A short note on a silsila of the Qdiriyya brotherhood in Ethiopia
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Miṣḥāḥ al-arwāḥ fī usūl al-falāḥ by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Maḡlī (fl. late 15th century).
Image courtesy of Shamil Jeppie, editor of the volume
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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

ʿAbd 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

\[^1\] The research on which this article is based was made possible thanks to the support of the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung.

\[^1\] 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).
villages.² To mention only a few examples, in Harar, a famous maqām of ‘Abd al-Qādir and his mother Umm al-Ḥayr Fāṭima (locally called Umma Koda)³ 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.⁴ 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).⁵ 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.⁶ Emir ‘Abd al-Šakīr b. Yūsuf of Harar (d. 1794) had a mosque called ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī built near the shrine of ʿayḥ Ḥusayn in the south Ethiopian region of Bale.⁷ In Asmara a modern mosque with a maqām perpetuates the memory of the eponymous of the Qādiriya.⁸

ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī is invoked in devotional poems and prayers

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 (Ṭuf bi-ḥālī sab‘ān) and a long pious supplication to ask for his help (Yā quṭb yā rabbānī al-hayakal al-nūrānī ’Abd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādirī centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Yaggu (Wällo), Qatbare in Qabeena and Galamssoo (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. Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aṭṭār, d. 1882; Ahmad b. Ėdam al-Dānī, d. 1903; Īsā b. Ėḥamza al-Qatbarī d. 1947, ‘Umar b. Ėlī al-Ǧalamsī, fl. first half of the 20th century) and contributed to enhance the influence and the prestige of the ṭarīqa.

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 ṭarīqa 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\textsuperscript{14} that the first introducer of the \textit{Q	ext{"a}diriyya} in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayarḍūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-Saqqāf branch of the Ḥadrami Bā ‘Alawī sayyid, who allegedly brought the \textit{tārīqa} to Harar. However, no evidence for this assertion has ever been shown yet.\textsuperscript{15} 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 \textit{Q	ext{"a}diriyya}. While carrying out some field work in his native region, he came to know a local \textit{silsila} of the \textit{Q	ext{"a}diriyya} that sheds light on the spread of the brotherhood from Harar into Wällo in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

The \textit{silsila} published by Hussein Ahmed runs as follows:

\textit{Sayyid Musāfīr – faqīh Hāšim – Ahmad b. Sālih – faqīh Zubayr – šayḥ Muhammad Šāfī (d. 1814/15)}\textsuperscript{16} – Muhammad b. faqīh Zubayr – šayḥ Ğamat al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī – Ahmad b. Ādam (d. 1903) – Muḥammad Yasin (d. 1924); sayyid ibrāhīm (d. 1956).\textsuperscript{17}

According to Hussein Ahmed’s informants, \textit{sayyid Musāfīr} was of Yemeni origin\textsuperscript{18} and thus was a \textit{trait-d’union} between the local Ethiopian \textit{Q	ext{"a}diriyya} and the broader brotherhood network. He initiated to the \textit{Q	ext{"a}diri} \textit{wird} “a certain faqīh Hāšim” of Harar who in his turn entrusted the \textit{tārīqa} to Ahmad b. Šālih. The latter took the brother-


\textsuperscript{15} The personality of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayarḍūs 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 \textit{Q	ext{"a}diriyya} is still unclear as some sources point instead to his affiliation to the Šāliyya (Oscar Lōfgren, s.v. “‘Ayarḍūs,” in Clifford E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Islam}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition, Brill, Leiden 1960-2005).

\textsuperscript{16} On this figure see Hussein Ahmed, s.v. “Muḥammad Šāfī,” in \textit{EAE}.


\textsuperscript{18} Interviewed by Hussein Ahmed, šayḥ Muhammad Wale said that \textit{sayyid Musāfīr} came from a not well-specified “West” and that faqīh Hāšim received the \textit{qādiri} \textit{wird} also “from an unknown ‘ālim from Medina” (Hussein Ahmed, \textit{Islam in Nineteenth-Century}, p. 69).
hood to Wällo 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 Wällo through šayḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣaliḥ among whose pupils also figured the much revered saint and learned man sayyid al-Bā‘al-hāg Buṣra b. Āy Muḥammad.  

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 Ḥāsim with the Harari learned man and member of the Harari emir family Ḥāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 1765) who authored a much renowned Arabic collection of pious litanies and prayers in praise of the Prophet (called the Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī [sic!]), a wird for the Qādiriyya brotherhood and a Harari poem, al-Muṣṭafā, known both in a shorter and a longer version.  

2. Šayḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣaliḥ and his silsila

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

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20 For some introductory information on him see Ewald Wagner, s.v. “Ḥāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” in EAE. The affiliation of faqīḥ Ḥāsim 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 Āthiopiien, “Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 24-2,” Steiner, Stuttgart 1997, pp. 10-11.
come into light. In Ramadan 1425 (Oct.-Nov. 2004)\textsuperscript{21} the Nağāši
printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based
in Addis Ababa,\textsuperscript{22} published the İqāz himam al-ağhiyā’ bi-raṣḥ qaṭra
min tarāğim al-‘ulamā’ wa-al-awliyā’ fi ḡumhūrīyyat Iyyūbihā, a col-
lection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wāllo ṣayḥ Muḥammad Wale.\textsuperscript{23}

Among the saints whose manāqib were published in the book there
is also ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Wale, a col-
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Among the many prodigies which are commonly attributed to ṣayḥ ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Wale reports only a single karāma which he
himself seems to consider unbelievable. It is said that ʿAbd al-
Wale, qhimam al-ağhiyā’, pp. 137-140.

\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{th} 2005).
\textsuperscript{22} On the editorial activities of the Muslim communities in Ethiopia the bibliography is quite
wide. See Hussein Ahmed “Islamic Literature and Religious Revival in Ethiopia (1991-
“Islamic literature in Ethiopia: A short overview,” Ethiopian Journal of Languages and
\textsuperscript{23} Muḥammad Wale, İqāz himam al-ağhiyā’ bi-raṣḥ qaṭra min tarāğim al-‘ulamā’ wa-al-
\textsuperscript{24} Muḥammad Wale, İqāz himam al-ağhiyā’’, pp. 137-140.
Muḥammad Wale stresses also a general theological inconsistency: it is highly questionable whether it is legitimate to give a sort of iḡāza in absentia to someone who is not (yet) alive.  

Notwithstanding its scanty amount of information, the section of the Iqāz is very interesting because it records the complete silsila of Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ. The spiritual genealogy connecting šayḥ Aḥmad back to Ṭābah 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 ‘Abd al-Razzāq (one of the sons of Ṭābah al-Qādir al-Ġilānī) down to ‘Alī al-Hāšimī, Šāraf al-Dīn and Baḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad, correspond to the physical and spiritual genealogy of the Āl al-Ġilānī al-Ḥamawi, the descendants of Ṭābah al-Qādir in the Syrian town of Ḥamā.  

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

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Ibidem}, p. 139.  
al-sayyid Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – qāḍī al-qudūt al-sayyid Nāṣir (called al-Nāṣr in the Syrian source) – al-ṣayyīḥ Abū al-Naṣṣ al-sayyid Muhammad – al-ṣayyīḥ Zāhir 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-Ḡilānī to settle in Ḥamā in 685/1286-87 on his way back from the ḥaġg (hence his nickname nazīl Ḥamā) and from him the whole Šīlūn family originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā back to al-sayyid ‘Alī 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.  

The only really missing person in the Syrian nasab is Ibrāḥīm al-Qādir who, however, could be an avatar of Ibrāḥīm b. Šaraf al-Dīn b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥāšimī who appears in the nasab of šayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḵīlānī, naqīb al-aṣrāf in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).  

As for sayyid Musāfīr al-Maḥribī, who should be the person who practically introduced the tarīqa 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 Musāfīr al-Maḥribī 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 Musāfīr al-Maḥribī is nothing but a ghost name functioning to connect the Near-eastern silsila with Ethiopia.  

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

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29 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.
case is:


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

al-ṣayḥ al-Ṣayyid b. al-sayyid ʿIrāḥīm al-Ṭālī; ʿṣayḥ Abū al-Baṣṭ – ʿṣayḥ Māḥmūd Kanz – ʿṣayḥ ʿṢāḥīḥ al-Dār ʿṣayḥ al-Kāramī who was, in his turn, master of al-ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Zayn al-Danī (the third Danī).32

This local Ethiopian section of the sīlsila thus includes the names of the main representatives of the Qādirīyya 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 sīlsila known so far. Other sīsilas 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 Qādirīyya in the whole region.

30 Muḥammad Wale, Iqāz himam al-aḥḥiyāʾ, p. 139.
32 Muḥammad Wale, Iqāz himam al-aḥḥiyāʾ, p. 139.