

10. The Spread of the Canaanite State to West Africa

In West Africa the Canaanite dualistic society was most likely established through the agency of Phoenician officials and traders from North Africa. From the beginning of the first millennium BC onward the Phoenicians spread their Canaanite culture to the whole area between the Gulf of Syrte and Mogador on the Atlantic coast. On the basis of later evidence, some historians think that Israelites participated in this African expansion.²³⁸ The Phoenicians did not settle only on the North African coast. Epigraphic and archaeological remains bear witness to their agricultural settlements in the interior of the country. The Libyphoenicians mentioned by classical writers testify to the spread of Canaanite language and culture among the Berber population of North Africa. Punic inscriptions found in Garama further show that they penetrated into the interior of the continent at least as far as Fezzan, an extended oasis which lay on the way to the Lake Chad region.²³⁹

What instigated the Phoenicians to extend their activities beyond Fezzan to West Africa? It is often supposed that gold was the most attractive object of their African trade.²⁴⁰ But in the Central Sudan gold was rare and could not possibly have provided the basis for an ongoing flow of goods through the Sahara. On the Mediterranean Sea the Phoenicians traded in precious and ordinary metals, timber, luxury and other refined goods, textiles and weapons.²⁴¹ It is less well-known that the Phoenicians also traded extensively in human beings. Homer and Herodotus considered them dangerous pirates and kidnappers.²⁴² Various books of the Old Testament describe them as slave traders eager to acquire war captives in order to sell them to distant lands.²⁴³ As a result of their far-reaching trading

period the ancestors of the two northern Somali clan-families were therefore not Arabs but Proto-Arabs.

²³⁸ Slouschz, *Travels*, 210-224; Oliver/Fage, *Short History*, 42. On the Phoenician expansion see Culican, "Phoenicia", 485-490, and Niemeyer, "Phönizische Expansion", 153-175.

²³⁹ Lipinski, "Garamantes", DCPP, 184; Ruprechtsberger, *Garamanten*, 72.

²⁴⁰ Gsell, *Histoire*, IV, 140; Jenkins/Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold*, 25-26; Huß, *Geschichte*, 173.

²⁴¹ Moscati, *Phöniker*, 341-347; Culican, "Phoenicia", 464-466.

²⁴² Od. 14. 297; 15. 452; Hdt 1. 1; 2. 54.

²⁴³ Ez. 27: 13; Jl 4: 6; Am 1: 9.

contacts, the Phoenicians were particularly well acquainted with different methods of enslavement, and the volume of their slave trade appears to have reached greater proportions than that of other Mediterranean people.²⁴⁴ Black slaves, rather than gold, are therefore more likely to have constituted the bulk of the trans-Saharan trade since earliest times.²⁴⁵ South of Kavar, northern traders may have followed the trail of the local salt transport existing since the pre-Christian period.²⁴⁶

From the sixth century onward, Carthage was the main Phoenician power trading in slaves. From the two Roman-Carthaginian treaties it appears that many slaves were obtained by organized brigandage. Concluded in 509 BC, the first treaty forbade the Carthaginians to build forts in Latium and to spend the night on land. This implies that Carthaginian pirates and brigands regularly attacked towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Rome in order to win booty.²⁴⁷ Attacking in the early morning to take the inhabitants by surprise is a well-known strategy from classical and modern evidence for seizing and enslaving human beings.²⁴⁸ By reducing the scale of brigandage in its neighbourhood by treaty, Rome insisted on its hegemonic claims without yet being able to reinforce them by military means. The second treaty from 326 BC prevented the Carthaginians from selling enslaved people from towns allied with Rome in Roman markets.²⁴⁹ Hence, there can be no doubt that in the fourth century Punic slave-raiding groups from North Africa were raiding the Italian coast in search of human spoils. A turning point was reached when Carthage lost its possessions in Sicily after the First Punic War (264-241) and when it had to give up Sardinia and Corsica a few years later. By that time, Rome had become strong enough to eliminate the threat of Carthaginian raids on Italian coasts.

Italy and other Mediterranean countries were probably not the only slaving grounds of the Carthaginians. Numerous iconographic representations show that black African slaves were widely known and appreciated in the Greek and Roman world.²⁵⁰ They were employed as doorkeepers, as servicemen in public baths,

²⁴⁴ Movers emphasises the importance of the Phoenician slave trade (*Phönizier*, IV, 6, 70-86). See also Moscati, *Phöniker*, 164, 347; Gucht, "Esclavage", DCPR, 157, Markoe, *Phoenicians*, 105.

²⁴⁵ Bovill and Fage mention gold and slaves on equal terms (*Golden Trade*, 21-23; *History*, 46-48).

²⁴⁶ Vikør thinks that the reference of Herodotus to salt of the Sahara might imply an ancient export to the south (*Oasis*, 141-142, 147).

²⁴⁷ Polyb. 3. 23 1-6; Huß, *Geschichte*, 86-90; Ameling, *Karthago*, 130-132.

²⁴⁸ Hdt., 6. 16, 2; Diod., 15. 14,4; Syll.³, 521 (Amorgos); Lyon, *Narrative*, 255; Nachtigal, *Sahara*, II, 627-629; Ameling, *Karthago*, 131.

²⁴⁹ Polyb. 3. 24, 5-6; Huß, *Geschichte*, 149-155; Ameling, *Karthago*, 132-134:

²⁵⁰ Snowden, *Blacks*, 33-97; Desanges, "Iconographie", 246-268.

as musicians, as grooms, and as soldiers.²⁵¹ Because of their distant origins, flight was practically impossible. Where did they come from? It is often suggested that Egypt was the main provider of black African slaves.²⁵² However, since in medieval and modern times Egypt itself relied – due to insufficient supply from the upper Nile and Darfur – in part on West African slave importations, there are reasons to suppose that in earlier periods the situation was similar.²⁵³ Thus, the central Saharan route leading from Tripoli via Fezzan and Kawar to Lake Chad may also have been in ancient times the main provider of black slaves either by way of Leptis Magna, its direct Mediterranean outlet, or indirectly via Carthage or Egypt.²⁵⁴

The conditions of travelling were particularly favourable on the central Sahara route between Tripoli and Lake Chad. Here, watering places were never more than three days apart. Moreover, the two widely-spaced oases of Fezzan and Kawar provided good opportunities for rest and replenishment of provisions and considerably reduced the hardships of surmounting the two thousand kilometre distance between Tripoli and Lake Chad. Loose sand only created serious difficulties for sixty kilometres immediately south of Kawar where a number of sand dunes posed serious obstacles for animals. Human beings were less affected by this barrier.²⁵⁵ Owing to the natural advantages of the remainder of the Garamantian route, it was much easier to cross the Sahara in its central part than in the west between the Maghrib and the Niger Bend or in the east between the Cyrenaica and Waday.

In earliest times donkeys and oxen were used as pack-animals to carry indispensable water, food and firewood supplies on the way through the Sahara. Traders travelled in horse-drawn chariots and later on horseback.²⁵⁶ Some servants, used to the desert, and conveyors of caravans walked occasionally, slaves always on foot – as witnessed by European travellers of the nineteenth century.²⁵⁷ Likewise from later accounts it is known that slaves were sometimes forced to carry loads on their heads.²⁵⁸ When diminishing rainfall transformed most of the

²⁵¹ Desanges “Iconographie”, 265; Snowden, *Blacks*, 165-191; Schumacher, *Sklaverei*, 43.

²⁵² Bang, “Herkunft”, 248; Desanges, “Iconographie”, 257.

²⁵³ Mauny, *Tableau*, 374-379; 428-473; Daget/Renault, *Traites*, 40-44; Austen, “Islamic slave trade”, 214-248; Rohlfs, *Quer*, reed. 1984, 111.

²⁵⁴ Gsell mentions specifically the easy route from Fezzan to Bornu (*Histoire*, IV, 139). Mattingly considers that in the Roman period slaves were the most important commodity from the south imported via the Garamantes (*Tripolitania*, 156).

²⁵⁵ Nachtigal, *Sahara*, I, 545-550; Rohlfs, *Reise*, I, 40-41.

²⁵⁶ Bovill, *Golden Trade*, 15-17; Mauny, *Tableau*, 282-284; 394-395, 435.

²⁵⁷ Nachtigal, *Sahara*, I, 228-229; Mauny, *Tableau*, 277-279.

²⁵⁸ Barth, *Travels*, III, 606; E. Vogel quoted by Weis, “Bornustrasse”, 440.

Sahara progressively into uninhabitable wasteland, the reduction in the number of people made the caravan routes more secure. Furthermore, at the beginning of the Christian era the introduction of the camel to North Africa and its adoption by nomadic tribes facilitated trade across the desert considerably.²⁵⁹ In the end it was hardly more dangerous for North Africans, although certainly more strenuous, to cross the central Sahara on the Garamantian route than to sail from one end of the Mediterranean Sea to the other.

Classical authors were badly informed about trans-Saharan enterprises. They mention a single crossing of the Sahara by five Nasamones from the Cyrenaican hinterland and a repeated crossing by the Carthaginian Mago.²⁶⁰ Furthermore the Garamantes are said to have used four-horsed chariots to raid the Troglodyte Ethiopians.²⁶¹ These instances of Saharan activities might not have been as isolated as generally believed. Judging from the pattern of Mediterranean trade and warfare, they could have been a facet of the African slave trade set in motion by the Phoenicians.

It is only during the Roman period that the veil covering the activities of the northerners in Fezzan and the Central Sudan is slightly lifted. On the authority of Marinus of Tyre, Ptolemy mentions two Romans, the officer Septimus Flaccus and the trader Julius Maternus, who travelled beyond Garama and reached the country of the Ethiopians in the far south.²⁶² While Flaccus undertook the journey with his own army, Maternus from Leptis Magna accompanied the king of the Garamantes in an expedition against Agisymba "a land of the Ethiopians, where the rhinoceroses gather".²⁶³ Apparently the king wanted towards 90 AD to re-establish a tributary relationship which was profitable enough to warrant the organization of a military expedition across the Sahara against a rebellious vassal.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Demougeot, "Chameau", 209-247; Weis, "Bornustrasse", 456-462; Lhote, *Chars rupestres*, 45-62; Bulliet, *Camel*, 111-140.

²⁶⁰ Hdt., 2. 32; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai*, 2. 44 e (Mauny, *Siècles obscurs*, 120).

²⁶¹ Hdt., 2. 32-33; 4. 183.

²⁶² Some authors believe that Septimus Flaccus and Suellius Flaccus were the same but Desanges argues against this identification (*Recherches*, 211-21).

²⁶³ Ptol., *Geog.*, 1. 8, 4-5; Stevenson, *Ptolemy*, 32; Law, "Garamantes", 197.

²⁶⁴ Ptolemy first mentions an "expedition against the Ethiopians" and then claims that the Garamantes and the Ethiopians had the same king (*Geog.*, 1. 8, 4-5). On the dating of the expedition see Desanges, *Recherches*, 200-209.

Most authors situate Agisymba in either Tibesti, Kawar or Air.²⁶⁵ However, the localization of Agisymba should be seen in the light of the good travel conditions on the central Saharan route. Moreover, Ptolemy clearly states that both expeditions were directed southward, the first needing three and the second four months to reach the Ethiopians. It might be that the time given included also the return journey. In the nineteenth century Barth covered within 51 days the distance from Lake Chad to Murzuq, the capital of Fezzan.²⁶⁶ This is equivalent to an average of 26 km per day. A well-organized small army corps – like that of ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ using horses and camels in the seventh century – could cross the eight hundred kilometres between Fezzan and Kawar within a fortnight, which amounts to an average of 57 km per day.²⁶⁷ Perhaps Flaccus, who was not sure of his return base in Fezzan, reached only Kawar like ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ six centuries later. By travelling in the company of the king of the Garamantes, Maternus was in a far better position to arrive in the region of Lake Chad, where the earliest Arab geographers place the kingdom of Kanem. Also, the Lake Chad region is certainly the best candidate for the country of the rhinoceroses.²⁶⁸ The purpose of the expedition was most likely the submission of a rebellious vassal state which had to deliver an annual tribute in slaves. Far-reaching slaving raids were organized in the early Islamic period and in the nineteenth century from Fezzan to Kanem.²⁶⁹

The penetration of Northerners to the south of Fezzan is likewise suggested by archaeological evidence. Representations of chariots found on two sites south of Fezzan indicate that a minor chariot-route may have led to Kawar.²⁷⁰ One nineteenth century European traveller found a broken marble column which

²⁶⁵ Mauny and Desanges favour the region between Kawar and Tibesti (*Siècles obscurs*, 124; *Recherches*, 199), Bovill thinks of Tibesti (*Golden Trade*, 36) while Lhote prefers Air (*Chars rupestres*, 123). Vikør thinks that trans-Saharan trade changed from southwest and southeast from Fezzan to due south only in the late Roman period (*Oasis*, 147).

²⁶⁶ Barth, *Travels*, III, 605-626. Denham needed 68 and 61, Rohlfs 75 and Nachtigal 71 days (*Narrative*, 1-84; *Reise*, I, 11-48; *Sahara*, I, 491-564).

²⁶⁷ Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam in: Levtzion/Hopkins, *Corpus*, 12-13.

²⁶⁸ Law and Huß look for Agisymba in the region of Lake Chad (“*Garamantes*”, 197; “*Mittelmeerwelt*”, 6). Weis notes that the rhinoceros was first found on the northern shores of Lake Chad (“*Bornustrasse*”, 450).

²⁶⁹ Al-Ya‘qūbī in: Levtzion/Hopkins, *Corpus*, 22; Lyon, *Narrative*, 129-130; Denham *et al.*, *Narrative*, II, 94. Bovill supposes that the expedition of the Garamantes corresponded to a slave raid (*Golden Trade*, 36).

²⁷⁰ Two engraved chariots were found close to Jado and two other representations of chariots north of Jado in Blaka (Lhote, *Chars rupestres*, 196, 256 n. 119). Lhote concludes from the rarity of chariot representations near Kawar that this oasis was in ancient times Tubu and not Berber territory (*ibid.*, 197).

he attributed to the Romans at the well of Meshru ninety kilometres south of Fezzan.²⁷¹ At another well more than three hundred kilometres south of Fezzan, French colonial officials discovered the existence of an ancient rectangular structure of squared stone also believed to have been Roman.²⁷² From the description of the expedition of the Arab conqueror 'Uqba b. Nāfi' to Kawar it appears that al-Qaṣaba, the main settlement of that important oasis, was already by the middle of the seventh century a flourishing trading station.²⁷³ Finally, it is at the southern end of the central Saharan trade route that from the ninth century onward Arab geographers noted the existence of the kingdom of Kanem, the most stable polity of West Africa.²⁷⁴ Since this state of the Lake Chad region provided the outside world with a continuous flow of slaves throughout the Islamic period,²⁷⁵ its precursor in classical times might have performed a similar economic function.

The large-scale Garamantian expedition witnessed by a citizen of Leptis Magna should be seen in a broader historical context. Carthage established its suzerainty over Leptis Magna and its two twin towns at the end of the sixth century BC.²⁷⁶ From this time onward we may reckon with the possibility of intensive Punic enterprises on the central Saharan route and beyond. The rise of Garamantian power based in Fezzan could have been the result of early trans-Saharan trade. As long as the authority of the coastal city states remained strong, the Garamantes seem to have operated mainly as conveyors and caravanners of the north-bound trade generated by the Punic raiding and trading stations established in the Central Sudan. When Carthage, pressured by Rome, lost its influence on the coastal towns of Tripolitania, the Garamantes gradually asserted their independence and, with respect to the Central Sudan, followed in the footsteps of the Phoenicians. The tendency to reserve the benefits of the Sudanic slave trade for themselves may partly lie behind the early antagonism between the Garamantes and Rome. It was only towards the end of the first century AD, perhaps in consequence of the use of camels, that Rome could force the Garamantes to adopt a more cooperative

²⁷¹ Rohlfs first connected the column of Bir Meshru with the Garamantes (*Reise*, I, 16) and later with the Romans (*Quer durch Afrika*, reed. 1984, 144; see also *Voyages*, II, 199).

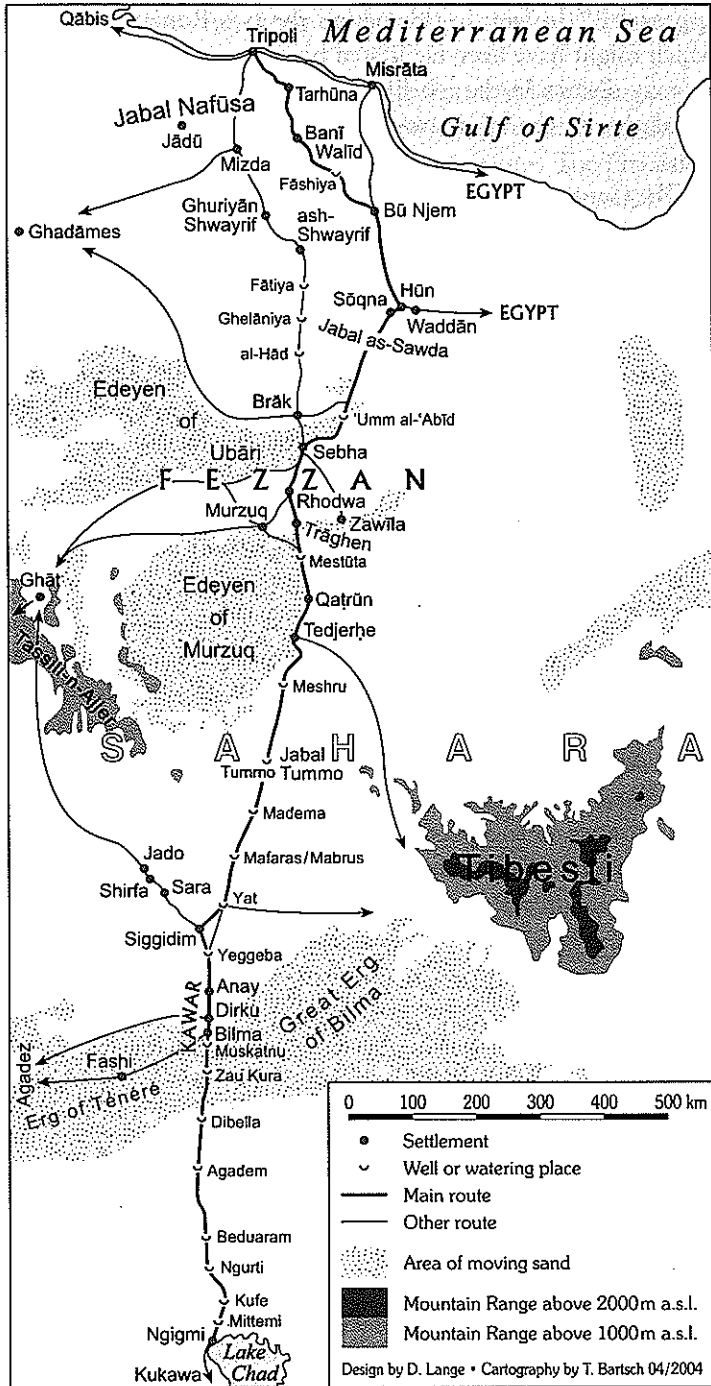
²⁷² Debetz mentions in connection with the stone structure at the well of Taradjihida, 3.5 km west of the well of Madema, the discovery of an apparently Roman sword and precious stones of the pre-Islamic period (see Rohlfs, *Voyages*, II, 204 n. 174).

²⁷³ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam in: Levtzion/Hopkins, *Corpus*, 12-13; Lange/Berthoud, "Qaṣaba", 21-22; *id.*, "Slave trade" (in press).

²⁷⁴ Ibn Qutayba and al-Ya'qūbi in: Levtzion/Hopkins, *Corpus*, 15, 21.

²⁷⁵ Urvoy, *Histoire du Bornou*, 150; Mauny, *Tableau*, 435; Renault/Daget, *Traites*, 165-169.

²⁷⁶ Gsell, *Histoire*, I, 372-373; 455-459; Huß, *Geschichte*, 73-74; Rebuffat, "Tripoli", "Leptis Magna", DCP, 257-258, 471.



Map 5: The central Saharan trade route in the 19th century

approach.²⁷⁷ In fact, in this period the two Roman expeditions beyond Fezzan which might have been facilitated by camel transport took place.²⁷⁸ In the south we may discern in the rebellion of Agisymba the first unsuccessful attempt by a vassal state to change a one-sided prestatinal system into balanced trading relations.

The Garamantes re-entered into the light of history in 569 AD when they sent envoys to the coast to request incorporation “into the peace of the Roman state and into the Christian faith”.²⁷⁹ This move, implying the extension of Byzantine influence to Fezzan, can best be explained by the need to protect the precarious but profitable trans-Saharan trade. In exchange for such support, which may have involved the building of castles in the southern oasis of Fezzan,²⁸⁰ the Garamantes might have dispatched – judging from later evidence – annual contingents of slaves to the Byzantine governor at the coast. There are indications that Byzantine influence reached further south than Fezzan. Archaeological traces of Christianity have been found in the fortified village of Jado, north of Kawar, and in the twelfth century one of the towns of Kawar was still called by the Christian name Qaṣr Umm ‘Isā “castle of the mother of Jesus”.²⁸¹ Elements of the Kanem-Bornu king list and later traditions of the Central Sudan suggest that Christianity spread even further south.²⁸² A considerable amount of trade on the central trans-Saharan route in the early Islamic period is indirectly evidenced by the expedition of the Arab leader ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ in 666 AD to Fezzan and Kawar. At such a decisive moment of their North African conquests, the Arabs must have had precise ideas about what to expect from such a daring enterprise before they interrupted their advance to the west by turning south. Imposing on Waddan, Fezzan and Kawar annual tributes of slaves, they certainly used a well established route and

²⁷⁷ Bovill, *Golden Trade*, 38; Law, “*Garamantes*”, 190-196; Mauny, *Siècles*, 122-124.

²⁷⁸ Bovill, *Golden Trade*, 39; Weis, “*Bornustrasse*”, 462. Bulliet believes that the southern nomads adopted the camel before the Romans (*Camel*, 138-139).

²⁷⁹ Cf. Iohannes Biclaensis, *Chronica Minora 2* (ed. Th. Mommsen 1894), 212; transl. Wolf, *Conquerors*, 63.

²⁸⁰ Ruprechtsberger suggests that the rectangular mud-brick castles of Fezzan reflect Byzantine workmanship (*Garamanten*, 77), while Weis notes the similarity of Qaṣr Laroku, 35 km west of Garama, with Roman buildings for defense further north (“*Bornustrasse*”, 432).

²⁸¹ George/Ziegert, “*Zitadelle*”, 157-182. Al-Idrīsī mentions Qaṣr Umm ‘Isā at several instances (Levtzion/Hopkins, *Corpus*, 123, 173, 192). Ibn Sa‘īd applies the name of Qaṣr ‘Isā to Jada/Jado north-northwest of Kawar (Vikør, *Oasis*, 168).

²⁸² The name of one of the early kings might have been Paul (Lange, *Diwān*, 67 n. 1). The late fifteenth century reports of the Portuguese from Benin concerning the cross symbol of the far-away inland ruler called Ogane may concern Kanem-Bornu (cf. Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives*, 122, 124). See also Gray, “*Christian traces*”, 383-393.

followed a tributary praxis earlier employed by their Byzantine and Roman predecessors.²⁸³

Further south, the Carthaginians might have been active slave-traders beginning in the sixth century BC. In response to Mediterranean market conditions they seem to have established trading posts and transit stations. The Garamantes, as perhaps also the Libyphoenicians of the North African hinterland, were important as conveyors and intermediaries but they could not have transmitted market demands from the far north to the far south. Moreover, slaves were not a commodity that can be supposed to have been readily available in sub-Saharan Africa. They had to be “produced” and their long foot march across the Sahara had to be carefully organized in order to avoid high losses. We know from their ravages in Italy that the Carthaginians were efficient slave raiders. Via their vassal town of Leptis Magna, they could easily have found ways and means to proceed to the lands of the Sahel. In the region of Lake Chad and to the west of it they may have established the same kind of trading posts and garrisons they used to build on the shores of the Mediterranean. However, south of the Sahara, Phoenician foundations were apparently better rooted and more firmly integrated into the local population. Through intermarriage, the adoption of local customs, and an ongoing process of localization they finally became the nucleus of a number of Sudanic states.²⁸⁴ Such a process of cultural transfers would seem to best explain the striking parallels between the Central Sudanic and the Canaanite-Israelite cult-mythological patterns. Owing to the slower rhythm of change in societies south of the Sahara, the basic structure of Canaanite state organization is here still recognisable in spite of subsequent transformations.²⁸⁵

Further glimpses into the political situation at the southern end of the Garamantian route may be obtained from the Bayajidda legend. By mentioning two consecutive heros – the Queen of Daura and Bayajidda – the legend refers to two different immigrations. The first started from Canaan and reached Hausaland

²⁸³ Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam in: Levtzion/Hopkins, *Corpus*, 12-13; Lange, “Slave trade” (in press). Previous authors usually took the literary topos of the author that the local guide knew no country beyond Kawar at face value (Bovill, *Golden Trade*, 245; Law, “Garamantes”, 197). Vikør first follows the established view but then stipulates that ‘Uqba travelled on a well-known route and assumes that Kawar was an entrepôt of the trans-Saharan slave trade (*Oasis*, 148, 150-151).

²⁸⁴ Meillassoux explains the rise of medieval West African states by their function to capture slaves (*Anthropology*, 50-52). Ullendorff suggests a similar process of state-building for the Islamic polities of Ethiopia (*Ethiopia*, 60, 124).

²⁸⁵ Lange, “Ursprung des Bösen”, 4-5; *id.*: “Slave trade” (in press). It would appear that iron technology and the horse were introduced into sub-Saharan Africa at the same time (cf. Mauny, *Siècles obscurs*, 61-76; Fage, *History*, 17-47).

by way of North Africa, while the second began in Baghdad and came to Hausaland via Bornu. In view of the overall relevance of the Canaanite-Phoenician background for Hausa culture, it would appear that the two lines of immigration reflect the two basic tendencies of Canaanite-Israelite history, the local aspect by the queens from Canaan and her numerous followers, and the extraneous Baghdadian or rather Aššur/Babylon aspect by the isolated male hero.²⁸⁶ However, it would be wrong to reduce the legend solely to its ancient Near Eastern prototype. A local West African element would seem to be implied by the Bornoan suzerainty. The two lines merging in Daura would further appear to refer to the two sections of Hausa society, the Queen of Daura and her son Bawo to the Hausā, and the Baghdadian hero Bayajidda and his son with the concubine – who in some versions was already pregnant when she arrived with the hero in Daura – to the Aznā.²⁸⁷ It may be noted in passing that according to this interpretation the Aznā were the secondary and foreign people and not, as often supposed, the primary and local population.²⁸⁸

In terms of local history in the *longue durée* the provenance of Bayajidda from Bornu probably reflects an ancient and long lasting suzerainty of the Chadic state over Hausaland. Acknowledging their dependency on Bornu, all the Hausa states – the seven Hausā as well as the seven Banzā – sent annual tributes of slaves to their eastern neighbour until the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁸⁹ Some authors consider therefore the Bayajidda legend as a Bornu taxlist.²⁹⁰ In view of the primordial subordination of the Hausa states to Kanem-Bornu it would in fact appear that the Chadic state stood since ancient times in the centre of a regional system of security based on age-honoured tributary relationships. The system implied that, as long as the tributary obligations were fulfilled, peace was guaranteed and the slaving raids were directed against other people of the Central Sudan. On account of their basic economic and political functions, the nuclei of states first established in the Sahel in the form of fortified slave trading posts and garrisons could in this way easily spread further south and reach Yorubaland.

The Chadic state stood at the apex of the regional system of security for different ethnic groups. For a long time it had been itself submitted to a prestational

²⁸⁶ Lange, "Hausa-Traditionen", 72; *id.*, "Dimension", 197.

²⁸⁷ Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 133.

²⁸⁸ Anthropologists consider the Annā/Aznā or Maguzawa usually as pre-Islamic polytheists (Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 222; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 34-35; Smith, *Daura*, 32-33) but according to Hausa tradition they are descendants of Karbagari (Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 148; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 64-65, 349).

²⁸⁹ 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā, *Rawḍāt al-afkār*, transl. Palmer, "Western Sudan", 265; Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 149

²⁹⁰ Sutton, "Less orthodox history", 196; similarly Smith, "Considerations", 336.

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system of forwarding slaves to the north. Later in the early Islamic period, when the great powers of the north had vanished, it was able to replace the prestatational system by an exchange system based on market principles. In the medieval period, Kanem-Bornu further outgrew its former suzerains in the north by establishing settlement colonies in Kawar and in Fezzan.²⁹¹ Thus it reversed the former situation of cultural and political dependency: indeed, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, security in the central Sahara was no longer assured by any northern power but by the Chadic state itself. Just as Carthage had once superseded its mother country Tyre, the Chadic kingdom had taken the political and cultural lead with respect to the successor polities of its earlier metropolitan state.