families was subsequently not affected by any further massive arrival of people from outside or by any other historical upheaval, the South Arabian clan heritage from classical times is still recognisable under the overlay of Islamic and other changes.

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 Syrt and Mogador on the Atlantic coast. On the basis of later evidence, some historians think that Israelites participated in this African expansion. 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.

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. 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. It is less well-known that the Phoenicians also traded extensively in human beings. Homer and Herodotus considered them dangerous pirates and kidnappers. Various books of the Old Testament describe them as slave traders eager to acquire war captives in order to sell them to distant lands. As a result of their far-reaching trade

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

---

234 Lipinski, "Garamantes", DCPP, 184; Ruprechtsberger, *Garamanten*, 72.
237 Od. 14. 297; 15. 452; Hdt. 1. 1; 2. 54.
238 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.\textsuperscript{244} Black slaves, rather than gold, are therefore more likely to have constituted the bulk of the trans-Saharan trade since earliest times.\textsuperscript{245} South of Kwar, northern traders may have followed the trail of the local salt transport existing since the pre-Christian period.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{250} They were employed as doorkeepers, as servicemen in public baths, as musicians, as groomsmen, and as soldiers. Even to the upper Nile and Darfur it was practically impossible to go in medieval and modern times.\textsuperscript{251} The reasons to suppose that the central Saharan route from Kwar may also have been in use was the way of Leptis Magna, Cyrenaica, or Egypt.\textsuperscript{252}

The conditions of the route between Tripoli and more than three days apart. Kwar provided good trade, and considerably reduces the distance between the two ports. The difficulties for sixty killed by this barrier.\textsuperscript{253} The ancient ramantian route, it was in the west between the Cyrenaica and Wadi Rum.

In earliest times dispensable water, food, and rations, used to the desert, was always on foot – as with the Romans. Likewise from later ages, they carry loads on their heads.

\textsuperscript{244} Movers emphasises the importance of the Phoenician slave trade (\textit{Phönizier}, IV, 6, 70-86). See also Moscati, \textit{Phönizier}, 164, 347; Gucht, "Esclavage", DCPP, 157; Markoe, \textit{Phoenicians}, 105.

\textsuperscript{245} Bovill and Fage mention gold and slaves on equal terms (\textit{Golden Trade}, 21-23; \textit{History}, 46-48).

\textsuperscript{246} Viktö thinks that the reference of Herodotus to salt of the Sahara might imply an ancient export to the south (\textit{Oasis}, 141-142, 147).

\textsuperscript{247} Polyb. 3. 23 1-6; Huß, \textit{Geschichte}, 86-90; Ameling, \textit{Karthago}, 130-132.


\textsuperscript{249} Polyb. 3. 24, 5-6; Huß, \textit{Geschichte}, 149-155; Ameling, \textit{Karthago}, 132-134.

\textsuperscript{250} Snowden, \textit{Blacks}, 33-97; Desanges, "Iconographie", 246-268.

\textsuperscript{251} Desanges "Iconographie", 246-268.

\textsuperscript{252} Bang, "Herkunft", 246.

\textsuperscript{253} Mauny, \textit{Tableau}, 37, 38, slave trade", 214-248; Rollie.

\textsuperscript{254} Gsell mentions special Metallurgically considers that the trade from the south imported with.

\textsuperscript{255} Nachtigal, \textit{Sahara}, I, 37.

\textsuperscript{256} Bovill, \textit{Golden Trade}, 21-23.

\textsuperscript{257} Nachtigal, \textit{Sahara}, I, 37.

\textsuperscript{258} Barth, \textit{Travels}, III, 64.
as musicians, as grooms, and as soldiers. 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. 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. Thus, the central Saharan route leading from Tripoli via Fezzan and Kowar 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.

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 Kowar 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 Kowar where a number of sand dunes posed serious obstacles for animals. Human beings were less affected by this barrier. 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 Maghrab and the Niger Bend or in the east between the Cyrenaica and Wadai.

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. 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. Likewise from later accounts it is known that slaves were sometimes forced to carry loads on their heads. When diminishing rainfall transformed most of the

251 Desanges "Iconographie", 265; Snowden, Blacks, 165-191; Schumacher, Sklavenfrie, 43.
252 Bang, "Herzunft", 248; Desanges, "Iconographie", 257.
253 Mauny, Tableau, 374-379; 428-473; Dagez/Renault, Traitées, 40-44; Aussen, "Islamische slave trade", 214-248; Rohlf, Quelle, reed. 1984, 111.
254 Gell 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 Nachtrigal, Sahara, I. 545-550; Rohlf, Reise, I. 40-41.
256 Boivin, Golden Trade, 15-17; Mauny, Tableau, 282-284, 394-395, 435.
257 Nachtrigal, Sahara, I. 228-229; Mauny, Tableau, 277-279.
258 Barth, Travels, III, 606; E. Vogel quoted by Weis, "Bornastrasse", 440.
Most authors situating the localization of Agisymba on the central Sudan give the date of the return journey. In the distance from Lake Chad some eight hundred kilometers that amounts to an average of 26 km per day. ‘Uqba b. Nafi’ using one day in his return journey on his return base in Fazzan later. By travelling into the desert in a far better position by Arab geographers place certainly the best candidate for the return base was the Tadrart.“The realization of the expedition was achieved had to deliver an announcement in the early Islamic period,” say the historians.

The penetration of the regions of Fazzan indicate that the nineteenth century French.”

260 Hdt., 2. 32; Athenaeus, Deipnorophistai, 2. 44 e (Mauny, Sétites obscures, 120).
261 Hdt., 2. 32-33; 4. 183.
262 Some authors believe that Septimius Flaccus and Sevullius Flaccus were the same but Desanges argues against this identification (Recherches, 211-21).
263 Prol., Geog., 1. 8. 4-5; Stevenson, Prolompy, 32; Law, “Garamantes”, 197.
264 Prolenly 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.

Ancient Kingdoms: Hausa States

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 Troglydye 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 seen in motion by the Phoenicians.

It is only during the Roman period that the veil covering the activities of the northembers in Fazzan and the Central Sudan is slightly lifted. On the authority of Marinus of Tyre, Prolenly mentions two Romans, the officer Septimius 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
...duction in the number of sources, at the beginning of the second century CE. Here and its adoption by the West, certainly more strenuous than to sail from one side to the other. Ottoman and European enterprises. They are known from the Byblos company of Mago. Furthermore, we have to consider that the Tioglyke company did not have the same commercial advantages as Agaybya and its Mediterranean trade and its trans-Saharan trade set in motion by Maternus and later.

The description of the activities of Maternus is slightly lifted. On the way from the Rhone to the Nile, two Romans, the officer Gellius from Leptis Magna and the merchant Maternus, traded against Agaybya "a long way off", the author writes. Apparently the king of Axum, who traded with the Romans, was the main customer.

...most authors situate Agaybya in either Tibesti, Kawar or Air. However, the localization of Agaybya 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 the time given included also the return journey. In the nineteenth century, the French covered within 51 days the distance from Lake Chad to Murzuq, the capital of Fezzan. This is equivalent to an average of 26 km per day. A well-organized small army corps - like that of 'Uqba b. Nafi' 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. Perhaps Flaccus, who was not sure of his return base in Fezzan, reached only Kawar like 'Uqba b. Nafi' 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 was certainly the best candidate for the country of the rhinoceroses. 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.

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. One nineteenth-century European traveller found a broken marble column which

265 Mauny and Desanges favour the region between Kawar and Tibesti (Sécles obscurs, 124; Recherches, 198), Bovill thinks of Tibesti (Golden Trade, 36) while Lhote prefers Air (Chars rupetres, 123). Vikor 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, 68 and 61, Rohlfis 72 and Nachtigal 71 days (Narrative, 1-84; Reise, 1, 11-48; Sahara, 1, 491-564).


268 Law and Hufnack look for Agaybya in the region of Lake Chad ("Garamantes", 197; "Mitteleuropa", 6). Weis notes that the rhinoceros was first found on the northern shores of Lake Chad ("Bomrstrasse", 450).

269 Al-Ya'qubi in: Leitzmann/Hopkins, Carpus, 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 rupetres, 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. Nafi’ to Kawar it appears that al-Qasaba, 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 Debes mentions in connection with the stone structure at the well of Taradjihida, 3.5 km west of the well of Medema, the discovery of an apparently Roman sword and precious stones of the pre-Islamic period (see Rohlfs, Voyages, II, 204 n. 174).
²⁷⁴ Ibn Qutayba and al-Ya’qobi in Levzioni/Hopkins, Corpus, 15, 21.
²⁷⁵ Urvoy, Histoire du Bornou, 150; Mauny, Tableau, 435; Renault/Daget, Théâtre, 165-169.
...kilometres south of Fezzan, and the ancient rectangular structures. From the description of Kawar it appears that the beehives were already by the middle of the third century BC. It is at the southern edge of the DacentSyntaxe, the most stable polity in North Africa and that provided the outside framework to its economic period.275 Its prestige depended on its economic function.

The citizen of Leptis Magna established its suzerainty over the sixth century BC.276 The territory of intensive Punic activity spread south of the rise of Garamantian independence and trans-Saharan trade. As they became stronger, the Garamantes possessed the resources of the north-bound trade that was established in the Central Sahara. With their independence and, according to the Ptolemaic and Roman sources, the conquests of the Phoenicians. They learned to conduct trade for themselves and to trade with Leptis Magna and Rome. It was thus a logical consequence of the use of trade to adopt a more cooperative role.

For more information, see: Reineke, I. 16) and Louis, E., L. (1916) Le Livre des Voyages, II, 199).

As seen in the well of Taradjihida, 3.5 km north of the Roman Caedenni (Tripoli), 15, 21.

Renault/Duget, Traites, 165-167.

Rebuffat, "Tripoli", "Leptis Magna," 275, 276.
Ancient Kingdoms: Hausa States

approach. In fact, in this period the two Roman expeditions beyond Fezzan which might have been facilitated by camel transport took place. In the south we may discern in the rebellion of Agisymba the first unsuccessful attempt by a vassal state to change a one-sided prestatial 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." 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, 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 Qsar Umm 'Isa "castle of the mother of Jesus." Elements of the Kanem-Bornu king list and traditions of the Central Sudan suggest that Christianity spread even further south. 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. Nafi 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

followed a tributary path of their predecessors.

Further south, the Christianising of the region in the sixth century seems to have been a way of exorcising important as conveyors of knowledge and a commodity that can have been traded far into Africa. They had to be kept in order; they had to be carefully organised; the Christian Church had to be in control of the inhabitants of these areas, especially when they were in the southern extensions of the Christian church, where the people were of African origin.

An ongoing process of Christianisation of the region continued for centuries, with the establishment of Christian missions and the conversion of the local population. This process was part of a wider process of Christianisation that affected the region.

Further glimpses into the Christianisation of the region may be provided by the remains of Christian churches and monasteries, as well as the discovery of inscriptions and artifacts that indicate the presence of Christians in the region.

---

280 Ruprechtberger suggests that the rectangular mud-brick castles of Fezzan reflect Byzantine workmanship (*Garamanten*, 77), while Weis notes the similarity of Qasr Laroku, 35 km west of Garama, with Roman buildings for defense further north (*Borsukhara*, 432).
282 The name of one of the early kings might have been Paul (Lange, *Doris*, 67 n. 1). The late fifteenth century reports of the Portuguese from Benin concerning the cross symbol of the far-away inland ruler called Ogan could concern Kanem-Bornu (cf. Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives*, 122, 124). See also Gray, *Christian traces*, 383-393.
283 Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, al-Bahr al-Muhit (ed. and tr. F. W. M. Leyden, Leiden 1952). Previous authors usually consider the kingdom of al-Bahr al-Muhit to be the country beyond Kawar and Waddan. Vikor follows the evidence that this kingdom follows a known route and assumes it to be extending to the west of 148, 150-151).
284 Mellastouzzi explains the origin of the name of the town in the area (*Anthropologie*, 50-51).
followed a tributary praxis earlier employed by their Byzantine and Roman predecessors.

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 could 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. 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.

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 heroes – the Queen of Daura and Bayajidda – the legend refers to two different immigrations. The first started from Canaan and reached Hausaland.
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 Bagh-
dadian 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 Hausa, 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 Hausa as well as the seven Banza - 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 itself submitted to a prestatistical

286 Lange, "Hausa-Tradition", 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).

system of forwarding slaves to the great powers of the
further, Kanem-Bornu furthermore set up settlement colonies in the
vantilation of cultural and political
power but by the Chadic state. The mother country Tyre, for
lead with respect to the

11. Appendix: Oral Version

It might come as a sur-
tory, the following text
Alasan Abdurrahman, dictated the text on the
1932 and died in early
late Emir Abdurrahman
end and to write it down
the brother of Abdur-
brother of the present
and being literate only
in Hausa and gave the
the reputation of bein-
tors to the town were

Subsequent to the
worked for several days
on related praise-song
out that because of its
 Dictionary, Kano. Philip She
Asabe introduced me to

289 Martin, "Kanem", 1;
290 Probably Waziri Ali
291 I am grateful to Phi
294 FN 95, 3-4.
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 prestationary system by an exchange system based on market principles. In the medieval period, Kanem-Bornu further outgrew its former suzerainties in the north by establishing settlement colonies in Kawar and in Fezzan. 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.

11. Appendix: Oral Version of the Bayajidda Legend

It might come as a surprise that despite long-term academic research on Hausa history, the following text is the first full oral version of the Bayajidda legend of Daura. Alasan Abdurrahman, the son of the Emir Abdurrahman dan Musa (1912-1966), dictated the text on the eve of the Gani festival 1995. The narrator was born in 1932 and died in early 1996. According to his own statement, he was asked by the late Emir Abdurrahman to collect all available information on the Bayajidda legend and to write it down. He had three main informants: his father Abdurrahman, the brother of Abdurrahman, the Waziri Daura, and the Galadima Sule, the brother of the present Emir Muhammadu Bashar. Having completed his research and being literate only in his native language, he wrote down the Bayajidda story in Hausa and gave the only copy to the Emir Abdurrahman. Since then he earned the reputation of being the official court historian of Daura. All the important visitors to the town were referred to him.

Subsequent to the recording of the following oral account, Malam Alasan worked for several days with me on various aspects of the Bayajidda narrative and on related praise-songs and court ceremonies of Daura. The informant pointed out that because of its bearing on the palace only royals knew the story well, not commoners. Unfortunately he did not pass on his knowledge of court history to any of his children nor to any other person.

---

291 Martin, "Kanem", 19-21; Lange, Djuuin, 67; Lange/Berthoud, "Qasba", 31-32.
292 Probably Waziri Alasan (Muhammadu Bashar, Emir, FN 95, 53).
293 I am grateful to Philip Shea and A. U. Dan Asabe both of the Abdullahi Bayero University, Kano. Phillip Shea gave me precious advice and arranged the research in Daura. Dan Asabe introduced me to Malam Alasan and helped me with translations.
294 FN 95, 3-4.