

to be associated with its most famous luminary, al-Ḥājj Salīm Suwārī Siise (or Cissé), who probably lived in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth.<sup>28</sup> Al-Ḥājj Salīm is credited with institutionalizing the learning and teaching of three texts as the basic core of Jakhanke scholarly tradition: the *Muwattaʿ* of Mālik b. Anas, the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*; and the *Shifʿa* of al-Sabti (d. 1149). Accomplished scholars studied many other works as well, but memorizing the Qurʾan and studying these three writings marked one as a full member of the Jakhanke scholarly community. This community eventually formed a diaspora that spread throughout West Africa and developed a radical theological and legal approach to the separation of scholarship and politics. According to the framework of its greatest analyst, Ivor Wilks,

- Unbelief is a result of ignorance (*jahl*) rather than wickedness.
- It is God’s will that some remain in *jāhiliyya* longer than others.
- There is no obligation in religion, and true conversion occurs in God’s time.
- Jihad is not an acceptable means for converting non-Muslims.
- Jihad is legitimate only in self-defense to protect Muslims’ survival.
- Muslims may support non-Muslim rule as long as they are allowed to practice Islam.
- Muslims must present an example to be emulated so non-Muslims will come to Islam.
- Scholarship must be the center of Muslim life to keep Islam from being corrupted.

Wilks notes that these “dicta do not at any point conflict with Maliki orthodoxy”; instead, they represent a radical adaptation of earlier Mālikī doctrines that allowed Muslims to live peacefully with non-Muslim neighbors.<sup>29</sup> “Armed” with this kind of tolerant approach, Juula and Jakhanke, Muslim merchants and clerics, respectively, enjoyed great freedom of movement to and through the non-Muslim lands to the south of the empire. Muslim intellectuals spread far and wide throughout West Africa, opening Qurʾan schools, teaching the sciences, and slowly drawing much of the western Sudan into the scholarly traditions of Islam.

Though it cannot be fully documented in the current state of research, elements of Jakhanke doctrines guiding relations with non-Muslims, though associated with al-Ḥājj Salīm in the fifteenth century, likely stretch back to the founding of the *sūdānī* clerisy.<sup>30</sup> Formal political neutrality was, along with the spatial segregation, an important condition imposed on merchants

JAKHANKE

ETHIC

MODIBBO

MUHAMMAD

AL-KABARI

Importance 1

Reason B

School