Other fights between the Sefuwa and the Bulala took place in Kawar. East of Bilm, 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 Tutar written the 10th Shab'an 843 (16th January 1440), should not be identified with King Kaday b. Uhimin (39) of the Sefuwa but with King Ghadji b. Imata (44) of the Duguwa. With this change of identification Ghadji 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, Hurna, the founder of the Sefuwa line of rulers, reigned 1068-1080 and Duna Dibbalemi 1203-1242.

To Article VII (1988a: “Dignitaires bornoans”)

This study shows that the two chronicles of Ibn Furtu use in certain instances general Arabic terms in reference to precise Kanuri titles. Two supplementary points can be made concerning the identification of the waizir al-kabir with the Digma. It appears from Ibn Furtu’s description of military activities during the Kanem wars, that the Arjinoma was one of the closest officials of the waizir al-kabir. This information is confirmed by Rohills who defines the Arjinoma as the principal assistant of the Digma. As the Arjinoma holds the same position with the waizir 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 Birima/Irima?) and as such sits among the right-hand officials of the kings, those of the left hand being members of the royal family.

17 Sere de Riviere dates the Bulala attack to the fifteenth century (Histoire, 195).
18 Martin, Oasis, 125, and cf. Lange, 1977a: 89.
19 Palmes, Memoirs, I, ff 59, 107; Rohills, Reise, I, 72. Nachtrigal considers the Arjinoma to be a follower of the Kaimama (Sahara, I, 719).
20 Nachtrigal, Sahara, I, 718; Hagenbucher, "Notes", 54.

These elements make the state of Ife insofar as the local deities concern, and thus deals with the Digma/Digma as Diguwa. However, the Sefuwa court faction gives further evidence of the most important Deities. There is good reason to suppose that the Ukhata clans of the Duguwa. However, one should not doubt that the upperworld deities as of 1068 (see above p. 7) had a more balanced palace organization since in the former clans of the ritual or eminent positions. As with Ife, and Yoruba court institutions can be characterized by an etatism both from the gods of the Duguwa.

A further similarity by the parallel position of the Ngaala and the Musun clan, has another has to originate from the division of the same. The new kings are related to the Mekon. The new kings of the Musun are united by the Auga and Musu clan, and Lowa and the Rahan Musun. Between the Mai (king) and...
These elements may be compared with the position of the Lowa in the court of Ife insofar as the latter belongs to the Oduduwa faction of the palace officials and thus deals with the clans of the Oduduwa or netherworld party (2004a: 135-143). Such an analogy seems to be a valid hypothesis, since the etymology of Digma/Dugma as Dugu-ma "chief of the Dugu" indicates a close relationship with the Duguwa. Historically, this definition of the Dugma as the leader of the main court faction gives further weight to the possibility that matik Sa'id, who headed the Sefuwa court after the withdrawal from Kanem, was the Dugma and hence the most important Duguwa official (1993a: 272; 1993b: 52n). Hence there are good reasons to suppose that the Dugma was in the same position relative to the clans of the Duguwa as the Lowa was relative to the clans of the Oduduwa party. However, one should remember that the Sefuwa represented the former clans of the upperworld deities who had pushed aside the Duguwa in the palace revolt of 1068 (see above p. 243). In view of this major political change it would appear that the parallel process of Islamization made a corresponding reshuffle of the palace organization superfluous—a reshuffle whereby the officials linked to the former clans of the netherworld would have been displaced from their pre-eminent positions. As we have seen above, the structural parallels between Chadic and Yoruba court institutions can be explained by a common cultural substratum characterized by an opposition between two clan-families tracing their descent either from the gods of the upper or of the netherworld.21

A further similarity between Chadic and Ife court organization is indicated by the parallel position of the king and an important female court official called Luwa in the town of Musune south of Lake Chad. The king, belonging to the Magumi clan, has an intimate relation on different levels with the Luwa, who must originate from the Ngala clan akin to the Ngala Duku, whose members are related to the Magumi by a joking relationship. During the coronation ceremonies, the new king nominates the Luwa by choosing her from among the girls of the Ngala clan, as a mate for his one-week seclusion.22 If the king represents the Sefuwa, and the Luwa the Duguwa, it would appear that these two officials of Musune are united by the same cult-mythological relationship as in Ife between Jaran and Lowa and perhaps that between the king and Obalufe, and in Bornu between the Mai (king) and Dugma.23 Further culture-historical research, taking

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21 See above pp. 230-235 and charts 2, 3, 10, 12 (pp. 238, 265, 345).

22 Editha Platte refers to the Luwa as concubine and wife of the king (Frauen, 183, 186-192). The last Luwa was nominated in 1936. Therefore, other functions of the Luwa—as perhaps the sacred marriage during an earlier New Year festival—have not been recorded.

23 The fact that the Luwa is called Zamsam in N'du (Platte, Frauen, 186) lends support to the supposition that the biblical figure of Hagar was originally patterned on a female official
into account all palace officials and deliberately adopting a comparative perspective, will certainly reveal more significant connections between historical developments and present structural relations.

To Article VIII (1989: "Preliminares - Sao")

This study delimits the areas inhabited by different groups of Sao and suggests that the name was originally applied to the city dwellers of the plains south of Lake Chad. It postulates that the pastoral people hailing from Kanem adopted numerous culture traits from this urban society in the late medieval period. Most important for the perception of culture exchange would have been the time between 1250 and 1470 when the Sefawa ruled first over Kanem and Bornu and later over Bornu alone. During the period of closest contact extending from 1380 to 1470 the southern city dwellers are supposed to have been involved in various ways in the dynastic conflicts between the Dāwūdids and the Idrisids, so that in the end the newcomers from Kanem borrowed numerous culture traits from the aushoonthes of the plains. Founding their new capital Birni Gazargamo towards 1470, the Sefawa would have transferred the urban culture adopted from the Sao further to the north (1989: 203-210).

In the light of later research the current paradigm involving a regional and period-specific approach to the late medieval history of Bornu and other West African kingdoms appears to be too restrictive. Instead of postulating – in this case – a process of intensive borrowing by the Nilo-Saharan Kanuri from the Chadic Sao during a limited and late period, it would be more appropriate to search for a common substratum of both cultures dating from the classical era. In fact, numerous parallels with the Canaanite culture of North Africa bear witness of an ancient process of exchange across the Sahara (see pp. 279-285). With respect of the trans-Saharan trade, the Nilo-Saharan people of Kanem-Bornu were in a better position than the Chadic speakers further south. Also, to refer to the immigrants from Kanem to Bornu as pastoralists, neglects the ancient process of state building involving mainly the peasant population east of Lake Chad. Moreover, the Kagha hypothesis is neither confirmed by the northern location of Jaja (1980: 174-75), nor by the ancient contact between Kanem and Mall, and also not by the long-lasting suzerainty of Kanem-Bornu over the Hausa states (1979b: 208 § 35; 1993b: 56-60). Therefore it would be more appropriate to consider the ancient Niger Republic to be the medieval horizon of the Kanuri and into better focus.

To Article IX (199)

This study focuses history of Kanem defined as different dynastic two classes closely associated assessment of the role of the Zaghāwā/Zaghāy name in the century (1979b: 207 § 3) occurrence of a quasi-ethnicity in Kanem and the temporal (1993a: 272; 1993b: 521) establishment by the Bulala within the Sefawa dynasty Duguwa officials. Further in Kanem and further examination of the term Zaghāy and non-royal Duguwa and Modewa – divided into non-royal clan of the Chadian inclined king. In the nineteenth century under the Modewa, while the used to the Oduduwa so.

Going one step further, Kanem was a woman, as indeed, Hawai ‘ bint Af

26 According to a more recent Zaghāy (Lange, 1979b: 207) considering Kadé (1242-1775) argued that the murid incide.