The Chronicle of Kanem-Bornu introduces two concepts of origin: one turns the South Arabian hero Sayf b. Dhi Yazan of the late pre-Islamic period into the great ancestral figure of the Chadic state, and the other proposes a genealogical link of the Kanem-Bornu rulers with the long line of biblical patriarchs down to Abraham and Ishmael. Although it is documented as early as the thirteenth Century, the connection with Sayf b. Dhi Yazan is certainly due to Islamic Feedback. It might have resulted from the attempt to turn an earlier clan deity called Sef — perhaps identical with the Arabic-Canaanite Isäf and the Canaanite Baal Safon — into a legendary figure by identifying it, on account of the similarity of names, with the Yemenite hero Sayf (b. Dhi Yazan). The genealogical list at the beginning of the Chronicle further refers to the mother of the hero as a princess of Baghdad. An ancient legend calls this princess Asria and depicts her as a great ancestral figure having several sons. The first, Ngalma Duku, was the ancestor of the Duguwa, the first dynasty of Kanem-Bornu, and the second, Sef, the ancestor of the Sefuwa, the second dynasty. Having vanquished his elder brother in a mock fight and accidentally killed him, Sef became ruler of the kingdom. This incident would seem to refer to the great cultural revolution of Kanem which resulted in the demise of the Duguwa and the rise of the Sefuwa around 1068 AD. Earlier scholarship considers the advent of the Sefuwa as a dynastic change. Yet, to conceive the Duguwa and the Sefuwa merely as two dynasties or two royal houses misses the cultural dimension of the upheaval of 1068 AD, does not take into account the resurgence of the Duguwa or Zaghäwa state in the fourteenth Century, and disregards the dualistic social organization common to the Kanuri and Hausa societies.

The second concept of origin refers to biblical ancestors. It Starts with Adam and mentions all the patriarchs down to Abraham and Ishmael with the exception of one. It further adds seventeen Arabic names including Quraysh, the ancestor of the Prophet Muhammad, but these names, being incompatible with southern and northern Arabic genealogical figures, are clearly late artificial insertions. Only

dion", 198-199.


For the turn of the Duguwa and the Zaghäwa see Lange, *Diwan*, 148-153, and for the return of the Zaghäwa to power Lange, *Ethnogenesis*, 271-272. Only
the reference to Ishmael is highly significant as it indicates a non-Israelite line of descent, either among the northern Arabs or among the Phoenicians. One might have expected that the earlier, purely biblical section of this genealogy was likewise copied from a late Arabic source. However some details make it likely that these names derive rather from an earlier internal written source than from any Muslim world history — although the latter also tend to begin with an account of the successive biblical patriarchs. Most strikingly, the patriarch Methuselah is given the second, explanatory name Matusalim mentioned in early Christian literature but unknown to the biblical books and to Muslim authors. Next, the importance of Eber, the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews, is highlighted by the additional epithet “commander”, although Muslim historians ignore the link of the name Eber with the ethnonyms Hebrew and hence any outstanding quality of this patriarch. Furthermore, the fourth patriarch is called Kenan in spite of the biblical form Qen an and a corresponding spelling in the Arabic chronicles. Similarly Re‘u, the name of the sixteenth patriarch called Arghu by the Arab authors, is written Arku. Support for the existence of a pre-Arabic version of the Chronicle of Kanem-Bornu comes from the Kanuri loanword girgâm referring to both wells and to derive from girgina, Sumerian. Other Sumerian, historical, and linguistic studies of ancient Near Eastern culture via the Canaanites of Israel and, among otherthings, some Canaanites also exercised a strong influence on the Phoenicians — such a development of a written language is a possibility — which is not — in their colonies — a likely story since those concepts were once circulating in the centers of the Byzantine Empire. In the case of the Canaanites, the Byzantine Empire, and Greek — can have its origins.

Inspite of the dearth of sources, the number of legendary genealogies of the Canaanite Chronicle of Kanem-Bornu and of the ruling group, states can be perused in the vast Native American Indian, and the fact that Humé (1176-1203) from Haman’s works are in some ways the twelfth century is an interesting historical insight.

10^4 For Ishmael as ancestor of the northern Arabs and as builder — together with Abraham — of the Ka‘ba see Kor., 2: 125-127; Paret, “Ismail”, EP, IV, 193.
10^5 For example al-Ya‘qubi, Tarikh (872), al-Tabari, Tarikh (915) and Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fit-tarikh (1230).
10^6 The name Matusalim first appears in the old church (BHHW, II, 1207). The Septuagint and the Vulgate have Matusalma.
10^7 Num 24: 24 implies this qualification but Islamic authors do not mention it.
10^8 Since the Chronicle of Bornu has an initial kasf in Qenân one may expect that it was based on a Greek text like the Septuagint which does not distinguish between kasf and kasf.
to Ishmael is highly significant. It indicates a non-Israelite descent, either among the Ishmaelites or among the Phoenicians, as one might have expected. However, purely biblical sec-
genealogy was likewise derivative from a late Arabic source. The details make it likely that they sometimes derive rather from the testimony of an internal written source or in any Muslim world history. The latter also tend to present an account of the suc-
cess of the biblical patriarchs. Most
patriarch Methuselah becomes the second, explanatory 
figure of the mainstream of Islam mentioned in early literature but unknown
outside Qur'anic books and to Muslim
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somehow and hence any outstanding
patriarch is called Kenan
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patriarch called Arghu by the
existence of a pre-Arabic
the Canaanite loanword together with Abraham — of
Ibn al-Ashîr, Al-Kâmî
(II, 1207). The Septuagint

does not mention it.
One may expect that it was
distinguish between kôf and kóf,
girgâm referring to both written and oral historical information and which seems
to derive from girginâkkû "box for tablets, library", an Akkadian loanword from Sumerian. Other Sumerian loanwords noted in Kanuri corroborate the hypot-
thesis of ancient Near Eastern cultural influences reaching the region of Lake Chad
via the Canaanites of North Africa. Considering that the Ugaritic ancestors of these
Canaanites also collected Sumerian documents in their archives, especially
scribal exercises based on oral traditions, it would not be surprising if similar
traditions were once cherished in the Phoenician cities of North Africa and — why
not — in their colonies south of the Sahara. Early Christian influences may have
penetrated to the Central Sudan as a consequence of the political involvement
of the Byzantine Empire in Fezzan in the second half of the sixth century. The
internal transmission of a biblical genealogy — perhaps successively in Hebrew
and Greek — can hardly be interpreted other than as an indication of Israelite
origins.

Inspire of the deep influence of Islam on Kanuri culture, there are also a
number of legendary and institutional survivals which point to a considerable
degree of earlier exposure to Canaanite-Israelite culture. Most notably, the
Chronicle of Kanem-Bornu, besides its claim of a Yemenite and Israelite origin of
the ruling group, states that the first rulers of the kingdom were not black in
complexion but "red as the Arab Bedouin". It is only from Salma of 'Abd Allâh
(1176-1203) onwards that they are said to have been "very black". Owing to
the fact that Humû (1068-1080), the first Sefuwa ruler, belonged to an ancient
local clan, the reference to white ancestors can hardly be related to Berbers. It
is certainly based on authentic traditions, although it does not necessarily refer to
the twelfth century since mainly folk-etymological considerations seem to have

(Luke 3: 37). The kôf in Arku (Hebrew: Re'û) may be explained by the Greek transcription of
'teyn by gamma (Luke 3: 35).

109 CAD. V, 86-87. An illustration of a box in which the tablets were kept is to be found in:
Meiners, Babylonien, II, 331 and ill. n. 44.
111 The bibliography of Canchilles lists 127 Sumerian and 757 Accadian texts (Tableau
épigraphique, 15-83). For the written and oral use of Sumerian in Ugarit see Krechel, "Schrei-
berschulung in Ugarit", 132-133.
112 For further details see below pp. 277-287 and Lange, "Slave trade" (in press).
113 Lange, "Dimension", 171-172; Jäger, "Ursprungsstraditionen", 197-200.
114 Lange, Dionis, 70-71. For the slightly amended chronology see below p. 552.
115 As I wrongly assumed earlier (Dionis, 98-99, 157; "Kingdoms of Chad", 239-243; "Eth-
nogenesis", 264-265).
led to the singling out of a specific Sefuwa ruler as being the first black king of Kanem.\textsuperscript{116}

Above all, it should be observed that the chronicle insists on the importance of the patriarchal figure of Abraham, and in connection with him on the great significance of Sef and Dugu, thus indicating a dualistic social organization. Followed by Ishmael — and not Isaac — Abraham is the last great patriarch of the genealogical list. As a successor of Sef, he is again mentioned in the king list properly speaking in the sequence Sayf — Abraham — Düků.\textsuperscript{117} In a legend of the sixteenth century, he is said to have led the migration to Kanem.\textsuperscript{118} More recent legends insist on the important role of Dugu Bremmi, who can be identified due to his name and his burial place of Yeri Arfasan with the third figure of the king list, Düků b. Ibrahîm.\textsuperscript{119} According to legends he fought a war far to the south and left behind him a number of pagan descendants. The Mbum, the Tuburi, the Musgu and the Teda, some of whom were still tributaries of Bornu in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{120} From the evidence presented so far, it appears that the Duguwa of Kanem-Bornu indeed occupied a position similar to that of the Azná of Hausaland (especially in Katsina): they were descendants of Abraham, they were an internal and external ruling group and they stood in opposition to another ruling group.\textsuperscript{121}

In comparative perspective, the evidence points to the antagonistic position between Sef and Dugu as parallel to the opposition between Bawo and Karbagari among the Hausa, Isaac-Jacob and Ishmael among the Israelites, and Obatala and Odudwa among the Yoruba. Therefore it may be assumed that the Duguwa and the Sefuwa were two clans or groups of clans with mainly cult-mythological functions, one representing the deities of the netherworld and the other those of the upperworld. With the rise of Islam in the second half of the eleventh century, the party of upperworld deities naturally turned more easily to the new religion than

\textsuperscript{116} Moreover, it should be noted that Kanuri speakers are tempted to derive Salmama from salam "black".

\textsuperscript{117} Lange, Divân, 65-66.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibn Furtu, K. ḡazzawati Kanem; transl. Palmer, Memoirs, I, 15. According to the Girgamm, Sayf was buried in Kanem (Lange, Divân, 66).

\textsuperscript{119} Barch notes that the Kanuri situate Yeri Arfasa in the Musgu country, Travels, II, 581. See also Palmer, Memoirs, II, 103-107, and Lange, Divân, 66.

\textsuperscript{120} Legend of "Mai Dugu Bremmi", in Palmer, Memoirs, II, 106-107; Last, "Early kingdoms", 192-193. The Tuburi, Musgu and Mbum inhabit a region situated 300 to 400 km south of Lake Chad. The Teda live north and northeast of the lake up to the mountains of Tiberi.

\textsuperscript{121} The Arab geographers appear to have called them first Zaghâwa and later Zaghib (Lange, Divân, 151-153; id., "Ethnogenesis", 265).
did the party of netherworld deities and hence the Sefuwa eclipsed the Duguwa. It was the incompatibility of the netherworld deities with Islam which seems to have led to the branding of the Duguwa as pagans - just as with the Azná among the Hausa - although in fact they did convert to Islam. It also explains why the Duguwa rulers were overthrown by the Sefuwa despite their conversion to Islam. Nevertheless, contrary to the Azná of Hausaland, the Duguwa continued to play important political roles in the fourteenth and in the first half of the fifteenth century. Some of them, in particular the Bulala, having organized a movement for the restoration of divine kingship under the cover of nominal Islam, expelled the Sefuwa from Kanem and confined them to Bornu, the western province of their ancient kingdom. Others, integrated into the state of the Sefuwa, were able to rule for short periods as kings. By that time, Islam had largely eliminated the earlier polytheistic implications of clanship.

With respect to the "seven Hausa" states properly speaking, we may turn our attention to the history of Kano blessed by the copious Kano Chronicle. The Chronicle presents the picture of an indigenous chieftain ruled in the beginning by a priest-chieftain whose main religious activities consisted of the worship of a deity called Tumbu Bura and the celebration of a pre-Islamic festivity corresponding most likely to the New Year festival. The period of the early chieftaincy was brought to an end by a great conquest accomplished in the name of a man called Bagauda. A number of elements from the Chronicle show that the Bagauda people coming via Barka (Cyrenaica) in North Africa appear to have been deeply imbued with Israelite culture. Bagauda himself bore the second name Dāwi', aligning him with King David of Israel. Being specifically labelled a Muslim, which in Koranic terms means he was an Israelite monotheist, he himself did not reach Kano. He built the city of Ta'lūqayrāwā calling the name Saul (Tālit) and he stayed at Shēmē, perhaps al-Shām "Syria". Still today, the blacksmiths of Kano claim descent from King David of Israel. The Bayajidda legend refers to the ancestral importance of Kano by claiming that the Abagaya blacksmiths of Kano provided the dagger that killed of Daura with the sword of Nalama. Among the ancestral figures of Bagauda, they are usually referred to be the Six (Solomon).Nawar, Gāwā (Gog and Magog), Gījīn-ūs (Moses), Yūsā (Joshua). All the same, these men are usually considered to be feedbacks. Whether they were metaphors from Arabic literature or not, one would expect more stories from the people of Kano looking at the period of "pre-Islamic" kings who was successively conquered by Joshua and David. For us, when the period of "pre-Islamic" kingship was hence apparently to the end of the Bagauda era could mean that in the Yamm worship was finally installed at the Bori pantheon. The descent and his acolytes at Lord Yamm, the king of the pantheon, and the Bori pantheon, which classify the legend, which classify the...

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122 Lange, Diwan, 67-68. For the Dugu caste of Kanem see Comte, Marriage patterns, 95, 98, 103. Among the Tubu the Dugu correspond to the blacksmith caste of Azza or Duadi (Nachtrig, Sahara, II, 259; Kronenberg, Teda, 87-89). The latter two names might indicate an ancient cult-mythological substratum connecting the Dugu and Azza castes with the Azná of Hausaland and Oduduwa of Yorubaland.
125 Lange, "Dimension", 193-194. See also Last, "Metaphors", 166-167.
126 Jaggar, "Kano city blacksmiths", 14 n. 5.
127 Smith, Darin, 54.
128 The name is based on the Hebrew yēśēl (Yeshu, Christ).
129 Last, "Early Kano".
130 The Koran prescribes the name Joshua by name but refers to Him as Moses, Joshua, David.
131 For this identification.
132 Besmer, Horses, 65.