

Josiah : healed by Jehovah, or Jehovah will support. The son of Amon, and his successor on the throne of Judah ( 2 Kings 22:1 ; 2 Chr. 34:1 ). His history is contained in 2 Kings 22:3 ,23. He stands foremost among all the kings of the line of David for unswerving loyalty to Jehovah ( 23:25 ). He "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the way of David his father." He ascended the throne at the early age of eight years, and it appears that not till eight years afterwards did he begin "to seek after the God of David his father." At that age he devoted himself to God. He distinguished himself by beginning a war of extermination against the prevailing idolatry, which had practically been the state religion for some seventy years ( 2 Chronicles 34:3 ; Compare Jeremiah 25:3 Jeremiah 25:11 Jeremiah 25:29 ).

In the eighteenth year of his reign he proceeded to repair and beautify the temple, which by time and violence had become sorely dilapidated ( 2 Kings 22:3 2 Kings 22:5 2 Kings 22:6 ; 23:23 ; 2 Chr 34:11 ). While this work was being carried on, Hilkiah, the high priest, discovered a roll, which was probably the original copy of the law, the entire Pentateuch, written by Moses.

When this book was read to him, the king was alarmed by the things it contained, and sent for Huldah, the "prophetess," for her counsel. She spoke to him words of encouragement, telling him that he would be gathered to his fathers in peace before the threatened days of judgment came. Josiah immediately gathered the people together, and engaged them in a renewal of their ancient national covenant with God. The Passover was then celebrated, as in the days of his great predecessor, Hezekiah, with unusual magnificence. Nevertheless, "the Lord turned not from the

fierceness of his great wrath wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah" ( 2 Kings 22:3-20 ; 23:21-27 ; 2 Chr. 35:1-19 ). During the progress of this great religious revolution Jeremiah helped it on by his earnest exhortations.

Soon after this, Pharaoh-Necho II. (q.v.), king of Egypt, in an expedition against the king of Assyria, with the view of gaining possession of Carchemish, sought a passage through the territory of Judah for his army. This Josiah refused to permit. He had probably entered into some new alliance with the king of Assyria, and faithful to his word he sought to oppose the progress of Necho.

The army of Judah went out and encountered that of Egypt at Megiddo, on the verge of the plain of Esdraelon. Josiah went into the field in disguise, and was fatally wounded by a random arrow. His attendants conveyed him toward Jerusalem, but had only reached Hadadrimmon, a few miles south of Megiddo, when he died ( 2 Kings 23:28 2 Kings 23:30 ; Compare 2 Chronicles 35:20-27 ), after a reign of thirty-one years. He was buried with the greatest honours in fulfilment of Huldah's prophecy ( 2 Kings 22:20 ; Compare Jeremiah 34:5 ). Jeremiah composed a funeral elegy on this the best of the kings of Israel ( Lamentations 4:20 ; 2 Chr 35:25 ). The outburst of national grief on account of his death became proverbial ( Zechariah 12:11 ; Compare Revelation 16:16 ).

These dictionary topics are from

M.G. Easton M.A., D.D., Illustrated Bible Dictionary, Third Edition, published by Thomas Nelson, 1897. Public Domain, copy freely.

**The Twenty-sixth Dynasty of Egypt (notated Dynasty XXVI, alternatively 26th Dynasty or Dynasty 26) was the last native dynasty to rule Egypt before the Persian conquest in 525 BC (although others followed). The dynasty's reign (664–525 BC) is also called the Saite Period after the city of Sais, where its pharaohs had their capital, and marks the beginning of the Late Period of ancient Egypt.**

**Pharaoh Necho II defeat marks the end of Egypto-Assyrian/Cushitic dominance/hegemony of the world. This ushered in the “Times of the Gentiles”. The Proto-Assyrians along with bands of Hebraic Syro-Phonecian peoples migrated into the Sahelian area of West Africa toward Lake Chad. Although some Assyrians went down the Nile toward the Great Lakes region in Tanzania becoming the modern day Iraqw peoples. The Proto-Egyptians or Kemetic peoples migrated first to Modern day Sudan or Kush/Meroe. The effects of these large scale migrations put strains on Kush/Mero causing the indeginous Cushitic populations to migrate further into Eastern Africa specifically the Horn where they joined other kinsmen of Cush’s descendants. Genesis 10:7 King James Version (KJV) “And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah; Sheba, and Dedan.” During the time of the prophet Jeremiah large amounts of Jews/Judeans/Israelites began migrating into Egypt. Furthering push out the few remaining proto-Egyptians. They were joined by Greeks, Persians, and other groups. When the Persians took of lower and upper Egypt they placed hundreds of thousands of Hebraic Syro-Phoenician peoples in Upper Egypt (Southern Egypt/Sudan). These peoples would eventually migrate into Nubia/Kush and later Aksum further displacing the Nilotic proto-Egyptian into Eastern and Central Africa encroaching on the borders of Cushitic peoples. Although some groups of Nilotic still remain in sudan till this day. Both the Nilotic and Cushitic peoples would encounter Hebraic Syro-Phoenician people Niger-Congo migrations (Bantu).**

# Necho II

(r. 610–595 bce),

second king of the twenty-sixth Saite dynasty, Late period. A son of Psamtik I, he was one of the most vigorous and far-sighted of Late period rulers. Sources on Necho are dominated by his foreign policy, where the major issue was the threat of Chaldean expansion. He relied heavily on Greek and Carian mercenaries, who were permanently based in Egypt. This situation is reflected in his calculated policy of donations to major shrines in eastern Greece, which included dedications to Athena Polias at Ialysus on the island of Rhodes and the major Ionian oracular shrine at Branchidae. His military resources on land were supplemented by a force of ramming warships, which may have been triremes (a galley having three tiers of oars on each side). This fleet was intended to counter any attempt to mount a two-pronged attack by land and water on Egypt and also to support the western flank of Necho's forces in the Near East.

His campaign in Syria-Palestine was initially designed to assist the Assyrians in forcing out the Chaldeans, and Necho enjoyed some early success. He defeated Josiah, King of Judah, at Megiddo in 609 bce, thus guaranteeing his freedom of movement up the grand trunk road to Mesopotamia, and he established a base at Carchemish, which he held until his catastrophic defeat there in 605 bce. The Chaldeans subsequently pushed the Egyptians south to the eastern frontier of the Delta, but the Egyptians held there. Necho's operations in this area were reflected in Herodotus' fifth-century bce account of his successes against Migdol and Gaza in 601–600 bce. Necho also focused his foreign policy efforts on the Red Sea, in which the Egyptians had longstanding commercial interests, and he began the construction of a canal through the Wadi Tumilat to join it to the Nile. He also based a force of warships there, presumably to guarantee safe passage for his ships in the face of threats from Edomite or Sabeen raiders.

Research in the latter twentieth century indicates that Necho also dispatched a military force into Nubia, where the Saites were more deeply involved than previous scholarship indicated.

## Bibliography

*The Cambridge Ancient History*. 2d ed. Cambridge, 1991. Includes an excellent survey of the twenty-sixth dynasty, with much on Necho.

Find this resource:

Lloyd, Alan B. *Triremes and the Saite Navy*. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58 (1972), 268–279. A discussion of the development of the Saite navy and the part that Greeks may have played in it.

Find this resource:

Lloyd, Alan B. *Herodotus Book II. Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*, 43. 3 vols. Leiden, 1975–1993. A discussion of the Herodotean data on Necho II in the light of all other evidence.

Find this resource:

Lloyd, Alan B. *Necho and the Red Sea: Some Considerations*. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63 (1977), p. 142–155. The evidence for the circumnavigation of Africa allegedly instigated by Necho is analyzed in detail with skeptical results.

Find this resource:

Lloyd, Alan B. The Late Period, 664–323 BC. In *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*. Cambridge, 1983. Necho placed firmly within the history of twenty-sixth dynasty.

Find this resource:

Alan B. Lloyd Lloyd, A. (2001). Necho II. In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. : Oxford University Press.

# Herodotus on the First Circumnavigation of Africa

The Greek researcher and storyteller **Herodotus of Halicarnassus** (fifth century BCE) was the world's first historian. In *The Histories*, he describes the expansion of the **Achaemenid empire** under its kings **Cyrus the Great**, **Cambyses** and **Darius I the Great**, culminating in king **Xerxes'** expedition in 480 BCE against the Greeks, which met with disaster in the naval engagement at **Salamis** and the battles at **Plataea** and **Mycale**. Herodotus' remarkable book also contains excellent ethnographic descriptions of the peoples that the Persians have conquered, fairy tales, gossip, legends, and a very humanitarian morale. (A summary with some historical comments can be found [here](#).)

## Context



*Portrait of a pharaoh of the Saite dynasty*

The Egyptian king **Necho II**, or - more properly - Wehimbre Nekao, was the ruler of the kingdom along the **Nile** from 610 to 595 BCE. When he started his reign, there were serious military problems on Egypt's northeastern border. The **Babylonians** had taken the **Assyrian** capital **Nineveh** ([text](#)) and were ready to punish Egypt for its support to the Assyrian cause.<sup>note</sup> From a **Babylonian** text, the *Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle*, we know that Necho was campaigning

in Syria from 609 until 605, when the Babylonian king [Nebuchadnezzar](#) decisively defeated the Egyptians at Karchemiš (in Syria).

The Babylonian proceeded to subjugate the towns along the Mediterranean coast. It is not entirely clear where and when the border between Egypt and Babylonia was drawn: *2 Kings* 24.7 implies that Egypt retired to the Sinai desert and left the Palestine coast in Babylonian hands; [Herodotus 2.159](#) suggests that Gaza remained an Egyptian stronghold.

However this may be, it is obvious that the pharaoh was in big troubles for some time, and he seems to have considered the possibility to attack southern Babylonia by sea. He ordered a canal to be constructed between the Nile and the Red Sea, but discovered that he was giving free access to his enemies too. Consequently, the canal remained uncompleted until the Persians had taken over Egypt in the last quarter of the sixth century.

The circumnavigation of Africa must somehow have been related to Necho's defense projects. He asked for Phoenician assistance because the Phoenicians (who lived in modern Lebanon) were excellent sailors and had several colonies in the West, such as [Carthage](#) and the islet of Mogador opposite modern Essaouira. The Phoenicians must have been happy to help the Egyptians, because they shared the Babylonian enemy. Here is Herodotus' account of the voyage, in a translation by Aubrey de Sélincourt.

### **Herodotus' story**

Libya is washed on all sides by the sea except where it joins Asia, as was first demonstrated, so far as our knowledge goes, by the Egyptian king Necho, who, after calling off the construction of the canal between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf, sent out a fleet manned by a Phoenician crew with orders to sail west about and return to Egypt and the Mediterranean by way of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Phoenicians sailed from the Arabian Gulf into the southern ocean, and every autumn put in at some convenient spot on the Libyan coast, sowed a patch of ground, and waited for next year's harvest. Then, having got in their grain, they put to sea again, and after two full years rounded the [Pillars of Heracles](#) in the course of the third, and returned to Egypt. These men made a statement which I do not myself believe, though others may, to the effect that as they sailed on a westerly

course round the southern end of Libya, they had the sun on their right - to northward of them. This is how Libya was first discovered by sea.**note**

## Reconstruction of the voyage



*Map of the circumnavigation of Africa*

The following is a possible reconstruction of their voyage. They must have started their expedition in July, and they must have reached the Horn of Africa after an uneventful trip, relying on the northern wind. The Red Sea (which Herodotus calls "Arabian Gulf") was well known to their Egyptian pilots, because the Egyptians traded incense with the [Arabs](#) of modern Yemen.

The Egyptian sources inform us also about the legendary country named Pwanit or Punt, which is probably identical to Eretria and eastern Ethiopia ([more...](#)). The first part of the expedition of the Phoenicians covered known territories.

After they had passed Africa's most eastern shores, the northeast monsoon - which started in October - sped up their journey, and in March they must have reached the equator. The Agulhas Current must have brought them through the Mozambique Channel and along the coast of modern South Africa. Sailing on their westerly course, they must have observed that they had the sun on their right. (Something that Herodotus, who was unaware of the earth's spherical shape,

was unable to believe.) Something else must have fascinated these men, too: they must have seen whales.

When they reached Cape Agulhas, they left the current that had helped them to the south. At the same time, they encountered the contrary South East trade winds. And they must have been surprised to discover that here, on the southern hemisphere, the winter was already approaching. However, they must happily have noticed that they had started to go north. The plain behind Saint Helena Bay, 150 kilometers north of modern Cape town, offered a fine opportunity to land. They must have sowed their wheat in June, started to repair their ships, and harvested in November.

The Benguela Current and the now favorable South East trade winds brought the Phoenician sailors back to the hot equatorial regions, and they will have experienced its effects in a most unpleasant way, when they sailed along the Namibian coast, which is a waterless desert. It took several weeks to reach a more fertile coast. In March, a new and equally unpleasant surprise awaited them: they had been traveling on a northerly course, but now, the coast curved to the west again. They may have benefited from the westward Guinea Current, but not for long, because it changes its direction during the spring. For weeks, they were struggling against the wind and the current, only to reach -in July- the African west coast, where they encountered the contrary Canary Current and the North Eastern trade winds. But they must have been relieved to find themselves rowing in a northerly direction again.

Somehow they managed to beat against the wind and the current, and in November they must have landed somewhere on the coast of modern Mauritania, maybe at Bay of Arguin, where their Carthaginian compatriots were to build the trading post of [Kerne](#) in the not too distant future. The voyagers sowed their wheat, repaired their ships, and waited for the next harvest. Maybe they made contact with the Berber population; in that case, they may have learned that they could obtain gold from the Bambouk region if they returned to the mouth of the Senegal - something that the Carthaginian sailor [Hanno](#) probably did.

In May, they brought their ships to the sea, and started to beat their way up to along the Moroccan coast, where they discovered that they had returned to the world they knew: the town on Mogador island was occupied by Phoenicians. Having told the incredible story of their trip to the southern hemisphere, and no doubt with new equipment, they continued their voyage; soon they reached Phoenician towns like Lixus, modern Cadiz and Malaga, and Carthage. They must have reached Egypt at the end of the summer. Their expedition had lasted three full years.

This story, told by Herodotus, was generally questioned after the famous geographer [Ptolemy](#) had said that it was impossible to circumnavigate Africa. Another voyage was necessary to vindicate the Phoenician claims. This trip was made in 1488, when Bartolomeus Diaz reached the Cape of Good Hope.

<https://www.livius.org/sources/content/herodotus/herodotus-on-the-first-circumnavigation-of-africa/>

## **Working Papers in African Studies No. 265 (2011)**

### **The Founding of Kanem by Assyrian Refugees ca. 600 BCE: Documentary,**

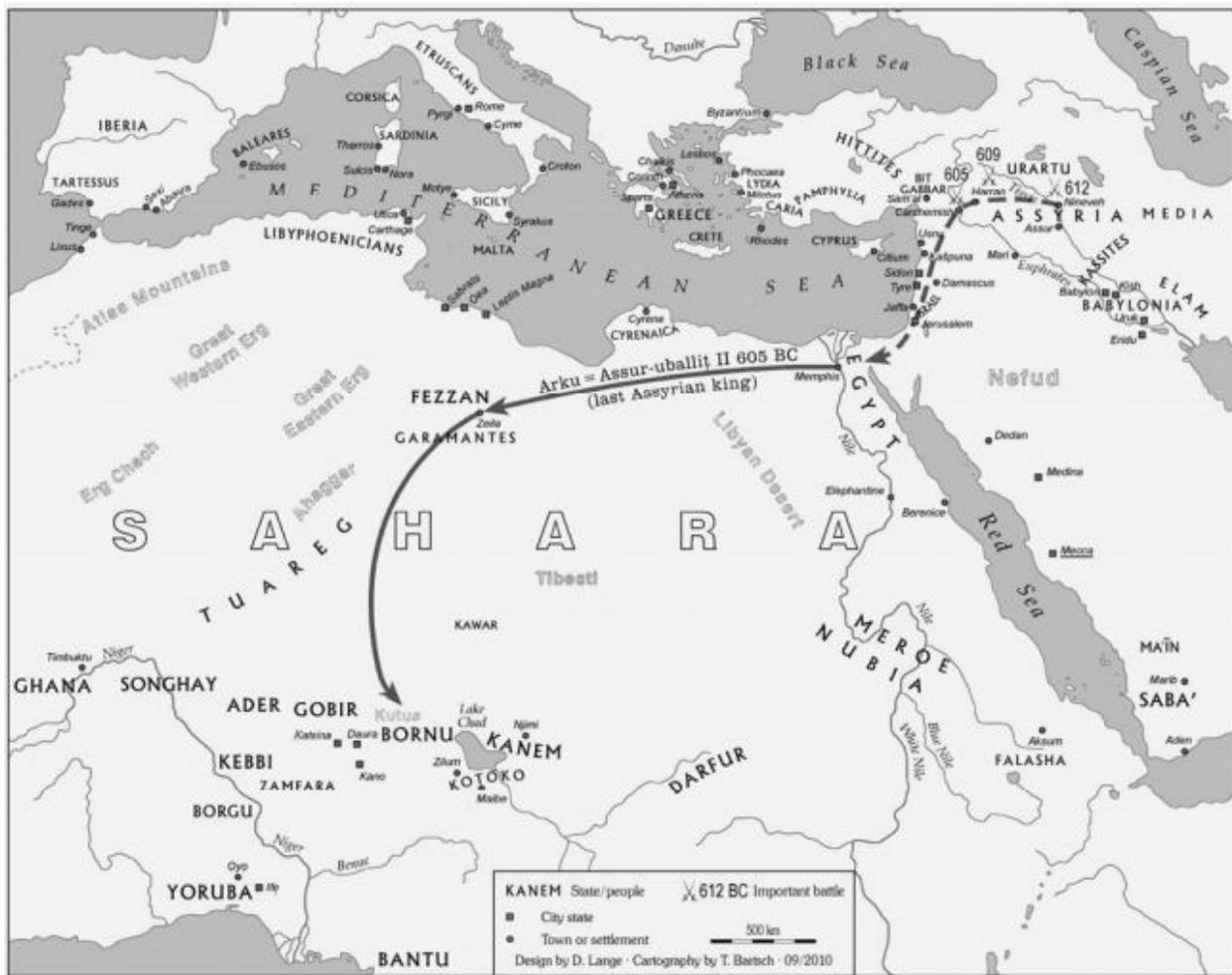
### **Linguistic, and Archaeological Evidence**

**By Dierk Lange\***

1.6—Assyrian Refugees and the Alliance between Duguwa Conquerors and Local Warriors: The onomastic analysis of Central Sudanic king lists allows us to infer that Near Eastern people reached sub-Saharan West Africa claiming descent or at least connections with Babylonian, Elamite, Assyrian, Urartean, Amorite, Aramaean, and Israelite kings (See Table 2). As shown by different records, they departed from Syria-Palestine at the time of the last Assyrian king at the

end of the seventh century BCE.<sup>168</sup> According to linguistic evidence, speakers familiar with Semitic languages of the ancient Near East seem to have migrated to the region of Lake Chad and introduced important innovations such as the state, the notion of urban settlements, and horse riding. From the archaeological record of the region of Lake Chad, it appears that urban settlements and a number of technical innovations including iron working emerged in the region towards the middle of the first millennium BCE. The combination of these different types of evidence confirms the message of the documentary testimonies that refugees from the collapsing Assyrian Empire reached the Central Sudan towards 600 BCE and contributed significantly to the sudden rise of social complexity. Some brief notes on the rise and fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the supposed subsequent developments in the Central Sudan should help to set the previous considerations in their historical context. The main artisan of the Neo-Assyrian expansion to the west was Tiglath-pileser III (744–727). He conquered most cities and kingdoms of Syria-Palestine, including Israel, and incorporated them into the newly created western provinces of his empire. Subsequently, the ethnic composition of these countries was considerably altered through application of a policy of mass deportations, which involved the displacement of large numbers of people from one end of the empire to the other.<sup>169</sup> From 616 BCE onward, the assault of the Babylonian and Median armies began to greatly destabilize the Assyrian Empire and in particular it led to the retreat of the Assyrian army from the western provinces. After the destruction of Nineveh in 612, Assur-uballit II fled to Harran 350 km west of Nineveh, where he was crowned as the last Assyrian king. The Pharaoh Necho II intervened militarily in his support and together they forced the Babylonian troops to withdraw and thus briefly consolidating the situation in Syria-Palestine. However, the Egyptians were defeated in the great battles of Carchemish and Hamath in 605, in which the Assyrians doubtlessly participated, although the Babylonian Chronicle does not mention them any longer.<sup>170</sup> The remaining Egyptian soldiers had to retire to their home country from Syria-Palestine after these crushing defeats. Before the Babylonians were able to establish their own rule over most of the former western provinces of the Assyrian Empire, the towns and districts of Syria-Palestine were for some time left to themselves.<sup>171</sup> During the anarchic period ensuing the collapse of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the retreat of the Egyptian forces, the physical survival of the

remaining Assyrians of Syria-Palestine, their local allies, and most of the deported people from other Assyrian provinces was seriously threatened. Indeed, the local population associated the former deportees with their Assyrian oppressors and wanted to take revenge on them, while the advancing Babylonian soldiers in turn distrusted the deportee communities, even those coming originally from Southern Mesopotamia.<sup>172</sup> Surely the best way to escape from this dangerous situation was for the new settlers to follow the retreating Egyptian troops to Egypt. Settlement of large groups in the narrow Nile valley being...



**Figure 1.** The great exodus of the state founders of Kanem from the western provinces of Assyria.

however impossible, the refugees may have either followed the Nile valley or continued westward to the Libyan coast and turned southward across the Sahara.<sup>173</sup> There is little

contemporary evidence concerning a mass migration to Africa following the fall of the Assyrian Empire, but this should not come as a surprise. The horizon of the Babylonian sources is for this period restricted to Mesopotamia and Syria, and therefore the available chronicles do not record information concerning the fate of the Assyrians after the defeat of Assur-uballit II and his Egyptian allies in Harran in 609 BCE. They take no note of the events following the annihilation of the Egyptian forces in Hamath in 605 and only casually refer to the abortive expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt in 601.<sup>174</sup> Neither Greek nor Hebrew authors provide any information on the consequences of the Babylonian victories in Syria-Palestine with respect to the local and deportee communities.<sup>175</sup> Yet, the biblical Book of Kings mentions predatory attacks by Chaldean (Babylonian) and Aramaean raiders on Juda that might have been part of the general unrest among the deportee and local communities following the Assyrian collapse (2Kgs 24:1, 7). As for the Egyptian sources it must be noted that they are silent on the entire period of Assyrian occupation from 671 to 652 and on all details concerning the Egyptian support of the Assyrians in their final struggle and especially their own military defeat in Syria.<sup>176</sup> They therefore cannot be expected to have recorded the passage of refugees following the retreating Egyptian army, especially if these people did not stay for long in the Nile valley. Some traces of a great migration to West Africa survive however in later narrative sources. Ibn Qutayba, al-Yaʿqubī and al-Masʿūdī mention a great exodus of people from Babylon leading to the foundation of kingdoms in West and East Africa.<sup>177</sup> The different versions of the origin-chronicle of Kanem-Bornu indicate a rule of the early kings in the Near East and the dynastic records suggest that Arku (9)/Assur-uballit II died during his retreat to West Africa in Fezzan. <sup>178</sup> Similarly, the chronicle of Kebbi refers to a retreat of the Kabawa from Madayana/Madl'in (Nineveh and Assur), the rule of ancient Near Eastern kings—not easily recognized as such—in Egypt and the crossing of the Saharan desert by these people.<sup>179</sup> The Hausa tradition of Daura mentions an immigration of many people from Palestine under the leadership of Najib/Nimrod and an exodus involving the retreat of half of the army from Baghdad, i.e., Nineveh, under the leadership of Bayajidda/Assur-uballit II, thus distinguishing between the deportee communities and the Assyrian military elite.<sup>180</sup> Notable is also the reference by Muhammad Bello at the beginning of the nineteenth century to the flight of the

Yoruba from the land of Nimrod (= Babylonia and Assyria).<sup>181</sup> It echoes the great tradition of Oyo according to which the Yoruba left a Near Eastern town which an interpretatio Arabica identifies as Mecca and crossed the Sahara before arriving at the present localities.<sup>182</sup> Though followers of the feedback theory consider these legends to result from manipulations, their basic message supported by onomastic evidence cannot be dismissed as purely fictitious.<sup>183</sup> To do so would mean to deprive African history of a huge corpus of only slightly amended ancient traditions. Yet, it has to be admitted that the narrative sources are desperately uninformative on the arrival of the Assyrian refugees in the Central Sudan. The D3w1n designates all the early kings as Duguwa (in Arabic: Ban5 Duku) and connects the last Assyrian king Arku (9) and his legendary successor Haww1'/Siyu (10)—corresponding to Assur-uballit II and to Semiramis—directly to #Abd al-Jal3l (11), the first Muslim ruler of Kanem who reigned from c. 1064 to 1068 CE, thus omitting a great number of African kings.<sup>184</sup> Descending from the third king Duku, the ruling Duguwa may on account of their dynastic ancestor be supposed to belong to the posterity of Babylonian deportees from Syria-Palestine. In view of their identity as ancient Near Eastern rulers, the Duguwa kings figuring in the D3w1n are therefore with one exception non-African rulers. Another African king of the first dynasty was K1k.r.h, mentioned by al-Ya#q5b3 in the ninth century.<sup>185</sup> Probably omitted from the dynastic records because of the apparent uneventfulness of the reigns, the names of the Duguwa rulers in Africa are with these two exceptions—K1k.r.h and #Abd al-Jal3l—lost forever.<sup>186</sup> Hence, the internal records are affected by the tremendous chronological gap of more than one and a half millennia. Contemporary Arabic sources dating from the ninth and tenth century call the people of Kanem by the name Zaghawa. It should be noted that this and similar names not only appear with respect to Kanem-Bornu but also to other major kingdoms of West Africa. Prior to the twelfth or the fifteenth century—depending on the regions—the Arabic authors used it to designate either certain rulers or specific people of the Western and Central Sudan. As rulers we have Zagh3 b. Zagh3 in Ghana and Z1gh2/Z1ghay in Gao-Saney, and as people the Zaghawa in Sh1ma (which seems to be Tendirma in the Lake District), the Zagh1y in Hausaland, and the Zaghawa/Zagh1y in Kanem-Bornu.<sup>187</sup> One might have thought that the name is the Arabic rendering of a widespread designation referring to related kings and hence to their people. In fact, before

receiving its ethnic connotation, the term seems to have referred to some kind of royal office within rather uniform states visited by Arab traders between the Niger and Lake Chad and by extension to the people attached to it.<sup>188</sup> Since the disappearance of the term was apparently linked to the Islamization of the major Sudanic states between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries, it would seem that the royal institution concerned was itself part of the basic cult-mythological features of the former sacral states. In Kanem, the Zaghawa of the external sources correspond to a large extent to the Duguwa of the dynastic records.<sup>189</sup> A look at the Phoenician suffet states extending from the Near East to North Africa may help to explain the curious diffusion of the name Zaghawa. Here we find two magistrates charged with tasks that were in all likelihood more closely linked to cultmythological functions than the rational Greek and Roman authors supposed.<sup>190</sup> There was first the magistrate bearing the title *mqm 'lm* "the resurrector of the (dying and rising state) god" and the second magistrate called *'dr #zrm* "head of the helpers," in Latin *praefectus sacrorum* "leader of the holy ones."<sup>191</sup> In the Central Sudan the suffet magistracy seems to have developed into kingships characterized by their dual institutional or bicephalic structure in which the main king stood in ritual opposition to a minor or second king. In Kanem-Bornu the first king was the Magumi king leading most of the immigrant clans, while the second king was the Duguma or Zagh1w3 who was presiding over a few Duguwa immigrant clans and over numerous local clans.<sup>192</sup> In Hausaland, where the dual institutional structure is in some states still observable today, the Sarkin Hausa ruled over the mainly urban immigrants and the Sarkin Azna led the mainly rural Azna, Arna or Anna, i.e., the people of the *'dr #zrm*, the Zagh1w3.<sup>193</sup> From these names and functions it may be deduced that the state of the immigrants from Syria-Palestine was characterized by a remarkably flexible dualistic structure by which the autochthonous people were absorbed into the foreign state by being progressively grouped behind the magistrate leading the "holy ones" (*#zrm*), i.e., the many local clans defined by their individual deities.<sup>194</sup> In all likelihood the Zaghawa were composed of a few foreign Duguwa and many people of the local nobility following the leadership of a magistrate whose office changed progressively into that of a king. The model of the bicephalic state may also be helpful in explaining how the AfroAsiatic state of the Assyrian invaders from Syria-Palestine became a state of the NiloSaharan speaking Kanuri. The linguistic map of the

Lake Chad region suggests that AfroAsiatic-speaking immigrants must have clashed with the local speakers of Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan languages. The immigrants, composed of various ancient Near Eastern ethnic communities, conquered the local groups, imposed their mixed languages on them, and built their states and towns.<sup>195</sup> As we have seen the founders of the Kanem state, though aware of their common origin in the Assyrian Empire, were clearly motivated by strong anti-Assyrian feelings.<sup>196</sup> In that situation the Babylonian Duguwa seem to have set up a minority government by marginalizing not only the remaining Assyrian elite but also the other immigrant communities. In order to compensate their numerical weakness, they apparently turned to the local Nilo-Saharan warrior groups for support. The submitted local people therefore appear to have adopted the urban culture and state organization of the Near Eastern invaders by benefiting from the internal divisions of the foreigners. They supported the minority Duguwa against the majority of the foreign clans and thus were able to impose their language and most likely also their military leadership.<sup>197</sup> Arab traders did not distinguish between immigrants and indigenees, but they called the ruling elite as a whole Zaghawa irrespective of their foreign Duguwa and local warrior identity. Previous identification of the historical Zaghawa with present-day Zaghawa seminomads of Darfur is not convincing. In fact, the name Zaghawa is given by neighboring Arabs to people who call themselves Beri.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, the descriptions of the Arab geographers reveal a progressive shifting of the term Zaghawa from Kanem to the region of Darfur between the eleventh and the thirteenth century in connection with the rise of the Sefuwa-Humewa.<sup>199</sup> Therefore it is much more likely that the present Zaghawa retained their ethnonym from their previous participation in the ruling elite of the state of Kanem since ancient times than vice versa. The idea of the foundation of the state of Kanem by nomads should therefore be discarded as anachronistic. Similarly, the ten Duguwa kings who were supposed to have reigned at the very end of the pre-Islamic period were in fact rulers of the ancient Near East separated from the Sefuwa-Humewa by a period of more than 1600 years. Corresponding to the “floating temporal gap” observed in oral traditions, the same chronological hiatus between ancient Near Eastern rulers and local Muslim kings is attested in the dynastic records of Kebbi, Katsina, Kano, and Oyo.<sup>200</sup> It is therefore not surprising that comparison between the D3w1n and other dynastic records of Kanem-Bornu shows that nearly

all information attributed to the Duguwa kings with the exception of #Abd al-Jal3l (11) refers in fact to the ancient Near East and not to medieval Kanem. A supplementary remark is needed to emphasize the importance of the state-building period for the subsequent history of the Central Sudan. From the linguistic and archaeological data examined above, it appears that innovations introduced by the Near Eastern invaders led to the general rise of social complexity in the region of Lake Chad. Some of the terms referring to kingship and urbanization are cognate to words used in languages of Mesopotamia and thus suggest influences from polities situated in that region. Together with particular roots for “town” and “horse,” they are likely to have been transferred to the region of Lake Chad by immigrants who were exposed to Aramaic, the spoken Semitic language of Assyria. From the results of archaeological research it can be deduced that urban civilization and other features of complex society emerged in the region of Lake Chad not later than 500 BCE. Some if not all of the loanwords considered above seem to have reached the Central Sudan precisely at that time. In addition to the documentary evidence these elements give weight to the assumption that the rise of social complexity in the region of Lake Chad was a consequence of the fall of the Assyrian Empire. Moreover, a combination of onomastic and linguistic evidence leads to the conclusion that social complexity was not imposed on the indigenous societies by a unified phalanx of Near Eastern invaders who oppressed the local population. Rather, the available sources suggest that one of the immigrant groups allied itself with the local warrior communities in order to assert its domination over all the other foreign invaders. Through this association to power the local forces were able to impress their own cultural and linguistic label on the newly founded conquest state of Kanem. In the early medieval period the successful synthesis of foreign and local elements was the decisive factor, which contributed to the expansion of Kanem and its transformation to the Kanem-Bornu Empire. Henceforth, the Africanized Nilo-Saharan hegemonic power dominated the surrounding Afro-Asiatic polities of the foreign invaders in spite of important modifications during the period of Islamization, and not the other way round.