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-Balāḏūrī (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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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-Ḡlānī (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 Qādiriya 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 maqâm of ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Qādir and Umma Koda with a house for the congregational meetings of the Qādiryya 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 ʿAbd al-Qādir exists on the homonymous stretch of land north of Massawa and local traditions obviously claim that the saint actually died there. Emir ʿAbd al-Ṣakhr b. Yūsuf 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 maqâm perpetuates the memory of the eponymous of the Qādiryya.

ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī is invoked in devotional poems and prayers.

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2 Unfortunately, no exhaustive list of the cenotaphs of ʿAbd 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.

A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya

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 (Ṭuḥ bi-ḥālī sab‘an) and a long pious supplication to ask for his help (Yā quṭb yā rabbānī al-hayakal al-nūrānī ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādirī centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Yəğğu (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-Annī, d. 1882; Ahmad b. Ğāmath al-Ǧānī, d. 1903; ‘Īsā b. Ḥāmza al-Qatbarī d. 1947, ‘Umar b. Ğarī al-Ǧalāmsī, fl. first half of the 20th century) and contributed to enhance the influence and the prestige of the ṣaṭrīqa.

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 ṣaṭrīqa 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. “Qatbare,” in EAE.
12 Mohammed Hassen, s.v. “Gälämso,” EAE.
It is often repeated in scholarly literature\(^{14}\) that the first introducer of the Qādiriyya in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydrūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-Saqqa‘ branch of the Ḥadrami Bā ‘Alawi 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:

\[
\text{Sayyid Musāfir} – \text{faqīh Hāšim} – \text{Ahmad b. Śāliḥ} – \text{faqīh Zubayr} – \text{ṣayh Muhammad Šāfi‘ (d. 1814/15)} – \text{Muhammad b. faqīh Zubayr} – \text{ṣayh Ġamal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Annī} – \text{Ahmad b. Ādam (d. 1903)} – \text{Muḥammad Yasin (d. 1924); sayyid Ibrāhīm (d. 1956).}\(^{17}\)
\]

According to Hussein Ahmed’s informants, sayyid Musāfir was of Yemeni origin\(^{18}\) 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 Hāšim” of Harar who in his turn entrusted the ṭarīqa to Ahmad b. Śāliḥ. The latter took the brother-

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\(^{15}\) The personality of Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydrūs 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 Šāfi‘iyya (Oscar Lōfgren, s.v. “‘Aydrūs,” 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.


\(^{18}\) Interviewed by Hussein Ahmed, ṣayḥ Muhammad Wale said that sayyid Musāfir came from a not well-specified “West” and that faqīh Hāšim received the qādiri wird also “from an unknown ʿālim 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-‘Aydarūs, whose name appears nowhere; 2) the Qādiriyya came to Wällo through šayḫ Ahmad b. Šāliḥ among whose pupils also figured the much revered saint and learned man sayyid al-Bā’ al-hāqq Buṣira b. Āy Muḥammad. 19

Hussein Ahmed’s informants were not able to give further details on the personalities 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 faqīh Ḥāṣim with the Harari learned man and member of the Harari emir family Ḥāṣim 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. Šayḫ Ahmad 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. “Ḥāṣim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” in ŠE. The affiliation of faqīh Ḥāṣim 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 Nağāši printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based in Addis Ababa,\(^{22}\) published the Īqāz himam al-aḫbiyāʾ bi-raš ṣaṭra min tarāǧiṃ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-al-awliyāʾ fī ǧumhūriyyat Īyūbiyā, a collection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wāllo šayh Muḥammad Wale.\(^{23}\)

Among the saints whose manāqib were published in the book there is also šayh Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, trait d’union between the Harari and the Wāllo branches of the Qādiriyya. No factual detail about the life of šayh Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ 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. 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 šayh Aḥmad, Muḥammad Wale reports only a single karāmā which he himself seems to consider unbelievable. It is said that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ on his way to Yəḡğu where he was to give the iǧāza to faṣīḥ 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 ǧîkr: she was actually the mother-to-be of šayḥ Gamāʾl 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. 10\(^{th}\) 2005).


\(^{24}\) Muḥammad Wale, Īqāz himam al-aḫbiyāʾ, 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 ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Alīnī. The spiritual genealogy connecting *šayḥ* ‘Abd al-Mu’mīn back to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Alīnī runs as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Al-sayyid } & \text{‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Alīnī} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{Abū Bakr } ‘\text{Abd al-Razzāq} & \text{– gūdī al-qudāt al-sayyid } & \text{Nāṣir} & \text{– al-šayḥ } & \text{Abū al-Naṣr al-sayyid } & \text{Muḥammad} & \text{– al-šayḥ } & \text{Zāhir al-Dīn } & \text{al-sayyid } & \text{Abū} & \text{al-Dīn al-sayyid } & \text{Yahyā} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{Nağm al-Dīn Muḥammad} & \text{– } & \text{‘Alī al-Dīn } & \text{al-sayyid } & \text{‘Alī} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{Nūr al-Dīn Ḥusayn} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{Ṣa‘īf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qādirī} & \text{– Şhāb al-Dīn } & \text{al-sayyid } & \text{Aḥmad al-Qādirī} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{‘Alī al-Ḥāšimī} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{Ṣa‘īf al-Dīn } & \text{Baḥr al-Dīn sayyid Aḥmad al-Qādirī} & \text{– sayyid} & \text{Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī} & \text{– al-sayyid } & \text{Musāfīr al-Maġribī} & \text{– Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥāšim} & \text{b. } & \text{‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Harārī} & \text{– Aḥmad b. } & \text{Ṣāliḥ}. \end{align*}
\]

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-‘Alīnī) down to ‘Alī al-Ḥāšimī, Ša‘īf al-Dīn and Baḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad, correspond to the physical and spiritual genealogy of the Aḥmad al-‘Alīnī to the Prophet through Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and ‘Abī Ṭalīb (on which see Angelo Scarabel, “Considerazioni su sîlsîla e genealogia in ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Alīnī,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 51, 1977, pp. 77-98).

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

\(^{25}\) Ibidem, p. 139.


al-sayyid Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-Razzāq – qādı al-ḥadd al-sayyid Nāṣir (called al-Naṣr in the Syrian source) – al-ṣayḥ Abū al-Naṣr al-sayyid Muhammad – al-ṣayḥ Ḥāfiz al-Dīn al-sayyid ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-quḍat al-sayyid ‘Alī al-Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-quḍat al-sayyid Yahyā. Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā (d. 734/1333-34) was the first member of the offspring of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ḫānī to settle in Ḥamā in 685/1286-87 on his way back from the haǧǧ (hence his nickname nazil Ḥamā) and from him the whole Ḥānī group originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yahyā 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.\(^\text{28}\) The only really missing person in the Syrian nasab is Ibrāhīm al-Qādir who, however, could be an avatar of Ibrāhīm b. ʿArāf al-Dīn b. ʿAḥmad b. ʿArāf al-Hāšimī who appears in the nasab of šayḥ ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kīlānī, naqīḥ al-ašrāf in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).\(^\text{29}\)

As for sayyid Musāfīr al-Mağribī, 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-Mağribī 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-Mağribī is nothing but a ghost name functioning to connect the Near-eastern silsila with Ethiopia.

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


\(^{29}\) 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 silsila, already recorded by J. Spencer Trimingham and then studied by Hussei n Ahmed.31 From the al-Ḍanī al-Ṭāṭī, the Ethiopian Qādirīyya apparently managed to spread widely in every corner of Ethiopia. Among the most famous disciples of the “second” al-Ḍanī ṣayḥ, Muḥammad Wale mentions:

ṣayḥ al-Ṣayyīd b. al-ṣayyīd Ibrāhīm al-Ṭāṭī; ṣayḥ Abū al-Baṣṭ – ṣayḥ Mahmūd Kanz – ṣayḥ Ǧahād al-Dār ṣayḥ al-Karamī who was, in his turn, master of al-ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Zayn al-Ḍanī (the third Danī).32

This local Ethiopian section of the silsila 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 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 Qādirīyya in the whole region.

30 Muḥammad Wale, ʿIqāṣ himām al-aḡbiyā’, p. 139.
32 Muḥammad Wale, ʿIqāṣ himām al-aḡbiyā’, p. 139.