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):
فتوح البلدان

Futūḥ al-buldān

Sources for the study of Islamic societies
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*Futūḥ al-buldān* is a well-known work of al-Balāḍurī (d. 297/892), one of the most important Muslim historians who lived in the third century of hīǧra. 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 the 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),

1 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-Ǧīlānī (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.

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. 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) 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 Ṭādiryya 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-Šakīr b. Yūsuf of Harar (d. 1794) had a mosque called Ṭ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī built near the shrine of ṣayḥ Ḥusayn in the south Ethiopian region of Bale. In Asmara a modern mosque with a maqām perpetuates the memory of the eponymous of the Ṭādiryya.

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧīlānī 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.


6 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-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-Gilānī). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādirī centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Ḥaqūq (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.

Despite the apparent rooting of the brotherhood in the country, the history of the Qādirīyya 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 (manāqib, silsilas, handbooks of doctrine, litanies and devotional texts) are still to be located, collected and critically published.

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11 Dirk Bustorf, s.v. “Qatbäre,” in *EAE*.
12 Mohammed Hassen, s.v. “Gälämso,” *EAE*.
13 The strict connection between the mystical brotherhoods and the Islamic traditional educational system in Ethiopia is well described by Hussein Ahmed, “Traditional Muslim Education in Wällo,” in Anatoly Andreevich Gromyko (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 3, Nauka, Moscow, 1988, pp. 94-106.
It is often repeated in scholarly literature\(^\text{14}\) that the first introducer of the \(Q\)\(ād\)iriyya in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydarūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-Saqqa\(f\) branch of the Ḥadrami Bā ‘Alawī \(s\)ayyid, who allegedly brought the \(t\)arīqa to Harar. However, no evidence for this assertion has ever been shown yet.\(^\text{15}\) 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 \(Q\)\(ād\)iriyya. While carrying out some field work in his native region, he came to know a local \(s\)ilsila of the \(Q\)\(ād\)iriyya that sheds light on the spread of the brotherhood from Harar into Wällo in the 19\(^{th}\) century.

The \(s\)ilsila published by Hussein Ahmed runs as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sayyid Musāfīr} & \quad \text{faqīḥ Hāšim} & \quad \text{Ahmad b. Šālīḥ} & \quad \text{faqīḥ Zubayr} & \quad \text{ṣayḥ Muhammad Šāfī} \\
(d. 1814/15) & \quad \text{Muhammad b. faqīḥ Zubayr} & \quad \text{ṣayḥ Ġamal} & \quad \text{al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anī} & \quad \text{Ahmad b. Ādam} \\
(d. 1903) & \quad \text{Muḥammad Yasin} & \quad \text{sayyid Ibrāhīm} & \quad \text{d. 1956}. & \quad \text{d. 1924};
\end{align*}
\]

According to Hussein Ahmed’s informants, \(s\)ayyid Musāfīr was of Yemeni origin\(^\text{18}\) and thus was a \(t\)rait-d’\(u\)nion between the local Ethiopian \(Q\)\(ād\)iriyya and the broader brotherhood network. He initiated to the \(Q\)\(ād\)iri \(w\)īr\(d\) “a certain faqīḥ Hāšim” of Harar who in his turn entrusted the \(t\)arīqa to Ādam b. Šālīḥ. The latter took the brother-

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\(^\text{15}\) The personality of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydarūs 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 \(Q\)\(ād\)iriyya is still unclear as some sources point instead to his affiliation to the Šālīyya (Oscar Löfgren, s.v. “‘Aydarūs,” in Clifford E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2\(^{nd}\) edition, Brill, Leiden 1960-2005).

\(^\text{16}\) On this figure see Hussein Ahmed, s.v. “Muḥammad Šāfī,” in *EAE*.


\(^\text{18}\) Interviewed by Hussein Ahmed, ṣayḥ Muhammad Wale said that \(s\)ayyid Musāfīr came from a not well-specified “West” and that faqīḥ Hāšim received the \(q\)ādīrī \(w\)īr\(d\) also “from an unknown ‘ālim from Medina” (Hussein Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century*, p. 69).
A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya

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 intermediaion of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydarūs, whose name appears nowhere; 2) the Qādiriyya came to Wällo through šayḫ Aḥmad b. Şāliḥ among whose pupils also figured the much revered saint and learned man sayyid al-Bā‘ al-hāqq Buṣrā b. Ḥy Muḥammad.¹⁹

Hussein Ahmed’s informants were not able to give further details on the personalites of the three oldest šayḫs mentioned in the silsila, so they remain nothing more than simple names. However, it is possible to identify with certainty faqīḥ Hāṣim with the Harari learned man and member of the Harari emir family Hāṣim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (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 ṭird for the Qādiriyya brotherhood and a Harari poem, al-Muṣṭafā, known both in a shorter and a longer version.

2. Šayḫ Aḥmad b. Şāliḥ and his silsila

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

¹⁹ On this famous holy man of Wällo see Eloi Ficquet, s.v. “Buṣrā āy Muḥammad,” in EAE; Hussein Ahmed, “Al-Hajj Bushra Ay Muhammad: Muslim reformer, scholar and saint of nineteenth-century Wällo, Ethiopia,” in Bertrand Hirsch – Manfred Kropp (eds., Hrsg.), Saints, Biographies and History in Africa – Saints, biographies et histories en Afrique – Heilige, Biographien und Geschichte in Afrika = Nordostafrikanisch / Westasiatische Studien 5, Peter Lang – Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften, Frankfurt am Main-Berlin – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Wien 2003, pp. 175-190. According to the sources, it seems that šayḫ Buṣrā had been initiated not only to the Qādiriyya but to several different brotherhoods. The phenomenon of the multiple affiliations to the Islamic brotherhoods in Ethiopia has not been studied at all.

²⁰ For some introductory information on him see Ewald Wagner, s.v. “Hāṣim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz,” in EAE. The affiliation of faqīḥ Hāṣim 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)\textsuperscript{21} the Nağāštī printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based in Addis Ababa,\textsuperscript{22} published the Ḥimām al-āḡbiyāʾ bi-rašq qatāra min tarāǧīm al-‛ulamāʾ wa-al-awliyāʾ fī ǧumhūrīyyat Ịṣyūbiyā, a collection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wållo šayḥ Muḥammad Wale.\textsuperscript{23}

Among the saints whose manāqib were published in the book there is also šayḥ Ṭḥam b. Ṣāliḥ, trait d’union between the Harari and the Wållo branches of the Qādirīyya. No factual detail about the life of šayḥ Ṭḥam b. Ṣāliḥ is recorded in the short biographical note of the Ḥizāz.\textsuperscript{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 Ṭḥam b. Ṣāliḥ “Ṭḥam 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 Ṭḥam, Muḥammad Wale reports only a single karāma which he himself seems to consider unbelievable. It is said that Ṭḥam b. Ṣāliḥ on his way to Yāḡṭū where he was to give the ḥizāza to faqīh 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 ḥārām. 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

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

Notwithstanding its scanty amount of information, the section of the *Iqāz* is very interesting because it records the complete *silsila* of Āḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ. The spiritual genealogy connecting šayḥ Āḥmad back to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī 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 ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī) down to ‘Alī al-Ḥāšimī, Šaraf al-Dīn and Baḥr al-Dīn Āḥmad, correspond to the physical and spiritual genealogy of the Āl al-Ḡilānī al-Ḥamawī, the descendants of ‘Abd al-Qādir in the Syrian town of Ḥamā.²⁷

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

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 139.
al-sayyid Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – qādī al-qudāt al-sayyid Nāṣir (called al-Nāṣr in the Syrian source) – al-şayḥ Abū al-Nāṣr al-sayyid Muhammad – al-şayḥ Ṣāḥib al-Dīn al-sayyid ‘Almād – Sayf al-Dīn al-sayyid Yahyā. Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā (d. 734/1333-34) was the first member of the offspring of ‘Abd al-Quḍāt al-Ṣalāḥī to settle in Ḥamā in 685/1286-87 on his way back from the ḥaqq (hence his nickname nazīl Ḥamā) and from him the whole Āl Kīlānī group originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā back to al-sayyid ‘Alī al-Hāṣimī 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.\(^{28}\) The only really missing person in the Syrian nasab is Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī who, however, could be an avatar of Ibrāhīm b. Šaraf al-Dīn b. ‘Almād b. ‘Alī al-Hāṣimī who appears in the nasab of șayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kīlānī, naqīb al-аšrāf in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).\(^{29}\)

As for sayyid Musāfīr al-Māgribī, 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 Musāfīr al-Māgribī could have met a member of the Kīlānī 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-Māgribī 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 șayḥ Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ. The silsila in this


\(^{29}\) How the Syrian nasab came to be known in Ethiopia so that Muḥammad Wāle 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 silsila, already recorded by J. Spencer Trimingham and then studied by Hussei n Ahmed.31 From the al-Dānī al-Ṭāʾīnī, the Ethiopian Qādiriyyya apparently managed to spread widely in every corner of Ethiopia. Among the most famous disciples of the “second” al-Dānī ṣayḥ, Muḥammad Wale mentions:

al-ṣayḥ al-Ṣayyid b. al-ṣayyid Ǧibrīl b. al-Ṭāʾīnī; ṣayḥ Abū al-Baṣṭ – ṣayḥ Mahmūd Kanz – ṣayḥ Ǧāḥid al-Dīn Ǧāḥid al-Karamī who was, in his turn, master of al-ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Zayn al-Dānī (the third Danī).32

This local Ethiopian section of the silsila thus includes the names of the main representatives of the Qādiriyyya 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 Qādiriyyya in the whole region.

30 Muḥammad Wale, Īqāẓ himam al-aḡḥiyā, p. 139.
32 Muḥammad Wale, Īqāẓ himam al-aḡḥiyā, p. 139.