A short note on a silsila of the Qdiriyya brotherhood in Ethiopia

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Published in:
Collectanea Islamica

Publication date:
2012

Citation for published version (APA):
Sources for the study of Islamic societies

Futūḥ al-buldān
Sources for the study of Islamic societies
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*Futūḥ al-buldān* is a well-known work of al-Balāḍuri (d. 297/892), one of the most important Muslim historians who lived in the third century of hiǧra. The reference to classical Muslim historiography in the series’ title is coupled with the semantic spectrum of the Arabic root of the word *fath*. It refers to ‘military conquest,’ as well as to the ideas of to ‘open,’ ‘begin,’ and/or ‘reveal.’ Thus, the title of the series is a tribute to a great Muslim historian, but it also represents a synthesis of the ideological framework that underpins he series, which is to disclose pieces of history of Islamic societies.

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A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya brotherhood in Ethiopia

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Introduction

In spite of a lack of exact and reliable information on the present distribution of the Islamic mystical brotherhoods in Ethiopia (and Eritrea), the Qādiriyya is the most widespread Islamic brotherhood, ṭarīqa, in the country.

In the present paper I carry out a brief research on a spiritual genealogy (silsila) of the Ethiopian Qādiriyya trying to shed light on the ways the ṭarīqa followed to spread in the different regions of Ethiopia, and to contribute to the reconstruction of the history of the group in that country.

1. The Qādiriyya in Ethiopia

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī (m. 561/1166) is widely known and devotedly venerated in Ethiopia. His cenotaphs are scattered across the country, and mosques named after him are found in many different towns and

The research on which this article is based was made possible thanks to the support of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung.

The Somali Qādiriyya is, on the contrary, relatively well known (see Alessandro Gori, Studi sulla letteratura agiografica islamica somala in lingua araba, Dipartimento di Linguistica, Firenze 2003, in particular pp. 28-32).
To mention only a few examples, in Harar, a famous maqâm of ‘Abd al-Qādir and his mother Umm al-Ḥayr Fāṭima (locally called Umma Koda) is located outside the wall of the old town (ḡugal), in the area known as Qurra-be limay just in front of the main bus-station. Eighteen kilometres east of Harar, in the Argobba land, a renowned sacred compound hosts the shrines of ‘Abd al-Qādir and Umma Koda with a house for the congregational meetings of the Qādiriyya brotherhood (ḥadra). Both locations are cherished holy sites to which the faithful of the Harar region flock in pilgrimage to seek the baraka of the saint and his mother. In Eritrea, a very famous shrine (mazār) of ‘Abd al-Qādir exists on the homonymous stretch of land north of Massawa and local traditions obviously claim that the saint actually died there. Emir ‘Abd al-Šākur b. Yūsf of Harar (d. 1794) had a mosque called ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlânī built near the shrine of ʿayh Ḥusayn in the south Ethiopian region of Bale. In Asmara a modern mosque with a maqâm perpetuates the memory of the eponymous of the Qādiriyya.

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlânī is invoked in devotional poems and prayers.

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2 Unfortunately, no exhaustive list of the cenotaphs of ‘Abd al-Qādir in Ethiopia (and in the Horn) is available. There is no need to underline the interest and the importance that such a list could provide to clarify the dimensions of the cult of this saint in Northeastern Africa.


5 See Gori, s.v. “Umma Koda.”


7 Enrico Cerulli, Studi etiopici I. La lingua e la storia di Harar, Istituto per l’Oriente, Roma 1936, pp. 44 and 51.

with the names of local Ethiopian holy men. The text collection recited during the mawlid ceremony in Harar contains a poem attributed to ‘Abd al-Qādir (Tuf bi-halī sab’an) and a long pious supplication to ask for his help (Yā qūb yā rabbānī al-hayakal al-nūrānī ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādirī centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Yaggu (Wällo), Qatbare in Qabeena and Galamsso (Gälämso) in Oromia are among the most celebrated headquarters of the brotherhood and host famous Islamic schools which attract scholars and students to teach and study not only mysticism but the whole syllabus of the Islamic traditional education.

A number of Ethiopian Islamic renowned learned men were affiliated with the Qādiriyya (e.g. Gamal al-Dīn Muhammad al-Annī, d. 1882; Ahmad b. Ādam al-Dānī, d. 1903; ‘Īsā b. Ḥamza al-Qatbarī d. 1947, ‘Umar b. ‘Alī al-Ǧalamsī, fl. first half of the 20th century) and contributed to enhance the influence and the prestige of the ṣarīqa.

Despite the apparent rooting of the brotherhood in the country, the history of the Qādiriyya in Ethiopia has never been investigated by scholars and is therefore almost completely unknown. The ways the ṣarīqa followed in its spread into the different cultural and ethnical landscapes of Islamic Ethiopia are so far only vaguely describable. The reciprocal relationships of the various centres of the brotherhood are not precisely identifiable and the biographies of the Ethiopian qādirī masters can only be sketched. First-hand sources on the mystical group and its literature (manāqīb, silsilas, handbooks of doctrine, litanies and devotional texts) are still to be located, collected and critically published.

11 Dirk Bustorf, s.v. “Qatbäre,” in EAE.
12 Mohammed Hassen, s.v. “Gälämso,” EAE.
It is often repeated in scholarly literature that the first introducer of the Qādiriyya in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyārūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-Saqqāf branch of the Ḥadrami Bā ‘Alawi sayyid, who allegedly brought the ẓarīqa to Harar. However, no evidence for this assertion has ever been shown yet. The first inception of the brotherhood remains thus still enshrouded in obscurity.

The late Hussein Ahmed was the first researcher to concretely contribute to the enhancement of our knowledge of the Ethiopian Qādiriyya. While carrying out some field work in his native region, he came to know a local silsila of the Qādiriyya that sheds light on the spread of the brotherhood from Harar into Wällo in the 19th century.

The silsila published by Hussein Ahmed runs as follows:

Sayyid Musāfir – faqīh Ḥāṣim – Ahmad b. Ṣāliḥ – faqīh Zubayr – ẓāyī Muhammad Šāfī (d. 1814/15)16 – Muhammad b. faqīh Zubayr – ẓāyī Ǧamal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī – Ahmad b. Ādam (d. 1903) – Muḥammad Yasin (d. 1924); sayyid Ḥaḥim (d. 1956).17

According to Hussein Ahmed’s informants, sayyid Musāfir was of Yemeni origin and thus was a trait-d’union between the local Ethiopian Qādiriyya and the broader brotherhood network. He initiated to the Qādiri wird “a certain faqīh Ḥāṣim” of Harar who in his turn entrusted the ẓarīqa to Ḥāṣim b. Ṣāliḥ. The latter took the brother-

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15 The personality of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyārūs is still little known and deserves more in-depth research. He is credited to have introduced the habit of drinking coffee into Arabia. His connection with the Qādiriyya is still unclear as some sources point instead to his affiliation to the Šāhīyya (Oscar Lōfgren, s.v. “‘Ayyārūs,” in Clifford E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition, Brill, Leiden 1960-2005).
16 On this figure see Hussein Ahmed, s.v. “Muḥammad Šāfī,” in EAE.
18 Interviewed by Hussein Ahmed, ẓāyī Muḥammad Wale said that sayyid Musāfir came from a not well-specified “West” and that faqīh Ḥāṣim received the qādiri wird also “from an unknown ʿālim from Medina” (Hussein Ahmed, Islam in Nineteenth-Century, p. 69).
A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya

Hood to Wållo where it took root in the entire region.

The spiritual genealogy collected by Hussein Ahmed provides us with at least two important pieces of information: 1) the Qādiriyya most probably arrived in Ethiopia from Yemen, although not through the intermediation of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydarūs, whose name appears nowhere; 2) the Qādiriyya came to Wållo through šayḥ Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ among whose pupils also figured the much revered saint and learned man sayyid al-Bā‘ al-hāqī Buṣra b. Āy Muḥammad.19

Hussein Ahmed’s informants were not able to give further details on the personalities of the three oldest šayḥs mentioned in the silsila, so they remain nothing more than simple names. However, it is possible to identify with certainty faqīḥ Hāšim with the Harari learned man and member of the Harari emir family Hāšim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 1765)20 who authored a much renowned Arabic collection of pious litanies and prayers in praise of the Prophet (called the Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī [sic!]), a werd for the Qādiriyya brotherhood and a Harari poem, al-Muṣṭafā, known both in a shorter and a longer version.

2. Šayḥ Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ and his silsila

Very recently, new evidence on the silsila of the Wållo Qādiriyya has


20 For some introductory information on him see Ewald Wagner, s.v. “Hāšim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” in EAE. The affiliation of faqīḥ Hāšim to the Qādiriyya is proved by an unpublished silsila contained in the manuscript Hs. or. 10472 of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (see the description of the document in Ewald Wagner, Afrikanische Handschriften. Teil 2. Islamische Handschriften aus Äthiopien, “Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 24-2,” Steiner, Stuttgart 1997, pp. 10-11.
come into light. In Ramadan 1425 (Oct.-Nov. 2004)\(^{21}\) the Nağāşī printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based in Addis Ababa,\(^{22}\) published the *Îqāz himam al-ağbiyā' bi-rašq qatra min tarafīm al-‘ulamā' wa-al-awliyā’ fi ġumhūriyyat Iṣyūbiyyā*, a collection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wållo šayḥ Muḥammad Wale.\(^{23}\)

Among the saints whose *manāqib* were published in the book there is also šayḥ Âḥmad b. Šāliḥ, *trait d’union* between the Harari and the Wållo branches of the Qādiriyya. No factual detail about the life of šayḥ Âḥmad b. Šāliḥ is recorded in the short biographical note of the *Îqāz*.\(^{24}\) The sources of the information given in the book are not revealed. The dates of birth and death of the holy man remain unknown and the data about his genealogy are not ascertained. The fact that someone calls Âḥmad b. Šāliḥ “Âḥmad Kubrā” irritates the author/collector who deems it as a manifestation of coarse ignorance of the basic principles of the Arabic language.

Among the many prodigies which are commonly attributed to šayḥ Âḥmad, Muhammad Wale reports only a single *karāma* which he himself seems to consider unbelievable. It is said that Âḥmad b. Šāliḥ on his way to Yağğu where he was to give the *iğāza* to faqīḥ Zubayr, made a detour to Rayya. There, he noticed a girl who was playing with some boys. He stopped her and announced that she would give birth to someone who would renew his *ḍikr*; she was actually the mother-to-be of šayḥ Gamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī. Besides the general skepticism of the author about *karāmāt*, in this specific tale

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\(^{21}\) This is the date given on page 2 of the book. In the short biography of the author however, it is said that the text was published just a few days before his death (Sep. 10\(^{th}\) 2005).


\(^{24}\) Muḥammad Wale, *Îqāz himam al-ağbiyā’*, pp. 137-140.
Muḥammad Wale stresses also a general theological inconsistency: it is highly questionable whether it is legitimate to give a sort of ṭigāza in absentia to someone who is not (yet) alive.²⁵

Notwithstanding its scanty amount of information, the section of the ṭīqāz is very interesting because it records the complete silsila of Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ. The spiritual genealogy connecting ʿsayḥ Aḥmad back to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī runs as follows:


The reliability of the silsila linking the Ethiopian branch of the brotherhood to the wider Islamic world can hardly sustain critical analysis. Quite surprisingly, most of the names mentioned, from Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Razzāq (one of the sons of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī) down to ʿAlī al-Ḥāšimī, ʿṢaraf al-Dīn and Baṭr al-Dīn Aḥmad, correspond to the physical and spiritual genealogy of the Āl al-Ġilānī al-Ḥamawī, the descendants of ʿAbd al-Qādir in the Syrian town of Ḥamā.²⁷

In particular, the nasab of this ʿṣarīf group almost literally confirms the section of the Ethiopian silsila/nasab: ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī –

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 139.
al-sayyid Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – qādī al-qudāt al-sayyid Nāṣir (called al-Naṣr in the Syrian source) – al-šayḫ Abū al-Naṣr al-sayyid Muhammad – al-šayḫ Ṣāhir al-Dīn al-sayyid Aḥmad – Sayf al-Dīn al-sayyid Yahyā. Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā (d. 734/1333-34) was the first member of the offspring of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġlānī to settle in Ḥamā in 685/1286-87 on his way back from the haqq (hence his nickname nazīl Ḥamā) and from him the whole ʿĀl Kilānī group originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā back to al-sayyid ‘Alī Ṣāhir al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāšimī are not completely identical in the Syrian nasab and in the Ethiopian silsila but the relatively slight discrepancies between the two texts can be easily explained with some disruptions in the transmission.\(^2\)

The only really missing person in the Syrian nasab is Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī who, however, could be an avatar of Ibrāhīm b. Ṣaraf al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāšimī who appears in the nasab of šayḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kīlānī, naqīb al-ašrāf in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).\(^3\)

As for sayyid Musāfir al-Mağribī, who should be the person who practically introduced the tariqa into Ethiopia, he lays in complete obscurity: one can only speculate on his nisba which often is used in Ethiopia to refer to individuals coming or originating from Sudan. It is of course theoretically conceivable that this sayyid Musāfir al-Mağribī could have met a member of the Kilānī family somewhere in the Near East or in the Arabian Peninsula and have been initiated to the Qādirī brotherhood by him. Such an event, however, would probably have been recorded in Ethiopian tradition with much emphasis. It is thus much more likely that sayyid Musāfir al-Mağribī is nothing but a ghost name functioning to connect the Near-eastern silsila with Ethiopia.

The Īqāż also contains a cursive mention of the line of Qādirī spiritual descendency initiated by šayḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ. The silsila in this


\(^{3}\) How the Syrian nasab came to be known in Ethiopia so that Muḥammad Wale could insert it in his book as a silsila is not clear. A feedback from an Arabic written source is most likely but cannot be proven.
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case is:


This is once more the famous Anna-Dana silsila, already recorded by J. Spencer Trimingham and then studied by Hussei n Ahmed.³¹ From the al-Danī al-Ṭānī, the Ethiopian Qādiriyya apparently managed to spread widely in every corner of Ethiopia. Among the most famous disciples of the “second” al-Danī ṣayḥ, Muḥammad Wale mentions:

al-ṣayḥ al-Sayyid b. al-sayyid Ģibrāḥīm al-Ṭālī; ṣayḥ Abū al-Baṣṭ – ṣayḥ Mahmūd Kanz – ṣayḥ Šahīd al-Dār ṣayḥ al-Karamī who was, in his turn, master of al-ḥāḡā ᵭ Muḥammad Zayn al-Danī (the third Danī).³²

This local Ethiopian section of the silsila thus includes the names of the main representatives of the Qādiriyya of Wāllo in the recent past and today. It provides the standard chain of spiritual descent for the whole region, highlighting the pivotal role played by the Anna-Dana connection.

This is the only Ethiopian Qādirī silsila known so far. Other silsilas based on different Qādirī centres in Wāllo and/or in Harar which, for sure, exist are still to be discovered. Only further research on the written local tradition of the tarīqa will hopefully allow us to make a more detailed assessment of the network of the Qādiriyya in the whole region.

³⁰ Muhammad Wale, 上がる himam al-γaḥiyā’, p. 139.
³² Muhammad Wale, 上がる himam al-γaḥiyā’, p. 139.