



**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**A HISTORY OF ISLAM IN QALLU *AWRAJJA*, SOUTH
WÄLLO 1870_s - 1991**

BY

HUSSIEN ABDU

FEBRUARY 2020

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES,
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ABSTRACT

This thesis is designed to study “A History of Islam in Qallu Awrajjja, South Wällo 1870s - 1991.” 1870s, historically, coincided with the accession to power of Emperor Yohannis IV (r.1872-1889) and religiously, the edict of the Council of Boru Méda in 1878 which brought tremendous impacts on the Islamic history of the study area. The year 1991 also marked the downfall of the Därg Socialist Government in 1991. So, the primary purpose of the study is to investigate Islamic History of Wällo in general and the study area in particular from 1870s to 1991. The study employs a qualitative approach of data collection and analysis by combining both thematic and chronological approaches. Accordingly, both primary and secondary sources obtained from the Ethiopian National Archives and Library Agency (ENALA), Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), interviews of informants and secondary literature have been carefully examined and interpreted in order to reconstruct Islamic history of the area. However, absence of rich historical sources has been a great challenge to the researcher. The thesis assesses issues related to the advent and spread of Islam into the study area, factors for the spread of Islam into the area, Islamic education and centers of Islamic studies as well as influential clerics of the area. It also described the conditions of Muslims of the area in different regimes of Ethiopia from 1870s to 1991. The findings of the study include: the major factors for the rise and spread of Islam; the presence of several early Islamic centres of education and committed clerics; and the changes and continuities that occurred on the life of Muslims of the study area from 1870s to 1991.

PREFACE

The study is conducted in Qallu *Awrajja* (Sub - Province) of Wällo *Täklay Gizat* (Province), which is found in the present-day Amhara Regional State of Ethiopia. This is a historical research titled “A History of Islam in Qallu *Awrajja*, South Wällo 1870_s - 1991.” Islam has been playing a significant role for the socio-economic and political development of the country. However, insufficient scholarly works have so far been produced and disclosed the role and legacy of Islam and Muslims of the country. Thus, the prime purpose of the study is to investigate a history of Islam in Wällo in general and the study area in particular from 1870_s to 1991. To achieve this objective, the necessary data generated from both primary and secondary sources: both published and unpublished materials such as books, journals, proceedings, MA theses, PhD dissertations, and reports have been carefully examined and interpreted. Moreover, topographic and thematic maps, proclamations, informants’ interview as well as archival sources have been used. All sources were analyzed qualitatively and checked and counter checked against one another.

The research is organized into five chapters. The first chapter introduces a general overview of the study area, historical background and peopling of the area. Chapter two describes about religions in Ethiopia: Christianity in Ethiopia and Islam in Ethiopia. Chapter three presents the advent of Islam in the study area, factors that resulted in the spread of Islam in the area, major Islamic education centers, and its Islamic scholars. Chapter four presents the conditions of Islam and Muslims in the study area and Ethiopia in the periods from the 1870_s to 1991. Finally, chapter five deals with the influences and roles of Islam in different aspects of the Muslim communities as well as intra-faith and inter-faith interactions of the study area.

Some scholarly works on Islamic history of Ethiopia in general and Wällo in particular have been produced. Among others, I would like to recognize Professor Hussein Ahmed (1954-2009) who was renowned Islamic scholar of Ethiopia for his invaluable works about Islamic history of the country, especially Wällo. The significance of this historical research is to fill the prevailing gap and provide additional reference in the knowledge portfolio of Islamic history of the area from 1870_s to 1991. Despite this fact, the work is far from complete by itself. I hope that, it can inspire and provide stimulus for other historians, who may be interested to conduct further studies on this issue.

ACRONYMS

AD	Anno Domini
AH	After Hejira
BC	Before Christ
CE	Common Era
CKE	Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia
CSAE	Central Statically Agency of Ethiopia
CST	Cheffa State Farm
EOC	Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity
EPRDF	Ethiopin Peoples Revolutionry Democratic Front
GMT	Greenwich Mean Time
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MoI	Ministry of Interior
ENALA	Ethiopian National Archival and Library Agency
NMA	National Metrological Agency
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RLN	Rural Lands Nationalization
RP	Resettlement Plan

KEY TO THE TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

I. The Seven sounds of the Ethiopic alphabets are represented as follows:

1 st order	በ	Bä
2 nd order	ቡ	Bu
3 rd order	ቢ	Bi
4 th order	ባ	Ba
5 th order	ቤ	Bé
6 th order	ብ	Be
7 th order	ቦ	Bo

II. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ	Šä
ቸ	Čä
ኸ	Ñä

III. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ	Q/q
ጠ	Ṭ/ṭ
ጨ	Ç/ç
ፀ/ፈ	Ş/ş

IV. Stressed sounds are usually indicated by doubling the consonant.

ከበደ	Käbbädä
ገባር	Gäbbar

V. Consecutive vowels are usually separated by apostrophe.

ሚካኤል	Mika'él
ክስራኤል	Isra'él

General Examples

ሞሳሴ	<i>Mesalé</i>
ሙሞህር	<i>Mämeher</i>
ቀበሌ	<i>Qäbälé</i>
ጨርጨር	<i>Çärçär</i>
ፀሀይ	<i>Şähay</i>
ሸብር	<i>Šeber</i>
ከሚሴ	<i>Kämissé</i>
ዳኻ	<i>Dañña</i>

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Overview of the Study Area

Qallu *Awrajja* (Sub-Province) was found in Wällo *Ṭäqalay-Gizat* (Province) of the pre 1991 period.¹ Nowadays, it is found within the Amhara regional state of Ethiopia. It was located on the southern side of Wällo Province, bordering Mänz and Wärrä-Illu in the west, Awsa *Awrajja* and Hararge Province in the east, Dässé *Zuria* and *Ambassäl Awrajja* in the north and Shoa Province in the south. Qallu *Awrajja* had six *Wärädas* (Districts), one *Leyu Käftännä* and eighty five *Yägäbäré Qäbälé Mahbär* (Peasant Associations). According to the 1980's report, the number of populations in Qallu *awrajja* was 254,081. The administrative center of the *Awrajja* was Kombolča.²

Kombolča is one of the towns in South Wällo zone, situated 375 kilometers northeast of Addis Abäba and 505 kilometers east of Bahir Dar. With its relative location, the town is bounded by *Däsé Zuria Wäräda* in the north, west and in the east, and to south by Qallu *Wäräda*.³ Astronomically, Kombolča is located between 11⁰ 6' North latitudes, and between 39⁰ 45' East longitudes. The elevation of the town ranges between 2700 and 1600 meters above sea level.⁴ The territorial extension of Kombolča is estimated to be 124.5 square kilometers, of which 21.8111 square kilometers covers the main part of the town and the left over 102.6889 square kilometers constituted the rural sub-districts of the town.⁵

The landscape of Qallu *Awrajja* contains plains, ups and downs, and mountains, each account for 48%, 39%, and 13%, respectively. It has three agro-climatic zones with *Qolla*, *Wäyña Däga*, and

¹ Gashaw Muhammed, "A History of Wollo Teklay Ghizat Prison," *International Researchers*, Vol.4, Issue No.4 (2015), p. 54.

² ENALA:17.1.12.01.03/1977; Gashaw Muhammed, "Administrative History of Wollo 1941-1991," MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2003), p. 26.

³ Ministry of Interior, "General Analysis and the Report on the Master Plan for Kombolča," 1967, p. 1.

⁴ Municipality of the Town and Department of Culture and Tourism, "Bulletin on Yä Kombolča Kätäma Misräta", (Kombolča, 2008), pp.1-4.

⁵ Eskinder Zinabu and etal, "Assessment of the Impact of Industrial Effluents on the Quality of Irrigation Water and Changes on Soil Characteristics: A Case of Kombolča Town," *Fourteenth International Water Technology Conference*, Cairo, Egypt, (Meqele University, 2010), p.72.

Däga each with 78%, 21% and 1%, respectively. The soil types of this sub province are 18.4% black clay, 44.8% of sand and 36.8% of mixed.⁶ The entire landmass of Qallu *Awrajja* falls in the Awaš River Basin. Due to the inclination of the slope to the eastward side, all streams originated from Qallu and from the western part of the neighboring highlands, which flow across Qallu has constituted the tributaries of the Awaš River. According to their arrangement from the northern part of Bati through the southern margin of Arṭuma the major river valleys include *Çäläka, Borkäna and Jarra*.⁷

Çäläqa is one of the rivers found in Qallu with its headstreams such as *Qärsa, Abaha, Abonsa* and others, rises roughly from the hills found to the northwest of Bati town. Some small-scale irrigation was practiced by the farmers, which are crossed by this river. *Borkäna* is the major river that flows across the *awrajja*. It rises from the mountains near Dässé, runs southward through a relatively narrow valley and passes through Kombolča town from where it flows southeast ward into the Awaš. The Borkäna Basin covers about 1735 square kilometer in area and its mean annual discharge reaches about 283,120,000 cubic meters while at its peak period it carries more than 605,000,000 cubic meters of water. The middle course of Borkäna lies in Qallu *Awrajja*. Nevertheless, its potential for irrigation agriculture has been under-utilized. The wetland found within the valley was reserved to livestock grazing for the pastoralists, which has been affecting agricultural productivity and the land use pattern. The *Jarra* River is another important river valley in Qallu *Awrajja*. It rises from Anşokiya Mountains and flows eastwards through Qallu *Awrajja* to Awaš.⁸

Generally, Qallu *Awrajja* has endowed with certain rivers with great potential for irrigation. Due to its low altitude, Qallu *Awrajja* has low annual rainfall and unreliable patterns of rain distribution, which clearly shows the risks of crop production under rain-fed situations.

⁶ Hussien Abdu, "A History of KämisséTown: From Its Foundation to 2011," BA Thesis (Debre Markos Markos University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2012), p. 2.

⁷ Shambel Demis, "Labor Migration and Its Impact in South Wollo: The Case of Essoyé Gula Wäräda, 1941- 91," MA Thesis (Bahir Dar University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2016), p. 2.

⁸ Mesfin Wolde Mariam, *Suffering under God's Environment: A Vertical Study of the Predicament of Peasants in North-Central Ethiopia* (Bern: African Mountains Association, 1991), p. 27.

However, despite the availability of irrigation potential, only few farmers have used to grow crops using irrigation, which resulted in seasonal food insecurity followed by labor migration.⁹

According to the rainfall data collected from the National Metrological Agency (NMA) and meteorological stations of the area, summer season is the time for maximum rainfall while winter season is a period for little or no rainfall occurrences at all stations. About 55.2%, 50%, and 58.6% of the total rainfall was received during summer in Bati, Kāmissé, and Arṭuma respectively. The long-term mean annual rainfall of 20 years for Bati and 15 years for both Kāmissé and Arṭuma were 850.7 millimeters, 1035 millimeters, and 1424.6 millimeter respectively. Despite its higher altitude, Bati has received lower amount of rainfall than Kāmissé.¹⁰ The annual average rainfall of Kāmissé also reached about 1000 millimeter. The town received maximum rainfall during *kirāmt* (summer) season from June to August, and the area has short rainy season during *bālg* (spring) from March to May.¹¹

In terms of temperature, due to an inverse relationship between temperature and altitude, atmospheric temperature in Essoyé Golla sharply decreases from the top of the escarpment in the west to the floor of the Rift Valley in the east. Kombolča experienced an average temperature between a minimum of 11.9⁰c to a maximum of 26.8⁰c. The town of Kāmissé predominantly experienced a *qolla* climate with a very high temperature. Its average annual temperature ranged between 25⁰c and 30⁰c.¹²

According to the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), six major soil associations have covered the landscape of Qallu *Awrajja*. These are Lithosols, Eutric Cambisols (Lithic), Eutric Cambisols (Stony), Eutric Regosols (Lithic), Chromic Vertisols, and Orthic Solonchaks. Due to their location on steep slopes and rugged topography, Lithosols are severely eroded. Eutric Cambisols (Lithic) cover probably the largest area of the *awajja*. They are characterized by immaturity, shallowness, extensive rock outcrop, and stoniness. Some of the soils were eroded and the remaining appears very stony. Eutric Regosols (Lithic) cover the lower escarpments and the floor of the Rift Valley in the *awrajja*. These soils are shallow, well drained, very rocky, very stony,

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Shambel, p. 6.

¹¹ Hussien, "A History of KāmisséTown: ...", p. 3.

¹² Shambel, p. 3.

severely eroded, and with low organic content. These characteristics coupled with the scarcity of water limited their agricultural advantages under rain-fed conditions. Chromic Vertisols are confined to the upper valley of *Borkäna* and the upper valley of *Jäwuha* has poor drainage and susceptibility to seasonal water logging. The semi-arid soils that have occupying the floor of the Rift Valley between *Borkäna* and *Jarra* Rivers have a problem of salinity.¹³

The economy of the study area was and still heavily dependent on agriculture in rural area, and trade as well as agriculture in the town. Almost all the rural communities in Qallu *Awrajja* economically engaged on primary activities. They are heavily dependent on agriculture, both animal husbandry and crop cultivation.¹⁴ According to local informants, cultivation of different crops such as *ṭéf (eragrostis tef)*, wheat, barley, maize, sorghum; and cereal crops include peas, beans, and lentils are the peculiar feature of the area. The farmers also produce oil seeds such as line seed, sunflower, and other oil seeds by using irrigation, as well as onions, red pepper, and other fruits around small rivers.¹⁵

The 1984 MoA data have identified seven main land-use and land cover types in Qallu *Awrajja*. These are state farm; intensively cultivated area; moderately cultivated and dense bush land; woodland (dense bush land); bush land; open shrub land; and open grassland. With regard to area, the cultivated land or the highland probably covers the second largest portion of the *awrajja*, occupying the western half of *Arṭuma*, the central and eastern part of *Däwä Čäffa* and a large portion of *Bati*. The upper valley of *Borkäna* covers the largest portion, but under *Čäffa* State Farm (CSF), which was partly leased to private investors and the remaining had been redistributed among the farmers. The lowland part of the *awrajja* has little potential for rain-fed agriculture; and it (the lowland) was mostly left for livestock grazing.¹⁶

Like most part of the country, Qallu *Awrajja* possessed a plenty of natural, religious and cultural sites. Naturally, the *Awäyту* and *Borkäna* hot springs served not only as an attraction but also as

¹³ H. Hurni, *Guidelines for Development Agents on Soil Conservation in Ethiopia: Community Forest and Soil Conservation Development Department (CFSCDD)*, Ministry of Agriculture, Ethiopia, 1986, pp. 1-12.

¹⁴ Informants: Kābādā Alāmu and Hāsān Abatā.

¹⁵ Informants: Yusuf Abdusomād and Kābādā.

¹⁶ Yared Amare, "Household Seasonal Food Insecurity in Ethiopia: Causes of North Eastern Ethiopia, Amhara Regional State, Oromiya Zone," Institute for Development Research, Addis Ababa, 1999, pp.30-33.

traditional medicine to cure the surrounding community and their cattle from certain illness. The *Reké* natural forest, the very pleasing attraction and a home of numerous wild animals and birds located in *Däwa Čäffa wäräda* with an elevation ranging between 200 and 2500 meters above sea level.¹⁷ Religiously, the Šonké mosque, which is located at a distance of 25 kilometers from Kämissé for a long time has served as a centre of Islamic teachings. Moreover, the ancient Doddota, Gäta and Ṭerusina mosques those hold earlier manuscripts are located in *Qallu Awrajja*.¹⁸

Figure 1: *Kulefa’u Rashdin*, the biggest Mosque at Kämissé



Source: Photograph by the researcher

¹⁷ Magazine of the Oromo Nation Administrative Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau, “The Major Tourist Attractions of Oromia Zone (Kemisse: np, 2010), pp. 1-10.

¹⁸ *Ibid*; informants: Mustäfa Jämal and Wärä Qal Nägash.

The St. Gabriel Church of Kämissé and *Yä Ligo Däbrä Gänät Qidus Giorgis Andinät Gädam* of Kombolča are also among the earlier heritages of the *awrajja*. For instance, *Yä Ligo Däbrä Gänät Qidus Giorgis Andinät Gädam*, located at the place called *ፒዮ ላምታ*, five kilometers north of the main road from Kombolča to Dässé. Due to the rugged terrain and mountainous topography of the area that monastery lies which is difficult to reach there. As a result, the local community nicknamed it as: **ዳረ ኦሳት መሀል ገነት** (outer surface is fire, inner is heaven). According to tradition, this Monastery was first established as a church during the late Aksumite period and developed into a monastery since the late 19th century. Currently, this monastery is serving as a destination for Orthodox Christians of the area.¹⁹

Figure 2: Picture of *Ligo Däbrä Gänät Qidus Giorgis Andinät Gädam*



Source: Temesgen Seyoum, p. 20.

Culturally, the Bati market, which attracted many foreign tourists, is situated in Bati town. The Bati market that is held every Monday weekly is believed to have been the famous market in Ethiopia next to Merkato. The guillotine like machine, which was built during the period of Emperor Hailesellassie stand at the top of the market. This market also attracted the Argoba, Amhara, Oromo, and Afar communities together.²⁰

¹⁹ Qallu *Wäräda* Agricultural Office, “Pamphlet on *Yägof Tibik Dän*”, (Kombolča, 2010), p. 6.

²⁰ Informants: Mustäfa Jämal and Wärä Qal Nägash.

1.2. Historical Background

According to sources, Wällo was one of the historic provinces of Ethiopia. The historical region of Wällo had a pivotal strategic position and served throughout the medieval and early modern periods as a natural route for population movements and military conquests as well as a line of march and retreat for regional and imperial troops. One of the historical layers which gave Wällo socio-cultural diversity and geopolitical configuration was the Oromo population movement and permanent settlement of several sub-groups of the Oromos in east, central and western parts of the region beginning from the second half of 16th century.²¹

Based on tradition, the name Wällo was a post sixteenth century designation named after an Oromo sub-group called Wällo, who took over the area during the expansion. In the movement and expansion of the Oromos, five major branches of Baräytuma sub-groups (Wärra-Däya, Märäwa, Kärräyyu, Akkaçu and Wärañtiša) and the Tuläma had penetrated into the north central highland and taken root into Wällo and settled there. This event was a turning point for the gradual alteration of the name of the area where they settled into Wällo.²² “... , the Wällo were a sub-group of the Kärräyu branch of Baräytuma Oromo. The term Wällo, is said to have been derived from the name of their eponymous ancestor, who is believed to have been the second son of Kärräyu.”²³

During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, the provincial administration was reorganized under the Ministry of Interior (MoI) to facilitate the centralization of power and to ensure the periphery would remain loyal to the center. The numbers as well as the boundaries of these divisions have continually changed and the country had, for instance, a total of thirty-four provinces in 1935. In the early 1940s, the government of Emperor Haile Selassie had introduced new administrative divisions which included the *Ṭäqalay-Gizat* (Province), *Awraijas* (Sub-Provinces), *Wärädas* (Districts) and *Mikitil Wärädas* (Vice-Districts). Since then many boundaries have been redrawn

²¹ Hussien Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth- Century Wollo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 1-3.

²² Bairu Tafla (Ed.), *Aşma Giyorgis and His Works: History of the [Oromo] and the Kingdom of Şawa* (Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 137-138; Hussien (2001), p. 14.

²³ Hussien (2001), pp. 14-15.

in the interest of consolidation and political centralization. Wällo province was the part of this development and it was expanded and became one of the political units of the country.²⁴

Map 1: Administrative divisions and provincial capitals

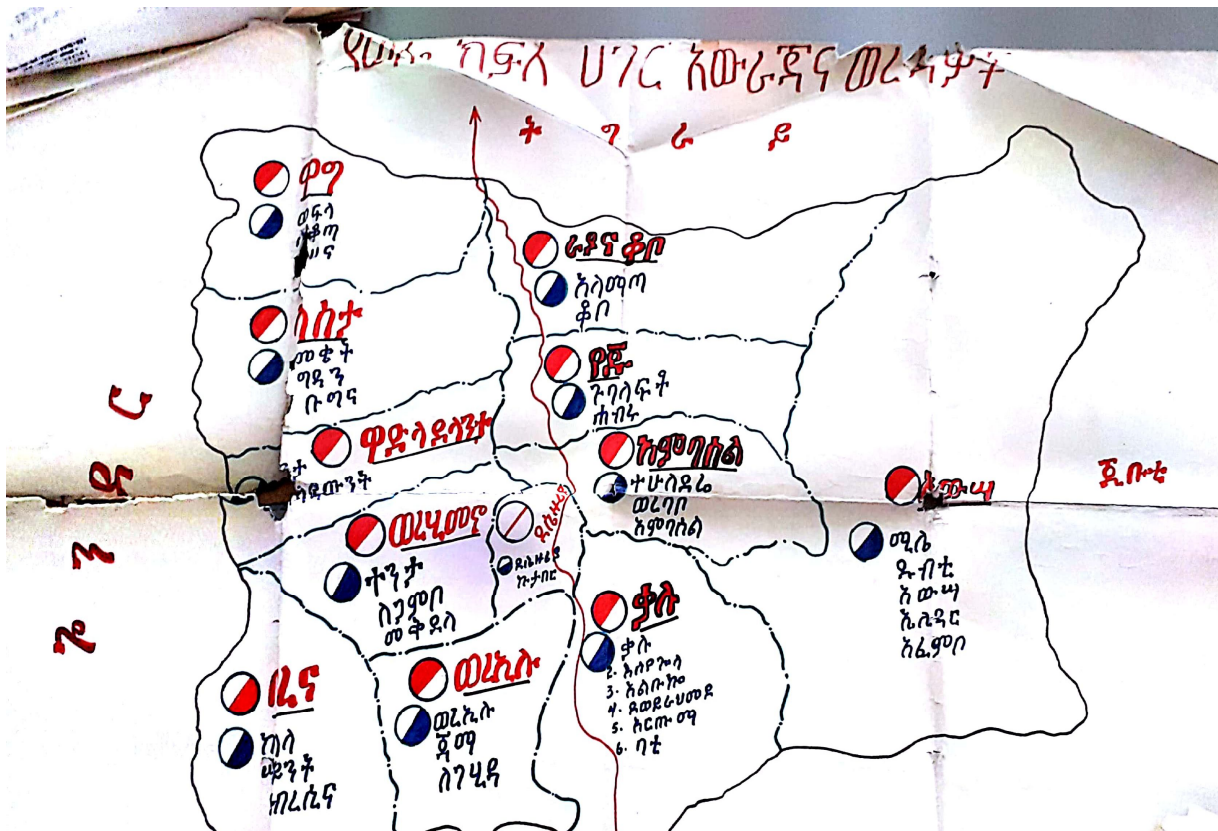


Source: Andargachew Tiruneh, p. xv.

²⁴ John M. Cohn and Peter H. Koehn, *Ethiopia Provincial and Municipal Government: Imperial and Post- Revolutionary Changes* (Michigan State University, 1980), pp. 19-23.

For the sake of effective administration and stability, another form of boundary re- adjustment based on population size and local administrative units was introduced in 1945/46. Accordingly, Wällo province was divided into twelve *Awrajjas* (Sub-Provinces), thirty-one *Wärädas* (Districts) and one hundred seventy-nine *Miketil* *Wärädas* (Vice-Districts). The twelve *Awrajjas* of the province were: Ambasäl, Awsa, Boräna, Dässê *Zuria*, Lasta, Yäjju, Rayya-*Qobo*, Wärrä-*Himäno*, Wärrä-*Illu*, Wadlana-Dälanta, Wag and Qallu.²⁵ Qallu *Awrajj*, which is the focus of this study had six *Wärädas* (Districts), one *Leyu Käftäñña* and eighty five *Yägäbäré Qäbälé Mahbär* (Peasant Associations). The six *Wärädas* (Districts) of Qallu *Awrajj* were Bati, Qallu, Essoyé Golla, Albukko, Däwwäy-Rahmedo and Arțuma. Kombolča was the administrative centre of Qallu *Awrajj*.²⁶

Map 2: Map of Wällo *Ṭäqalay-Gizat* (Province) and its sub-provinces and districts



Source: Archival sources from ENALA

²⁵ ENALA: 17.1.12.01.03/1977; Gashaw (2015), p. 54.

²⁶ ENALA: 17.1.12.01.03/1977.

Table 1: The *Wärädas* (Districts) of Qallu *Awrajja* and their centers

<i>Awrajja</i>	Capital	<i>Wärädas</i>	Administrative Centres	Number of Population (1980)	Number of Peasant Associations
Qallu	Kombolča	Bati	Bati	58,989	25
		Qallu	Harbu	33,661	10
		Essoyé Golla	Kämissé	30,846	12
		Albukko	Dägaga	66,310	15
		Däwwäy-Rahmädo	Bora	37,281	15
		Arṭuma	Arṭuma	6,478	8
		Kombolča <i>Leyu</i> <i>Käftäñña</i>	Kombolča	20,516	-

Source: Archival sources from ENALA

Qallu was a historical area in southeastern Wällo for its role as a famous trading center. For instance, *Ayin Amba*, one of the most important caravan route center placed in close proximity to Kombolča, was the part of this region. The name Qallu is deduced from Wärrä-Qallu, the name of the Oromo sub-sub-group who settled there around the late 16th century. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Qallu who settled in the valleys between the eastern escarpments of the western highlands of the Medieval Christian province of Amhara, known Hägärä *Maryam* and become chieftom under an Oromo hereditary dynasty Wärrä-Qallu. The most prominent member of the Qallu dynasty was Amiṭo under him it extended to south and subjugated Reqqé, Arṭuma and Däwwäy.²⁷

The earliest mentioned town in the study area was Bati, in the first years of the 1930s, but Henze believe that, the market must antedate the town by at least 200 or 300 years. He continued his discussion that he was unable to find a reference of very early traveler to Bati, which may have had a different name in early times.²⁸ Moreover, Burigge stated that, the market of Bati created an important cultural cross-border for the Amhara, the Oromo, and semi-nomadic desert dwelling Afar peoples. He had also noted that, “Bati has hosted Ethiopia’s largest camel market,

²⁷ Cornwallis Harris W., *The Highlands of Ethiopia* .Vol. III. (London, 1844), p. 68; Anteneh, pp. 62-63.

²⁸ Paul B. Henze, *Ethiopian Journey* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 22.

attracting about 20,000 people every Monday.”²⁹ The road which connects Bati town with Dässé was completed before the Italian occupation of Ethiopia.³⁰

It was within the Qallu *Awrajjja* of Wällo province that Kombolča was founded as a town by the Italians during the occupation period (1936 - 1941) and grew as an important urban center in the subsequent decades. According to orally preserved sources, before the town was named as Kombolča it was called *Biraro*, which is derived from the Amharic text **ዛራ ክንኳን ቢራሩብን** (*If they forgive us at least today*) which indicates the merciless character of the local rulers. What is remained mysterious was the exact time when the name *Biraro* was abandoned for Kombolča, although it seems to relate to the period of the Oromo population expansion in the region.³¹

Even though the etymological origin of the name Kombolča is till controversial, there are two views about it. Based on oral information acquired from some informants, the name Kombolča was derived from the Italian word called “*campo luchia*”, which means “a village which has a light”. From this point of view, the name Kombolča is directly associated with the coming of the Italians in the region.³²

In their five year stay in the country (1936-1941), the Italians embarked a massive road construction project partly with the aim of promoting the colonial conquest of the country. The construction of road from Assäb to Addis Abäba through Kombolča was one of the Italian roads building scheme and this project was the responsibility of a person called Prucelli.³³ Prucelli and the Italian road workers camped in the present area called Borčälé (corrupted from the original name Prucelli) and they used an electric light sourced from a generator. This was unbelievable and exciting phenomenon for the surrounding inhabitants (those who used wood for both light and cooking purpose and had not seen electric light). During that time Borčälé and its surrounding area were beautified by the electric light bulbs. This electrified camp in Italian language is called *Cambo Lučia*. The name *Cambo Lučia* was not exactly pronounced by its

²⁹ Phlip Briggs, *Ethiopia: The Brandt Traveler Guide, third edition* (London: Brandt, 2002), p. 289.

³⁰ Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Haile Selassie I University, 1968), p. 293.

³¹ Infomants: Hawa Mohammäd, Zäwudé Gäbrämädhin and Ṭirunäs Gétačäw.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Richard Pankhurst, “Road Building and the Italian Fascist Occupation of ethiopia (1936-1941),” *Africa Quarterly*, Vol, XV, No. 3, 1975, p. 37.

local inhabitants. Rather, they began to pronounce *Cambo Lučĭa* as Kombolča. Based on this claim the name Kombolča was taken from the Italian term *Cambo Lučĭa*.³⁴

On the other hand, the other group of informants traced the origin of name Kombolča to the early days Oromo Population Movement. According to this tradition, the name Kombolča might have come from an Oromo word called Kombälša which means an area surrounded by a tree called “*Wačo*” (short thin, woody and thorny plants which looks like acacia tree). This is a far modest projection which traces the historical origin of the name Kombolča back to the times of Oromo Population Movement by attributing a multi-faceted influence of the Oromo expansion in Wällo since the late 16th century.³⁵

The existence of other town in the dominant Oromo speaking region of Härärgé that bears identical name (Kombolča) and the absence of town names in the rest of Ethiopia in relation to infrastructural expansion by the Italians, since the Italians had controlled many regions and installed electric power supply and other services before their arrival in the present day Kombolča could be also a highlight for the association of the name Kombolča with the Oromos.³⁶ Thus, it can be stated with a fair degree of confidence and seems plausible that the name Kombolča in the present day South Wällo is coined from an Oromo word Kombälša which stands for the area covered with thick forests and thorny bushes.

1.2.1. Peopling of the Study Area

The early history of the study area in general refers to the existence of diversified peoples. First, the Amharic speaking Christian communities existed in northern and western highlands of Wällo. Secondly, the Agaw ethnic group that is Kushitic speaking community which, during the period of the Christian Zagwe dynasty (1150-1270) wielded and exercised political power settled over a good part of north and north-central Ethiopia, in the northwest. Finally, the Kushitic semi-pastoral Oromo groups dwelled on Wällo’s long eastern frontier. During the Zagwe period, the region was an administrative unit within the kingdom. Later on, it became an integral part of the

³⁴ Informants: Zäwudé Gäbrämädhin and Ṭirunäš Gétačäw.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Informants: Solomon Dämäkä and Zäwudé.

Christian state under the “restored” Solomonic dynasty and its significance for trade is believed to have been considerable.³⁷

Hussien Ahmed in his work entitled *Islam in Nineteenth- Century Wollo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, identified five historical currents or cultural layers which have contributed to the diversity of Wällo cultural heritage and geo-political configuration. The first of these currents was the early Christian Amhara settlements and the establishment of Christian centers and communities in the region. The region emerged as a territorial base for the legendary “restored” Solomonic dynasty that overthrew the Agaw/Zagwe ruling house in 1270, and resulted for the Christian predominance in the area. The second stratum was the military conquest and occupation of Wällo by the Muslim force of Imam Ahmed B. Ibrahim in the course of the first half of the 16th century. The third current was the population movement and the permanent settlement of several sub-groups of the Oromo in various parts of the region beginning from the second half of the 16th century. The fourth element was the consolidation of Islam and the emergence of Muslim chiefdoms and principalities of varying territorial extent, sources, and super structural complexity. Fifthly, an easy and precarious nature of the relationships and the resurgence of imperial power in the second half the 19th century tended to upset the internal balance of power in Wällo and to undermine the process of political and cultural integration of its Muslim communities.³⁸

The study area has been a cultural melting pot where a process of constant intermingling and fusion of heterogeneous elements has been going on for quite a long time.³⁹ In this regard, the people from this area labeled as “Wälloyé” irrespective of ethnic and religious origin. Likely, the ethnic composition of the study area shows a remarkable degree of diversity. It is a home of different ethnic and religious groups. The majority of the inhabitants in the study area are the Amhara, Oromo and Argobba respectively.⁴⁰

³⁷ Ali Yasin Ali, “The Development of Islamic Education System in Ethiopia: Its Features, Relevance and Influence on Muslim Culture with Reference to South Wallo,” PhD Dissertation (Addis Ababa University, Department of Curriculum and Teachers Professional Development, 2015), p. 97.

³⁸ Hussien (2001), pp. 2-3.

³⁹ Asrat, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Informants: Muhammäd Hussén, Mustäfa and Abbas Muhammäd.

In Qallu *Awrajja*, the Argobba live in the villages of Šonké, Țoläha and Arțuma. They are considered to be one of the oldest surviving inhabitants in the region. Their language is called *Argobbiñña* and it is from the southern Ethio-Semitic languages. However, there was a high degree of linguistic exchange and assimilation going on. As a result, *Argobbiñña* is submerged by and giving way to *Amhariñña*, *Oromiñña* and *Afariñña*. Among others, *Argobbiñña* is widely spoken in the villages of Šonké and Țoläha, Qallu *Awrajja*.⁴¹

For them, the history of the Argobba and the coming of Islam to Ethiopia are one and the same. Different people and different authors gave different explanation on their origins. The Argobba are one among the many Semitic-speaking peoples like the Amhara, Gurage, Harari and Gafat who moved to the south in the Aksumite era.⁴² The history of the Argobba is narrated in close connection with the coming of Islam to Abyssinia and with the establishment of the Kingdom of Ifat. Argobba is a name used for both the ethnic groups and the language. The name is related to the historical origin and settlement of the ethnic group. There is one point on which all the knowledgeable elders about the people's history and culture agree. In all areas, according to the elders, the name Argobba is derived from the Amharic phrase *Aräb-gäbba*.⁴³ On the other hand, the term Argobba has a variety of significant when we examine written documents. In this regard, if we look at Kesate Birhan's Amharic dictionary, the term Argobba refers to a district in Yifat which is inhabited by Muslims.⁴⁴ Tesfaye Hailu, in his study entitled "History and Culture of the Argobba: Recent Investigations," stated the term Argobba as the people who speak the language of Argobba, who profess Islam, engage in agricultural, and weaving or commerce.⁴⁵

Sources from several local elders of Argaobba and written documents indicate that there are three versions on the history of this people. The first version holds that when the Arab sub-group known as *Beni Umiya* lost its ruling power to another sub-group 800 years ago and the sub-group

⁴¹ Wolf Leslau, "The Argobba language: The Current State of Affairs," *Research on the Languages of Argobba*, 1997, p. 131; Tesfaye Hailu, "History and Culture of the Argobba: Recent Investigations," *Annales d'Ethiopia*, Vol. XVI, p. 197; Informants: Muhammäd Hussén, Mustäfa and Abbas Muhammäd.

⁴² Sergew Hable Sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1270* (Addis Ababa, 1972), p. 279.

⁴³ Informants: Yusuf and Abdurähman Muhammäd.

⁴⁴ Kesati Birhan Tessema, *Ye Amhargna Mezgebe Kalat* (The Amharic Dictionary) (Arctic Press, Addis Ababa, 1958) p. 720.

⁴⁵ Tesfaye Hailu, "History and Culture of the Argobba: Recent Investigations," *Annales d'Ethiopia*, Vol. XVI, p. 197.

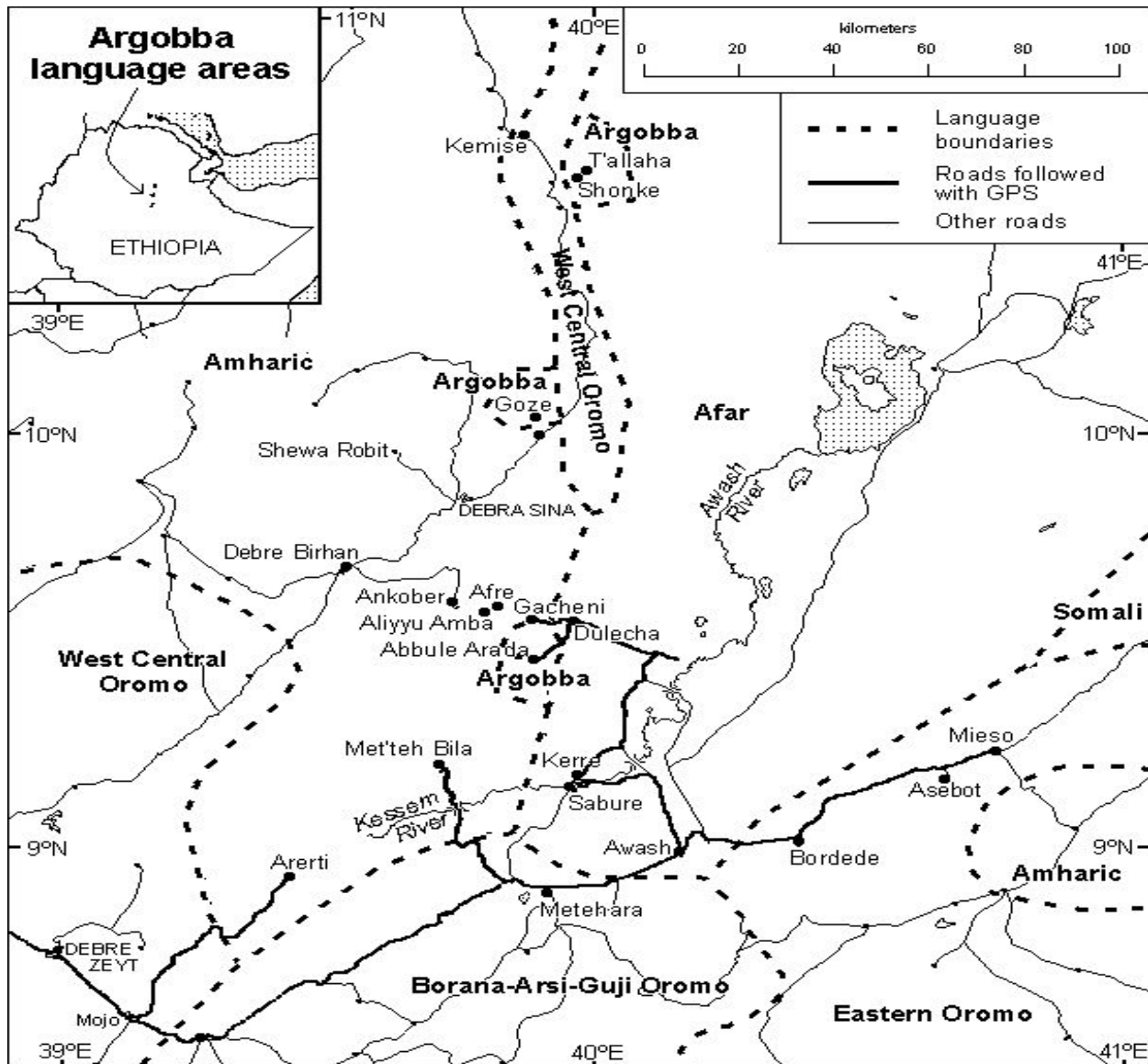
dispersed throughout the world, a few of them immigrated into Ethiopia. The second version holds that when a dispute arose between Prophet Muhammad and the Quraysh aristocracy, some followers of the prophet came to Ethiopia to Ahmed Nejash carrying a letter asking him to accept Islam. After having delivered the letter, they came to Yifat and settled there. The third version on the origin Argobba differs from the previous two. According to this version, the Argobba are not immigrants, but an ancient and indigenous people who accepted Islam very early from religious leaders who came from Arabia.⁴⁶

The Emperors recognized the prominent Walasma family known for the good deeds, as the overlords of Yifat and gave them an authority to administer their territory where Muslim and Christians lived intermingled. It was in such a way that the Yifat Walasma dynasty was formed. The newly organized Yifat under Walasma rule gave security and political power to the Muslim and became a trade centre, in which Arab merchants dominated. Thus, the phrase *Arāb-gābba* (the Arab has entered) came to represent an ethnic group who created unity among the inhabitants and then acted as a source of political power. They became the vanguard for Muslim cause and consolidated their authority. In the course of history, the Argobba moved into two main directions from Yifat into north and south east parts of Ethiopia through both commerce and Islamization. This ethnic group spread to different places establishing villages and giving them their own names. The two main directions in which it moved were; in the north starting from Yifat, it established the village of Gozé in North Shewa, Šonké and Țolāha in Qallu *Awrajja*. Especially in the 19th century, it established the Argobba area known as *Argobba-Serche* and *Argobba-Wanta* in north Wällo. The southward movement includes that which occurred eastward as well. Along this route, it established the village of Bārāhet, Minjar, Kässām and many others.⁴⁷ Accordingly, the Argobbas who were believed to be the earlier people to accept Islam predominantly found in the study areas of Šonké and Țolāha villages.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*; Informants: Yusuf, Mustāfa and Abbas.

⁴⁷ Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527* (Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 123; Informants: Yusuf Abdusomed and Ahmed Ibn Hussein.

Map 3: Location of Argobba people in the study area and Ethiopia



Source: Mohammad Hussen, p. 6.

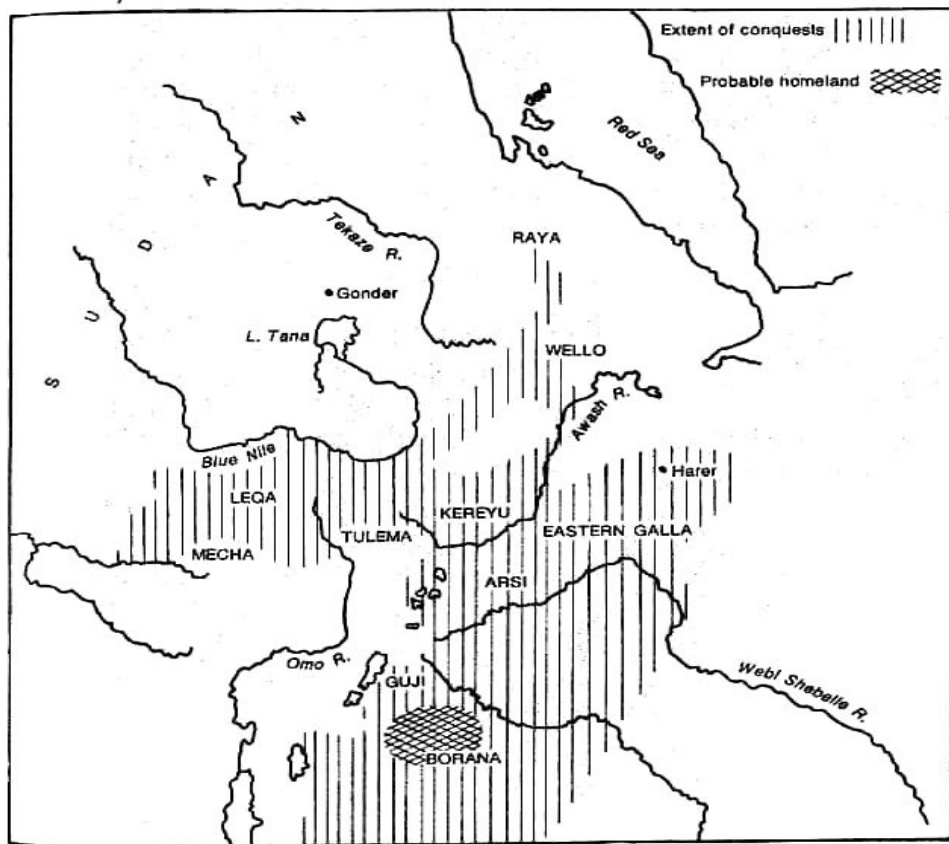
The other settlers of the study area were/are the Oromo. Now, it was due to the presence of large number of the Oromo within the Amhara region, some part of the study area designated as Oromia Zone with its administrative centre at Kämisse.⁴⁸ As Crummev has pointed out, the Oromo expansion and settlement was an important factor which contributed for the ethnic diversity of north central Ethiopia.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Informants: Šhanbäl and Muhammäd.

⁴⁹ Donald Crummev, "Society and Ethnicity in the Politics of Christian Ethiopia during the Zemene Mesafint," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Boston University African Studies Center, 1975, p. 271.

According to Hussein Ahmed, it was from the last quarter of 16th century; the seven sub-groups of eastern Kushitic-speaking Oromo penetrated and settled in northern, north eastern and south western Amhara. Tracing on tradition, he also mentioned that, the Wällo were a sub-group of the Karrayu branch of the Baraytuma Oromo. Accordingly, by the 17th century the various Wällo sub-groups had occupied the region extensively and by the end of the preceding century, they had settled up to the south, east and north bounded areas of the region.⁵⁰ In Wällo, the Oromo settled among a large sedentary population whose agricultural activity brought great impact on the newcomers. Thus, in some areas of Wällo, particularly northeastern Amhara, mixed farming became a prime economic basis of the Oromo.⁵¹

Map 4: Oromo homeland and areas of conquest



Source: Lewis, p. 79.

⁵⁰ Bairu, pp. 137-138. Hussein (2001), p. 14.

⁵¹ Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 88.

The Oromo population movement and settlement in the central and eastern parts of Wällo region had both immediate and long-term demographic and social repercussion. Accordingly, for the indigenous Muslim communities in Wällo, one of the immediate consequences of the eventual Oromo settlement in the area was the temporary disruption of the process of Islamization by weakening and isolating these communities from other center of Islam like Yifat and Harar.⁵² According to Trimingham, however, one long term outcome of the Oromo settlement was their early Islamization and their active role in the subsequent spread and consolidation of Islam in the region.⁵³

Within a century after their arrivals, several Oromo converted to Islam and some Oromo elites themselves become “the champions of Islam.”⁵⁴ Thus, they helped in transforming the status of local Islam from that of a religion of disparate communities to that of a dynastic and regional ideology.⁵⁵ They tended gradually to adopt certain aspects of the host culture or even to become fully integrated into those cultures. They also introduced some elements of their own culture into the social and religious life of the people whom they came to contact. The new settlers did not remain for long as distinct groups. They gradually began to intermarry and to adopt either Christianity or Islam.⁵⁶

Generally, the study area had been inhabited by the Oromo (Baréntu branch of the Oromo) who were moving into the area during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the Amhara populations who were under the rule of the Christian highland kingdom of medieval Ethiopia. Once the Oromos had penetrated and occupied the highland and had ascended the fertile plateau became sedentary cultivators. The Argobbas with entirely Muslim populations are also the inhabitants of the study area.⁵⁷

⁵² Hussein (2001), p. 14.

⁵³ J.S Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 107.

⁵⁴ Hussein (2001), p. 27.

⁵⁵ Mordechai Abir, *The Era of Princess: The Challenges of Islam and the Reunification of the Ethiopian Empire, 1769-1855* (London, Longmans, 1968), p.113.

⁵⁶ Ali, p. 100.

⁵⁷ Informants: Mäkonnen Yergaw, Muhammäd Kädär and Šhanbäland Muhammäd. .

CHAPTER TWO - RELIGIONS IN ETHIOPIA

2.1. Introduction

As north-east Africa is a museum of peoples, so it is a region of religious diversity. Initially, settled by the Kushites people who chiefly worshipped traditional religions, it has been highly influenced in its religious complexion by the vicinity of the Middle East, the birthplace of the three great monotheistic religions of the world such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam.⁵⁸ Ethiopia has been the home of different beliefs and practices since antiquity. Its location is where Europe, Asia and Africa meet paved a fertile ground for Ethiopia to be the scene of intercontinental and intercultural interactions. This strategic location also placed ancient Ethiopia in the position of cultural and religious communications with the Indian, Persian, Arab and Mediterranean civilization of Greek and Rome.⁵⁹

According to Sergaw Habele Selassie, traditional beliefs as well as Judaism were worshipped side by side in Ethiopia before the advent of Christianity. Both were the outcomes of contact with Middle Eastern countries through commercial channels. The Sabean migrants who crossed the Red Sea in the first millennium B.C (Before Christ) and settled in Ethiopia brought with them their own religion. They were polytheists, and worshipped different gods of heaven, the earth and the sea. However, some of them were local gods while others were South Arabian and Greek in origin. For instance, Astar, Mahrem, Baher and Arwe were the principal local gods. Zeus, Ares and Poseidon were Greek in origin; and Almoqah was the principal South Arabian god.⁶⁰ Though a number of beliefs practiced by peoples and states of the Ethiopian region since time immemorial, the decisive religions in the region still are Christianity and Islam.

2.1.1. Christianity in Ethiopia

The introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia went going back to the 4th century A.D. It was first introduced into the Kingdom of Aksum through its commercial and maritime relations with the

⁵⁸ Trimingham, p. 15.

⁵⁹ Girmaye G. Michael, "Religious Setting of Jimma Zone," MA Thesis (Jimma University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2015), p. 10.

⁶⁰ Sergew Habele Selassie, "The Establishment of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church," in *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa, 1970, pp. 1-6.

Byzantine Empire.⁶¹ As Hussien Ahmed cited from Dombrowski, “Christianity spread from the core to the periphery while Islam expanded from the periphery towards the centre.”⁶² One of the sources regarding with the introduction of Christianity links it with the two Syrian young relatives Frumentius and Adesius. It was narrated in the work of Moore as follow:

*A merchant vessel, belonging to Meropius, a Syrian trader, landed on the Ethiopian coast for provisions. The natives attacked the ship and murdered its crew. Only two sons of the merchant, Frumentius and Edesius, survived they were taken captive to Aksum, the ancient capital. In time they impressed the king so much with their ability that they were released from slavery and given important positions court. Finally, they were given permission to return to native land. Edesius went back to Tyre, where he ultimately became a presbyter in the church. Frumentius was imbued with a missionary zeal to return and convert Ethiopia to Christianity. He went to Alexandria conferred with the famous Bishop Athanasius. After the later had listened to his plea, Athanasius ordained Frumentius the first bishop of Ethiopia.*⁶³

Thus, Edesius became a presbyter in the church at Tyre and Frumentius consecrated as the first bishop of Ethiopia by Patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria. Athanasius' selection of Frumentius to head the Church in Ethiopia established a precedent whereby the leader of the Ethiopian Church was chosen by the head of the Egyptian (later Coptic) Church until the middle of the twentieth century. Those bishops were unfamiliar with the local languages and cultures with no local political background. As a result, they were heavily dependent on the good will of the monarch.⁶⁴

During their earlier stay in Ethiopia as privileged captives, Edesius and Frumentius taught the principles of the Christian religion at every opportunity and probably made many converts. However, Frumentius wanted to make a Christian Ethiopia by influencing the contemporary King of Axum, Ezana. That is the reason that Frumentius went to Alexandria asking for encouragement and support in his work.⁶⁵ It was on his return from Egypt, Frumentius converted the King of Ethiopia to Christianity in 330 A.D. By doing so, Ezana became the first King of Ethiopia to be converted to Christianity. Inscriptions of that time make clear that Ezana embraced Christianity during the course of his reign. Within the lifetime of Frumentius and Ezana Christianity became the official religion of Axum. However, the masses do not seem to

⁶¹ Tadesse, p. 28; Trimmingham, p. 38.

⁶² Hussein (2001), p. 33.

⁶³ Dale H. Moore, “Christianity in Ethiopia,” Vol. 5 (Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 193.

⁶⁴ Steven Kaplan, “Dominance and Diversity: Kingship, Ethnicity, and Christianity in Orthodox Ethiopia,” Vol. 89, No. 1/3 (Brill, 2009), p. 294; Sergew, pp. 1-6.

⁶⁵ Moore, p. 194; Sergew, pp. 1-6.

have been greatly influenced by the new faith and continued in their worship of the old gods just as it did in the Roman Empire after the time of Constantine.⁶⁶

The process of expansion of Christianity was promoted by a group of monks who came to be known as the Nine Saints by the second half of the 5th Century A.D. They were originally Syrian monks who probably came into Ethiopia by way of Egypt. The Nine Saints founded monasteries, made translations of sacred books into the native language, developed the liturgy and propagated the Monophysite theology.⁶⁷ Their role for spread of Christianity among the ordinary inhabitants of Aksum had been great.

This transformation of Ethiopia to Christian Kingdom however, appears to have taken place during the reign of Kaleb, who ruled in the first half of the sixth century. Kaleb, believed to have been the first Ethiopian ruler to take a biblical name. He is best remembered for his role as the patron and representative of Christianity in the Red Sea area, especially in South Arabia. “When the king of the South Arabian kingdom of Himyar converted to Judaism and massacred Christians in the town of Najran, the task of avenging the martyrs and restoring Christianity to the region fell to the Ethiopian ruler. His troops defeated the Judaized Himyarite King Yusuf (Joseph) Du Nuwas and established Christian supremacy in the region.”⁶⁸

The period from the beginning from the seventh century to the middle of the thirteenth century was a time of crisis in the development of Christianity in Ethiopia. In this period the Arabian conquest of the region brought traditional cults, the Solomonian succession of kings was interrupted and Judith, a queen of Sāmén, annexed and destroyed all traces of Christianity there in the 10th century. As a result of those conditions, the period from the 7th to the 12th centuries in general taken to be the Dark Age of the Ethiopian Church.⁶⁹

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed an influx of monks from Egypt and the building of many churches and monasteries. The monks made reforms and a movement to revive

⁶⁶ P.L Shinnie, “The Nilotic Sudan and Ethiopia, c. 660 BC to c. AD 600,” *In The Cambridge History of Africa: From c. 500 BC to AD 1050*, eds. J.D Fage and Roland Oliver, Vol. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 265; Trimmingham, p. 39; Girmaye, p. 12.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*; Sergew Habele Selassie, “The Expansion and Consolidation of Christianity c. 350 to 650,” in *The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa, 1970, pp. 7-9.

⁶⁸ Kaplan, p. 295.

⁶⁹ Moore, p. 277.

the decadent religion of the country, which was followed by successive of theological discussion and literary activity. A number of important manuscripts were translated into *Geez* and copies of the New Testament and of various rituals were made available for the churches. The period also saw the building of many Churches and monasteries in different parts of the region. For instance, the eleven monolithic Churches of Lalibala were probably built at this time. They stand to this day as one of the great wonders of the ancient world, chiseled out a single solid rock by workmen who used only hand tools.⁷⁰

The years from 1550 to 1633 saw a persistent attempt to establish the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) in Ethiopia. The introduction of Catholicism into Ethiopia is related with the coming of Portuguese military support to the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia (CKE) in 1540. This Portuguese military assistance helped the Christian kingdom to score victory over the Muslim forces of Adal in 1543 at the battle of Woina Däga, in Dämbiya. After accomplishing their mission, the Portuguese soldiers stayed in the country and invited the Catholic missionaries known as the Jesuits or the Society of Jesus. These groups of Catholic missionaries arrived towards Ethiopia in 1557. Following their arrival the Jesuits started their endeavor to convert Christian kings to Catholicism. The first permanent mission was started in 1557 under Bishop Oviedo. But, Oviedo failed to convince the reigning king, Gelawdewos (r. 1540-1559). The king wrote a book called *Confession of Gelawdewos*, by which Gelawdewos defended the practices of the Orthodox faith of his kingdom against the criticism of the Catholic theologians. Until the arrival of Father Peter Paez, however, the Roman Catholicism made any progress. Peter Paez lived in Ethiopia from 1603 to 1622.⁷¹

Peaz was more than others succeed in converting of several high dignitaries of the kingdom, including King Susenyos (r.1607-1632). Susenyos was interested in Paez and was personally in favor of the Roman religion and he publicly professed the Roman Catholic religion. In 1622, Susenyos declared Catholicism as the state and official religion of Ethiopia. Thus, the imposition of the religion began in some areas and some major changes in the Orthodox Church practices had been introduced. Susenyos's action confronted serious opposition from the peasantry, the nobility and the Orthodox clergy which brought civil wars within the kingdom.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 277-278.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 279-282.

Finally, Susenyos became disheartened and unhappy because of the continual bloodshed and, in 1631, issued a proclamation permitting everyone to follow his religious inclinations. In 1632 Susenyos abdicated the throne in favor of his son Fasilades, pro-claiming at the same time that the old religion could be restored. Fasilides was strongly anti-Jesuit and immediately set about the task of restoring the Ethiopian church to its former authority and of driving the Jesuits out of the country by his close door policy.⁷²

In Ethiopia, Protestant reformers have made various attempts to establish missions in Ethiopia since the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, for the most part they were not acceptable to the people. But, since the time of Emperor Menelik II (r1889-1913), the Protestants along with other missions, have enjoyed relative peace to spread their faith and the progress of Protestantism in the country started since then.⁷³

2.1.2. Islam in Ethiopia

A history of Islam concerns the religion of Islam and its believers, Muslims. Muslim is an Arabic word, meaning, one who submits to the will of God and obedient of His law.⁷⁴ The Arabic name for God is Allah, one and only eternal God, Creator of the Universe. Islam is a complete religion that encompasses all aspects of life.⁷⁵ Though it is believed by non-Muslims to have originated in Mecca and Medina during the 7th century A.D, Muslims believe that the religion of Islam has been present since the time of Prophet Adam. The Islamic world expanded to include people of the Islamic civilization, inclusive of non-Muslims living in that civilization. The Arab sub-group of *Quraysh* to which Prophet Mohammad belonged lived in south Hedjaz, chief religious and commercial center of post-classical Arabia. They were the guardians of *Kaaba* within the town of Mecca and the dominant sub-group of Mecca by the time of the Prophet. It was from the *Banu Hashim* sub-group of Quraysh that Prophet Mohammad was born in 570 A.D.⁷⁶

The arrival of Islam in Africa can be traced back to the seventh century when Prophet Muhammad advised a number of his early followers, who were facing persecution by the anti-

⁷² Berhanu (Ed.), p. 211.

⁷³ Moore, p. 283.

⁷⁴ Javad Haghnavaz, "Spread of Islam in Africa," *American International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences*, Jolfa, 2014, p. 124.

⁷⁵ Ali, p. 45.

⁷⁶ Haghnavaz, p. 124.

Islamic inhabitants of the Mecca to seek asylum across the Red Sea at the court of Axum. In the Muslim tradition, this event is known as the first *hijrah* or migration. The first Muslim migrants provided Islam with its first major triumph and the coastline of Eritrea became the first safe haven for Muslims and the first place where Islam was practiced outside the circle of the Arabian Peninsula.⁷⁷

Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa is one of the regions to be influenced by early Islamic cultural activities. This was due to the geographical proximity of the region to the Middle East and the presence of early ties on both sides of the Red Sea that brought a mutual relationship characterized by interdependence. It is well known throughout history that all cultural, economic, social and political developments that occurred in the Arabian Peninsula and the Middle East had a direct or indirect impact on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa since the remote past.⁷⁸ Thus, the oldest contact of Islam outside the Arabian Peninsula was with Ethiopia when Prophet Mohammad sent some of his followers to Ethiopia and received favourable reception by the King of Axum.⁷⁹

Shortly after Prophet Muhammad began preaching publicly and criticizing Meccan beliefs, he came under pressure and persecution in Mecca from the Quraysh. When the persecution was intensified, the Prophet advised the first Muslims to go across the Red Sea to the emperor's protection in Aksum. He told his followers, "If you go to Abyssinia you will find a king under whom none are persecuted. It is a land of righteousness where God will give you relief from what you are suffering."⁸⁰ A small group went in 615 A.D., and a larger group went the following year. This is referred to by Muslim writers as the first and the second *hijra* (emigration) to Abyssinia. Over one hundred went in all, among them were some important figures: Ruqayya (the daughter of the Prophet) and her husband Uthman (the third *Caliph*), Umm Habiba (who would become the wife of the Prophet) and Jafar (the cousin of the Prophet). The departures however, angered the Prophet's opponents, who sent a deputation of their own to ask that the

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 125.

⁷⁸ Kassaye Begashaw, "The Archaeology of Islam in North East Shoa," *In Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 2, ed. Svein Ege and etal. Trondheim, 2009, p. 13.

⁷⁹ Abrham Demoz, "Moslems and Islam in Ethiopic Literature," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Addis Ababa, 1972), p. 1.

⁸⁰ Trimmingham, p. 44.

refugees might be returned.⁸¹ The Najashi, however, summoned the refugees and saw no reason to listen to the needs of the Quraysh and gave his protection to them. Later, after the flight to Medina in 622 A.D, Prophet Mohammad requested for those exiles who sought to return to Arabia. Then, the emperor responded by sending the group in 628 A.D., weighted down with gifts.⁸²

One of the factors which gave rise for the diffusion of Islam in Ethiopia was the decline of the Aksumite Empire which monopolized the trade activities along the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. Due to the growing power and rapid expansion of Muslim Arabs, Aksumite monopoly over the Red Sea trade had already declined by the middle of the 8th century. Since then the expansion of Islam in the Ethiopian region started. Aksumites' decline also paved a ground for the emergence of Muslim societies and principalities along the trade routes. Among the coastal settlements and the pastoral peoples of the vast semi-desert between the Red Sea coast and the edge of the plateau where the Christian power was felt least, the processes of Islamic expansion was active.⁸³

The process of Islamization and interactions in the Ethiopian region and the Horn was pacific. The principal agents were Muslim merchants and clerics who moved from the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden to central Ethiopia as far as Northeast Shoa. The ports of Zeila and Berbera on the Gulf of Aden were centers of the commercial activities of the time. These Muslim merchants of the time had got the support of the Christians and their rulers. For instance, the Christian rulers played their role of facilitating and encouraging the normal flow of the trade by keeping the peace and stability of the area where trade was conducted.⁸⁴

The first to be affected by Islamic activities were the coastal areas. This was followed by Islamic rapid expansion from the coastal region into the pastoralist and agriculturalist communities where and finally into Northeastern Shoa by Muslim merchants and preachers who traveled from Zeila and Berbera to central Ethiopia through the principal trade routes. It was within this general frame work that the known Sultanates of Shoa and Ifat as well as other Muslim states like Dawaro, Fatagar, Sharka, Arbabni, Bali, and Hadiya appeared and spread in the southeastern part

⁸¹ David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 111.

⁸² Robinson, p. 111; Trimmingham, p. 45.

⁸³ Tadesse, p. 43.

⁸⁴ Kassaye, p. 14.

of the country. The oldest Muslim Sultanate of Shoa (9th – 13th centuries) and the Sultanate Ifat (13th – 15th centuries), which supplanted Ifat were the principal core of Islamic activities during the medieval period in Ethiopia particularly in Northeast Shoa. “It was from the sultanate of Ifat in Shoa that Islam gradually spread into the nearby areas and Wällo particularly to Däwwäy and Qallu as well as into the rest of Wällo and neighboring provinces.”⁸⁵

Map 5: Muslim states and areas in early medieval Ethiopia



Source: Trimingham, p. 64.

According to Hussein Ahmed, the progress of Islam in Ethiopia chronologically and thematically could be discussed as follows: (A) The early phase (from the 7th to the 11th centuries) - featured the advent of Muslim refugees, merchants and preachers. This early penetration of Islam resulted for the conversion of the coastal, pastoralist and sedentary populations of the plains into Islam and the establishment of Islam as a political factor in the Horn of Africa beginning from the 10th

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

century. (B) The period of expansion and consolidation (12th to 15th centuries) - the period witnessed the emergence of several Muslim sultanates, primarily in areas south of the Awaṣ basin and the occurrence of conflicts between the Muslim states and the Medieval Christian Kingdom. The root cause for the conflict was economical, that is, the need to control trade and to have access to the coast. (C) Period of rivalry (the 16th century) - it was a period in which the clash between the Muslim and Christian states of the time reached its peak. The clashes resulted for the decline and end of the Muslim authority in the highlands and the weakening of Islam as a political factor in the region. (D) Period of gradual increment (17th and 18th centuries) – it was coincided with the period of *Zāmānā-Māsafint* in which the Christian state suffered from internal problem and decline of central authority of the monarchy. It created fertile condition for the growth of Islam in the region. For instance, Islam regained ascendancy under regional dynasties, especially in Yājju, Wārrā-Himāno and in areas of Wällo. (E) Period of growth and internal reverses (the 19th century) – the first part of the 19th century witnessed the growth of Islam because of the advent and spread of the mystical orders in central and southern parts of Ethiopia. Whereas, the second half of the 19th century saw a period of crisis in the progress of Islam due to the religious policies of the Christian kings.⁸⁶

2.1.2.1. Islamic Sects: *Sunnism* and *Shi'ism*

The most important division within Islam following the death of the Prophet in 632 A.D was between *Sunnism* and *Shi'ism*. The vast majority of Muslims, that is, about 86 to 87 percent, are *Sunnis*, a term that comes from *ahlal sunnah wa'l-jamā'ah*, “followers of the *sunnah* of the Prophet.” About 13 to 14 percent of Muslims are *Shi'ites*, a word that derives from *shī'at 'Alī*, “the partisans of ‘Alī (‘Alī bin Abī Tālib).” The major point of disputation between *Sunnism* and *Shi'ism* was the question of who should succeed the Prophet and the question of what the qualification of such a person had to be. Thus, the major difference between the two sects is basically more of political than faith related issues despite considerable ritual differences.⁸⁷ Ethiopian Muslims belong to the wider *Sunni* Muslim camp.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Hussein (2001), pp. 58-59.

⁸⁷ Seyyed Hossein, *Islam: Religion, History, and Civilization* (HarperCollins Publishers, 2007), pp. 10-13.

⁸⁸ Meron Zeleke, “We are the Same but Different: Accounts of Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Adherents of Islamic Sufi Saints,” *Journal for the Study of Religion*, Vol. 27, No. 2, 2014, p. 198.

2.1.2.2. Schools of Law (*Madh'hab*)

Islamic knowledge derived from Quran and *Hadith* possess three major branches. The first type is the general tenets of Islamic belief in the oneness of Almighty God, in his angels, books, messengers, the Prophet hood of Muhammad and so on. The second type of knowledge is about the general Islamic principles to do well and to avoid evils. The third type of knowledge is that of the specific understanding of particular divine commands and prohibitions that make up the *sharia* (Islamic law). Here because of both the nature and the sheer number of the Quran and *Hadith* texts involved, people differ in the scholarly capacity to understand and deduce rulings from them.⁸⁹

The science of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) was developed with the expansion of Islam and with the need to train the complex interpretation of Islamic texts, for legal and administrative purposes, in the Quranic School called *medressa*. Within *medressas* the understandings of different scholars have been taught under the name *medhhab*. Literally, *medhhab* means away of going or simply a path. The position of an outstanding scholar on a particular point was also referred to as his *madh-hab* (the path of his ideas or his opinion). Eventually, it was used to refer to the sum total of the scholar's opinions, whether legal or philosophical. Later it was used to denote, not only the scholar's opinion, but also that of his students and followers. In line with this intention, within the *Sunni* Islam, Muslim scholars codified the whole Islamic law into a coherent system which facilitated the way for the emergence of four legal schools of law (*madhhabs*) between the 8th and 11th centuries.⁹⁰

The first is the *Hanafi madhhab*, named after the Persian scholar Abu Hanifa an-Nu'man bin Thābit (699-767). The *Hanafi* School is the oldest and by far the largest *Sunni* schools of legal. It has a reputation for putting greater emphasis on the role of reason and being more liberal than the other three schools. The second, *Mālikī madhhab*, derives from the work of Mālik bin Anas (d. 795). It is the third largest of the four schools in terms of its followers. The third *madhhab* within the *Sunni* branch of Islam is the *Shafi'*, named after *Imām* ash-Shafi' (767-820). It is the

⁸⁹ S. Feuzan, *Al Irshad Ila Sehihil Eetiqaad* (Bedir pvt. Company, 2002), p. 25; Ibrahim Endashaw, "Practices and Contributions of Islamic Education to Modern Education in Ethiopia: the Case of Bati Azhar Mesjid," MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of Educational Research and Development, 2012), pp. 13-14.

⁹⁰ H. N Boyle, *Quranic Schools: Agents of Preservation and Change* (New York, London, Routledge Falmer, 2004), p. 12.

second largest school of thought in terms of followers. The *Shafi'i* school of thought stipulates authority to four sources of jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*): the Quran, the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, consensus (*ijmā'*) and analogy (*qiyas*). The fourth, the *Hanbali madhhab* is considered to be the most conservative and the one that relies on *Hadith* the most. *Hanbalis* reject the use of philosophical argument in matters of religious belief. The school was started by the students of Imam Ahmad. *Hanbali madhhab* is predominant among Muslims in Saudi Arabia.⁹¹

Islam in Ethiopia is characterized by the presence of the three *madhhabs* such as: *Shafi'iyya*, *Hanafiyya* and *Malikiyya*. Those schools of Islamic law were introduced and spread into Ethiopia via the agency of indigenous Muslim clerics who had got Islamic education at abroad, primarily in Hijaz and Yemen. The dominant and the first schools of Islamic law to be introduced into the country in the 12th century A.D was the *Shafi'iyya*. It was introduced from Hijaz and Yemen and highly connected with the Argobba of Ifat. The predominant adherents of the *Shafi'iyya* school in Ethiopia are the Muslims of Ifat, Harar, Bale, Arsi, Wällo, Afar and Oromo of southwest. The second largest school of Islamic law in Ethiopia is *Hanafiyya*. It was brought from Hijaz, Yemen and Sham (Syria). *Hanafiyya* has several followers amongst the Muslims of Wällo, Begemder, Gojjam, and some in Jimma and Harar. The third school of Islamic law with smallest followers in Ethiopia is *Malikiyya*, which was brought from eastern Sudan. Its followers are found among the Muslims of the country bordering Eritrea and Sudan.⁹²

Two of the four universally recognized schools of law existed in Muslim Wällo: the *Shafi'iyyah* and the *Hanafiyyyah*. Broadly speaking, the *Shafi'iyyah* has the largest number of followers in Wällo and is predominant in the lowland areas like Däwwäy and Ifat. A Muslim scholar who was taken to be the advocator of the *Shafi'iyyah* school was *Mufti* Dawud bin Abu Bakr by the early 19th century. He established a well known teaching center at Géddo and propagates Islam in the region according to the *Shafi'i* school. The *Hanafiyyyah* is strong in high land areas such as Qallu, Borana, Wärrä-Himano, Wärrä-Babo and Yäjju. The *Hanafiyyyah* School was brought into Wällo by Kabir Hamza whose ancestors came from Harar.⁹³

⁹¹ Hussein (2001), pp. 65-67; Ibrahim, p. 15.

⁹² Hussein (2001), pp. 65-67.

⁹³ Hussein Ahmed, "Traditional Muslim Education in Wallo," *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies*, vol. 3. (Moscow, 1988), p. 96-97; Hussein (2001), p. 67.

2.1.2.3. The Origins of *Sufism* and *Sufi* Orders

A critique of *Sunni* Islamic practice that took a somewhat different form since the 11th century was *Sufism* (mysticism). *Sufism* is the name given to the mystical movement within Islam; a *Sufi* is a Muslim who dedicates himself to the quest after mystical union (or, better said, reunion) with his Creator. The name is Arabic in origin, being derived from the word *suf* meaning “wool”; the *Sufis* were distinguishable from their fellows by wearing a habit of coarse woolen cloth.⁹⁴ It was some reform-minded believed that the community was forgetting the core vision of the Prophet and Allah. Thus, they began to stress the internal dimensions of the faith as distinguished from the external obligations. These *Sufis* accepted the transmission of the tradition through mosque, court, and school, but worried that the faithful were going through the motions rather than believing and searching in the faith. They drew a great deal of inspiration from the life of the Prophet as reflected in the Quran and *Hadith*.⁹⁵ *Sufi* scholars began to emerge in different parts of the Islamic world and to attract disciples. In time some *Sufis* formed orders, often bearing their own names. The orders were essential to the spread of Islam in many times and places.⁹⁶

The common *Sufi* orders in Ethiopia include *Qadriyya*, *Ahmadiyya*, *Mirganiyya* (*Khatniyya*), *Tijaniyya*, *Sammaniyya* and *Shadhiliyya*.⁹⁷ “The first order to be introduced into Ethiopia, and the one which has the largest number of adherents, is the *Qadriyya* whose founding is attributed to the *Hanbali* jurist, Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166).”⁹⁸ The man who first brought the *Qadriyya* order into Harar was Abu Bakr b. Abdallah al- Aydarus (d. 1503) in the 16th century. The *Qadriyya* order came to Wällo from Harar by the 19th century.⁹⁹ Some of the known *Sufi* orders that became popular in Wallo especially from the late 18th century include the *Qadriyya*, *Shadhiliyya* and *Sammaniyya*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ A. J. Arberry (Trans.), *Muslim Saints and Mystics* (Omphaloskepsis, 2000), p. viii; Jan Abbink, “Muslim Monasteries? Some Aspects of Religious Culture in Northern Ethiopia,” *Aethiopica* 11, 2008, p. 117.

⁹⁵ Robinson, p. 18.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19.

⁹⁷ Trimingham, p. 239.

⁹⁸ Hussein (2001), p. 68.

⁹⁹ Trimingham, p. 234; Meron (2014), pp. 198-199.

¹⁰⁰ Abbink (2008), p. 119.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RISE AND EXPANSION OF ISLAM INTO QALLU *AWRAJJA*

3.1. The Advent and Spread of Islam into Qallu *Awrajja*

Islam has long been established in Qallu, South Wällo. However, both written documents and oral informants state that there is no way of ascertaining the exact period and mechanism of the earliest introduction of Islam into the study area. According to oral informants, Islam was brought to the region by the Muslim scholars (*ulama*) of Ifat from northeastern Shawa.¹⁰¹ Hussein Ahmed mentioned that, Islam was introduced to the area even before the establishment of the Sultanate of Ifat. Accordingly, Islam believed to have been brought to the region when the Sultanate of Shawa had been flourished probably from the end of the 9th to the 12th centuries.¹⁰² In general, it could be possible to summarize saying, the earliest period of Islamization took place between the establishment of the Sultanates of Shawa and the Sultanate of Ifat from the end of the 9th century up to the end of the 13th century.

The diffusion of Islam into Ethiopia in general and the region under study in particular, has always been through peaceful means.¹⁰³ When informants were asked about the agents of Islamization they first mentioned traders. They added that, the mechanisms by which Islam spread in the region through the teaching of the Quran and theology. The second agents were the clerics or *ulama*. The study area, particularly the southeast part of Wällo was commercially important region of the country. It was located strategically along trade routes through which Muslim merchants and travelers entered the country from the coast.¹⁰⁴ Asrat raised aspects which enabled the local *ulama* to have a close link with the Arabian centers of Islamic learning and pilgrimage, That is, the emergence of the port of Tajura and the opening of the inland trade route. The proximity of Tajura to eastern Wällo made easy that the *ulama* to acquire new ideas about the reviving mystical orders. On their return, they spent their life time in preaching and teaching. The emergence of the port of Tajura was a by product and a contributing factor to the increase in the volume of the domestic transit trade through south eastern Wällo.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Informants: Yäsuf Oumär, Muhammäd Endris and Oumär Dañé.

¹⁰² Hussein (1988), p. 95; Hussein (2001), p. 60.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*; Informants: Yäsuf, Muhammäd and Oumär.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ Asrat, p. 37.

As far as religious affiliation is concerned, based on local tradition, which gives us detailed information about the area, Islam has been the dominant faith of the Argobba-speaking population of the region since the 9th century. In this manner, the presence of sites of Islamic heritages and archaeological remains indicate the early spread of Islam in the region. By the fourteenth century, both merchants and preachers from the sultanate of Ifat in eastern Ethiopia came to our study area. But, Islamization commenced in full force during the conquest of Imam Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim from 1529 to 1543. “The Muslims called him *Sahib al-Fat’h the Conqueror* and the Christians gave him the nickname of *Gragn*, the Left-handed.”¹⁰⁶ During and after the conquest, a number of Muslim preachers settled in the region. As a result, a remarkable number of Amharic speaking Christians, the Argobba and the Afars along the Wällo’s eastern frontier were converted to Islam.¹⁰⁷

The expansion and settlement of the Oromo in the later 16th and early 17th centuries temporarily slowed down the process of steady expansion of Islam. By the time the existed Muslim communities were isolated from Ifat and other Muslim centers of the country. Since long before their expansion, the Oromo had their own religious practice. They undertook their traditional religious practices around lakes, rivers and mountains. Traditionally, they believed in *Wāqāyyō* (God), who is a creator and giver of blessing where *Ayānā*/spirits/ may act as mediator. The belief in such creator is known as *Wāāqefāna*. The religion was basically monotheistic which was connected to *Gada* system, the socio political institution of the Oromo.¹⁰⁸

Prior to the beginning of the Oromo expansion, the highland regions of Wällo were occupied by Christian Amhara. Since the 16th century the Oromo settled permanently in Wällo and initially resisted conversion to Islam.¹⁰⁹ In the seventeenth century, however, the Oromo in Wällo largely converted to Islam and in the process also adopted the local Amharic language.¹¹⁰ As Hussein Ahmed noted, the principal mode of Islamization was through the conversion of a group from a

¹⁰⁶ Enrico Cerulli, *Islam: Yesterday and Today*, Trans. Emran W. Waber (Roma, 2013), p. 112.

¹⁰⁷ Hussein Ahmed, “The Life and Career of Sheik Talha B. Ja’far: 1853-1936,” *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 22, 1989, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ Marco Demichelis, “The Oromo and the Historical Process of Islamisation in Ethiopia,” *In Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. A.C.S Peacoc (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2017), p. 233; Girmaye, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Asnake Ali, “Aspects of the Political History of Wallo: 1872-1917,” MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1983), p. 263.

¹¹⁰ Ali, pp. 18-19.

sub-group, with other sub-groups following suit. Later on, however, it was the Oromo *ulama* of Däwwäy who were responsible for the Islamization of some of the neighboring Afar nomadic groups of the lowlands. Although with the settlement of the Oromo, elements of their traditional faith were introduced, and the attempts made by the 19th century *Sufi* scholars of the area to regenerate Islam were also directed. Such practices as worshipping and offering of sacrifices near rivers had been strong elements of pre-Islamic and Oromo traditional beliefs.¹¹¹

On the other hand, the long-term outcome of the Oromo settlement was their early conversion to Islam and their active role in the subsequent consolidation and expansion of Islam not only within their own territory but also in other areas such as Gondar. Thus, they helped in transforming the status of Islam from that of a religion of desperate communities to that of a dynastic and regional ideology.¹¹² As a result of the gradual settlement and Islamization of the Oromo, both in the highland and lowland areas of Wällo, the Amhara were pushed into the highland regions of Sayint bordering on Gojjam and Gondar to the West and northwest, respectively. Consequently, the Oromo became the dominant inhabitants of Boräna, Wärrä-Illu, Wärrä-Himäno, Qallu and Ambassäl.¹¹³

3.2. Factors for the Spread of Islam into the Study Area

3.2.1. Trade

Trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, like in the past was primarily dominated by Muslim merchants.¹¹⁴ The southeastern part of Wällo, especially Däwwäy was commercially the most important part of the entire region in the nineteenth century. The present discussion gave attention to understand the link between trade and Islam in the study area with particular emphasis on the development of trading communities and centers in Däwwäy, which is the home of historic Islamic traditions. Däwwäy is a district in southeastern Wällo of the study area. It consists of a number of commercial centers, residence of merchant families and custom posts, as well as of center of Islamic learning such as Géddo and Doddota. Däwwäy is bounded by the

¹¹¹ Asrat, p. 32.

¹¹² Abir (1968), p. 113; Hussein (2001), p. 27.

¹¹³ Asnake, p. 263.

¹¹⁴ Richard Pankhurst, *A Social History of Ethiopia: The Northern and Central Highlands from Early Medieval times to the Rise of Emperor Tewodros II* (Addis Ababa University, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1990), p. 207.

Awaş River in the east, Reqqé in the west and Gärfa in the north and the Borkäna River in the south. The name is derived from a river of the same name, which rises in the neighborhood of Kämissé and flows in to the Awaş, although during the hot season it dries up on reaching Artuma, east of Čäffa Robit.¹¹⁵ Hussein Ahmed describes Däwwäy as “a collective name of an agglomeration of local markets and caravan trading centers, and the terming of several routes coming from central Wällo, southern Tegray and north eastern Shewa, and those from the coast.”¹¹⁶

Several factors contributed to the development and expansion of trade in Ethiopia during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The revival of the Red Sea trade in the early decades of the 19th century and the relative safety of the region for merchants and pilgrims to Mecca directly contributed to the increasing demands for Ethiopian goods like spices, musk, ivory, gold and slaves and the opening up of new trade routes (like the port of Tajura) was both a by-product of and a contributing factor to, the increase in the volume of domestic transit trade through southeastern Wällo.¹¹⁷ Likewise, different factors contributed for the development of Däwwäy: firstly, the strategic position of the region along the trade route from Tajura to the kingdom of Shawa, a significant branch of which went to southeastern Wällo and beyond through Awsa, Dawway and the Qallu markets. Secondly, the rise to power of the local dynasties that were the patrons of commerce, exercised effective control over the districts where the trade routes converged.¹¹⁸

The emergence of the Sultanate of Awsa in the 18th century was also an important motive for the growth of trade in the region.¹¹⁹ Although the rivalries between the Shawan and Wällo rulers since the early 19th century appear to have been politically-initiated, the main underlying factor was the desire to control and ensure the safety of the trade-routes between Shawa, Gondar and Tigray through the Wällo territory. Thus, a combination of strategic, political and economic factors turned the southeastern Wällo into a commercially significant area possessing direct

¹¹⁵ Hussein (2001), p. 143; informants: Mustäfa, Abdulkadir and Abdälla.

¹¹⁶ Hussein (2001), p. 143.

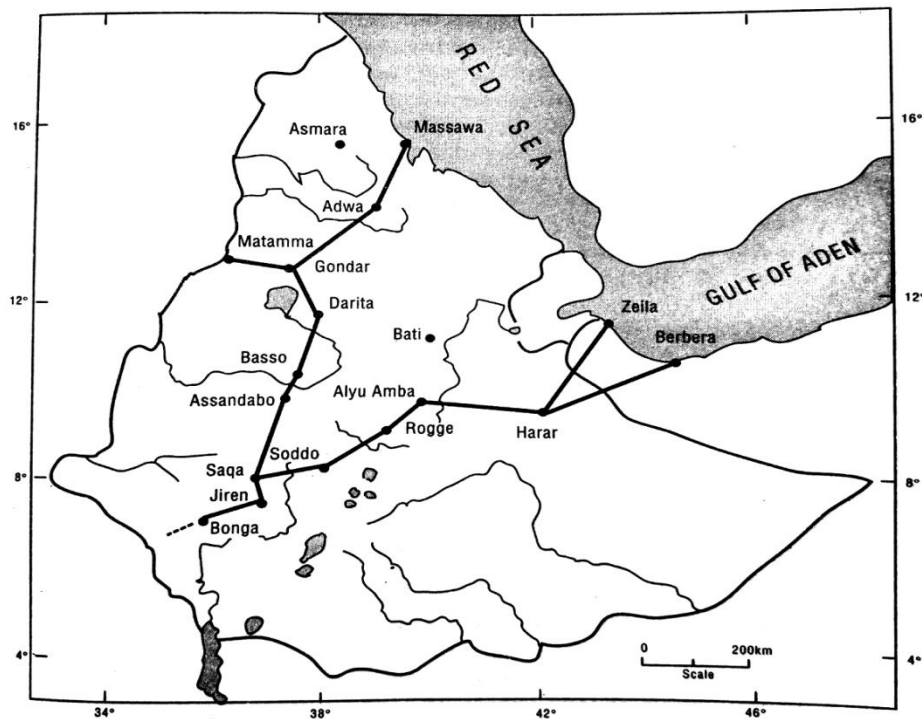
¹¹⁷ Ali, p. 240.

¹¹⁸ C.W. Isenberg and Krapf J.L., *The Journal of C.W. Isenberg and Krapf J.L.* new ed. (London, 1968), p. 365.

¹¹⁹ Ali, p. 240.

access to the coast.¹²⁰ There are most important markets in the region that survive even until today including Arrāfā Libbé, Bora, Anṣarro, Bati and many others (in Dāwway and Qallu). The major imported items into these market centers included clothing fabrics, silk, bed, carpet, gold bars, sword, musket, silver and gold-coated ornaments, bracelets and necklaces, candles, incense, rice, perfume, razor, kohl, metal utensils and glassware whereas hides and skins and slaves were the major export items. There was, and in some areas still is, practicing barter. Pepper was exchanged for cotton, salt for grain and coffee for butter.¹²¹

Map 6: Trade routes of the nineteenth century



Source: Bahru Zewde, p. 23.

The development of the trade in return facilitated the advent and spread of Islam into the study area in different ways. Firstly, trade played the major role in the Islamization process of the study area, because, it paved a way for the contacts between the local merchants and foreign traders who were mostly Muslims. According to local informants, the first converts of the area were traders. The indigenous merchants taking export items went through the trade route of Dāwway as far as the coastal areas. While they were awaiting the merchants for exchange of their goods,

¹²⁰ Hussein (2001), pp. 141-143.

¹²¹ Ali, pp. 240-241.

they came into direct contact with the Muslim communities and Islamic teachers of the coastal areas. Up on their return to their homes the merchants told their family and neighbors about Islam and Muslim societies. In due course of continuation of firm relations between the local and Muslim merchants, the traders embraced Islam and facilitated the expansion of Islam by providing protection to the clerics in order to preach Islam to the ordinary society.¹²²

Secondly, the wealthy merchants of the area gave both support and protection to the local Muslim scholars and for their students. For instance, they provided them with Islamic books and other types of reading and teaching materials bringing from Hijaz, Egypt and Yemen. They also sold religious books at reasonable price to students. By doing so, the big traders had been played a great role for the preservation and continuation of traditional Islamic education at the local level. Some of the rich merchants also covered the expenses incurred by local *ulama* during their pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina through the Tajura port instead of Massawa which is far. Although piety and religious devotion might have played a part in the connection between the merchants and the local *ulama*, there was also the desire on the part of traders to maintain strong links with those clerics who enjoyed a high reputation as religious leaders, teachers and arbiters in local disputes. Thus an alliance was created between the big traders, the clerics and the chiefs as well (in Däwwäy and Qallu) from which all three benefited significantly. While the merchants ensured the continuity of their privileged position and the profits they derived from their investments, the *ulama*, were materially relied on the generosity of the traders and spent their tireless efforts and experiences on the diffusion and further strengthening of Islam.¹²³

Thirdly, the development of trade and commercial route along this region, all prepared the ground for the establishment of small trading settlements which also served as centers for the diffusion of Islam. The activities of the Muslim residents of such centers had impacts on the local population.¹²⁴ Hussein noted that, the presence of a small number of immigrant Arabs in addition to the indigenous traders, mostly from Aden, who lived at a place east of Mädiné called Fursi and were largely engaged in the transport of salt and other merchandise from Tajura using their camels. Thus, they contributed to the preservation and perpetuation of traditional Islamic

¹²² Hussein (2001), p. 49; informants: Mustäfa, Abdulkadir and Abdälla.

¹²³ Ali, p. 241; Informants: Oumär and Muhammäd.

¹²⁴ Asrat, p. 37; informants: Oumär, Muhammäd and Abdulkadir.

education at the local level.¹²⁵ In general, Indigenous and immigrant traders and scholars (*ulama*) had contributed much for Islamization of the study area by supporting local scholars financially, teaching the faith: Quran, *Hadith*, *Fiqh* and the theology and constructing Islamic education centers.¹²⁶

3.2.2. The Establishment of Local Dynasties

Beginning from the conversion of the Oromo of the study area in the 17th century until the revival of Islam in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Islamization process was a great phenomenon. This was due to the protection rendered by the local chiefs to the Muslim clerics and the emergence of close interdependence between Islam and the dynastic rule.¹²⁷ Thus, the establishment of a number of local dynasties both in the study and adjacent areas played a decisive role in the further expansion and consolidation of Islam.¹²⁸ Let us look at two of the local dynasties such as the *Immamate* of Wärrä-Himäno and Amito of Qallu which were flourished within the study area.

It was by the beginning of the 18th century, the *Immamate* of Wärrä-Himäno, commonly known as “Mämädoč” had been formed in Wällo.¹²⁹ The “Mämädoč” were the most powerful Oromo elite in Wällo, who had ascended to the highest political position during the Era of Princes, popularly, known in Ethiopian history as the *Zämänä-Mäsafint* (1769-1855). The origin of the term “Mämädoč,” has been variously mentioned as a derivation from *Mamad*, the site in Gärfä, near Bati. Among the settlers of the site, Godana Babo was well known and the succeeding chiefs of Warra-Himano trace their genealogy to him. Godana Babo believed to be the founder of the local dynasty of Wärrä-Himäno. *Sheik* Mahamad Ali (r. ca. 1771-85) of this ruling family, who was known by the name of his war horse, *Abba Jibo*, for instance, remembered for his success for the diffusion of Islam in the region and various parts of Wällo.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ Hussein (2001), p. 152.

¹²⁶ Informants: Oumär, Muhammäd and Abdulkadir.

¹²⁷ Hussein (1989), p. 13.

¹²⁸ Hussein (1988), p. 96.

¹²⁹ Mohammed, p. 88.

¹³⁰ Hussein (2001), pp. 116-119; Anteneh Arage, “A Political History of South Wallo: ca. 1620s-1916,” MA Thesis (Jimma University, Department of History and Heritage Management, 2017), p. 32.

The other local dynasty in the study area was the Amito of Qallu. Qallu was a historical area in the south eastern Wällo known for its famous trading centre at Ayin Amba, one of the biggest market towns of north eastern Ethiopia. Its name Qallu is derived from the Wärrä-Qallu, an Oromo sub-sub-group, who settled there around the late 16th century. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Qallu who settled in the valleys between the eastern escarpments of the western highlands of the medieval Christian province of Amhara, known Hägärä Maryam became chiefdom under an Oromo hereditary dynasty Wärra Qallu. The most prominent member of the Qallu dynasty was Amiṭo under him it extended to south and subjugated Reqqé, Arṭuma and Däwwäy of the study area.¹³¹

The consequence of the Oromo expansion, which first halted the dissemination of Islam, later accelerated its expansion after the Oromo were converted in late 16th and early 17th centuries.¹³² By the beginning of the 18th century, the Oromo had become patrons of Muslim clerics and campaigners of Islamic expansion. Therefore, at the turn of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries, the study area in particular and highland Wällo in general was predominantly inhabited by Muslims.¹³³

3.2.3. Activities of Muslim Clerics of the Study Area

The diffusion of Islam in the region was accelerated through conversion and by peaceful means through the efforts of Muslim preachers. According to informants, Wällo had been long a home of several Muslim clerics who played a crucial role in the spread and consolidation of Islam in their respective areas as well as into various parts of the country. Their roles had been witnessed in terms of educating the Muslims of the area, preaching non Muslims for their conversion into Islam, building of Islamic religious centers or mosques and defending Islam and Muslims from any threat.¹³⁴

3.2.3.1. Prominent Clerics in Qallu Awrajja

According to Hussein Ahmed, two major external factors were responsible for the rise of Muslim religious leaders and dedicated scholars in Wällo, especially during the course of the 19th century.

¹³¹ Harris, p. 68; Anteneh, pp. 62-63.

¹³² Ali, p. 21.

¹³³ *Ibid*, p. 19; Asnake, p. 263.

¹³⁴ Informants: Yäsuf, Muhammäd and Oumär.

These were the advent and expansion of the religious orders (*turuq*) and the growth of trade in the Red Sea and adjacent areas of Arabia. In addition, it was encouraged because of the visits of Ethiopian Muslims to Hijaz and surrounding regions for pilgrimage and for further Islamic studies. As to Hussein Ahmed, such contacts: “sharpened the visitors' awareness of the prevalence, at the popular level, of certain practices which did not conform to orthodox Islam such as the drinking of wine, offering of sacrifices, and the laxity shown by ordinary people in fulfilling their religious obligations.”¹³⁵

Internally, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries two factors brought great impact for the rise of Islamic scholars and leaders in the area. Firstly, the protection rendered by the local chiefs to the Muslim clerics by local dynasties like that based in Wärra Himäno, gave a sense of security to the Muslim scholars to commit themselves for the spread of Islam. Secondly, the anti-Islam religious policy followed by Emperor Yohannes IV (r.1872-1889) led to local Muslim reactions which included both the appeal to Islamic solidarity and the use of force.¹³⁶

The life of scholars represents the sum total of the social and cultural developments of their time. Mohammed Seid mentioned that, those who became prominent in their society accomplished things which might have appeared extraordinary to their own generations. It is such peculiarities that resulted in the emergence of individuals of great historical importance.¹³⁷ The primary role of the scholars was to teach Islamic laws to the local and surrounding community. Their role was also crucial in times of illness, infertility, business ventures, disputes, and so on; and the advice and prayers of their living descendants, the incumbent *wali* line, are sought as well.¹³⁸

According to Ali and informants from the study area, early Islamic reformers in the area shared a number of features in common. Firstly, they all had a deep awareness of the need for reform and a dedication to stamp out the vestiges of traditional belief. Secondly, they possessed a unique quality of charismatic leadership and a critical attitude towards established authority, whether secular or religious. Thirdly, their vision of reform was targeted in changing the prevailing religious and customary practices to establish orthodoxy. Fourthly, they entirely lacked a

¹³⁵ Hussein (1989), p. 14.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Muhammad, p. 67.

¹³⁸ Abbink (2007), p. 68; informants: Zäynu and Jämal.

sufficiently viable base of material and human resources which could have hastened spread of their messages and influence beyond their immediate localities and therefore, their movements of reform and renewal did not persist into the time of their successors.¹³⁹

Despite their contributions, however, there are scanty historical sources which glorify the role of Muslim religious leaders. Among the early propagators of Islam, we have some sources in the area for *Mufti* Dawud bin Abu Bakr, *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia, *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi B. Asqari Muhammad, *Sheik* Ṭolāha B. Ja'far and *Sheik* Jāwhar Haydār (Šonkéy).

3.2.3.1.1. *Mufti* Dawud bin Abu Bakr

Mufti Dawud, a scholar from Dāwwäy, was born on September 16, 1743, in a village called Sibiqqil in the present day district of Dāwwa Harāwa in Oromia Zone of Amhara Region. When *Mufti* Dawud lived in the locality, Dāwwäy was already a melting pot of different ethnic groups who were entirely Muslims. *Mufti* Dawud attended his early Islamic education locally at Gédodo and Doddota, and abroad in Hijaz and Yemen. Around 1776, he came back and spent the rest of his life in teaching and writing several Islamic education books.¹⁴⁰ Mohammad notes that, *Mufti* Dawud had already attained a very high level of scholarly achievement. Accordingly, *Mufti* Dawud had studied *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *Usul al-din* (the fundamental of religion), *Al-Tafsir* (exegesis), *Al-Aqida* (the fundamentals of faith), and *Nahw* (Arabic grammar). He established Islamic teaching centre at Gédodo and trained a large number of prominent *ulama*, who came to influence the subsequent development of Islamic tradition throughout the region.¹⁴¹

According to informants, it was during the time of *Mufti* Dawud that *Sharia* was firmly established in Dāwwäy. As a result, marriage, divorce and inheritance were regulated in accordance with the *Sharia*. He played a great role among the local Muslims by giving training and condemning the old traditional practices to conform to *Sunni* Islam. Though he faced serious challenges, *Mufti* Dawud made legal order opposing the drinking of the fresh blood of slaughtered animals and worshipping under trees.¹⁴² Gédodo is a place where the *darih* (tomb) of

¹³⁹ Ali, p. 113; informants: Zäynu, Muhammäd Endris and Jämal.

¹⁴⁰ Hussein (2001), p. 145; Informants: Abdurāhaman Muhammäd and Abdulkadir.

¹⁴¹ Mohammad Seid, "The Contributions of Mufti Dawud (1743-1819) to Islamic Intellectual Development in Ethiopia" *A Historical Research on a Local Philological Hritage, Bulletin of Philological Soiciety of Ethiopia*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2008, p. 69.

¹⁴² Hussein (2001), p. 82; Informants: Abdurāhaman and Abdulkadir.

Mufti Dawud is found. Pilgrimage to the shrine of Géddo took place more than others during the months of September and October.¹⁴³

3.2.3.1.2. *Sheik Yusuf Abba Assia*

According to informants, *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia (d. 1835/36) was the possessor of different spiritual gift from God (Allah) and able to accomplish numerous unexpected actions. He was a grandfather of a militant reformer named *Sheik* Talha. Local tradition maintains the role and contribution of *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia for the spread and consolidation of Islam in the area. Accordingly, he prepared several teaching materials and built mosques in different places. *Sheik* Yusuf at first founded a Mosque in a village of Doddota, 40 kilometres east of Kāmissé in Dāwa Harāwa district. Local elders of the area believed that the numbers of mosques built by *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia in his life time are about ninety-nine. He built the mosques in different time and places through the eastern escarpment up to Harari and Somali. Local tradition from Doddota says that, *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia built a mosque within a day.¹⁴⁴ Hussien Ahmed also asserted that *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia possessed *karama* (power of working miracles.)¹⁴⁵ Doddota is last burial place of *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assia.¹⁴⁶

3.2.3.1.3. *Sheik Muhammad Shafi B. Asqari Muhammad*

Sheik Muhammad Shafi B. Asqari Muhammad was born at Duré near Lake Hayq in Warra Babbo in 1743 A.D. He received his Islamic education earlier and got the *ijaza* (certificate) to teach it in the regions of south of the Millé River by Faqih Zubayr of Gwangur in Yäjju. At first, *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi went to Gärfä and well received by Imam Yusuf b. Umar that also helped Muhammad Shafi's plan of propagation of Islam by supplying armed men. He campaigned towards the Christian communities of Reqqé and Arțuma for their forceful conversion to Islam as well as against the Muslims of Reqqé due to their laxity in the observance of Islam. *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi established several *zawiyyas* (village mosques) and strengthened his influence

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 91.

¹⁴⁴ Informants: Abdurāhaman, Yusuf and Abdu Nuré.

¹⁴⁵ Hussein (1989), 15.

¹⁴⁶ Asrat, p. 62.

amongst the Oromo and Amharic speaking populations by preaching Islam in accordance with the Quran and *Hadith*.¹⁴⁷

In a campaign against the Christian neighborhood of Aheyya Faajj, Muhammad Shafi lost his son named Mujahid and then he moved to Albukko. Abba Jarsa, a local chief of the area well received him and gave the district of Errénsa as *waqf*-land. In a mountainous range in Albukko, Qallu, westward from the town of Harbu *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi established a centre of *Sufi* teaching called Jäma Negus during the last quarter of 18th century. From this centre *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi taught Islam both to the Christians and Muslims of the region to spread and to form firm followers of the religion.¹⁴⁸

3.2.3.1.4. *Sheik* Ṭoläha B. Ja'far

Sheik Ṭoläha B. Ja'far, who was the famous cleric and militant leader in Wällo in the 1880's, was the grandson of the Däwwäy cleric, *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Asiyya. Most informants asserted that *Sheik* Ṭoläha was born at Doddota in Argobba (south-eastern Wällo), Däwa Čaffa district in 1840. Doddota was a major centre of local pilgrimage where the shrine of *Sheik* Yusuf Aba Asiyya was located. *Sheik* Ṭoläha received his religious training in Däwwäy, Reqqé and Qallu, and later distinguished himself as an able and resourceful teacher. *Sheik* Ṭoläha's life as a student can be linked both to southern Wällo and Ifat. He was believed to have been taught by several clerics such as *Sheik* Mohammäd Abu Bakr of Čänno (Ifat), *Al-Hajji* Kämäl of Tähuladaré (Southern Wällo), *Al-Hajji* Bašer (Ifat) and *Sheik* J'afar Argiti of Albukko (Southern Wällo). For instance, *Al-Hajji* Bašer and *Sheik* J'afar Argiti taught him *nahw* and Qur'anic *tafsir* respectively.¹⁴⁹ *Sheik* Ṭoläha acquired the spirit of devotion and piety from his religious training, while his later militancy was a reaction to the hardship and persecution to which the Muslim community in Wällo was being suffered in the 1880s.¹⁵⁰

Sheik Ṭoläha's remarkable achievement reflected both in the teaching and writing of Islamic precepts. He taught several Muslims of the area and following their Islamic studies, *Sheik* Ṭoläha sent them to their respective areas in order to teach and preach Islam further. Informants said, he

¹⁴⁷ Hussein (2001), pp. 95-97; Robinson, p. 116.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Ahmed, p. 21; informants: Mustäfa, Abdulkadir and Abdurähaman.

¹⁵⁰ Hussein (1989), p. 15.

was regarded as the first indigenous Muslim cleric to have employed the Amharic language in the teaching of Islam and the writing of religious texts. Accordingly, he is also the author of several works on the theology and on the life of the Prophet; however, most of his manuscripts were lost.¹⁵¹

One of his known works entitled *Tawhid Enna Fiqh [Theology and Law]* took as the leading and model Islamic work in the region. *Sheik Ṭoläha's "Tewhid Enna Fiqih* manuscript was the first Islamic work to be printed in Ethiopia using the Amharic syllabary in 1958, ten years before the first translation of the Holy Qur'an into Amharic".¹⁵² The work clearly shows *Sheik Ṭoläha's* great dedication for the dissemination of the doctrine of Islam via a medium of simple and coherent Amharic language.¹⁵³ Furthermore, *Hadiyyat al-Subydm* and *the Biography of Prophet Mohammad* were the great works of *Sheik Ṭoläha*. These works explained by Hussen as follows:

*The work - originally entitled Hadiyyat al-Subydm (Gift to the Youth) or Tuhfat al-Ikhwaji (Gift to the Ikethren) is divided into various sections which include the "Six Pillars of Faith" (Arkdm al-Iman), the "Five Pillars of Islam", ritual cleanliness, the obligatory and voluntary prayers, alms-giving, fasting, pilgrimage and penitence. These topics are discussed in a dramatic and forceful manner. This handy and useful religious manual introduces the reader to Islam as an integrated system of belief and practices. Perhaps the most monumental of Sheik Ṭoläha's works is the Prophet Muhammad's biography in four volumes of manuscript. This work deals with the Prophet's life and career until his death. It was written, as usual, in Amharic with Arabic characters, and in verse. A full-fledged Amharic translation of the Qur'an is also attributed to Sheik Talha.*¹⁵⁴

In his time, *Sheik Ṭoläha* challenged the existed traditional practices of the society which clashed with the teachings of Qura'n and *Hadith*. For example, he denounced the traditional practices of ritual sacrifices at tombs for clerics and slaying of animals during burial ceremonies or even in the names of the Prophets 'Isa and Muhammad, other than for the One God.¹⁵⁵“*Sheik Talha* also urged those around him to relate to their children accounts of the glory and life of the Prophet

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*; informants: Mustäfa, Abdulkadir and Abdurähaman.

¹⁵² Ali, p. 84.

¹⁵³ Hussein (1989), p. 15.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 17; informants: Yusuf, Abdulkadir and Abdurähaman.

and of his pious and heroic companions in order to instill in their minds a sense of confidence and pride in their faith and to inculcate courage and perseverance”.¹⁵⁶

In his later life, *Sheik* Ṭolāha fled to Argobba areas of Rasa and Arrāfā Libé, in Yifat and lived for about two decades. According to Ahmed Hassen, it was following his reconciliation with Emperor Ménélik II in 1896; *Sheik* Ṭolāha settled himself at Arrāfā Libé. “It is also indicated that it was *Sheik* Talha who attributed this name, Arrāfā Libé (let my heart be in peace) to this Argobba site.”¹⁵⁷ At Arrāfā Libé, as he had lived with a distinguished young educated Muslim named *Al-Hajji* Bašer (d. 1964-65. *Al-Hajji* Bašer, also known as Bašer al-Ifat or *Sheik al-Muslimin* of Arrāfā Libé.¹⁵⁸

At the end, *Sheik* Ṭolāha left for Çärçär (Harar), where he was appointed as governor of Wäddessa in Harar by *Lij* Iyyasu. The reason why *Sheik* Ṭolāha preferred to spend the rest of his life in eastern Ethiopia, amongst people who knew little about him, was his indignation against his becoming an object of popular veneration while he was in Wällo, and the fear that after his death, his tomb would be tuned into a shrine and a place of ritual sacrifice. But, because of the opposition and threat from the Shoan army, *Sheik* Ṭolāha fled to Gursum, southeast of Harar. There *Sheik* Ṭolāha spent his last days in teaching of children about the reading of Quran. Finally, he was died in 1936 and buried at a place called Goru near Çero (Asäbe Täfäri).¹⁵⁹

3.2.3.1.5. *Sheik* Jäwhar Haydär (Šonkéy)

Evidences of oral informants from the study area and the work of Bedru Adem indicated that, *Sheik* Jäwhar Haydär was born at Danna, a village about 10 kilometres northwest of Kombolča, in present day south Wällo administrative zone around 1837.¹⁶⁰ Both his father, Haydär and his mother, Misk al-Anbar were an illustrious and firm Muslims. *Sheik* Jäwhar is believed to have been taught by several clerics of Ifat and Däwwäy such as *Sheik* Säyid Aman of Gissir, *Al-Hajji* Bušra of Gäta, *Sheik* Bušra of Kərbäna (a village near Bati), *Sheik* Mohammäd of Ifat and *Sheik*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Ahmed, p. 21; informants: Mustäfa and Abdulkadir.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Hussein (1989), p. 16; Ali, p. 85; informants: Yusuf, Abdulkadir and Abdurāhaman.

¹⁶⁰ Bedru Adem, “The Contributions of Sheik Jawhar Hayder (Shonkey) to Arabic Literature,” MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of Linguistic Philology, 2008), p. 11; Informants: Mohammäd Kedir and Mustäfa.

Khalil of Mofa in Däwwäy. It is believed that, while *Sheik* Jäwhar was attending Quranic teachings, one of his students was the young Muhammäd Ali, who later became the hereditary ruler of the *Imammate* of Wärrä Himäno and during the time of Emperor Yohannis IV (r. 1872-1889) converted to Christianity so as to retain his position.¹⁶¹

Following his completion of Islamic studies, *Sheik* Jäwhar steadily settled and established his teaching centre at Šonké, in Däwa Čäffa district, Jirota *qäbälé*, and 25 kilometres to the east of Kämissé town. Hence, *Sheik* Jawhar is usually known to be either the *Sheik* of Šonké or Abbaye “my father”.¹⁶² *Sheik* Jäwhar devoted all of his time in teaching, writing, meditation and exhortation. Following his arrival at Šonké, *Sheik* Jäwhar taught many Muslims who came from the nearby and faraway areas. The several subjects taught by *Sheik* Jäwhar include *Fiqh* according to the *Shafî* rite, *Ilm al-Kalam* (theology) and *Tassawuf* (mysticism) based on love, knowledge and service to Allah. It is estimated that, on the average, *Sheik* Jäwhar had a class of four hundred *darasas*. After completion of their studies the students go back to their homes and engaged on Islamic teaching of the area, while some disciples of *Sheik* Jäwhar stayed to serve him and the community.¹⁶³ As mentioned by Hussein, *Sheik* Adäm of Qattataye of Wärrä-Babbo and *Sheik* Idris of Boräna were among the well known graduates of *Sheik* Jäwhar to serve him and his community. In addition to students from Wällo and the adjacent areas, traditions also indicate the presence of Yemen Arab community close to the *khalwa* of *Sheik* Jäwhar. As mentioned by informants, *Sheik* Ali Salwat, Said Muhammäd Abd al- Malik and *al-Hajji* Fadlu were among the Yemen Arabs who were taught by *Sheik* Jäwhar. These Yemen Arabs took local wives and spent their lives at Šonké.¹⁶⁴

Sheik Jäwhar was also renowned in writing of religious treatises and commentaries. Among the works which were composed by *Sheik* Jäwhar were *Al-Salawat al-Nuraniyya al-Bariyya*, *Shurut al-Salat* and *Tawassulat* (invocations).¹⁶⁵ His texts emphasized on explanations on Islamic creed (*aqida*), good manners (*adab*), rules and regulations about students, faith (*iman*), repentance

¹⁶¹ Hussein (2005), pp. 47-56.

¹⁶² Informants: Mohammäd Kedir and Mustäfa.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; Hussein (2005), pp. 47-56.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

(*tawbah*) and prayers (*salat*). *Sheik* Ṭolälha was considered as “the torch bearer of Islam.”¹⁶⁶ In general, *Sheik* Jāwhar was most pious and highly disciplined defender of Islam and religious leader whose contributions positively influenced the religious and socio-cultural lives of Muslims up to this day. Finally, in 1937 *Sheik* Jāwhar died following a short illness and buried at Boqaqé, a village in the Argobba area of Qallu, in the *khalwa* of his student and *khadim* (servant), *Sheik* Ahmäd Selti.¹⁶⁷ Now, his mosque is known by the Muslim community as Šonkéy’s Mosque, found at a distance of 20 kilometres from Kāmissé town eastward. A modern mosque is also established in Addis Ababa (near the French Embassy) for his commemoration by the help of *Hajji* Bašir Dawud.¹⁶⁸

3.2.4. The Establishment of Traditional Islamic Education Centers

Traditional Muslim Education has intended to further the expansion of Islam as a religion and the consolidation of its institutions and culture.¹⁶⁹ So as to the taught of Islam, several learning centers such as *Zawiyya* or *Khalwa*, in modern times called mosques were established in various parts of the study area. The centers were set up under the leadership of known Muslim clerics by mobilizing the Muslims of their areas. The study area had been a home of several Islamic scholars and centers of education that dated with the advent of Islam in the area. Among the renowned early centers of Islamic learning’s in the study area includes Šonké, Ṭolāha, Ṭeru Sina, Doddota, Gédodo and others.¹⁷⁰

3.2.4.1. Islamic Education in the Study Area

According to Salmi Ahmad, Islamic education refers to any input that makes the individual a better person, which involves deeply in the behavior, attitude and value formation of the person. An educated person in Islam, therefore, becomes a better person in all aspects; his action, thought, lifestyle, decision making and approach to issues that affect and influence life as a whole. Contrary to the conventional education, Islamic education involves values, spirituality

¹⁶⁶ Bedru (2008), p. 11.

¹⁶⁷ Hussein (2005), pp. 47-56.

¹⁶⁸ Ali, p. 81; informants: Mohammad Kedir and Mustafa Jemal;

¹⁶⁹ Ahmed Hassen, “Centers of Traditional Muslim Education in Northern Shawa (Ethiopia): A Historical Survey with Particular Reference to the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 39, No.1/2, 2006, p. 16.

¹⁷⁰ Informants: Abdu Adāmé, Muhammād Kādir and Muhammād Hussén.

and ethical aspects of the receiver. Salmi explained this further as follows: “In Islam, pursuing knowledge is part of the education process which educates the human soul and enhances the knowledge in knowing Allah better by instilling the sense of responsibility to worship the Creator and obey His command in any circumstances.”¹⁷¹ As mentioned in various *ayats* (verses) of the Holy Qura’n, educated person considered as more honorable and given high status in the eyes of Allah. In fact, the first revealed *surah* (part from the chapter) in the Qur’an says to mankind read, which directly combats illiteracy and encourages seeking knowledge in all fields. The Qur’an reads: “Read: In the Name of your Lord who created man from a clot. Proclaim: And your Lord is the Most Generous...”¹⁷²

A history of Islamic education in the study area had coincided with the flourishing of *Sufi* centers as typical Muslim institutions representing Orthodox learning, which were several seats of Islamic education, where both primary and advanced instruction in the classical subjects was offered.¹⁷³ Further expansion and consolidation of Islam and Islamic learning’s in Wällo was made since the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This was due to the revival of trade in Ethiopia which was accompanied by the interlude and interaction of local merchants with Muslim traders of outside. During this time the ground became open for local Muslims to travel to Hijaz, the present day Saudi Arabia to acquire advanced knowledge of Islam. The situation accelerated the spread of Islam and classical education thorough the various centers of learning and local pilgrimage.¹⁷⁴

Many Muslims consider Wällo as the home of Islamic education and called it as “Azhar al-Habasha,” to mean University of Azhar of Ethiopia. This is due to its prominent influence in the production of Islamic scholars and dissemination of the Islamic creed thorough out the country. Informants mentioned that more than two hundred rural Islamic schools that are functioning nowadays through teaching ranging from *Fiqh* to *Tefsir* and *Nahw* are available in the region. In spite of the presence of several traditional Islamic schools, however, many of such centers

¹⁷¹ Salmi Ahmad, “The Nature of Islamic Education,” *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol. 7, No. 3, 2017, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷² Al- Quran: 96:1-4.

¹⁷³ Hussein (2001), p. 91.

¹⁷⁴ Ibrahim, pp. 16-17.

functioned in very rudimentary huts unlike the contemporary *Madrassa*.¹⁷⁵ As oral and written documents confirmed, the rural *Zawiyya*, which has been defined as a resting house, a gathering place where communal prayers were held, and where the daily and weekly congregational ritual prayers were performed, were the earliest centers of Islamic education. Long before town mosques began to be built; it was around the *Zawiyya* that traditional Islamic educations were given. Islamic education in Wällo was traditionally offered by scholars who were recognized for their mastery of the different branches of Islamic knowledge.¹⁷⁶

3.2.4.1.1. Subjects of Islamic Education

A range of subjects were offered, and the nature and aims of the educational system, are more or less similar to those of other centers of learning in all regions of Ethiopia and the Islamic world.¹⁷⁷ The stage of the Islamic education had two levels; the first stage and the higher Islamic schools. The first stage in Wällo and Yifat locally known as *Teehaji*. It is called *Mejlis* Quran in areas of Harar, Jimma and Arssi. In this level, the *darassa* (students) attended teachings of the Arabic alphabet and recite the Quran. In the higher schools stage, students were engaged in the study of Islamic law and commentaries on the Quran. In line with the higher school stage, Ibrahim Endashaw, divided major parts of the learning's in the following broad parts: the study of classical Arabic (*Nahw*), the Islamic canon law (*Fiqh*), the prophetic Tradition (*Hadith*) and the commentaries of the Quran (*Tefsir*).¹⁷⁸

3.2.4.1.2. Methodology of the Teaching

The method of learning is mainly based on reading, oral recitation and memorization. The teacher (Mudarris) sits in the open place of his house or *zawiyya* known to all and the students (*darasa*) come to there and sit in a circle around him and read the text loudly. After every sentence or phrase the teacher translates and the students listen to him, in a teacher centered style, students will sit together with their *sherika* (school mates) to revise and comment as they learned under the supervision of the Shiekh.¹⁷⁹ If a student makes a mistake he is interrupted by the teacher who comments or interprets again. If the teacher feels the student mastered the

¹⁷⁵ Informants: Oumär, Muhammäd Endris and Yäsuf; Ali, p. 86.

¹⁷⁶ Hussein (2001), p. 92; informants: Oumär, Muhammäd Endris and Yäsuf.

¹⁷⁷ Hussein (2001), p. 93.

¹⁷⁸ Ibrahim, p. 18; informants: Idris Muhammäd and Hässän.

¹⁷⁹ Hussein (1988), p. 99; informants: Idris, Hässän and Mustäfa.

interpretation of the text, the student read new passages and the teacher comments. The interpretation of the subject matter is conducted from Arabic to the tongue (language) of the society that is the teaching learning process will be conducted in the language that the learners know most.¹⁸⁰

3.2.4.1.3. Objectives of Islamic Education

Ahmed Hassen summarized the general objectives of Islamic education into three points. These are: “the training of Muslim clerics, the spread and betterment of literacy through Muslim education, and the dissemination of Islamic dogma and religious practices.”¹⁸¹ Further more, since the focus of Islamic education is on the moral and character training; it enabled the adherents to have clear awareness about his Creator and his obligation towards Allah, to identify permissible and reprehensible behavior and action and about the laws governing his social relationship with fellow Muslims. Accordingly, the diffusion of orthodox Islam among the society is the end result of the Islamic education in the study area and other parts of the country.¹⁸²

3.2.4.2. Centers of Islamic Studies in Qallu Awraja

Islam in Wällo is featured a great respect for Muslim scholars (*ulama*), shrines (tombs), mystics, and panegyrists. The Muslim scholars started to establish religious institutions as centers of learning, following their deaths their graves became shrines. Those shrines in turn became sites for pilgrimage and a place for religious celebrations as well as a centre of Islamic education.¹⁸³ However, following the transformation of the religious centers into shrines, the role and influence of the educational establishments gradually reduced. The shrines are sites of Muslim learning, and religious students will visit a number of them to learn the branches of religious knowledge in which they specialize, such as *tawhid* or *fiqh*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Ibrahim, p. 19; informants: Idris, Hässän and Mustäfa.

¹⁸¹ Ahmed, p. 14.

¹⁸² Ibrahim, p. 20; informants: Oumär, Muhammäd Endris and Yäsuf.

¹⁸³ Jan Abbink, “Transformations of Islam and Communal Relations in Wallo, Ethiopia,” *In Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa*, Eds. Benjamin Soares and Rene Otayek (New York, Macmillan, 2007), p. 68.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*; Informants: Abbas, Idris and Hässän.

In different parts of Qallu *Awrajja*, there have existed several well known Islamic centers. They give various functions to local and surrounding communities as centre of higher Islamic learning and education, sites of shrines and local pilgrimage where the annual celebrations of the Prophet's birthday have been and still are held.¹⁸⁵ In this section attempts have been made to assess on the foundation, growth as well as significance of only the most important and well known establishments of the study area which served as a centre of learning by the 19 and 20th centuries. Among the most important centers which are found within the scope of the study area and selected for this purpose are Ȧoläha, Šonké, Doddata, Géddo and Ȧeru Sina.

3.2.4.2.1. Mosques of Ȧoläha and Šonké

The two earliest and well known Mosques at Šonké and Ȧoläha are found in Oromia zone of Däwa Čäffa district, 25 kilometres east of Kämissé town. Both are found in the villages of Šonké and Ȧoläha where the Argobbas predominantly existed. There is no consensus regarding the exact date when the mosques established. In fact, all elders agreed that both Šonké and Ȧoläha mosques existed since 800-900 years ago.¹⁸⁶

Informants explained that, the origin of the settlement and mosque of Ȧoläha was around 900 years ago. The founders of Ȧoläha were believed to have been Fekih Ahmed and Kulubas. Though, the place from where they come is still unknown, most said that they came from Mecca, Arabia through the northern direction. Fekih Ahmed and Kulubas established Ȧoläha settlement and began to teach Quran, and taught a minimum of 800 students there.¹⁸⁷ After thirty four years of stay in Ȧoläha, Fekih Ahmed and Kulubas went to the current Šonké village, one hour walking distance from Ȧoläha. At that time, Šonké Amba was the place of Amhara (the name Amhara was given to all non Muslim people of that time). The reason they went to Šonké Amba was because of their believe that *jin* (devil) was controlling Šonké Amba and its surroundings. As a result Fekih Ahmed and Kulubas fought with the settlers' of Šonké Amba and defeated the residents. The leader of Šonké at that time was Shonkor and his wife's name was Farah and the people of the settlement called the place by combining the husband and wife's name called

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Informants: Mustafa Jemal, Yusuf Abdusomed and Abdulkadir Muhe.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*; Mehari Enyew, "Vernacular Architecture of Argobba, Ethiopia: The Case of Shonke Amba," MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of Housing and Sustainable Development, 2017), pp. 40-45.

Shonkofer. Gradually, the name Shonkofer corrupted into Šonké and became the settlements name up to this day. At Šonké they also resumed their Quranic teaching and preaching of the Amhara (Christians) of the region to adhere Islam. For instance, the couple's; Shonkor and Farah had been converted into Islam. After they establish a firm Muslims, Feki Ahmed and Kulubas finally went back to Țoläha settlement and stay there up to the end of their lives. They were buried at Țoläha cemetery.¹⁸⁸

However, both Šonké and Țoläha resumed being a major centre of Islamic learning up to now. For instance, Šonké has been a place for the emerging of various Islamic scholars for the last 800 years. The religious leader of Šonké named as “*Sheik Šonké*” and “*Abbaye Šonké*” for their distinguished contributions of Islamic taughts. For example, *Sheik* Jawhar of Šonkéy who devoted all of his time in teaching, writing, meditation and exhortation by the end o 19th and beginning of the 20th century was renowned scholar of Šonké.¹⁸⁹ *Tahfiz-al-Qur'an* is still taught to this day in Šonkéy.¹⁹⁰ The Šonké settlement and mosque beyond its Islamic function shows the art and creativity of the Argobba people in dwelling construction which should be preserved as a heritage of the country.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Hussein Ahmed, “Sheik Jawhar b. Haydar b. Ali: A Mystic and Scholar from Shonke, Southeast Wallo, Ethiopia,” *Annales dEthiopia*, XX, 2005, pp. 47-56; informants: Abdurähman, Yusuf and Abdulkadir.

¹⁹⁰ Ali, p. 80.

Figure 3: The Argobba Village of Šonké



Source: Mehari Enyew, p. 285.

Figure 4: The Argobba village of Ṭoläha



Source: Photograph by the researcher

2.2.4.2.2. Mosque of Doddota

Doddota is a village located 40 kilometres east of the town of Kāmissé in Dāwwäy Rahmādo district, Mādiné *qābälé*. According to local traditions, the mosque of Doddota was founded in the village of Doddota by *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assiya, the grandfather of Shayk Talha, around 1787. Traditions assert that he had a number of mosques built at various places with the help of supernatural forces. Doddota was a major centre of Islamic learning and the mosque is still active and gives a service to the Muslim community of the area who claim their descent from the Argobba people.¹⁹¹ Now a day, the Muslim people who speak Afaan Oromo, but not the Argobba language are living around the mosque of Doddota where they could gather for religious practices such as *salat* (prayer) and other festive.¹⁹²

Doddota is a finely constructed and well preserved mosque and as explained by local elders its building took eighteen years.¹⁹³ The heavy roof is supported by four thick wooden planks laid out horizontally. There are about 27 pillars supporting the roof. The average thickness of a pillar measure 0.77 meter and 2.28 meter is its length. At the top end of the pillars, there are decorated supporters which are fixed with the horizontal supporters. The mosque has two rooms: the largest room which measures 11.9 meters length by 9.5 meters width is for men, and the smallest one which has 4.78 meters width and 8.7 meters lengths' is for women. Doddota mosque has two doors; the main door is on the southern direction has 1.7 meters length and 1.1 meters width, and the second one located on the west and has 2.4 meters width and 1.7 meters length.¹⁹⁴

Local informants explained that the mosque of Doddota long served as a centre of Islamic learning and hold several old copies of Holy Quran and *kitab*s'. The founder of the Mosque, *Sheik* Yusuf Abba Assiya himself participated in the preparation of teaching materials for the students. However, the position of the mosque as a famous centre of learning steadily declined and reduced primarily as a centre for *salat* and pilgrimage.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ Hussein (1989), p. 15; Asrat, p. 40; informants: Abdālla and Adām.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Informants: Abdālla, Mustāfa and Adām.

¹⁹⁴ Asrat, pp. 40-42.

¹⁹⁵ Informants: Abdālla, Mustāfa and Adām.

2.2.4.2.3. The Mosque of Géddo

The mosque of Géddo is found in a village called Sibiqqil in Däwwäy Rahmādo district of Qallu *Awrajja*. According to local informants, the mosque was founded by a famous scholar named *Mufti Dawud* during the second half of 18th century. Being well educated locally at Doddota and Géddo and at abroad from Hijaz and Yemen, *Mufti Dawud* got prominence by establishing his centre at Géddo. He played a great role in propagation of the right path of Islam by condemning the old customary practices which were strictly forbidden in Islam. Above all *Mufti Dawud* did much in gathering of students towards him and educated them well. His students' inturn engaged on the gradual purification as well as spreading of Islam to the surrounding regions. Even after the death of *Mufti Dawud*, the mosque of Géddo resumed being a noted centre of Islamic learning in the study area.¹⁹⁶

The mosque is now in a state of ruin and its roof is covered by plastic on the top part covering the original feature of the mosque. The roof is flat and rectangular, the interior of it shows traditional type of structural combination in which the upright posts carry the whole framework of the ceiling. There are about twenty one thick and round wooden pillars supporting the roof. The mosque composed several Islamic religious books and Islamic material cultures used by *Mufti Dawud* like traditional pendulum like material used to know time and a material made of wood that used to compile religious books.¹⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the mosque of Géddo and its traditional cultural materials are not well protected and some are disappeared in the hands of individuals.

3.2.4.2.4. The Mosque of Ṭeru Sina

Téru Sina is a place located between Kamise and Harbu towns in Dawa-Chafa *wärāda*. A mosque of Ṭeru Sina was founded ca. 1950 by *Sheik Abdarrahan Abdussamad*, who was educated at the famous shrine of Anna in Raya, northern Wällo. It is in fact one of the biggest wooden mosques in Ethiopia, measuring some 80 by 80 meters with a height of 20 meters. The wood is hard juniper tree wood, brought from 15-20 kilometers distance from Reqqé mountain. The architect of the mosque was *Ato Muhammad Aman* and built by the collective participation

¹⁹⁶ Informants: Zämzäm and Zäynu Muhaba.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*; Asrat, pp. 43-46.

of surrounding Muslims.¹⁹⁸ Following the death of *Sheik* Abdarrahan Abdussamad, the responsibility of leading the mosque was given to *Sheik* Seyyid who also advanced Ṭeru Sina as a crucial centre of Islamic learning's and religious activities. Large wooden mosque of Ṭeru Sina stands at the centre of the settlement. It is a monastery like centers in Wällo. This is due to the existence of male-female division, sexual abstinence, strict standards of cleanliness, and the organization of corvee labour. The daily life is organized around religious services. The inhabitants study religious works, pray and fast and some produce Muslim religious manuscripts and amulets. It lies on a secluded wooded hilltop and consists of two settlements: one for females and one for males.¹⁹⁹

Figure 4: The Mosque of Ṭeru Sina



Source: Photograph by the researcher

3.2.4.2.5. Jäma Negus

The well established religious institution of Jäma Negus is found in Albukko district of Qallu sub-province, 24 kilometers south of Kombolča. Jäma Negus was founded in the late 18th

¹⁹⁸ Abbink (2008), pp. 127-129; informants: Ṭoyba Hässän and Kābädä.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

century by a dedicated scholar, *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi B. Asqari Muhammad. The area where *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi had settled now formerly named as Muṭṭi. It was Abba Jarsa, the local chief of the area invited and well received the *Sheik* by granting the surrounding area as his *waqf*-land. *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi arrived into the area accompanied by a large body of armed followers, including of his disciples and students. Abba Jarsa is said to have expressed such a peculiar incident by saying: “This is indeed no ordinary *qallecha* but a king (*negus*).”²⁰⁰ The place was thus given a new name known as *Negus*. Some also preferably called the area as Jāma Negus. *Negus* is the Amharic word for king, where as Jāma is the Amharic corruption of the Arabic word *jama'a* (community). Thus, the name Jāma Negus is equivalent to the English word “the community of the king.”²⁰¹

At Jāma Negus, *Sheik* Muhammad Shafi taught Islam for several Muslims of the surrounding areas and tried to bring Islamic uniformity among the believers. However, following the death of Muhammad Shafi in 1807, the centre shifted into a shrine which up to now attracts a remarkable numbers of pilgrims from the nearby and distant areas particularly during the month of *Rabi' al-Awwal*. According to Hussein Ahmed “*Sheik* Muhammad Shafi’s reputation as a saint was so well-established that people from all walks of life converge at his shrine to celebrate the Prophet’s birthday and offer their votive sacrifices within the premises of the his sanctuary.”²⁰²

In addition to the above mentioned, there were also other known earlier centers of Islamic learning which played a great role in the training and spreading Islam throughout the study area. For example, the mosque of Jeartu which is founded by a known cleric *Mufti* Dawud by the late 18th century is found in Bati district of Qallu *Awrajja*, specifically in Čällänqa qäbälé.²⁰³ Another teaching centre of the study area is Gäta, located southeast of Kombolča. It was founded by *Al-Hajji* Bushra Ay Muhammad by the early decade of the 19th century. Like Jāma Negus, however, following the death of *Al-Hajji* Bushra in 1863, Gäta was transformed into centre of pilgrimage.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁰ Hussein (2001), p. 97; Robinson, p.116.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² Hussein (2001), p. 97; Informants: Jāmal Šäkür, Abdu Nuré and Ouseman Abdälla.

²⁰³ Ahmed, pp. 22-23; informants: Šäriř Tāmam, Hässän Qorača, Hässän Abatā and Girum Tešomä.

²⁰⁴ Informants: Šäriř and Hässän.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE CONDITIONS OF THE MUSLIMS OF WÄLLO: 1870_s - 1991

4. 1. Yohannis IV and Muslims

Kassa Mircha (1837-1889), who assumed the imperial title in 1872, from his early childhood has access to religious education.²⁰⁵ According to Gebre Medihin, “He learned the books of the Old and New Testaments along with the laws of the Church and the state. He lived in the woods with teachers, monks and theologians of the Holy Book.”²⁰⁶ Emperor Yohannes IV (r.1872-1889) followed not only Tewodros’s objectives of national reunification and modernization through a firm foreign policy but also his commitment to strengthen imperial power with the support of a revived Church, to undermine Islam and to institute a religiously homogeneous society. Although faced with threats and several campaigns of invasion by external powers, he carried through the anti-Muslim policy initiated by his predecessor through the wholesale baptism of the Wällo Muslims by official decree.²⁰⁷

On May 29, 1878, Emperor Yohannis IV called a religious meeting at Boru Méda in South Wällo which is 10 kilometres north of Dässé Town. This came to be known as the Council of Boru Méda.²⁰⁸ Among the leading participants of the council, the influential were Emperor Yohannis IV himself, Menelik of Shewa, *Ras* Adal Tessema of Gojjam and several clergy from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Due to the death of Bishop Atenatewos in 1876, it was held without the involvement of a Bishop. Thus, it was organized and led by Emperor Yohannis IV. He determined to end doctrinal controversy within the Orthodox Church and to bring religious conformity of the kingdom. The council proclaimed that Orthodox Christianity to be the official state religion of the country and all Ethiopian Muslims to embrace the Christian faith. Muslims who were in power were ordered to choose either conversion or removal from their position

²⁰⁵ Mohammad Yesuf, “Islam and the Muslim Conditions in Ethiopia,” BA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of Political Science and International Relations, 1994), p. 28.

²⁰⁶ Gebre Medihin Kidane, “Yohannes IV, Religions Aspects of His Internal Policy,” Senior Essay (Addis Ababa, Haile Selassie I University, 1972), p. 2.

²⁰⁷ Hussein (2001), p. 167.

²⁰⁸ Fesha Yaze Kassa, *Ya Ethiopia Ya Amist Shi Amet Tarik: Ke Noah Eske Ehadeg* (A Five Thousand Years History of Ethiopia: From Noh to EPRDF), Second Edition (Addis Ababa, 2011), p. 409.

within three months and other Muslims to convert forcibly to Christianity within three months.²⁰⁹ Thus, he implemented anti-Muslim strategy especially against the Wällo Muslims by forced persecution and conversion into Christianity. Those who refused the conversion were severely persecuted and forced to flee into far away areas, because, as to Bahru “there was no room for Islam in his ideological world.”²¹⁰

The event that followed the Council of Boru Méda in Wällo was the conversion of the two rivals of the “Mämädoč” dynasty to Christianity.²¹¹ Muhammäd Ali and Amädé Libän, converted to Christianity taking the baptismal name Mika’él and Haylä Maryam. Mika’é awarded the title of *Ras* and the governorship of a substantial part of the central highlands of Wällo by his godfather, Yohannis IV. Haylä Maryam was also appointed as *Dejjazmach* to rule over Tähuladaré, Qallu, Gärfä, Albukko and Boräna.²¹² *Ras* Mika’él then became “a sponsor of Christianity, founding several Churches.”²¹³

The coercive policy of Yohannis against Islam was believed to be a reaction to the conflict of the medieval times. According to Ali Yasin, it was related to the conquest of Christian territories by the Muslim forces of *Imam* Ahmäd and an allegation that he or his officers had forcibly converted the local Christians to Islam.²¹⁴ Local Muslim leaders in Wällo such as *Sheik* Ṭoläha Jafär, Mohammäd Qanqé, Amädé Şadiq and Hussén Jibril, led armed resistance seeking for religious freedom and recognition of Muslim identity. Though a number of people converted into Christianity, it ended with failure due to the protest of the local Muslims and even among Christians, who opposed the anarchy it caused. During the reign of Emperor Menelik (r.1889-1913), many reverted again to Islam. “The Emperor stated that he respected the wish of people to adhere to the religion of their fathers.”²¹⁵

²⁰⁹ Serrgew Hable Selassie, “The Period of Reorganization,” *In The Church of Ethiopia: a Panorama of History and Spiritual Life*, Addis Ababa, 1970, pp. 31-41; Ahmedin Jebel, *Sostu Asewoch Ena Ethiopiyawyan Muslimoch: Teglna Meswaetnet* “The Three Emperors and Ethiopian Muslims: Resistance and Sacrifice,” Second Edition (Addis Ababa, 2015), pp. 55-58.

²¹⁰ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, Second Edition (London, Athens and Addis Ababa, 2002), p. 48.

²¹¹ Ali, p. 105.

²¹² Hussein (2001), p. 174.

²¹³ Abbink (2007), p. 68.

²¹⁴ Ali, p. 105.

²¹⁵ Abbink (2007), p. 69.

Following his campaign of forceful conversion of Muslims in Yäjju and Gärfä from 1880 to 1881, Yohannis marched towards Qallu of the study area. In Qallu, the Emperor's troops committed serious cruelty than other sites. The main reason for the severity of Yohannis against Muslims of Qallu was because of the existence of several known active centers of Islamic propagation and Qallu was a home of renowned Muslim scholars. In his campaign, Yohannis instructed and got the support of his vassals such as *Ras Adal Tässäma* and *Negus Menelik* of Shewa to implement his interest in their respective territories.²¹⁶ While Yohannis spent his time in building of Churches in Wällo, persecution and murdering of Muslims of Wällo who refused conversion to Christianity, Menelik also exercised a policy of forceful conversion of Muslims and non Muslim Oromo's of Shewa into Christianity. In the late 1888, *Ras Mika'él*, from his base at Dässé also took part in the anti-Islam policy of Wällo. In the next year, so as to strengthen his ties with Menelik of Shewa, *Ras Mikael* formed a political marriage with Šawaräga, the daughter of Menelik and mother of *Lij Iyasu*.²¹⁷

As mentioned before the tyrannical anti-Muslim policy of Emperor Yohannis in Wällo was specifically implemented in Qallu *awrajja* of Wällo province. It was in 1881 Yohannese's force marched towards Qallu and ordered them for the forceful conversion of the Muslims without other precondition. Those who defied embracing Christianity were ordered to leave the country and their several religious books were destroyed.²¹⁸ The campaign which lasted until 1886 claimed the lives of many Muslims and their leaders. According to Hussien Ahmed, on December 1882 several Islamic clerics of Däwwäy, in Qallu had lost their lives in the course of the resistance against the imperial campaign. Among them the prominent were *Sheik Abbuyé*, *Sheik Habib*, *Sheik Muhammäd Bäšir* and *Sheik Ahmädin*. In the early 1886 also 20,000 men and women who ignored conversion were massacred on the plains of Bäcké, in Qallu.²¹⁹

The harsh religious policy pursued and targeted against the Muslims of Wällo in general and the study area in particular brought a number of outcomes. Firstly, frequent campaigns waged against Muslims of the time who had refused to renounce Islam were mistreated. They suffered

²¹⁶ Hussein (2001), p. 176.

²¹⁷ Ahmedin, pp. 59-60; informants: Adäm Abdu and Abdu Rašhid.

²¹⁸ *Tarikä Nägäst*, ENALA, Microfilm number 5399, p. 60; R.A Caulk, "Religion and the State in Nineteenth Century Ethiopia," in *journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 1972, pp. 23-24;

²¹⁹ Hussein (2001), p. 176.

persecution: alienated from their land (locally called *gulemma*) which was sometimes donated by some of the Muslim chiefs of the area, jeopardize their rights, forced to exile into far away areas, and many put to death. Those who half heartedly accepted Christianity were allowed to retain in their land and in their position, but, they paid Church tax called tith (*asrat*). In this case, the two well known converts repeatedly mentioned by informants were Muhammäd Ali and Amäde Libän, later became *Ras* Mika'él and *Dejjazmač* Haylä Maryam respectively.²²⁰ According to Trimingham, for instance, around 50,000 Muslims are said to have been baptized in 1880.²²¹ Among the Muslims of Wällo the coercive conversion led to the condition of being seen as exercising Christian while remaining loyal to Islam: “Christians by day and Muslims by night.”²²² In *Tarikä Nägäst*, the condition of the time described as follows:

መከራውን የፈረ አስላሞች በልባቸው ሳያምኑ ባፍቸው ብቻ 'አምነናል' አይሉ ተጠመቁ። ሥጋ ወደሙ ከተቀበሉ ቡሃሳ በሥወር ካፋቸው አያወጡ አስከመጣል ደረሱ። መከራውን ያልፈረት አስላሞች ግን 'ክርስቲያን ከመሆን ሞት ይሻሰናል' አይሉ አኩሉ በሞት፤ አኩሉም በአሥራት፤ አኩሉም በመወረስ፤ አኩሉም ካገር አደወጡ በመሰደድ ተቀጡ። ከነዚህ ጉልበት ያላቸው ወደ ምስር (ግብጽ)፤ ወደ መተማ፤ ወደ አረብ አገር፤ ወደ ሴሳው። ያ ወረው ስ አፄዮ ሐንስ ወደማይሰማበት አገር ተበተኑ። በየተበተኑበትም አገር ሆነው ስአፄ ዮሐንስ ጠላት የሚሆን ይፈልጉ ጀመር።²²³

The above Amharic literay could be translated into English as follow:

Those Muslims, who feared the challenges, baptized and accepted their conversion into Christianity only orally. They were also eating Christian meat together with the Christians, but, avoid it secretly. Those Muslims, who defied conversion, suffered with confiscation, persecution and death. Others also preferred exile as far as Mettema, Egypt and Arab countries. From there, they began to resist the rule of Emperor Yohannis and collaborate with his enemies.

Muslims who preferred exile or death rather than conversion into Christianity went as far as Sudan in groups with their family on bare foot. In the long journey, however, they suffered from various hazards and the attack from the imperial forces that pursued them. The exiles were forced to rescue themselves by hiding themselves at forests and traveling at night fall. Due to scarcity of provision, rise of epidemics and insecurity of the journey many Muslims especially women, children and elders died in the course of exile. It was only the survivors reached Gelabat

²²⁰ Informants: Abdu Nuré and Abi Täsäma.

²²¹ Trimingham, p. 123.

²²² Pankhurst, p. 147.

²²³ *Tarikä Nägäst*, ENALA, Microfilm number 5399, p. 75.

and Gedarif in Sudan.²²⁴ According to Mohammed Hassen, due to the persecution of the Wallo Oromo by Emperor Yohannis, several Muslim refugees also come to and settled in Jimma.²²⁵

Secondly, for the time Islamic teachings and the spread of Islam in the region was interrupted. According to orally preserved sources, the Emperor ordered the closure of the principal centers of Islamic education like the Mosques at Jāma Negus, Gäta, Danna, Šonké and Țolāha. The Emperor also ordered the construction of Churches in places of the existed Mosques. As a result, Muslims were unable to: adhere their religion openly and failed to make gathering at mosques for Islamic learning's as well as for praying in open areas. Accordingly, the life of the Muslims of the time and their religious institutions becomes nonfunctional which affected the rapid growth of Islam in the region.²²⁶

Thirdly, in order to defend Islam, some religious leaders mobilized Muslims of the area and declared, as informants told, *Jihad* against the Emperor. It was initially led by members of religious clerics and then consolidated by local officials who were dissatisfied by the political measures adopted by the Emperor. Among the prominent clerics who led the resistances against the coercive measures of the Emperor were *Sheik* Țolāha Jafār, Mohammād Qanqé, Amedé Šadik and Hussén Jibril.²²⁷

The well known cleric and resistance leader who organized and led a stiff revolt in defiance against the edict of Emperor Yohannis IV in Wällo in the 1880's was *Sheik* Țolāha Jafār. As oral and the works of several writers indicated Țolāha Jafār's resistance was more widespread and well organized than others.²²⁸ According to Caulk, two immediate factors initiated Țolāha Jafār to wage a *Jihad* in 1884: firstly, the strength of the proclamation of Boru Méda which was accompanied by harsh treatment and coercive conversion of Muslims to Christianity and, secondly, the ban imposed on Islamic worship and preaching in the region.²²⁹

²²⁴ Informants: Abdu Nuré and Abi Täsäma.

²²⁵ Mohammed, p. 158.

²²⁶ Informants: Abdu Nuré and Abi Täsäma.

²²⁷ Abbink (2007), p. 69.

²²⁸ Hussein (2001), p. 277; informants: Yusuf, Abdulkadir and Abbas.

²²⁹ Richard A. Caulk, "Armies as Predators: Soldiers and Peasants in Ethiopia c. 1850-1935," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, XI, 3, 1978, p.33.

In the period from 1881 to 1884, *Sheik Ṭoläha* consolidated his power by organization of the movement and recruitment of followers. According to Hussien Ahmed, using his skill of organization and persuasion *Sheik Ṭoläha* pursued three strategies to form formidable force: first, appealing to the religious sentiment of the common people of particularly, eastern Qallu, second, *Sheik Ṭoläha* established contact with the disaffected elements of the local aristocracy who had been unpleasant due to the mal-administration and high handedness of Yohannes's son, *Ras Araya Sellase*, who became governor of Wällo in 1882 and third, he gathered supporters for his goal among the *ulama* and *balabat* of Albukko, Qallu and Reqqé. Accordingly, the small but committed forces of *Sheik Ṭoläha* included people from Argobba, Çälläqa, Gedem and Ifat, the Danakil of Awsa and the Azabo Oromo who were all unified for the cause of Islam. The income for Ṭoläha was primarily derived only from the generosity of pious Muslims and the revenue obtained from land given to him by the local chiefs.²³⁰

A major revolt of *Sheik Ṭoläha* was declared on July 1884 from Gärfä, near Bati, as a base of operation. In November 1884, Menelik led a campaign to Argobba in order to suppress the uprising of *Sheik Ṭoläha*, who escapes capture. In this time the resistance was targeted against the Christian forces of the Emperor in the region. *Sheik Ṭoläha* got victory over the forces of Yohannes's commanders which resulted for loss of life and property. For example, both oral and documentary evidences explained that, the confrontation between the forces of *Sheik Ṭoläha* and Bajerwand Näwté or Lāwté at the battle of Kilkilo in Dāwwäy caused for the death of several men from the side of the latter. As cited in several documentary sources, this battle was portrayed in the form of poem as follows:

በጅሮንድ ነውጤን ኮሶ ቢታየው
 ጦስሃ ጃሰፈር በጥብጦ ቆየው
 ኪስኪሎ መስካ ጉዳን አሳየው
 ሁሉም መስክሩስ እንደበራየው²³¹

The above Amharic poem could be translated into English as follow:

*When Bajerwand Nawte needed [a purgative] of koso
 Talha Jafar waited for him with a potion
 And exposed his weakness at the Kilkillo River
 Everybody has borne witness how he overpowered him.*

²³⁰ Hussein (1989), p. 243.

²³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 179-180; Ahmedin, p. 156; informants: Abdulkadir and Abbas.

In January 1886 punitive expedition led by a joint forces of Yohannes and Menelik ruined Čäffa, Reqqé, Arčuma in the south, and Gärfa, Qallu and Wärrä Babbo in the north that brought the destruction of life and property. A reaction under the leadership of *Sheik* Ṭoläha also ravaged the Christian inhabitants of Reqqé and caused for the burning down of Churches and the withdrawal of clergies who had been dispatched to taught the new converts from Islam. Also, a bloody war between *Sheik* Ṭoläha men and the newly baptized *Ras* Michael's contingents resulted for the defeat of the latter losing three hundred troops.²³²

It is believed that *Sheik* Ṭoläha had internally relation with the neighboring Awsa and externally with the Sudanese Mahdi. It was from the hereditary ruler of Afar named, *Sultan* Anfari that *Sheik* Ṭoläha got the help of 500 muskets.²³³ The man who played a key role in the establishment of their friendship was Abd al-Rahman b.Yusuf, a supplier of arms to Anfari, and the Italian agent in the court of Anfari. Tradition also maintained the existence of close contact between *Sheik* Ṭoläha and the Sudanese *Mahdi*. Since the support from Anfari was inadequate, *Sheik* Ṭoläha turned towards the Sudanese *Khaliffa* for further support especially after 1886.²³⁴

However, Ṭoläha's contact with the Mahdists declined because he was discontented by the mal-administration of the regime of *Khaliffa* Abdullahi, who more interested in using of him against Yohannes and due to the absence of the necessary support in arms from the *Mahdists*. Then Ṭoläha come back to Däwwäy and resumed his major revolt in 1890 from Gärfa. Thus, the resistance of *Sheik* Ṭoläha continued even after the death of Yohannes that is throughout the time of Emperor Menelik II (r1889-1913). In February 1890 while Menelik was in Tegray his wife Empress Taytu (1851-1918) dispatch a force armed with 700 muskets led by Qäññazmač Brellé. The dispute might cause for the defeat of Ṭoläha and for his retreat towards Awsa.²³⁵

In general, in spite of a stiff and protracted resistance organized by Muslims of Wällo against the edict of Boru Méda, the military superiority of the forces of Yohannis, Menelik and *Ras* Mika'él played a great role to implement the decree as long as it did. However, the role of the resistant was not insignificant. They played a major role in trying to defend the forces of Christian rulers who sought to implement the edict forcefully. They also made a counter offensive by making a

²³² Hussein (2001), pp. 178-179.

²³³ Hussein (1989), p. 20; Ahmedin, p. 150.

²³⁴ Hussein (1989), p. 20.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

sudden attack on Christian garrisons, destroying Churches and expelling the clergies who came to the area to teach the new converts. Thus, the defiance of the policy reduced the number of converts and in most cases the converts were mostly superficial. The frequent military campaigns, however, claimed the lives of many, devastated huge property and invaluable heritages and affected the socio-economic activities of the people.²³⁶

As mentioned by local informants and Mohammad Hassen, the protracted resistance of *Sheik* Ṭolāha and others in the study area had brought its own advantages. First, the primary interest of Yohannes for total conversion of Muslims of the area failed, because the forces of the Emperor turned their attention and spent much time in persecution of the leaders of the rebellions. Second, by taking lesson from the coercive policy imposed by Yohannis and its outcomes, Menelik ceased forceful conversion of Muslims unlike his predecessor. Third, as a result of the persecution several clerics expelled from their homes and settled in far away areas of the country, there they began to teach and spread Islam for peoples who joined. Fourth, the struggle to defend Islam and their freedom helped Muslims of the area to strengthen fraternity and harmony against the oppressor.²³⁷

4.2. Menelik II and Muslims

Following the death of Emperor Yohannis IV in 1889, Menelik was crowned as Emperor Menelik II (r.1889-1913), King of Ethiopia.²³⁸ Relatively, Menelik became less rigid in his religious policy than his predecessor. For instance, Menelik tried to stop the coercive conversion policy pursued by Yohannis, rather attempted to restore freedom of worship. As a result, many reverted again to Islam.²³⁹ But, there were some converts who remained Christians particularly those who had political and economic benefits in remaining so.²⁴⁰ “The Emperor stated that he

²³⁶ Informants: Ouseman, Abi and Abdu Nuré.

²³⁷ Muhammed Hassen, “Islam as a Resistance Ideology among the Oromo of Ethiopia: The Wallo Case, 1700-1900,” *In the Shadow of Conquest: Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa* (Trenton, Red Sea Press, 1992), pp. 95-96.

²³⁸ Teshome Amenu, “The Rise and Expansion of Islam in Bale of Ethiopia: Socio-Cultural and Political Factors and Inter-Religious Relations,” MA Thesis (Norwegian Teacher’s Academy, Department of Philosophy of Religious Education, 2008), p. 39.

²³⁹ Abbink (2007), p. 69.

²⁴⁰ Muhammad, pp. 32-33.

respected the wish of people to adhere to the religion of their fathers.”²⁴¹ However, it was not emanated from benevolence or progressive attitude of the Emperor, but largely because, “firstly, he had himself seen how persistent and unrelenting the resistance had been; and secondly, he was realistic enough to foresee that a further attempt to pursue and implement that policy was bound to bring about an even fiercer and better-organized local resistance,…”²⁴²

In spite of the official decree of religious toleration adopted by Menelik, the condition of Muslims in Wällo, as elsewhere in the country, got not better than they had been prior to 1878. As ever before, they resumed to be subordinate under political and social prejudices and disabilities. However, the condition of Muslims of the study area had been relatively better than the time of Emperor Yohannis. This was because in the time of Menelik the ban on freedom of worship and coercive conversion accompanied by persecution was more or less lifted.²⁴³

4.3. *Lij Iyasu and Muslims*

The Young Prince, *Lij Iyasu* (r.1913-1916), showed sympathy and friendly relations to Muslims by his program of national reconstruction of Ethiopia through the lines of equality rather than religious and ethnic groupings. The father of Iyasu, *Ras Mika’él* was a convert from Islam.²⁴⁴ Unlike his predecessors, Iyasu lived with the Muslims, stayed and shared their homes and adopted their dress and customs. Furthermore, Iyasu offered land to Muslims for the construction of mosques such as in Wärrä-Illu, Wällo and granted political positions to Muslims. For instance, Iyasu placed the Afari *Sheik* Abu Bakr as governor of Dire Dawa. However, his policy towards Muslims dissatisfied the priests and old nobilities of Shawa, who accused him and plotted for the culmination of his rule.²⁴⁵ Finally, a combination of internal and external pressures and military force pushed Iyasu out of office after only three years.²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ Abbink (2007), p. 69.

²⁴² Hussein (2001), p. 185.

²⁴³ *Ibid*; informants: Ouseman, Abi and Abdu Nuré.

²⁴⁴ Teshome, p. 40.

²⁴⁵ Muhammad, pp. 33-34.

²⁴⁶ Abbink (1998), p. 116.

4.4. Muslims during the Reign of Emperor Haile Selassie

By March 1930, Empres Zewditu died and Teferi Mekonnen took the throne as King of King's under the throne name Emperor Haile Selassies. During the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie (r.1930-1974) like his predecessors, Muslims were ignored from public and magisterial posts and from participating in the political life of the country.²⁴⁷ The Emperor maintained the superiority of the Ethiopia Orthodox Church in Ethiopia and prohibited the involvement of Muslims in high rank governmental offices. Muslims interests for land and for the official recognition of their Islamic holidays were not honored.²⁴⁸ Despite the fact, the Emperor has often spoken publicly for religious toleration and his 1931 constitution of Article 19 established equal rights for the nations of Ethiopia.²⁴⁹

*..., to eliminate the progress and development of Islam as a faith was first to expel Arab traders for they have been accused of being the main disseminators of Islam and the Arabic language. Secondly, they trained and oriented priests in places where there are Islamic teaching schools to teach Christianity by the cover of moral education. Thirdly, restricted pilgrimage to Mecca, prohibits new erection of mosques by giving different bureaucratic reasons, and limits the importation of the Holy Quran and other Islamic books. As a whole, the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie was notorious for its systematic and intensive efforts to eliminate Islamic influence from the country.*²⁵⁰

But, by the time of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia from 1936 to 1941, Muslims were supported by the Italians. They encouraged the building of Mosques. This was due to the Italians intention to break the power and institutional position of Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which they linked with Ethiopian nationalism. According to Trimmingham, in his speech of Tripoli in 1937, Mussolini set the tone, "Fascist Italy intend to guarantee to the Muslim people of Libya and Ethiopia peace, justice, prosperity, respect for the laws of the Prophet, and wishes moreover to manifest its sympathy with Islam and the Muslims of the entire world."²⁵¹ So, in order to secure the loyalty of Ethiopian Muslims, the Italians took a number of programs that promote the progress of Islam.

²⁴⁷ Muhammad, p. 36.

²⁴⁸ Abbink (2007), p. 70.

²⁴⁹ Muhammad, p. 36.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 36-37.

²⁵¹ Trimmingham, p. 137.

Accordingly, Orthodox Islam was given special emphasis. Italians restored some of the existed mosques of the country and built new mosques in different parts of the country. In areas where Islam established long like Massawa and coastal towns the Italians maintained mosques. In the north, they built mosques at Lake Häyq, Dässé, Mettema and Gondar; in the east and south mosques were built at Harar, Dire Dawa, Jigjiga, Mieso, Asebe Teferi, Gobba, and many others.²⁵² The Grand Anwar Mosque at Addis Ababa and the Arab Gända Mosque at Dässé are among the new mosques built by the Italians in their stay. They also promote Islam by financing the pilgrimage to Mecca and allowed the teaching of Arabic in Islamic schools.²⁵³ In Jimma a higher Islamic school (*daral ulum al Islamiyya*) was founded as a centre of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) learning.²⁵⁴ Furthermore, the occupation period saw the official establishment of the Highest *Shariat* Court at Addis Ababa. In general, it was a period of relative relief for Ethiopian Muslims.²⁵⁵

Following the restoration of the Emperor to the throne in 1941, Wällo tended to be relatively abandoned in national development policy, perhaps because of the low involvement of the local chiefs of the area in the resistance against the Italian rule.²⁵⁶ In other parts of the country also the monarchy followed harsh measures against Muslim leaders who were accused of sedition on account of their collaboration with the Italians “although they had nothing to do with the coming of the invaders in the first place.”²⁵⁷ Despite the accusation however, some Muslim clerics had participated in the resistance movement against the occupation from its inception. It was the positive attitude of several Muslims in favor of the Italians reflected because they promised and granted a greater freedom of worship than did the previous Ethiopian regimes.²⁵⁸

4.5. Muslims during the *Därg* Regime

The 1974 Ethiopian revolution which steadily brought the fall of the monarchy was very popular with Muslims. This was because of the participation of about 250,000 Muslim demonstrators, which was the largest ever in Addis Ababa. On 20 April, 1974 supporting the coup, Muslims

²⁵² *Ibid*; informants: Yäšhi, Wärä Qal and Ahmääd Wodaji.

²⁵³ Ali, p. 119-120.

²⁵⁴ Trimmingham, p. 137.

²⁵⁵ Teshome, p. 45.

²⁵⁶ Abbink (2007), p. 69.

²⁵⁷ Hussein (2006), p. 9.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

demanded constitutional recognition of Islam to be in par with Orthodox Church. As a result of this Muslim holidays (*Eid* and birth of the Prophet) got official recognition and established as national holidays since then by the new government.²⁵⁹ Like any other farmers of the country, Muslims have gained access to land from the 1975 proclamation of Rural Lands Nationalization (RLN) which confiscated land holdings of feudal lords including those of the Church.²⁶⁰ Formerly, Muslims of the country had been called as “Muslims residing in Ethiopia,” but now recognized and called as “Ethiopian Muslims.”²⁶¹

Though conditions in the *Därg* regime (1974-1991) look better for the Muslims, the contact between Ethiopian Muslims and the government gradually eroded. It was due to the government’s economic and anti-religious policy that was shaped on Marxism-Leninism ideology. As a result, a number of restrictions were imposed.²⁶² Firstly, in the new restructuring of civil and military bureaucracy the Muslim majority was hardly represented. The new arrangement was made from people of middle class origin and of Christian origin and few of the Muslims among them had no independent decision making power. Secondly, serious restrictions were imposed on the construction of mosques; and on the importation of the Holy Quran and other Islamic books. Thirdly, by the program called Resettlement Plans (RP), the government implemented it especially from the Muslim majority areas to move into remote areas.²⁶³ The government set a limit to on a numbers of Muslims who made a *hajj*. For example, in 1981 it was for only 500 Muslims the government allowed to perform a *hajj*. The quota given to Wällo Province of the study area was only for only four Muslims.²⁶⁴ The government also set restrictive requirements that qualify the believers for *Hajj*. Among such requirements include; being a supporter of Revolutionary program, able to speak at least two Ethiopian and one alien languages, and able to read and write Amharic language.²⁶⁵

According to informants, from the different parts of the study area, without their consensus a remarkable number of young men were gathered and taken to war fronts. In this condition,

²⁵⁹ Muhammad, pp. 38-39.

²⁶⁰ Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No. 31/1975.

²⁶¹ Teshome, p. 49; informants: Ahmäd and Abdu Nuré.

²⁶² Ali, p. 126; informants: Ahmäd and Abdu Nuré.

²⁶³ Muhammad, pp. 39-49.

²⁶⁴ ENALA: 91/17.1.1.12.17.01/1973.

²⁶⁵ ENALA: 91/17.1.1.12.17.01/1973.

several *darasoch* (Islamic religious students) of the area from different *zawuyas* or mosques were forced to stop their teachings and went to military camps. Others were also unable to move from place to place in order to find better Islamic learning centers and their livelihood. In the time of *Därg*, the request of Muslims to build mosques encountered severe objection and protracted bureaucracies by the officials of the regime who were reluctant to grant plots of land. In spite of this, besides the existing centers of Islamic centers of rural areas, new mosques were built in urban areas of the study area. In the 1980's mosques had been built in Kombolča, Kämissé, Bati, Arțuma and Harbu.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ Informants: Adäm Abdu, Ahmäd and Abdu Nuré.

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF ISLAM ON WÄLLO PEOPLE

5.1. The Concept of Islam

According to Subh, “Islam is an integrated way of life that has its own principles covering family issues (such as marriage, divorce and inheritance); work and business affairs; foreign and internal political issues and other aspects of life.²⁶⁷ Al-Fahim, further describes: Islam is a complete religion that addresses all aspects of life. The Holy Qur’an and the Prophetic *Hadith* deal with common and useful issues such as business transactions, good manners, war and peace, work and labor, travel, agriculture, the pursuit of knowledge, health and medicine, leisure time, lunar and solar eclipses, debts, blood-money, the rights of families, and relatives, the rights of neighbors, marriage and divorce, religious observations – prayers, fasting, pilgrimage, almsgiving and so forth.²⁶⁸ The legal sources of Islam are the Qur’an, known as the Book of God (Allah), and the *Hadith*, which include the sayings, deeds and approvals of Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, Prophet Muhammad is the one who has best embodied the message of the Qur’an; therefore, it is the duty of every Muslim, man or woman, to follow his way of life and that of his Companions, meaning his contemporary followers, until the last day on earth.²⁶⁹

5.2. Personal and Social Impacts of Islam

5.2.1. Islamic Impact on Muslims’ Way of Life

There are five crucial and compulsory religious duties in Islam known as Pillars of Islam that shaped the spiritual life of Muslims of the study area in particular and Muslims of the earth in general. Such pillars are: (1) The *Shahadat* (witnessing of faith), professing that there is no god but Allah and Prophet Mohammad is the messenger of Allah. (2) The *Salat* (prayer) must be performed for five times in a day (varying with time of sunrise and sunset) while facing towards the Holy *Kaba* of Mecca. (3) The *Zakat* (charity giving) is the duty of sharing one’s wealth out of gratitude for God’s favor according to the uses laid down in the Holy Quran. (4) The *Soum*

²⁶⁷ A. Subh, *Good Arguments with the Doubters of Islam*, Trans. W. Shihab (El Mensoura: Dar Al-Manarah, 2005), p. 15.

²⁶⁸ Abdul Rahman Al-Fahim, *The 200 Hadith: 200 Sayings and Doings of the Prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him)* (Abu Dhabi: Al-Ittihad Publishing & Corporation, 1988), p. 41.

²⁶⁹ Ali, p. 45.

(fasting) is a duty to fast during the month of *Ramadan*. (5) The *Hajj* (pilgrimage) is to be performed at Mecca if at all possible, at least once during one's life time.²⁷⁰

As to informants and my observation, Muslims way of life in the study area highly rely on the above five pillars. Most of the believers perform a *salat* five times per a day either in their home independently or in religious centers together with others. They fast for one full consecutive month of *Ramadan* once in a year; save themselves from food and *haram* acts rather spent their time in *halal* actions such as *salat*, *duaa*, strengthening mutual relations and by providing support to the poor. Finger counted portions of the area also made a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Those who fail to afford the expensive cost of pilgrimage to Mecca prefer to perform a pilgrimage to the well known Islamic centers of the area such as ʾTeru Sina, ʾToläha and Gäta. The other pillar which consolidates mutual cooperation is *zakat*, a charity taken from the rich as a due right to the destitute. As their religious duty, Muslims of the region as per their annual income provide assistance for the needy, the sick, orphans and the physically disabled people mostly in kind (grain) and sometimes in cash.²⁷¹

5.2.2. Eating and Drinking Conduct

One of the influences of Islamic teachings reflected on the daily life of Muslims of the study area is their eating and drinking activities. Such eating rules like beginning a meal with Allah's name, ending it in praising Him, hygiene, and avoiding wastefulness are common aspects which are invariably practiced by Muslims of the area. When food was/is for everyone, they would say: *Bism-Allah* (In the Name of God) which is an indication of giving thanks for a gift before actually starting and also praised Allah as well at the end of the meal. One of the important characteristics of Muslims of the area was and still is the attention they gave to hygiene in various dimensions such as washing the hands both before and after eating and cleanliness of the container of food or water. Avoidance of waste in eating and drinking is encouraged and every one mostly preferred to eat until the end of the food in the dish. Furthermore, eating and drinking using the right hand and eating food together are also the other issue that Islam put influence on

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Informants: Abdu Rašhid and Adäm.

the Muslims. Informant said that using right hand is seen as a symbol of blessing in Islamic culture and eating food with people brings about abundance.²⁷²

5.2.3. Marriage Practices

According to *Sharia* (Islamic law), *nikah* (marriage) is a legal and social contract between two individuals that is a man and a woman. Marriage is an act of Islam and is strongly recommended; the age of marriage being whenever the individuals feel ready, financially and emotionally. Islam totally condemns monasticism and celibacy life of individuals. In Islam, the general purpose of marriage is that the sexes can provide company to one another, love to one another, procreate children and live in peace and tranquility to the commandments of Allah. It is also a form of *ibadah* because it is obeying Allah and his messenger. For a marriage to be valid four basic conditions must be met such as the consent of both parties, “*mahr*” that is a gift from the groom to his bride, two witness from both sides and the marriage should be publicized, it should never be kept secret as it leads to suspicion and troubles within the community.²⁷³ The general and specific rules in connection to marriage practices brought a number of influences which shaped Muslims of the study area.

Firstly, among the Muslims of the study area, it is not common to use music, dancing, alcoholic drinks and sitting of men and women together in times of wedding. In most cases of the study area especially in urban centers, Muslims accompany their wedding by Islamic songs like *manzuma* or *neshida* and climbing rather than worldly music and dance. In some cases, however, firm Muslims avoid *manzuma/neshida* and rather prefer *dhikr* by glorifying and giving respect to Allah and his messenger and performing *salat* together by going to mosques. Alcoholic drinks which are common in non-Muslims of the area like *tälla* and beer are not prepared and consumed by the Muslims of the study area not only during wedding rather anytime. Instead, they used non alcoholic local beverages like *bukri* and *kénéto*; which are prepared from maize and barley as well as soft drinks.²⁷⁴

Secondly, the practice of polygamy is one aspect of the impact of Islam among the Muslims of the study area. Under *Sunni* and *Shia* Islamic marital rule, Muslim men are allowed to practice

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ Informants: Endris Dawud, Häsän Qorača and Idris; Qur’an and Hadith.

²⁷⁴ Informants: Kābādä, Häsän Abatä and Mustäfa.

polygamy, that is, they can have more than one wife, but not more than four at the same time. The practice of a woman having more than one husband at a time is a sin in Islam. According to Ali Yasin Ali, there are at least two pre-conditions to polygynous marriage in Islam: first, additional wives may only be taken when orphans and widows cannot be maintained by society as a whole and would better benefit from maintenance by a single man; second, the husband is required to treat all wives equally. Otherwise, if a man fears that he will not be able to meet these conditions, then he is not permissible to marry more than one wife.²⁷⁵ The Quranic verse which is related with the issue of polygamy is Verse 3 of *Surah 4 An-Nisa* (Women): “If you fear you cannot act fairly towards the orphans—then marry the women you like—two, or three, or four. But if you fear you will not be fair, then one, or what you already have. That makes it more likely that you avoid bias.”²⁷⁶

Even though, monogamy is popularly prevailed, polygamy had been also practiced to some extent both in rural and urban areas of the study area which indicates the other influence of Islam. According to informants, such a practice is primarily existed among the Oromo and Argobba Muslims of the region who have better Islamic knowledge and wealth. Accordingly, a man will marry more than one, if they are interested and agreed to live together, he will prepare a separate classes for them in the same compound or he will arrange a separate homes for each of them in different villages even in another far away towns or countries. Elders mentioned that, in the earlier periods when Muslims of the area engaged on the long distance trade route of the 19th and 20th centuries, merchants would marry more than one wife, who had been living along the trade routes and market centers. In this condition a man who had three wives probably will let them to live in Wällo, Ifat and Yemen separately. However, due to the fear of strict observance of the *sharia* as prescribed in Quran and *Hadith*, polygamy is not a widely form of practice in several areas of Qallu *Awrajja*.²⁷⁷

Thirdly, though not socially and culturally well recognized and accepted, the practice of cousin marriage is also another aspect by which Islamic influence reflected among the Muslims of the study area. Cousin marriage is a marriage conducted between cousins (that is people with common grandparents). As mentioned in Quran, marriages between first cousins are not

²⁷⁵ Ali, p. 213.

²⁷⁶ Quran, 4: 3.

²⁷⁷ Informants: Abdälla, Endris and Hässän Qorača.

forbidden.²⁷⁸ Also, the actions of the Prophet Mohammad and the rightly guided *Caliphs* assured that, the cousin marriage is explicitly allowed. Prior to two or three decades, cousin marriage was unfamiliar among the Amharic speaking Muslims of Qallu *Awrajja*, however, it was relatively common among the Muslims of Argobba and Oromo groups. Even some Muslims disliked and confronted against such practice because of the prevailed customs the society. It was due to the tireless efforts and teachings of local scholars in accordance to the verse of Quran and *Hadith* that the prevailing attitude steadily changed. The practice shows progress in the recent times especially in urban areas of the *awrajja* where traditional and cultural influences felt less.²⁷⁹ Even if lack of well documented evidence is a major problem, the number of Muslims who performed this kind of marriage is not underestimated. A couple informants in Kämissé told me their experience, first request of his (now, husband) cousin for marriage strongly encountered opposition and discontents from his and her parents. Accordingly, he tried to convince them through clerics of the area, to let them about the validity of cousin marriage in Islam. As to them, after a year they got acceptance of their respective family and now they gave birth to one son and one daughter.²⁸⁰

5.2.4. Mourning Practices

The other social aspect by which Islamic influences reflected among the Muslims of the study area is their practices to express sorrow, which pursue basic Quranic and Prophetic teachings. Those practices of the Muslims had various differences compared to the one practiced by the non-Muslims. Firstly, Muslims of the region mourn in unexaggerated way, do not tear their dresses, do not wear black clothes as a sign of grief, do not beat their chests and they do not cry in a state of creating melody. Secondly, they perform burial ceremonies without being accompanied by women not to hurt their caring personality. Thirdly, they do not construct tombs with concrete cement or marble. Rather, they prefer growing trees on the burial places of their relatives in order to protect erosion and maintain humidity.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Quran 4:22-24.

²⁷⁹ Informants: Ahmäd Bešhir, Saladin Näsru, Rabea Mäsfin and Yäsuf Oumer.

²⁸⁰ Informants: Saladin and Rabea.

²⁸¹ Ali, pp. 219-220; informants: Yäsuf and Käbäd;

5.2.5. Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage, as religious phenomena is defined as a journey to a shrine or other sacred place undertaken to gain divine aid, as an act of thanksgiving or penance, or to demonstrate devotion.²⁸² Like other parts of the country, Muslims of the study area made a pilgrimage towards Islamic centres due to several motives. The motives for pilgrimage in the area include an aspiration for spiritual fulfillment, the healing power of the center and votive gifts; that is the idea that pilgrims promise to visit the shrine and bring votive gifts if their wishes are fulfilled and their problems solved. In the study area major teaching institutions had been transformed into a shrine which attracts a number of pilgrims annually from the nearby and remote areas of the country. Thus, people from all walks of life gathered at the shrine particularly to celebrate Prophet Mohammad's birthday and to offer their votive sacrifices within the premises of the sanctuary. The most important centers of pilgrimage in the area are, Ṭeru Sina, Géddo, Šonké, and Ṭolāha.²⁸³

A number of ritual activities that are performed at those Shrines in common include: First, the pilgrims prostrate themselves in front of the cleric's tomb and kiss the wall of the main building. It was in order to get the *baraka* (blessing) and intercession of the cleric. Second, the pilgrims handed their gifts (*hadiyya*) in cash or in kind to the representative and custodian of the shrine. Some of the gifts offered for pilgrimage centers include food, sheep, goats, incense, candles, gold, butter, coffee, umbrellas, etc. Pilgrims offer gifts not only to the center and its servants, but also to the large number of beggars who usually go to pilgrimage centers as a result of the tendency of pilgrims to be generous.²⁸⁴ On the eve of the festival, a number of sheep, goats and bulls brought by the visitors were slaughtered and consumed by the visitors themselves and congregats. Third, since afternoon of the festival day, the celebration began which was mostly accompanied by chanting in honor of the Prophet and the local *ulama* and his family. Fourth, visitors who came for the first time made vows to return with gifts next if their wishes were fulfilled with the help of the clerics' intercessory power. For example, women prayed and sought

²⁸² Gemechu Jemal, "The Faraqasa Indigenous Pilgrimage Center: History and Ritual Practices," PhD Dissertation (University of Tromso, Faculty of Social Sciences, 2007), p. 20.

²⁸³ Informants: Abdu Nuré, Yusuf and Ṭoyba.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*; Alula Pankhurst, "Reflections On Pilgrimage in Ethiopia," Papers of the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Vol. 2: Social Science, New Jersey, Red Sea Press, 1994, pp. 948-949.

his support so as to have children or to heal from their illness. Men also prayed to achieve success in their occupations and to recover from ill-health.²⁸⁵

For example, the biannual pilgrimages to the shrine of Țeru Sina took place on August 15th and October 15th and are attended by thousands of pilgrims from different parts of the country. As informants told, the pilgrims to this Islamic shrine are not only Muslims rather Orthodox Christian also visit the center and attended the celebrations. The pilgrims are people from different walks of life; teachers, college students, businessmen, state officials, local farmers and members of the diasporas. However, the annual pilgrimages conducted at different shrines are gradually declined and many Muslim scholars prohibit the believers particularly in defiance of the customary practices which have no Islamic basis.²⁸⁶

5.3. The Contributions of Islam in the Study Area

5.3.1. Cleanliness and Purification

Cleanliness is an essential part of Islam, which is repeatedly mentioned in both Quran and *Hadith* that initiated Muslims to keep their personal hygiene and ritual cleanliness. Islamic hygienically jurisprudence include a number of regulations involving cleanliness during salat through *wudu* (partial ablution) and *ghusl* (full ablution), as well as toilet etiquette and dietary laws for Muslims. Muslims take shower after having sexual intercourse as a religious obligation (Qur'an, 4:43; 5:6). Furthermore, cleaning the teeth with the use of toothbrush called *miswak*, removing needless hair and cutting nails considered as *sunnah*, the way of the Prophet Mohammad. Islamic toilet etiquette provides rules regarding personal hygiene when going to the toilet. Islamic dietary laws also provide a set of rules as to what Muslims eat in their diet. These rules identify the food that is *halal*, meaning lawful and those that are *haram*, unlawful.²⁸⁷

The influence of the above Islamic teachings highly reflected and promoted the cleanliness of believers of the study area. For example, among the Muslims of the region it is common to clean their teeth and mouth using toothbrushes especially the one that is made of a wooden stick. I have observed that, young Muslims from the rural parts of the region who brought *miswak*

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*; Hussein (2001), pp. 85-88.

²⁸⁶ Informants: Abdu Nuré, Yusuf and Țoyba.

²⁸⁷ Informants: Hăssăn Qoračhaand Idris; Quran and *Hadith*.

(wooden stick) towards various mosques of Kombolča, Kämissé, Bati and Harbu, distributed to the Muslims who gathered at mosques for praying especially in *Juma* (Friday pray) and *Ramadan* (the month of fasting). It is also customary to look that Muslims in the region holding a long tooth stick and cleaning their teeth everywhere, even along the streets. Primarily, every Friday majority Muslims of the study area cease their business and then took shower and perform a *wudu*, cut their nails short, remove the pubic and armpit hair, use perfumes (for men), cloth their relative clean one and go to their villages mosques to perform *salat*. Performing a *salat* at mosques in *Jeme'a* (group praying) five times a day for male members of Islam is however, obligatory. Thus, the Muslims of the countryside used to wash their body and perform a *wudu* in the rivers of their areas gathered at a mosques for praying and attending *daewa* (Islamic teachings). In urban areas of Qallu *Awrajja*, especially since the last three decades mosques have been built which fulfilled ablution facilities like tap water, bathrooms and toilet rooms. To sum up, Islam influenced Muslims cleanliness of the study area as per the laws of Quran and *Hadith*, both to keep their physical health and spiritual purification.²⁸⁸

5.3.2. Spiritual Healing Methods

Healing has a significant place in all religions of the world. It is the most important nature of any religious tradition in Ethiopia.²⁸⁹ Islam viewed health both in terms of physical, mental and spiritual, that is, a Muslim is believed to be healthy when he/she is being free from those things. Several Muslims considered illness as a test from Allah by which sins are deleted, as well as a chance for spiritual reward or a call for the individual to boost their health. Though modern clinical medical interventions are allowed, Islam like other religions also advised the treatment of illnesses in spiritual practices. Muslims are therefore encouraged to explore and use both traditional and modern forms of medicine and to have faith that any cure is a gift from Allah.²⁹⁰ For example, Christians who suffer from some kind of illness like evil spirits are advised to get treatment in the Church using spiritual practices such as *ṭābāl* (holy water), *qāba qidus* (holy oil)

²⁸⁸ Informants: Endris, Hässän Qoračhaand Idris.

²⁸⁹ Eliade Mircea, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 6 (New York, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), p. 226.

²⁹⁰ Informants: Abdurāhaman and Hässän Qoračha.

and *emnat*.²⁹¹ In this regard, spiritual leaders of several religious centers believed to have possessed the power to heal the sick, give children for the barren, wealth for the poor and even raising the dead.²⁹² Likely, among the Muslims of the study area different types of healing methods had been practiced which will be discussed below.

5.3.2.1. Healing with Qur'anic Recitation

The healing power of the Quran is mentioned in several verses of the Quran, these are verses referred to as *Ayatul Syifa'* (the healing verses). These include: "We send down in the Quran healing and mercy for the believers..."²⁹³ and "..., for those who believe, it [i.e the Quran] is guidance and healing..."²⁹⁴

As influenced by those and other Quranic and Prophetic thoughts, Quranic recitation would have been serving as one of a healing mechanism of the study area especially for those who suffered from locally known as *jin* (evil spirits). Accordingly, the great role in this method of remedy is played by religious leaders or scholars of the area. By this method, the scholars at their home or mosque put the patient, hold his/her head and read/recite from the verses of the Quran orally. Informants told that, in order to recite the Quran several important considerations must be fulfilled. This include that, the healer have to know the proper "*makhraj*" and "*tajwid*". *Makhraj* can be defined as the correct position of the organs of speech in order to produce a sound from a letter so that it can be differentiated from others. They further explained that the *tajwid* is the correctness of diction or proper pronunciation and technique during recitation. Accordingly, the healer read the Quran and make a *dua* as performed by the Prophet until the patient becomes cured which sometimes took a longer time.²⁹⁵

As obtained from various Imam's of the study area, the most widely used Quranic verses used by a healers include *Al-Faatihah* (the Opening Chapter of the Quran), the four *Quls'* (the short chapters of 109, 112, 113 and 114) which are recited against unbelief and *jinns* (devils), *Ayatul*

²⁹¹ Kumilachew Shiferaw, "The Socioeconomic Roles of Religion: The Case of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Churches in Addis Ababa," MA Thesis (Addis Ababa University, Department of Social Anthropology, 2015), p. 52.

²⁹² Pankhurst (1994), pp. 948.

²⁹³ Qur'an 17:82.

²⁹⁴ Qur'an 41:44.

²⁹⁵ Informants: Hässän Qoračha, Endris and Šarif.

Kursi (Chapter 2, verse 255) that explains Allah's power over all things, and *Surah Yasin* (Chapter 36). They also confirmed that the practice of healing with Quranic recitation had been well established since earlier and resumed as up to the present day even for non-Muslims throughout the districts of the study areas.²⁹⁶

5.3.2.2. Healing with Quranic Water

As explained by local informants, Quranic water is blessed water prepared by reciting the verses of the Quran and blowing on to it in order to cure illnesses.²⁹⁷ According to Ali Yasin, the Arabic name for Quranic water is *ruqyah* (plural, *ruqa*) and it is like the *ṭābāl* (holy water) popularly used by Orthodox Christians.²⁹⁸ In the study area, healing with Quranic water is believed to be one of a method to cure several diseases and there are few centers where it had been practiced. Early in the morning, young men fetch water from the nearby springs and after performing *al-fajr salat*, the *Imam* of the mosque and his students recited the Quran on the water. A separate bathing area will be prepared for the male and female patients, and they takes off their clothes. Then, the patients took shower using the Quranic water for several times depending on the severity of the illness. For example, most take a bath once every morning for about three, seven and fourteen days, while up on the advice of the the Imam, some may take a bath three times a day: at morning, mid-day and night until the patient improved his /her health.

In addition to the above two healing methods, Islam also brought other supplementary treatments for Muslims of the world in general and Muslims of the study area in particular. In this way, there had been traditional Muslim herbalists and healers in the area who were experienced in treating patients using Quranic advices and Prophetic treatment techniques. According to herbalists/healers of the area, the most important herb used to treat various illnesses is black seed locally known as *ṭiqur azmud*, consumed for respiratory and digestive issues. As to them, Prophet Mohammad said that, "use the balck seed, because, it contains a cure for every type of ailment except death."²⁹⁹ The other treatment method used is honey, which is described as a source of healing in the Quran as well as Prophetic *Sunnah*. The Quranic verse which describes honey as a medicine reads as "...From their bellies emerges a fluid of diverse colors, containing

²⁹⁶ Informants: Idris and Häsän Qorača.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Ali, p. 219.

²⁹⁹ Informants: Zämzäm and Šärif.

healing for the people. Surely in this is a sign for people who reflect.”³⁰⁰ According to informants, honey was explained repeatedly as a best healing medicine for several illnesses. Also, olive oil; used illnesses related to skin, *siwak* (natural toothbrush); used to keep oral hygiene and gum health, and ginger are the commonly used Islamic treatments developed among the Muslims of the study area.³⁰¹

5.3.3. Conflict Management Practices

Conflict management principles have been discussed in the Quran and found throughout the life of the Prophet Mohammad. The Quran gives guidance toward conflict management and resolution by directing adherents to turn back to the Quran and Prophetic traditions to solve disputes.³⁰² Like other parts of the country, conflicts occur among the Muslims and non-Muslims of the study area since antiquity. The prominent factors which caused for the emergence of conflict include land issues, murder, abduction, theft and etc. Parallel to modern courts, most disputes in the region had been settled by *Sheiks*’ and *abägars* (elderly people) who had been experienced in mediation and reconciliation of conflicts. The role the *Sheiks*’ played in solving disputes is very paramount. They commit themselves for serving the community without any material gain.³⁰³

According to informants, one of renowned *Sheik* for his conflict resolution in the study area was *Sheik* Siraj Mohammäd Awel (c.1885-1972). In 1949, he established a religious and conflict resolution centre at a place called Ṭeru Sina. Before the establishment of the shrine at Ṭeru Sina, the area was one of the hot spots for the conflict between the Oromo and the Amhara. According to informants, who were residents of the area during the time of the conflict, the conflicting parties were the Oromo of the district and Amharas from the neighboring district of north Shewa. The conflicts were caused by land issues between these groups. Governors of the area have tried to end the conflicts, but failed. *Sheik* Siraj, who was on the verge of getting a reputation for his extraordinary spiritual power of performing miracles and healing, managed to convince both parties to come to peaceful terms. This incident has helped the *Sheik* to win a reputation both from Emperor Haile Selassie and the community at large. This has also helped him to get official

³⁰⁰ Quran 16:69.

³⁰¹ Informants: Idris, Zämzäm and Šärif.

³⁰² Informants: Hässän Qorača, Endris and Šärif.

³⁰³ Informants: Abdulfätah, Ahmäd Bešhir and Endris.

support and build a close relationship with Emperor Haile Selassie, who was thankful to the *Sheik* who managed to end the conflict. Even after the death of *Sheik* Siraj, regular weekly conflict resolution practices of disputes in different issues had been continued and served not only Muslims but also non-Muslims of the area as institution to resolve disputes in the day to day activities of the people.³⁰⁴

In addition to Ṭeru Sina, the nearby Gäta and Mäsal are well known centers where peoples from Qallu *Awrajja* went to solve disputes. Even though Islam viewed killing of a person like killing of the whole of humanity, such worst crime rarely happen in the area, and mediated when a murderer's family seeking reconciliation with the family of the murdered in those *Sheiks' Čelot* (*Sheiks' court*).³⁰⁵

5.3.4. Intra and Inter-Faith Relations in the Study Area

In Wällo of the study area, attitudes towards religious diversity are exceptionally good. The contacts between the Muslims and non-Muslims of the study area had been characterized by mutual respect. Not only do Christians and Muslims live next to each other in perfect harmony and absolute peace, but even within the same family half may be Christians and half Muslims.³⁰⁶ According to Mesfin Wolde Mariam, "It [Wällo] is a region where bigotry is hard to find, and where the only taboo is inhibition."³⁰⁷ Among the various socio-cultural and economic interdependences and the nature of inter-faith relations in the area, the common are supporting each other in times of joys and sorrows, celebrating holidays together, respecting differences and obeying neighbourhodness, conversion and conducting intermarriage between Muslims and Christians, using of religious methods of indigenous healings, performing religious pilgrimages and conflict resolution mechanisms in common regardless of differences in religion.³⁰⁸

However, despite the existence of cordial co-existent between Muslims and non-Muslims of the study area, there had been also some frictions that appeared since the declaration of the edict of Boru-Méda in 1878 up to the present times. The conflicts caused the death of many and

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*; Meron (2011), pp. 66-67.

³⁰⁵ Informants: Abdulfätah, Ahmäd Bešhir and Endris.

³⁰⁶ Informants: Šhanbäl, Muhammäd Hussén and Abdälla.

³⁰⁷ Mesfin, p. 18.

³⁰⁸ Informants: Šhanbäl, Muhammäd Hussén and Abdälla.

destruction of several mosques. Yet, the conflicts had been masterminded by the despotic attitudes of the Emperors and local rulers rather than the believers of the region.³⁰⁹ In general, the area is a symbol of togethernesses and co-existence among diversified society. *Wälloyé* have prided themselves for their tolerance and flexibility in religious matters, which may be partly explained by their ethnically mixed nature. They often use the Amharic phrase: መቻቻል አብሮ መኖር (living together so that we accommodate, reach consensus).³¹⁰

The most important role Islam played not only in the study area but also throughout the world is reflected within the society. In Islam, society is to be a united body where conflict and ranking based on social class has no place. It consists of people having different skills and capabilities that at the same time are connected, exchange services, and collaborate with one other. Every one of these members becomes complete and grows through interaction and exchange with others. The society is a system formed of different kinds of people. In an Islamic society, no one has any advantage over another. No class has superiority over another, no race has any advantage over another, and no group has any advantage over another. Even the majority has no advantage over the minority or vice versa; the society is simply for the human being. The difference and variety of nations in the world is to know each other to foster collaboration: this leads to the perfection of human beings in the world and nations' difference is exactly like people's difference in the society.³¹¹

One of the strongest and most deep-rooted links in human relations is the tie of brotherhood. Brothers love each other, are benevolent towards each other, and share each other's joys and sorrows. Sometimes differences may occur between brothers, causing anxieties, but very soon these acrimonies are replaced by affection and sincerity, and rifts completely forgotten. Islam makes use of this firm link in order to strengthen social order and ameliorate human relations, and considers all devout Muslims as true brothers. In this verdict, namely Islamic brotherhood, there exists no boundary, and all Muslims from any race, locality and language are covered by this law, and are regarded as brothers by Islam.³¹² In Islam, Maintaining ties with one's relative is obligatory upon Muslims, and severing those ties is one of the major sins. As to informants,

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Abbink (2007), p. 69; Informants: Amarä and Basazinew.

³¹¹ Informants: Ahmäd Wodaji, Šhanbäland Abdu Rašhid.

³¹² *Ibid.*

for those who maintained ties, Allah gives them sustenance where as absence of maintaining ties with relatives caused for the breaking up of family, erosion of religious bonds and opens the way for material values to rule supreme. Influenced by Islam, Muslim of the region had maintained ties by meeting and visiting their relatives; or inquires their well being by enquiring even from far. More than others, keeping strong ties and giving respect to one's parent has a crucial role for the Muslims. Muslims of the study area told that showing hatred and severing the ties with parents is obviously forbidden and Allah has no mercy for them and shall not accept their other right doings.³¹³

³¹³ Informants: Ahmād Wodaji, Šhanbāl and Abdu Rašhid.

CONCLUSION

The study has attempted to reconstruct a history of Islam in Qallu *Awrajja* of Wallo province from 1870_s to 1991. Four major themes have been addressed in this thesis. The first theme deals with the general physical and historical background of the study area. The second theme constitutes the advent and spread of Islam into Qallu *Awrajja* and the factors for the spread of Islam into that area. The third theme concerned on the conditions of Muslims of the study area in particular and Ethiopia in general during the different regimes, especially, from 1870_s to 1991. The last theme is about the impacts and contributions of Islam on the peoples of the study area.

For a long time, Islamic studies in Ethiopia have not been recognized as an academic discipline. The subject of Islam in Ethiopia has long been a neglected and marginalized theme in Ethiopian studies. Very recently, however, both Ethiopian and foreign historians began to participate in this field of study. Likely, Muslims under Ethiopian state had been excluded from public posts and threatened unwisely. For instance, on May 29, 1878, Emperor Yohannis IV called a religious meeting at Boru Méda in South Wällo which far 10 kilometers north of Dässé Town. This came to be known as the Council of Boru Méda. It was organized and led by Emperor Yohannis IV. He determined to end doctrinal controversy within the Orthodox Church and to bring religious conformity of the kingdom. The council proclaimed that Orthodox Christianity to be the official state religion of the country and all Ethiopian Muslims to embrace the Christian faith. The current study took this historical incidence as boundary and pass through the passages of time until the collapse of the socialist *Därg* regime in 1991.

Islam brought a great significance on the spiritual, social, economic and political life of the Muslims of the study area. Among the Muslims, Islam consolidated brotherhoodness and oneness in times of joy and sorrow. In Wallo inter-religious relations also are still non-conflictual and accommodative.

To sum up, the significance of this historical research is to fill the prevailing gap and provide fundamental reference in the knowledge portfolio of Islamic history of the area from 1870_s to 1991. Despite this fact, the work is far from complete by itself. I hope that, it can inspire and provide stimulus for other historians, who may be interested to conduct further studies on this issue.

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III. LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name of Informants	Sex	Age	Interview		Remarks
				Date	Place	
1	Abbas Muhammäd (Ato)	M	44	9/3/2019	Toläha	A merchant in Toläha. He has knowledge about the history of Argobba of the study area.
2	Abdälla Šärif (Ato)	M	80	12/3/2019	Jaranyo	An elder who lived for a long time in Jaranyo. He served in different local administrative offices during the imperial and <i>Därg</i> periods.
3	Abdu Adämé (Sheik)	M	59	14/3/2019	Çäffa Robit	He is a religious man who knows very well Islamic activities of the area as well as the role and influence of Islam on the believers.
4	Abdulfätah Kädär (Abägar)	M	59	13/3/2019	Sänbäté	A merchant in Sänbäté town. He is also known in his role of meditation the several disputes emerged in the area.
5	Abdulkadir Muhé (Sheik)	M	61	26/3/2019	Toläha	A merchant and Islmic teacher at Toläha. He had attended Islamic teachings at Toläha and Šonké. He has good information about Islamic histories of Argobba of the area.
6	Abdu Nuré (Sheik)	M	80	27/2/2019	Kämissé	Nure, is his nick name that indicates his long residence in the area. He has a good potential of recalling past events of the region.
7	Abdu Rašhid (Ato)	M	62	25/2/2019	Kämissé	He is a literate farmer. He knows the conditions of Muslims of the

						area in the past.
8	Abdurāhaman Muhammād (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	54	10/3/2019	Tolāha	A merchant at Tolāha. He had attended Islamic teachings at Tolāha and Šonké. He has good information about Islamic histories of Argobba of the area.
9	Abi Tāsāma (<i>Ato</i>)	M	70	27/2/2019	Kāmissé	The son of a <i>balabat</i> called <i>Qañ ñazmach</i> Tāsāma. He has considerable knowledge about the historical development of Kāmissé and Qallu <i>awrajja</i> .
10	Adām Abdu (<i>Ato</i>)	M	82	17/2/2019	Bati	He is a literate farmer in Bati. Being speaking Afaan Oromo, Amharic and Afarñña, he has enough memories about the occupation period of the area and other issues.
11	Ahmād Bešhir (<i>Ato</i>)	M	68	25/2/2019	Kāmissé	He was a merchant and had served as a leader of Islamic Sharia court of Kāmissé for the last two decades. He has a good knowledge of conflict management.
12	Ahmād Wodaji (<i>Ato</i>)	M	77	17/2/2019	Bati	He is a farmer in Bati. He knows the impacts as well the roles Islam played in the society.
13	Amarā Mengša (<i>Ato</i>)	M	62	25/10/2019	Kombolča	His knowledge about the social and economic conditions in the town since the 1970s is considerable.
14	Aydañu Bānābār (<i>Māmiré</i>)	M	70	16/3/2019	Çäffa Robit	He was a priest in service of the Christian church of Jaranyo. But,

						in the 1960's he moved and now lived in the town of Çäffa Robit. He knows the Muslim-Christian long coexistence in the region.
15	Basazinew Kassa (<i>Ato</i>)	M	49	25/10/2019	Kombolča	He was a soldier during the <i>Därg</i> period who stationed at a military camp in the town near the textile and meat factory (1989 – 1990).
16	Endris Dawud (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	56	28/2/2019	Kämissé	Working in a known <i>madressa</i> (Islamic school) as a guard. He has a good knowledge of early Islamic educational centers and their leaders.
17	Girum Täsäma (<i>Ato</i>)	M	50	26/2/2019	Kämissé	He is working at the Amhara Development Association Office of Kämissé Town. He has a good knowledge of the town.
18	Girum Tešomä (<i>Ato</i>)	M	42	26/2/2019	Kämissé	Working at the Tourism Bureau of Oromia Special Zone. He has enough knowledge about the religious heritages of the Zone.
19	Häsän Abatä (<i>Ato</i>)	M	65	4/4/2019	Mäkoy	He was a farmer I Anstokiya Valley and a merchant in Bati town at the same time. He knows about the economic activities of the area.
20	Häsän Qorača (<i>Ustaz</i>)	M	45	25/2/2019	Kämissé	He is <i>Imam</i> of the biggest <i>Kulefa'u Rashdin</i> Mosque in Kämissé. He has good experience about Islamic impacts and religious activities of

						Muslims of the area.
21	Hawa Mohammäd (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	F	81	27/10/2019	Kombolča	She was among the first workers of the Meat processing factory of the town. Pensioned now, Hawa was one of the dwellers' of the town in which her house was constructed by the <i>Qäbäle sera Zemecha</i> policy of <i>Därg</i> .
22	Idris Muhammäd (<i>Ustaz</i>)	M	55	17/2/2019	Bati	Well known religious teacher and Imam of the Bati Azhar Mosque. He attended several Islamic courses such as <i>Ilmel Tib</i> (Knowledge of Medicine).
23	Jämal Šäkur (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	68	20/3/2019	Wälädi	A merchant in Wälädi, a small town under the district of Däwa Čäffa. He attended Islamic learning's and has a deep Islamic knowledge. Also, he knows Islamic history of the locality.
24	Käbädä Alämu (<i>Ato</i>)	M	70	28/2/2019	Kämissé	He was the administrator of <i>Essoyé Gula wäräda</i> of Qallu <i>Awrajja</i> during the <i>Därg</i> . He has good information about the religious, economic and political conditions of the time.
25	Lägässä Gétahun (<i>Ato</i>)	M	72	28/2/2019	Kämissé	A farmer in Kämissé. He knows much about the post 1950's history of the area.
26	Muhammäd Kädär (<i>Ato</i>)	M	46	26/2/2019	Kämissé	A teacher at Kämissé Secondary and Preparatory school. He has a

							good knowledge about the socio-economic and religious conditions of the area.
27	Muhammäd Hussén (<i>Ato</i>)	M	28	25/2/2019	Kämissé		A civil servant at Däwa ÇäffaWäräda Culture and Tourism office. He did a study on Šonké Village of Oromiya Zone for the fulfillment of BA Thesis.
28	Muhammäd Endris (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	78	27/2/2019	Kämissé		He is a well known religious teacher and trader in Kämissé. He well a good knowledge about the rise and spread of Islam in the region.
29	Mustäfa Jämal (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	59	7/3/2019	Šonkéy		He is a known religious teacher and trader Šonkéy. He knows much about the methods, developments and roles of Islamic teachings.
30	Oumär Dañé (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	68	16/3/2019	Çäffa Robit		He is a religious man in Çäffa Robit. He knows well about the Islamic history of the study area.
31	Ouseman Abdälla (<i>Ato</i>)	M	67	27/2/2019	Kämissé		He is son of Abdella Mohammad, the founder of Kämissé Town. Being a merchant he knows various aspects of the town and surrounding areas.
32	Rabea Mäsfin (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	F	39	25/2/2019	Kämissé		She told the nature of cousin marriage among the Muslims of the study area as well as her experience.
33	Saladin Näsru (<i>Ato</i>)	M	53	25/2/2019	Kämissé		A merchant who has a boutique in

						Kāmissé town. He married with his cousin and told me his experience about cousin marriage in the study area.
34	Šārif Tāmam (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	54	16/3/2019	Çäffa Robit	A known Quranic healer in Çäffa Robit. He had a good knowledge of the requirements and advantages of religious healings to cure diseases.
35	Solomon Dāmākä (<i>Māmiher</i>)	M	66	28/10/2019	Kombolča	He was a teacher for the last 33 years in the town and used to present the history of the town at any occasion.
36	Ṭirunāš Gétačāw (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	F	61	28/10/2019	Kombolča	The dweller of the town who remember well the political and social developments in the town since 1970s.
37	Ṭoyba Hässän (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	F	62	5/3/2019	Ṭeru Sina	A woman who is living in the village of Ṭeru Sina since her birth. She has available oral evidence about the Mosque of Ṭeru Sina and practices performed within it.
38	Wārā Qal Nāgash (<i>Qés</i>)	M	58	25/2/2019	Kāmissé	Working at the health centre of Oromia Special Zone. He has knowledge of activities and developments of Christianity in Qallu.
39	Yāšhi Hailé (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	F	70	25/2/2019	Kāmissé	She has good information about the Italian period in the area and religious issues of the Zone.

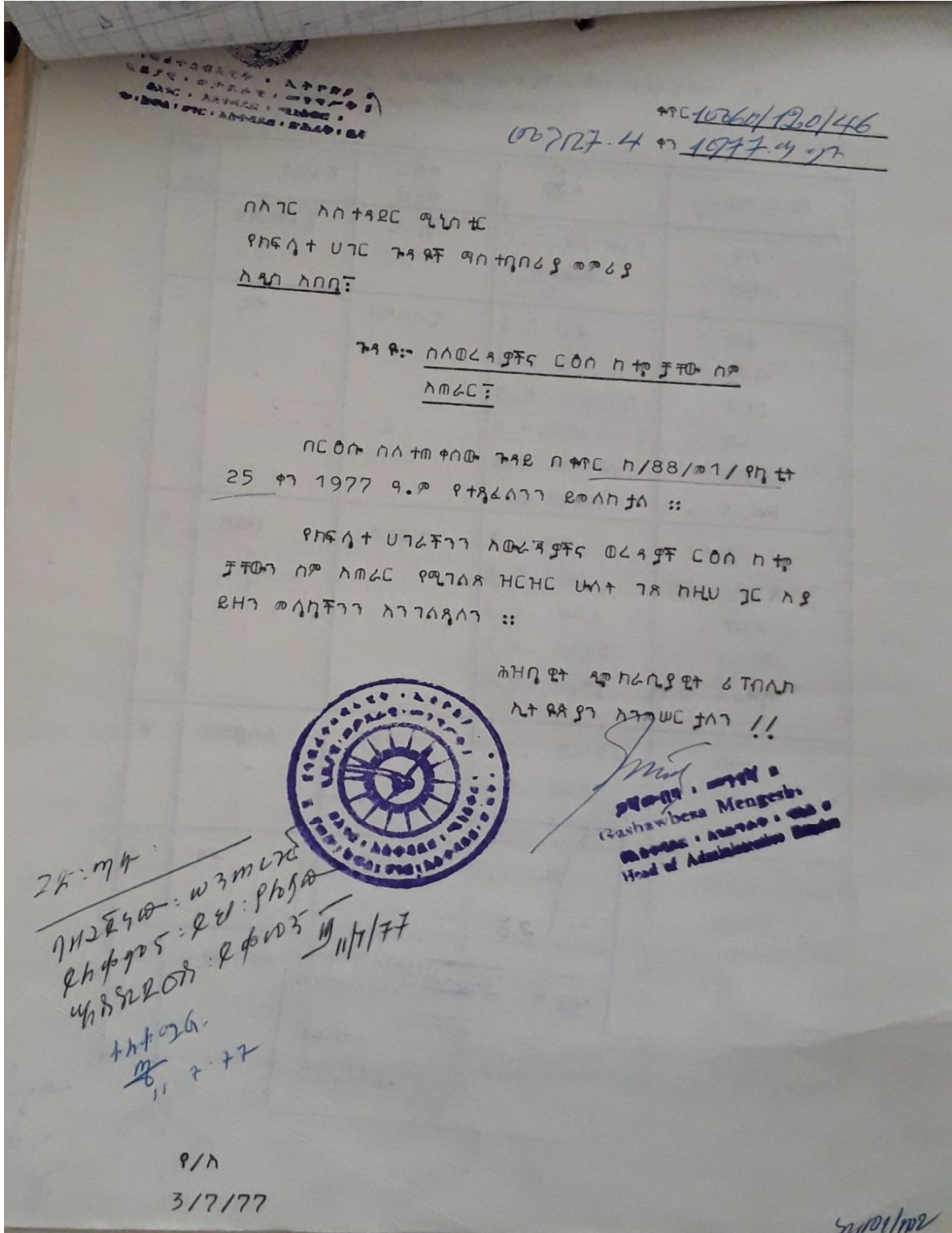
40	Yäsuf Oumär (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	57	16/3/2019	Çäffa Robit	He is a religious man in Çäffa Robit. He knows well about the Islamic history of the study area.
41	Yusuf Abdusomäd (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	42	10/3/2019	Toläha	A farmer and Islamic teacher in the village of Toläha. He has a good knowledge about the Mosque of Šonké and Islamic teachings there.
42	Zämzäm Muhabaw (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	F	57	28/3/2019	Bora	A traditional herbalist woman living at Bora. She is known in preparation and treatment of illnesses using traditional medicines par with Islamic teachings.
43	Zäynu Muhaba (<i>Sheik</i>)	M	64	28/3/2019	Bora	Being an elder and a teacher at the Mosque of Bora, he has enough Islamic knowledge and Muslims history of the area.
44	Zäwudé Gäbrämädhin (<i>Ato</i>)	M	72	26/10/2019	Kombolča	Kombolča <i>Sopral</i> cattle purchaser until the late 1980s. He has a good knowledge about the economic changes in the town.

DESCRIPTION FOR THE ARCHIVES

Index Number	From... To	Highlight	Source
Appendix I	A letter from Ministry of State Administration to the Provinces of Wällo	About the <i>waradas</i> (districts) and their centre of administration	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix II	A continuation from Appendix I	List of the first six <i>awrajjas</i> (sub-provinces) of Wällo province	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix III	A continuation from Appendix II	List of the rest six <i>awrajjas</i> (sub-provinces) of Wällo province	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix IV	From Ethiopian <i>Haj</i> and <i>Umra</i> Office to Wällo province	About the recruitment and number of pilgrims for <i>Hajj</i> from Wällo province	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix V	A letter from Ethiopian <i>Haj</i> and <i>Umra</i> Office to <i>Hajji</i> Abdulwähab <i>Sheik</i> Adäm Yäsuf	It allowed <i>Hajji</i> Abdulwähab <i>Sheik</i> Adäm Yäsuf to built a mosque and <i>madrassa</i> (religious school) in Qallu <i>awrajja</i> of Bati district	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix VI	From Ethiopian <i>Haj</i> and <i>Umra</i> Office to Wällo province	It notifies about <i>Ato</i> Shemsedin Muhammad's, secretary of Ethiopian <i>Haj</i> and <i>Umra</i> Office travel to Saudi Arabia for <i>Hajj</i>	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix VII	A letter from Ethiopian <i>Haj</i> and <i>Umra</i> Office to Wällo province	About the requirements and procedures for <i>Haj</i> and <i>Umra</i>	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix VIII	A continuation from Appendix VII	A list of requirements expected from the pilgrims	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)
Appendix IX	A continuation from Appendix VIII	A list of requirements expected from the pilgrims	National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)

APPENDICES

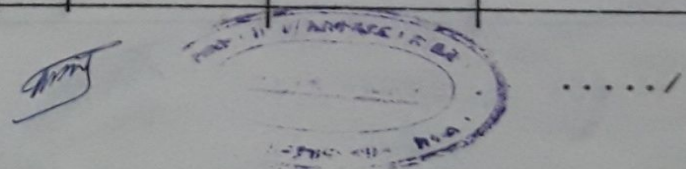
Appendix I



Appendix II

የወሎ ከ/ሀገር አጭጥና ወረዳዎች ርዕሰ ከተማዎች ስም
አጠራር የሚገልጽ ዘርዘር ግለጫ፤

ተራ ቁጥር	አጭጥ	ርዕሰ ከተማ	ወረዳ	ርዕሰ ከተማ
1	ደብዳቤ	ደብ	1.1. ደብዳቤ 1.2. ኩታቦር	ደብ ኩታቦር
2	ደብ	ኩታቦር	2.1. ባቲ 2.2. ደብ 2.3. አሰባ 2.4. ደወይራህዕዩ 2.5. አበዳሪ 2.6. አርጫ	ባቲ ጠርጦ ደጋጋ ቦራ ከሚ አርጫ
3	አጭጥ	አሃይታ	3.1. ሚሊ 3.2. አጭጥ 3.3. ትብቲ 3.4. ሊደጠር 3.5. አፋቦ	ሚሊ አባይታ ትብቲ ሊደጠር አፋቦ
4	አጭጥ	ጠይቅ	4.1. ተሰደራ 4.2. ወረባቦ 4.3. አጭጥ	ጠይቅ ህብተ ወረባቦ
5	የቶ	ወሰደያ	5.1. ጠባሪ 5.2. ገባላፍቶ	ወሰደያ ወሰደያ
6	ራያና ቀቦ	አለግጣ	6.1. ቀቦ 6.2. አለግጣ	ቀቦ አለግጣ

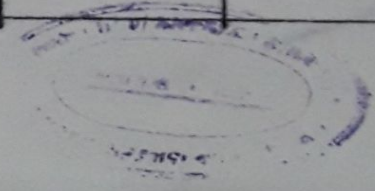


Appendix III

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ተረፎ ቁጥር	አጠቃላይ	ርዕስ ከተማ	ወረዳ	ርዕስ ከተማ
7	ሳባ ታ	ሳህሳ	7.1 ጠዋት 7.2 ገንገ 7.3 ቡገና	ፍላጭት ጠጃ ዓይና
8	ዋይሳ ደሳን ታ	ወገላጤና	8.1 ደሳን ታ 8.2 ዋይሳ ዳውገ ታ	ወገላጤና ቦገ
9	ዋገ	ሰቆጣ	9.1 ሰቆጣ 9.2 ደጤና 9.3 ወፍሳ	ሰቆጣ አዎደ ወርቀ ኮረቆ
10	ወረ ሄዎና	ተገ ታ	10.1 ተገ ታ 10.2 ጠቀደሳ 10.3 ለጋጾቦ	አጃባር አዎበግር ጾቆ አቆባ ታ
11	ቦረና	ጠባ ነበላዎ	11.1 ከሳሳ 11.2 ባይገተ 11.3 ደብረሰና	ከሳሳ አጃባር ወገላ
12	ወረሊሎ	ወረሊሎ	12.1 ጃጫ 12.2 ወረሊሎ 12.3 ለገሂሳ	ደጌሎ ባቦ ወይገ አዎባ

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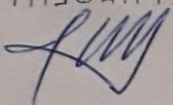
Appendix IV

በጣም የሚያዩ

ገበያ/239/0049
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ለወኪሉ..... በክፍለ ሀገር አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
ዳኑ...

ለዓመራ ፀሎት ገዢ በአጠቃላይ 500 ምዕመናን አገዳሪዎች የተፈቀደ ሲሆን የክፍለ ሀገር ድርሻ 4.0 በቃች ብቻ መሆናቸውን የየክፍለ ሀገር የወለፍ በፍ ሎች በክፍለ ሀገር በተፈጸሙት ገዕዥን በጫቲያች ጋር በመተባበር የመጣውን በመጠይቅ ው መሠረት ባከናወኑ በጋላ ምዕመናን አስከገገን ገንቦት 30 73 ዓ.ም ድረስ አዲስ አበባ አገደደርቡ ማሰራሰብንና በዚህ አጋጣሚ የዓመራን ፀሎት ለማድረስ የሚፈልጉ የገዕዥ በጫቲ አባላት ከየክፍላት ሀገር ከሁለት ያልበለጡ በረሃቸው ወጭ ያለዕጣ ለመስጠት ወቻ ላቸውን በመገለጽ ከኢትዮጵያ የሰጧና የዓመራ ገዢ ዘገጅት አስተባባሪ በጫቲ ጽ/ቤት መጋቢት 15 ቀን 1973 ዓ.ም በቀጥር ሐ/ው/ሐ 305/2/73 ለገብረተበብአዊት ኢትዮጵያ ጊ.ወ.መን/ሥት በሀገርና የሐዘብ ደህንነት ሚኒስቴር የባህሪና ወለፍ ዋና መምሪያ ሱዳን ገልባጭ የደረሰን ስለሆነ በጫቲው በአሰባሰብ መሠረት ለክፍ ለሀገ ሩ ተወሰኖ በተገለጸው ቦታ ልክ ለዓመራ ፀሎት የሚጓዙትን ምክመናኖች በገንታቱ ተመርጦ ከተወሰነው ገንቦት 30 ቀን 1973 ዓ.ም ቀደም ብለው አዲስ አበባ አገዳ ገዥ አናስታውቋለን፡-



ወንበ - ብርሃነ - ትግሣኤ

ገልባጭ / ለኢትዮጵያ የሰጧና የዓመራ ገዢ
ዘገጅት አስተባባሪ በጫቲ ጽ/ቤት
አዲስ አበባ

Appendix V

የኢትዮጵያ የህይወት የዕድገት ጉዞ
الحج والعمرة الاثيوبيه
THE ETH. HAJ AND UMRA

ቦታ 3687
P.O. Box
ቦታ 3687
አዲስ አበባ



ዝግጅት አስተባባሪ ኮሚቴ ጽ/ቤት
لجنة تنسيق شتون
PILGRIMS COORDINATING COMMITTEE

ቴሌፎን
Tel. No. 122291
ADDIS ABABA
አዲስ አበባ

ጥ/ቤት/263/1/73


ጥ 1973

ለገበያ ተባብሮ ለተገኝ
ገዢዎ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
የአገር አስተዳደር ጫካ ተር
አዲስ አበባ ::

ጠቅላይ ለብጽጃው ዋና ስህ ለጊዜ የባና በውሉ ከፍለ ስገር በኃሉ ለውጭ በባ ተ
 ወረዳ በለጫ ያሠራተ መባባይ ተምህርተ ቤት ጉዳይ ከውሉ ከፍለ ስገር የቦርተ ዘጠኝ
 ፕላን መሥሪያ ጽ/ቤት ያገገረ 5 ቀን 1973 ዓ.ም. በቆይታ 1076.41/4592
 ለውሉ ከፍለ ስገር የውዘብ ደህንነቱ የባና ይለፍ ጽ/ቤት የተላረገው ደብዳቤ በግ
 ያያዘ ለባረጋገጠ የታገፍ ደብዳቤ ለጉዳይ የላቀው ተቀምተ 3 ቀን 1972 ዓ.ም. በተ
 ጻፈ በላውላው ተጓ ከዚህ ጋር ግብረጃ ተውን ለይዘን ስያኖረባን፤
 ሁኔታው በአኛ በኩል የሚይገፍ በለሆነ ተገቢው ተባብሮ ይደረገላቸው ዘንድ
 በተሆነና ለሀሳብ ገጽ ::

ገባባቸው

ለጠቅላይ ለብጽጃው ዋና ስህ ለጊዜ የባና
አዲስ አበባ ::



Appendix VI

ክ.ወ.39/13/02

መስከረም 23 1973

ለወሎ ከፍለ ሀገር አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
ደብ

አቶ ሸብሊን ጳውሎስ የተባሉ የኢትዮጵያ ልጅና
ዐምራ ገዛ የኖ ጸሐፊ በዚህ ዓመት ለሚከናወነው የልጅ
ፀሎት በግል ከጾታው ጋር ወደ ሣውዲ አረቢያ የሚሄዱ
ወህኑን በግልጽ የሚረዱትን ተገባር ፈጽመው አስከተለ
ቡ ድረስ በመሥሪያ ቤታቸው በኩል ክፍለ ስጦታ ለሰጡት
ከኢትዮጵያ ልጅና ዐምራ ገዛ ዘገይት አስተባባሪ ኮሚቴ ወሰ
ከረግ 20/73 ዓ.ም በጥር ሐ.ዑ.ክ /222/1/73 የተ
ላፈ ደብዳቤ ለሰጠላቸው

በጥያቄው መሠረት አስፈላጊው ክፍለ ስጦታ ለሰጡት
አናባባላቸው፡

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23-1-73
ጥ/ጽ/ተ/አ/ጽ/ፊ

ኢትዮጵያ-ትቅደም
23/1/73
አባራ፡ ወልደሩታኤል
የግብተኞች ጽ/ቤት ጽ/ፊ

ገልባጭ /አ.ሐ.ኢ.ጊ.ወ.ወ/ገ/ሥት
የገቢ ሀገር ት ሚኒስቴር
ሐሰከረግ 20/73 ዓ.ም በጥር ሐ.ዑ.ክ /221/
16/73 ሲላፍልጭ የተዘገበለገገ ገልባጭ
ይጠቀሳል፡፡

.. ለኢትዮጵያ ልጅና ዐምራ ገዛ ዘገይት አስተ
ባባሪ ኮሚቴ
አዲስ አበባ

Appendix VIII

- 2 -

ሀ / ከኮሌት ላይ ከሆነው የግብርና ቤቱ ጋር በተጨማሪም የሚኖርበት ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡

ለ / ለላይ የተገለጸው ግብር በግብርና ቤቱ ወይም በሌላ የግብርና ቤት ተገኝቷል፡፡

ለ / በወይን ገቢ ላይ ተገኝቷል፡፡

ለ / በወይን ገቢ ላይ ተገኝቷል፡፡

ለ / በወይን ገቢ ላይ ተገኝቷል፡፡

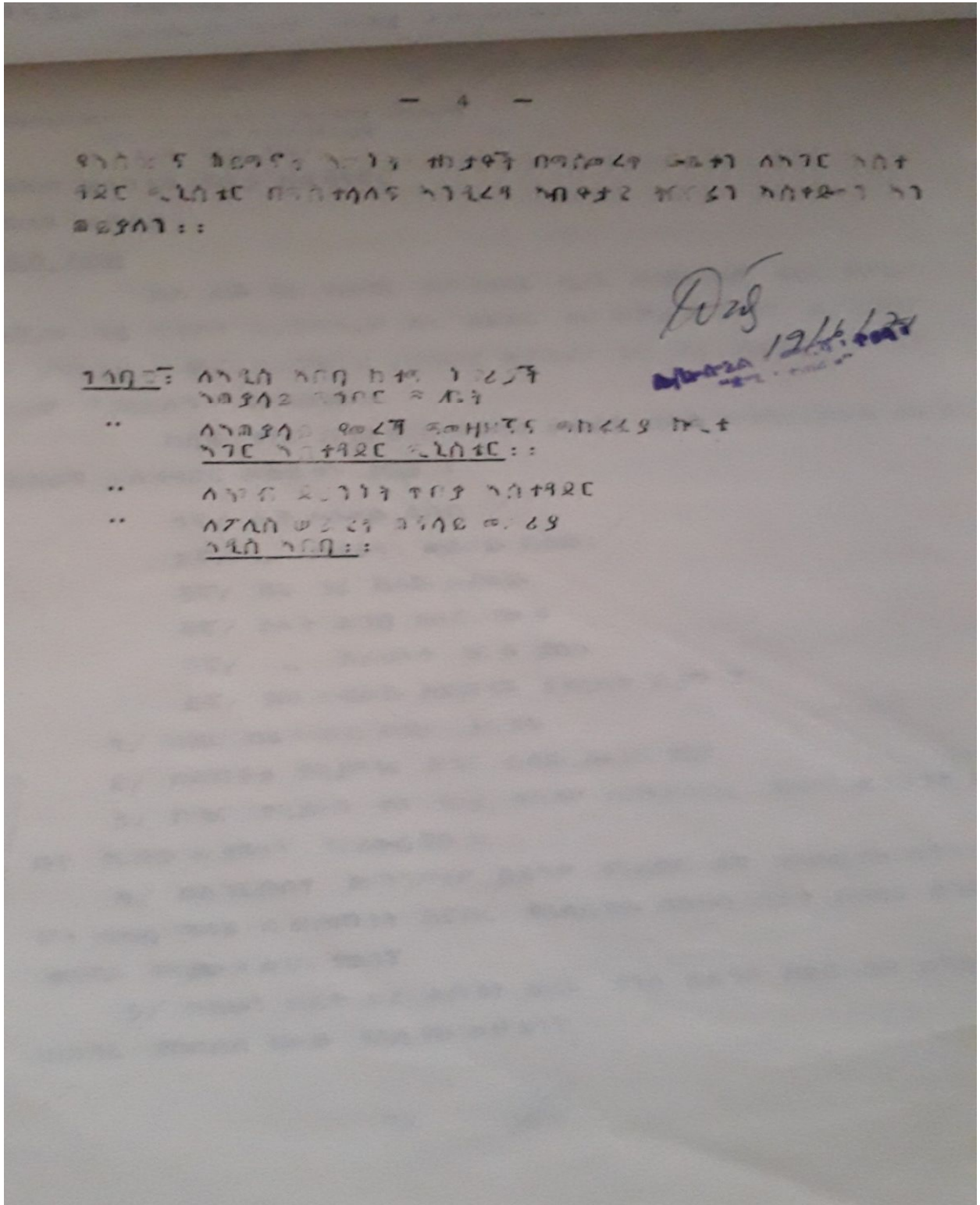
ለ / በወይን ገቢ ላይ ተገኝቷል፡፡

ከሆነው የግብርና ቤቱ ጋር በተጨማሪም የሚኖርበት ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡

ይህ የኮሌት ላይ ከሆነው የግብርና ቤቱ ጋር በተጨማሪም የሚኖርበት ሆኖ ተገኝቷል፡፡

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Appendix IX



GLOSSARY

<i>Abägar</i>	a traditional leader of ritual ceremony
Allah	the Arabic name for God, the only Creator of the universe and all in it
<i>Awrajja</i>	Sub province, the administrative unit below province
<i>Balabat</i>	a local chief, intermediary between the government and the people
<i>Bäräka</i>	blessing or a divine favor
<i>Bälg</i>	spring, a crop growing season of Ethiopia; March and April
<i>Dhikr</i>	a regular remembrance of Allah's name or words to attain spiritual uplifting
<i>Däräsa</i>	a student who is attending Islamic studies
<i>Darih</i>	a tomb of an Islamic scholar
<i>Du'a</i>	prayer and supplication
<i>Fiqh</i>	the science of Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Ghusl</i>	full ablution
<i>Hadiyya</i>	offering made to a <i>Sheik</i> or at a shrine
<i>Hijab</i>	a clothing method worn by Muslim women
<i>Hadith</i>	the record of whatever Prophet Muhammad said, did or tacitly approved
<i>Hajj</i>	a pilgrimage, the fifth in main Pillars of Islam
<i>Hajji</i>	a title given to one who has mad pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj)
<i>Halal</i>	religiously permissible acts
<i>Haram</i>	religiously impermissible acts
<i>Ijaza</i>	certificate/license of permission for teaching
<i>Ilm</i>	Islamic knowledge
<i>Ilm al-Kalam</i>	knowledge of theology
<i>Juz</i>	part from the Quran
<i>Kitab</i>	Islamic books
<i>Khalifa</i>	successor to a Muslim office
<i>Kirämt</i>	summer, rainy season in Ethiopia comprising of June, July and August
<i>Kitab</i>	Islamic religious books
<i>Kärama</i>	charismatic marvel, power of working miracles
<i>Kitma</i>	graduation after attending specified Islamic courses
<i>Miktil Wäradas</i>	Vice-Districts

<i>Mäwulid</i>	a religious festival in commemoration of the birth of the Prophet
<i>Mufti</i>	a professional jurist who interprets Muslim law
<i>Mädrässa</i>	schools in which Islamic studies given
<i>Negus</i>	a king or ruler
<i>Nikah</i>	marriage contract according to God's law
<i>Qäbällé</i>	the lowest administrative unit in Ethiopia
<i>Qolla</i>	the thermal zone with hot climatic condition
<i>Ramadan</i>	the 9 th month of the (Islamic) lunar calendar
<i>Sufism</i>	the ascetic and mystical way of Islam
<i>Sherika</i>	school mates in the course of Islamic studies
<i>Sheik</i>	a religious title given for the Muslim cleric
<i>Sharia</i>	a set of the divine/revealed Islamic laws
<i>Salat</i>	the ritual Prayer done by Muslims after proper ablution
<i>Sedeqa</i>	a name given for all forms of charity
<i>Soum</i>	fasting which is a duty to fast during the month of Ramadan
<i>Sunnah</i>	practices and customs based on Prophet Mohammad's words and deeds
<i>Shahadat</i>	the first among the five Pillars of Islam
<i>Tawhid</i>	the Oneness of Allah
<i>Turuq</i>	religious order or a spiritual way
<i>Ṭäklay Gizat</i>	Province
<i>Tassawuf</i>	Islamic mysticism
<i>Ulama</i>	Muslim scholar
<i>Wadaja</i>	group prayer (supplication)
<i>Wali</i>	Islamic scholars, also called Ulama
<i>Wäräda</i>	District, the administrative unit below <i>Awrajja</i> (Sub-Province)
<i>Wudu</i>	ablution before prayer
<i>Wäyna-Däga</i>	moderate climatic Zone
<i>Zawiyya</i>	a gathering place where Islamic teachings and communal prayers were held
<i>Zakat</i>	the third in main Pillars of Islam

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, confirm that this thesis is my own original work. It has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma to other institute of higher learning. Sources used for writing of the study have been duly acknowledged.

Hussien Abdu

Signature: _____

February, 2020