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

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*Futūḥ al-buldān* is a well-known work of al-Balāḏurī (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 the series, which is to disclose pieces of history of Islamic societies.

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CONTENTS

Contents p. V
Notes on Transliteration p. VII
Notes on Contributors p. IX

INTRODUCTION

A plurality of historical and linguistic experiences
Nicola Melis – Mauro Nobili p. 1

SECTION I: HORN OF AFRICA

A short note on a *silks*ila of the Qādiriyya brotherhood in Ethiopia
Alessandro Gori p. 17

Silvia Bruzzi p. 27

SECTION II: WESTERN AFRICA

Aḥmad b. Furṭū, portrait d’un *ālim* soudanais du XVIᵉ siècle
Rémi Dewière p. 45

*Risāla min Maryam bt. Fūdī ila al-ibn. A brief contribution to the study of Muslim eschatology in 19th century Nigeria
Mauro Nobili p. 71

SECTION III: OTTOMAN “PERIPHERY”

L’emprise ottomane en Géorgie occidentale à l’époque de Suleyman Iᵉʳ
Günes Işıksel p. 89
VI

The “talking machine” affair in Ottoman Yemen (1907)
Nicola Melis p. 107

SECTION IV: MISCELLANEA

‘Voi sì che avete una religione!’ Identità e alterità alla frontiera greco-albanese
Antonio Maria Pusceddu p. 155

Il pensiero politico di Moḥammad Moṣaddeq: costituzionalismo, patriottismo e democrazia
Pejman Abdolmohammadi p. 179

“Nous n’avions pas d’autre choix.” Colonialisme et guerre de libération au Maroc à travers les témoignages des protagonistes de la Résistance
Manuela Deiana p. 199

SECTION V: NOTES

Una nota sull’apporto fornito da Sībawayhi alla grammatica araba
Ali Kadem Kalati p. 219

Michele Petrone p. 227

Evelin Grassi p. 235
A short note on a silsila of the Qādirīyya 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 Qādirīyya 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 Qādirīyya 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 Qādirīyya 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 villages.

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

\(^1\) The Somali Qādirīyya 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 (ḡūgal), 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 Qādiriyah brotherhood (ḥadrā). 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-Šakhr b. Yusuf of Harar (d. 1794) had a mosque called ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī 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 Qādiriyah.

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī 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 On Ṣayḥ Ḥusayn 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.

A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya 19

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-ḥalī sab’ān) and a long pious supplication to ask for his help (Yā quot yā rabbānī al-hayakal al-nūrānī ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādiri centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Yăğgu (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. Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī, d. 1882; Ahmad b. ʿĀdam al-Dānī, d. 1903; ʿĪsā 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 ṣarrīqa.

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 ṣarrīqa 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.

11 Dirk Bustorf, s.v. “Qatbaré,” 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{Qādiriyā} in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyādūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-Saqqāf branch of the Ḥadramī Bā ‘Alawī sayyid, who allegedly brought the ṭarīqa 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{Qādiriyā}. While carrying out some field work in his native region, he came to know a local \textit{silsila} of the \textit{Qādiriyā} that sheds light on the spread of the brotherhood from Harar into Wällo in the 19th century.

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

\begin{center}
Sayyid Musāfir – faqīḥ Hāṣim – Ahmad b. Šāliḥ – faqīḥ Zubayr – šaykh Muhammad Šāfī (d. 1814/15)\textsuperscript{16} – Muhammad b. faqīḥ Zubayr – šaykh Ğamal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī – Ahmad b. Ādam (d. 1903) – Muḥammad Yasin (d. 1924); sayyid Ibrāhīm (d. 1956).\textsuperscript{17}
\end{center}

According to Hussein Ahmed’s informants, sayyid Musāfir was of Yemeni origin\textsuperscript{18} and thus was a \textit{trait-d’union} between the local Ethiopian \textit{Qādiriyā} and the broader brotherhood network. He initiated to the \textit{Qādiri wīrī} “a certain faqīḥ Hāṣim” of Harar who in his turn entrusted the ṭarīqa to Ahmad b. Šāliḥ. The latter took the brother-


\textsuperscript{15} The personality of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Ayyādūs 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{Qādiriyā} is still unclear as some sources point instead to his affiliation to the \textit{Ṣāḥīliyya} (Oscar Lōgfren, s.v. “ ‘Ayyādūs,” 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, šaykh Muhammad Wale said that sayyid Musāfir came from a not well-specified “West” and that faqīḥ Hāṣim received the \textit{qādiri wīrī} 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. Šāliḥ among whose pupils also figured the much revered saint and learned man sayyid al-Bā‘ al-hāqq 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 Hāṣim with the Harari learned man and member of the Harari emir family Hāṣim 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 Wällo Qādiriyya has

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²⁰ For some introductory information on him see Ewald Wagner, s.v. “Hāṣim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” 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 Na\textsuperscript{š}ṣ\textsuperscript{ī} printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based in Addis Ababa,\textsuperscript{22} published the \textit{Īqāz himam al-\textsuperscript{a}biyā\’ \textit{b}i-ra\textsuperscript{š}ḥ \textit{q}at\textsuperscript{ra} \textit{m}in \textit{t}arā\textsuperscript{g}īm al-\textit{‘}ulamā’ \textit{w}a-al-\textit{a}wliyā\’ \textit{f}ī \textit{g}umhū\textsuperscript{r}iyyat \textit{I}ṣ\textsuperscript{y}ūbiyā, a collection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wāllo \textit{šayh} Mu\textsuperscript{h}ammad Wale.\textsuperscript{23}

Among the saints whose \textit{manaqib} were published in the book there is also \textit{šayh} Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, \textit{trait d’union} between the Harari and the Wāllo branches of the \textit{Q}ādīrīyya. No factual detail about the life of \textit{šayh} Ahmad b. Ṣāliḥ is recorded in the short biographical note of the \textit{Īqāz}.\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 Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ “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 \textit{šayh} Aḥmad, Muhammad Wale reports only a single \textit{karāma} which he himself seems to consider unbelievable. It is said that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ on his way to Yēqū where he was to give the \textit{iṣgāza} to \textit{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 \textit{ḏikr}; she was actually the mother-to-be of \textit{šayh} Gamāl al-\textit{Dīn} Mu\textsuperscript{h}ammad al-\textit{A}n̄nī. Besides the general skepticism of the author about \textit{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{23} Muhammad Wale, \textit{Īqāz himam al-\textsuperscript{a}biyā\’ \textit{b}i-ra\textsuperscript{š}ḥ \textit{q}at\textsuperscript{ra} \textit{m}in \textit{t}arā\textsuperscript{g}īm al-\textit{‘}ulamā’ \textit{w}a-al-\textit{a}wliyā\’ \textit{f}ī \textit{g}umhū\textsuperscript{r}iyyat \textit{I}ṣ\textsuperscript{y}ūbiyā, al-Na\textsuperscript{š}ṣ, Add\textsuperscript{a}bābā, 2004 [2005]. On Muhammad Wale see Hussein Ahmed, s.v. “Muhammad Wālī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar,” in \textit{EAE}. On the \textit{Īqāz} see also the review by Hussein Ahmed, \textit{Journal of Ethiopian Studies}, 38, 2005, pp. 175-79.

\textsuperscript{24} Muhammad Wale, \textit{Īqāz himam al-\textsuperscript{a}biyā\’}, 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.\textsuperscript{25}

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

\begin{verbatim}
\end{verbatim}

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-Ḥāṣimī, Ṣaḥaf al-Dīn and Baḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad, 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.\textsuperscript{27}

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

\textsuperscript{25} Ibidem, p. 139.


al-sayyid Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – qādī al-quḍūṭ al-sayyid Nāṣīr (called al-Nāṣr in the Syrian source) – al-šayh Abū al-Nāṣr al-sayyid Muhammad – al-šayh Ḥāfīz al-Dīn al-sayyid ʿAbd al-Rażīq – 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-Ǧilānī 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 Āl Kīlānī group originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yaḥyā back to al-sayyid 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. The only really missing person in the Syrian nasab is ʿĪbrāhīm al-Qādir who, however, could be an avatar of ʿĪbrāhīm b. ʿĀdūf al-Dīn b. ʿĀḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāšimī who appears in the nasab of šayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kīlānī, naqīb al-aṣrāf in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).

As for sayyid Musāfīr al-Maqrīzī, who should be the person who practically introduced the tariqa into Ethiopia, he lays in complete obscurity: one can only speculate on his nisha 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-Maqrīzī 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-Maqrīzī is nothing but a ghost name functioning to connect the Near-eastern silsila with Ethiopia.

The ʿĪqāz also contains a cursive mention of the line of Qādirī spiritual descendency initiated by šayḥ ʿĀḥmad b. ʿṢāliḥ. The silsila in this


29 How the Syrian nasab came to be known in Ethiopia so that Muhammad 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.
A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya

A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya 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-Ṭānī, the Ethiopian Qādiriyya 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-Sayyid b. al-sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Ṭālī; ṣayḥ Abū al-Baṣṣ ṣayḥ Mahmūd Kanz – ṣayḥ Šahīd al-Dār ṣayḥ al-Karamī who was, in his turn, master of al-ḥāḡğ Muḥammad Šayn al-Dānī (the third Dānī).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 Muḥammad Wale, Ḥqāẓ himam al-aḡhya’, p. 139.
32 Muḥammad Wale, Ḥqāẓ himam al-aḡhya’, p. 139.