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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

CHAPTER XI

MENTIONING THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE *IMAMS OF THE JINGERBER* MOSQUE AND THE *SANKORE'* MOSQUE

As for the central mosque, called the **Jingerber** mosque¹, it was the *Sultan* al-Hajj Mansa Musa, the ruler of Mali, who first had it and its minaret constructed where it held five rows. The graveyard was adjacent to it on the outside in the western and southern direction of the mosque. This was the custom of the western *Sudanese* that they only buried their dead in the outside courtyards of their mosques. He had the mosque constructed after he had returned from the pilgrimage and took control of Tinbuku². When *Qadi* 'l-Aqib ibn *Qadi* Mahmud renovated its structure he had the graves demolished and flattened along with all the graves in every direction of the mosque. Thus, the entire area was made apart of the mosque. He then had considerable extensions added to the mosque.



The Jingerber Masjid

¹ The name *Jingerber* is taken from the Soninke word *jinguere ber* which means 'the Great Mosque' - *Jaami` 'l-Kabir*.

² The building of the mosque took place between the years of 1324 and 1327 C.E. when *Mansa* Kankan Musa returned from his pilgrimage from Mecca.

The first of those appointed as *imams* over the central mosque were the *Sudanese* jurists. They were appointed over the mosque during the government of the people of Mali and during part of the government of the Tuaregs. The last of the *Sudanese imams* to hold the post was the jurist and judge **Kaatib Musa**³. He remained in the post of *imam* for 40 years without anyone ever being delegated to act on his behalf, not even for a single prayer. This was due to the physical health of his body which Allah ta`ala had provided him with. He was once asked the reason for his health and he said, "I think it is from three things: [1] I never sleep out in the open during all the four seasons; [2] I never go to sleep without first rubbing my entire body with oils and then after day break taking a hot bath; and [3] I never leave for the *subh* prayer except after first eating breakfast." This is what I heard from my father and from the jurist Sidi Ahmad, may Allah ta`ala be merciful to them. He only gave judgment between people in the open space called *Susu Dabay* which was behind his home in the easterly direction. There he had a podium built under a large tree which was there. He was among the Black scholars who traveled to Fez in order to gain knowledge during the government of Mali by the order of the just *sultan* al-Hajj Musa.

He was succeeded by the grandfather of the grandfather of the mother of my father, the generous jurist and excellent worshipper, **Sidi Abdallah 'l-Balbaali**. He was the first of the *baydaan*⁴ to pray with the people in this mosque during the last part of the government of the Tuaregs and the first part of the government of Sonni Ali⁵. He came to Tinbuktu and kept company with the jurist the *Imam Qadi* Kaatib Musa when he returned from Fez. Along with him were his two brothers: the father of Abd 'r-Rahman, who was known as *Alfa Tunka*; the father of Musa Kara and the father of *Nana* Biru Ture⁶. The heretic, Sonni Ali, showed Sidi Abdallah 'l-Balbaali great respect and honor. He was among the upright slaves of Allah, ascetic and pious. He only consumed from what his hands produced. Much *baraka* and many miracles appeared from him. Among these is when one night a thief entered his home and spotted a date palm tree growing in the courtyard of his home. The thief desired to steal some of the dates, however Allah caused the thief to be fixated to the palm tree until the morning. Sidi Abdallah forgave the thief and ordered him to come down. He descended the tree and departed. Among his *baraka* is that once a disease befell Tinbuktu which afflicted all but a few inhabitants. As a result, Sidi Abdallah collected firewood and carried it on his head to the area of affliction. Whoever bought the firewood and kindled it became cured and healed immediately. Then he went back again and repeated that, until the people realized what he had done. They began to inform one another and they all crowded around him to buy the firewood. Thus, Allah ta`ala removed this disease from the people by means of his *baraka*.

Sidi Abdallah was not succeeded in the post of *imam*, based on what I presume and Allah knows best, except by the bountiful *shaykh*, the excellent righteous man, the ascetic servant, the knower of Allah ta`ala, the *waliy* **Sidi Abu 'l-Qaasim 't-**

³ He was a scholar of Malinke origin who held the post during the early 15th century. The title *kaatib* indicates that he was perhaps a scribe in his younger years who was employed to copy books and to administer the government chancellery and other clerical-fiscal duties.

⁴ This expression 'white' refers to the Moors or scholars from what today is considered Mauritania; and it should not be confused with skin color. It was a cognomen referred to Moors, Fulani, Tuareg and many ethnicities whose actual skin color is very dark and ruddy.

⁵ He held the post during the middle of the 15th century.

⁶ The title *Nana* is the feminine form for the title *San*, which means 'master' or 'teacher'.

Tuwaati⁷. He resided in the neighborhood of the central mosque in the direction of the *qibla*. There was nothing between his home and the mosque except a narrow street. This was after he had built a small lecture hall in front of the mosque connected to it in which children studied.

After Sidi Abu 'l-Qaasim died, he was succeeded by his disciple **Sidi Mansur 'l-Fazaani**⁸. After him the post of *imam* was succeeded by the munificent *sayyid*, the excellent righteous man, the ascetic *Qur'an* reciter, the master of the science of *Qur'anic* recitation, the jurist **Ibrahim 'z-Zulfi**. He was the teacher of my father. Sidi Abu'l-Qaasim was the one who established the cemetery which is in use today. This was after the older cemetery around the mosque had become completely full. He had a wall built surrounding the new cemetery. It was later destroyed and eventually disappeared all together. He also initiated the reciting of the *Qur'an* after the *juma`* prayer along with one section from the *al-Ishriniyat*⁹. The *Amir 'l-Mu'mineen* Al-Hajj Askiya Muhammad established in this mosque a religious bequest of book chests in which were sixty handwritten copies of the *Qur'an* for the purpose of the above assembly for recitation. The recitation of the *Qur'an* continued in this mosque until the year 1020 A.H.¹⁰. Then al-Hajj Ali ibn Saalim ibn Unayba 'l-Misraati took over the religious bequest and it remains in the mosque to this day. Once the *Amir* prayed the *juma`* prayer there and after the *salaam* he waited for the opportunity to give the greetings of peace to the generous *shaykh*, the *imam* Sidi Abu'l-Qaasim 't-Tuwaati. He sent his brother *Faran* Umar¹¹ to inform the *shaykh* of his desire to come and give him the greetings. He found the *shaykh* and those with him engaged in the reciting of praise songs for the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He stood near close to the *shaykh* waiting for them to finish. As the time passed the *Amir* sent another messenger who called out to the *Faran* in a loud voice saying, "The *Askiya* wants to leave." *Faran* Umar answered him in a loud voice. They continued to recite the praise songs for the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Then the *shaykh* strenuously objected and said, "Lower your voices! Do you not realize that the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace is present wherever one sings praise songs for him?!" He then recited a small piece from the verses of poetry and then finished that with remembrance of Allah (which is a practice I continue to this day). After they had finished, the *Amir* came to him and gave him the greetings of peace. The *shaykh* then recited the *Fatiha* for him. He remained in the post of *imam* of the central mosque for a long time. He possessed many miracles and much *baraka*. He used to provide meals for others and the majority of the people he fed were those who sang praise songs for the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. This was due to the intense love he had for praise songs for the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace¹². The place where these songs were chanted was in the area of

⁷ He was of north African origin from the town of Tuwat who came and settled in the Tinbuktu. He held the post of *Imam* until his death in 1516 C.E..

⁸ He was also of north African origin and held the post until the early 16th century.

⁹ See above footnote # 186. This text along with *al-Witriyaat* comprised the basic itinerary for the study of *madih* of the Prophet from the 9th century on in Muslim Africa.

¹⁰ That is the year 1611 C.E..

¹¹ He was Umar Kumzaghu ibn Abu Bakr, the deputy of his brother the *Amir 'l-Mu'mineen* al-Hajj Askiya Muhammad. He built the eastern capital of the empire called Tin Dirma where he ruled on behalf of his brother. The title *Faran* comes from the Soninke title *kormina-fari* or *kan-fari* meaning *sultan* or vicegerent. Chiek Ant Diop suggest that this title has its origin in ancient Egypt from the title *pharaoh*.

¹² They were called *al-madaaheen* or the people who made *madih*. *Madih* is poetic commendation in praise of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

the mosque near his home. Whenever he heard them chanting praise songs, he would come out to them with hot breads as if they had just been taken out of the oven that very moment. This would happen even if it was in the middle of the night, until the people realized that this food was from among his miracles. It was related that one day during an exceptionally dark early morning the believers noticed that water had trickled on his shirt while he was praying the *subh* prayer. After he had made the *salaam* for the prayer, he was asked about that and he said, "At that moment a person who was drowning in the Dabo river called for my help and I saved him. This is where the water came from." It was related that when he died and the people were carrying him during a pitch-dark night, a large amount of people began to crowd around his funeral bed. They clashed together until they all fell to the earth. However, his funeral bed remained suspended in mid air by the power of the Creator, glory be to Him, until they were able to stand and take hold of it. There were many unknown people seen there at his funeral. This was from among his many miracles. He, may Allah be merciful to him, died in the first part of the year 922 A.H.¹³. The jurist al-Mukhtar 'n-Nahawi also died in the last part of the same year, as I have come across in some of the histories. I also heard from some of the jurists who specialize in the science of historiography that Sidi Abu 'l-Qaasim died in the year 935 A.H.¹⁴ and that the jurist Abu'l-Barakaat Mahmud ibn Umar did not remain after him more than twenty years. It was said that he never stood in front of the people for the prayer after he had surrendered the post of *imam* to his maternal cousin, the *imam* And Agh Muhammad, due to the infirmity of his blessed limbs which affected him during old age - except during the *janaaza* of Sidi Abu'l-Qaasim 't-Tuwaati. Near his grave was the tombstone of Fayaad 'l-Ghadamaasi. Qadi Mahmud is the one who prayed over these two. He had him buried in the new cemetery in which are many of the righteous. It is said that along with him in the cemetery there were fifty men from Tuwat, all similar to him in righteousness and profound worship. This is the same for the old cemetery surrounding the mosque, in it are many of the righteous servants of Allah. It has been related that once a *shareef* from the family of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, was making *itikaaf* in the old mosque during *Ramadhan*¹⁵. He went out of the mosque in order to relieve himself during the middle of the night using a door located at the back. When he returned he came across men dressed in white turbans and long white shirts, sitting on each of the graves. He passed through them heading for the mosque. When he reached them one of the men said, "**Sub'haana Allah!** How can you just walk over our graves with your shoes like that?!" He then removed his shoes and entered the mosque. May Allah be merciful to them, be pleased with them and benefit us by means of their *baraka* in this life and the next. Amen. After his death the people surrendered the post of *imam* to his disciple Sidi Mansur until he died and was buried in the same area. Thus, there are three in that garden area of the cemetery. My father, may Allah be merciful to him said, "Our teacher *Shaykh* Ibrahim 'z-Zulfi had tremendous standing among the people of

¹³ This occurred in 1516 C.E..

¹⁴ This corresponds with 1529 C.E..

¹⁵ *Itikaaf* -has its source from the Quran and the *Sunna*. It has been related in the *al-Muwatta* of *Imam* Malik, "Yahya related to me from Malik that he had heard that al-Qasim ibn Muhammad and Nafi, the *mawla* of Abdullah ibn Umar said, 'You cannot do *itikaaf* unless you are fasting, because of what Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, says in His Book, 'And eat and drink until the white thread becomes clear to you from the black thread of dawn, then complete the fast until night-time, and do not have intercourse with them while you are doing *itikaaf* in mosques,' [2:187]. Allah only mentions *itikaaf* together with fasting." Malik said, "That is what we go by here."

Tinbuktu. This was because of the excellent opinion they had of him at that time. And if it were not for that they would not have appointed him to the post".

After the death of the *imam* Sidi Abu'l-Qaasim the people of the central mosque agreed to surrender the post to the jurist **Ahmad** the father of **Nana Surgu**¹⁶. They submitted their choice of him to Abu 'l-Barakaat *Qadi* Mahmud, who implemented their decision. Thus, he became an *imam* in the central mosque. After about two months of his appointment, the son of Sidi Abu'l-Qaasim arrived from Tuwat and the people came to the jurist *Qadi* Mahmud and said, "We want you to appoint the son of the *shaykh* as an *imam* over us." He said, "You come to me after I have appointed *Imam* Ahmad?! If you all do not get away from me I will have every one of you imprisoned!" The son of Abu'l-Qaasim then returned to Tuwat. After about seven months the above mentioned *Imam* Ahmad died. May Allah be merciful to him.

Then the people agreed to appoint the jurist **Sidi Ali 'l-Jazuli**¹⁷. His appointment was unexpected. The *imam* and jurist *Qadi* Mahmud appointed him to the post. He himself would sometimes delegate the munificent jurist Uthman ibn 'l-Hassan ibn 'l-Hajj 't-Tishiti¹⁸ as his deputy whenever there was an excuse to do so. He was among the upright slaves of Allah and when death approached Sidi Ali he gave his robe that he wore for the *juma`* prayer to Sidi Uthman and appointed him as *imam*. Sidi Ali 'l-Jazuli had a custom of financial benevolence which he established for those who prayed in the central mosque from the month of *Ramadhan* to the following *Ramadhan*. He would collect 500 *mithqals* of gold every year and have it distributed¹⁹. One *Ramadhan* after his death his deputy Uthman was only able to accumulate 200 *mithqals* of gold. He explained this to the jurist Mahmud. When the jurist Mahmud came to the *juma`* prayer and had finished in giving the greetings to the mosque, he called the *mu`adhdhin* and said to him, "Say to these Muslims, 'Be like your *imam*. If you will not increase in his custom of doing good then at least do not decrease what he did. So immediately give 500 *mithqals* in addition to the 200 which was already collected." Thus, that year 700 *mithqals* of gold were collected and distributed. He died, may Allah be merciful to him after abiding in the post of *imam* for eighteen years²⁰. The jurist Mahmud said, "He deserves to be segregated in his own burial garden." Thus, he was buried just outside of the wall in the direction of the north.

The jurist Mahmud then appointed Sidi Ali 'l-Jazuli's deputy **Uthman ibn 'l-Hassan** as the salaried *imam* of the central mosque. This he declined and the jurist Mahmud said, "You will not be allowed to leave my presence until you first indicate to me who you think deserves to be appointed as the post of *imam*!" Thus, Uthman pointed out the jurist **Siddiq ibn Muhammad Ta`alla**. He accepted the appointment and became the next *imam* of the central mosque. He was originally from the people of Kabura and was born in Jenje²¹. He was a munificent jurist, excellent scholar and among the upright. He relocated from Jenje' to Tinbuktu and settled there until he died. The reason for his relocation to Tinbuktu was that one day he was expounding on a particular issue of jurisprudence in his lecture. Present in his lecture was one of

¹⁶ Little is known about this *Imam*, his origin or background. According to his daughter's name he would be of Soninke origin. He held the post of *imam* of the central mosque until he died in 1528 C.E..

¹⁷ He was from the renown *Jazulah* Sanhaja people who were responsible for the diffusion of Islam throughout the regions of West Africa and the Sahara. He was appointed to the post in 1528 C.E..

¹⁸ As his name implies, he was from the Sanhaja of the town of Tishit which is located some 800 kilometers west of Tinbuktu.

¹⁹ A single *mithqals* equals 4.3 grams. The total amounted to about 2117.5 grams of gold.

²⁰ He died in the year 1546 C.E..

²¹ This indicates that he was Malinke origin.

his students who had traveled to Tinbuktu after having studied with him. After having studied in Tinbuktu the student returned to Jenje'. He said to him, "Your exposition of this legal issue is not like what I heard from the jurist of Tinbuktu." The *shaykh* then said, "What is their exposition." The student explained what it was demonstrating the level of learning he had attained. Then the *shaykh* said humbly, "We have squandered our years uselessly." Because of that he, may Allah be pleased with him relocated to the metropolis of Tinbuktu. There transpired a great affection and love for the sake of Allah ta`ala between him and the deputy Uthman ibn 'l-Hassan. This friendship transpired into a civility and kindness to the point whenever one of them would have his breakfast, each would send part of it to the house of friend. They would do the same during dinner. *Imam* Siddiq would not prepare for the *juma`* prayer except in the house of the deputy Uthman. This was out of the considerable love which had developed between them. Then the *imam* Siddiq traveled east to the pilgrimage. He performed the pilgrimage and visited and mingled with many of the jurists and righteous.²² Among them was the knower of Allah ta`ala Sidi Muhammad 'l-Bakri 's-Siddiqi. This *waliy* had tremendous love for the jurist from Tinbuktu. He would always ask about their affairs. He once said to *Imam* Siddiq, "The one you appointed to pray with the people in your absence is a righteous man." Thus, when he returned from his absence and entered his home, his brother and close friend the deputy Uthman came to give him the greetings. Uthman praised Allah for his safe return and said, "Supplicate Allah for us since you are the one has stayed in such honorable stopping places." Then *Imam* Siddiq said to him, "On the contrary! You should supplicate for us, since you are the one about whom the knower of Allah ta`ala Sidi Muhammad 'l-Bakri referred to as a righteous man." One of the elderly *shaykhs* from the people of Tinbuktu informed me that the ascetic jurist and educator, the maternal uncle of my father, Sidi Abd'r-Rahman 'l-Ansaari²³ informed him that *Imam* Siddiq informed him that the knower of Allah ta`ala, the *Qutb* Sidi Muhammad 'l-Bakri 's-Siddiqi said, "The prolonged well-being of the city of Tinbuktu is rooted in the healthy structure of the mineral of the central mosque. The people of Tinbuktu should not be remiss concerning it." *Imam* Siddiq remained in the post of *imam* for twenty-four years and Allah knows best²⁴.

When he died *Qadi* 'l-'Aqib appointed the deputy **Uthman ibn 'l-Hassan ibn 'l-Hajj 't-Tishiti** immediately after him in a salaried position. This he refused but *Qadi* 'l-'Aqib swore that if he did not take the post he would have him imprisoned. In the year 974 A.H. his neighbor, my grandfather `Amran died and he prayed over him²⁵. He was buried in the new cemetery in the vicinity of the grave of Sidi Abu'l-Qaasim 't-Tuwaati. In the last part of the year 977 A.H., he himself died and was buried in the old cemetery²⁶. May Allah be merciful to them and be pleased with them.

The people of the central mosque disputed with one another concerning the jurist Gidadu 'l-Fulani and the jurist Ahmad ibn *Imam* Saddiq. It was *Qadi* 'l-'Aqib

²² This pilgrimage took place during the latter part of his tenure as *Imam* of the central mosque, perhaps between 1550 and 1560 C.E..

²³ He was *Sayyid* Abd'r-Rahman ibn *Sidi* Ali ibn Abd'r-Rahman 'l-Ansari 'l-Misnaani. He was the sister of Fatima bint *Sidi* Ali who married `Amran ibn Amir 's-Sa`di. They gave birth to Abdullah ibn `Amran, the father of the author and chronicler of this book.

²⁴ From 1546 to 1569 C.E..

²⁵ He was `Amran ibn Amir 's-Sa`di, the grandfather of the author of this chronicle. His death took place in 1568 C.E..

²⁶ He died in 1570 C.E. which means he held the post of *imam* of the central mosque for less than a year.

who chose **Muhammad Gidadu 'l-Fulani**²⁷ and appointed him in a salaried position as *imam* of the mosque. He was among the most excellent of the upright slaves of Allah. He remained in the post of *imam* for twelve years. After his death **Imam Ahmad ibn Imam Saddiq** was then appointed by the order of *Qadi 'l-'Aqib*. He remained in the post of *imam* for fifteen years, nine months and eight days. Ten of those years he served under the government and rule of Songhay. Thus, he was the last of the *imams* of the central mosque during their government²⁸. Five years he served as *imam* of the central mosque during the rule and government of the Hashimi Sultan Abu 'l-Abass *Mulay Ahmad*. The history of thier rule and government and the history of their demise will be explained when mentioned will be made of those who died during the year of 1021 A.H.²⁹.



The Sankore' Masjid/University

As for the **Sankore'** mosque/university, it was first built by an extremely wealthy Black women as a righteous deed for the sake of Allah. This is based on what we have comprehended from the narrations, however we have not come across the exact time in which this mosque was built³⁰. There were many Black *shaykhs* appointed to the post of *imam* of this mosque, may Allah be merciful to them and shower His forgiveness upon them³¹. As for those whose chronology we know, they were the following. The righteous jurist **Abu 'l-Barakaat Mahmud** ibn Umar ibn Muhammad Aqit was appointed to this auspicious post by the permission of the jurist

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²⁷ He was Muhammad Gidadu ibn Abu Bakr 'l-Fulani, [d. 1582 C.E.]. He was the first of series of illustrious Fulani scholars who would monopolize the post of *imam* of the central mosque until the 19th century.

²⁸ His tenure as *imam* of the central mosque began in 1582 during the government of Songhay until its demise in 1591. He maintained that post until 1597 C.E..

²⁹ This corresponds with 1612 C.E..

³⁰ Evidence shows that the mosque was most probably built during the 12th century when Tinbuktu was under the sovereignty of the Malinke people.

³¹ Although the exact dates of the tenure of these *imams* are not known, however these *Sudanese* jurists held this position from about the middle of the 12th century until the early 15th century. The majority of these scholars were from the areas of Kabura and Dia.

Qadi Habib³². Then his maternal nephew the *imam* **And Agh Muhammad** ibn *al-faqih* 'l-Mukhtar 'n-Nahawi was appointed to the post when the blessed limbs of *Qadi* Mahmud became infirm from old age³³. After the death of *Imam* And Agh Muhammad, the jurist *Qadi* Muhammad ibn *Qadi* Mahmud ordered his son, the jurist Muhammad be appointed to the post of *imam*³⁴. He excused himself from the position due to the incontinence of urine. He then demanded him to prove that. Then the jurist **al-'Aqib ibn al-faqih Mahmud** came as a witness for him in that. Consequently, *Qadi* Muhammad relieved him from that position and then considered the one who acted as his witness to the post of *imam*³⁵. He nominated him and he assumed the responsibility. Then after the death of his brother, *Qadi* Muhammad, the *Amir* Askiya Dawud commissioned him to assume the position of the judiciary³⁶. Thus, he gathered together the rank of *imam* of the **Sankore'** mosque/university and the rank of chief *qadi* of the entire empire until he died. No one ever took his place, not even for a single prayer except during the sickness which caused his death³⁷. Then his nephew, the ascetic jurist Muhammad 'l-Amin ibn *Qadi* Muhammad was appointed to pray with the people in the mosque³⁸. But his mother *Nana* Hafsa bint al-Hajj Ahmad ibn Umar refused³⁹. Thus, the **Sankore'** mosque/university remained for days without the people praying the congregational prayers in it. Then the erudite jurist Muhammad Baghyuyu⁴⁰ ordered him to act as deputy to pray with the people. He said, "No, why do not you do it!?" He responded, "This is not possible due to the rights I have which are connected to the other mosque."⁴¹ Then the congregation of the **Sankore'** quarter agreed upon the nephew of *Qadi* 'l-Aqib, the jurist **Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad Biru**⁴². They forcefully pushed him forward to lead the prayer with the people. He prayed the *dhuhr*, *asr*, *maghrib* and *isha* prayers with the people in congregation. He then quit the city fleeing that very night to the village of Tin Bahuri where he soon died⁴³. The congregation of the **Sankore'** quarter then appointed the brother of *Qadi* al-Aqib, the *waliy* of Allah ta'ala, the jurist **Abd 'r-Rahman** ibn *al-faqih* Mahmud⁴⁴. He was appointed as a salaried *imam* over the mosque/university and carried out his responsibilities well. In spite of the fact that he was extremely ill, no one ever replaced him for a single prayer until he and his family were seized by Mahmud ibn

³² This no doubt took place during the mid period of *Qadi* Habib ibn Muhammad 's-Saaliq's tenure as judge of Tinbuktu around 1473 C.E..

³³ He was *Imam* Abu Abdallah And Agh Muhammad ibn 'l-Mukhtar 'n-Nahawi ibn And Agh Muhammad 'l-Kabir and was appointed to the post of dean and *imam* of the **Sankore'** mosque/university 1540 C.E..

³⁴ He was Muhammad ibn And Agh Muhammad ibn 'l-Mukhtar 'n-Nahawi ibn And Agh Muhammad 'l-Kabir. This took place around 1553 C.E..

³⁵ He was *Qadi* al-'Aqib ibn *Qadi* Mahmud ibn Umar Aqit ibn Muhammad Aqit ibn Umar who was appointed in 1553 C.E. to the post of *imam* and dean of the **Sankore'** mosque/university.

³⁶ This happened in the year 1565 C.E..

³⁷ This happened in the year 1583 C.E..

³⁸ He was Muhammad 'l-Amin ibn *Qadi* Muhammad ibn *Qadi* Mahmud ibn Umar Aqit ibn Muhammad Aqit ibn Umar

³⁹ As her title indicates, she was a scholar in her own right and the daughter of the most prominent figure among the literati of the **Sankore'** district.

⁴⁰ He was Muhammad Baghyuyu ibn Mahmud ibn Abu Bakar al-Wangari at-Timbukti [1524 C.E.-July, 1593 C.E.].

⁴¹ Here he refers to his duties as *imam* and professor at the Sidi Yahya mosque.

⁴² He was Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad Biru ibn *Qadi* Mahmud ibn Umar ibn Muhammad Aqit who was appointed in 1583 C.E..

⁴³ *Tin Bahuri* or Tumbura is a town in the Malinke region of Bunduku just south of the city of Jenne' some 600 kilometers from Tinbuktu.

⁴⁴ He was Abd'r-Rahman ibn *Qadi* Mahmud ibn Umar ibn Muhammad Aqit ibn Umar, [d. 1597 C.E.].

Zarqun⁴⁵. After him the jurist **Muhammad ibn Muhammad Kara**⁴⁶ was appointed as the *imam* of the **Sankore'** mosque/university until he died. Then the judge **Sidi Ahmad** prayed with the people for a short time⁴⁷. Then his son the jurist **Muhammad** was appointed to the post⁴⁸. After his death the post was assigned to the jurist **Santa`u ibn 'l-Haadi 'l-Wadaani**⁴⁹ by the commission of *Qadi* Abd 'r-Rahman ibn Ahmad Maghia⁵⁰. He is the one who holds the post of *imam* of the **Sankore'** mosque/university at the present.

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⁴⁵ This occurred in 1591 C.E..

⁴⁶ He was Muhammad ibn Muhammad Kara [d. 1619 C.E.] who was given the title *shaykh 's-shuyuukh* -'the master of masters' because of the educational reforms he instituted and the revival he created during his tenure as *imam* and dean of the **Sankore'** mosque/university

⁴⁷ He was *Qadi* Sidi Ahmad ibn And Agh Muhammad ibn Ahmad Boryo ibn Ahmad ibn And Agh Muhammad 'l-Kabir [d. 1635 C.E.]. He probably held the post of *imam* and dean of the **Sankore'** mosque/university in 1619 C.E. until the appointment of *Qadi* Muhammad ibn *Imam* Muhammad ibn Muhammad Kara.

⁴⁸ He was Muhammad ibn *Qadi* Ahmad ibn And Agh Muhammad ibn Ahmad Boryo ibn Ahmad ibn And Agh Muhammad 'l-Kabir, who was perhaps appointed to the post in 1627 C.E.. Little is known of this *Imam*.

⁴⁹ He was *Imam* Santa`u ibn 'l-Haadi 'l-Wadaani

⁵⁰ He was *Qadi* Abd'r-Rahman ibn Ahmad Maghia ibn Muhammad ibn Umar [d. 1659 C.E.].