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

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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

ʾAbd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī (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

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∗ 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 Qādiriyah 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-Šākūr b. Yusuf of Harar (d. 1794) had a mosque called ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ǧilānī 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-Ǧilānī 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.


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 Ḥabīb ibn al-Qādir (Ṭuf bi-ḥālī sab‘an) and a long pious supplication to ask for his help (Yā quṭb yā rabbānī al-hayakal al-nūrānī Ḥabīb al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī). In many Ethiopian Muslim regions, famous Qādirī centres exist: Anna in Rayya Qobbo (Wällo), Dana in Yaggū (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 Qādiriyah (e.g. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aṭṭā, d. 1882; Ḥamīd ibn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anānī, d. 1903; ‘Īsā b. Ḥamza al-Qatbarī d. 1947, ‘Umm b. ‘Alī 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 Qādiriyah 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.

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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\textsuperscript{14} that the first introducer of the \textit{Qādiriyya} in Ethiopia was Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydrūs, the revered patron saint of Aden (d. 1508), member of the al-SAqqaf branch of the Ḥadrāmi Bā ‘Alawī sayyid, who allegedly brought the \textit{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{Qādiriyya}. While carrying out some field work in his native region, he came to know a local silsila of the \textit{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:

\textit{Sayyid Musāfir – faqīh Ḥāsim – Ahmad b. Šālih – faqīh Zubayr – šayḥ Muhammad Šafi (d. 1814/15)}\textsuperscript{16} – Muhammad b. faqīh Zubayr – šayḥ Ġamal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anī – Ahmad b. Ādam (d. 1903) – Muḥammad Yasin (d. 1924); \textit{sayyid} İbrāhīm (d. 1956).\textsuperscript{17}

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


\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Qādiriyya} is still unclear as some sources point instead to his affiliation to the Šāliyya (Oscar Löfgren, s.v. “‘Aydrūs,” in Clifford E. Bosworth et al. (eds.), \textit{The Encyclopaedia of Islam}, 2nd edition, Brill, Leiden 1960-2005).

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


\textsuperscript{18} Interviewed by Hussein Ahmed, ṣayḥ Muhammad Wale said that \textit{sayyid} Musāfir came from a not well-specified “West” and that faqīh Ḥāsim received the \textit{qādiri wīrd} also “from an unknown ’ulīm 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-‘Ayyūsī, 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-hāğ Balṣāra 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 faqūḥ 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 litanyes and prayers in praise of the Prophet (called the Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī [sic!]), a wirk 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

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 Kropf (eds., 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 – Bern – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Wien 2003, pp. 175-190. According to the sources, it seems that šayḥ 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. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” in EAE. The affiliation of faqūḥ 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)\textsuperscript{21} the Naḡāšī printing press, the main Islamic publishing house of the country based in Addis Ababa,\textsuperscript{22} published the ʿĪqāz ḥimām al-aḡbiyāʾ bi-raš ṣaṭṭa min ṭarāqīm al-ʿulamāʾ wa-al-awliyāʾ fi ḡumhūrīyyat Ḥīyūbīyāʾ, a collection of short biographies of holy men written by the renowned Wällō ṣayḥ Muḥammad Wale.\textsuperscript{23}

Among the saints whose manāqib were published in the book there is also ṣayḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ, trait d’union between the Harari and the Wällō branches of the Qādiriyya. No factual detail about the life of ṣayḥ Ahmad b. Ṣāliḥ is recorded in the short biographical note of the ʿĪqāz.\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 Kubr” 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 ṣayḥ 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 Yāḏḡu where he was to give the iḥāzā to faqīḥ 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 ḡīrāḥ: she was actually the mother-to-be of ṣayḥ 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, Ṣaḥīḥ ḥimām al-aḡbiyāʾ’, 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 *Ijāz* is very interesting because it records the complete *silsila* of Ṣayḥ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ. The spiritual genealogy connecting Ṣayḥ Aḥmad back to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī runs as follows:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{Al-sayyid} & \text{ ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī} \rightarrow \text{ al-sayyid} Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq \rightarrow \\
& \text{gādī al-ṣādiq al-sayyid} Nāṣir \rightarrow \text{ al-ṣayḥ Abū al-Naṣr al-sayyid} Muḥammad \rightarrow \\
& \text{al-ṣayḥ Zāhir al-Dīn al-sayyid} Aḥmad \rightarrow \text{ Sayf al-Dīn al-sayyid} Yahyā \rightarrow \text{ al-
\]

\[\text{sayyid} Nağm al-Dīn Muḥammad \rightarrow \text{ ‘Alī al-Dīn al-sayyid} ‘Alī \rightarrow \text{ al-sayyid} Nūr al-Dīn Ḥusayn \rightarrow \text{ al-sayyid} Šaraf al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qādirī \rightarrow \text{ Shāh al-Dīn al-sayyid} Aḥmad al-Qādirī \rightarrow \text{ al-sayyid} ‘Alī al-Ḥāšimī \rightarrow \text{ al-sayyid} Šaraf al-Dīn \rightarrow \text{ Baḥr al-Dīn sayyid Aḥmad al-Qādirī} \rightarrow \text{ sayyid} Ibrāhīm al-Qādirī \rightarrow \text{ al-
\]

\[\text{sayyid} Musāfir al-Maqrīzī \rightarrow \text{ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥāšim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-
\]

\[\text{Hararī} \rightarrow \text{ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ}. {\footnote{Ibidem, p. 139.}}\]

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 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.\(^{27}\)

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

\[\text{Al-sayyid} ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ḡilānī – \text{ al-sayyid} Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – \\
 al-ṣayḥ Zāhir al-Dīn al-sayyid Aḥmad – Sayf al-Dīn al-sayyid Yahyā – al-
\]

\]

\[\text{sayyid} Musāfir al-Maqrīzī – Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ḥāšim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-
\]

\[\text{Hararī} \rightarrow \text{ Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ}.\]


al-sayyid Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Razzāq – qādī al-quḍāt al-sayyid Nāṣir (called al-Nāṣr in the Syrian source) – al-ṣayḥ Abū al-Nāṣr al-sayyid Muhammad – al-ṣayḥ Ţāhir 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-Ŷāmī to settle in Ḥamā in 685/1286-87 on his way back from the haqīq (hence his nickname nazīl Ḥamā) and from him the whole Āl Ūlānī group originated. The names from Sayf al-Dīn Yaḥyā back to al-sayyid ‘Alī al-Ŷāmī 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 Ibrāhīm al-Qādir who, however, could be an avatar of Ibrāhīm b. Šaraf al-Dīn b. Āḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ŷāmī who appears in the nasab of ṣayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ūlānī, nāqīb al-ašrāf in Damascus (d. ca. 1172/1758-59).

As for sayyid Musāfīr al-Maqrīzī, who should be the person who practically introduced the ṭarīqa into Ethiopia, he lays in complete obscurity: one can only speculate on his nīsha 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 Ūlānī 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 Īqāẓ also contains a cursive mention of the line of Qādirī spiritual descendency initiated by ṣayḥ Āḥmad b. Šāliḥ. 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.
A short note on a silsila of the Qādiriyya

This is once more the famous Anna-Dana silsila, already recorded by J. Spencer Trimingham and then studied by Hussein Ahmed. 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-Baṣṣ – šayḥ Mahmūd Kanz – šayḥ Šahīd al-Ḍār šayḥ al-Karamī who was, in his turn, master of al-ḥāǧǧ Muḥammad Zayn al-Danī (the third Danī). 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, Iqāż himam al-aẓḥāya’, p. 139.
32 Muḥammad Wale, Iqāż himam al-aẓḥāya’, p. 139.