To Article XVI (1991a: “Rois de Gao-Sané”)

This study is based on the discovery that the early twelfth century rulers of Gao-Saney are identical with the first Muslim kings of the Za dynasty known from the Timbuktu chronicles (1988b: 8). It correctly stipulates that the rulers of Gao-Saney were newcomers who imposed their authority on the earlier Qanda kings of Gao. It is also right to suppose that the rulers of Gao-Saney, in spite of their Caliphal loan names, were not the first Muslim kings of Gao. It is further well-founded that Kukiya was not the first capital of the Za and that Gao was not a Songhay state from the beginning.

The major shortcomings of this article concern the identification of the Gao-Saney rulers as Berbers and the notion of a pre-dynastic Mande ethnicity on the eastern Niger bend. Further, I now disclaim the idea that the use of the “Caliphal metaphor” indicates the existence of a non-dynastic mode of succession, and that the prominent position of certain queens is the result of a concerted marriage policy aimed at the integration of a foreign dynasty into the local establishment (1991a: 262, 263; XX: 514). De Moraes Farias supports the first idea by hypothesising that the “Caliphal metaphor” expresses a pact between powerful groups in the area leading to a rotational system of succession. With respect to the second he cogently argues that the queens were part of a system in which “official queens” performed important constitutional roles. From the perspective of divine kingship these offices once had priestly functions in connection with the great magna mater goddess (1999b: 129-149). They were only abolished at a relatively late stage in the process of Islamization (1990: 145-147).

To Article XVII (1994a: “From Mande to Songhay”)

Answering to criticism voiced by Hunwick who supports an orthodox view of Songhay history, this essay tries to bring into better focus the connections between the dynastic and the ethnic history of the Middle Niger. It continues to argue against the common idea of tribal stability and insists on the importance of traditions of origin for the understanding of ethnogenesis (specifically of the Zarma). With respect to the Mande substratum of the Middle Niger, it draws attention to the geography of the Lakes region of the to define Songhay ethnon 1994b: 217-222).

The article is flawed if the supposed pre-Zaghê N Songhay are seen as late history, the Zaghê are their descendants. A r of a Za and a Sonni tion against an alliance of the leads to the question of whether they possibly have been able to leadership. There is little such multi-faceted and such a theory.

To Article XVIII (1996a)

The study proposes a re-geographical proximity for reasons the Zaghê are no longer a Hausa article tries to show that they correspond to be a homogenous ruling palace revolt with a Mande from Ghana by non-Subattachment the Zaghê as refugees in the umbrella of local Massu ancestors to identify the ancestors from Ghana. The idea of it is now replaced by the Ghana and the Zaghê from.

Misinceptions concerning to the local vassal dynasties (1996a: 157, 164). Having need to practice a matrilineal

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38 De Moraes Farias, Inscript, §§ 403, 421.