and the present-day Magumi Sefuwa, bear witness to the Duguwa-Sefuwa tradition of maghâyat to power in the past. If neither be conceived as a cultic, the ceremonial, group of an organized state, they are open towards Islam in the thirteenth century of the supposed clan Duguwa. The Duguwa, as the second or third in the sequence of the Duguwa and the Sefuwa, might have been the secondary figure (see above). The Duguwa was the vanguard and the Gule to the Duguwa. The decreasing demand for organized state should not have been a problem and tributary levies, not (51-52). Therefore it would lead to organization in connection with environmental change.

As a complement to this study, especially in those areas of pre-colonial state, more deliberately aimed at characterizing the medieval history of the Duguwa, the shift from the institutions of divination to the institutions of divination during the Sefuwa reigns (1982: 82). In fact, the available figures are so few that it should also be noted that it is a one-sided picture of environmental and organizational change between Magumi Duguwa and the Duguwa - Lange, 1993a: 41. Sefuwa (Palmer, Memoirs, II, heritage of the Chadic state. The work undertaken by Frauke Jäger promises to reverse the current perspective by considering the longue durée in conjunction with North African cultural parallels.14

To Article VI (1982: “Éviction des Sefuwa”)

Dealing with the most dramatic territorial change in the history of the Chadic state, this study shows that the Sefuwa ruled over two separate states, Kanem and Bornu, from the middle of the thirteenth to the second half of the fourteenth century. Environmental degradation was probably the single most important factor explaining the on-going westward movement of people from Kanem to Bornu (1982: 329-330). However, the final withdrawal of the Sefuwa from Kanem towards 1380 was the consequence of a military confrontation between the Bulala and the Sefuwa precipitated by dynastic and clan conflicts. There is no doubt that the Bulala were the main oppositional force against the Sefuwa in Kanem. They belonged to the same population as the Sefuwa (1982: 328) and they were even descendants of the first ruling clan (1993b: 268-269) or other clan-family, the Duguwa. The weakening of the Sefuwa as a consequence of the dynastic feuds between its two branches, the Idrisids and the Dâwaddis, gave the Bulala the opportunity to assert their authority over the people of Kanem. The royal establishment of the Chadic state was torn apart by these conflicts to the extent that the first ruler to gain ascendancy after the withdrawal from Kanem was an outsider who belonged to neither of these branches (1977a: § 32).

With respect to the regional extension of the medieval Bornu state it should be noted that the area north of the Komadugu Yobe in the present Niger Republic, where Kanuri settlements extend up to 300 km west of Lake Chad, probably lay in the centre of the state. It is most likely to this region, easily accessible for the inhabitants of Kanem, that the Sefuwa and their loyal courtiers withdrew under the onslaught of the Bulala (1980: 174), and not to the Bornu province of Kagha southwest of Lake Chad (1989: 207-208).15 Wudi, close to Lake Chad, was apparently the major capital during this period.16 The later southward shift of the Kanuri was mainly the consequence of further environmental degradation in the sub-Saharan region of northern Bornu.

15 The Kagha hypothesis was first expressed by Barth, Travels, II, 587. It is followed by Conna and Barkindo (Three Thousand, 225; “Early states”, 245). Zelner and Maïkorema place Kagha on the Komadugu Yobe (Pages, 64; Contribution, 35-36).
Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa

Other fights between the Sefuwa and the Bulala took place in Kawan. East of Bilma, people identify a place called "mound of skulls" where a great number of Bulala are said to have been massacred by a Bornoan army which came in defense of the local Kanuri. In fact, both states, Bornu and Kanem, obviously wanted to secure control over the central Saharan route for the benefit of direct trade with North Africa.

A note on chronology: On the basis of a new identification, the chronology of Kanem-Bornu rulers has to be slightly amended. The Bornu king Kandji b. Djemchach, mentioned in a letter to Tuat written the 10th Sha'ban 843 (16th January 1440), should not be identified with King Kaday b. Uthman (39) of the Sefuwa but with King Ghandi b. Imata (44) of the Duguwa. With this change of identification Ghandi b. Imata has to be antedated by ten years to 1439-1444. Therefore Sa'd, the first king ruling only in Bornu, must have ruled six years earlier, from 1381-1382. From there on, the reigns of all kings have to be similarly dated backwards by six years (1993b: 52 n. 23). Consequently Ayuma, the first dated Duguwa king, reigned 983-1002, Humne, the founder of the Sefuwa line of rulers, reigned 1068-1080 and Dunama Dibbalemi 1203-1242.

To Article VII (1988a: "Dignitaires bornoains")

This study shows that the two chronicles of Ibn Furut use in certain instances general Arabic terms in reference to precise Kanuri titles. Two supplementary points can be made concerning the identification of the wazir al-kabir with the Digma. It appears from Ibn Furut's description of military activities during the Kanem wars, that the Arjinoma was one of the closest officials of the wazir al-kabir. This information is confirmed by Rohlf's who defines the Arjinoma as the principal assistant of the Digma. As the Arjinoma holds the same position with the wazir as with the Digma, the latter two can be considered identical. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Digma had a residence separate from that of the king (1988: 182). In nineteenth-century Bornu the Digma was a royal slave whose tasks were similar to that of a chief administrator. Among the present Bulala he is the first assistant of the Yerima (or Hirima/Irima?) and as such he sits among the right-hand officials of the kings, those of the left hand being members of the royal family.

These elements may indicate the presence of Ife insofar as the latter is known to be the principal representative of African art and thus deals with the Digma. In this sense, the Digma/Digma as Digma/Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Digma as Diga...