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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: "Préliminaires – 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 process of culture exchange would have been the time between 1250 and 1470 when the Seufwa 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 Dawûdids and the Idrisids, so that in the end the newcomers from Kanem borrowed numerous culture traits from the autochthones of the plains. Founding their new capital Birni Gazarâma towards 1470, the Seufwa would have transferred the urban culture adopted from the Sao further to the north (1989: 203-210). 24

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 Jâa (1980: 174-75), nor by the ancient contact between Kanem and Mali, and also not by the long-lasting suzerainty of Kanem-Bornu over the Hausa states (1979b: 208 § 35; 1993b: 56-60). 25 Therefore it would be more appropriate to consider the ancient Niger Republic to the medieval history of the Kanuri and into better focus.

To Article IX (199)

This study focuses on the history of Kanem defined as different dynastic trends of the Zaghay name in the second half of the 14th century (1979b: 207 § 35-36) followed by a successor of a quasi-ethnic, anti-Arab and anti-Chadic group, the Bulama. 26 This is established by the Bulama as a dynasty deriving from the Seufwa state that was not continued by the Kanem and the temporary emir (1993a: 272; 1993b: 52). Dugawa officials of Seli founded a new state in Kanem and further emphasized that the term Zaghay was used for non-royal Dugawa and non-royal clans of the Chadic people. The Emir Modowe – divided into two main regions – was the central non-royal clan of the Chadic people. In the Chadic region under the rule of the Modowe, the emir was the chief of the emirates. The title of the emir was similar to the name of the emirate.

Going one step further, the kingdom of Kanem was a woman, as well as the kingdom of Modowe. Indeed, Háwwâ bint Arâj. 26

24 According to a more recent hypothesis, the title of the Zaghay (Lange, 1979b: 207 § 35-36) was also considered by Kadé (1242-1273) to be a raid on the northern vassals, arguing that the manâ’i incite rite is a symbol of the Zaghay king.

25 Nachtigal, Sahara, 1, 60. The Zaghaye empire (1979b: 207) was the result of a number of non-royal chieftains in the area to the east of the Chadic region.

consider the ancient Kanuri population living west of Lake Chad in the present Niger Republic to have been the core group of the Bornu state. By disentangling the medieval history of Kanem-Bornu from that of the Sao, the common heritage of the Kanuri and the Sao-Kotoko, reaching back to classical times, will come into better focus.

To Article IX (1993a: "Ethnogenesis")

This study focuses on the role of the Duguwa or Zagha\va and the Sefuwa in the history of Kanem-Bornu. Realizing that these two ruling groups can neither be defined as different dynasties nor as different people, it suggests that they were two clans closely associated in the exercise of power. Most important for the assessment of the role of the Duguwa in the Chadic state is the reappearance of the Zagha\va/Zagha\va name in an external source from the first half of the fifteenth century (1979b: 207 § 32). In terms of internal developments, this strange reoccurrence of a quasi-ethnic label corresponds to the rise to power of the Bulala in Kanem and the temporary leading role assumed by Duguwa officials in Bornu (1993a: 272; 1993b: 52n). While in Kanem an exclusive Duguwa rule had been established by the Bulala, the situation in Bornu was characterized by conflicts within the Sefuwa dynasty and a royal court dominated by conciliatory non-royal Duguwa officials.\(^{26}\) Furthermore, the existence of numerous non-royal Duguwa in Kanem and further east seems to have given rise to the present ethnic connotation of the term Zagha\va (1977a: 153 n. 50). The distinction between royal and non-royal Duguwa can be based on the example of the Ife court where the Modewa – divided into three factions – are in a middle position between the non-royal clans of the Oduwuwa section of the population and the Oduduwa-inclined king. In the Chadic state, the royal Karde slaves, who were in the nineteenth century under the command of the Digma, might have corresponded to the Modewa, while the Duguwa clans not associated with power can be compared to the Oduwuwa section of the society.\(^{27}\)

Going one step further, we may now accept that the first Muslim ruler of Kanem was a woman, as suggested by the Grgam (1977a: 67-68; 1993a: 265). Indeed, Hawwa\bint Arku (1061-1065), belonging to the Duguwa royal estab-

\(^{26}\) According to a more radical interpretation, taking the reference of al-Maqriti to the Zagha\va (Lange, 1979b: 207 § 32) as applying to the second half of the thirteenth century, and considering Kad\ (1242-1270) and \Af\ All\ (1301-1328) to be Duguwa, it could even be argued that the m\ incident resulted in the return of the Duguwa to power.

\(^{27}\) Nachtigal, Sah\, 1, 647, 718. See also Smith, Daura, 28, 82-83. For the Modewa see Lange 2004a: 137-138, 145.