years, discussions with John Lavers, first in Paris and later in Kano, continuously fired my interest in the history of Kanem-Bornu. In Cairo and Bonn, Werner Schwarz gave me invaluable methodological advice for work on Arabic texts. Without the practical support of Norbert Ceyffer, then based in Maiduguri, the lengthy fieldwork in Bornu would not have been feasible (1979a; 1987a). During a temporary stay in Paris I met Djibo Hamani and Boubè Gado who invited me to teach African and Islamic history at the University of Niamey.

To Article IV (1978a: “Progrès de l’Islam”)

The historiography of the Chadic state was for a long time overshadowed by the question of the origin of the Kanem-Bornu kings. According to the traditional view, the Sufuwa ruled over Kanem-Bornu from the beginning of 1846. In line with this opinion, Humé, the first Muslim king, was thought to have been a convert. On the basis of earlier critical studies of texts, I tried to show that the rulers of Kanem belonged to a ruling group called Zaghawa by the external, and Duguwa by the internal sources. Although this group was strongly attached to divine kingship, its last two rulers were Muslims. Duguwa rule was brought to an end by Humé, a Muslim by birth, who founded the Sufuwa dynasty. What was the ethnic identity of Humé? Since the Sufuwa story of origin, referring to the Yemenite hero Sayf b. Dhi Yazan as an eponymous ancestor, seemed to build on a racist Arabic oral narrative, I suggested that he belonged to the Berber milieu of slave traders. Reluctant to promote the rapid spread of Islam, the new rulers were supposed to have continued to thrive on an internal recruitment of slaves (1978a: 506-511).\footnote{Zeltner, Cuq and Hiskett follow these propositions to a large extent (Pages, 29-45; Histoire, 234-240; Course, 104-105). Barkindo and Vikar object to the Berber origin of Humé (“Early states”, 226-235; Oasis, 176). See also the modifications to my contribution in the UNESCO history of Africa vol. III by Barkindo (Lange, 1987c: 456, 458-459).}

This reconstruction remains valid insofar as it distinguishes between two ruling groups, the Duguwa and the Sufuwa, it associates the Duguwa with the Zaghawa, and it postulates that the Duguwa were no heathens per se. It is faulty with respect to the Berber and foreign origin of Humé. In fact, the determination of Humé’s origin on the basis of the supposed spread of an Arab oral account is highly speculative. It neglects the inclination of Sudanic legends towards Yemenite origins and it ignores the difficult transformation of divine kingships into Islamic states. From a number of other considerations it now appears that Sayf b. Dhi Yazan was chosen as an eponymous ancestor on the basis of homonymous names and not because of the adoption of an alien oral narrative. The existence of the royal
Magumi clan composed of Duguwa and Sefuwa lineages, and the present-day distinction between the Magumi Duguwa and the Magumi Sefuwa, bear witness to a certain degree of governmental continuity beyond the Duguwa-Sefuwa cleavage.\footnote{Nachtigal, Sahara, II, 418-419. Certain traditions differentiate between Magumi Duguwa and Magumi Sefuwa (with respect to the inhabitants of Birni Gazargamo – Lange, 1993a: 274) and others between the Ngalma Duku and the Magumi Sefuwa (Palmer, Memoirs, II, 83; Nachtigal, Sahara, II, 419).} Furthermore, the comeback of the Zaghawa/Zaghay to power in the fourteenth century shows that the two ruling groups can neither be conceived as dynasties nor as ethnic groups (1993a: 271; 1993b: 52). In all likelihood, they were clan-families assuming specific functions within the cultic, the ceremonial, and the administrative sphere of the state. Humé was probably a member of an oppositional local clan associated with power who was more open towards Islam than the Duguwa. The main objective of the identification of the supposed clan ancestor Sef with the Yemenite hero Sayf b. Dhi Yazan, might have been the deliberately-attempted transposition of a divine into a legendary figure (see above p. 243). Altogether it would seem that the overthrow of the Duguwa was the consequence of religious incompatibilities between Islam and the cults of the Duguwa, rather than the result of economic changes such as a decreasing demand for slaves. Also, enslavement practices in an ancient and well-organized state should be seen more in terms of military activities against aliens and tributary levies, than in terms of internal recruitment (Meillassoux 1991: 51-52). Therefore it seems more appropriate to consider the process of Islamization in connection with the cult-mythological as opposed to an economic context.

To Article V (1979a: "Lieux de sépulture")

This study hopes to encourage research on oral traditions as a complement to available written evidence. This is still a very promising field, especially in those Islamized regions of West Africa where the basic institutions of pre-colonial states have survived. However, the research schedule should be more deliberately aimed at key questions of historical reconstruction. Major topics for the medieval history of the Chadic state concern the pre-Islamic state of the Duguwa, the shift from the Duguwa to the Sefuwa state, the Islamization of the institutions of divine kingship, and the agents of the territorial administration during the Sefuwa period (Kanuri clans and subgroups, Karde and other slaves). In fact, the available written sources provide only limited insights into these matters. It should also be recognized that the Arabic chronicles themselves present a one-sided picture of the past, in particular with respect to the pre-Islamic cultural and organizational

\footnote{Jäger, "Urpurzugsstruktur des Stammes Bakir: ein Beitrag zur Tanzkultur der Tchadische Collins and Collin, 1979a: 51-52.} To Article V

Dealing with the state, this study Bornu, from the formative centuries. En the Bulala and the Sefuwa, no doubt that the Bulala and the Kanembu, they belong to the same clan-families, the Duguwa, dynastic feuds between the Bulala the opportunity to royal establishment of the extent that the first ruler was an outsider who himself. With respect to this, it should be noted that the area, where Kanuri settled, lay in the centre of the inhabitants of Kanem, and the Kanuri, the onslaught of the Kanem, apparently the major cause of the Kanuri was mainly the sub-Saharan region of.