	E.H.	Njifom Mama	Malatam Qr.	15
3	Zieme Adjoint Liman	E.H.	Njigchama Amadou	Manka Qr.	+ 16
4		E.H.	Njisoro Adamou	Kounga Qr.	+ 17
5		E.H.	Moumpen Oussmanou	Mamben Qr.	+ 18
6		E.H.	Njitari Salifou	<u>Njiyoum Qr.</u>	+ 19
7		Mwlm	Abdou	Konnga Qr.	+ 20
8		Mwlm	Njifombe	Funten Qr.	+ 21
9		E.H.	Mfoapet Oussmanou	<u>Njinka Qr.</u>	+ 22
10		E.H.	Adamou	<u>Funten Qr.</u>	+ 23
11		Mwlm	Salifou	<u>Mamben Qr.</u>	+ 24
12		Mwlm	Ngouloura Amadou	Kounga Qr.	+ 25
13		Mwlm	Alassa	Funten Qr.	+ 26
17		E.H.	Tejani Pokassa Sin	Manka Qr.	+ 30

Note: E.H. = El Hadj = Al Hadj, Mwlm = Mwalim = Maalim, Qr. = Quarter or Ward

consecutive numbers on the right, 1 to 13 are given to the deceased leaders known for their active part in Islamic development in Fouban. Detailed description of these leaders will follow. In the quarters (*quartier*) underlined in the table, the Mwalim Guuras double as the quarter chief Imaam, i.e. the quarter's *liman*. Fig. 12 shows, on a simplified city diagram, the distribution of the 17 Mwalim Guuras among the quarters in Fouban, which number 8, 10 or 11, depending on how they

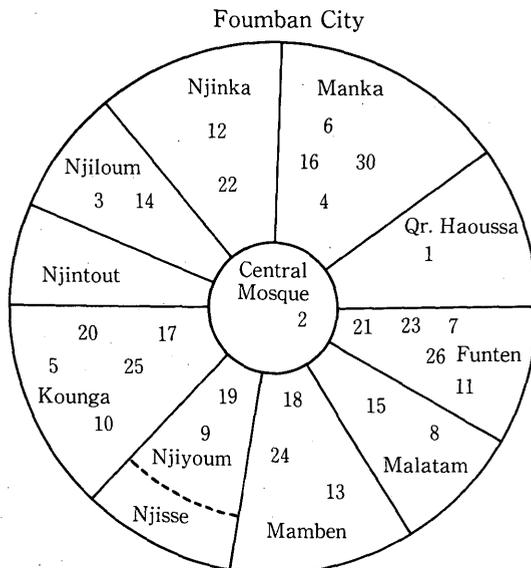


Fig. 12

are counted (Fig. 12).

It shows, assuming that the number of traditional quarters is the maximum 11¹²⁾, that the 17 Mwalim Guuras, the leaders of the Bamoun Islamic society, are distributed among 8 quarters. In other words, the power and influence of the 17 rulers of the central mosque in Foumban cover roughly the entire royal capital. Mwalim Guuras exercise great influence over their disciples (Mwalims) and ordinary Moslems who are under the Mwalims' leadership. This influence is exercised by, for example, involving Mwalims in various religious rituals and individual initiation rituals, such as *si kuran*, in order to attach authority to such community rituals. The table suggests that this power system covers almost the entire city.

2) The Location of the Central Mosque and its Connection with the Kingdom

As analyzed in Chapter 2, simple observation of the layout of the royal capital shows the palace is located at the center of all the quarters. From the late 19th century to the early 20th century, Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism were introduced to Bamoun society, as well as to the royal capital, Foumban, roughly around the same time. As their bases for propagation, the three religions built mosques and churches of varying size around Foumban. Of these religious establishments, the central mosque would be the center for Islam, and the central church the center for each of the two religions of Christianity. As for the location of these central religious establishments, only the central mosque is located adjacent to the palace, forming *ku enja*, or the central square, a public place for major rituals and proclamations, located between the palace and the central mosque¹³⁾.

In contrast to the above, the central churches of the Protestant Mission and the Catholic Mission are located rather peripherally, in consideration of the urban structure of the capital. The central church of the Catholic Mission is located in Qr. Funten, which may be translated as "the market quarter," in the urban center. Compared with the central mosque, however, it is far from the palace, the symbolic center. As for the Protestant Mission, it is situated in Qr. Njisse, considerably far from the center, i.e. a peripheral location in terms of urban structure. For this reason, it generally requires more time for Protestants among the Bamoun to attend Sunday services.

12) Occasionally, small groups of people develop in a large quarter in Foumban, and establish names for themselves as smaller quarters. Then, when such a quarter becomes large, it is divided into smaller quarters bearing different names, and consequently the total number of quarters increases. In Foumban, the traditional eight quarters are clearly defined as the city's major core. Qr. Njiloum and Qr. Njintout are situated adjacent to each other and are often considered as one.

13) Historically speaking, a mosque, a Protestant chapel, and then the central mosque have been built in the present location of the central mosque in Foumban, taking turns in this order; therefore, it is a historically symbolic place which has constantly been occupied by a central religious symbol. It is assumed that the palace and the market make the space sacred.

It becomes obvious then that the central mosque is located quite conveniently within the urban structure, physically close and connected to the royal authority. This is all the more so since in the center of the royal capital are located not only the palace and the central mosque, but the permanent market, the periodic market held on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and the bus station connected to the modern capital of Cameroon, Yaounde. This is to say that the center of the traditional kingdom, the Islamic mosque, the economic hub, and the transportation and distribution centers converge on the symbolic urban center, the palace, thereby forming a grand political, economic, and cultural center. It is, thus, quite significant that the religious center linked to these central political and economic facilities is not of either the Protestant or Catholic Mission, but of Islam.

In fact, the traditional Bamoun king, *Mfon*, leaves the palace and walks across *ku enja* (the central square) to attend services in the central mosque, as the Islamic sultan, every Friday. The link between Islam and the kingdom is apparent from the location of the central mosque, and the king's activity as well.

3) The Relationship between the Central Mosque in the Royal Capital and Other Mosques in the Quarters

The central mosque is thus closely connected to the sacredness of the traditional king in terms of organization, personnel management, and urban geographical location. Then, how does the central mosque control the *quartier* mosques, i.e. other mosques in the surrounding quarters?

First of all, to select the Liman, Nahibi, and Ratibi (the three top leaders) for each quarter mosque, traditional leaders such as the quarter's *nji*, elders, and senior retainers, and the present-day administrators on the lowest levels, such as *chef de village* and *chef supérieur*, discuss and decide on the selection. Needless to say, people in such traditional and modern positions of administrative authority are preferably Moslems, but it does not mean that Christians are excluded. Thus, the three aspects of Islam, tradition, and modern administration are connected in this process. Each quarter mosque has only 3 leaders, as compared to 17 in the central mosque.

In the selection of leaders for a quarter mosque such as a Liman, the quarter's autonomy has precedence. The quarter's decision is then submitted to the chairman of the central mosque in Fouban as a recommendation. The Liman and the deputy Limans (there are three in total) of the central mosque deliberate on granting approval to the quarter. It is apparent, therefore, that the central mosque enjoys superiority and leadership over quarter mosques, in that central approval is required for the personnel matters of a quarter mosque. The three Limans of the central mosque basically do not object to the quarter mosque's decision in a major way, out of respect for the autonomy and independence of a quarter mosque. Yet, in the process up to the point of deliberation at the central mosque, it is customary for the central leaders to undertake political efforts, negotiations, and adjustments, openly and privately, so as to make their disciples, brothers, or other Mwalims of

their own sects Limans of quarter mosques. In such negotiations, the teacher-disciple relationship plays a key role; in other words, the personnel matters of quarter mosques are heavily affected by the central mosque through this relationship.

Even Limans of quarter mosques have great power and dignity, and thus their position is attractive. Prayers and rituals in a quarter must be approved by the quarter's Liman, but at the same time an official ritual or ceremony is not carried out without the Liman's participation, since he either conducts or is invited to the ceremony without fail. The approval of the Liman of a quarter mosque is absolute; even Mwalim Guuras of the central mosque must respect it. The 14 Mwalim Guuras, and sometimes the Liman, Nahibi, and Ratibi of the central mosque as well, are allowed in some cases to influence quarters directly, which may be interpreted as an act of arrogation. However, despite their political and religious eminence, they must observe the hierarchical procedures. It is basically the decisions and approval of Limans of quarter mosques that take precedence, through as many arrangements as possible.

As described above, therefore, decisions made by quarter mosques and the power and authority of quarter Limans' have a certain autonomy. Nevertheless, when a problem cannot be solved within a quarter, it is brought to the central mosque in Fouban, particularly to the Liman and the deputy Limans, in accordance with the religious-political hierarchy. In both the central and quarter mosques, Liman, Nahibi, and Ratibi are Islamic judges. Thus, it is the submission of a problem, or a case, from a lower court to a higher court. In this sense, after all, the quarter mosques are under the supervision and control of the central mosque.

The vertical governing mechanism of arbitration according to Islamic law in the Islamic court is not limited to the central mosque in the royal capital and the quarter mosques, but is also applied to the relationship between Fouban and the five arrondissements within the political sphere of the Bamoun kingdom in Noun (Bamoun) Prefecture. There are five arrondissements in Bamoun Prefecture, whose respective capitals are Foubot, Njimom, Magba, Massangam, and Malantouen. When arbitration by Liman, Nahibi, and Ratibi in a village mosque fails, the case is referred to the mosque in an arrondissement capital. If arbitration fails again, it is brought to the central mosque in Fouban for arbitration by the three central Limans. If this does not work, it is then brought to the sultan to be dealt with by him and the three Limans. Needless to say, the sultan has the greatest influence. Therefore, the Bamoun king in his role as the sultan is at the top of the Islamic arbitration-court mechanism, both in the central-quarter mosque relationship in the city and in the central-arrondissement mosque relationship

- 14) To praise the king in the royal capital, the Islamic musical instrument *kakaki* is played, whereas to praise a village chief or village *nji*, the traditional *nta* is played. This example also indicates the role of Islam for differentiation between the city and agricultural villages in terms of power.

outside the city with regard to the urban-rural relationship¹⁴⁾.

Here is an example of a problem which emerged in connection with the recommendation and selection of a Liman for a quarter mosque, and the solution devised for it. A Liman was selected for the mosque in Qr. Malatam in the royal capital, and the central approval was about to be granted. Then, one Mwalim came forth, objecting to the decision and calling for its cancellation. He appointed himself the quarter Liman; hence, there were two Limans in one quarter. To settle this confusion, the three Limans in the central mosque deliberated again and decided to approve the Liman originally recommended. However, the self-appointed Liman refused to withdraw his objection and continued his religious activities. The general opinion among the Moslems in the quarter was supportive of the second, self-appointed Liman. The central mosque decided to take up the case again, but finally with the participation of the sultan. From the beginning, opinions of the three central Limans had been divided; however, it later became clear that the Mwalim Guuras of the central mosque had been extremely insistent on recommending their disciple and had used their political power to do so, ignoring the general trend in the quarter in question. Thus, finally, with the participation of the sultan, the problem was solved.

As evident in the above case, the authority and superiority of the central mosque over the quarter and arrondissement mosques reflects the Islamic religious-political hierarchy. It is believed that such hierarchy is derived from the Islamic view of God (or Allah) and a prayer method guiding it, which is related to the presence of *lahooduva* (or *al kutuba* in Arabic).

How is *lahooduva* related to Islamic prayer? According to Bamoun Moslems, *lahooduva* is the religious essence which is required for prayer to God, the power which can realize and bring to actual existence what one prays for. It is regarded as indispensable for *jummaa*, i.e. Friday prayer; in fact, *jummaa* is complete only when it is paired with *lahooduva*. For the Friday prayer, Mwalim Guuras enter the central mosque and offer prayer corresponding to *lahooduva* (the above-mentioned *kutuba*). For a regular prayer, on the other hand, one must repeat four times the basic form of prayer, *rakaat*, consisting of bowing, kneeling down, and laying the head on the ground. *Lahooduva* is considered equal to two repetitions of *rakaat*. Since all prayers consist of 4 *rakaat*, only the remaining two *rakaat* are then necessary in the central mosque on Fridays. This prayer style involving *lahooduva* is allowed only in the central mosque and only for *jummaa*, i.e. on Fridays. The restriction on place and time is strict; generally, *lahooduva* is believed to dwell in the central mosque and not in quarter mosques. Accordingly, Bamoun Moslems are required to attend *jummaa* on Fridays at the central mosque. *Lahooduva* can thus collect followers of quarter mosques to the central mosque without fail; *lahooduva* has definite power to affect Moslems' activities. It is believed that in exchange for the prayer and ritual in the central mosque, Allah allows *lahooduva*, which dwells in the central mosque, to dwell in central cities in the arrondissements as well. The presence of the religious essence in the form of *lahooduva*, thus

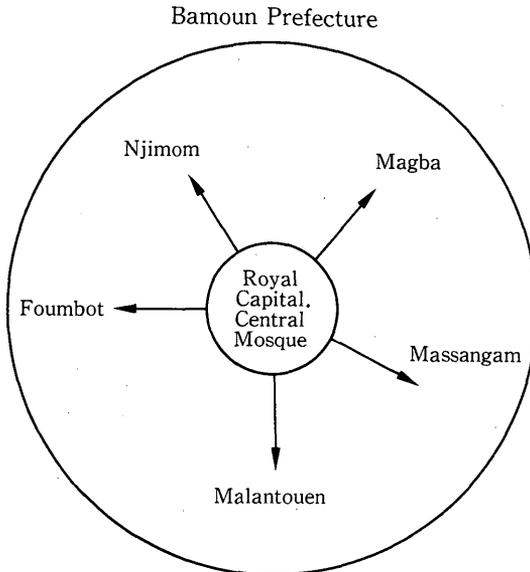


Fig. 13

perceived, and the condition for its transfer is reflective of the relationship of higher- and lower-ranking mosques. That is, the religiously perceived presence of *lahooduva* and the direction of its approved transfer completes the hierarchy, consisting of the leader mosque and the follower mosques in the context of religious politics. Thus, the transfer of a religious trial or an arbitration case from an arrondissement mosque to the central mosque in the royal capital, as illustrated earlier, is fundamentally regulated by the “vector” of the presence and transfer of the religious essence of Islam (Fig. 13).

Whether for a court trial, arbitration, or for personnel management, the central mosque in Foumban maintains its superior authority over quarter and arrondissement mosques in the framework of mosque hierarchy, supported by formal religious authority securing its place at the top of the hierarchy. Underlying this is the religious presence of *lahooduva*, the source of prayer to Allah and

Table 4 Limans of Qr. Mosques in Foumban

Qr. (ward)	Limans name	17 members of Central Mosque	His teacher
1 Njiyoum	19 Njitari Salifou	member	9
2 Njinka	22 Mfoapet Oussmanou	member	3
3 Funten	23 Adamou	member	Haoussa
4 Mamben	24 Salifou (son of 13)	member	13
5 Manka	31 Soule (brother of 4)	30	1
6 Njintout	32 Adamou	22 or 26	3
7 Njindare	33 Njimama	15 or 21	8 or 3

Table 5 The Late Former Limans (No. 1 Imaam)

	Name	Ethnic Group	Qr.	
1	Liman Arouna	Haoussa	Haoussa Qr.	1
2	Liman Njikouotou Abubakar	Bamoun	Palace	2
3	Liman Njifokouop Ibrahim	Bamoun	Njiloum Qr.	3
4	Liman Sin Abubakar	Bamoun	Manka Qr.	4

Table 6 The Late Mwalim Guuras (Grand Mwalims) amongst 17

	Name	Ethnic Group	Qr. (Ward)	
1	Njimfira	Bamoun	Kounga Qr.	5
2	Moussa	Bamoun	Manka Qr.	6
3	Adamou Tamdia	Bamoun	Funten Qr.	7
4	Njifon Ibrahim	Bamoun	Malatam Qr.	8
5	Njitarie Mama	Bamoun	Njiyoum Qr.	9
6	Yaya	Bamoun	Kounga Qr.	10
7	Adamou Njitieche	Bamoun	Funten Qr.	Conversion 11
8	Chouaibou	Bamoun	Njinka Qr.	12
9	NjiBuombuo	Bamoun	Mamben Qr.	13

religious power. It enables the central mosque in Fouban to reign as the supreme mosque and exercise formal leadership over other mosques for doctrinal, legal, political, and personnel affairs.

Here is an example of informal control of a quarter mosque by the central mosque, taking advantage of teacher-disciple and other human relationships. Let us study Tab. 3 and Fig. 12 again, along with Tab. 4 and Fig. 12.

The tables and figures should be read as follows: Liman, Mwalim Guura, Liman of quarter mosques, and so on are given consecutive numbers (Tabs. 3, 5, & 6); the deceased Mwalim Guuras and Limans once active in the Fouban Islamic society are given Nos. 1~13, while the presently active 17 Mwalim Guuras are given Nos. 14~30; the three Mwalim Guuras numbered 27~29 are omitted due to the lack of research data; those numbered 31~33 are quarter Limans newly appointed (Tab. 4).

First, quarter mosques can be controlled most directly by the central mosque if Mwalim Guuras of the central mosque become Limans of quarter mosques. Although this takes place occasionally, the reverse also occurs frequently. That is, one becomes Liman of a quarter mosque first and, as a result, is recommended for the position of one of the 17 Mwalim Guuras of the central mosque. Either way, it becomes easier for the central mosque to communicate its policies to quarters since Mwalim Guuras are also quarter Limans. In this case, the authority and influence of the central mosque affect quarter mosques directly. Conversely, when seen from the side of quarter mosques, this allows wishes of the Islamic community in quarters to have a greater influence on the policy-making process in the central

mosque. In other words, it makes communication between the central and quarter mosques relatively open in many aspects. This can be seen, as mentioned earlier, from the fact that the wish of the quarters to be granted traditional authority by the central mosque completely matches the wish of the central mosque to put the quarters under its leadership and control, so as to exercise direct influence over as many people as possible. In this manner, the central control is further promoted and reinforced.

It is not that only the superior party benefits in the relationship between the central and quarter mosques, Mwalim Guura and Mwalim, Mwalim and ordinary Moslems, or the teacher and the disciple. The subordinate party also benefits by having a particular teacher, following a particular Mwalim, maintaining links with Liman, or reinforcing communication ties with the central mosque, thereby finding favor with one's superior in the form of a religious ritual, witness or defense in a trial, a recommendation, magic, and so forth. This superior-subordinate bond is strong and firm because it satisfies the needs of both sides, supported by the vector of mutual interests and correlation of affairs and benefits. Therefore, the multi-layered combinations and the network based on or consisting of the chain of superior-subordinate bonds is strong and rarely cut off. For the same reason, for the Bamoun Islamic executive organ at the top of the system and the traditional kingship with controlling power, the multi-layered hierarchy serves as a mechanism realizing complete control of every single Moslem.

In Tab. 3, some quarters (wards) are underlined to indicate Mwalim Guuras who are also Limans. The four Limans of Qr. Njiyoum, Njinka, Funten, and Manben are on the central mosque committee. The same information is rearranged

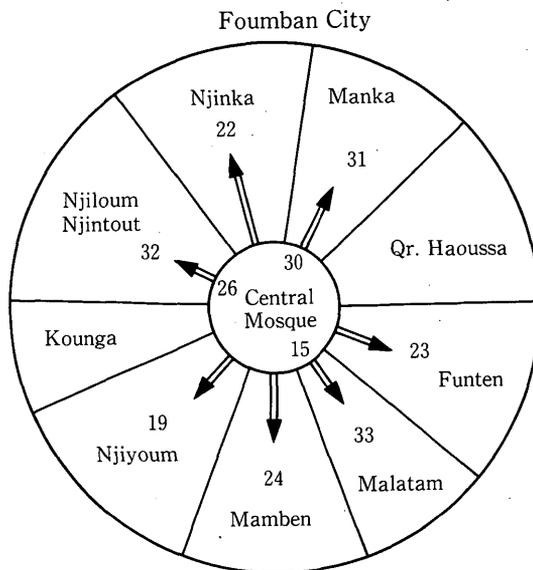


Fig. 14

in Tab. 4 and Fig. 14 from the standpoint of regional control or quarter administration by the central organ in the Fouban Islamic community (Tab. 4, Fig. 14). Those numbered 19, 22, 23, and 24 are governed directly by Mwalim Guuras who act as quarter Limans. Liman No. 31 of Qr. Manka was locally selected, although the Liman is now the deceased Mwalim Guura, and the brother of the 4th central mosque Liman (No. 4). The son of the Liman No. 4, himself No. 30, has entered the cabinet as a new Mwalim Guura, after taking over the position of family chief and the name Sin from his father. In accordance with Bamoun tradition and custom, a person who has taken over the family chief's position is called *tita*, or "father," by the members of the family group he is to govern; his presence is considered one generation superior. In this particular case, he is called *nji* because he is a prince. Accordingly, while the blood relationship of No. 31 and No. 30 is that of a paternal uncle and nephew, No. 30 is no longer No. 31's nephew socially. After the family chief succession ritual, No. 30 is now No. 31's "father" and *nji*, the socially honorable status of the king's child. In this manner, in accordance with the traditional value system of the Bamoun, the "father" No. 30 in the central mosque can have powerful authority over the quarter Liman No. 31, who has become his "own child," or *mo*. This is one example of how Islam and the Bamoun tradition intertwine with each other.

Let us take the example of Liman No. 32, Adamou of Qr. Njintout. This quarter and its neighboring Qr., Njiloum, were originally one quarter, and some still count them as one. It is possible, therefore, that the present Liman (No. 14) in Qr. Njiloum, Adamou Mfonjie, put quarter Liman No. 32 under his control on the basis of the regional principle. More influential than this is the Koran study teacher-disciple relationship. Authority deriving from this relationship is direct, although the parties involved may live in different quarters. Liman No. 32 of Qr. Njintout and Mwalim Oussmanou (No. 22) and Mwalim Alassa, who are among the 17 Mwalim Guuras, stand on an equal footing because of their common teacher, the 3rd central mosque Liman Njifokuop (see table 5). Meanwhile, Mwalim Guuras No. 22 and No. 26 are senior disciples of the same teacher as quarter Liman No. 32; the senior disciples in the central mosque instruct the junior disciple of the same teacher who is a quarter Liman. Liman Njimama of Qr. Njindare, which is part of Qr. Malatam, presents another example of the central mosque exercising influence and authority over quarter Limans through such a senior-junior disciple relationship.

Therefore, as shown in Fig. 14, the entire area of Fouban is completely covered by quarter Limans, who are the leaders of respective quarters (Fig. 14). This also indicates the hierarchy of rule by the Islamic organization in the royal capital, Fouban: the central mosque has complete control over quarter mosques, which control yet smaller mosques. This clearly shows a vertical structure of, from the top to the bottom, Mwalim Guura, quarter Liman or Great Mwalim, Mwalim, and ordinary Moslems.

In addition to quarter mosques, Koran schools are considered as yet another

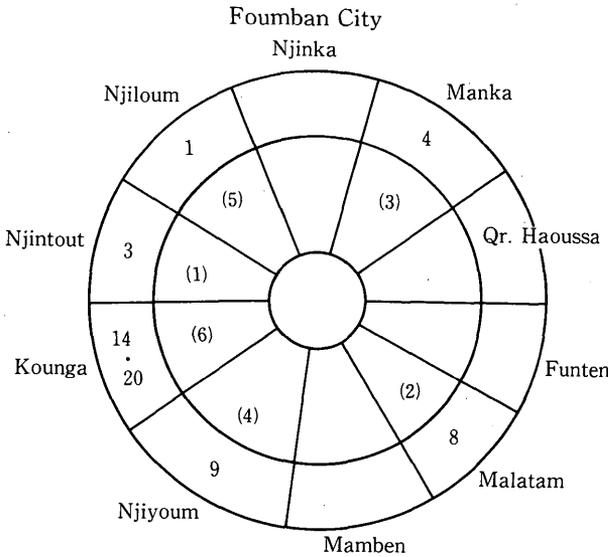


Fig. 15

effective tool for spreading the Islamic network throughout the royal capital (Fig. 15). The fact that Koran schools are actually constructed in this manner indicates the high degree of Islamization in Fouban. Koran schools, i.e. systematized and organized Islamic educational institutions, are situated in seven quarters making up the majority of the royal capital, including schools of varying sizes in Qr. Haoussa (Hausa)¹⁵⁾. This is a clear indication of the maturity and depth of Islamism throughout the city of Fouban, as well as of the penetration of central policies reaching Moslems at every level (Fig. 15).

It is necessary to explain Qr. Haoussa here. The Haoussa people were responsible for the introduction of Islam to Bamoun. They are the originators and teachers of Islam for the Bamoun people. Thus, Qr. Haoussa is originally an Islamic quarter comprised entirely of Moslems. It was not necessary for the Bamoun to newly build a Koran school or a mosque there; it was never necessary to Islamize, enlighten, and organize the residents of Qr. Haoussa. For this reason, as shown in the city diagrams in Figs. 12, 14, and 15, no Islamization measures were carried out in Qr. Haoussa (Figs. 12, 14, 15). In these diagrams, Qr. Haoussa is left blank. This does not mean, however, that the Bamoun Islamic community and

15) According to Masayoshi Onozawa, Thailand has an educational institution which corresponds to madrasah, called *pondok*, whose purpose is Islamic education for adult men and women. There are some 350 *pondok* in southern Thailand, which, as in the case of the Bamoun, form a network based on teacher-disciple relationships. Onozawa also points out that such a religious network within the national system of Thailand, which is predominantly Buddhist, influences the Islamic value system and the Hindu animism through its initiation rituals and so forth, and stimulates ethnicity [ONOZAWA 1985: 49-51].

the Bamoun kingdom left the Haoussa to themselves out of respect, hoping to take advantage of it.

The Bamoun kingdom, combined with the Bamoun Islamic community, tried to take advantage of the foreign Haoussa people, Islamic teachers and a merchant group who introduced products from a new civilization, by contacting them and adopting what might be useful for the development of their Islamic society. On the other hand, as much as they respected them, they were afraid of the enormous power of the Haoussa. Therefore, the Bamoun king, as mentioned in Chapter II, appointed a Haoussa Mwalim Guura as the first Liman. Yet, once Islam penetrated the Bamoun society with the emergence of "home-grown" Bamoun Mwalim Guuras, emphasis was completely shifted toward the development and expansion of Bamoun Islam. Thus, after the first-generation Haoussa Liman, all Mwalim Guuras up to the present have been selected from among the Bamoun (Tabs. 3, 5, 6).

It is for this reason that Qr. Haoussa in the diagram of the present central mosque in Fig. 12, which shows the distribution of Mwalim Guuras, is blank. Qr. Haoussa in Figs. 14 and 15 is also blank to indicate the absence of direct influence of the Bamoun society. In fact, it is believed that it is better for the Bamoun to treat the Haoussa in a special way. In Fig. 14, for example, it is quite possible that the "originator," with greater historical Islamic depth, will repel and severely hurt the Bamoun in a theological dispute or religious reform, if the Bamoun central mosque tries to control the Liman of Qr. Haoussa as a subordinate. It is politically more advantageous for the Bamoun to stay on common ground with the Haoussa as equal Islamic groups. The Bamoun society, i.e. the traditional Bamoun royal authority, has treated the Haoussa in such a special manner and has avoided the direct incorporation of the Haoussa into the Bamoun Islamic organization. Instead, it granted the Haoussa the special title "*ngamasa mfon*," or "the king's admirer," within the Islamized kingship organization, thereby putting the Haoussa and their enormous Islamic power on the side of the Bamoun. This is the contraposition of the Bamoun kingship and Haoussa Islamic power, which is related to the Koran teacher-disciple relationship as well.

As mentioned earlier, in the Islamic community in Foumban, while human relationship based on shared territory has great influence, the Koran teacher-disciple relationship has greater authority and influence over ordinary Moslems. Let us consider the pattern, if any, of the intricate teacher-disciple relationship in the Islamic society of Foumban; retrospectively, let us see whether the teacher-disciple relationship or its system involves a large number of people, and whether it can form a network across the royal capital which serves as an administrative organ in the core of Bamoun Islamic society.

4) The Chain and the Network of Teacher-Disciple Relationships in the Royal Capital

First, let us consider 4 late former Limans of the central mosque once active in

Foumban's Islamic society (Tab. 5), and 9 late Mwalim Guuras of the central mosque (Tab. 6). The two tables show that, as mentioned earlier, only the first Liman was from the Haoussa and the rest were all Bamoun, both Mwalim Guuras and Limans. The second to fourth Limans of the central mosque shown in Tab. 5 were all *nji*, either the king's own children, *mo mfon*, or children of chief retainers, *kom shunshut*. This situation is not inviolable contraposition with, for example, the case of the Mandingo society [SCHAER & COOPER 1980: 51] which has the principle that the chief's post is occupied by a member of the village's oldest lineage and Imaam's post is filled from among those of the other lineages. Rather, this exclusivity is obviously due to the notion that, once the Bamoun society was largely Islamized, the Bamoun traditional kingdom had to act as the main party in organizing its Islamic community. This is another example of the effort of the Bamoun kingdom to deal with its own Islamization, i.e. the Bamoun royal authority's attempt to obtain direct control of Islamism. Thus, it is understandable that strong Islamization campaigns for conversion, for acquiring knowledge of Islam, or going abroad to study Islam were first promoted mainly by the king himself and the center of the Bamoun state, as in the history of Islamization in many other kingdoms or chiefdoms. At the king's command, Liman (2) lived in the palace, the center of the state, while Liman (4) went to Libya and Egypt to study. It can be said that Tab. 5 shows a typical example of collective conversion.

Meanwhile, looking at Tabs. 5 and 6 in parallel, one can tell that the Bamoun concentrated entirely on their own Islamic maturation and development, once they learned what was necessary from the Haoussa as the messenger for Islamism and a

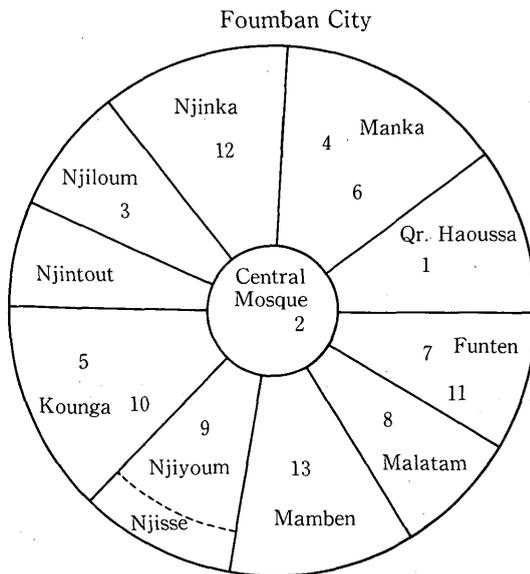


Fig. 16

Table 7 Teacher-Disciple Relationship of 17 Mwalim Guuras (Grand Mwalims)

Disciple (Qr.)	Teacher for initiation (Qr.)	Teacher for translation & interpretation (Qr.)
14 (Njiloum)	1 (Haoussa)	1 the same
15 (Malatam)	8 (Malatam)	8 the same *
16 (Manka)	4 (Manka)	4 the same *
17 (Kounga)	1 (Haoussa)	1 the same
18 (Mamben)	1 (Haoussa)	1 the same
19 (Njiyoum)	9 (Njiyoum)	9 the same * # father of 19
20 (Kounga)	14 (Njiloum)	14 the same
21 (Funten)	8 (Malatam)	8 the same
22 (Njinka)	Mfopou (Njinka)	3 (Njiloum) *
23 (Funten)	Njinguomgamna (Haoussa)	the same (Haoussa)
24 (Mamben)	8 (Malatam)?	8 the same?
25 (Kounga)	11 (Funten)	11 the same
26 (Funten)	1 (Haoussa)	3 & 4
30 (Manka)	4 (Manka)	4 the same *

foreign culture; not even one Haoussa was posted as either a Liman or a Mwalim Guura, as mentioned above. Such treatment of other ethnic groups is reflective of the urban development of Fouban. Moreover, a variety of measures devised by the Bamoun to secure the interests of their own group within the Islamic community, vis a vis the Haoussa, reflect the urban ethnicity of the Bamoun in the complex society of Fouban.

Then, the comparison of Tabs. 5 and 6 shows that almost all quarters in Fouban were represented by Mwalim Guuras in the past, as in the present. This is shown in Fig. 16. As well, the comparison of Fig. 16, which shows the distribution of late Mwalim Guuras (No. 1~13), and Fig. 12, which shows the distribution of the present ones (No. 14~30), indicates that Mwalim Guuras have existed in almost all quarters in Fouban, with the influence and authority of the central mosque over quarters being active and effective both in the past and at present. The intention in the past of the Bamoun Islamic community and the royal authority can be seen clearly in the diagram.

Returning to the subject of the teacher-disciple relationship, let us first see from whom the present leaders of the central mosque in Fouban, 17 Mwalim Guuras (No. 14~30), learned the teachings of the Koran. The Mwalim Guuras and their respective Islamic teachers are arranged in Tab. 7.

There are two main levels in study of the Koran in Islam. The first is reading of the Koran, which can be considered initiation into Islamism. This corresponds to the level of *si kuran*, the Koran-reading test. The second level is interpretation and translation of the Koran. This is on a higher level, going to the heart and perfection of Islamism. One may have different teachers for these levels or the same one for both. This means that the Islamic teacher-disciple relationship must be considered on these two levels, initiation and translation.

Tab. 7 shows, from left to right, the consecutive numbers given to the current Mwalim Guuras, the quarters they live in, their initiation (reading) teachers when they were disciples, the quarters of their initiation teachers, and their translation teachers. "The same" means that a Mwalim Guura had the same teacher for his initiation and translation. The table indicates the tendency among the current Mwalim Guuras to have the same teacher on both levels, except for two. It is actually customary that once a disciple is introduced to the Koran by a certain teacher, he does not change his teacher except for a special reason. This in turn suggests that there were already not a few Bamoun Mwalims who were able to teach interpretation of the Koran and theological perfection, at the time the current Mwalim Guuras were disciples. It was not necessary to change to a new teacher for advanced studies. Specifically, Tab. 7 shows that there were eight Mwalims based in respective quarters in the royal capital who taught Koran interpretation when the current Mwalim Guuras were young. This is suggestive of the high degree of Islamic maturation in Fouban at that time. Two of the eight teachers were based in Qr. Haoussa while the remainder were from the Bamoun ethnic group.

The current Mwalim Guuras marked * in Tab. 7 (there are five) learned the Koran from teachers of the same quarter as themselves. This means that the disciple did not have to travel great distances to study. Moreover, this means that there were already enough Bamoun Mwalims in the royal capital to allow disciples to go to teachers in their own or neighboring quarters. It is assumed from this that, in Fouban, Islam first penetrated and established itself locally and then spread into surrounding quarters in stages.

Needless to say, the current Mwalim Guuras numbered (14) to (30) in Tab. 7 are all alive; all of their Koran teachers during their discipleship for initiation or translation, excluding disciple (20)'s teacher, (14), who is currently Liman of the

Table 8 Teacher-Disciple Relationship of the Late Mwalim Guuras (Grand Mwalims)

Disciple (Qr.)	Teacher for initiation (Qr.)	Teacher for translation (Qr.)
1 (Haoussa)		
2 (Palace)	1 & other Haoussa	1 & other Haoussa
3 (Njiloum)	1 (Haoussa)	1
4 (Manka)	1 (Haoussa)	1 (study in Egypt and Lybia)
5 (Kounga)	1 (Haoussa)	1
6 (Manka)	1 (Haoussa)	4
7 (Funten)	(Haoussa)	books (Eng. Fr. Germ.)
8 (Malatam)	(Haoussa)	Nigeria (Bornu, Kano)
9 (Njiyoum)	1 (Haoussa)	1
10 (Kounga)	(Haoussa)	(Haoussa)
11 (Funten)	(Haoussa)	books in French # Conversion
12 (Njinka)	3 (Njiloum)	3
13 (Mamben)	(Haoussa)	(Haoussa)

central mosque, are dead, the late Mwaim Guuras numbered (1)~(13). Then, the Koran teachers of the current Mwalim Guuras, from whom did they learn the reading and interpretation of the Koran? Tab. 8 traces the origin of their Islamization and shows their teachers (Tab. 8).

The first-generation Haoussa Liman of the central mosque (No. 1) was placed in this post by the Bamoun king because he had been taught by one of the highest-ranking teachers of the already-Islamized Haoussa. This was when the Bamoun King Njoya was first Islamized and decided to introduce Islam into the Bamoun state. Following him, Mwalim Soulémanou, also Haoussa, became the second Liman. However, sufficient research data does not exist at present to determine which Haoussa Liman, Arouna or Soulémanou, was followed by the late Bamoun Mwalim Guuras; this point should be clarified in future research. Accordingly, for convenience, Arouna is described as a first-generation Liman since it is nonetheless true that the Bamoun followed a Haoussa Liman. It should be noted that the first Liman Arouna is, in essence, Mwalim Soulémanou (Tabs. 4, 5, 7, 8; Liman No. 1 in Figs. 15~19). Therefore, the second Liman, Njikouotou, in Tab. 5 is more precisely the third Liman, but is described as the second one to facilitate analysis.

Here, the first Liman (1), along with another Haoussa Liman, Mwalim Soulémanou, is seen as the person who introduced Islam to the Bamoun, and his teachers are not considered since he himself represents the "origin" of Islam for the Bamoun. To support this point, the late Bamoun Mwalim Guuras, numbered (2)~(13) in Tab. 8, had Haoussa (1) as their teacher mostly, except for Mwalim Guura No. 12, who had the Bamoun Mwalim Guura (3) as his teacher. As well, it should be noted that they are not marked with an * in comparison with table 7. It was impossible in those days to find a Koran teacher in one's own quarter; one had to go to Haoussa Great Mwalims in Qr. Haoussa to learn Islam. Tab. 8 plainly shows that Qr. Haoussa and the Haoussa people constituted the origin of Islam for the Bamoun and its capital Foumban; there was no other way to learn Islam. All lines of Islamic teacher-disciple relationships converge on Haoussa.

Because of the time and the situation, in which there was no choice for the Islamic disciples, most of them turned to the Haoussa Liman (1) for Koran interpretation as they had done for initiation. On the other hand, some of the late Mwalim Guuras pursued advanced studies of the Koran independently, by reading books written in English, French, or German. As well, some Mwalims went to other countries to study: (4) went to Libya and Egypt and (8) went to Bornu and Kano, Nigeria, one of the Haoussa Islamic bases.

In those days, nevertheless, initiation into the Koran and Islam was always conducted by Haoussa teachers. For example, the disciple (12) in Tab. 8 had the late Bamoun Mwalim Guura (3) as his teacher, and (3) had the Haoussa Liman (1) as his Koran teacher. Thus, as mentioned above, all the teacher-disciple relationships can be traced back, from a disciple's teacher to the teacher's teacher, to Qr. Haoussa and Haoussa teachers who lived there.

The teacher-disciple relationships of different times, including those in the

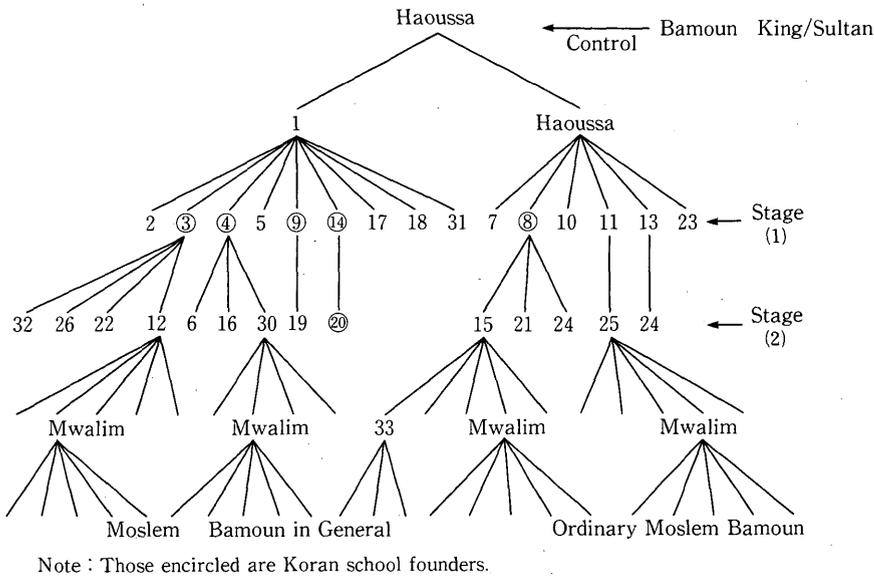


Fig. 17

present among the Bamoun as illustrated in Tabs. 7 and 8, can be linked and expressed in a tiered structure, which also represents the whole structure of the Fouban Islamic community (Fig. 17).

5) The Multi-Layered Structure of Teacher-Disciple Relationships and the History of Islamization

As Fig. 17 indicates, the chain of the teacher-disciple relationships constitutes the Islamic network covering the royal capital¹⁶⁾. As a synchronic condition, Fig. 17 shows a multi-layered hierarchical structure covering the entire royal capital. As a diachronic condition linking the past with the present, on the other hand, it shows a vertical tiered structure of the diffusion of Islam along the multi-layered chain of “teaching” and “learning” of the Koran, from the Haoussa to the late Mwalim Guuras, and from the current Mwalim Guuras to minor Mwalims, on to ordinary Moslems all over Fouban. Collective conversion to Islam at the king’s command and the penetration of Islam into Fouban were in fact facilitated by the steady accumulation of personal encounters and ties among the Bamoun people in the traditional city. The history of the Islamization of Fouban is, thus, presented visually by this structure.

The multi-layered structure and hierarchy of such an organization, consisting

16) Today, the Bamoun royal authority, in which Islamic culture has become a part of the tradition, forms through its Islamic organization a network which covers the whole city and provides urban service in areas not covered by the present administration. The Islamic organization in the Bamoun royal capital has the function of a formal sector in the city.

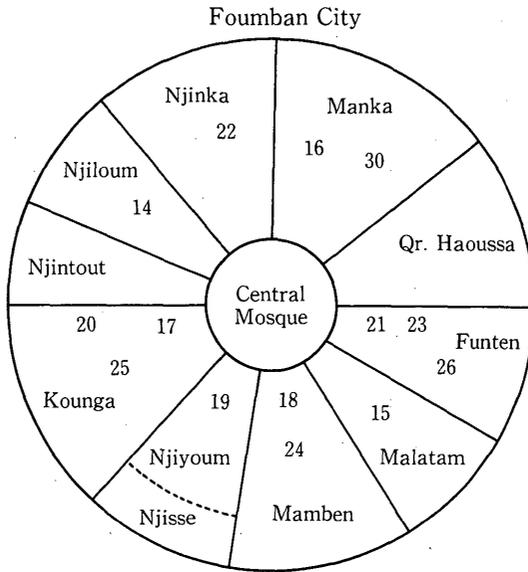


Fig. 18

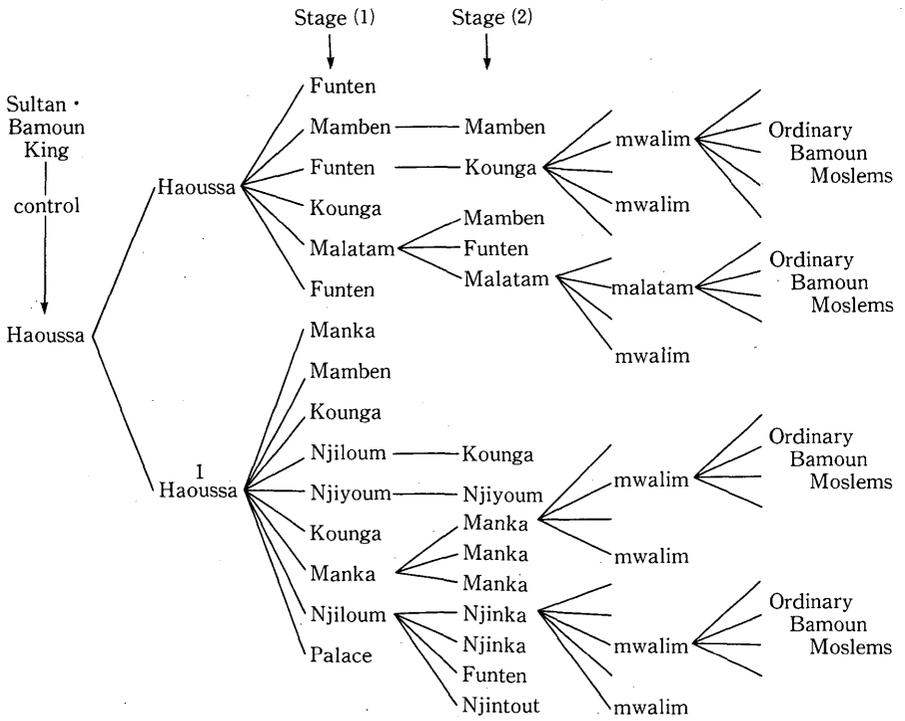


Fig. 19

of the chain of teacher-disciple relationships and reaching even ordinary Moslems at the bottom, are clarified in the context of urban space in Fig. 18, in which Figs. 12 and 16 are combined (Fig. 18). The city diagram shows the distribution of the late and current Mwalim Guuras, thereby synchronically indicating their locations in the city up to the present. As it suggests, the historical layers and continuation of the teacher-disciple relationships, numbered in Fig. 17, have covered the urban space as the chain developed.

To further clarify this point, the numbers given to the Mwalims in the teacher-disciple relationships shown in Fig. 17 are replaced in Fig. 19 by the names of their quarters. Thus chronological continuity is added to the synchronic diffusion of Islam shown in Fig. 18, clearly indicating the process of penetration, i.e. the quarter to quarter spread of Islamic essence. For example, the Islamized Bamoun King, Njoya, appointed Liman (1) of Qr. Haoussa, from whom the line of penetration extended to Qr. Njiloum, then to Qr. Njintout, Qr. Funten, and Qr. Njinka. The gradual process by which Islam was extended across the urban space can be analyzed in this manner.

The gradual process of the Islamization of Foumban can be chronologically analyzed in greater detail. The interpersonal ties expressed as teacher-disciple relationships in Fig. 17 can also be interpreted as the spatial development of Islam in Foumban, as shown in Fig. 18. This indicates that the diffusion and penetration of Islam in Foumban occurred not in isolated spots nor along isolated lines, but in the form of a surface covering the entire city. Such overall Islamic development in the royal capital, then, can be analyzed by dividing it into two chronological stages.

The first stage corresponds to the time when the first-generation Bamoun Mwalim Guuras were introduced to Islam and learned the Koran from Haoussa teachers. In Fig. 19, this is indicated as Stage (1), the early period of Islamization when the Bamoun learned the teachings of the Koran from the first-generation Liman, Mwalim Arouna, Mwalim Soulémanou, and other Haoussa teachers.

The Islamization in this early period, Stage (1), can be called "the past Islamization," and the Islamization in Stage (2), "the present Islamization." The words "past" and "present" are relative. The Stage (1) Islamization is "in the past" in the sense that the 15 Bamoun Mwalim Guuras (Fig. 19) who learned the Koran directly from Haoussa teachers had personal contact with the now deceased first-generation Liman and Haoussa Moslems, and only five of the 15 Bamoun Mwalim Guuras are still alive.

Meanwhile, the Stage (2) Islamization is "in the present" in the sense that the 14 Mwalim Guuras aligned vertically in Fig. 19 did not have direct contact with the deceased first Liman or Haoussa Mwalim Guuras and, instead, studied under the Haoussa teachers' disciples; only two of them are dead. Stage (2) is in the present since the second-generation Mwalim Guuras are still active as teachers of the Koran. As is evident from the diagram, Islam spread from Qr. Haoussa to the quarters of the royal capital; then, it may be necessary to consider these quarters, per se, in the framework of Foumban. The quarters shown in Fig. 19 (Stage 1) are, from bottom

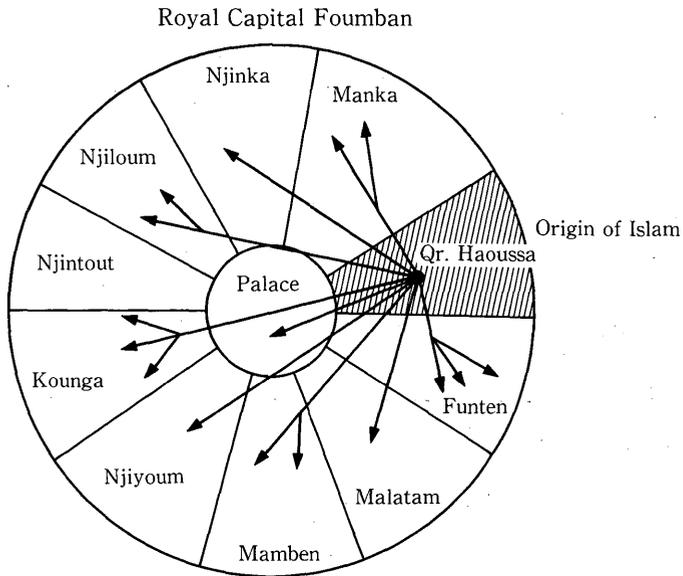


Fig. 20

to heaven, the Palace, Qr. Njiloum, Qr. Manka, Qr. Kounga, Qr. Njiyoum, Qr. Njiloum (second time), Qr. Kounga (second time), Qr. Mamben, Qr. Manka (second time), Qr. Funten, Qr. Malatam, Qr. Kounga (third time), Qr. Funten (second time), Qr. Mamben (second time), and Qr. Funten (third time). Some quarters are mentioned more than once, and the frequency is indicated in ().

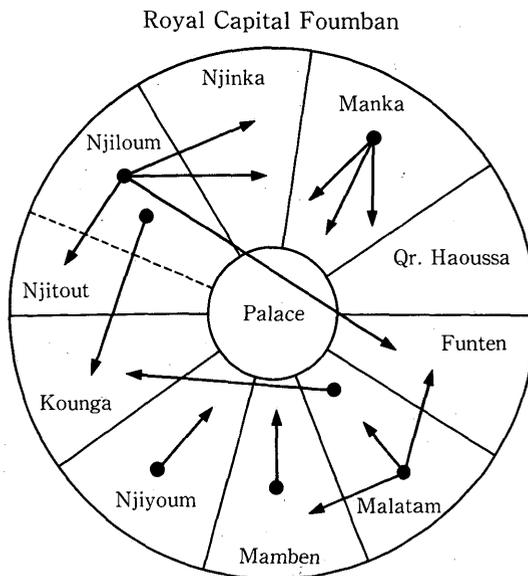


Fig. 21

Then, it can be said that the flow of Islamization originating in Qr. Haoussa entered almost all quarters of Fouban.

For further clarification, the flow of Islamization in the early period, Stage (1), is shown in the city diagram of Fig. 20. As shown in this diagram, Islam spread all over the royal capital, from Qr. Haoussa, the origin, to all the quarters of Fouban, excluding Qr. Njintout. During this period, the flow of Islamization, starting from Qr. Haoussa, the origin of Islam, covered the quarters of Fouban. For this, it can be termed the period of the diffusion and development of Islam in Fouban.

The "seeds" of Islam which were planted in the quarters became each quarter's station or base from which, in turn, Islam spread further within the quarter or even to other quarters, already Islamized or not, strengthening Islamism. The city diagram in Fig. 21 shows this process in the second stage of Islamization. During this stage, Islam was established in the various quarters, and in some cases the lines of Islamization overlap, as Islam was introduced again to quarters already Islamized by Qr. Haoussa (Fig. 21). Islam, introduced into the various quarters separately as shown in Fig. 20, was spread in various directions from the Islamic center of each quarter, centering around its Mwalim Guura. Analysis of the spread of Islam from old Mwalim Guuras to new ones shows that the line of Islamization was intricately extended via the teacher-disciple relationship, covering the entire city of Fouban and strengthening the degree of Islamism. Since Islamization during this period was two-fold in that new Islamic influence was added to the original Islamization, it can be termed as the period of establishment and maturation of Islam in Fouban. Since unknown minor and major Mwalims from the quarters gathered around the Mwalim Guuras to become their disciples and follow them, it can be said that several lines of Islamization spread to quarters all over the royal capital, intricately in radial form¹⁷⁾.

Meanwhile, there are two main styles by which Islam becomes established and matures among ordinary Bamoun people in Fouban. One is based on the local Mwalim Guuras's teacher-disciple relationships within a quarter: the center of diffusion and development is placed within the quarter in a relatively closed manner, as in the example of Qr. Manka. The other is based on the collection for study of disciples from several quarters and the development of trans-quarter teacher-disciple relationships in various directions, as in Qr. Njiloum and Qr. Malatam. These two styles can be regarded as the techniques of, respectively, territory-based regional control and teacher-disciple relationship-based popular control. When seen by the central organ of the Islamic community and the royal authority aiming to obtain control, the purpose of these techniques is the unification of ordinary Moslems.

17) While the form of diffusion from Qr. Manka is basically restricted to the quarter itself, when visits by minor Mwalims to Qr. Manka are considered, Qr. Manka is open to other quarters since major and minor Mwalims of Qr. Njinka, Njiyoum, and Funten gather to study the koran under a Mwalim Guura in Qr. Manka.

The process of Islamization can thus be expressed metaphorically as follows: the roots of Islam in Qr. Haoussa are divided for replanting in the surrounding quarters, where the roots grow, sprout and put forth buds, which are then divided for another replanting; further growth occurs, "fertilized" by Islamism firmly settled in the ground, allowing maturation and bringing full blossoms throughout Fouban. There is agreement between historical description and organization theory.

If one reviews the Islamization of Fouban from the standpoint of urban structure, one should notice that an organic and multi-layered network of urban "nodes"¹⁸⁾ exists in Fouban, connecting the people. In this network, the concentration of people, goods, property, and information is realized in the royal capital, securing high-density urbanism there.

Thus, the established Islamic network covers every corner of Bamoun society. It penetrates the inside and the outside of the city. Outside the royal capital, a network of city mosques has been completed, based on the notion that Islamic sacredness of *lahooduva* is granted by the central mosque in the royal capital to the central mosques of major cities and quarters within the Bamoun kingdom. The hierarchical network is based on the "parent-child" relationship, between the central mosque in Fouban and other city mosques. The leaders in the central mosque in the royal capital are under the control of the sultan, the Bamoun Islamic king. Inside the royal capital, a hierarchical network is spread out from the central mosque to the quarters by putting Limans, the highest-ranking leaders of quarter mosques, under the control of the central mosque in the form of family-like or teacher-disciple relationships. As well, the Islamic network covers the entire royal capital through the layers of individual teacher-disciple relationships and the history of Islamization. In both cases, as the sultan, the Bamoun king occupies the top position.

The Bamoun kingdom, therefore, has modified the Islamic network into a political organization to be used to its own advantage, strengthening and expanding its political foundation with a new civilization of Islam. Notwithstanding cultural transformation by the new Islamic civilization, the royal authority has not allowed its foundation to weaken, but has reinforced itself by seeking harmony with Islam, so as to realize further empowerment and progress of the state.

4. THE ROYAL CAPITAL-VILLAGE COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP AS SEEN THROUGH ISLAMIC SYMBOLS

Let us return to the table comparing the traditional Bamoun ritual instruments used in the city (royal capital) and village communities (Tab. 1), which were

18) Mieko Miyaji points out that there are many guardian saints, and temples enshrining them, and Sufi religious institutions, *zawiya*, in the Islamic city Medina. They contribute greatly to the formation of solidarity among the residents and to social integration [MIYAJI 1984: 166].

discussed in the previous chapter. The long trumpet played to praise the king, *kakaki*, is an "advanced" item brought to the Bamoun along with Islam. The items used in the royal capital reflect the influence of Islamic civilization, while those used in rural villages have the old and "traditional" (conventional) names. This is one area where differences exist between the royal capital and rural villages.

Not limited to the above example, Islam is also reflected in the royal capital-village relationship in the Bamoun state. In Chapters 1 and 2, the structure of the royal capital and the city-village relationship were examined in terms of symbolism. In Chapter 3, the Bamoun political structure was discussed from the perspective of Islam. In this chapter, these two ways of seeing are combined to analyze the royal capital-village community relationship as seen in terms of Islamic symbols.

The city-village relationship as seen through traditional Bamoun symbols, discussed in Chapter 1, corresponds to the ruler-ruled community relationship of the city and rural villages as seen through the arrangement of Islamic symbols. As was mentioned in the preceding chapter, the central mosque in Foumban completes the royal capital-village hierarchy among community mosques, by providing the mosques in the center of the surrounding quarters and arrondissements with *lahooduva* (a corruption of the Arabic word *al kutuba*), the sacredness of Islamic prayer.

In the central part of the royal capital, the palace, the square (i.e. market), and the mosque are arranged in just this order from west to east; the identical arrangement is found in villages, for example, Njimom Village. The center of Njimom Village is a market. There, the square/market and the mosque are arranged from west to east in just this order as well. In Foumban, the market opens twice a week on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and usually functions as a square (*ku-yenjaa*); thus, it is more accurate to say that the square occasionally functions as a market. Important political and religious rituals of the royal authority are performed in the square, including announcements by the king, traditional trials by the palace, traditional rituals of the kingdom, and, in the past, executions. There, economic activities and trade on the market are permitted under the sacredness of the king. In contrast, in Njimom Village, although open only once a week, the central place functions more as a market than a square in the villagers' daily life for its simple yet conspicuous market facilities. This means that square functions are added to the market in Njimom Village, and as a result, young people gather there even on days when the market is closed, to enjoy conversations, exchange information, and look for romance. So the question is not which function takes precedence, the square (*yen*) or the market (*ten*), since both, as originally, overlap one another. Meanwhile, the functions of the Njimom Village square are, in a legal sense, identical to those of the royal capital square. In the square, announcements of the king are heard, traditional trials held, and in the past, the tree in the center of the market was used for executions¹⁹.

19) According to Littlewood, Foumban served even as a slave market during the war between 1914 and 1918 [LITTLEWOOD 1954: 62].

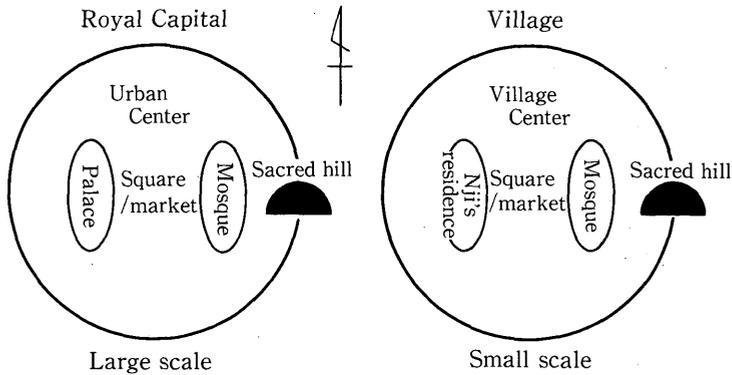


Fig. 22

In either the royal capital or villages, the market (or square) is located in the center, with the mosque, the Islamic center, located to its east. This is identical to the symbolic “orientalness (being in the east)” of Islam in the royal capital. Moreover, the same can be said of the location of “the sacred hill” where religious services are performed for major Islamic festivals. Both in the royal capital and villages, the sacred hill is located east of the mosque. In the three major Islamic festivals, including the festival to mark the end of Ramadan (the fasting month) and the sacrificial festival, men are seated easterly on the sacred hill, with women sitting westerly behind them. Thus, both in the royal capital and villages, the symbolic spatial arrangement, from the center of the community to the east, of the square/market, the mosque, and the sacred hill (women and men) can be found. Differences can be found between the royal capital and villages in the respective size of the market, the mosque, and the sacred hill. Just as the traditional ritual instruments of the royal capital and rural villages are identical in shape but different in size (large for the royal capital, small for villages), the important “node” establishments, which form a community in the royal capital and rural villages, are identical in basic composition and different in size (Fig. 22).

The spatial expanse of the royal capital—the palace, the square/market, the mosque, and the sacred hill—has the symbolic meaning described above. Then, in villages, what fills the role of the palace in the royal capital? Since the palace is the king’s residence, the location of a village chief’s residence should be considered. In Bamoun villages, however, a village chief’s residence is not always situated adjacent to the village market. This is the case with the chief of Njimom Village. This means that differences can exist between the royal capital and villages in the structure of the community’s center. Yet, in villages where the traditional Bamoun political system is deeply ingrained and whose chiefs are given the prince’s title *nji*, like Njimom Village, the location of the chief’s residence tends to correspond to that of the palace in the royal capital. In such a village, a square is rarely set up west of the traditional village chief’s residence; it is usually located on the eastern side so that the sun (*Liigon*) god can be worshiped. In Njimom Village, where the

community deeply relates to the origin of the Bamoun kingdom, there are seven *nji*, from the legend of the founding king of the Bamoun and his seven attendants/retainers. It is mostly the case that the eldest of these traditional *nji* is appointed the village chief. Except for those summoned by the king to live in the royal capital, *nji* usually live west, north, or south of the village market/square. In other words, the east is reserved as a place of prayer. Therefore, the spatial arrangement of the traditional chief, the market/square, the mosque, and the sacred hill from west to east can be found in Njimom Village. Thus, the city-village relationship in the Bamoun political sphere constitutes a multi-layered community hierarchy in the form of the identical community composition in different sizes, involving Islamic constructions and their symbolic locations. The spatial symbolism that Foumban has as an Islamic city can also be identified in the city-village relationship.

The traditional ritual instruments and the arrangement of Islamic urban facilities suggest that continuity exists between city and village symbols. Thus, the symbolic structure of the royal capital can be elucidated from village symbols.

In the Bamoun language, Njimom Village is described as "*nji-mom*"; *nji* is the prefix meaning a certain place, and *mom* means the Mom people. When the prefix *pa*, which means "people," is attached to the Mom people, it becomes *pa-mom*, i.e. the Bamoun ethnic group. In the Bamoun language, the Bamoun people are called *pa-mom*; therefore, Njimom Village means "the residence of the Bamoun," i.e. the original place of the Bamoun. Actually, about 200 years ago, when the *pa-mom* commander Nchare traveled from the northeastern land of the Tikar ethnic group and entered present Foumban, Njimom Village was made the base for his conquest. Thus, Njimom is truly the residence of the Mom.

For a royal succession ritual, the tradition and rituals of Njimom Village, as the origin of the Bamoun, are reproduced in the royal capital to secure the new king's legitimacy. It is said that Nshare, who founded the Bamoun kingdom, once fought Chief Retainer Njikumunjua over leadership in Njimom and won the throne, with Njikumunjua ending up swearing his support to the king. In a succession ritual in the royal capital, this Njimom legend is reproduced by new and incumbent kings, who have a mock battle in which the new king wins. The maintenance of the state order is secured in this symbolic manner.

The cultural order of a traditional village was thus introduced into the royal capital. Then, time passed, and the kingdom was Islamized during the late 19th King Njoya's reign. Then, the urban structure of the royal capital, the initial recipient of Islamic influence, was introduced into rural villages, such as the construction of mosques. The original community structure of the traditional village was then regulated under Islamic influence in creating a new structure identical to that of the royal capital but on a smaller scale. Thus, the symbolic

20) In particular, the writer theoretically summarized an urban anthropological method of understanding urban structure and culture in the context of the urban-rural relationship, within the framework of "regional anthropology" [WAZAKI 1987: 54-63].

urban spatial structure, while reflecting political trends and social changes, is based on a dynamic, reciprocative city-village relationship²⁰. The symbolic urban spatial structure must be examined in such a dynamic context.

CONCLUSION: POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND URBAN ANTHROPOLOGY OF AN AFRICAN KINGDOM

1) Synchronic Hierarchy and Diachronic Islamization of the Royal Capital

Synchronically, the chain of personal relationships in Fouban based on the teaching-learning process constitutes the hierarchy of multi-layered teacher-disciple relationships: individual interpersonal relationships centering on Koran study are vertically linked to form a multi-level hierarchical structure which covers the entire royal capital. The author believes that an urban anthropological methodology in an African setting for defining the urban structure of Fouban has been presented through an analysis of its Islamic organization. At the same time, it can be said that Fouban, the traditional royal capital of the Bamoun kingdom, has strong characteristics as an Islamic city, since the analysis of its Islamic organization supports identification of its urban and political structure. Needless to say, this does not suggest that Islam took root in Fouban overnight. Rather, its present urban structure was established as the result of the Islamization process.

Therefore, the diachronic and historical process of the establishment of the multi-layered hierarchy of teachers and disciples in Fouban is tantamount to the process of the Islamization of Fouban itself. Ordinary Moslems learned the essence of the Koran from Mwalims, who were initiated into Islam and the Koran by their senior Mwalims who had either opened Koran schools or organized associations. The current 17 Mwalim Guuras studied the Koran and Islam under their predecessor Mwalim Guuras, whose predecessors learned from the Haoussa teachers, such as Mwalim Arouna, who were appointed by the first-generation Liman of the central mosque in Fouban. It was the Bamoun king that allowed Haoussa merchants with their Islamic background to live in a corner of the royal capital and build Qr. Haoussa. Thus, both synchronically and diachronically, the Bamoun king is at the very top of the hierarchy, above both the traditional and Islamic leaders.

The origin of Islam in Fouban can be traced upward along the ladder of the teacher-disciple chain. Viewed oppositely, it is the chronological process of the diffusion of Islam in the royal capital: the ladder can be retraced from the starting point of Islamization involving the Haoussa. Islam was spread and established all over Fouban, initially from the Haoussa, to the late Mwalim Guuras, to the current Mwalim Guuras, major and minor Mwalims, and ordinary Fouban residents embracing Islam. It is noteworthy that individuals in the teacher-disciple relationships have different *quartier* backgrounds. The diffusion of Islam first started in spots and became lines and surfaces, literally penetrating the whole city. Even today, Koran education is based in the royal capital, reflecting the history of

Islamization in Fouban. Its process can be analyzed by elucidating the Islamic teacher-disciple relationships. The order of layers underlying physical memories shared by the Bamoun people, such as patterns of human relationship and customs still existing today, is thus clarified not as the absolute, chronological history, but as the relative history of "relationships."

2) Incorporation of the Islamic Organization into the Royal Organization

The multi-layered structure of the teacher-disciple relationship mentioned above forms in Fouban a religious-daily network, through which a variety of information is widely communicated in the city. It serves not only as a means of daily communication for people to obtain information, but also as a means by which those in authority spread information, rules, and announcements as well. When viewed upwards from its bottom layer, the network also functions as a system for absorption of alms (*sadaka*) during religious rituals and ceremonies. The religious network consisting of teacher-disciple relationships can be transformed into an alms-collecting mechanism, performing functions generally attributed to an economic mechanism. Meanwhile, the top position of the state with unrestricted power has been occupied invariably by the Bamoun king as the sultan, who controls the state through, for example, the introduction of Islam, acceptance of the inflow of Haoussa merchants, and personal management and rights of appointment of the highest-ranking religious leaders, i.e. the 17 Mwalim Guuras. As well, it is also the Bamoun king, under the name of the Islamic king Seidou, that is seated at the top of the multi-layered structure of human relationships and the multi-level network collecting donations, alms, and ritual expenses, i.e. at the top of an economic collection mechanism whose economic activities are carried out under the guise of religion. Therefore, it can be said that the Bamoun kingdom has used the religious organization of Islam as a political mechanism to control the people, and as an economic "exaction" mechanism to absorb financial resources and succeed in adding political and economic functions to the Islamic organization²¹).

Thus, the Bamoun state established in Fouban not only a framework of royal authority, but also a framework of Islamic hierarchy by organizing Islamic interests and arranging the people's interpersonal relationships into a vertical system and authorizing it. At that time, ranks and orders within the Islamic community, which would constitute the hierarchy, were given and secured by the royal authority through the appointment of Bamoun princes and those from noted clans to the positions of high-ranking Mwalims. The Bamoun kingdom did not leave the vertically-structured Islamic organization as a mere religious entity, isolated from

21) Johnson argues that such political, economic, religious, and military functions form a complex even if a city emerges as a religious city [1970]. In fact, Mutsuo Kawadoko describes, from an archaeological standpoint, the situation in which an Islamic city in Egypt, al fustât, developed first as a *misr* (military city) then later with changing and overlapping trade, transportation, and political functions [KAWADOKO and SAKURAI 1980: 3-5].

the political dimension. It succeeded in turning the Islamic organization into a religious organization of the state, with authority retained by the state to control the top echelon of the Islamic organization²²). In other words, the Bamoun kingdom succeeded in organizing and transforming Islam, i.e. another form of the concentration of flows of people, goods, property, and information [cf. MIKI *et al.*, 1984: 308–311]²³), into a solid network. As a result, another political framework was established in Foumban, in addition to the framework of the traditional kingship system consisting of quarter chiefs (*Mfoyome*) and *nji*, thus allowing the traditional authority to further perfect its rule and control over the urban Bamoun Islamic population who make up over 60% (or 90%, as some suggest) of the population. In Eitaro Suzuki's words, nodes of the Islamic organization such as mosques and madrasahs are linked to form lines, crossing and overlapping each other, finally developing into an urban system in which all sorts of social interchange—political, economic, and religious—constitute a multi-layered structure [cf. SUZUKI 1969: 138–145]²⁴).

In terms of intensification of the state system in the political structure of the royal capital, the Islamization of the Bamoun state realized the establishment of another political pillar in Foumban: the Islamic organization was established as the second core of the state system in Foumban, the Bamoun political center. In this

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- 22) Previously, quarters had been controlled by the royal authority by the following three methods: (1) quarter chief *mfoyome*, the political system of the royal authority, (2) *shimfon* (the king's conjugal relatives), the king's marriage policy to secure control by privileged clans and lineages, and (3) *nji* (prince's title), the nominal father-child relationship with the king which is a family relation-based method. The Islamic organization employed was the fourth method.
- 23) To Miki Wataru's urban regulation, i.e. flow and stock of people, goods, and information, Iwao Kamoza added the viewpoint of aspects of property and its flow and stock. For this, the writer described a city as the accumulation of people, goods, property, and information.
- 24) Eitaro Suzuki's concept of node organization is adopted by Takeo Yazaki, who completed the concept of the integration organ with particular emphasis on the role of the city as an active agent influencing other communities [YAZAKI 1963: 24–28]. Hiroo Fujita developed an argument in an attempt to understand a city in line with the idea of regional sociology, by taking the dynamic urban-rural relationship into perspective [FUJITA 1982: 57–77]. Morimichi Tomikawa developed it into a regional anthropological argument with an African example [TOMIKAWA 1980]. To re-examine the existence of Islam in the Bamoun state from such a standpoint of the urban-rural relationship, it is significant to consider the relationship between the central mosque in the royal capital and arrondissement mosques in Bamoun Prefecture formed by *lahooduva*, as shown in Fig. 13. Since the central mosque in Foumban integrates arrondissement central mosques by providing sacredness to them, it serves as what Yazaki calls the integration organ both in intra-city organization and in the capital-village relationship. The city-village relationship can surface as the result of reinforcement of power in the royal capital by Islam. The *gap* in power secures the authority and sacredness of the royal capital and the king, as they are looked up to from villages.

sense, while the state system was established during the 11th King Bouombouo's reign, Islamization under the 17th King Njoya is clearly seen as the second-phase of establishment and improvement of the ruling mechanism. This is because Islamization realized the vertical organization of the Bamoun people and granted benefits and rights to them according to the newly introduced Islamic philosophy of equality, the community spirit of *umma*, the liberation of slaves and the oppressed, and the upgrading of social status through acquired titles and positions such as Al Hadj (El Hadj). Because of Islamization, the structure of the Bamoun royal capital was reorganized despite the presence of some non-Moslems there. In the city-village relationship as well, a ruling mechanism for the Bamoun majority was established, as the royal capital at the top of the hierarchy controlled and organized village communities through, for example, the transfer of *lahooduva*. The Islamization of the Bamoun state has been, therefore, extremely influential in the reorganization, improvement, and expansion of the Bamoun state system.

3) The Islamization Process of Separation, Fusion, and Maturation

To understand, in connection with Islamization, Bamoun state formation and the urban formation of the royal capital, in which the logic of state formation is found most intensively, Fisher's idea may prove useful [1973: 31-37]. Fisher says that the process of conversion to Islam in Africa consists of three phases: separation, fusion, and reform. In the first phase of separation, traditional non-Moslem Africans live separately from Islamic merchants, missionaries, and exiles in the city and in the outskirts of the city, or in the forest as a political area and in the savannah as a commercial area. Next, communication and merging between Moslems and non-Moslems becomes active, encouraging the Islamization of traditional African residents. In the example of a kingship society, which Fisher takes up, conversion to Islam spreads from the center of the state to peripheral areas. In the final phase, formal Islamic education is established as the result of complete penetration of Islam, fostering acquisition of knowledge in the Islamic core area, theological research, and reexamination of current conditions for possible reform.

How does the Islamization process in Fouban, in the Bamoun kingdom, compare with the above mentioned three-phase process? The Bamoun King Njoya allowed the settlement of Haoussa merchants embracing Islam in the royal capital. Although it was not a clear form of "separation," they lived at the foot of a hill beyond the sacred mountain, at the eastern edge. It is what the Bamoun people call Matumben, the origin of Qr. Haoussa. In this sense, Qr. Haoussa and the traditional quarters in the royal capital were "separated," by the hill.

Even after their initial settlement, the Haoussa continued to flow into Fouban. As Qr. Haoussa grew, its contact with the traditional quarters became more active. Then, leaders of the Bamoun people began to visit Qr. Haoussa to study Islam. These people, namely scholars, princes, and the royalty, constituted the core of the Bamoun state. The Bamoun present a typical case of collective

conversion, as do other societies based on royal authority. Yet, it is not perfunctory collective conversion which is imposed by the royal authority and causes rapid change. The Islamization of the Bamoun state, although a kingship society, was realized gradually through the accumulation of solid and steady efforts by Mwalims and ordinary Moslems²⁵⁾.

Thus, collective conversion-type Islamization brought about by the accumulation of specific interpersonal relationships is presented in the Bamoun kingdom. The late Mwalim Guuras, who lived in the traditional quarters, visited Qr. Haoussa frequently to study the Koran. The first-generation Liman was chosen by the king from Qr. Haoussa. Frequent and dense interchange between the Bamoun people in the traditional quarters of the royal capital and Haoussa Moslems in the new quarter, the initiator of Islam in Bamoun society, took place repeatedly. Traces of the late Mwalim Guuras and the current ones, who both studied under Haoussa teachers, are found over all the quarters of Fouban. In the early period of Islamization, the Islamic quarter and non-Islamic quarters pursued exchange and allowed fusion, extending over the entire royal capital Fouban. This is the phase of "fusion," which brought about greater intensity of Islamism in Fouban.

Then, Great Mwalims, aged Mwalims, and Mwalim Guuras who learned from the Haoussa occupied top positions, as No. 1 Limans, thus fostering the maturation of Islamism among the Bamoun people. Bamoun Mwalims, who had been disciples, became Mwalim Guuras and taught major and minor Bamoun Mwalims. Six large-scale Koran schools were founded in Fouban, promoting the systematization of Islamic educational institutions and allowing the emergence of many full-time Islamic teachers. Since the early period of Islamization, Fouban has sent Bamoun Mwalims to study in Libya, Egypt, the Haoussa city Kano, and Jiddah, has sent pilgrims to Mecca every year, and accumulated abundant knowledge of the Islamic core area. As a result, differences in the theories of teacher Mwalims, of various Koran schools, and of academic schools of leaders who studied abroad caused enthusiastic theological arguments, in which people eagerly discussed areas of possible reform. The current Mwalim Guuras, who have taken over the role of the late Mwalim Guuras, are also scattered all over the royal capital as their teachers did in their time. As Islam spread deeply, as it was passed over from teachers to their disciples and to their disciples in turn, the Islamic network took deep root in the royal capital as a dense multi-layered structure, while linking individual teacher-disciple relationships in an intricate manner. The maturation of Islam in Bamoun, or Islam in the royal capital Fouban, was thus realized. From this, it can be said that this historical process of the Islamization of Fouban corresponds to Fisher's phase of reform, and that Islamism penetrated

25) With regard to current Islamic education in Ghana, Braimah says that a formal Makalanta Islamic school does not function sufficiently, and informal and steady activities of local *ulama* (Islamic leaders equal to *Mwalim*) prove more successful [BRAIMAH 1976: 208-210].

and spread in the city and settled in a mature form.

While the Islamization process in Bamoun may be divided into separation, fusion, and reform, as Fisher would do, since several reforms have actually taken place in the Bamoun Islamic community, the author believes it is more accurate to term the third phase "maturation." This is for the following reason: while many cases of immersion in Islamic ethics, both by the king and the people, occurred as Islamization progressed in Bamoun, as exemplified by the discontinuation of rituals for the kingdom's ancestors performed by the king, it is also the case that Islamic ethics came to the fore while the traditional ideology of the Bamoun kingdom was revived in the background because of syncretism and the accretion of fusion. Therefore, in the case of Islam in Bamoun, the separation phase did not simply progress via the fusion phase straight to the reform phase.

In connection with this, Horton points out, criticizing Fisher's theory of the Islamization process, while admitting that the separation-fusion-reform process occurs frequently when Islamization is caused by holy war (jihad), that the repetition of separation and fusion phases is more dominant in regions of non-jihad Islamization [HORTON 1975: 394-396]²⁶. Jack Goody also says that a similar pattern can be found among the Lodagaa, who wavered between Islam or Christianity and their traditional religion repeatedly [GOODY 1972: 32]. Yet, Islam in Bamoun does not seem to show as lineal a repetition pattern as Horton and Goody suggest; in the Bamoun Islamic community, accretion, i.e. acceptance of Islam while preserving the traditional ethics, takes place in parallel with reform in which traditional ethics are modified or even banned. Thus, Bamoun Islam adds to its depth not only on the level of outward or superficial performance, but on the level of theological understanding as well. This does not mean, however, that the traditional ethics are simply eliminated to such an extent that the ethics of Islam proliferate instead. The dynamic correlation between Islam and traditional ethics is not that of a zero sum game in which competitors fight for their shares of a pie. Naturally, the traditional ethics must become less influential in the reform process since it includes not only partial modification, but also prohibition of some traditional customs; therefore, it has an aspect of a zero-sum game. Yet, the Islamic culture of Bamoun is not straightforward. Because the traditional and Islamic cultural systems are connected in the accretion of fusion by organic duplications, some room is left for smooth return from Islam to the traditional ethics and for reinterpretation of Islam in the traditional context, despite the

26) In this paper, Horton discusses the repetitive process of separation, fusion, and separation in great detail. The writer calls this process the repetition of separation and fusion, since it turns out as such in the end. The foundation of Horton's argument can be found in his research on social changes of the Kalabali religion [HORTON 1970: 202-207]. In this, Horton shows that the Kalabali society has undergone the following changes: (1) the emergence of Christianity, (2) side effects of conversion, (3) movement toward reform, and (4) syncretism and the revival of traditional rituals. It shows that reform is not achieved in a simplistic manner.

dominance of reformed Islamism and the “disappearance” of traditionalism.

Thus, the Bamoun Islamic society presents an extremely complex process: it has an intricate and dynamic process of neither simple reform nor simple accretion, but a process of reform and traditional revival, connected in a complicated manner, taking turns at dominance and increasing matureness while progressing. Even if the traditional revival may be seen from the Islamic point of view as manipulation by the royal authority, the accumulation of and diligence toward Islamism has not disappeared; rather, Islam is firmly established among the Bamoun people as their living principle. From this, the writer terms the third phase of Islamization “maturation,” of Islam, and defines the transformation of the Bamoun Islamic community as the process of separation-fusion-maturation. It is termed the maturation phase, for it encompasses the establishment of Islam as the people’s living principle, their inclination toward Islamic theology and reform, and their endeavor to rationalize their tradition in the background. The settlement and “maturation” of Islam are also found in connection with the social structure of the royal capital.

In the maturation phase, a balance between Bamoun Islamism and “Bamounness” is important. Islamism has managed to mature even in the presence of Bamoun ethnicity. The penetration of Islam into the Bamoun people’s daily life can be seen as a sign of its maturation. The establishment of Islam in a given area means that Islam is incorporated into the rounds of daily life in a variety of aspects, to remain there permanently. Once the fusion of Islam in a particular locale is completed, settlement is possible. Therefore, the Islamization of the Bamoun does not mean that the original Bamoun ethnicity was abandoned or eliminated. Tolerating deviation and diversity of syncretism, ‘Catholicism’ can become catholic. As the writer calls it, “amplification by bridge-building,” traditionalism and Islam were organically and deeply connected, giving them both greater strength and presence. Even Islamism, which had been invisible up to that point, became visible. By becoming connected with Islam, the traditional Bamoun ethnicity in turn was strengthened and acquired higher visibility. Through the use of the traditional magic of Islamized Mwalims, it was recognized and revived as a greater mysticity with a new dimension of exoticism and sacredness. The tradition was Islamized in a new form, while its nature was reintensified. Because Mwalims are connected to the traditional magic, the strength of Mwalims is recognized, allowing them to function with present-day significance. Because of the intensification and revitalization it underwent through its encounter with Islam and its adoption by Mwalims, the traditional magic has managed to survive.

4) Urbanism of the Royal Capital and Islamic Cities

The above mentioned three-phase process, of separation, fusion, and maturation of the Islamic element of foreign Haoussa origin and the non-Islamic element of Bamoun origin in the Islamization of Foumban, is important in terms of state formation and the urban formation of Foumban, where it occurred

intensively. Even before Islamization, Fouban, the central community of the Bamoun, had adopted elements of foreign ethnic groups and cultures, such as conquered skilled workers and artisans, while urbanizing [WAZAKI 1986: 230–235]. Fouban, then, further intensified its urbanism through Islamization. In other words, the Bamoun royal city of Fouban enhanced its urbanism, thanks to the commercialism newly introduced by Haoussa merchants and encounters with foreign cultures, in the process of formation and development of Qr. Haoussa on the city's eastern edge. Moreover, the concomitant exchange between the Bamoun and the Haoussa, an originally migratory foreign group, allowed Islam to penetrate the city, promoting the incorporation of foreign elements into the traditional city of Fouban. This in turn brought selective diversity into Fouban, stimulating the further maturation of urbanism in the royal capital²⁷.

It is important, in this connection, to examine the characteristics of Fouban as an Islamic city. In regard to urbanism, it can be said that the fact that Protestantism and Catholicism have survived to date, without yielding to the power of King Njoya, has resulted in the religious multiplicity and diversity of Fouban and intensified its urbanism. The complexity of Bamoun ethnicity can also be seen in the resistance and recouping of Bamoun traditional power in the presence of Haoussa Islamic power. It should be noted that Bamoun residents are the majority of the royal capital of Fouban, and that it was this host majority that put development of their urban ethnicity into motion. This suggests that, during the period of Islamization, the Haoussa were considered a powerful and advanced group, in that they introduced a new culture, new products and skills²⁸, and matching magical power as a commercial people, and in that they were already superior to the Bamoun in the world of Islam. For these reasons, the Bamoun felt threatened despite their majority status by the greater power of the Haoussa, and as a result, developed their ethnicity. This also suggests that Islamization progressed and took deep root among the people to such an extent that the Bamoun had to regain their power by utilizing their traditional principle.

The characteristics of Fouban as an Islamic city can be roughly summarized around about five pillars. First, Fouban has the urban scenery common to other Islamic cities. The scenery of an Islamic city can be characterized by four component establishments: palace, mosque, *suq* (market), and castle wall [YAMAGATA *et al.* 1984: 318–324]. As pointed out in Chapter 4, these structures are

27) In Atsushi Ueda's terms, the Bamoun are an ordinary native people and the Haoussa are a migratory people. Thanks to the migratory Haoussa, even Bamoun people at the bottom of the social ladder were liberated, many new products were introduced into the Bamoun society, and urban development was achieved. Ueda uses the word labyrinth to discuss the situation in which a migratory people support an urban structure [1985].

28) Urban ethnicity does not surface conspicuously when an ethnic group in a city is bound in solidarity; it becomes strong when the groups solidarity is weakened or in certain danger [LITTLE 1973: 413]. A minority group in a city is more likely to face danger and to be linked with ethnicity of this kind. Urban ethnicity in the Bamoun royal capital is characterized by the fact that it emerged from the host majority group. This also reflects the powerful presence of the Islamic Haoussa in the city.

also found in Foumban: the palace, the mosque, the market (*ten*), and the wall surrounding the city. Moreover, the first three are concentrated in the heart of the city, constituting the central political, religious, and economic complex. Secondly, Islamism has so deeply penetrated the ordinary Bamoun people of Foumban, both physically and spiritually, such that the daily principle of the majority of the urban population is supported by Islam. Thirdly, many of Foumban's residents have become conscious of their Moslem identity and Islamism in the face of Christianity. In this process, Islamic theology develops. Fourthly, Foumban has an Islamic network which covers the entire city and which fulfills not only religious but political, economic, and legal functions of the city. Fifthly, Foumban has become the base for the expansion and development of the kingdom, taking advantage of Islam: the formation and development of the kingdom and the formation of the Islamic city are closely interrelated.

At present, many Christians use *kpa lam* marriage registration at the city hall of the present administration, whereas very few Moslems do. Many Moslems do not register marriage at the city hall in the belief that the modern nation state will not save them, but the traditional court will. In fact, Mwalims, Mwalim Guuras, and Limans, or even the Sultan, often get involved in one way or another and play a part in the settlement of a dispute or a religious trial, or even the acquisition of economic profits and social authority. The Islamic urban administrative network has been instituted such that the Islamic quarters are so thoroughly covered that no room is left for intervention by the city hall administration. It is important to note that the urban administrative network is secured and based on the chain of Islamic interpersonal ties, such as Koran study teacher-disciple relationships and compatriot relationships; this is precisely the proof that the Islamic ethic *mu'ámalát*, which emphasizes human relationships, is the foundation of the network. Therefore, it can be said that the Islamic ethic *mu'ámalát* is closely connected to the urban administrative network on the organizational, systematic level, while it supports and maintains the urban system and the kingship system on the ethical level in structuring the network. In other words, the traditional royal city adopted Islamism via the foreign element of the Haoussa, while maintaining its original Bamoun-ethnicity as the foundation, developing and transforming Foumban into an Islamic city. The whole picture of the royal capital, Foumban, as an Islamic city is thus clearly presented.

5) Theory of a City in a Chieftainship Society

Elements related to the king can be found anywhere in Foumban on any level. First, it is clear that in the community concept and consciousness of the Bamoun, they share a certain concept of the royal capital and the sense of respect toward it, the same sense with which it is looked up to from village communities. It is then proved that in the political system of the chiefdom, Foumban as the royal capital reigns over other communities, at the top of the hierarchy comprising these communities. Moreover, continuity exists between the politically interrelated royal

capital and villages not only on the political level, but also in the identicalness of ritual forms, i.e. on the religious level. Therefore, Foumban serves as the model city, showing and providing all villages in the kingdom values and modes in all aspects of life.

Let us review, while touching upon characteristics of Foumban, the method of analysis used in this paper for a city. A city in a chieftainship society has been examined in this paper from two angles. First, the city is examined via its symbolism: attention is focused on the arrangement of symbolic objects and structures within the city. Since a city in a chiefdom or kingdom often has central symbols such as a palace, this method is applicable for such analysis.

As an effective method of analyzing a city in a chieftainship society, the writer has sought in particular to present the method of analyzing the city-village relationship. While it is predictable that quantitative changes in the scale of a community cause qualitative changes, in the case of royal rule or a chiefdom/kingdom, a city (the royal capital) can be examined by examining villages, since the city and villages form political and economic continuity in the ruler-ruled relationship and are linked together by various religious symbols based on that continuity. Just as rituals performed in a village are identical to those in the royal capital, a village in a chiefdom or kingdom is the miniature of its royal capital. A microcosm of the world of the royal capital is recreated in the village, which is a mirror of the city. Therefore, the writer would like to propose that in urban anthropology of chiefdoms or kingdoms, an effective method exists for examining a city, through analysis of not only the city-village relationship, but also village folk customs based on city-village comparison and contrast.

There are other methods of analyzing a city in terms of the continuity of the urban-rural relationship. Among them, the writer has intended to present in this paper the method of analyzing continuity, not in the sense of Redfield's urban-folk continuum theory [1941] in which a village loses its folkloric characteristics gradually, one by one, as it is transformed into an urban society, but in the completely opposite sense and direction in which the folk customs in a city are transplanted in a village as exact miniatures.

As well, the writer does not intend to portray urban-rural continuity in the sociological migration of population, as labor from the village to the city. Moreover, it is also not to approach continuity from the viewpoint that the city is the receptacle of such labor and creates urban colonies or voluntary associations to regroup the ethnic group, thus keeping village folk customs but with a different urban style, to form ties with villages. Analyses of African cities from the standpoint of such urban ethnicity include those by Gluckman [1961], Mitchell [1966], and Epstein [1961]. Motoji Matsuda studied a wide variety of funeral rituals of the Malagoli people in Nairobi, quite a large city, and presented an analysis based on a deeper version of the so-called situational approach of Epstein and others [MATSUDA 1973]. The urban-rural relationship as seen from such a viewpoint and the urban-rural relationship of a chiefdom or kingdom have in

common the idea that the city and the village share common or similar folk customs, but they are opposed regarding the direction of influence and diffusion of folk customs. In a chieftainship or kingdom, folk customs in the city lead the folk customs of the whole society and serve as the model for village folk customs. Actual situations in a chieftainship society are discussed in detail in the writer's other paper: the artisan groups responsible for the manufacture of masks and other products representative of folk customs are concentrated in the royal capital [WAZAKI 1978]. The political system of the kingdom regulates the relationship in folk customs and culture, between the community which is its political center, i.e. the royal capital, and other communities, thus leading to a linkage of the political system with the customs and culture.

In this sense, it is necessary to mention here that analysis of a city through the city-village relationship is clearly different from Redfield's approach or the method of focusing on urban ethnicity. It is another kind of approach to analyze a city through continuity in the city-village relationship in a chieftainship society or a society of royal authority.

6) Positioning of the Acceptance of Islam in the Bamoun Kingdom

The political structure of the royal capital was examined earlier, in Section 2 in particular, from the standpoint which views Islam as having a part in the state formation process. In this section, Islamization in the Bamoun kingdom is reexamined using a typological approach.

The acceptance of Islam in the Bamoun kingdom can be positioned as follows, along with other African kingdoms. The writer considers that, although they are all kingdoms, the Islamization process in each society can be classified along two indices: whether it is Islamization by jihad (holy war) or not; and whether the king himself is Islamized or not (Tab. 9).

First, Type (A) is Islamization by jihad. In many cases, the two indices, Islamization by jihad and Islamization of the king, are considered one since it is mostly the case that the king is Islamized if Islamization occurs by jihad, and if not by jihad, the king is not Islamized. So let us define the second type here as that of

Table 9 Islamization of the Bamoun Kingdom

(A)	By holy war (Jihad)		Islam becomes the state religion.	Holy states e.g. Fulani, Tukulor.
(B)	Not by holy war (Non-Jihad)	King is Islamized.	Islam is universally embraced but does not become the state religion. Repro- duction of traditions is possible.	Bamoun
(C)		King is not Islamized.	Traditional religion is preserved; con- trapositive relation- ship.	Mande, etc.

non-jihad Islamization with a non-Islamized king. There are many kingdoms of this type in Africa; it is actually quite natural for the royal authority to try to control the people by the traditional rules as much as possible, even after introduction of Islam. In the kingdoms of Mandingo, for example, the royal authority kept a certain distance from Islam by selecting secular chiefs from the oldest lineages and selecting religious leaders such as Imaams from the remaining lineages. The traditional royal authority and the Islamic power form a complementary relationship. Such kingdoms as the Mande and the Mosi are examples. It can be said that the Islamization of the Bamoun kingdom corresponded to the second type during the early period of its Islamization, when a complimentary relationship with Haoussa merchants was maintained. Since the Islamic power then did not interfere with the rules of the royal authority, the traditional religion and ethics were strictly preserved.

The Islamization of the Bamoun kingdom roughly corresponds to the second type: it is certainly not the first type since the Islamization was not by jihad. Yet, it is not exactly the second type, mostly because the Bamoun king was Islamized. As well, there are three main factors which disqualify the Bamoun state from the second type, even in the historical process prior to the formal Islamization of the king. One is the emergence of European Christian power immediately after the introduction of Islam into Bamoun society. Because of this, a relationship of tension and balance among the three parties, the royal power, Islam, and Christianity, was formed, causing changes in the relaxed complimentary relationship between the royal authority and the Islamic power. Moreover, the Islamized royalty and the people, who played the role of pushing Islamization from the bottom up, are an important factor disqualifying the Bamoun state from the second type. It is also important to note the historical process in which Great Britain, which began settlement after Germany, promoted the Islamization of the Bamoun royal state in connection with rule over Sokoto.

With the formal Islamization of its king at the start, the Bamoun state turned to independent organizing of the Bamoun Islamic community, which differs from the second type (C) and approaches the first type, as unification of secular and religious power was promoted. Although it was not by jihad, the Islamization of the Bamoun state gradually took on attributes similar to those of the first type of Islamic royal society. Needless to say, it did not change to such an extent that it completely corresponds to the first type, largely because of the minority presence of Christians in Bamoun society. For this, Islamism alone cannot secure a full place in the Bamoun identity, as well as an identity as a subject in the Bamoun kingdom. However, the traditional principle alone cannot ensure this identity. It can be said that through contact and negotiation with other ethnic groups, the people, even without the intention on the part of the royal authority, came to hope for a Bamoun identity which encompasses the whole state, beyond religious differences. In other words, while it was true that Islam in Bamoun society was highly universal in that it realized the liberation of ordinary people, slaves, and the conquered and was

declared the state religion, it did not become the state religion in the sense Trimmingham states. The universality of Islam was not sufficient to cover the entire kingdom.

From such observation, it can be said that the form of Islamization in the Bamoun kingdom is neither the first type (A) nor the second type (C); it is, the third type (B), which is not by jihad and comes between (A) and (C) (Tab. 9). As the third-type religion, Islam was not accepted as merely a class religion in the Bamoun state. It spread and settled among even the ordinary people and matured enough to become their daily principle, although it did not become the state religion. It can be said that the possibility of the reproduction of the traditional ideology of the royal authority is lurking behind many Islamic matters.

7) Link between History and Structure

The fact that the possibility of the revival of the traditional ideology of the kingship is lurking in the Bamoun Islamic community, or that the royal capital Fouban has been Islamized and is increasing in urban maturity while maintaining the traditional Bamoun nature as its foundation, is largely attributable to the function which the writer describes as "accretion of fusion," many commonalities and overlaps of traditional ethics and Islam. Yet, reversion to tradition and reinterpretation of Islamic matters according to traditional ethics in order to rationalize them does not mean that the tradition of the past royal authority has remained completely intact. The ideology of the Bamoun kingdom was not reproduced with traditional and static continuity. Rather, its reproduction occurred after its encounter with the urban culture of Islam, which caused a major culture shock. The tradition then emerged in a new form as an urban tradition, after removing or reforming unnecessary elements. As the writer indicated concerning Japanese urban festivals [WAZAKI 1976, 1982], and Motoji Matsuda argued with the example of an African city [1985: 106-110], the past and the present of the traditional value system in the royal capital of the Bamoun kingdom are continuous and discontinuous simultaneously.

As a universal religion is transformed from its origin and settles in various areas, it maintains its horizontal universality along with its deformed presence, in a particular space called Bamoun in which it is "let live." Likewise, the traditional Bamoun religion also struggles to transform its own cultural form through encounters with a new religious system, while maintaining its identity. Only after this, is the tradition able to accept and grasp the new culture, and the tradition of the kingdom with continuity from the past is able to enter a new form in a new time stage. In other words, the Bamoun kingdom retooled its traditional mechanism and thus managed to respond flexibly to the urban culture, entering a new stage, accepting Islam. The acceptance of Islam into Bamoun society is not a mere blind acceptance or imitation of a foreign culture; it is the integration of Bamoun culture and an outside culture carried out independently by the Bamoun.

Like the dynamic anthropology proposed by Balandier which attempts to

understand social structure as a structure in which diachronic relationships are incorporated [BALANDIER 1971, 1974], the writer has set up two levels of political and social structure in Bamoun society as horizontal axes, and the link between structure and history as a vertical axis, and then attempted to integrate them. Thus, urban "structure and history" are analyzed simultaneously, while the two levels of the formal political system and the social structure are linked. The "structure" of the multi-layered relationships is analyzed, centering on the Islamic teacher-disciple relationship and the "history" of the chain by which Islam was spread, focusing on the Bamoun kingship system, its Islamic life, and Islamic organization. The writer believes this presents a viable urban anthropological methodology concerning the political system and its central city of a predominantly Islamic kingdom in Africa, linked to the theory of state formation.

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