



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

Gori, Alessandro

Published in:
Collectanea Islamica

Publication date:
2012

Citation for published version (APA):
Gori, A. (2012). A short note on a silsila of the Qdiriyya brotherhood in Ethiopia. In N. Melis, & M. Nobili (Eds.), *Collectanea Islamica* (Vol. 1, pp. 17-25). Aracne editrice.

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All inquiries should be directed to:

Futūh al-buldān
Nicola Melis
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Università degli Studi di Cagliari
Viale S. Ignazio 78,
09123 Cagliari
futuh.al.buldan@gmail.com
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via Raffaele Garofalo, 133/A-B
00173 Roma
(06) 93781065

ISBN 978-88-548-5668-4

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I edizione: novembre 2012

Collectanea islamica

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

Alessandro Gori
(University of Florence)

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

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġīlānī (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.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 (*ḥaḍra*).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-Šakūr b. Yūsuf of Harar (d. 1794) had a mosque called ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī built near the shrine of *šayḥ* 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 *Qādiriyya*.⁸

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī 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.

³ On Umm al-Ḥayr Fāṭima see Alessandro Gori, s.v. “Umma Koda,” in Siegbert Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia*, vols 1-4, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2003- (hereafter *EAE*).

⁴ Ewald Wagner, “Eine Liste der Heiligen von Harar,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 125, 1975, pp. 273-274; Emile Foucher, “Names of Mussulmans [sic!] venerated in Harar: a List,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 138, 1988, p. 265. *Qurra-be limay* means “generous in the vicinity:” on the origin of this name which is directly related to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī, see Wagner “Eine Liste,” p. 274; for another version of the legend of the foundation of the shrine see Wolf Leslau, *Ethiopians speak. 1. Harari*, University of California Press, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1965, pp. 206-207.

⁵ See Gori, s.v. “Umma Koda.”

⁶ Jonathan Miran, *Red Sea Citizens. Cosmopolitan Society and Cultural Change in Massawa*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2009, pp. 172-173 and 189.

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

⁸ Alessandro Gori, “Soggiorno di studi in Eritrea ed Etiopia. Brevi annotazioni bibliografiche,” *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, 39, 1995 [1997], p. 86. Also in Addis Ababa a mosque called ‘Abd al-Qādir was inaugurated in 2000 (see Abdulfätah Abdällah, *Yä’Addis Abäba mäšgidočč tarik*, vol. 2, Aman Promošen, Addis Abäba 2002 e.c., pp. 150-156).

with the names of local Ethiopian holy men.⁹ The text collection recited during the *mawlid* ceremony in Harar contains a poem attributed to ‘Abd al-Qādir (*Ṭuf bi-ḥālī sab‘an*)¹⁰ and a long pious supplication to ask for his help (*Yā quṭb yā rabbānī al-hayakal al-nūrānī ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī*). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādirī centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Yəḅḅu (Wällo), Qatbare in Qabeena¹¹ and Galamssoo (Gälämso) in Oromia¹² 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.¹³

A number of Ethiopian Islamic renowned learned men were affiliated with the *Qādiriyya* (e.g. Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī, d. 1882; Aḥmad b. Ādam al-Dānī, d. 1903; ‘Isā b. Ḥamza al-Qatbarī d. 1947, ‘Umar b. ‘Alī al-Ġalamsī, 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 (*manāqib*, *silsilas*, handbooks of doctrine, litanies and devotional texts) are still to be located, collected and critically published.

⁹ Ewald Wagner, “Arabische Heiligenlieder aus Harar,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 123, 1973, p. 44.

¹⁰ Alessandro Gori, “Texts in the *Mawlid* collection in Harar: some first critical observations,” *African Study Monographs*, Supplement 41, 2010, pp. 56 and 61.

¹¹ Dirk Bustorf, s.v. “Qatbare,” 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 literature¹⁴ that the first introducer of the *Qādiriyya* in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayadrūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-Saqqāf branch of the Haḍrami Bā ‘Alawī *sayyid*, who allegedly brought the *ṭarīqa* to Harar. However, no evidence for this assertion has ever been shown yet.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 *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* Hāšim – Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ – *faqīh* Zubayr – *šayḥ* Muḥammad Šāfi (d. 1814/15)¹⁶ – Muḥammad b. *faqīh* Zubayr – *šayḥ* Ğamal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī – Aḥmad b. Ādam (d. 1903) – Muḥammad Yasin (d. 1924); *sayyid* Ibrāhīm (d. 1956).¹⁷

According to Hussein Ahmed’s informants, *sayyid* Musāfir was of Yemeni origin¹⁸ and thus was a *trait-d’union* between the local Ethiopian *Qādiriyya* and the broader brotherhood network. He initiated to the *Qādiri wīrd* “a certain *faqīh* Hāšim” of Harar who in his turn entrusted the *ṭarīqa* to Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ. The latter took the brother-

¹⁴ J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Frank Cass, London, 1952, pp. 234, 240; Hussein Ahmed – Jonathan Miran, s.v. “Islamic Brotherhoods,” in *EAE*.

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 *Qādiriyya* is still unclear as some sources point instead to his affiliation to the *Šādiliyya* (Oscar Löfgren, s.v. “‘Aydarūs,” 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 Šāfi,” in *EAE*.

¹⁷ Hussein Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wällo, Ethiopia. Revival, Reform and Reaction*, Brill, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2001, pp. 69-70. See also Hussein Ahmed, “Harar-Wallo relations revisited: Historical, religious and cultural dimensions,” *African Study Monographs*, Supplement 41, 2010, pp. 112-213.

¹⁸ Interviewed by Hussein Ahmed, *šayḥ* Muḥammad Wale said that *sayyid* Musāfir came from a not well-specified “West” and that *faqīh* Hāšim received the *qādiri wīrd* also “from an unknown ‘ālim from Medina” (Hussein Ahmed, *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-‘Aydārūs, whose name appears nowhere; 2) the *Qādiriyya* came to Wällo through *ṣayḥ* Aḥmad b. Ṣālīḥ among whose pupils also figured the much revered saint and learned man *sayyid al-Bā’ al-ḥāğğ* Bušra b. Āy Muḥammad.¹⁹

Hussein Ahmed’s informants were not able to give further details on the personalities of the three oldest *ṣayḥs* mentioned in the *silsila*, so they remain nothing more than simple names. However, it is possible to identify with certainty *faqīh* 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 *Faṭḥ 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. Ṣayḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣālīḥ 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. “Bušrā 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., éds., 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 – Bern – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Wien 2003, pp. 175-190. According to the sources, it seems that *ṣayḥ* Bušrā 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. “Hāšim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” in *EAE*. The affiliation of *faqīh* 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 Nağāšī printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based in Addis Ababa,²² published the *Īqāz himam al-ağbiyā' bi-rašh qaṭra min tarāğim al-'ulamā' wa-al-awliyā' fī ġumhūriyyat Ityūbiyā*, a collection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wällo *šayḥ* Muḥammad Wale.²³

Among the saints whose *manāqib* were published in the book there is also *šayḥ* Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ, *trait d'union* between the Harari and the Wällo branches of the *Qādiriyya*. No factual detail about the life of *šayḥ* Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ is recorded in the short biographical note of the *Īqāz*.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 Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ “Aḥmad 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* Aḥmad, Muḥammad Wale reports only a single *karāma* which he himself seems to consider unbelievable. It is said that Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ on his way to Yəğḡu where he was to give the *iğāza* 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 *dīkr*: she was actually the mother-to-be of *šayḥ* Ğamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī. Besides the general skepticism of the author about *karāmāt*, in this specific tale

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. 10th 2005).

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 (1991-1994),” *Islam et Sociétés au Sud du Sahara*, 12-1, 1998, pp. 89-108; *Idem*, “Recent Islamic periodicals in Ethiopia (1996-1998),” *Northeast African Studies*, 5-2, 1998, pp. 7-21; *Idem*, “Islamic literature in Ethiopia: A short overview,” *Ethiopian Journal of Languages and Literature*, 8, 1998, pp. 25-37.

²³ Muḥammad Wale, *Īqāz himam al-ağbiyā' bi-rašh qaṭra min tarāğim al-'ulamā' wa-al-awliyā' fī ġumhūriyyat Ityūbiyā, al-Nağāšī*, Addīs Abābā, 2004 [2005]. On Muḥammad Wale see Hussein Ahmed, s.v. “Muḥammad Walī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar,” in *EAE*. On the *Īqāz* see also the review by Hussein Ahmed, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 38, 2005, pp. 175-79.

²⁴ Muḥammad Wale, *Īqāz 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 *iğāza in absentia* to someone who is not (yet) alive.²⁵

Notwithstanding its scanty amount of information, the section of the *Īqāz* is very interesting because it records the complete *silsila* of Aḥmad b. Šālih. The spiritual genealogy connecting *šayḥ* Aḥmad back to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī runs as follows:

Al-sayyid ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī – *al-sayyid* Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – *qādī al-quḍāt al-sayyid* Nāšir – *al-šayḥ* Abū al-Našr *al-sayyid* Muḥammad – *al-šayḥ* Zāhīr al-Dīn *al-sayyid* Aḥmad – Sayf al-Dīn *al-sayyid* Yaḥyā – *al-sayyid* Nağm al-Dīn Muḥammad – ‘Alā’ al-Dīn *al-sayyid* ‘Alī – *al-sayyid* Nūr al-Dīn Ḥusayn – *al-sayyid* Šaraf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qādirī – Šihāb al-Dīn *al-sayyid* Aḥmad al-Qādirī – *al-sayyid* ‘Alī al-Hāšimī – *al-sayyid* Šaraf al-Dīn – Baḥr al-Dīn *sayyid* Aḥmad al-Qādirī – *sayyidī* Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī – *al-sayyid* Musāfir al-Mağribī – Abū ‘Abd Allāh Hāšim b. ‘Abd al-’Azīz al-Hararī – Aḥmad b. Šālih.²⁶

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-Ġilānī) down to ‘Alī al-Hāšimī, Šaraf al-Dīn and Baḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad, correspond to the physical and spiritual genealogy of the Āl al-Kīlānī 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-Ġilānī –

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 139.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 137-138. The text contains also the standard *silsila* connecting ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī to the Prophet through Ḥasan al-Bašrī and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (on which see Angelo Scarabel, “Considerazioni su silsila e genealogia in ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 51, 1977, pp. 77-98).

²⁷ See Sulaymān b. Ḥālid al-Šalīṭī al-Ḥirākī al-Ḥusaynī, *Iṣābat al-marām fī a‘zam ‘awā’il niqābāt al-ašrāf fī bilād al-Šām*, internet publication < <http://www.ansabcom.com/mosabakat/rsch-sulaiman-hiraki.html> >, last accessed June 5, 2011. The text is a concise but comprehensive research on the various branches of the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Near East.

al-sayyid Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – *qādī al-quḍāt al-sayyid* Nāṣir (called al-Naṣr in the Syrian source) – *al-ṣayḥ* Abū al-Naṣr *al-sayyid* Muḥammad – *al-ṣayḥ* Zāhīr al-Dīn *al-sayyid* Aḥmad – Sayf al-Dīn *al-sayyid* Yaḥyā. Sayf al-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 734/1333-34) was the first member of the offspring of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ġilānī to settle in Ḥamā in 685/1286-87 on his way back from the *ḥaġġ* (hence his nickname *nazīl Ḥamā*) and from him the whole Āl Kīlānī group originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yaḥyā back to *al-sayyid* ‘Alī al-Hāšimī 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. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Hāšimī who appears in the *nasab* of *ṣayḥ* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kīlānī, *naqīb al-ašrāf* in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).²⁹

As for *sayyid* Musāfir al-Maġribī, 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* Musāfir al-Maġribī 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* Musāfir al-Maġribī 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 *ṣayḥ* Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ. The *silsila* in this

²⁸ Here is the text of the Syrian *nasab* down to the last name comparable with the Ethiopian *silsila*: Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad – ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī – Nūr al-Dīn Ḥusayn – Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyā – Šaraf al-Dīn Qāsim – Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad – ‘Alī al-Hāšimī – *al-šarīf* Aḥmad – *al-šarīf* Šaraf al-Dīn (*Ibidem*, p. 30).

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:

Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ. – *faqīh* Zubayr al-Ġāgūrī – *al-ḥāğğ al-šayḥ* Muḥammad Šāfi al-Nuğusī – *al-šayḥ* Abū Muḥammad b. *faqīh* Zubayr al-Ġāgūrī – Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī – Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ādam al-Danī al-Awwal – Abū Muḥammad Zayn *al-šayḥ al-rabbānī al-šayḥ* Muḥammad Yasin al-Danī al-Ṭānī.³⁰

This is once more the famous Anna-Dana *silsila*, already recorded by J. Spencer Trimingham and then studied by Hussein 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 *šayḥ*, Muḥammad Wale mentions:

al-šayḥ al-Sayyid b. *al-sayyid* Ibrāhīm al-Ṭālī; *šayḥ* Abū al-Baṣṭ – *šayḥ* Mahmūd Kanz – *šayḥ* Šahīd al-Dār *šayḥ* al-Karamī who was, in his turn, master of *al-ḥāğğ* 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 Wällo 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 Wällo 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 Muḥammad Wale, *Īqāz himam al-ağbiyā*, p. 139.

³¹ Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, pp. 240-41; Hussein Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth-Century Wällo*, pp. 69-70.

³² Muḥammad Wale, *Īqāz himam al-ağbiyā*, p. 139.