

## CHAPTER SIX

# THE BAYAJIDDA LEGEND AND HAUSA HISTORY

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The Bayajidda legend is probably the most important single source for Hausa history. It deals with the founding of Daura, traditionally the oldest city of Hausaland, and by extension also with the establishment of other Hausa states by foreign immigrants. As such it is of great significance for the important topics of transcontinental relationships and state-building in African history. However, owing to its insufficient recognition as a diversified oral tradition transmitted within a very stable social and political context, its source value has perhaps not fully been recognized. In fact, historians have not yet analyzed the whole body of its divergent but complementary versions recounted in the dynastic milieu and among rural priest-chiefs. Nor have they taken account of the important festival re-enactments which seem to guarantee the transmission of valid historical evidence without major changes over a considerable length of time.<sup>1</sup>

The legend describes the arrival of two different groups in Hausaland: the bulk of the people are said to have come from Canaan and the founding prince is believed to have fled from Baghdad. The Hausa legend claims that this hero, Bayajidda, married the Canaanite queen of Daura and that his descendants founded the different Hausa states. It is couched in terms of what may appear to be a biblical descent scheme, claiming as it does that the seven authentic Hausa originated from the sons of Bayajidda and his legitimate wife Magajiya (Sarah) and the seven inauthentic states originated from the sons of Bayajidda and his wife's slave-maid Bagwariya (Hagar). To Biram (Abraham), the first son of Bayajidda, it attributes the role of having founded the eponymous small town of Biram at the western margins of Hausaland. It therefore appears that the biblical descent scheme may have been diverted from its original Israelite meaning by being given a new dimension, reflecting major historical developments in the Near East and in the Central Sudan.<sup>2</sup>

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Suspecting that oral traditions can easily be altered by manipulations, historians are reluctant to consider seriously the evidence for transcontinental migrations provided by the Bayajidda legend.<sup>3</sup> They suggest that claims of Near Eastern origins reflect a desire to accredit noble—but fictive—origins to the Hausa and they argue that parallels with biblical data result from recent feedback from either Christian or Islamic sources.<sup>4</sup> Ignoring the deep rooted and widespread nature of the legend in the political and festal organization of the city state of Daura and its diversified transmission, they tend to consider the legend merely as an oral account, drawn up for the sole purpose of self-aggrandizement. Such criticism would perhaps have carried more weight if the legend had only been transmitted by word of mouth, in a restricted milieu, and could thus have been easily modified from one generation to the other. But the denial of the legend's value as an historical source ignores its setting within the context of a diversified and socially embedded narrative of origin, involving dynastic and non-dynastic keepers of traditions. Though apparently mainly based on the general critical approach towards oral sources, such scepticism reflects in fact the postcolonial agenda of nationalist historiography stressing local origins, local developments, and local achievements.<sup>5</sup>

The alternative with which we tentatively engage here and which is based on new field research highlights global connections and dynamics. The following analysis is based on the main messages of the legend—Near Eastern origins, secondary state foundation and the early rise of Hausa identity. Moreover, the present attempt at an historical re-evaluation of the Hausa legend is part of a general reconsideration of the role Near Eastern history may have played in Central Sudanic history.<sup>6</sup> It involves four different aspects. First, the idea that the deep insertion of the legend and its messages into the social fabric of the city-state of Daura indicates the transmission of a complex oral-social tradition since the founding period; second, the expectation that the legend reflects real events, when it insists on an important exodus from the ancient Near East in consequence of a major historical upheaval; third, the assertion that the legend functioned from the beginning as a foundation charter for a mixed society comprising foreign conquerors and local people, the Hausa and the Azna; fourth, the possibility that Israelites played a leading role among the ancient Near Eastern state builders in Hausaland.

## Hausa and Azna versions of the Bayajidda legend

The Bayajidda legend is a tradition of origin which is chiefly kept by people attached to the royal palace in Daura. On account of this royal setting it must be considered principally as a dynastic legend, dealing with the origin of the town and city-state of Daura and by extension the origin of the Seven Hausa (*Hausa bakwai*) and Seven Banza (*Banza bakwai*) states in Central Sudan.<sup>7</sup> Though the main focus of the Bayajidda legend is Daura, traditionists of the Seven Hausa states in Katsina, Gobir, Kano and Zaria mention its details at the beginning of their own state tradition.<sup>8</sup> However, compared with the local dynastic traditions, it is only of marginal importance in these states. On account of the transmission of the legend in the Seven Hausa states—comprising in addition to Daura, Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Zaria also Biram and Rano<sup>9</sup>—and its emphasis on these states, we may call the principal versions Hausa versions of the legend. Of these Hausa versions the palace version is obviously the most valid.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, the Azna versions are transmitted by the Sarakunan Azna (pl. of Sarkin Azna “king of the Azna”), the chiefs of the indigenous Azna people in Hausaland, and they insist on the equally prestigious ascent of the “kings of the Azna”.<sup>11</sup> In the Seven Banza states—Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe, Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba and Kwararafa (Jukun)<sup>12</sup>—the legend is generally unknown.<sup>13</sup>

The Hausa palace version of the Bayajidda legend refers to two different migrations from the Near East. The first was a movement *en masse* from Canaan and Palestine headed in the beginning by Najib/Nimrod, then by Abdul-Dar and finally by several successive queens. This first migration found its way—via Egypt and North Africa—through the Sahara to the Central Sudan, where under the guidance of Magajiya Daurama the newcomers established the city of Daura.<sup>14</sup> The second migration began with the retreat of half of the army from Baghdad under the leadership of Bayajidda, the son of the king Abdullahi, and its move to Bornu. Having concluded an alliance with the king of Bornu, sealed by marriage to the king’s daughter Magira, and having lost his army by ceding it progressively to the king of Bornu, the prince finally had to flee from the country with his wife. After some time, his wife gave birth to their son Biram, who became the eponymous ancestor of the most eastern Hausa state, later called Gabas-ta-Biram, “the east of Biram”. Leaving his wife and son behind, the hero continued his flight and finally came with his horse to Daura where he met the old lady Ayana near the well, killed the snake, married the queen, Magajiya, and fathered a son with Bagwariya, the slave-maid of the queen, and later another son with the

queen herself. In due course the son of the slave-maid, Karbagari or Karap-da-Gari, became the father of seven sons, the founders of the Seven Banza or “illegitimate” states, while the son of the queen, Bawo, became the father of six sons making up, together with Biram, the founders of the Seven Hausa or “legitimate” states.<sup>15</sup>

Two supplementary details from Hausa non-palace versions throw new light on the mythological background of the Bayajidda legend. The first concerns the formation of seven heaps after the killing of the snake by the side of the well at Daura. Informants in Gobir and Maradi, including the dethroned descendants of the Hausa kings of Kano, claim that the hero cut the snake into pieces and piled them up in two or seven heaps.<sup>16</sup> In Zamfara it is believed that the hero called Kalkalu killed the snake in Daura and cut it into twelve pieces.<sup>17</sup> These details remind us of the Babylonian myth of creation which is thought to be close to the mythological matrix of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle and the biblical account of creation. Having slain the primordial monster Tiamat, the hero split open its body, different parts of which were used to create the various features of the world.<sup>18</sup> The Babylonian myth of creation was recited, and according to many scholars, re-enacted during the Mesopotamian Akitu or New Year festival.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the Bayajidda legend is told and re-enacted during the Gani or pre-Islamic New Year festival of Daura.<sup>20</sup> The seven or twelve heaps made from the body of the snake seem to correspond firstly to seven or twelve features of the newly created world and secondly to the seven or twelve tribes of the chosen people. The duplication of the tribes may have resulted from the two halves of the primordial monster (i.e. the creation of heaven and earth) and their subsequent subdivisions.

The second detail concerns the name of the snake slayer. Most versions of the legend indicate that the snake was slain by Bayajidda, alternatively called Abuyazidu. However, the descendants of the former Hausa kings of Kano (today there are Fulani kings) claim that Bawo was the hero who slew the snake and subsequently married Magajiya and fathered with the slave-maid Bagwariya Karbagari, and with Magajiya the progenitors of the Seven Hausa states.<sup>21</sup> One might have thought that this was an error of transmission but similarly the early nineteenth century Fulani scholars Muḥammad Bello and ‘Abd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā consider Bawo as the ruler of the Hausa states, who had been appointed by the sultan of Bornu, and the *Kano Chronicle* describes him as the conqueror of Hausaland.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, the hero of the Hausa legend is called Abawa Jidda in Gobir and Katsina versions, a name possibly composed of Bawa/Baal and Ar. *jidda(n)* “much”.<sup>23</sup> These elements suggest the possibility that an alternative and very ancient Hausa version of the Bayajidda legend may

have had Bawo as the dragon slayer and as the sole progenitor of the Hausa states without any preceding ancestor and without any duplication of states.<sup>24</sup>

The Azna versions of the legend differ from the Hausa versions by attributing to Bagwariya's son Karbagari the function of a Sarkin Azna "king of the Azna", ruling over the Azna population, i.e. the autochthones of Hausaland. Though by extension sometimes also indicated by the palace version of the legend, this detail is particularly claimed by the Sarakunan Azna themselves.<sup>25</sup> It considers Karbagari first and foremost as the ancestor of the indigenous Azna population and ignores the existence of the Seven Banza states.<sup>26</sup> Thus the Bayajidda legend not only distinguishes between two groups of states—the Seven Hausa and the Seven Banza—but also between two layers of society, the foreign Hausa descending from the immigrated queen, Magajiya, and the local Azna or Maguzawa descending from the indigenous slave-maid, Bagwariya. Living mainly in the central town (*birni*) of the city states as subjects of a king (*sarki*), the foreign Hausa constitute what has been called a dynastic society.<sup>27</sup> The local Azna are by contrast mostly farmers organized in clans and living in the countryside.<sup>28</sup>

Another significant detail of the Azna versions concerns the animosity between Bawo and Karbagari, the sons of Magajiya and Bagwariya. While in the dominant Hausa versions this detail is only indicated by the naming of *Karba-gari* "snatch the town" and *Ba-wo* "give (the town) back", the Azna versions make the antagonism more explicit.<sup>29</sup> According to these versions, Magajiya waited until the two sons were grown up but then she ordered Karbagari, to give his horse to Bawo and she provided Karbagari with a whip so that he might protect his brother during a state ceremony by driving the Azna people away from him. Karbagari obeyed, got up from his seat, began to beat the people with his whip, while Bawo remained seated like a king.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Magajiya told her son not to allow Karbagari to sit down by his side (and thus to rule with him). When at the end of a festival the latter tried to take his seat, Bawo drew his sword and chased him away.<sup>31</sup> In order to compensate him for the loss of power, Magajiya gave him the task of controlling the unruly Azna.<sup>32</sup> Apparently this version stresses the antagonism between the invading Hausa represented by Bawo (and his sons) and the autochthonous Karbagarawa or Azna. It insinuates that having been subjected to foreign leadership, the Azna wanted to have an equal share in the right to rule but that this was denied them by force.

Fragmented elements of a tradition closely related to the Bayajidda legend have been noted far beyond the city state of Daura. In the Bori

pantheon of western Hausaland—where the historical figures of the Bayajidda legend are unknown—Magajiya and Bagwariya/Bagulma and their descendants, the Hausawa and the Gwarawa, occupy similar positions to the corresponding figures in the legend.<sup>33</sup> In the abbreviated form of Gwari, lacking the article *ha-/ba-*, the name Ba-gwariya is used as an autonym by people living south of Hausaland who contrast with the Hausa (of Magajiya) and speak a Benue-Congo language instead of the Afroasiatic language of Hausa. Gulma/Bagulma, the second name of the slave-maid, designates in Songhay-Zarma the southern bank of the River Niger, the northern bank being called Hausa.<sup>34</sup> Here again the people of the south refer to themselves as Gulma-*n*ce, the “people of Gulma/Gurma” (i.e. Bagwariya).<sup>35</sup> These elements echo the dichotomy of the Bayajidda legend concerning the Hausa states situated in the northern Sudan and the Banza states in the southern and western Central Sudan. Apparently we are faced here with very old classificatory concepts preserved in a rudimentary form by different West African people and suggesting an early process of diffusion.

With respect to origins, the Hausa palace version of the Bayajidda legend clearly states that the mass of the immigrants departed from Canaan and Palestine and that only the dragon-slaying hero himself came from Baghdad. All the local Azna and also some Hausa versions ignore long-distance connections but according to a dynastic version from Katsina a caravan led by Namoudou/Nimrod came from Birnin Kissera near Mecca and its members settled at Daura.<sup>36</sup> According to a Zamfara chronicle, the snake of Daura was killed by Kalkalu, the son of Bawo, who descended from Pharaoh.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the people who came with Magajiya and settled in Hausaland are considered in some Hausa versions to have been Larabawa/Arabs.<sup>38</sup> The royal drummers of Daura confirm Near Eastern provenance by the drum beat “Lamarudu Kan’an” or “Lamarudu, son of Kan’an”, which is sounded at the king’s installation and during festival processions behind the king.<sup>39</sup> In conformity with the legend this claim refers to Bawo’s mother Magajiya whose ancestor was the Mesopotamian king Nimrod, locally known as Najib, and not to Bayajidda. Designating also the dynastic ancestor of the Oyo-Yoruba, Nimrod is a biblical name, which was given to a Mesopotamian ruler of Akkad and Assyria. The name suggests Israelite influence and refers perhaps to the composite figure of the Akkadian rulers of whom Sargon of Akkad (2334-2279) and his nephew Naram-Sin (2254-2218) were the most important.<sup>40</sup> Though the change from a lighter to a darker skin colour was certainly the result of intermarriages, local informants are convinced that the white invaders expelled the black native population.<sup>41</sup> Distinct

geographical and genealogical evidence provided by what may be regarded as the most valid Hausa versions of the legend points apparently to two different ancient Near Eastern origins of the Hausa immigrants, Canaan and Mesopotamia.

### **The Bayajidda legend as a basically Israelite tradition of origin**

In order to determine the provenance and the age of the Bayajidda legend we first have to examine the available synchronisms. Mentioning the legend *en passant*, the relatively recent chronicles on Hausa history do not provide any details on its main features. The anonymous author of the *Kano Chronicle* obliquely refers to it with respect to a seventeenth-century king; the two early nineteenth-century Fulani scholars Muḥammad Bello and ‘Abd al-Qādir write about it as a well-known historical account; and Heinrich Barth in the middle of the nineteenth century begins his historical overview of Hausaland with an abridged and disfigured version of it.<sup>42</sup> None of these authors had any in-depth knowledge of the legend: they wrote in Kano, Sokoto and Katsina and as far as we know they never visited and asked relevant questions in Daura, the only city in Hausaland where the Bayajidda legend is the sole state tradition. Nevertheless, the reflections of the legend in the few extant chronicles of Hausaland clearly show that the Muslim scholars considered the legend as an important and trustworthy source regarding Hausa origins. Subsequently colonial scholar-administrators brought to light more extensive and more authoritative versions of the legend, thus providing the basic outline of the story.<sup>43</sup> Since then, new elements concerning the legend, its different versions and its social context have been discovered, but they have not yet influenced the ongoing debate concerning its historical value.<sup>44</sup>

Searching for an answer to the question of the legend’s provenance, we have to consider the similarity between the Hausa legend and the biblical Abraham-Sarah narrative. There are a number of parallels which may not be due to coincidence. In both cases a stranger marries a queen since Sarah in Hebrew means “princess”. Both depict an elderly legal wife who gives to her husband a young female slave for procreation, a slave-maid who becomes pregnant before her mistress and who delivers a male child.<sup>45</sup> In both cases, the main ethnic groups of the regional world concerned are classified as descendants either of this female slave and her son, or of the legal wife of the hero and her son—on the one hand the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve tribes of the Ishmaelites, on the other the Seven Hausa and Seven Banza states.<sup>46</sup> In each tradition performances of a

sacred drama staged during the main annual festival re-enact the principal features of the legend, though in sub-Saharan Africa they are better preserved than in the Near East. In Daura, we find the killing of the dragon and the marriage of the hero with the queen, in Jerusalem, the blowing of the horn in commemoration of Isaac's prevented sacrifice and in Mecca (where Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael are venerated, not Sarah), the stoning of Satan, the sacrifice of a ram (in replacement of Ishmael) and the running for water (in imitation of Hagar).<sup>47</sup> In addition to the biblical text and other writings, these different types of re-enactments constitute important mnemotechnical devices to commemorate the Israelite Abraham-Sarah-Hagar narrative and are indicative of the important role played by the legend in these societies as a central state tradition.

The Bayajidda legend's provenance may perhaps be deduced from its apparent connection with the Israelite Abraham-Sarah narrative. In particular it should be noted that the main figures of both legends have many similarities apart from their names: Bayajidda corresponds to Abraham, Magajiya to Sarah and Bagwariya to Hagar and in the second generation Bawo is paralleled by Isaac/Jacob and Karbagari by Ishmael. Descending from the two latter figures, the Hausa properly speaking take the position of the Israelites and the Banza/Azna that of the Ishmaelites.<sup>48</sup> Apart from the superimposed figure of Bayajidda, which has taken the place of Biram/Abraham, we realize that Magajiya corresponds to the priestly title of Sarah and hence to the deity Asherah (*qdš*),<sup>49</sup> Ba-gwariya is related to the name *Ha-gar* and the parallel Ba-gulma to *glmt* "virgin" an Ugaritic designation for the deity Anat and her priestess also used in Hebrew,<sup>50</sup> Bawo is perhaps derived from Baal "lord" as witnessed by the parallel name *Bawu na-turmi* "Bawo on the mortar" in the king list of Gobir,<sup>51</sup> and *Karba-gari* "snatch the town" can on account of the name's parallel position to Ishmael be considered as a characterization in Hausa of the predatory bedouin life-style of Ishmael.<sup>52</sup> The name Hausa itself could conceivably be connected with the Hebrew *ha-lashon* "the language" (Ha. *halshan*) or possibly parallel to Yoruba/Jeroboam in the Oyo-Yoruba tradition—with the name of the last Israelite king Hoshea (732-722).<sup>53</sup>

In comparing the Bayajidda legend with the Abraham-Sarah narrative we note two major differences: the subordinate position of Biram/Abraham and the number of seven instead of twelve states/tribes. Realizing that the hero Bayajidda originating from Baghdad became the legend's new heroic figure, we observe that the Israelite figure of Biram/Abraham was relegated to the position of the eldest son of the hero. Anticipating later discussions concerning the history of Israelite-Assyrian relations, we may suspect that the superimposition of the Baghdadi hero

on the great Israelite patriarch reflects something like the imposition of Assyrian tradition at the expense of a purely Israelite legend. With respect to the twelve Israelite and twelve Ishmaelite tribes it should be noted that this opposition is only referred to in the Priestly sections of Genesis (Gen 17:19-21). However in the blessing of Jacob, which is in the Jahwist section, his twelve sons—the ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel—are specifically mentioned (Gen 49:3-27).<sup>54</sup> Also attested by the Yoruba, the number of seven tribes may therefore derive from a different Israelite tribal tradition than that recorded by the biblical authors.<sup>55</sup>

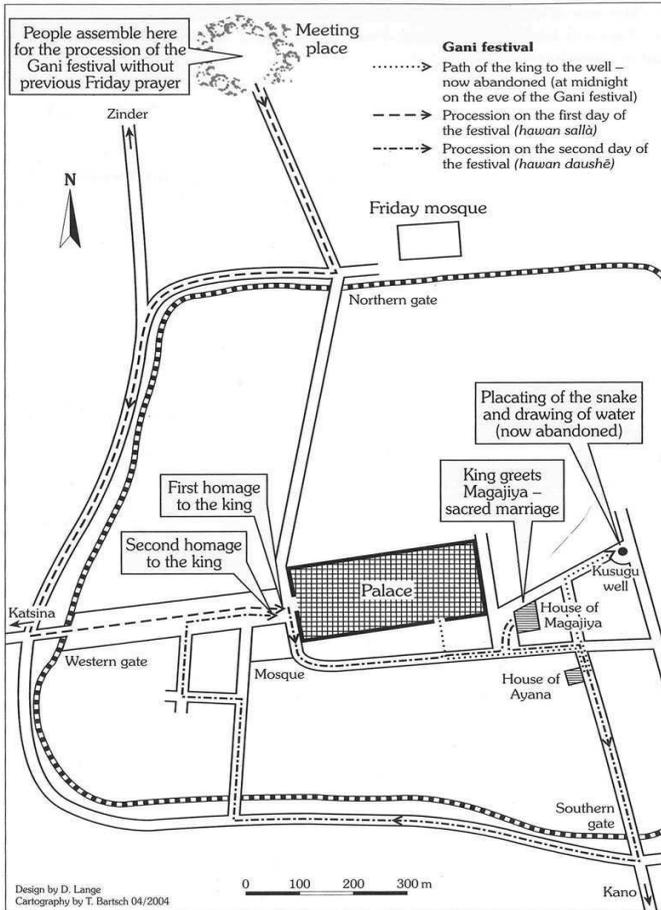
On account of these loose parallels and the explicable differences, one is inevitably tempted to speculate. Is it possible that the Hausa legend is derived from a particular form of the Israelite descent scheme, diverging from the orthodox form because of biblically unattested Assyrian influences? Since feedback inputs must be excluded in view of these dissimilarities, the carriers of this state tradition appear to have been Israelites and other immigrants submitted for some time to Assyrian domination.

### **Preservation of historical memory: festal re-enactments of legendary events couched in myth**

In Daura the authenticity of the transmission of the Bayajidda legend from generation to generation is guaranteed by its re-enactment during the great annual festivals. Only well-versed informants from Daura know that the processions and other features of the three great Islamic festivals—*sallar Gani*, *karamar salla* (‘*īd al-fiṭr*) and *babbar salla* (‘*īd al-kabīr*)—are based on pre-Islamic foundations. Each of the festivals, but more particularly the Gani festival (which was previously a New Year festival and which is now equal to the Islamic *mawḷūd al-nabī*), consists in the commemoration of the key-episodes of the legend, of which the main actors are quite aware. If, as suggested here, the legend is a desacralized myth, then its re-enactments were once rites of a sacred drama which would have been celebrated without major modifications for a long period of time.<sup>56</sup>

In view of the Bayajidda legend’s re-enactment as a cultic drama the main office holders of the Daura city state assume the roles of their legendary ancestors. Thus, Bayajidda is played by the king, Magajiya by the official queen mother bearing the name of her ancestral patroness as her title, Bagwariya by the second most important female title holder, Iya, and Karbagari by Magajin Bayamadi, the senior official magician and the main title holder of the Maguzawa or Azna of Daura.<sup>57</sup> First and foremost

such close correspondence between the legend and the most important office holders of Daura guarantees the faithful transmission of the main features of the legend for a *longue durée*. Moreover, it seems to indicate that both the legend and the state organization were introduced to Hausaland at the same period.



Map 1: Main stations of the Gani festival in Daura

Four episodes of the legend are re-enacted: the killing of the snake, the public rejoicing following the killing of the snake, the rewards for Galadima and Kaura as a result of their ascertainment of the death of the

snake and the sacred marriage between the hero and Magajiya. The different elements of the cultic drama are detailed elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> Their significance for the topic of this paper is that, apart from new Islamic overtones, the procession, which leads around the town and finally re-enacts the hero's entrance into the palace, has only one purpose: *murna kashē sarki* "rejoicing over the killing of (the snake) Sarki (king)". It was the killing of the primordial snake which gave the hero the power to rule and which to this day bestows on the king, his present-day embodiment, the legitimacy to reign over the city-state of Daura.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, going back to the pre-legendary time of cultic drama, the greeting of the Magajiya was equivalent to a sacred marriage, celebrating the union between the priestly queen and the sacred king—as the incarnation of the heroic dragon-slayer—and resulting in the renewal of the latter's deification.<sup>60</sup>

During the procession the historically most significant musical performance is the beating of two drums carried by a camel behind the king with special beats for "Lamarudu, Kan'an" in order to recall the ancestry of Bawo through his mother. The same drums are also beaten on the ground to announce the *karamar salla* (the feast of breaking the fast) at the end of Ramadan. They are beaten twelve times with the "Lamarudu dan Kan'an" beat in remembrance of the queen's—and hence the king's—origin at the enthronization ceremony where the king receives his turban.<sup>61</sup>

Little is known about the participation of the Maguzawa/Azna at the Gani festival. In the main procession they are represented by the "hunters" (*mahalba*) who walk on foot before their leader "chief of the archers" (*Sarkin Baka*) who rides on a horse. The people of Sarkin Baka are not far in front of the king, being separated from him only by the players of the *kakaki* trumpets, the spare horses led by grooms, the runners (*zagage*) and the female *dakama* singers.<sup>62</sup> During the greeting of the Magajiya, the runners stay in the entrance porch, while the people of Sarkin Baka remain outside of the house just in front of it.<sup>63</sup> Although the whereabouts of Magajin Bayamadi, the descendant of Karbagari, and his people are unknown, it may be supposed that as an usher to the king he is likewise stationed not far from Magajiya's house but certainly not in it.<sup>64</sup> Some of the Maguzawa therefore stay close to Magajiya's house without being allowed to come near during the main scene of a cultic drama involving the king and the queen, which commemorates the marriage between the dragon-slayer and the queen of Daura.<sup>65</sup> Since elsewhere the festive procession includes two visits, one to the Magajiya (or Sarauniya) and the other to the Inna/Iya, the putative sister and wife of the king, and since the

Inna was mainly the priestess of the black or local spirits it may be suggested that the Maguzawa/Azna were more particularly attached to her.<sup>66</sup> Although in Daura there was an Inna/Iya in earlier times, the main re-enactment of the difference between the Hausa and the Azna took place in front of Magajiya's—not of Inna's—house.<sup>67</sup>

There are good reasons to believe that in former times not only the king of Daura but all the seven Hausa kings visited the Magajiya and were present at the ritual of deification.<sup>68</sup> The image of the Seven Hausa could then easily have been derived from the scene of the seven kings entering the house of the Magajiya.<sup>69</sup> Hence it would appear that the earlier sacred marriage rite between the king and the chief priestess was the decisive scene which gave rise to the concept of the Seven Hausa: while the kings of the seven Hausa states on account of their geographical, cultural and linguistic closeness attended the annual celebration at Daura, the kings of the seven Banza states did not, but in former times they possibly greeted the Inna/Iya—together with the king—as the representative of Bagwariya.<sup>70</sup> In any case, only the seven Hausa kings were allowed to come close to the sacred marriage rite assuring the deification of the king, restoring fertility and guaranteeing the preservation of the cosmic equilibrium.<sup>71</sup> This association with Magajiya reinforced their Hausanness.<sup>72</sup>

During the same procession another easily overlooked act consists of the change of leadership of the cortege: while Kaura leads the people from the palace to the house of the Magajiya, Galadima takes over after the greeting ceremony.<sup>73</sup> This shift of pre-eminence from the commander-in-chief of the army to the Waziri is somehow linked to the legend: Kaura was the one who first ascertained that the snake was dead, while Galadima was not brave enough to come close to the well.<sup>74</sup> During the pre-legendary period more elaborate associated rituals may have given dramatic expression to the cultic power held by the two groups, the Hausa and the Azna in succession, during the New Year festival. The change apparently consisted in a temporary shift of power—like in Ife, but in reverse order—from the supporters of the dying and rising god (Hausa) to the supporters of the primordial deity (Azna).<sup>75</sup>

Other time-honoured memories are attached to special buildings. Among the latter is the *zauren gani* “hall of the Gani” in the palace where the kings of the Seven Hausa are said to have met during the Gani festival (now *mawlūd*). A staircase to the roof of the palace with a window allowing the great hall to be seen from behind is attributed to Magajiya for the purpose of supervising the council of state. The well behind the palace is known to have been the place where Bayajidda killed the snake. The beating of the *dajinjin* drums early every Friday morning is claimed to

recall the time when Magajiya and her people went to the well to fetch water, while on the remaining days of the week the people had to suffer from lack of water.<sup>76</sup>

From a historical perspective it is clear that the two different sections of society, the Hausa invaders and the local Azna, lived for a long time side by side in the new state. Apparently the state institutions introduced by the Hausa—and a few foreign Maguzawa/Azna—were so designed that the disparities between the local inhabitants and the foreign conquerors were progressively overcome. Although the integration of the two different populations was thus fostered, there was no complete assimilation due to the bicephalic nature of the power structure and its on-going re-enforcement by the sacred drama.

Most likely the basic dualism of the power structure was an in-built characteristic of the type of ancient Near Eastern state with which the invaders were familiar and thus did not result from the submission of the local Azna population to the Hausa invaders. As such it could have been related to a mythological and cultic complex such as the Baal tradition reflected in the Ugaritic Baal cycle.<sup>77</sup> An historical dimension was added to this by Israelite refugees in form of the Abraham-Sarah narrative, which in Hausaland appears to survive in the disguise of the Bayajidda legend.<sup>78</sup> Obviously the re-enactment of such a combined oral and social tradition could ensure the transmission of valid historical information over a considerable length of time.

### **Historicizing the legend: migrations after the fall of the Assyrian Empire**

If historians of the Hausa states see in the Bayajidda legend a reflection of actual historical events, they have done so up to now under the premise of the medieval paradigm. Considering only events of Islamic history, they tend to relate the flight of Bayajidda to the Central Sudan to the defeat of the North African Kharijīd rebel, Abū Yazīd b. Kaydād, in the tenth century, whose people are supposed to have withdrawn to the region of Lake Chad after his death in 947 CE.<sup>79</sup> According to other theories, the legend reflects connections with the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustakfī b. Muktafī (944-946) or with the eleventh century Arabic hero Abū Zayd al-Hilālī.<sup>80</sup> However, these identifications are unacceptable for several reasons. They only concentrate on the name and the figure of Bayajidda—also called Abuyazidu as we have seen—but neglect earlier movements of people emigrating *en masse* from Canaan, first supposedly under the leadership of Najib/Nimrod and later under that of successive queen-

mothers.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, by assuming a foundation of the city-state of Daura during the Islamic period by refugees from North Africa, they disregard the features of sacred kingship apparent from the legend. Neglecting these aspects and more particularly the re-enactments of the hero's victory over the dragon by the king and his sacred marriage with the queen-mother, they ignore important evidence for the connection between the legend and actual state-building some time during the pre-Islamic and even pre-Christian period.

With respect to sub-Saharan Africa in ancient times, the most important events of Near Eastern history were the rise of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and its expansion to the Mediterranean coast towards the middle of the ninth century. Subsequent to the incorporation of the cities and kingdoms of Syria-Palestine into the western provinces of Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III (744-727), the ethnic composition of these countries was considerably altered by the application of the policy of mass deportations. In order to punish rebellions, liquidate rival powers and provide craftsmen and unskilled labourers to desolate regions, the Assyrians shifted communities of deportees over long distances. Involving the displacement of several hundred thousands of people from one end of the empire to the other, deportations were an important characteristic of Assyrian history. Thus, Babylonians, Elamites, Kassites, Amurrites and Urartians were deported to the west and Aramaeans, Phoenicians and Israelites to the east. Contrary to the impression conveyed by some biblical sources with respect to the Babylonian deportations (2 Kgs 24:15-16; Ps 137:1), these uprooted people, comprising whole communities, were well treated and the preservation of their national identities was encouraged. Firmly integrated into the Assyrian state but confronted by the antagonism of the local people, whose land they occupied, the deportees and their descendants developed certain ties of loyalty towards their Assyrian overlords.<sup>82</sup>

The fall of Assyria was mainly a result of the growing opposition of Chaldean tribes of Babylonia to Assyrian rule. By 620 BC the movement of resistance had become so strong that Assyria had to devote all its available forces to cope with the situation in its economically most important province, southern Mesopotamia. Finally, the alliance between Babylonia and Media brought the deathblow for Assyria: Nineveh, the capital of the empire, was conquered and the last metropolitan Assyrian king, Sin-shar-ishkun, was killed in 612 BC. However, remnants of the Assyrian army retreated to the west towards Harran where Assur-uballit II (612-609) was proclaimed as the very last Assyrian king. For three years he fought together with his Egyptian allies, who had meanwhile occupied

the western provinces of Assyria, against the advancing Babylonian troops under Nabopolassar (626-605). Apparently the Assyrian forces were progressively weakened and after 609 the king and his army were no longer mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle. When in 605 the Egyptian army was beaten by Babylonia in crushing defeats in the battles of Carchemish and Hamath between Harran and the Mediterranean Sea, the Assyrians had already disappeared from the historical records.<sup>83</sup>

Contemporary evidence of migrations to sub-Saharan Africa is rare and unsatisfactory. The biblical Book of Kings mentions predatory attacks by Chaldean (Babylonian) and Aramaean raiders on Juda at that time which might have been part of the general unrest among the deportee and local communities following the Assyrian collapse (2 Kgs 24:2-3). Indeed, subsequently to the Assyrian and Egyptian defeat and the ensuing disruption of public order, conflicts between locals and deportee communities over issues of land ownership and the desire to take vengeance against the Assyrian oppressors and their allies may have resulted in Syria-Palestine in migratory movements.<sup>84</sup> Since the advance of Babylonian troops prevented the deportees from retreating to their ancestral countries of origin in the east, Egypt as an ally of Assyria certainly offered the most promising prospects of escape.<sup>85</sup> Though the Egyptian sources are silent on all events concerning Assyria, even with respect to the earlier occupation by Assyrian troops, on the basis of Arabic and Central Sudanic evidence it may be supposed that large numbers of refugees crossed the country of their ally and headed for sub-Saharan African and especially the region of Lake Chad.<sup>86</sup>

The onomastic data transmitted by Central Sudanic king lists provide precious evidence of the connection between the fall of the Assyrian Empire and the departure of the state builders from the ancient Near East. In the most significant cases, the early sections of these lists end with royal names which indicate that the conquest of Assyria was the most important event which precipitated the retreat of the carriers of these traditions from the Near East to sub-Saharan Africa: in Kanem-Bornu, the names (8) Bulu/Nabopolassar (626-605) and (9) Arku/Assur-uballit II (612-609), in Kebbi the names (32) Maru-Tamau/Nabopolassar (626-605) and (33) Maru-Kanta/Assur-uballit II (612-609) and in Oyo the names (29) Majeogbe/Mushezib Marduk (692-689) and (30) Abiḳdun/Nabopolassar (626-605). In Kanem-Bornu and Kebbi the records bear witness to the Babylonian conqueror Nabopolassar as the instigator of the flight of the Assyrian refugee king Assur-uballit II and in Oyo the tradition points to the liberation of the people by Abiḳdun/Nabopolassar from oppression by Gaha, the Assyrian epoch ruler.<sup>87</sup> In view of the conquest of Nineveh by

the Babylonian and Median kings Nabopolassar and Cyaxares in 612 BCE, and the flight of Assur-uballit II to the west, there can hardly be any more appropriate evidence of the historical circumstances which resulted in the great trans-Saharan migration of the Central Sudanic state builders.

A medieval source confirms the early foundation of the Hausa states by invaders from the Near East. The ninth-century Arab historian al-Ya‘qūbī mentions in his *Ta’rriḳh* a great exodus from Babylon to the west and then to Egypt and beyond having led to the creation of states in West and East Africa. He refers specifically to a king of an ethnic subgroup (*ṣanf* “species, class”) called *al-Hwd.n*, that is Hausa.<sup>88</sup> From al-Ya‘qūbī’s description it may be deduced that in his time, people called Hausa were already subject to the Zaghawa of Kanem.<sup>89</sup> Apparently, similar accounts to the present-day Hausa legend—and perhaps even an earlier version of the Bayajidda legend itself—came to the knowledge of the historian by Arab traders. However, indicating Babylon as place of origin, instead of Baghdad in the Bayajidda legend they refer to an important migration in the pre-Christian era. If it is correct to suppose that Babylon has been substituted for the little-known Nineveh, its leadership may be assumed to have originated from Assyria.

The downfall of Assyria and the subsequent dispersal of Assyrian deportee communities appear to have been more faithfully reflected in the Bayajidda legend.<sup>90</sup> The early emigration from Canaan and Palestine, said to have been led first by Nimrod and finally by Magajiya Daurama, seems to correspond to a mass movement of deportees from Syria-Palestine of which the antecedents can be traced to Mesopotamia and other eastern provinces of the Assyrian empire. The later emigration from Mesopotamia led by Bayajidda, the son of the defeated king of Baghdad, can be likened to the retreat of the remnants of the Assyrian army from Nineveh to Harran under the last scion of the ruling family, Assur-uballit II.<sup>91</sup> The strange way in which Bayajidda lost his troops by lending them group by group to the king of Bornu seems to echo the alliance between Assyria and Egypt, which progressively turned to the disadvantage of Assyria. Though in fact the Assyrian defence came to an end as a result of the Babylonian victories in the battles of Carchemish and Hamath in 605 BCE, the legend attributes the cause of the heroes’ final departure from the Near East to the king of Bornu/Egypt, while the conquest of Baghdad/Nineveh is ascribed to the queen Zidam. This discrepancy between the legend and the course of events in the Near East seems to reflect the favourable attitude of the Central Sudanic state builders towards the Babylonian conquerors of Assyria and their unwillingness to blame them for their up-rooting from the Near East.<sup>92</sup>

From this interpretation of the legend three different conclusions can be drawn: the hero's migration from Baghdad to Bornu corresponds to the withdrawal of Assur-uballit II from Nineveh to Harran, his lending the troops to the king of Bornu echoes the Assyrian cooperation with Egypt in Syria-Palestine and his lonely flight to Daura on a horse mirrors his—or his last—followers' retreat to the Central Sudan. Taking place more or less at the same time, the two migrations—that of Magajiya and that of Bayajidda—do not reflect the physical separation between two migratory movements but the difference between the rulers and the ruled, the few Assyrians and the numerous subject deportee communities of Syria-Palestine.<sup>93</sup> In this line of thought, Bayajidda's heroic dragon-killing and his marriage with the queen are best understood as mythological feats formerly re-enacted by the Assyrian king, which were transposed to Africa in an attempt to bestow historical legitimacy on the state founding which was in fact realized by former subject groups of Assyria.<sup>94</sup>

The refugees may have travelled on foot, in oxen-drawn chariots or they may have ridden on camels or horses. According to the Bayajidda legend and the Kebbi chronicle, the immigrants having passed Palestine turned west and then south crossing the Sahara, presumably using the Central Saharan route on which an early incipient trade is known to have been conducted by the Garamantes.<sup>95</sup> Covering a distance of 4000 km, the migration across the densely populated Nile delta, where the Egyptian allies may have been helpful with the provision of foodstuff and the Saharan desert seems to have been accomplished within a few months on a route which in the Islamic period was constantly used by pilgrims with similar means of transport. Pack camels and riding horses, which had already been in use in the Assyrian army, seem to have played an important role during the trans-Saharan migration.<sup>96</sup> In the Central Sudan the prospects of settlement were more favourable and the local people could be either subjected or driven out more easily than those of the countries north of the desert track.<sup>97</sup> Comparable but more destructive migrations are those of the Arabs down the Nile valley in the fourteenth century CE and on a smaller scale those of the Awlad Sulayman in the nineteenth century from the shores of the Gulf of Sirte to Kanem.<sup>98</sup>

### **Hausa invaders and local Azna and the rise of the bicephalic states of Hausaland**

Anthropologists distinguish within the Hausa states—especially in Gobir but also elsewhere—between the urban dynastic society of the immigrant Hausa and the rural clan society of the autochthonous Azna.<sup>99</sup>

Historians tend to explain the rise of states concomitant with this differentiation as being the result of the process of Islamization in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By attempting to create Islamic states, Muslim traders and clerics, the Wangara, are thought to have imposed the institution of kingship on pre-existing priest-chieftaincies.<sup>100</sup> The result of these assumed state-building activities were polities known in the literature as “dual” or “contrapuntal paramountcies”, here called bicephalic states.<sup>101</sup> However, this reconstruction is hardly acceptable because it overestimates the political and military capacities of Muslim traders, it ignores the features of sacred kingship still apparent in Hausa kingdoms—which cannot possibly have been introduced by Muslims—and it disregards the evidence of the narrative sources, in particular that of the Hausa and Azna versions of the Bayajidda legend.<sup>102</sup>

Indeed, for any historical consideration of the rise of states the present position of the secondary Azna kings within the different Hausa states and their traditions should be taken into account. Representing the rural peasants but also the urban blacksmiths, the Sarakunan Azna (“kings of the Azna”) are numerous in Kano and Zamfara where each of them is only recognized within a certain region or a community of the local people.<sup>103</sup> In other kingdoms such as Daura, Katsina and Gobir a single Sarkin Azna is the head of all the Azna in the state.<sup>104</sup> These secondary kings mostly live outside the state capital in their own village, they often perform the main rituals for the benefit of the state and they sometimes assure the legitimacy of the king by keeping the state regalia. In other cases they function as the chief judge of their people and play a key role in the election of the king, but they always guarantee the support of their people for the ruling Hausa elite. In the pre-colonial period they furthermore played an important role by mobilizing the particularly combative Azna contingents and by providing religious support for military campaigns.<sup>105</sup>

The Azna versions of the Bayajidda legend explain the difference in status of the two kings of Daura, the Hausa and the Azna king, by descent either from the queen Magajiya or the slave-maid Bagwariya.<sup>106</sup> The Hausa king is said to be the descendant of Magajiya, and as such he and his people should be considered according to the palace version of the legend as immigrants coming originally from Canaan and Palestine. Since Magajiya was a queen, her royal descendants—and by extension all the Hausa—have the status of immigrant nobles. By contrast, though descending from the first born of the hero, the Azna kings inherited the slave status of their ancestral mother, Bagwariya. As long as paternal descent was considered to be important, the lack of maternal nobility might have been compensated by paternal antecedence. But on account of

Bayajidda's/Assur-uballit's fate as a refugee prince who had lost all his troops such compensation could hardly have been effective.

Both versions of the legend describe Bagwariya as a slave who did not speak proper Hausa, giving her son the name *Karap da Gari*, because she could not correctly pronounce *Karbagari*.<sup>107</sup> Her status as the slave-maid of Magajiya and her inability to speak correct Hausa suggest that she previously spoke a different language which might have been that of the original inhabitants of the country. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the contrast within the Bori pantheon between the Hausawa and the Gwarawa (or Boboniya, Bobayi) deities: while the former speak Hausa the latter do not.<sup>108</sup> In modern times the name Hausa refers to an Afroasiatic language and the names Gwari/Gwarawa and Baibai are applied to Benue-Congo-speakers south of Hausaland considered as barbarian.<sup>109</sup> If these comparisons are correct, they imply that the Afroasiatic language of Hausa superseded one or several older local, most likely Benue-Congo languages by the time the Israelite-influenced Bayajidda legend was elaborated.

The Azna versions of the legend highlight more particularly the rebellious attitude of the subjected Azna. Both versions claim that Bagwariya gave her son the name *Karbagari* "Town-seizer" or *Munkarbigari* "we have taken the town", while Magajiya called her own son *Bawo*, a name mostly interpreted as meaning *bawo gari* "give the town back to me".<sup>110</sup> In the Azna versions the latent antagonism becomes fully apparent when Karbagari has to protect Bawo by using his whip against by-standers and when Bawo prevents his half-brother from sitting by his side by drawing his sword and chasing him away. On the basis of the programmatic names of the two sons and these narrative episodes it can be inferred that the Azna were supposed to envy the urban civilization of the Hausa, wanting to conquer and appropriate it, while the Hausa were thought of as striving to maintain exclusive authority over their cities and states.

The Azna versions of the legend put the blame on Magajiya for the exclusion of the Azna from power. Magajiya is said to have commanded Karbagari to protect Bawo by driving the people away from him, and she is believed to have advised Bawo to prevent his half-brother from taking his seat on the throne. Though by his descent from Bayajidda, Karbagari himself is depicted as the representative of a foreign power, neither the rank of his father Bayajidda/Assur-uballit II and even less that of his mother Bagwariya/Anat were sufficiently respected to thwart the intentions of the Hausa patroness Magajiya/Asherah. Going one step further we may perhaps conclude that the invading Hausa imposed themselves as a ruling class over the indigenous Azna (and their foreign leadership) because of

the detriment of the Assyrian immigrants who were unable to re-establish their political hegemony in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>111</sup>

As a foundation charter of the invading Hausa, the Bayajidda legend is obviously biased in favour of the immigrants—it reflects the views of the foreign invaders of the country and belittles the contribution of the local inhabitants. Indeed, while the legend depicts the Hausa as legitimate and noble descendants of the queen Magajiya, it reduces the local Azna to the off-spring of the slave-maid Bagwariya, thus intimating an inferior social status and insinuating strangeness in their own country. Nevertheless, according to the Israelite scheme of descent it also represents the Azna as descendants of the first born son of the hero and hence stipulates close parentage with the Hausa and more particularly acknowledgement of the original ownership of the country. In fact, as we have seen, the festive requirement of the re-enactments of the myth of creation turned into a legend of origin contributed greatly to the integration of the local population into the state structures introduced by the Near Eastern immigrants. Such type of interactions would hardly have been conceivable without the early adoption of a foreign priestly leadership by the local inhabitants.

### **Seven Hausa and Seven Banza states: Israelite and Babylonian state founders**

According to the Bayajidda legend, the founders of the Seven Hausa states were seven ancestral figures: Biram/Abraham, the first son of the hero, and six sons of Bawo/Isaac, the hero's second son. By contrast, the founders of the Seven Banza States situated south-west of the Seven Hausa states were all descendants of Karbagari/Ishmael, the hero's first son. Some authors suggest that the dichotomy between two groups of states is based on language, the inhabitants of the Hausa states speaking the Afroasiatic language of Hausa and those of the Banza states a Benue-Congo language.<sup>112</sup> However, the Banza identity of Kebbi and Zamfara, two states with a Hausa-speaking population, can hardly be explained by the later spread of Hausa. Indeed, though the inhabitants of the remaining five Banza states speak Benue-Congo languages, their Banza status may likewise reflect the identity of the state founders rather than linguistic factors.

Beginning with the Seven Hausa states, we note that the analysis of the king lists seems to offer a valid method for determining the ethnic identity of the state founders. Indeed, the king lists of all these states have in their first section a number of unfamiliar and seemingly foreign names which

apparently do not designate successive African but ancient Near Eastern kings placed in a significant order. From the king lists of other Central Sudanic states such as Kanem, Kebbi and Oyo-Yoruba we know that in conformity with Mesopotamian list science the composers of the lists used ancient Near Eastern royal names as indicators of the ethnic origin of the different groups of immigrants.<sup>113</sup> Though in most cases the systematic order of the names is not easy to perceive, they possibly allow a distinction between leading Israelite or Mesopotamian state-founding groups. *encyclopaedia judaica*<sup>114</sup>

Garun Gabas or Gabas-ta-Biram, the most eastern Hausa state situated 180 km northeast of Kano, has a king list comprising 40 names of which at least 28 belong to the founding period.<sup>115</sup> The list begins with (1) Biram/Abraham and continues with (2) Bomi, a name which perhaps corresponds to that of B.m.h, designating the ninth century son of the eponymous ancestor of Sam'al/Bit Gabbar.<sup>116</sup> The next name of the list is (3) Tomku which perhaps refers to the eponymous ancestor of the *DAM.GĀR* "son of GĀR (council of notables)", the Assyrian chief agent of trade in foreign countries.<sup>117</sup> After the unidentifiable (4) Maji the list has (5) Kurada and (6) Yarima, designating possibly the Kassite king Kurigalzu II (1332-1308) and to one of the eighteenth-century Yamhad kings Yarim-Lim I, II, III.<sup>118</sup> Next there are (7) Kumari, (8) Dankwafan, (9) Jatau and (10) Amale followed by four kings who, on account of the Oyo and Yauri king lists, may tentatively be equated with Israelite-Assyrian kings: (11) Mamadu with a great Israelite king like David or Solomon, (12) Dango parallel to Šango in the Oyo list with the Israelite conqueror Shalmaneser III (858-824), (13) Yahaya with the Israelite king Jehu (841-814) and (14) Dan Asan (Ha. "son of Asan") with Joash (805-790), the son of Jehoahaz.<sup>119</sup> These parallels seem to indicate that some significant royal names in the king list of Garun Gabas were indeed recorded from an Israelite perspective.

In the king list of Daura the names of the 45 kings before the Fulani Jihad are preceded by the names of seventeen queens, of which the first eight are supposed to designate the female successors of Abdul-Dar, the son of Najib/Nimrod, established in Tsofon Birni near Daura and the next nine the first Magajiyas of Daura.<sup>120</sup> These names are followed by those of (1) Bayajidda and (2) Bawo, referring according to the Bayajidda legend to the leader of a migration from Baghdad/Nineveh and his second son. As has been shown elsewhere, Bayajidda may correspond to the Assyrian refugee prince Assur-uballit II (612-609)—and even the name (*Aššur*)—*uballit* "Assur has given life" may have been transformed to *Baya-jidda* while Bawo is a composed figure comprising the Israelite



was an Aramaean kingdom situated 400 km north of Damascus.<sup>125</sup> On the basis of the onomastic evidence summarized here it can be supposed that the leading state builders of Gobir were former deportees who claimed Scythian, Sam'alian and Israelite ancestry. Since the nomadic Scythians were never deported by the Assyrians, we may assume that Mannaean deportees had adopted Scythian ancestors on account of their protective role against the Assyrians. Though Israelites may have been prominent among the state builders of Gobir, the leading groups seem to have been Aramaeans from Sam'al and Mannaeans from northwestern Iran. Owing to the outstanding position of Gubir in the king list and to the adoption of his name for the designation of the state, the Aramaeans were presumably the most important ethnic group during the founding period. As noted by Abd al-Qadir, the Gobirawa had kings before the sons of Bawu.<sup>126</sup> Apparently the names from the Israelite-influenced Bayajidda legend were superimposed on an older Aramaean tradition. On account of their Western Semite identity Aramaeans akin to the Israelites—joined by Israelites at a later stage—appear to have fashioned the identity of Gobir as a Hausa state.

For the history of Kano we have the lengthy *Kano Chronicle*, supposedly begun in the sixteenth or seventeenth century but probably based on older written material.<sup>127</sup> The Chronicle claims that the founding hero of Kano had two names Bagauda and Da'ūd/David. In view of his second name, Da'ūd/David, the hero can be identified as *ha-Gauda* “the man of Gath” and hence as the Israelite king David who stayed for some time in Gath.<sup>128</sup> Bagauda is said to have come from Dirani/Dora (the main port of ancient Palestine), Barka/Cyrenaica and the city of Saul (Sheshem) and his approach to the city of Kano is described as if it corresponded to David's conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>129</sup> Yet, prior to (1) Bagauda/David there were only tribal chiefs living on the spot so that the settlement of foreign immigrants in the region appears to have inaugurated the emergence of complex society. In fact, as in other Central Sudanic records, ancient Near Eastern rulers were transposed to sub-Saharan Africa: (2) Warithi/Solomon came with some officials, (3) Gijinmasu/Moses began the building of the walls, (4) Nawata and Gawata or Gog and Magog continued them and (5) Yusa/Josua finished them. Among the succeeding rulers we recognize in (6) Naguji, the oppressor, Magog, in (7) Guguwa, the king gone blind, Gog, in (8) Shekarau, the tolerant king, the 27<sup>th</sup> Kassite king Shagarakti-Shuriash (1245-1233), in (9) Tsamiya, the fighter against pagans, the 32<sup>nd</sup> Kassite king Adad-shuma-usur (1216-1187) and in (10) 'Uthmān, the usurper, the 19<sup>th</sup> legendary Assyrian king Samani.<sup>130</sup>

These identifications suggest that Israelites played a significant role in the founding of the city state of Kano. In addition the names Gog and Magog seem to designate in biblical terms not hostile but friendly people from the north who contributed to the state-building.<sup>131</sup> By contrast, the Kassite royal names are indicative of the presence of Babylonians among the early immigrant founders of Kano.<sup>132</sup> If it is correct to identify (9) Tsamiya with the Kassite king Adad-shuma-usur and (10) 'Uthmān with the legendary Assyrian ruler (19) Samani, the murder of a Kassite-Babylonian king could correspond to a dramatized representation of the Assyrian conquest of Babylonia. Though unfortunately his successor, (11) Yaji, cannot be identified, the supposition of a dynastic break at this level is to some extent supported by the fact that (10) 'Uthmān/Samani had ascendants but no descendants.<sup>133</sup> More generally it should be noted that the validity of the Israelite interpretation of the early section of the *Kano Chronicle* is supported by the last titled king of Kano of the destitute Hausa dynasty who claimed to have been “the greatest Jew of the country and the oldest descendent of Lamurudu (Nimrod)”.<sup>134</sup> Israelite influence is also apparent from the worship of the *cukana/shekhinah* “divine presence” (i.e. “Ark of the Covenant”) in Kano until the end of the eighteenth century when it was destroyed on the eve of the Fulani Jihad.<sup>135</sup> The sixteenth century Imam Ibn Furtu of Bornu identified a similar object, the *mune* of Kanem destroyed in the thirteenth century, with the *tabut/sakina* of King Saul mentioned in the Koran. He deplored its demolition on account of its assumed identity with the Israelite Ark of the Covenant.<sup>136</sup>

With respect to the small Hausa state of Rano situated 40 km south of Kano we note that owing to the unavailability of any king list it is impossible to get an idea about the ethnic identity of its founders.

In Katsina the pre-Islamic section of the king list comprises eight names and begins with an Aramaean ancestral figure.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, the name of the ancestor (1) Kumayo seems to correspond to the Jahwist form of Kemuël, a name designating Abraham's nephew by Abraham's uncle Nahor and the father of the eponymous ancestor Aram. Some authors suppose that Kemuël was not only an ancestral figure of the Aramaeans but the original ancestor himself of the Aramaeans, rather than the eponymous Aram.<sup>138</sup> By the substitution of the ending *-jahû/jo* (“Yahweh”) to *-ël* (“El”), the ancestral name seems to have been purposely given a Jahwist and hence an Israelite form.<sup>139</sup> For the subsequent names we note the following equivalences: (2) Ramba for Eber, the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews, (3) Teryau for Terah, the father of Abraham, (4) Jernanata for an unknown figure, (5) Yanka Dari (Ha. “hundred sacrifices”), also said to have been called Ibrāhīm, for Abraham,<sup>140</sup> (6) Jida Yaki (Ar./Ha.

“many wars”) or Sanau (Sem. “second”)<sup>141</sup> for Ishmael and Korau (from Ha. *kore* “expel”) for Isaac.<sup>142</sup>

According to the preceding identifications, the king list of Katsina resembles the *Dīwān* of Kanem-Bornu insofar as it begins with a list of Israelite patriarchs, although the Katsina patriarchal list is far more truncated and transformed than that of Kanem:<sup>143</sup> in an overture towards the Aramaeans it begins with Kumayo/Kemuël instead of (1) Adam, and continues with (14) Rumba/Eber, (19) Teriyau/Terah, (20) Ibrāhim/Abraham, (21) Sanau/Ishmael and (22) Korau/Isaac.<sup>144</sup> Though not exactly biblical, the subsequent killing (or expelling) of Sanau/Ishmael by Korau/Isaac is traditionally told by a story parallel to that of Samson and Delilah.<sup>145</sup> This episode of the Katsina tradition resembles closely Bawo’s rebuttal of Karbagari in the Bawo version of the Bayajidda legend and as such it is likewise related to the Israelite scheme of descent. It belittles the role of Sanau/Ishmael and emphasizes the preeminent position of Korau/Isaac, a figure who in biblical terms was the grandfather of the eponymous ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. Katsina tradition depicts Korau/Isaac as the ancestor of the Hausa or Larabawa/Arabs and his rival brother Sanau/Ishmael by contrast as the ancestor of the Azna or Durbawa population of Katsina. Called Durbi in Katsina, the king of the Azna, claims descent from Sanau. Since Dan Brahim (“son of Abraham”) is the title of the heir presumptive to the office of Durbi, this title confirms the equivalence of Sanau with Ishmael, the elder son of Abraham.<sup>146</sup> While the Larabawa/Hausa correspond to the Israelites, the Durbawa/Azna are equivalent to the Ishmaelites. Korau’s killing of Sanau therefore seems to refer to the marginalization of the Ishmaelites by the Israelites and by extension to the submission of the Azna by the Hausa.<sup>147</sup>

With respect to Zaria/Zegzeg we note the possible identification of Gunguma, the first king on the list, with Gungunum (1932-1906), the fifth king of Larsa, a Babylonian city state east of Uruk. Gungunum was the greatest ruler of Larsa and his name may therefore have been held in esteem by Babylonians of that region until the time of their deportation by the Assyrians in the seventh century BCE.<sup>148</sup> If this identification is correct it would mean that Zaria properly speaking was not a Hausa but a Banza state. Geographical proximity and numerical symmetry may explain that it was nevertheless counted among the Seven Hausa.

The common ancestry of the Azna (in Katsina the Durbawa) and the Seven Banza states indicated by the Bayajidda legend makes the frequently suggested purely local origin of the Azna population of Hausaland doubtful. Though the bulk of the Azna were certainly of local extraction, their priestly leadership and the iron workers organized in

special clans and controlled by the Azna kings appear to descend from ancient Near Eastern immigrants.

Parallel to the Seven Hausa the Bayajidda legend mentions Seven Banza states, among whom for lack of space we consider here only Zamfara, Kebbi and Yoruba, omitting Nupe, Gwari, Yauri and Kwararafa.<sup>149</sup> As for Zamfara we note intensive borrowing from the Kebbi king list, but independence in respect of the first three names on the list. Unfortunately these three names are particularly difficult to identify. Taking into account the possibly Hebrew article *-hal/-ba*, the first name Bakurukuru (1) may perhaps be related to Kurigalzu II (1332-1308), a name designating one of the late Kassite rulers of Babylonia. No identification can be suggested for (2) Baƙara. However, (3) Gimshiki, a warlike king still remembered by drum-beating in front of the palace, may be identical with Gilgamesh, a Sumerian king of early dynastic Uruk commemorated by a famous epic.<sup>150</sup> In view of these parallels and the borrowings from the Kebbi king list it may be suggested that the early kings of the Zamfara king list were Babylonians.

The king list of Kebbi provides in its first section the names of fourteen ancient Near Eastern kings, four of whom were Kassites and one a ruler of Kish. It begins with the following names: (1) Burunburun I/Burnaburiash I (c. 1510), first Kassite king of Babylonia, (2) Arguji/Argišti I (785-760), fourth king of Urartu, (3) Tabari/Tabrimmon (c. 890), second ruler of Damascus and (4) Zartai/Sarduri I (840-830), first king of Urartu. Of the 33 ancient Near Eastern kings on the list only four were Western Semites and two of the latter - (18) Sulaymana/Solomon and (27) Bata-Musa/Moses were Israelites. The subsequent three sections of the list confirm its Mesopotamian origin.<sup>151</sup> It therefore appears that the founders of the Banza state of Kebbi were led by Babylonian Kassites and that among them there were Urartians and Elamites in prominent positions.

The evidence provided by the dynastic tradition of the Oyo-Yoruba is quite different from that of the two preceding Banza states. Though the tradition begins with two Mesopotamian figures, its second section offers an Israelite perspective on ancient Near Eastern history in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE. Its third and fourth section deal with a succession of Assyrian rulers with some inserted kings of Assyrian deported nations, while its fifth and sixth sections shift to an exclusively Babylonian perspective. Especially the final narratives concerned with the oppressive Vizier Gaha/Sin-shar-ishkun (623-612) and the legitimate king Abiḡdun/Nabopolassar (626-605) seem to adopt a Babylonian point of view.<sup>152</sup> In spite of its Israelite outlook at the beginning, the dynastic tradition of the

Oyo-Yoruba should therefore be considered as a founding charter more concerned with Babylonian than with Israelite interests.

From this brief review of Hausa and Banza dynastic traditions, it appears that Israelites were prominent among the founding groups of the Hausa states and Babylonians among the founding groups of the Banza states. Underlying the Bayajidda legend, the Israelite descent scheme seems to have been considerably modified in order to take account of the ethnic diversity characterizing the Central Sudanic state foundering groups. Among the founders of the Seven Hausa states we find apart from Israelites also Aramaeans. Among the founders of the Seven Banza states, we discover—instead of Ishmaelites from the eastern neighbourhood of Israel—most prominently Babylonians but also immigrants from the central and eastern Assyrian provinces. This enlargement of scale was certainly the result of the Assyrian expansion and the subsequent Assyrian policy of deportation. The absence of significant numbers of Assyrian kings in the Hausa as well as the Banza lists can mainly be explained by the refusal of the former victims of Assyrian oppression to tolerate the restoration of similarly oppressive states in West Africa.

To conclude, it would be erroneous to consider the Bayajidda legend as a floating oral tradition reflecting medieval or early modern events.<sup>153</sup> In the present paper it has been argued that such an opinion resulted from a superficial knowledge of the legend, which ignored its parallel transmission among the Hausa and Azna kings, its embedding in the social and festal fabric of the city-state of Daura and its nature as a myth-derived tradition of origin. It also does not consider the legend's repercussion on the dynastic tradition of Katsina, on the Bori mythology of Kebbi and on ethnic and geographical labels beyond Hausaland. In view of the legends deep embeddedness in the surviving sacred kingship pattern in Daura and its ancient ramifications in Hausaland and beyond all theories of an Islamic origin should be considered untenable.<sup>154</sup> Rather, it appears that the legend grew out of a festive myth and functioned as a foundation charter from the beginning of the city-state of Daura and the adjacent Hausa states long before the rise of Islam in Hausaland.

With respect to origins, the legend distinguishes between the bulk of the immigrants from Canaan and a prince from Baghdad who lost all his troops on the way to Daura. By correcting the *interpretatio Arabica* which was due to Islamic influences, we reach the conclusion that the bulk of the Hausa immigrants came originally from Syria-Palestine, and that their political leadership originated from the Assyrian capital of Nineveh but was devoid of all power. Moreover, from the Mesopotamian ancestral

figure Nimrod, son of Canaan, of the Hausa immigrants it can be inferred that the Near Eastern invaders actually included great numbers of people from the central and south-eastern parts of the Assyrian Empire where Nimrod, i.e. Sargon of Akkad, was a celebrated figure. In view of the policy of mass deportations practised by the Assyrians, it is in fact quite plausible that people of Mesopotamian origin were also among the immigrants whom the legend traces back to a region corresponding to the Western provinces of Assyria.

Though the legend indicates Syria-Palestine as the region of origin of the immigrants, its basic form betrays more precisely Israelite or rather proto-Israelite influences. Apart from the replacement of the Israelite patriarch Biram/Abraham by the Assyrian refugee prince Bayajidda/Assur-uballit II, we note the latter's marriage to Magajiya, corresponding to Sarah and Asherah, and his concubinage with Bagwariya, corresponding to Hagar and Anat. In conformity with the Israelite scheme of descent, the hero fathered with the slave-maid Bagwariya/Hagar a son called Karbagari/Ishmael who in turn fathered the founders of the seven illegitimate or Banza states. After the birth of the slave-maid's son Bayajidda/Assur-uballit II had with his wife Magajiya/Sarah a son, Bawo/Isaac-Jacob, the future father of the founders of six Hausa states. The latter and Biram/Abraham, a son from a former marriage, were the founders of the Seven Hausa states. The strange naming of the various Israelite figures, the remaining cult-dramatic and priestly functions of the king, Magajiya and the Iya/Bagwariya, and the re-enactments of the Bayajidda legend during the surviving celebrations of a New Year festival can perhaps be explained by former influences of the priests and priestesses of Baal/Yahweh, Asherah and Anat on the shaping of the Israelite legendary figures.<sup>155</sup> Following the Assyrian conquest of Israel in 722 BCE and the Assyrian exile, the deported Israelites apparently continued to preserve the institutional basis of these former ritual and mythological connections. Moreover, in the light of these developments, those versions of the legend which still have Bawo instead of Bayajidda as the central heroic figure can now be understood to have maintained their original Israelite form.<sup>156</sup> Not yet affected by the Assyrian exile, they perpetuate the pre-canonical form of the tradition before it got its Assyrian shape, transferring from Bawo/Isaac-Jacob to Bayajidda/Assur-uballit II the role of the great progenitor of two types of states/tribes.<sup>157</sup>

Some evidence for the enlargement of the Israelite concept of pure Israelite and pure Ishmaelite tribes, in consequence of Assyrian deportations, can be adduced from the onomastic data contained in the king lists of the Hausa and Banza states. Both types of king list point to

the ethnically mixed nature of the state founders, but while the king lists of the Seven Hausa states reveal the preeminent position of a number of Israelite kings, the lists of some Banza states disclose the outstanding position of Babylonian rulers. These results substantiate the evidence of the Bayajidda legend with respect to the Israelite identity of Biram/Abraham and of Bawo/Isaac-Jacob and his descendants, and they partially confirm the Ishmaelite identity of Karbagari and his descendants. In conjunction with the analysis of Hausa and Banza king lists, the Bayajidda legend can therefore be interpreted as a modified Israelite descent scheme pointing to considerable ethnic diversity among the immigrants to Hausaland resulting from Assyrian mass deportations and later dispersions from Syria-Palestine.

According to the enlarged descent scheme of the Bayajidda legend, the migrants were subdivided into two great groups whose contraction from twelve to seven tribes/states (in each of the two groups) may have primarily resulted from the number of Israelite tribes deported by the Assyrians after the conquest of Samaria in 722 BCE. Instead of the Ten Lost Tribes traditionally supposed to have been exiled, the number of tribes was only seven according to the Hausa and the Yoruba traditions.<sup>158</sup> On the other hand the contraction of the number of tribes from twelve to seven is counterbalanced by the inclusion of Aramaeans in the group of seven Israelite tribes/states, and of Mesopotamians in the group of seven Ishmaelite tribes/states. The legend therefore seems to reflect appropriately the considerable enlargement of scale in the primordial Israelite tribal tradition, brought about in response to the Assyrian policy of mass deportation which provided the demographic basis for imperial expansion.<sup>159</sup> Instead of ethnic homogeneity, as implied by the Israelite model, the Assyrian-influenced Hausa model suggests the existence of ethnic heterogeneity, implying the emergence of diversified states instead of unified ethnic groups.

Though metropolitan Assyria was conquered by Babylonian and Median troops in 612 BCE, the remaining Assyrians, assisted by their Egyptian allies, continued to fight against the invaders in the western provinces of their empire. After the lost battles of Carchemish and Hamath in 605, the public order maintained by the Egypto-Assyrian forces in Syria-Palestine broke down and the resettled deportee communities were exposed to the encroachments of their local enemies. Up-rooted by these assaults, tens of thousands—perhaps even hundreds of thousands—of men and women followed the fleeing Egyptian army to the Nile valley before continuing to sub-Saharan Africa. On account of their mixed composition, those settling in the region between Lake Chad and the Niger towards 600

BCE traced their origin back not only to Canaan and Palestine but also to Baghdad/Nineveh. Although striving hard to avoid the restoration of any kind of Neo-Assyrian regime in the newly established Hausa and Banza states, they remembered their former Assyrian rulers and protectors by ascribing in their modified Israelite tradition of origin an important historical role to the refugee prince Bayajidda/Assur-uballit II. Moreover, on account of the composite nature of the king lists in both types of state, it may be suggested that the tribal connotation of the Israelite scheme of descent was replaced by the notion of complex society implied by the Hausa model.

Supplementary information on the fate of the former local inhabitants of the country can be gleaned from the Azna versions of the Bayajidda legend. Though Karbagari/Ishmael is depicted as a son of the Assyrian refugee prince Bayajidda/Assur-ballit II, the status of his mother Bagwariya/Hagar as a non-Hausa speaking slave points to the primarily local identity of his descendants. From the Azna versions of the legend it appears that the autochthones did not submit without resistance to the foreign invaders. Benefitting from a foreign priestly leadership adopted early on, the Azna people successfully resisted not only their expulsion from the country but also their total submission to the invaders. Though not accepted by the Near Eastern invaders as fully equal partners, they were integrated into the new Hausa society together with the foreign craftsmen at an early stage of the state-building process. Through the intermediary of their "Azna kings", they were even recognized as the original owners of the country, who, as compensation for the loss of their former independence, continued to play an important role in the new states as warriors and ritualists.<sup>160</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Herbert R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, 3 vols. (Lagos: Government Printer, 1928), III, 132-143; W. Hallam, "The Bayajidda legend in Hausa folklore," *Journal of African History* 7 (1966), 47-60; Michael G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 53-55; Dierk Lange, *Ancient Kingdoms of West Africa* (Dettelbach: Röhl, 2004), 221-9, 289-296.

<sup>2</sup> Dierk Lange, "Die Hausa-Traditionen in ihrer Abhängigkeit von Kanem-Borno und Nubien," *Anthropos* 88 (1993), 55-60, 72-73; id., *Kingdoms*, 277-287.

<sup>3</sup> Abdullahi Smith, "Some considerations to the formation of states in Hausaland," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5 (1970), 329-346; John D. Fage, *History of Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), 61-63.

<sup>4</sup> David Henige, *Oralhistoriography* (London: Longman, 1982), 81-82; Fage, *History*, 64-65.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, "Considerations," 335-7; Fage, *History*, 63.

<sup>6</sup> Recent publications by the author include research on the Assyrian factor in the history of Kanem-Bornu, the Hausa states and the Oyo-Yoruba: *The Founding of Kanem by Assyrian Refugees ca. 600 BC: Documentary, Linguistic, and Archaeological Evidence* (Boston: African Studies Centre, 2011), "An Assyrian successor state in West Africa: the ancestral kings of Kebbi as ancient Near Eastern rulers," *Anthropos* 105 (2009), 359-382, "Origin of the Yoruba and the 'Lost Tribes of Israel'," *Anthropos* 106 (2011), 579-595.

<sup>7</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 132-4; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 231 (map); 289-296 (text).

<sup>8</sup> Landeroin in Jean Tilho, *Documents scientifiques de la mission Tilho (1906-1909)* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911), 456-8; Boubou Hama, *Histoire du Gobir et de Sokoto*, (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1967), 28; Dierk Lange interview of Dan Akali, Tsubiri, Field Notes (FN), Univ. of Bayreuth, 1995:30-31; Philippe David, *Maradi: l'ancien état et l'ancienne ville*, (Paris: IFAN, 1964), 9-16; Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 98 n. 1 (*Kano Chronicle*); Eduard J. Arnett, "A Hausa chronicle," *Journal of the African Society* 9 (1910), 161-5.

<sup>9</sup> Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 3 vols., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), I, 471-2; Sidney J. Hogben and Anthony Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria* (London: University Press, 1966), 82, 148-9.

<sup>10</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 132-4; Smith, *Daura*, 53-55; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 289-296.

<sup>11</sup> Guy Nicolas, *Dynamique sociale et appréhension du monde au sein d'une société hausa* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1975), 63-65, 381; Magajin Bayamadi FN 1997:16-17.

<sup>12</sup> There are some variations in the Banza states (Barth, *Travels*, I, 472; Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 149).

<sup>13</sup> For an exception see the brief version in Kurt Krieger, *Geschichte von Zamfara* (Berlin: Reimer, 1959), 19.

<sup>14</sup> In the available palace versions of the legend, a migration from Canaan and Palestine preceded the migration from Baghdad (Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 132; Smith, *Daura*, 53; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 289). They indicate the ancestral name of Najib which the court historian Alhasan identifies with Nimrod (FN 1997:3), an identification confirmed by other Hausa traditions (see notably *Coutumiers juridiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, vol. III (Paris : Larose, 1939), 268, and Lange, *Kingdoms*, 209).

<sup>15</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 132-4; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 289-295.

<sup>16</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 63, 227; Tahida, son of Sarkin Kano Abu Bakr, interview Maradu/Niger 1995, f. 5, 6; David, *Maradi*, 11 (pieces beside the well); Sarkin Anna Dan Sadaka, interview 1995, f. 10; Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension", 164), 174.

<sup>17</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte*, 19.

<sup>18</sup> *Enuma Elish*, IV, 137-146; V, 1-59; Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford: University Press, 1989), 255-7.

- <sup>19</sup> Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948), 313-333; Dalley, *Myths*, 231; John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea* (Oxford: University Press, 1985), 1-18.
- <sup>20</sup> Dierk Lange, "Das kanaanäisch-israelitische Neujahrsfest bei den Hausa," in *Schnittpunkt Ugarit* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999), eds. Manfred Kropp and Andreas Wagner, 112-149; id., *Kingdoms*, 221, 292.
- <sup>21</sup> David, *Maradi*, 10-14; Tahida, son of Sarkin Kano Abu Bakr, interv. 1995, f. 4.
- <sup>22</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, ("Evolution," 196-8), 156-8; Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 98 n. 1.
- <sup>23</sup> Walter Kühme, *Das Königtum von Gobir* (Hamburg: Kovac, 2003), 230; Lange, *Kingdoms*, ("Dimension," 164), 174; Dan Akali FN 1995:31. Cf. the name Jida-Yaki in the king list of Katsina (Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 79, and see below p. 162).
- <sup>24</sup> In terms of the equivalence of Bawo with Isaac (and Jacob) as suggested below (pp. 145, 165), such a connection of the dragon-slaying with Bawo/Isaac makes it difficult to conceive of the original identity of Karbagari/Ishmael.
- <sup>25</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294-5. In fact, one of the palace versions of the legend calls the descendants of Karbagari Maguzawa (Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294 n. 320), but Daura informants consider them to be identical with the Azna/Anna (Alhasan FN 1995:48).
- <sup>26</sup> David, *Maradi*, 14-16; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 63-65, 508-9.
- <sup>27</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 136-218. The Hausa terms *birni*, pl. *birane*, "walled town" and *sarki*, pl. *sarakuna*, "king" are cognate to Hebrew and Akkadian *birnūt* "town" and *šarr Kiš* "king of Kish" (Roy C. Abraham, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1962), 104, 785; Lange, *Founding*, 19).
- <sup>28</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 66-135; Lange, "Successor state," 377.
- <sup>29</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 134; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294.
- <sup>30</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 509; Magajin Bayamadi FN 1997:16.
- <sup>31</sup> Tahida, son of the Sarkin Kano, interv. 1995, f. 10. On the foreign nature of the Sarkin Azna see Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 509.
- <sup>32</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 63, 508-9; interv. Tahida, 1996, f. 10; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294-5.
- <sup>33</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 184-5, 188-9), 188-9, 198-9.
- <sup>34</sup> The Hausa prefix *ba-* seems to be derived from the Hebrew article *ha-* (Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 197 n. 216), 207 n. 216).
- <sup>35</sup> Barth, *Travels*, I, 471; Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 194-5), 204-5.
- <sup>36</sup> *Coutumiers juridiques*, 267-8.
- <sup>37</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte*, 18-19.
- <sup>38</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, 291; Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 157.
- <sup>39</sup> Gen 10:8-12 has Nimrod, son of Kush, but in Jewish legends he is more often designated as son of Canaan (Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. I (Philadelphia: Jew. Publ. Soc. of Am., 1925), 187, 190).
- <sup>40</sup> Gen 10:10-12; Peter Machinist, "Nimrod," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ABD), 6 vols., ed. David N. Freedman, IV, 1116 (New York: Doubleday, 1992); Lange, "Lost Tribes," 583, 585.
- <sup>41</sup> Alhasan, Daura FN 1995:3; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 291.

<sup>42</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 126; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 156-8; Herbert R. Palmer, "Western Sudan history: the Raudthat al-afkari," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1915-6), 264-5 (transl. of 'Abd al-Qādir, *Rawḍāt al-afkār*); Barth, *Travels*, 1, 471-2.

<sup>43</sup> Arnett. "Hausa chronicle," 161-5; Palmer/Walwyn, *Memoirs*, III, 132-4.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, *Daura*, 53-55; Lange, "Neujahrsfest," 112-149; id., *Kingdoms*, 289-295.

<sup>45</sup> For parallels in the customs of the Fertile Crescent see John Bright, *History of Israel*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Louisville: John Knox, 2000), 79-80.

<sup>46</sup> Gen 25:12-16; 35:22-26; E. A. Knauf, "Ishmaelites," ABD, III, 513-520.

<sup>47</sup> M. Dijkstra, "Ishmael," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (DDD), ed. Karel van der Toorn *et al.*, 847 (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Lange, *Kingdoms*, 221-4, 235, 361-4.

<sup>48</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, 235-6.

<sup>49</sup> Among the Hausa Magajiya is the major female Bori deity and the major priestess. Her name seems to be derived from Hebr.-Aram. *maqdash* - "sanctuary" (Lange, *Königtum* ("Dimension," 184-6), 194-6; id., "Neujahrsfest," 134-5).

<sup>50</sup> Jes 7:14; Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquin Sanmartin, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 320-1.

<sup>51</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 190-1), 200-1; 'Dan Akali FN 1995:30 (orally: *Bawo na turmi*).

<sup>52</sup> Gen 16:12; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294. The original Hausa – not Fulani – Magajin Bayamadi equalizes Karbagari with the Bori spirit Maye/water (Ango FN 1997: 20).

<sup>53</sup> Abraham, *Dictionary*, 383 (Ar.: *al-lisān*); Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 199-200), 209-210; id., "Lost Tribes," 583.

<sup>54</sup> Samuel Hooke, "Genesis," in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Routledge, 1962), eds., Mathew Black and Harold H. Rowley, 143d.

<sup>55</sup> See below pp. 151-3; L. I. Rabinowitz, "Ten Lost Tribes," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, XV (Jerusalem: Keter Publ., 1971), 1003-6; Lange, "Lost Tribes," 582.

<sup>56</sup> Lange, "Neujahrsfest," 112-149; id., *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 166-173), 176-183.

<sup>57</sup> Smith, *Daura*, 57, 83, 123, 124; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 223-4.

<sup>58</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 166-173), 176-183; id., "Neujahrsfest," 112-130; id., *Kingdoms*, 221-9.

<sup>59</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, ("Dimension," 167), 177; id., "Neujahrsfest," 125-6.

<sup>60</sup> Frankfort, *Kingship*, 295-9; Lange, "Neujahrsfest," 167-8.

<sup>61</sup> Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 148; Shamaki FN 1995:91; Tambari FN 1996:7, 17-19.

<sup>62</sup> Magajin Tambari FN 1996:32-33; 'Dan Gimba Maharba FN 1995:88.

<sup>63</sup> 'Dan Gimba Maharba FN 1995:88.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, *Daura*, 57.

<sup>65</sup> The relevant information concerning this movement was provided by 'Dan Gimba Maharba, 65 years, the senior brother of Sarkin Baka, the latter being the leader of the king's bodyguard (Sarkin Yara FN 1995:87). He belongs to one of the

five officials assigned by the king over the different Maguzawa communities (Smith, *Daura*, 70).

<sup>66</sup> Malam Hassan and Shuaibu Na'ibi, *A Chronicle of Abuja* (Ibadan: University Press, 1952), 68; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 336, 340, 341, 389.

<sup>67</sup> Smith, *Daura*, 123-4; 'Dan Gimba Maharba FN 1995:88-89; Magajin Tambari FN 1996:32-33.

<sup>68</sup> Their participation in the procession may be deduced from their presence during the Gani festival in the *zauren Gani* (Alhasan FN 1995:1).

<sup>69</sup> It may be supposed that the six Hausa kings who attended at the Gani festival of Daura before the *jihād* greeted the Magajiya after the king of Daura and before the governors and of the Daura provinces.

<sup>70</sup> Palmer mentions the king's ceremonial visit to Iya's house to receive "mother's milk" (*Memoirs*, III, 145).

<sup>71</sup> Frankfurt, *Kingship*, 330-1.

<sup>72</sup> Alhasan, 'Dan Akali, Sarkin Fulani FN 1995:1, 40, 91. Although in the Hebrew Bible only residual elements of a sacred marriage are perceivable, the Israelite confederation of the twelve tribes may have been constituted on the basis of similar rites (Martin Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1956), 94-104).

<sup>73</sup> 'Dan Gimba Maharba FN 1995: 88.

<sup>74</sup> Smith, *Daura*, 54; Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 148.

<sup>75</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, 347-351.

<sup>76</sup> Alhasan FN 1995: 60, 79.

<sup>77</sup> Mark S. Smith and Wayne T. Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, vol. II (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 10-22, 69-730; Lange, "Neujahrsfest," 109-149.

<sup>78</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 199), 209; *id.*, "Neujahrsfest," 113, 158.

<sup>79</sup> Hallam, "Bayajidda", 47-60; Fage, *History*, 63.

<sup>80</sup> Hallam, "Bayajidda," 55; Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1984), 69.

<sup>81</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 133; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 290.

<sup>82</sup> Bustenay Oded, *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1979), 33-135; Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 268.

<sup>83</sup> Joan Oates, "The fall of Assyria (635-609 B.C.)," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III, 2, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., John Boardman *et al.*, 162-193 (Cambridge: University Press, 1991); Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: University Press, 1992), 451-5.

<sup>84</sup> Noth, *Geschichte*, 248; Oded, *Deportations*, 46-54.

<sup>85</sup> This is implied by the Bayajidda legend which insists on the lending of the hero's troops to Bornu/Egypt (Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 133; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 290).

<sup>86</sup> Redford, *Egypt*, 359-364; Lange, "Successor state," 369-380; *id.*, *Founding*, 32-34; *id.*, "Lost Tribes," 592-3.

<sup>87</sup> Lange, *Founding*, 13-15; *id.*, "Successor state," 374-5; *id.*, "Lost Tribes," 589-591.

- <sup>88</sup> Joseph Marquart, *Die Beninsammlung*, (Leiden: Brill, 1913), 77; Dierk Lange, *Le Dīwān des sultans du Kanem-Bornu* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), 115.
- <sup>89</sup> Dierk Lange, "The early magistrates and kings of Kanem as descendants of Assyrian state-builders," *Anthropos* 104 (2009), 5.
- <sup>90</sup> Lange, "Successor state," 364, 375-9; id., *Founding*, 10, 23, 30, 34.
- <sup>91</sup> The same events are reflected in the king lists of Kebbi and of Bornu by two distinct royal names designating at the end of the respective ancient Near Eastern sections of the lists Nabopolassar and Assur-uballit II (Lange, "Successor state," 379; id., *Founding*, 14).
- <sup>92</sup> Lange, *Founding*, 28; id., "Lost Tribes," 591-3.
- <sup>93</sup> Said to have been women and to have ruled at Tsofon Birmi the nine or sixteen figures preceding Magajiya Daurama (Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 142; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 289) are certainly legendary projections on a nearby site.
- <sup>94</sup> Lange, "Early magistrates," 369-373; id., "Lost Tribes," 589-593.
- <sup>95</sup> Fage, *History*, 47; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 279-287.
- <sup>96</sup> D. O. Edzard, "Kamel," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (RLA), 12 vols., eds. Erich Ebeling *et al.*, V, 331-2 (Berlin: Gruyter, 1932-2012) (not completed); M. Weszeli, "Pferd," RLA, X, 473-7; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 291 (Bayajidda).
- <sup>97</sup> According to one version of the Bayajidda legend the migrants tried to conquer Tripoli (Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 132), while according to the other they split in North Africa, the non-specified group presumably heading for the Maghrib (Lange, *Kingdoms*, 289).
- <sup>98</sup> Fage, *History*, 152-3; Gustav Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, 2 vols., (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), II, 18-21.
- <sup>99</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 55-218; Smith, *Daura*, 32-33.
- <sup>100</sup> For the identification of the Wangara as descendants from Assyrian traders see Dierk Lange, "Abwanderung der assyrischen *tamkaru* nach Nubien, Darfur und ins Tschadseegebiet," in *Mélanges Michal Tymowski* (Warsow: WUW, 2011), ed. B. Nowak *et al.*, 201, 226.
- <sup>101</sup> Finn Fuglestad, "A reconsideration of Hausa history before the Jihad," *Journal of African History* 19 (1978), 319-339; Lange, "Magistrates," 11-12, 19.
- <sup>102</sup> On the pre-Islamic nature of the bicephalic state of early Kanem see Lange, "Magistrates," 11-20.
- <sup>103</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 55-179; Paul Krusius, "Die Maguzawa," *Archiv für Anthropologie* 14 (1915), 288-9, 297; Percy G. Harris, *Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer*, (Sokoto: cyclostyled, 1938), 149.
- <sup>104</sup> Fuglestad, "Reconsideration," 327, 334, 337.
- <sup>105</sup> Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 56-57, 159, 362, 508; Smith, *Daura*, 33; 'Abd al-Qādir, *Rawdāt al-afkār*, transl. In Herbert R. Palmer, "Western Sudan history: the Raudthat al-afkar," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1915-6), 262.
- <sup>106</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294-5.
- <sup>107</sup> Magajin Bayamadi FN 1997:16. Similarly Alhasan in Daura but without explanation (Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294).
- <sup>108</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, ("Dimension," 184), 194.
- <sup>109</sup> Palmer/'Abd al-Qādir, "History," 262; Abraham, *Dictionary*, 53, 353.

- <sup>110</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 134; Smith, *Daura*, 55; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 294 n. 317.
- <sup>111</sup> Lange, *Founding*, 31-38; *id.*, “Lost Tribes,” 589-593.
- <sup>112</sup> Barth, *Travels*, I, 472; Hiskett, *Development*, 110.
- <sup>113</sup> Lange, *Founding*, 14; *id.*, “Successor state,” 370; *id.*, “Lost Tribes,” 588-9; W. G. Lambert, “Götterlisten”, RLA, III, 473-9; A. Cavigneaux, “Lexikalische Listen”, RLA, VI, 609-641.
- <sup>114</sup> Hama, *Histoire*, 28, 40; Lange, *Kingdoms*, (“Dimension”, 182-3), 192-3.
- <sup>115</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 144. According to oral tradition, the kings of Garun Gabas claim descent from an Arab family (Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 484).
- <sup>116</sup> Horst Klengel, *Syria: 3000 to 300 B.C.* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 214; J. D. Hawkins, “Sam’al,” RLA, XI, 601.
- <sup>117</sup> Lange, “Abwanderung,” 200-1.
- <sup>118</sup> Van de Mieroop, *History*, 309; Klengel, *Syria*, 51-64.
- <sup>119</sup> Lange, “Lost Tribes,” 585-7; Gershon Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 147.
- <sup>120</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 142-3; Smith, *Daura*, 56-57, 154-5.
- <sup>121</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, 236; *id.*, “Successor state,” 279.
- <sup>122</sup> Nicole Échard, *L’Expérience du passé* (Niamey: IRSH, 1975), 47; Hama, *Histoire*, 33.
- <sup>123</sup> A. Fuchs, “Partatua”, RLA, X, 342-3; G. B. Lanfranchi, “Skythen”, RLA, XII, 581-2.
- <sup>124</sup> Hama, *Histoire*, 28; J. D. Hawkins, “Sam’al,” RLA, XI, 602-4.
- <sup>125</sup> J. D. Hawkins, “Sam’al,” RLA, XI, 602; Lange, “Successor state,” 372.
- <sup>126</sup> Palmer, “Sudan history”, 266.
- <sup>127</sup> Murray Last, “Historical metaphors in the Kano Chronicle,” *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 162-3; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 248-9.
- <sup>128</sup> 1 Sam 21:11-16; 1 Sam 27:1-12; 2 Sam 6:10-11; Ps. 56:1; J. D. Seger, “Gath”, ABD, II, 909; Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 99-100; Lange, *Kingdoms* (“Dimension,” 193), 203.
- <sup>129</sup> 2 Sam 5:6-8; 1 Chr 11:4-7; D. Tarler and J. D. Cahill, “David, city of,” ABD, II, 52-53.
- <sup>130</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 100-5; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 248-9.
- <sup>131</sup> M. G. Reddish, “Gog and Magog,” ABD, II, 1056.
- <sup>132</sup> John Brinkman, “Kassiten,” RLA, V, 464-473.
- <sup>133</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 104-7. Michael Smith considers ‘Uthmān’s ascendancy as doubtful (*Government in Kano: 1350-1950* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 115-6.
- <sup>134</sup> Lange, *Kingdoms*, (“Dimension,” 199), 206 (Monographie Lemoine, 1955); David, *Maradi*, 12 (Magajia was the daughter of the Jewish king Lamurudu who came from the east).
- <sup>135</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 116,127; Last, “Metaphors,” 169.
- <sup>136</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, I, 70; Koran 2: 248; Lange, *Dīwān*, 71-72; *id.*, “The Mune-Symbol as the Ark of the Covenant between Duguwa and Sefuwa,” *Borno Museum Society Newsletter*, 66-67 (2006), 15-24.

<sup>137</sup> The king list of Katsina distinguishes between Korau and Muḥammad Korau and it is of course only the latter to whom the introduction of Islam can be attributed (Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 79-80).

<sup>138</sup> W. T. Pitard, "Aram," ABD, I, 338; R. I. Panitz, "Kemuel," ABD, IV, 16.

<sup>139</sup> Parallel to *Mika-jahu* – "who is Jahwe" (Judg 17:18) (M. Z. Brettler, "Micah," ABD, IV, 806).

<sup>140</sup> Palmer has "Yanka Dari (Ibrahim)" (*Memoirs*, III, 79).

<sup>141</sup> Moise-Augustin Landeroin has "Jabdayaki (dit Sano)" ("Notice historique," in *Documents scientifiques de la mission Tilho (1906-1909)*, ed. Jean Tilho, 456 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911).

<sup>142</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 79 n. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Dierk Lange, "Biblical patriarchs from a pre-canonical source mentioned in the *Dīwān* of Kanem-Bornu (Lake Chad region)," *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 121, 4 (2009), 588-598.

<sup>144</sup> The order followed here is that of some king lists mentioned by Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 79 n. 2.

<sup>145</sup> Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 157-8.

<sup>146</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 80 n. 1.

<sup>147</sup> Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 156-8; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 250.

<sup>148</sup> Arnett, "Hausa chronicle," 165-6; D. O. Edzard, "Gungunum," RLA, III, 699-700.

<sup>149</sup> Barth, *Travels*, I, 472; Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 149.

<sup>150</sup> Krieger, *Geschichte*, 24-26; F. de Liagre Böhl, "Gilgamesh" RLA, III, 357-372; Lange, *Kingdoms*, 252-3; *id.*, "Successor state," 375.

<sup>151</sup> Lange, "Successor state," 369-375.

<sup>152</sup> Lange, "Lost Tribes," 589-590.

<sup>153</sup> Smith, "Considerations," 335-346; Hiskett, *Development*, 69-77.

<sup>154</sup> Hallam, "Bayajidda," 55; Hiskett, *Development*, 69; Fuglestad, "Reconsideration," 328-333.

<sup>155</sup> M. Dijkstra, "Abraham," "Ishmael," "Jacob," DDD, 6-10, 844-7; 862-5; B. Becking, "Sarah," DDD, 1366; Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Dimension," 184-193), 194-203.

<sup>156</sup> In view of a much shorter chronology, a similar evolution of the legend is suggested in Lange, *Kingdoms* ("Evolution", 195-204), 155-164.

<sup>157</sup> Since according to the Bawo version of the tradition there were only seven states founded by the six sons of Bawo and by Karbagari (Davis, *Maradi*, 14-16), this Israelite version may also have been subsequently modified.

<sup>158</sup> L. I. Rabinowitz, "Lost Tribes," 1003-6; Tudor Parfitt, *The Lost Tribes of Israel* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2002), 3-8; Lange, "Lost Tribes," 582.

<sup>159</sup> Van de Mieroop, *History*, 232-3; Oded, *Mass Deportations*, 41-74.

<sup>160</sup> This is an expanded and modified version of a paper presented at the Hausa Workshop, UEA, Norwich, 11-12 July 2008, organized by Anne Haour.