

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

A RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF GUMMA, SOUTHWEST
ETHIOPIA (ca. 1855-1970s)

BY
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ATHESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF JIMMA
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Abstract

The thesis deals with the religious history of the kingdom of Gumma from ca.1800 to 1991. Attempts have been made to unearth a history of the three major religions, namely the Oromo traditional religion (waaqqeffanna), Islam and Christianity. Apparently the native religion practiced in the kingdom of Gumma as in other Oromo regions was waqqeffanna, which is based on belief of one waaqa tokkicha or waaqaaguraacha, the Gumma Oromo perceive that the color of waaqa is black. According to Gumma Oromo traditional religion the term Waaqa has two different meanings, the first meaning refers to the sky which stands without pillars and the second meaning denotes a creator of everything's on the earth. Qaaluu was a spiritual leader who was a high priest of the Oromo traditional religion possessed by Ayana. A number of Qaaluus have existed in the kingdom of Gumma. The second major religion and of course the dominant religion in the Gibe region nowadays is Islam. Muslim merchants and sheikhs had played a pivotal role in the introduction of Islam to the kingdom. It is apparent that the kings of Gumma played a great role in the expansion of Islam in their kingdom. Apparently the Muslim teachers and preachers did not successfully spread the religion to the common people had it not been for the consent of the kings of Gumma. Christianity is the third major religion prevailed in the kingdom of Gumma. Most probably its introduction to the region dates back to the time of Ennãryä. It seems that the kingdom of Ennãryä was converted to Christianity during the time of Sarsa Dengel (1563-1597). Evangelical Christianity has been introduced to the region recently. But individuals from the Gumma kingdom especially those who were sold as slaves during the 19th century played the role of champion in Bible translation project. Roofu was the first Gumma Oromo who began the Bible translation project. In doing so, he laid foundation for Onesimos and Aster, who came to the scene after one generation. Christian Roofu of the kingdom of Gumma had received different failed of studies under local teachers, such as Geography, Mathematics and Theology, Relevant historical methodology was employed to carry out this study. For instance, Oral informants found in four woredas (that constituted the former Gumma territories) were interviewed to get reliable information and the oral information was crosschecked with available written sources.

Preface

This thesis deals with a religious history of the kingdom of Gumma, one of the Oromo states that came into being in the Gibe region, ca.1800 to 1991. The major religions that existed in the kingdom were *Waaqefana*, Islam and Christianity. The genesis of the kingdom of Gumma dates back to the first decade of the nineteenth century. The kingdom resisted the territorial expansion of Emperor Ménélik II. The battle of *Bakke Ganjii* symbolizes a heroic resistance of the Gumma Oromo kingdom against Menilek's conquest.

The thesis is divided in to four chapters. The first chapter deals with the general background of the kingdom of Gumma, which deals with geographical setting and its early history. The second chapter of the thesis is devoted to a history of Gumma Oromo Traditional Religion or *waaqqeffanna*. The third chapter focuses on the introduction of Islam into the kingdom of Gumma, the Role of Gumma kings in the expansion of Islam, the role of different Sheiks, ritual performance at *Qubä* Shekota. The fourth chapter shades light on the introduction of Christianity into the kingdom of Gumma, the foundation of Orthodox Christianity Churches, and factors that hindered the further expansion of Orthodox Christianity into Gumma. Protestant Christianity has also been deal with in this last Chapter.

Key to Transliteration System

The overriding principle of using transcription is to render words without diacritics into Latin script in a manner which allows the reader to reproduce the pronunciation accurately.

A. Afaan Oromo and related words are spelled according to the writing and reading system in an alphabet known as *qubee*.

I. Qubee system has basically five *dubbachiiftuu* (vowels), each of which is written in *dheeraa*/long and *gabaabaa*/short as follow:

Short	Long	Example	English Equivalent
A	aa	<i>Abbaa</i>	Father
E	ee	<i>Gennee</i>	Queen mother/lady of royal blood
I	ii	<i>Hidhaa</i>	Dam
O	oo	<i>Obboo</i>	Mr.
U	uu	<i>Qaalluu</i>	Oromo religious priest

*The Above examples show short at their first syllable and long in the second.

II. Length in vowels results in meaning changes

Examples: Afaan Oromo	English
Short- <i>Laga</i>	River
Long- <i>Laagaa</i>	Glottal

III. Sequence of more than two vowels is possible if separated by *udhaa*/glottal voiceless stop/apostrophe (') as in *bu'aa* (profit), *du'e* (died), *mi'aa* (sweet) and *re'ee* (goat).

IV. *Dubbifamaa* (Oromo consonants) are stressed (*jabeessuu*) or germinated by doubling similar phonemes and clustered by devoicing two similar consonants as in *Aaddee* (Mrs. or

respected elder sister) and *Obboo* (Mr. or respected elder brother).

V. Germinating of consonants can change the meaning as in *raafuu* (cabbage) versus *rafu* (slip) and *sodaa* (fear) versus *soddaa* (in-law).

VI. Most of the consonants have almost the same sounds as the English consonants, but C, Q and X have different sounds from the English consonants.

C/c’/: represents ejective, palatal; voiceless ch as *cabbii-ice*; *culullee*-swallowed tailed kite.

Q/k’/: denotes ejective, velar; voiceless k as in *qarree* (river edge/single ox/unmarried girl).

X/t’/: represents alveolar, ejective; voiceless t as in *qixxee* (equal); *xinnaa* (little).

VII. There are five paired phonemes that are formed by combining two different affricate letters.

These are ch, dh, ny, ph and sh, from which, Ch and Sh have English equivalents.

Examples

Order	A/Oromo	English
Ch/f/	<i>Irrecha</i>	thanks giving
Sh /ʃ/	<i>Bishaan</i>	Water

The remaining three Dh, Ny and Ph have no English equivalents

Dh [ɸ] alveolar, dental, implosive; voiceless as in *dhadhii* (mead); *dhandhama* (taste).

Ny /ɲ /: nasal, palatalized; voiceless n as in *nyaata*/food, and *sanyii* (clan).

Ph /p’/: bilabial, ejective, stop; voiceless p as in *buuphaa* (egg).

VIII. *Irrabutaa* (non-vocalized consonant) is not required to be followed by a vowel, but followed by dissimilar consonant as in *arba* (elephant)and *jirbii*/cotton

II. The seven sounds of Ethiopic alphabet are also represented as follows:

1 st	ሀ	Ba
2 nd	ሁ	Bu
3 rd	ሂ	Bī

4 th	᠒	Bä
5 th	᠒	Be
6 th	᠒	Bi
7 th	᠒	Bo

Regarding the sixth form in the above list, it must be noted “i” is suffixed to a letter only if it is vocalized. Otherwise it is not required at all. As a general rule also, “i” is not required when the sixth form is the last letter of a word as in ᠮᠠᠮᠬᠡᠷ/*Mamher*; ᠨᠢᠳᠢᠷ/*Biddir*; *Tikur/ black*.

III. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows Consonant Symbo

Examples

ᠰ	Sh		
ᠱ	Ch	<i>Dajjāzmäch</i>	ᠳᠠᠵᠵᠠᠵᠠᠮᠠᠴᠢ
ᠭ	Gn		
ᠵ	Zh		
ᠵ	J	<i>Awräjjä</i>	ᠠᠠᠷᠠᠵᠵᠠ

IV. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows

Consonant	Symbol	Examples	
ᠴ	Q	<i>Qannäzmäch</i>	ᠴᠠᠨᠨᠠᠵᠠᠮᠠᠴᠢ
ᠮ	ᠰ		
ᠮ	Č		
ᠰ	ᠰ		
ᠰ/ᠸ	TS	Tsi'on	ᠲᠰᠢ᠎ᠠ

CHAPTER ONE:

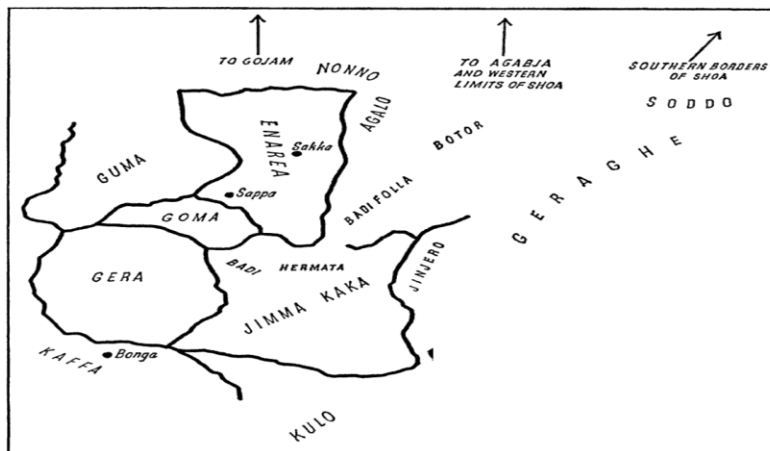
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF THE KINGDOM

The kingdom of Gumma was located in the southwestern part of Ethiopia and its capital, Ciraa, is found at a distance of about 415 kilometers from Addis Ababa on the main road to Gambella regional state. The kingdom of Gumma had emerged in the upper course of Dhidheessaa River. Gumma was the second Oromo kingdom to be formed in the Gibe region after Limmu –

Ennarya.¹

Fig.1. the nineteenth century kingdom of Gumma and surrounding kingdoms



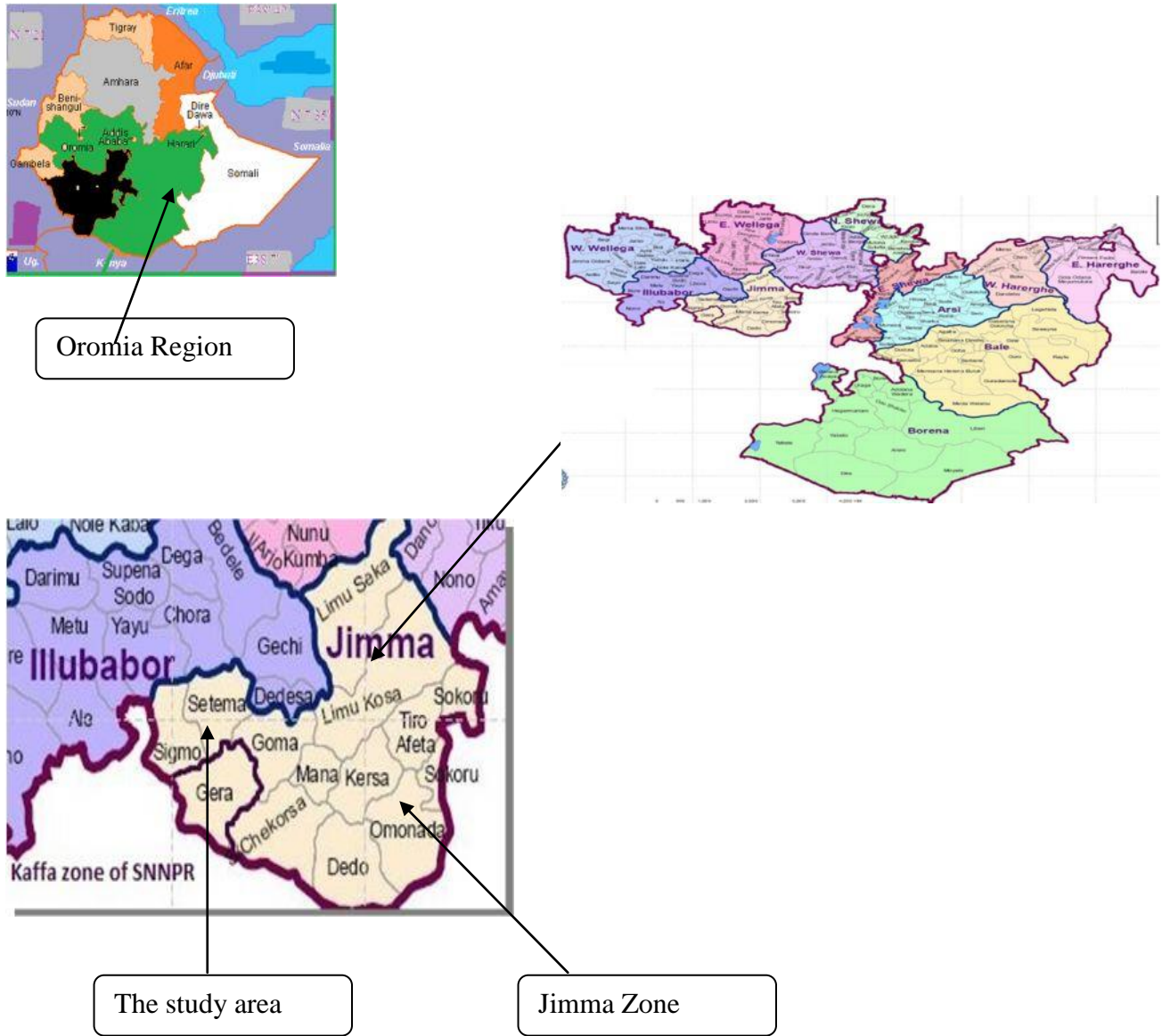
Abir, The Emergence and Consolidation of the Monarchies of Enarea and Jimma..., P. 206

The territorial coverage of the former Gumma kingdom included, Sigmoo, Saxxamaa, Tobbaa, Dambii and Čälōō. From the entire five Gibe Oromo states, the kingdom which lost its former territory and name was only Gumma after the expansion of Emperor Menelik to the area. During the imperial times the state of Gumma was disintegrated, when Dambii and Sigimoo become districts, Toobba and Caloo became *yemekitel wêredã gizāt* (Vice wereda) Saxxamaa was

¹ Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*(Trenton, 1994), p.86; Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes: The Challenge of Islam and Reunification of Christian Empire 1769-1885*(Jerusalem, 1968), pp.75-76

Merged with Sigmoo .² When the districts of Sigmoo, Saaxxamaa and Gumaay \Toba came under Jimma *Awrājjā*, the districts of Dambii and Caloo came under the administration of Bunnoo Beddeellee *Awrājjā*.³

Fig.2.The Administrative map of



Adopted from Internet; www.regionsofethiopia.com of Ethiopia. Downloaded, 29/09/2017

² See appendix I and II Informants: Taajuu Abba Delbe, Jihaad Abba Bor, Abba Fixaa Abba Bulgu and others

³ See Appendix II

The territorial coverage of Gumma kingdom altered from time to time, due to the expansions made by different warrior kings. According to the maps presented in the works of foreigners and local researchers, the kingdom of Gumma was bordered by Limmu Ennarya and Wallagga in the northeastern side, the kingdom of Gomma in the eastern, the kingdom of Gera in the southeastern, Kaffa in the South and Illu Abbaa Booraa in north and northwestern.⁴

Fig.3.The map of Gumma Kingdon



Adopted from: Deressa Bayisa Historical survey of Guummaa Oromo..., p.16

Gumma is the home for different species which is related to the suitability of its climatic condition. Its climate ranges from highland through subtropical to semi-desert of which 80 % is categorized in sub-tropical zone. Thus, the existence of varied climatic condition has made it conducive for various products. The ups and downs, chain of hills and valleys around

⁴ Deressa Bayisa, "A Historical Survey of Guumaa Oromo State" (Jimma University, MA these, 2016), p.23; "Seenaa Aanaa Dhidheessaa 2004, p, 4; "Ambaalee Seenaa Aanaa Guumaay", 2003, P, 8 "Ambaalee Seenaa Sigmoo" 2003 Unpublished Materials available at Dambii, Gattiraa and Sigmoo Districts Culture and Tourism Bureaus respectively

the town of Toba and Dambii are so impressive.⁵ Regarding Sigmoo district, most of its areas are plain fields and dense forest. The district of Saxxammaa has some hills and plain field's .The forest around Galigawoo (Futê) is the largest .According to Beke, the altitude of Gumma ranges from 7000 to 8000 feet. According to some, local sources that found in Toobaa\Gummaay district the altitude of Gumma area ranges from 450 to 2280 meters above sea level. Hills and mountains are the sources of several tributary rivers that join the major rivers of the region, Dhidheessaa and Gabba. Both rivers are originating from the southern part of Gumma.⁶

1.2 Demography and Population Background

According to Huntingford, the population of Gummaa was estimated to be about 50,000 by 1880s.⁷ the vast majority of the population of Gummaa belongs to the Oromo while the rest are mainly the remnants of the pre-Oromo inhabitants of the region. Beginning from the nineteenth century, the Busaasee, Kāfā, some Amhara, few Tigray, Gurage and members of other peoples in Ethiopia have migrated to Gummaa with the boom of coffee production.⁸

Moreover, according to oral informants during the reign of Emperor Haile selassie, there were few Sudanese, Italians and a large number of Arabs from Yemen who had settled in Gummaa. The area east of Tulluu Argaa was the then quarter for Arab Yemen merchants, locally known as *Arāboch Tārā*. Many of these foreigners were engaged in a number of business activities in Gumaay\ Toobaa and Dambii Dhidheessa. More than 150 Arabs ware Yemenites had Settled in Toba and Dambii during the reign of Haile selassie, many of the Arabs merchants engaged in wholesale trade.⁹

⁵ *Seenaa Aanaa Dhidheessaa, 2004*': Ambaalee Seenaa Sigmoo.'2003 Unpublished Materials available at Dambii, Gumaay/Toobaa, Gatteraa and Sigmoo Districrs Culture and Tourism Bureaus see also the works of Deressa Bayisa,'A Historical Survey of Guuma Oromo State'' (Jimma University, MA These in History,2013), p.23.

⁶ Charles .T.Bake, ''On the Countries South of Abyssinia'' *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, VoL.XIII.1843, p.225 cited in Deressa Bayisa''A Historical Survey of Gumma OromoState''(Jimma University,MA These in History,2013) p. 23.

⁷ G.W.B.Huntingford, *The [Oromo] of Ethiopia: The Kingdom of Kaffa and Lanjero: Ethnographic S urvey of Africa*. (London: International African Institute.1955), p. 15

⁸Informants: Kaasa, Qaasima, Alem, Yaasin, Taajuu, Taayee

⁹ Informants: Mulu Shawa, Asefa, Alem Bekele, and Sayed Kolefe

Among a few Italians a man whose name was Merchello is remembered among informants of Gummaa as a foreigner who devoted part of his life time in planting coffee. An Italian Merchello in 1960s planted several *gāshā of* coffee at a place called Wadalo. His coffee land later came to be owned by Abdiisa, an Oromo who came to Gummaa from Arjoo. Merchello was also one of the owners of coffee washing machine in Gummaa.¹⁰

The foreigners who settled in Gummaa not only participated in trading activities, but their role in teaching and spreading Islam was immense. For instance, Hajii Naasir, one of the settlers from Saudi Arabia served in Gummaa mosque as *ulāmā* for a long period of time. They also founded a number of mosques in different parts of the kingdom for example *Qūbā Shékōtā*, which is very well-known among the *Sūfi*, and was founded by the Arabs financial backup.¹¹

The written information we have on the Gumma Oromo groups is very limited, only their names are recorded in the tradition. Perhaps the amalgamation of different alien groups rendered the society to be extremely heterogeneous. However, based on oral tradition the study try to record dominant clans in the kingdom as indicated below.

Adamii

In the history of Gummaa Adamii (Adam) was the clan as well as dynastic name which was derived from a person known as Admii. According to Gummaa oral tradition, he was a hunter who lived in the forest of Ebbicha Tola, the wooden region between the kingdom of Gummaa and their formidable neighbor Nonno.¹² The Adamii (Adam) of Gumma were subdivided into four clans when Adamii became the main clan. These are Adamii Abba Diima, Adamii Abba Reebuu, Adāmii Abba Booka and Adamii Abba Boraddo.¹³

Waata

Among the groups mentioned by oral traditions concerning the Gummaa Oromo clans, the Waata were the most isolated groups. It is claimed that other clans were prohibited to enter

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² Enrico, Cerulli, ‘‘The Folk –Literature of the [Oromo] of Southern Abyssinia,’’ (Harvard *African Studies*.VoL.III. Cambridge.1922.p), 286

¹³ Informants: Jihaad Abbabor, Taajuu Abba Delbe, Adam Badii

into marriage relation with them. Kulani states that the Waata of Gumma used to eat things which were considered taboo among other Gumma Oromo. The Waata clans are also considered inferior as they are occupational groups of hunters, artisan and ritual specialists.¹⁴

Deressa in his thesis did not mention the name Watta, he simply call them the “*ogeessa*” (artisan groups).¹⁵ Traditionally the Waata of Gumma were grouped into seven lineage.¹⁶ They are, Waata Gōqēmmānō, Waata Oddo, Waata Beddo, Waata Waramanno, Waata Abbayii, Waata Addāwwa and Waata Qoree.¹⁷ According to, the accounts from Cerulli, the Waata groups existed in different parts of the region. However, when we came to the study area, the statistics of the Waata group’s yet varies from place to place; they are being large in Gumma, less significant in Limmu and Jimmaa Abba Jifaar.¹⁸

Pertaining to their religion, it seems that the majority of them were Muslims. In this regard Cerulli claimed,

*The watta have many customs common to the Muslim; they use some Arabic praises e.g. Alham Dulillah, “praise be to God!” but they have no knowledge of the Koran, and they are not reckoned as members of the same religion by either Muslims and Christians... however, the basis of their religion is clearly Muslim.*¹⁹

Badii

Badii is other Gumma Oromo clan that has been sub-divided in to seven balbala in Gumma 1, Badii Gura 2, Badii Chira 3, Badii Gimina 4, Badii Arerra 5, Badii Siibaa 6, Badii Gumbri and 7. Badii Señtäyō. The first three clans are the majority and they are very common among the Gibe Oromo.²⁰

Daaggooyyee

According to Mohammed and other scholars, Oncho (1810-1830s) ,the son of Jilcha, unified the kingdom of Gumma. Before this unification Gumma was divided in two regions, the

¹⁴ Kulani Guddinaa, *Jireenya Intala Oromo Gabrummaan gurgramtee: Pauline Johanne Fathem*, (Frankfurt, 2010), pp.62-63

¹⁵ Deressa Bayisa , p.15

¹⁶ Informants: Nazef, Jihaad.Jamaal, Naasir Abba Fiixaa

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ Enrico. Cerulli, p.342

¹⁹ *Ibid*

²⁰ *Ibid*

Daaggooyee region and the area around Cirra. The region of Dägoyëë ruled by a certain man called Saarboraaddoo (1809) but Cirra was ruled by Jilchä.²¹ From this we may discern that, the name Dagoye is the name of a locality as well as the name of an Oromo clan which lived around Cirra, later the capital of the kingdom of Guma.²² The Daaggooyee's are best known in the kingdom of Gumma for farming their lands. Most of the kings of Guma were from the Dagoyee clan. It consists of four main lineages, Ramsso, Baabbo, Masa and Mämō.²³

Eenoo

The Eenoo families inherited Islamic cultures and continued the legacies of Shekota Guumaa. The kalifa of Shekota Guumaa were often from this clan. The Eenoo groups in Gumma are settled in the highland areas. Geemba and Qawwee are the two lineage of Eenoo of Gumma Oromo state.²⁴

Sadaachaa

Historical sources stated that the Maccaa confederacy had comprised of the Arfe and Sadacha, it was the former which took the initiative during the separation of Maccaa and Tuulamaa from their common Caffee at odaa Nabee. The Arfe confederacy or union of the four was consisting of H o k e , Challiyaa, Guduru, and Liban groups. It was these four groups of *Afre* who had established the new *caffee* at odaa Bisili during the Robalee Gadaa (1570-1578).²⁵ The establishment of the new *caffee* has brought significant change to the Tuulama –Maccaa

Interactions as it made Mccaaa's travel to the old *cafee* less important. The sadaacha Oromo groups also founded their new *caffee* at Odaa Bisili during the Birmäji, Gadaa (1578-1586). The sadaacha a branch which settled in the Gibe region at present consist more than eighty five minor clans after reaching the kingdom of Guumaa.²⁶ Almost most of the elders could

²¹ Mohammed Hassen, pp.24-25

²² Enrico, Cerulli. pp.342-346

²³ Informants: Jihaad, Kediir, Ahimed, Yaasiin, and Shaafii

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ Mohammed Hassen, pp.24-25

²⁶ *Ibid*

narrate the sadaacha *balbala*. The following are some of the doors of sadaacha of Guumaa Oromo. Abbulluu, Abeebee, Gutaa, Roobba, kiramuu, Balawwii, Dooyyoo, Morawa, Dhaayee, Baabuu, Daarimu, Igguu, Olee, Qiiqqirii, Dorra'oo, Marawwaa, Dinuu, Gutala ,Balawwii...²⁷

Bussaasee

The Bussaasee were originally one of the non-Oromo groups. However, they came to be highly intermingled with the Oromo nations. They trace their origin back to the Kaffichoo, one of the Omotic language speaking ethno-linguistic groups in the southwestern part of the Ethiopian region. Deressa in his thesis stated that “The Oromo of Guumaa kingdom is highly in-remixed with the people who those lived in the area before the coming of Guuma Oromo through adoption, and assimilation”.²⁸ Most probably the Bussaasee were among the peoples who lived in the kingdom of Guumaa before the Oromo settlement. Supporting the idea of Deressa Bayisa, Dersaa Debu in his enlightening thesis indicates that in their sudden conquest of the non-Oromo the Oromo were forced to make considerable socio-political concessions to their clients (*gäbärō*). They adopted many of the defeated people as members of their own clan with all the rights to share equally in the benefit of any triumph. The Oromo easily personalized to the new environment and coalesced with the indigenous people by imparting their language. The Oromo genius for assimilation quickly claimed any non-Oromo. This was made possible by the fact that the Oromo were well-equipped with flexible qualities which made the adjustment of their culture to new conditions easy.²⁹ The Bussaasee in Gumma were fundamentally intermingled with the Oromo and adopted Islamic culture. Today it is very difficult to distinguish some of the Bussaasee from the Oromo since they speak the same language, Afaan Oromo and profess the same religion, Islam. After Oromo had become well-established and organized themselves in Gumma especially in the 1850s and 1860s many groups of people migrated to Gumma crossing the permanent natural frontiers. One of the peoples who crossed Gojjam and moved continuously at different times into the study areas were the Omotic Daawaroo. They attracted each other and increased their number. Nevertheless, through time they were also integrated and mixed with Gumma Oromo. They were highly Oromized

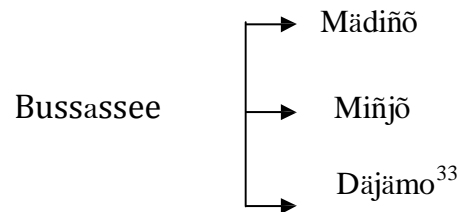
²⁷ Informants: Jihaad Abba boor, Adam Badi, Taajuu Abba Delebe, Kamaal and Siraaj

²⁸ Deressa Bayisa, p.51 and Informants: Tajuu, Tayye, Abba Duura Abba Boora

²⁹ Deressa Debu, p.27

and Islamized. According to my oral informants of Gumma after the conquest of Gumma by Menelik II, Amhärä, settlers were large in number. In the post-1941 period, there was also the movements of people from central Ethiopia to the study area as administrators’ .The majority of these transplanted people were also integrated into the Oromo except for the minority settler’s .Especially since the officials were mostly youngmales; they were forced to marry from the indigenous people.³⁰

The Bussaasee are not only known among the Guuma Oromo but Negaso also indicates that, “The Bussaasee are perhaps the most important non-Oromo people in the history of the Sayyoo”.³¹In different regions of Guuma many water holes, especially the mineral waters or the *hora* is named as, Hora Bussaasee or Laga Bussaasee which had been used by the Bussaasee later destroyed when the Oromo of Guuma started settle in the area. ³²The Bussaasee of Guuma was sub-divided in to three.



Galaan of the Guuma Oromo kingdom were sub-divided in to eight main *balbala* (lineage). Galaan Wachoo, Galaan Daamee, Galaan Cure, Galaan Biyyuu, Galaan Buukkoo, Galaan Biloo, Galaan Karayyuu and Galaan Tifii. Waachoo one of the sub-division of the Galaan has three branches. Waacho Lootee, waacho Bunayya and wacho Dagaa, Dagaa is also a sub-branch of Abbukaakkoo; Karrayyu is also categorized under Abbukaakkoo.³⁴ According to the Guuma elders Karrayyu of Guuma has eight sub-divisions, waddo,

³⁰ Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Jamaal, Abba Tammam Abba Taye and Qasima

³¹ Negassoo Gidaada, *History of the Sayyo Oromo of South Western Wallaga, Ethiopia, From about 1730-1888*,(Frankurt, 1984), p.79

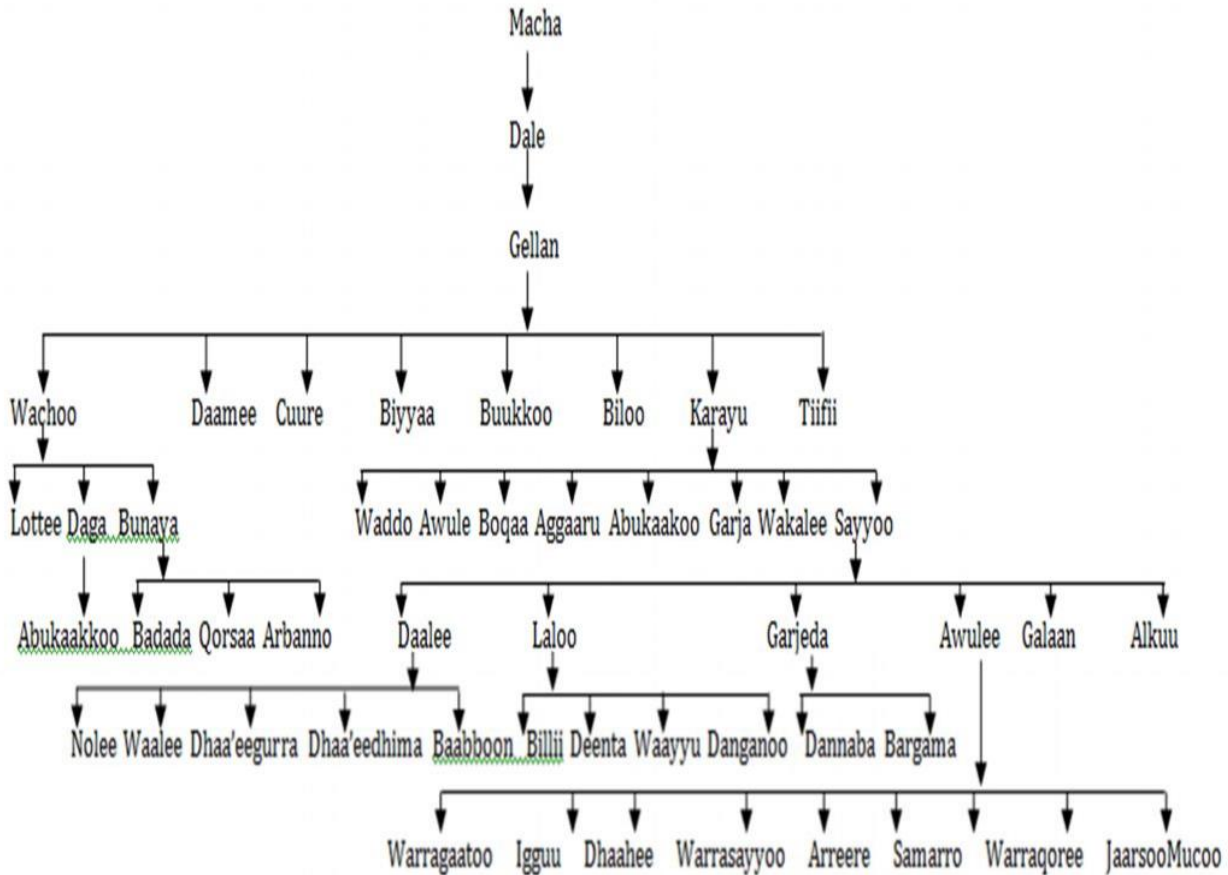
³² Informants: Kamaal Abba Waarii, She Shamesu Bore, Shek Hussen Ali and Mohammed Abba Maacca

³³ Informants: Abduahab, Abdulsalam, Keder Sayed and see also Ibsa Huresa ‘‘ A History of GeeraaOromo (Jimma Zone), Southwest Ethiopia 91830s-1974’’ (.MA Thesis in History, Jimma University,2015), pp.28, 34.

³⁴ *Ibid*

Awullee, Baga, Aggaaru, Abukaako, Gajara, Wakalee and Sayyoo.³⁵

Gelaan of Gumma Oromo State



(Source; *Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau History of the Oromo...*, pp.156-159 and Oral informants: Ahmed Yasen, Shaik Kader and Faris)

Negade

The market of Guuma was the place where merchants from the north had probably lived since the beginning of the 19th century. Gradually the merchants were integrated into the Guuma clans. The Guuma Oromo who intermixed with the merchants or the *Negades* are

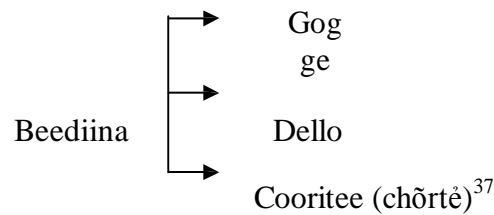
³⁵ *Ibid*

known as *Sanyii Negade* (the merchant's clans). According to oral sources Saanyii Negade has more than 20 (twenty) *balbalaas* (doors) in the kingdom of Gumma. The most important *Negades* of Guuma were, *Tigrii, Ifaati, wasilii, Aragobba, Shariifii, Abjarii...* Perhaps these names are either associated with the place from where the merchants came or with the items of the trade they traded.³⁶

In short we do not have any information when and how the Galaan Oromo settled in Gumma .In addition to this, its relation with that of the Galaan of Shawa needs farther study.

Beedina

The Beedina of Guuma Oromo's are predominantly settled in the highland areas of Guuma kingdom. The Beediina were sub-divide in to three main doors Leanage.

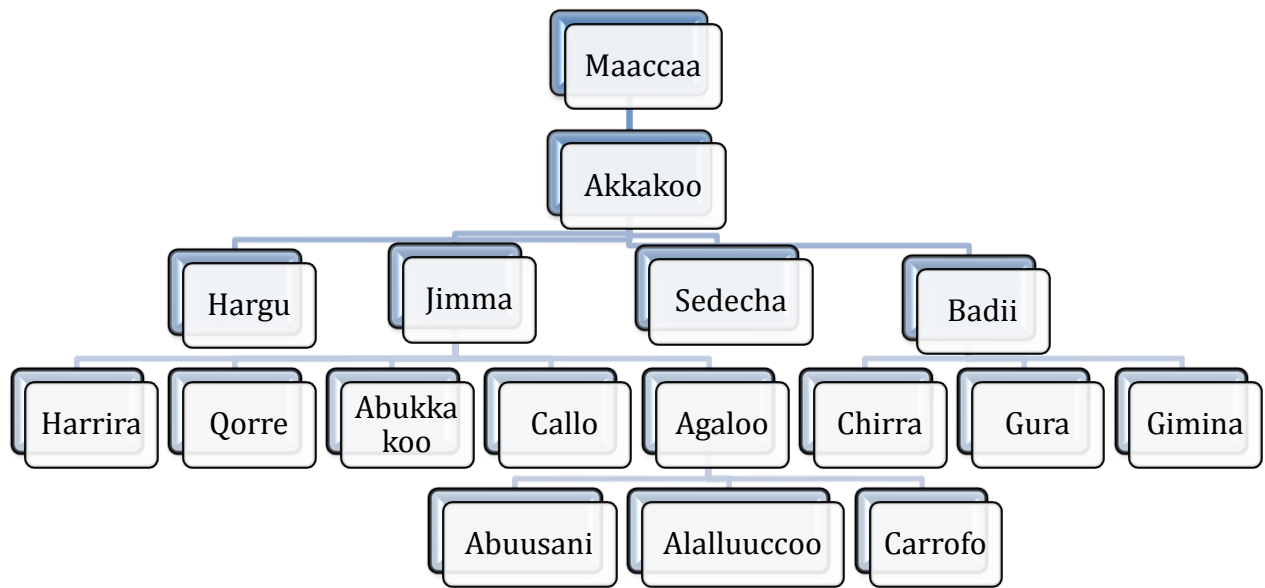


In addition to the clans and sub-clans we have seen above oral informants of Guuma Oromo tell as other inhabitants in Guuma kingdom as follows.

³⁶ Aman Seifedn, ''Islam and the Muslim Community of Gomma: A Historical Survey (1886-1974)'' . (MA Thesis, AAU, in History, 2006), pp.28, 34

³⁷ Informants: Jihaad Abba Boor, Adm Badi, and Yasen

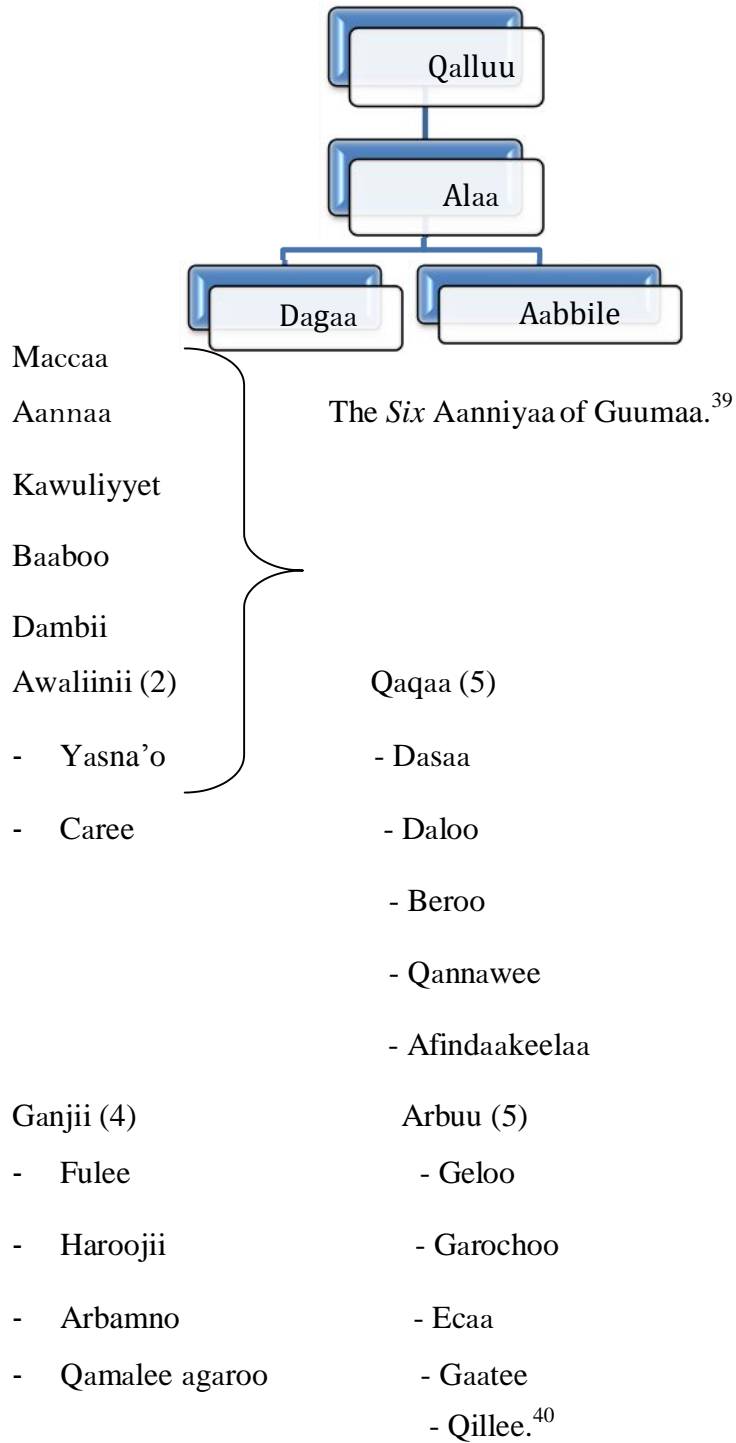
Akkakoo of Guuma Oromo State



Dhummuugaa
Moro wlu'aa
Qaalluu
Karraayyuuh
umbanna

The Shanaan
Barentu of Guuma and Sadaan Qaalluu.³⁸

³⁸ Informants: Naazif, Ibsaa, Yaasin and Faris



³⁹ *Ibid*

⁴⁰ *Seenaa Aanaa Guumaay*: A Manuscript found at the Culture and Tourism Office of

The other major occupational groups in the nineteenth century Gumma were the artisans and crafts men collectively known as *Oggesa* (skilled one). Some of the *Oggesa* were *dhofu* (weavers), *tumtu* (blacksmiths), *dugdus* (tanners), *fūgā* (potters) *gagurtu* (beehivemakers and beekeepers). These *Oggesa* belong to low social castes known as *hir'u* (those shared out). The smith made spears, sickle, axes, horse trapping, knives and the like. Tanners produced leather cloths, as shields and whips out of Buffalo hides. Leather used for the production locally made pillow, served for bed. The beehives made a honey barrels, a cylindrical object made of bark, bamboo or reeds, and hung in trees. The potters made basins, dishes, water-jars, pot, and etc.⁴¹ the social status of the craftsmen and artisans was characterized by Mohammed Hassen as follows:

*All artisans and craftsmen belonged to a low social caste known as hir'u (those shared-out)...Secondly the artisans and crafts men did not have qabiye right, the right to communal ownership of land ...third the artisans and craftsmen were feared and stigmatized because they were thought to possess fantastic supernatural powers which enable them to harm others...The industry of the Gibe region depended on the skill and labor of the very people who were feared and stigmatized by the majority. This attitude has negative consequences. It did not allow the majority of the people to aspire to the acquisition of craft skill.*⁴²

The kingdom of Gumma came into being by Ca.1810 as a state and was incorporated into the Ethiopian Empire in 1880s. Within this period seven kings were ruled Guuma successively. Like other Oromo monarchies succession to the throne was hereditary and the kings were from three Guuma Oromo dynasty, Adamii, Daaggoyee and Badii.⁴³

Adamii (Ca.1770)

Adamii was the founder of early dynasty of Gumma. He came to the area around 1770s however, the origin of this man is contested among scholars. Some of the scholars assert he came from Tigre, others states that he came to the area from the southern part particularly

Guumay/Toobbaa.2003, p.5

⁴¹ Informants: Jihad Abba Bor, Qasimma, Jamaal and Fariso

⁴² Mohammed, pp.131-32.

⁴³ *seenaa Aanaa Guumaay*, A Manuscript found at the culture and Tourism office of Guumaay, 2003, p.5, Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia...* p.108

from Gurage.⁴⁴

Written documents and oral sources of Gumma assert that Adamii was lived in the forest by distancing himself from people of the area for a long period of time. He was also considered as a big man, who ate meat and drank the Elephant's milk by hunting in the forest.⁴⁵ Adamii was tamed by the daughter of Sárþóráddõ, when she collected woods she saw a big man in the forest of *Ebicha Tola* and reported to her mother, again on the other occasion she saw the same man and she tried to approach him on the third occasion. She brought him meat and, he took the meat but he did not speak to the girl.⁴⁶ According to oral sources, he lived in the cave for long period isolating himself from the people. According to Jihaad Abba Boor "he was a man who could not speak". In the kingdom of Gumma still there is a cave which is named after him as *Hooliqaa Adami* to mean the cave of Adami. On the other occasion the girl entered into the cave with Adämi, beginning from this time the isolation of Adamii came to an end. In the cave they made sexual intercourse and the girl did not return to her family fearing they would punish her for her misdeed. Adamii after having sex with the girl he could not performed hutting as before, he became powerless even he could not able to close and open the door of his cave. The gauds of Daaggoyyee (the families of the daughter) come then after they entered to the cave and took Adamii by surprise, and brought him into the house of Saarboraddoo the ruler of Daggoyyee region and brought him into the house; they led him to the king of the Daggoyyee and handed him over to him.

Since the king of Daggoyyee gave him a house, Adamii took the girl, made her his wife and entered that house. When his wife was pregnant, he bought for himself a lance fourteen cubits long. The story goes on to say that Saabarooddo and his "son" in law quarreled and in the battle that followed the "father" in-law was killed by Adamii. When Saabarooddo died, Adamii took the gold ring from the finger of Saabarooddo. Later on Adamii made himself the king of Daggoyyee.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 128, Cerulli, p.166.

⁴⁵ Informants: Jihaad, Naazif, Abbamagale, Ahimed, Taajuu, Nasir Abba Fiixaa and Yasen

⁴⁶ *Ibid*

⁴⁷ Enrico. Cerulle, pp.285-289, Mohammed, p.108 and Informants: Jihaad Abba Boor, Taajuu, Kamaal and Adam.

Oncho Jilcha (1810-1830)

Oncho has a record of notorious and nostalgic history in the Gibe region; he was one of the most repressive rulers of the Kingdom of Gumma. Mohammed states the situation of Gumma during his period as follows:

Without doubt Oncho was a brave warrior who possessed a daring spirit which ignored danger and delighted in war, a leader with a vigorous mind and agile body. He infused his own intrepid spirit in to his followers, And yet, his military accomplishments were stained by a licentious indulgence in acts of violence with little regard even for his own people ... Oncho is depicted as a monstrous tyrant, a cruel king who killed or enslaved people for minor offenses... The inhabitants of Gumma were more than those of any other country doomed to slavery, as their sovereign, who has a character of extreme severity, is in the habit of selling whole families for offences –some times of the most trifling nature-committed...⁴⁸

Oncho, the son of Jilchä, was much known in fighting with neighboring states of Jimma, Gera and Gomma, as far as Nonno. Oncho Jilcha was brutally killed the king of Gera, Tullu Gunji, having a side in the struggle between Tullu Gunji and Abba Baso who was his grandson and helped Abba Baso to come to the throne of Gera. Later Abba Baso of Gera disposed from power by his brother and exiled to Jimma kingdom.⁴⁹

Jawe Oncho (1841-1879)

Jawe Oncho was the third king in the Gibe state to be converted to Islam by the efforts of merchants who came from Shawa and Därita Märiyäm in the years around 1850s and 1860s. Jawe Oncho was the king who later imposed the faith upon his people. Jawe Oncho married more than twenty seven women. He was known in the Gibe region as the warrior king, who declared a war of conquest against Jimma kingdom; however, he did not succeed.⁵⁰

Abba Dula (1854-1879)

Abba Duulaa of Guuma made Islam a state religion and tremendously invited the number of Islamic preachers in to his kingdom. Abba Duulaa was also a king who welcomed Islamic scholars from different parties of Africa particularly from East Africa. He was able to establish

⁴⁸ Mohammed, p.128

⁴⁹ Ibsa Hurisa, pp.24-25

⁵⁰ Trmingham, S.J. *Islam in Ethiopia*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1952), p.242

Eshetu Erana, *The History of Oromo from the Ancient to the end of 1890s*, (Addis Ababa, 2009), p.205

the *Qädiriyä* scholars in his kingdom.⁵¹ According to oral informants; it was during Abba Duulaa's period in which the first mosque was founded in the kingdom of Guuma.

Abba Duulaa of Guuma was the first Gibe oromo monarch who declared jihad against non-Muslim state of Gera.⁵²

Abba Joobir (1879-1882)

Fig.2. Modern portrait of Abba Jobir of Gumma



Abba Joobir was the king of Guuma who came to the throne after the death of his father Abba Duula. The reign of Abba Joobir saw the decline or the disintegration of Guuma kingdom as a result of the invasion of the Kingdom of Shawa. He was a king of Gumma who fought a bloody battle at Baakee Gaanjii and lost his life with his heir brother in 1882.⁵³ The resistance of Abba Joobir and his people against the territorial expansion of Ménélik was very unique in

⁵¹ Trmingham, S.J. *Islam in Ethiopia*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1952), p.242

Eshetu Erana, *The History of Oromo from the Ancient to the end of 1890s*, (Addis Ababa, 2009), p.205

⁵² Informants: Haji Abdule Salam, Yaasiin Abba Bulguu and Kamaal.

⁵³ "seenaa Shekota Gumma": A Manuscript found at the Culture and Tourism Office of Gummay/Toobbaa.2003,p.7

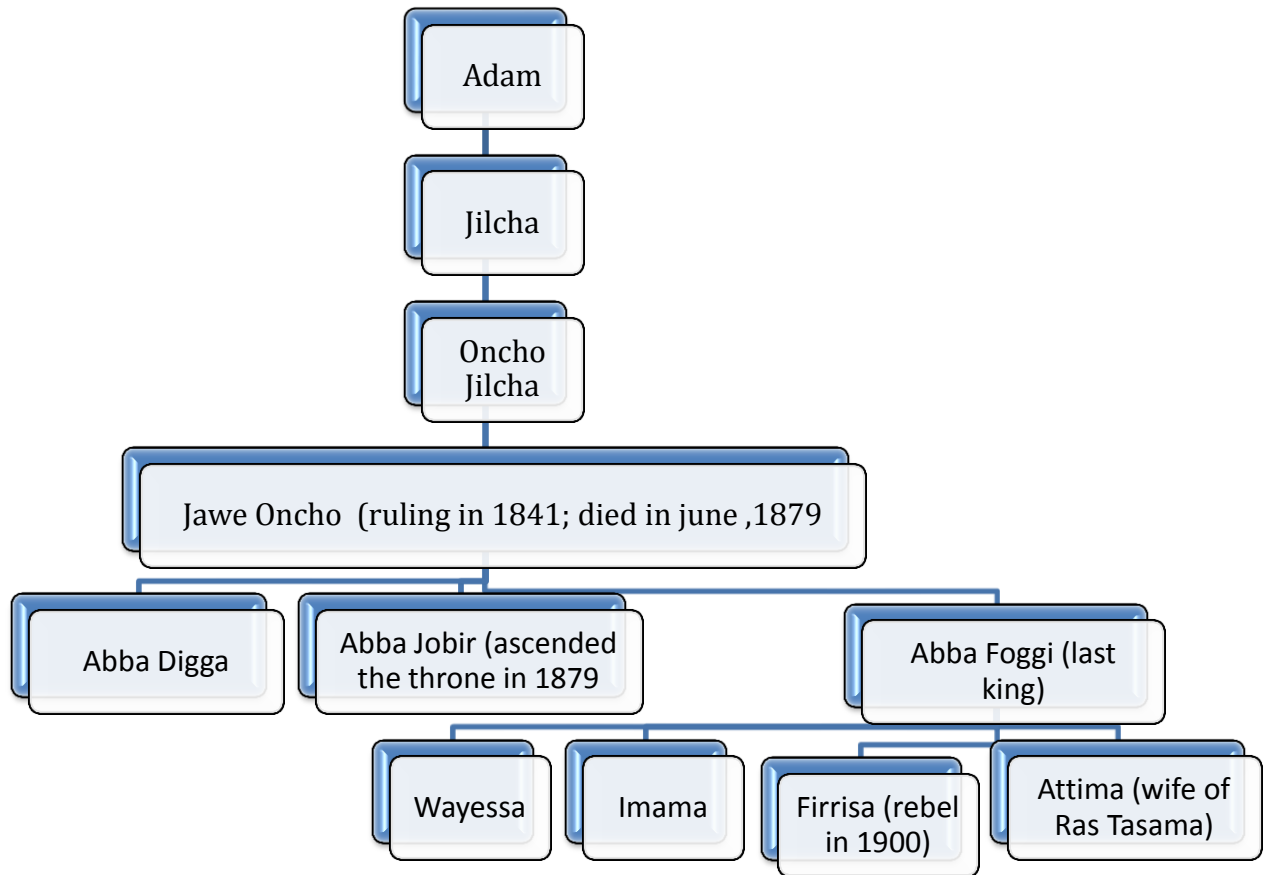
the Gibe region. After the conquest of the kingdom by the Christian Amhärä, the kingdom remained a centre of Moslem fanaticism .The small kingdom of Gumma was conquered in 1885 and turned immediately into a hot bed of rebellion against the Abyssinia rule, Ras Tasamma Nadew appointed governor over Gumma and the adjacent territory of Illu Abbabor from 1889 to 1907. Following the conquest a prosperous kingdom of Gumma was reduced to a district within the province of Illu Abbabora and the people were turned into *gäbbärs*. One of the consequences of Oromo resistance in the Gumma was the confiscation of land. In Illu Abbabor ,one of the twelve provinces of the Ethiopian empire,75 percent of the land was owned by the descendants of the *näftäñya*, the Shawan soldiers, administrators, clergymen and settlers who came to the region in the 1880s or afterwards. Following the conquest, rebellion broke out in Gumma. Large number of Shäwän settles army suppressed the local resistance in different ways. As Timothy mentions, not only in Gumma but also in the other Gibe states where hierarchical states had existed, before the early twentieth century, Ethiopian administration redefined aspects of a feudal social order and tempered feudal production.⁵⁴ Similarly Richard Caulk claims,

*Peasant were still assigned to the government tithe to individual soldiers or Specific group of soldier and to them they also had to provide certain regular supplies and services, for instance, the material for a house and the labor to build it ...the gult holder also enjoyed right to payments in kind and to personal services...*⁵⁵

In order to undermine the local rebellious group systematically, the Shawans appointed the native of Gumma, Abba Jober as governor of Gumma. Accordingly Abba Joobir was assigned as *bäläbät* of Gumma from 1910s-1920s.The position of local *bäläbät* and Abba *qōrōs* were different from the former one but equivalent to the dominant northern *mälkäññas*. According to local informants, their main task was serving as local agents who organized civil and fiscal administration. After 1888s final conquest, the natives of Gumma greatly suffered and became victims of conquest. The local people of Gumma because of their resistance against conquest, the soldiers aided by modern European weapon suppressed and undermined the local resistance.Cerulli based on the reliable sources tried to summing up the descendants of the kings of Guuma as follows:

⁵⁴ D.Timothy, Fernyhough, *Serfs, Slaves and Shifra: Modes of Production, Resistance in Pre Revolutionary Ethiopia*,(Addis Ababa, 2010), p.53.

⁵⁵ Caulk, C. A.’’ Armies as Predators: Solders and Peasants in Ethiopia c.1850-1935’’, *International journal of Aftican Historical Studies*, Vol.No 3, pp.468-469



Cerulli, The Folk Literatur of [Oromo] of Southern Abyssinia, (Harvard African Studies, Vol.III.Cambidge, 1922), p.297

In addition to the seven kings of Gumma two queens *Gannee Gummite* and *Gannee Fa*, born in Gumma and well-known out of Gumma, in Jimma and Gera These two queens are mentioned by many scholars in different literature. According to oral and written sources report Ganne Gummite and Ganne Fa became the strongest and influential women's in the Gibe region. As their name indicates, they are from the kingdom of Gumma. Both of them are also from the Daaggooyee clan. However, Lewis states the origin of *Genne Gummite* was from the Būsāsē clan who married to Abba Gomal. Ganne Fä or *Artitti* was renowned for her imprisoning of the two Italian travelers *Antonio Cecchi* and *Chiarini*, when they entered her kingdom. Ganne Gūmmitti convinced her husband to make her son the heir and advice Abba Jifaar for

peaceful submission to the Shawan forces.⁵⁶ According to oral informants of Gumma when *Ganne* Gummitti married Abba Gomal her *Tirmaa* (gift) from the people of Gumma were collected for more than three months and it took six months to reach the palace of the king. *Tirmää* in the kingdom of Gumma is collected both in cash and in kind.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Huntingford, *The [Oromo] of Ethiopia: The Kingdom of Kaffa...*, p.56

⁵⁷ Informants: Taajuu Abba Dellebi, Jihad AbbaBore and Adam Kamal

CHAPTER TWO

2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF GUMMA OROMO TRADITIONAL RELIGION (WAAQQEEFFANNA)

Nowadays, the majority of the Oromo are predominantly followers of Islam and Christianity being has also retained their traditional beliefs such as belief in the Supreme Being which they refer to as waaqa. The Oromo traditional religion is not dependent something, this means the Oromo in their traditional belief never worshiped curved statues, trees, mountains or animals as substitute, they only believed in one supreme God (waaqa).⁵⁸ The Oromo traditional religion, waaqqaaffanna is an indigenous Oromo religion; they have been practicing it since time immemorial. It is centered on belief in one God, which the Oromo refer to as Waaqa.⁵⁹ For the Oromo, Waaqa is the ultimate creator of the universe, with its living and non-living inhabitants, including humans, animals, trees, mountains, rivers and everything else that exists in the world. The concept that waaqa is the ultimate creator is not only limited to the Gumma Oromo, it seems to be a general belief among all the Oromo. Bartels states that Waaqa is regarded as the source of all forms of life and only he has the power to endow life.⁶⁰ This is what the Oromo refer to as *uumaa* which means to create. The Oromo say ‘‘*waaqa is the one above us.*’’ The Oromo believe that all forms of life belong to waaqa and man has no right to destroy what waaqa has created. As to the animals they kill and the plants they cut as food items, the Oromo explain that waaqa allows these for them’’⁶¹

Before the Oromo people were converted either to Christianity and Islam they believed in one God whose colour is black ‘‘waaqa guraacha’’ to mean the black God. Because of this the Oromo nation recognizes the supremacy of the black over all other thing.⁶² The Arabic word *Räbii* is also used by Muslim Oromo and others to refer to their supreme being in Gumma traditional Oromo belief, the concept of waaqa could be used to refer to the expanse of the sky as seen from the earth, a supreme being and also could be understood to mean the heaven,

⁵⁸ Victor Tuner. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, (Corell University, 1991), p.91

⁵⁹ Robalee Taaddasaa, *Sirna Gadaa Oromo*, (Finfinnee, 2015), pp.18-19

⁶⁰ Bartels, p.91

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp.91-92

⁶² *Barruulee Waaqeffanna*, Jildii, II lkb, 1(Finfinnee, 2001), p.25

as abode of the supreme being.⁶³ Again without the knowledge of the Gädä system it is difficult to appreciate a religious history of the Oromo, because the Gädä system is the conglomeration of religion, economy and politics of the Oromo society. The Oromo of Gumma like other Gibe Oromo states had been practiced the Gadaa system. According to the manuscript which is entitled *Odaa Hellee sirna Gadaa Jimma*, after they lifted odaa Hulle the Oromo of today Jimma zone had been established their own Gadaa center and they had also practiced the Gadaa system at odaa Hulle for long period of time. The following list shows the well remembered Gadaa centers which existed in today's Jimma zone.

NO	Name of the center	Specific location
1	Odaa Hamdoo	Noonnoo Benja
2	Odaa Tujoo	Limmu Saqqa
3	Tumma Seeqaa	Gomma
4	Tumma Maayii	Geeraa
5	Tumma Goopa	Gumma
6	Caffee Doqee	Cooraa Botor
7	Tumma Odaa Diimaa	Omoo Naadaa
8	Odaa Baaqil ⁶⁴	Jimma town

In addition to, Tumma Goopa there were also other place in the kingdom of Gumma where they practiced the Gadaa system. Deressa Bayisa, who worked on the Oromo of Gumma points out that, the Oromo of Gumma practiced the Gadaa system at Tuullu Arga for the long period of time⁶⁵. The Gumma Oromo were also active participants of the *Irrecha* (thanks giving) ritual under the period of this study covered. This ritual involves the process of thanking wääqä at various physical bodies he created at a nearby water body closed to their common at Lake Arsädii in Bishoftu. There are two types of Irrecha: *Irrecha Malkaa*

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.107

⁶⁴ *Odaa Hulle, 'Sirna Gadaa Jimma'* (3H Printing, Press, Amaji, 2010), p.17

⁶⁵ Deressa Bayisa, p.35

(Irrecha by a River\water body) and *Irrecha Tulluu* (Irrecha on mountain).The Irrecha ceremony of the state of Gumma had been took place at *Malkaa yaacii*. The participants of Irrecha Malkaa Yaacii performed various rituals, such as immersing the green grass and the flowers they are carrying in the lake and sprinkling them sleeves as well as others around.⁶⁶ The Gumma Oromo were at first the followers of *waaqqeffanna* religion. *Waaqqeffanna* means worshipping God. Only a few scholars studied a religious history of the Oromo people conversely, what is interesting is that all of them confirmed that the Oromo traditional religion which is called *waaqqeffanna* is monotheism and it is also one of earliest African indigenous religions.Among the scholar who studied the Oromo traditional religion Maritial DeSalviac, Eric Knutsson, Lambert Bartes and Paul Baxter where as individuals like Gamachu Magarsa, Workineh Kelbesa and others local scholars.The first scholar who emphasized the need to study the Oromo traditional religion was Lambert Bartes; Lambert in his work genuinely explained the concept of *Ayyanna* (sprit) *uumma* (creator) and *saafuu* in the Oromo traditional religion.⁶⁷

A French citizen who lived among the Oromo for a long period of time, Martial De.Salviac, writes about the Oromo traditional religion as follows.⁶⁸

*The Oromo are not fetishist. They believe in [waaqa] tokkoo unique universal creator and master. They see [waaqa's] manifestation in the great forces of nature. Without mistaking them for him, The Oromo abbot idolatry-even more they have not raised any temple to him, nor to awulia, they repudiate all anthropomorphic representation of the divinity their temple that is the universe with the star-studded crèche; their altar, the surface of the earth, their sacrifices are always innocent, even the ones which we see to sanctify the cradle of humanity, that is to say the first fruits of the fields and the primes of the herd. They ask only of the giants the forest or of the most beautiful neighboring freefor their village to shade, with its luxuriant treas.*⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Informants: Adam Badi Abba Warti, Abba Gagaa, Abba Biya and Abba Magale

⁶⁷ Maritian Desalviac, *The Oromo :An Ancient People in the Great African Nation* (Trans)by Ayalew Kanno (Addis Abab):Oromia Culture and Tourism Buruea(2008),Lambert Bartles, *Oromo Religion, Myth and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia ,An Attempt to Understand*(Berlin:Dietrich Reimer Velag,1990),Paul Baxter P.T.W., *Becoming Oromo ;Historical and Anthropolgical Inquiries* (Upsal:Nordika African Stuitet,1996),Knutsson ,Kal Eric: *Authority and Chang:A Study of Kallu Institution among the Mecha [Oromo] of Ethiopia*,Gthenburg,1967,Gamachu Megersa ‘‘Knoledge Identity and the Colonizing Structere’’:*The Case of the Oromo in East and North east Africa*(1967)and Workneh Kelbessa, *Traditional Oromo Attitudes Towards Environment*,2007

⁶⁸ Bartles,pp.35-37

⁶⁹ Desaliviac, p.160

The term *waaqqeffanna* is derived from *waaqa*, concerning the origin of the term *waaqa*, Gamachu outlines that “*waaqa*, is omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient; hence *waaqqeffanna* is a primal Oromo religion that the earliest Oromo inherited from *waaqa*,’’.⁷⁰ In Afaan Oromo (Oromo language) the term *waaqa* has two different meanings, its first meaning is to call the sky which stands without pillar and its second meaning is to call the creator of everything’s on the earth.⁷¹ Workineh in his work explain *waaqa* as follow:

*Waaqa, is he who is before everything else Waaqa, is uumma ,a creator of everything on the world... waaqa is hunda beeka (omniscient) He has knowledge of everything; he is all wise all knowing, all seeing and all-hearing waaqa, is hundaatolaa (omnibenevolent) Waaqa, is kind ... Waaqa, is hunda denda’aa (omnipotent). Noting is impossible with waaqa; waaqa, is in tolerant of injustice, crime, sin and all false hoods.*⁷²

As it is cited in a number of literatures the southwestern Maccaa Oromo occupies sub-regional groupings, Wallagga, Illu Abba Bora, Jimma and particularly to West and south Shäwä. It is quite clear that members of each local group shared culture, language, religion, conterminous geography, interactions and more or less similar living conditions enabled them to establish the larger ethno-regional boundary. Hence, group remembers share a local historical memory and sense of bulginess to the common ancestral performance.⁷³ The Gumma Oromo are one of the sub – Maccaa Oromo groups that together constitute the southwestern Oromo of the region. The name Gumma refers to both the people and the land they inhabit in west of the Gibe region and upper Dhidheëssa River.⁷⁴ Similar to the Oromo of other region, the Oromo of Gumma have their own religion on which they built their world outlook and conceptualize creation. The first religion to emerge in the region under discussion as it did in other Oromo regions is the Oromo traditional religion. It is neither possible to give exact date of the beginning of this religion nor when It had been crumbled, due to a scarcity of written documents. What is very difficult for the researcher on a religious history of the kingdom of

⁷⁰ Gemachu Megaresa, ’’*Oromumma: Tradition and Consciousness and Identity*’’: (Larenceville: The Red Sea Press, 1996), p.34

⁷¹ Informants: Waasihun, Zewude Badhassa, Jihaad Abba Bor and Alemetu Guutaa

⁷² workineh Kalbessa, *Traditional Oromo Attitudes Towareds Environment*, (Addis AbAba: OSSRE, 2001), p. 92

⁷³ Girmaye G\Michael, ’’The Religiuos Setting in Jimma Zone (1880s-1974)’’, (Jimma Uninersity MA History, 2015), p.22 and Informants: Jihad Abba Bor, Abba Magale Abba Tammam

⁷⁴ Informants: Adam Badi, Tajuu, Kamaal and See also Dawiiti Gumaay, Amanuscript found at Gumaay\Toobba District

Gumma is that almost all documents written on the history of Gumma were silent to produce important information about the traditional religion of the area, "...the written information on the early history of Gumma, Gomma and Gera is taken sketchy for detailed description. It is extremely difficult to find details about the history of the first ...and the limited information available is confused and contradictory".⁷⁵

2.2 The Qaalluu Institution in Gumma Kingdom

Before their expansion, the Oromo had shared a common institution, such as the office of *Abba Gadaa*, *Qaalluu* and the *Bokku* particularly around the high lands of Bale and the Ganale River.⁷⁶

Qaalluu was a spiritual leader who was chief priest of the Oromo traditional religion possessed by the Ayana. He served as an intermediary between the *waaqa* and the Oromo people.⁷⁷ We do not know exactly the origin of *qaalluu*. Yet, scholars like Mohammed had been list different traditions. According to Mohammed there were three traditions for the origin of *qaalluu*. The first tradition affirmed that *qaalluu* fell from the sky, while the second traditions assert *qaalluu* was found with the first black Cow. And the third tradition indicates that qaalluu was the eldest son of the Oromo. Furthermore, Dirribi also describes the origin of *qaalluu* by stating, "Qäälluu waaqatu muude" which means *Qaalluu* was anointed by God.⁷⁸ The tradition which indicates qaalluu was the eldest son of *ilma* Oromo and *Qaalluu* was anointed by God appear plausible, where as the traditions about the fall of *Qaalluu* from the sky and it was found with the first black Cow see incomprehensible.

It said that after the Gumma *Qaallus* were deceased their spirit (*Qaalluus*) or *qaallumma* was inherited by their family or clans. Traditionally after the death of *Qaalluu*, a man who inherited the spirits from his predecessor arranged special ceremony at his residence in which all members of his clan took part. After they ate and drank the feast prepared for the ceremony they gave recognition to the new *Qaalluu*. At same time they also got his blessings.

⁷⁵ Mohammed, p.107

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.6

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p.127, Asmarom Legesse, *Oromo Democracy: An Indigenous African Political System* (Trento: The Red Sea Press, 2000), pp.XX, 32, Knutsson, p.65.

⁷⁸ Mohammed, pp.5-8, Dirribii, Damusee, *Seenaa Eenyummaa Oromoo* (.Finfinnee, 2015), p.28

The new Qaaluu *not* only inherited the spirits (*Qaallumma*) of the former *Qaaluu* but also he inherited all of his spiritual material. A *Qaaluu* of Gumma might have had more than one wife but only the first wife got the recognition from his followers. There was also a distinct hierarchy of prestige, between women who had born children and those who had remained childless women who gave birth to boys were much moreesteemed and honored than those who gave birth to girls.⁷⁹The major activities performed by the wife of a *Qaaluu* were preparing of the ritual food for the *Qaaluus* and well coming peoples who came the house of *Qaaluu* for different purposes.⁸⁰ *Qaaluu* was also called *Abba muuda* i.e. father of anointment; he got this name from the ceremony named *muuda*. In the ceremony the *Qaalluu* give his blessing and anointed the Gada officials who ruled the Oromo for eight years.

As a result *Qaaluu* was highly respected by the people and can exercise great influence in the economic, political and social life of the Oromo people also.⁸¹

A number of *Qaaluu* were existed in the kingdom of Gumma until recent times. Most of them are known in areas even outside the Gumma kingdom and some of them are only known by the local peoples. The most famous *Qaalluu* in the kingdom of Gumma were *Qaaluu Abba caffee* and *Qaaluu Malimo*, this two *Qaaluus* are very well in the neighboring parts of the kingdom for this reason other local *Qaaluu* visited them with their followers twice a year.⁸² Among the Gumma Oromo traditional religion followers *Qaaluu* was hereditary; every clan had its own *Qaaluus*. The *Qaalluu* of Gumma has the legitimate power to take the wives of his followers.⁸³

2.3 Major and Minor *Qaaluus* in the Kingdom of Gumma

One of the renowned *qaalluus* among the Gumma Oromo was *Qaaluu* Fidoo from Darmu. *Qaaluu* Fidoo sometimes collected tribute from his clan, oral informants explain about *Qaaluu* Fidoo as follows, “Fidoo galatakee natuu siif fidee qaraxxa kee” when we roughly translated it to English , *Qaaluu* Fidoo it is I who brought you tributes. Gifts are also given to *Qaaluu* form

⁷⁹ Nagaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyo Oromo of South West Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730-1886*. (Frankfurt, 1984), p.130

⁸⁰ Intormants: Jihaad Abba Bor, She Adam, Abba Warri Abba Biya and Yasiin Baderu

⁸¹ Mohammed, pp.6-8

⁸² Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, She Kamaal Abba Warri, She Kalefa AbbaTammam and Yasiin

⁸³ *Ibid*

his clan, the livelihood of *Qaaluus* in Gumma was based on the gifts he received from his followers; the *Qaaluus* of Gumma did not farm the land. Different types of gifts are given to *Qaaluus* by the name of *galchaa and kenna*.⁸⁴ Deressa Bayis, in his Theses listed some major *Qaaluus* which were be in the kingdom of Gumma as follows:

<i>Qaaaluu</i> Abba Bushan	From the [wasiilee] clan
<i>Qaaluu</i> Boddosoo	from Ganjii clan
<i>Qaaluu</i> Aseelloo	from Busaasee clan (had Kaffa descendent)
<i>Qaaluu</i> Maallimoo	Out of the Gumma kingdom
<i>Qaaluu</i> Abbaa Jifar	from Busaasee clan
<i>Qaaluu</i> Mixaar	from Wasiilii clan
<i>Qaaluu</i> Fido ⁸⁵	much more known in Dareemu

The Oromo of Gumma took the new born babies to the house of *qaaluu* to get his blessing. The tradition of taking children to the house of *Qaaluu* is known as *ulmma ba'u*, during this time all the children were blessed by the *Qaaluu* turn by turn and also get new names. Before the *Qaaluu* of Gumma gave new names to them he asked in which day he/she was born. Accordingly, for instance those who were born on Sunday, Saturday, Friday and Wednesday were named *Sanbato, Janso, Jimato* and *Arbi* respectively, however, after the introduction of Islam to the area these names replaced by Islamic/Arabic names like *Mohammed, Shafe...and so*.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the taking of the newly born children to the house of *qaaluus* in the kingdom of Gumma was also known as *amacha'iisaa*. During this time *galchaa* and *wareeggii* (gift and vow) were given to the *Qaaluu* both by the family and the children those are taken to his home.

According to Lewis the process of naming was carried during what is known as *Küdhä afrään* (which meant every fortnight), to borrow his words, "...küd'är fan generally occurs every two weeks and lasts for several days. On these occasions people gather to speak to the spirits to name their children to Cary on litigation and resolve disputes to meet others and sing and

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, see also the works of Deressa Bayis, p.71

⁸⁵ *Ibid* and Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Jamaal, Fared and Yasiin Abba Warii

⁸⁶ Kulani Gudena, pp.71and Informants: Jemal Abba Simal, AWOL, Zakir, Abba Nagaa Abba Biyaa

dance”.⁸⁷

The Gumma Oromo also took their cattle to *hora i.e., to* the mineral water once a year. There are a number of *horras* in the kingdom of Gumma, among the *horras*, *horra Herer* is very well-known. Cattle are also taken to this *horras* from different territories of Gumma. When *Abba ulle*, herdsman back from the *horra* he sang the following traditional songs.

Afaan Oromo

English

Horra gallaa

We are returning from horra [mineral water]

Dhibaan dhaqinne

We have hundred when we go

Kumman gallaa

And we have thousand when we return

Hoola adii yaa cooma ishee

the white sheep is extremely fatty

Har'a mitti

It is not to day

Gaaffaa Arbitti

But on

Wednesday *Kan Koo mitti*

You are not

mine *Kan Rabitti*⁸⁸

It belongs to God

Since the horra were often far from the settlements it provided suitable opportunities for raids, so Protection had to be provided day and night. There was no punishment if cattle coming back from the horra damaged crops and food plants on the way.

2.4. The Role of Women in the Gumma Oromo Traditional Religion

Even today, women do not normally play an important role as establishers of religious groups, or as their leaders'. However, this pattern of the negligible participation of women as founders and of religious groups and supervisors of rituals other religious activities is not well-known. King states that although many women take part in various ritual and religious beliefs, their

⁸⁷ Lewis, H.S., 'Kud'Arfan: A Multi-function among the Western [Oromo]', in: *Proceeding of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol, XXX, p.100

⁸⁸ Informants: Shabu Mohammed, Ismeel Bushura, Tufaa Badhassa, Nagari Raasoo

involvement as founders and leaders in world religion is extremely minimal. This is in spite of the fact that there were and are many women in the world who have achieved top position and have good reputation in their respective communities because of their thin standards of morality and spirituality.⁸⁹ In highly institutionalized and diversified religious activities and communities, spiritual power, similar to that of secular power, is entrusted to men. Hence, many religious and social activities, such as initiation, teaching, blessing, sacrifice and preaching appear to lie most frequently within the male domain.⁹⁰ The male tendency to monopolize religious, social and political power and leadership has not changed in recent times. Despite this, however, there are many women who offer religious leadership to their communities, particularly in less structured and non-hierarchical forms of religious traditions.⁹¹

There are sources which tell us the involvement of Oromo women in both political and religious activities. They were involved in local *Qaalluus* and they have their own role for the successes of the *jila* by helping husbands or parents' taking over home stead management in the absence of men was also their responsibility. Concerning the participations of women's in the Gadaa system James Cowels cited in Eshetu assert as follows: “ጅማ ኖኖ በሚባለው አካባቢ ዋቅ የምትባል ሴት አባ ገዳ ሆና በብቃት እንደመራች ... የአባባቢው የኦሮሞ ሕዝብ በንጉሳዊ (ሞቲ) ስርአት መተዳደር የጀመረው ከዋቅ በኋላ መሆኑም ይታወቃል።”⁹² Among the most powerful Oromo chieftaints who own allegiance to shoä Jaara, the son of Chamme soi-disant queen of Moolo Farada, who since the demise of her husband, has governed that and other provinces adjacent.

So from the above quotation, we may discern that women participated in religious and political activities of the Oromo, conversely, they were been the political as well as religious leaders. Deressa also by supporting the existence of female Gadaa leader points out as follows:- “Hulle continued to serve as the center for a long time perhaps over century up to the time of knowledgeable and respected female gadaa leader, makkaa Horee, she was over thrown by the Oromo warlords for her love of ...”⁹³

⁸⁹ King, Ursula. *Women and Spirituality: Voice of Protest and Promise*. Second Edition. (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p.32

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.39

⁹¹ Ibid, p.89

⁹² James Cowels Prichard, *The Natural History of Man*, 1845, p.289, cited in Eshetu Erana, p.168

⁹³ Dersa Debu, “Agro-Ecological History of Omo Nada”, (MA Thesis in History ,AAU, 2010), p12.

Among the Gumma Oromo *Attete* is also considered as women's religious celebration. The occasion of *Attete*'s celebration is commonly known as *guyyaa Märäm* to mean the day of Maram or Mary. Knutson stated the name *Attete* and *maram* are used interchangeably.⁹⁴ Daniel also perceived the concept, *Attete* as the name of ceremony where women gathered and dance to invoke *maram*, *ayoole* and *waaqa* for thanks giving and wellbeing of their families. He also stated that it is a ceremony in which women's gathered and make public grievance they had with their husband.⁹⁵

<i>Ittuman maram ta'e</i>	If I were Maram
<i>Marami gifti ta'e</i>	Maram our great lady
<i>Dhabdudhaafan ilma kenne</i>	I would give a son to the childless women
<i>Dhirsan hadorsiftu</i>	let him be her boast before her husband
<i>Yaa maram yaa maram</i>	O! Maram, my dear Maram,
<i>Dhabdudhaf ararami</i>	have pit on the childless women,
<i>Yaa Maram godetikkoo</i>	O! Maram, displaying to us, women your beauty,
<i>Yaa dhiga tolleti ko</i>	full of sympathy for us women
<i>Yaa Maram marmartuko</i>	O! Maram between me and wääqä
<i>Yaa hika garartuko</i> ⁹⁶	My helper when giving birth

A birth ritual, Women of the of the neighborhood singing birth-songs



Adopted from; Lambert Bartels, Oromo Religion..., p.208

Attete is believed to be divinity women. The Oromo women perform special ceremonies in respect of this divine who in its turn will help barren women beget a child and assist during labor to safely give birth to child.

⁹⁴ Knutsson, pp.53-55

⁹⁵ Danie l, p.111

⁹⁶ Bartels Lamert, p.124-127

According to the Gumma Oromo informants and literature the Oromo women's celebrated different forms of *atteete* for different reasons. *Atteetée haraa* to mean the new *attete*, the reason for the celebration of *atteete haraa* was thanks giving or to praise *waaqa* (God) who enabled them to see the New Year. In the kingdom of Gumma *atteete hara* was celebrated during harvesting time. *Atteetiyyoo wagatuu ga'e* was the best traditional Gumma Oromo song during the celebration of *atteete hara*. This is to mean atteetiyyoo the New Year is approaching. *Atteete Gumbii*: Gumbii is the place where the Oromo of Gumma by tradition stored their crops after harvesting. *Atteete Gumbii* was celebrated during the rain time. Its celebration was for three reasons, for thanks giving, for fertility and for accomplishment.⁹⁷

According to our informants, the *Atteete* ceremony has two functions; one is regulating women's morality. The other is to enable women to challenge male domination as a group. *Atteete* ceremony is seriously end angered, like somuch other Oromo culture. The Muslim Oromo women are abandoning the *Atteete* rituals, and thus long a significant mechanism of solidarity and resistance. The gradual expansion of Christianity, has directly or indirectly contributed towards the decline of the value of the Oromo women's *Attéeté* ritual over the last century with the recent resurgence of the competitive religions, their religious influence on the communal practices of the people has gained maximum momentum.

Dhibayuu or Labatation: in addition to *atteetes dhibayuu* were also common among the Gumma Oromo traditional religious followers. *Dhibayuu* among the Gumma Oromo takes place on July. *Dhibbayuu* is a cermeise where the adherents praise God with drink such as farso, milk and *daadhi* (mead). In the families of *qaaluu* Assello, the main purposes of *Dhibayuu* were for thanks giving.

<p><i>Yaa waaqa dhugaatii kana nuulaatte</i> <i>Yaa lafa dhugaati kanna irra argane</i> <i>dhugaatii kanna siidhangalfna</i> <i>its Xiqqoo sideebifnaa, hoodhu galata</i>⁹⁸</p>	<p>O God you have given us this drinks O earth from which we got these drinks <i>Xiqqoo</i> We pour a very little of this ground before we taste We offer this piece to praise and offer you.</p>
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⁹⁷ Informants: Awale AbbaTaye, Faxee Faris, Genne Hadha Biya and Abba Nagaa Abba Tammam See also *Seenaa fi sirna Gadaa OromooMaccaa Hang Jalqaba Jaaraa 20^{faatti}*, Jildii -1, (Biiroo Aadaa fi Tuurizimii Oromiyaa, Finfinnee, 2015), pp.197-202

⁹⁸ Daniel, p.109, Infotmants: Jihad, Shamsu, Yasen, and Abdi

In Gumma *Dhibaayyuu* were processed on the following special days on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays. These were special days for the *Qaahu* of Assello Besso, on these days the spirit of *Qaahu* Assello Besso communicates with his followers.⁹⁹ According to oral informant's Jihad and Jamal *Qaahu* Asselloo blessed his people or his followers as follows.

AfaanOromo

English

Waaqni nagaannu oolchee
Nagaan nuhaa bulchuu.Amen!
Iraa goruu nuhaa Amen!

May God give as peace at day and
 Night Let it be!
 May God protect us from doing wrong Let it be!?

Faarda koora irraa nuufa haabulchuu

May God give us a long life for our h o r s e ?
 Amen! Let it be!

Qootiyoo qambaraa keessa nuufhaabulchuu
*Amen!*¹⁰⁰

May God gives us long life to our oxen in the
 farming Let it be!

During the celebrations of *atteetes* in the kingdom of Gumma various verities traditional food and drinks such as *daadhii*, *farsoo* and *ärräqéé* were prearranged by women and men participations. At the days of *atteete dubartii*, (women's) only goats were slaughtered the color of the goats were also put into consideration, the black and red color goats were the favorite one.¹⁰¹

2.5 Factors that Led to the Decline of the Oromo Traditional Religion of Gumma Kingdom

At the beginning of nineteenth century monarchical states were emerged in Oromo settled areas of Gibe valley. At the time of the Oromo population movement and expansion, the Gibe Basin was occupied by various clans of the Maccaa Oromo. At the time of their expansion the Maccaa Oromo mainly followed the *waaqqeffanna* religion and they were governed by the Gada system.

At about the 19th century, however, the Oromo of the Gibe region had undergone a profound religious, social cultural and political change.¹⁰² There are several factors that led to the decline of Oromo traditional religion in the kingdom of Gumma. These factors can be

⁹⁹ *Ibid*
¹⁰⁰ Informants: Jihad Abba Bor, Taju, Ibsa and Awwal
¹⁰¹ Informants: Faxee Abba Maleka, Genne Hadhaa Biya, Kadija Abba Fira and Misbahu Shafi and Milke Abba Malka.
¹⁰² Mohammed, pp.58-61,118-121; K E Knutsson.*Authority and Change: A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha [Oromo] of Ethiopia* (Gothenbnburg: 1967), pp.180-182

classified as internal and external factors as we shall see below.

2.5.1 The Transformation of *Qaaluu* to *Qäälhichää*

The *Qaaluus* of Gumma who became the religious fathers, who blessed their followers and their clans at the ends of the 19th century changed into *Qaaluus*.¹⁰³ Before the period mentioned the *Qäällichääs* are not known among the Oromo. In Maccaa a distinction is made between the *qaaluus* and *Qaallichaa* role even through both display possession elements. The latter word is said to have been introduced by the Amhara.

*Do not apply it to a traditional [Qaaluu]... a [Qäällichää] has a very different and much lower social status than a [Qaaluu] ... [qaallichaa] is often accused of a social behavior, resorting to conjuring and black magic for his own benefit. In comparison, the [Qaaluu] is regarded as the most senior person in his lineage and clan. Socially he is the most respected member of both the local and the descent group, a great [Qaaluu] to ask his ritual elements for gifts or payment. A [Qäällichää] however, is notorious for extracting remuneration by threats or other means.*¹⁰⁴

Kuntsson also stated that, the existence of terminological confusion, for instance the Amharic speaking people who do not know the difference between the two types call them both [Qaalicha].so, the distinction between the two concepts; *Qaalluu* always designates the few traditional high priests, while *Qäällichää* represents a mainly anti-social, or at least anti-traditional ritual role.¹⁰⁵

The transformation of Oromo *Qaalluu* to *Qäällichää* not only enhanced the decline of the Gada System however, it also paved the way for the Oromo traditional region of *waaqqeffanna* to loss its social and religious values.¹⁰⁶ During this time the *Qäällichääs* robbed the people, particularly in the areas in which the Gädä officials became weak they went to their home and forced their followers to pay taxes.¹⁰⁷ Gadaa Malbaa cited:

¹⁰³ Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Jamaal Abba Simal, AWOL, Abba Nagaa Abba Zinaab and Hajii AbbaTamaam

¹⁰⁴ Kuntsson, pp.66-67

¹⁰⁵ Kuntsson, p.66

¹⁰⁶ *Seenaa fi Sirna Gadaa Oromo Maaccaa ...*, pp.210, 211, Regarding the Origin of *Qaallichaa* see also Gustave, Arein. *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia, Origin of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus* (Uppsala, Uppsala Press, 1978), and p.394

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*

*He [qaallichaa] is notorious for extracting remuneration by threats or other means, on other had. It is beneath the dignity of an Oromo qaalluu to ask his ritual clients for gifts or payment. The Abyssinian ruling class had confused the terms, thus disparaging theqaalluu, socially and religiously by using term depreciatingly.*¹⁰⁸

In the kingdom of Gumma the strong holders of *Qäällichääs* were areas like *Qamaché*, *Jamii*, *Satta Qabarechoo* and *Nagoo*. In these areas it were not only males however, women's also started to act as *Qäällichääs*. Among the Oromo of Gumma *Qaallichaas* sometimes called as *waahimtu* for female *Qäällichääs* and *waahimmaa* for male. *Beeka* or *Beektu* were also another names of the *Qäällichää* in Gumma kingdom.¹⁰⁹

In the kingdom of Gumma most of the time peoples are departing to the house of *Qäällichääs* for many purposes, to know their futures, or to know the sources of evil things that attack them and how to save from harm themselves in the future. Sometimes the *Qäällichää* also give advice for his followers how to attacked enemy's through magic, after all this advise a person who got his/her advice pay to him, the payment for *Qäällichää* or *waahimaa* became in cash and also in kind most of the time salt or *Amole* and coffee became common payment, foods are also taken to his house as a gifts. All these payments are given to him in secret; it was sandwiched by coqorsa grass. Coqorsa grass is an important symbol in every religious ritual of Gumma Oromo.¹¹⁰

When the earnings of *Qäällichääs* decline following the introduction and spread of Islam into the kingdom, in different parts of the region they started to terrify the people, they shows black magic, eat the fair started to send an ultimatum to their followers by saying, "If you do not send gifts or payments for me I will kill your wife, your children, your cows and ox". They became a vagrant who resorts to coinsuring and black magic for their own benefits.¹¹¹

The *Qäällichääs* were running for their personal benefits and their acts were full of lies. So acts of *Qäällichääs* in Gumma forced some of the people who were formerly the followers of Oromo traditional religion rehabilitated to Islam without any doubt.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Gadaa Malbaa, *Oromo: An Introduction*, (Khartum, Sudan, 1988), p.20

¹⁰⁹ Informants: Awlol, Abba Zinaab, She Abba Bushuraa

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹¹ *Ibid*

¹¹² *Ibid*

2.5.2 The weakens of the Gadaa Officials

Following the weakness of Gadaa official's particularly in the Gibe regions the well-known and power full *Qaaluus* are started to act as religious and political leaders, more than religious issues they give apprehension for politics. The power full *Qaaluus* in progress to size the political powers in a place where the Gadaa officials became toothless, for instance in the kingdom of Gumma *Qaaluus* Fidoo started to collect tributes from his clan and *Qaaluu* Bussase begin assumed as religious and political leader, in some parties of Gumma region the *Qäällichääs* engaged in force full collection of payment.¹¹³

2.5.3 The Rise of Oromo Abba Dulla's

Previously the *Qaaluu* and *Abba Gadaa* were worked as one; the *Qaaluu* gives his blessing and anointed the Gadaa officials who govern the Oromo for eight years. Thus the *muuda* ceremony was the point at which the Gadaa system and the *qaaluu* institutions interconnect. Gadaa system which worked effectively in a geographically limited territory, however the movements of the 16th century dispersed the Oromo clans over a large territories. In this cause it was impossible for the Oromo clans to live under one Gadaa system.¹¹⁴ the immediate result was the disintegration of the political system, because each sub clan evolved its own Gadaa system in the new areas where they settled, they were also involved in the new areas where they settled.

They were also involved in the long distance trade of the region. Which revived immediately after the population movement had subsided. The revival of the trade brought about an economic computation, created constant wars which give rise to powerful warlords in the first half of the 19th century who began to defy the authority of Gadaa officials. They also began to impose their authority first on their clans and then expanded their territories as the expense of their neighbors'. Unfortunately, the traditional Gadaa officials and the *qaaluu* institutions did not provide for a mechanism of controlling such ambitious war leaders, who remained in power for long period of time and eventually assumed the title of *mootii* (king).¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Tajuu Abba Delibe, Abba Tamaam, Hji Abba Nagaa, see also *Seenaa fi Sirna Gadaa Oromo*, p.210

¹¹⁴ Knutson, pp.145-147 and *Seenaa fi sirna Gadaa*, p.210,

¹¹⁵ Mohammed, pp.5-8

In addition to the above factors, the traditional belief of the Oromo lacked a prearranged, structured and written doctrine. The Oromo is the single largest ethnic group in the eastern and north eastern Africa, adherent to its traditional beliefs (*waaqqeffanna*), this traditional system of thought and values still today had great impact not only on the way Oromo systematize themselves but also on the way they interact among themselves and others. Hence, the Oromo engage in the exploration of their ancestors.¹¹⁶ Although the traditional believe of the Oromo lacked an organized, structured and written doctrine. Regarding this Dirribii cited as follow:

*... Oromo's created their religion, waaqqeffanna as did the Jewish and the Arab people and many others. The only difference was, however they recorded, refined, deified, institutionalized and propagated theirs, through the ages and spread them around the world by any means possible including even force, while our waaqqeffanna was not even recorded let alone protected.*¹¹⁷

Little attempt are recently started and failed to institutionalize the *waaqqeffanna* religion by Organization of maccaa and *Tulama*. The ministry of justice of the federal republic of Ethiopia after accepting their appliance gives a certificate and also registered *waaqqeffannaa* religion as one of home-grown religion. But after 51 days the government continued to disallowed *waaqqeffanna* religious group due to hesitation of a relationship between the group leaders and the banned Oromo Liberation Front (OLF).¹¹⁸

Again the spread of Islam into the study area has its own factor in weakening the Oromo traditional religion. The Gumma Oromo were firstly the followers of their own traditional religion *waaqqeffanna*. According to the written sources they were also send a jila groups to the house of Abba Mudda with gifts for him. The gradual introduction and expansion of Islam into the kingdom at its entail time did not stopped the sending of gifts and jila to Abba Mudda, for instance in 1846 the state of Gumma with other Gibe states after meeting together send their representative to the house of Abba Mudda, during this time it was the kingdom of Gomma which does not send its representatives to Horaa Walabuu.¹¹⁹ However, the region of Jawe Oncho who ruled Gumma from 1840-1854 shows the absence *butta* ceremony from the kingdom of Gumma, it was Abba Manno the king of Gomma who advice the king of Gumma to abolished the *butta* ceremony from his kingdom¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Dirribii Damisie, *Seenaa Eenyuma Oromo, Finfinne.2015, p.202*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹¹⁸ See appendix NoIII

¹¹⁹ Mohammed, p.153

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, p.159

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 THE INTRODUCTION AND EXPANSION OF ISLAM INTO THE KINGDOM OF GUMMA

According to Trimingham and Mohammed Hassen, Islam had got first foothold in Limmu-Ennarya and Gomma some decades prior to the beginning of the 19th Century.¹²¹ However, concerning the introduction of Islam into the Gibe region, different scholars like Mohammed argued that the first king of the Gibe region to be converted to Islam was Abba Gōmmōl, king of Limmu-Ennärä ,who ruled Limmu-Ennärä from about 1800-1825, right from his conversion Islam became the creed of kings and nobility until the first half of the 19th century. Next to him, his son and successor Abba Bagiboo (r.1825-1861) and the king of Gomma Abba Manno (r.1820-1840) had been exposed to Islam While they were young.¹²²

According to Trimingham, the third king to be converted to Islam in the Gibe region was the king of Gumma who was named Jawwe Oncho.¹²³ However, some sources presented the introduction of Islam into Gumma in mystified way. Some sources state that the people of Gumma were converted to Islam around 1770s by Adam who was later became the founder of the Gumma dynasty. In relation with this “... the founder of the Dynasty of Gumma was certain Adäm, a Muslim trader from Tigray... in the chronicle of Gumma, Jilchä is presented as the son of Adam, a Muslim called Adam is made the father of Jilcha, so as to Islamize and exalt the origin of the dynasty founded by Jilcha “. ¹²⁴

In addition to the above points, the account of Cerulli also tells as in the kingdom of Gumma *butta* festival was for the first time abolished by Adam. He said “Gumma becomes Mussulman [Muslim]” ”This kingdom is a mussulmen kingdom”. ¹²⁵

However, the above quotations seems highly unlikely , firstly it is very important to identify the personality of a man who was named Adam, let alone introducing Islam in to the

¹²¹ Trimingham, P.202, Mohammed, PP.150-153.

¹²² Girmaye G\Michael, ’’ The Religious Setting in Jimma Zone (1880s-1974)’’ (M.A Thesis in History, Jimma Univeristy 2015), P.46.

¹²³ Mohammed, PP.107-108 and Trimingham, p.202

¹²⁴ Ibid

¹²⁵ Cerculli, P.289

kingdom, his origin and personality were still not yet clearly identified by scholars and oral informants of the kingdom of Gumma. As discussed earlier, some written sources claimed that he was originally from Tigray; the oral sources of Gumma on the other hand asserted that he lived in the cave and communicate with people.

It is apparent that the kings of Gumma played enormous role in spreading Islam in the kingdom. Had it not been for the Gumma kings, Muslim teachers and preachers could not successfully spread the religion to the common people without the consent of the kings of Gumma. The kings of Gumma encouraged the Muslim teachers to set up Muslim schools. The kings of Gumma also made their level best in propagating Islam in neighboring states. According to our informants, the first mosque in the kingdom was built by Abba Dulla's financial backup. Abba Dulla ruled Gumma from 1854-1879.¹²⁶ Muhammed stated, in this regard: "Abba Dulla received a letter written by Sheikh Said Ahmad, the custodian of the tomb of the prophet at Al-medina. The letter reaches Abba Dulla either in late 1865 or early 1866. It urged all the believers that the "end" of this world was coming and they should to fortify themselves in their faith".¹²⁷

However, he was not the first Gumma king to be converted to Islam, before Abba Dulla's conversion another Gumma king who was known as Abba Abbalo converted to Islam around 1820s. Ordinary people were also converted to Islam. Following the conversion of the king to Islam, he made it the state creed. Therefore, Islam got a total support and patronage from the Gumma king. This complete fusion of Islam and state continued for long period of time in the kingdom of Gumma.¹²⁸

In addition to the Gumma kings, the role of other Gibe kings mainly Abba Männõõ king of Gomma and Abba Booqa king of Jimma could be not negligible for the expansion of Islam in Gumma. The religious scholars who were commonly known as the *Qädiriyyääs* settled in Gumma during the era of Jawwe (1840-1854) and further expanded the new religion. Teachers and preachers are sent to Gumma from Jimma by the order of Abba Booqaa.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Informants: Raayaa, Gaaxalli Abba Fiixaa, and Haadha biyaa

¹²⁷ Mohammed, P.160

¹²⁸ Dawiit Gummay, A manuscript found at Gummay District, 2008, p.5 and Informants: Shekamal Abba Biya, Awale, Kedir Mustafa

¹²⁹ Mohammed, p.160, Aman Seifedin, "Islam and The Muslim Community of Gomma, A Historical survey (1886-1974)" (MA Thesis in History AAU, 2006), pp.18, 20 and Girmaye G/Michael, "The religious Setting in Jimma Zone..." p. 58

After their settlement in the Gibe region, the Oromo embarked upon intensive agricultural activities. The fertile soil, abundant water and large pastureland made the region famous for its agricultural produce and raising of animals. In addition to agriculture and cattle raising trade was another important economic activity in the Gibe region. For instance, it is said, "The Oromo needed trading during their [expansion]. However, once they settled in the Gibe region and embarked on mixed farming, they needed market, centers even more, for they had to sell their agricultural produce and animal products and to buy necessary commodities such as salt and clothes there."¹³⁰

Generally, the fertility of the region and its proximity to käffä, the source of valuable trade items, led to the arrival of a large number of traders from northern Ethiopia. This profitable trade gradually led to the rise of the local merchants known as *Afkälä*.¹³¹

The region had already been brought in to the wider network of commercial relations with the northern merchants from Gondar, Wollo, Shawa and Tigray and Eastern Ethiopian traders from Harar, Bale and Somali areas. Mohammed claims, the *äfkälä* merchants dominated the trade of the region and sometimes even went as far as the market centers of Gojjam, Gondar and Massawa in the north and the Ginir in the south east.¹³² The Oromo traders had played a pivotal role acting as a middlemen between the local community and the Muslim merchants during the nineteenth century long distance trade.¹³³

There is a consensus among historians that the trade routes and long-distance trade were the main channels of Islamization while Muslim merchants were the most key agents of the faith. Historians like Tekalign, Ketebo and Trimingham stated that Islam entered the Gibe region on wide scale beginning from the early nineteenth century through the agents of Muslim peacher's accompanied by merchants.¹³⁴

Like other Gibe monarchies, Gumma was regularly visited by long-distance caravan merchants who come from northern Ethiopia. According to Beke and Guluma Gombata was important

¹³⁰Mohammed, pp.134_135, Aman Seifedin, Islam and The Muslim Community of Gomma 'A Historical survey (1886-1974)' (MA Thesis in History AAU,2006), P. 18

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p.138 and *Ibid*

¹³² *Ibid*, pp.115__116

¹³³ *Ibid*

¹³⁴ Ketebo Abdiyo, *Aba Jiffar II of Jimma Kingdom. 1861_1934: A Biography*, (Jimma University Press, 2012), p.36, Tekalign Woldemaria, "Slavery and Slave Trade in the Kingdom of Jimma (ca.1800_1935)" (MA Thesis, AAU, 1984), p.85, Trimingham, S.J. *Islam in Ethiopia*, p.205

market place frequented by the traders. The traders most of the time were Muslims, brought from the Gibe region and the areas south of it precious trade items like gold, ivory, musk, skins, slaves and later coffee.¹³⁵

Aman also points out that during the 18th and early 19th centuries, the teaching of *Qūr'ān* and other religious texts was dominated by the itinerant clerics known among the local community as *Näggäde*. Among the kingdom of Gumma and other gibe regions the name *Näggädē* refers interchangeably to merchant's strangers, and Muslim clerics who came from northern Ethiopia.¹³⁶ According to Aman:

*Among the Näggädēs groups those engaged in the propagation of new faith the most known were Näggäde Asqarri and Näggäde Shäykhs, Asqārri were who taught the kuran, while shaykhs those commonly known in teaching the kuran and other additional disciplines.*¹³⁷

3.2 The Role of Different Sheiks

Shekota Urada lived for long period of time around the area known as Nago which is located near the present day Tobba/Gummay. According to oral informants shekota Urada or sometimes whom the people of Gumma call Shekota Danso was the most learned among the Gumma sheiks. He attended his *Quranic* education at Dawwe in wallo before the rise of Shekota Gumma.¹³⁸

Shëkotä Urada was born at a place known as Dänsö in Dambi. He is remembered for his tolerance and candid approach towards the followers of the Oromo *waaqqeffanna* religion and also for buttressing unity among the Oromo of Gumma. In his teaching of *kuran* he was mainly focused on the way in which the people live in peace and tolerating each other.¹³⁹ Accordingly, the way of converting the people or an individual to Islam should have to be after cultivating and then his/her personal readiness must have been prioritized. After his death in Gumma his

¹³⁵ Beke, C.T. "On the countries south of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol.XIII, P.259, Abir, Mordechia, "Ethiopia the Era of Princes, pp.85_87 and see also Mohammed, pp.133_137.

¹³⁶ Aman Seifedin, "Islam and The Muslim Community of Gomma; A Historical survey (1886-1974)" (MA, Thesis History in AAU, 2006), p. 17

¹³⁷ *Ibid*

¹³⁸ Informants: Shekamal Haji Abduselam, Jihad Abba Bore, Awale.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*

followers founded for him *Qūbā* which later came to be known as *Qūbā shēkōtā Urada*, however, his *Qūbā* was completely destroyed in 1985 by the *Wāhhābists*, those groups burn up a mosque which was established by him, his Drums and religious manuscripts were also destroyed during this time. From the burnt manuscripts the one which is most remembered by oral informants was *Bāsmāäl*, a book which was read at the time of the celebration of *maulid*. Eventually it is claimed that individuals who took part in the annihilation of *Qūbā shekota* Urädä underwent a tragic death.¹⁴⁰ Concerning his *kūrānic* knowledge oral informant's states that, even the existing sheiks that were educated in Saudi Arabian and Egyptian Islamic Universities were incomparable with him. Informants maintain, "Elmiidhaan haanga yeroo amatii Gumma keessatti haanga sheekotta Urada ga'u hin dhaalane"¹⁴¹

Among the Shekota Guma a pioneer for the further expansion of *Islam* in the kingdom of Gumma was sheik ökkollä, we could not find any written account on his life history except an MA thesis by Deressa, in his thesis he has attempted to reconstruct his role in the expansion of Islam in Gumma.¹⁴²

Fig .3.The Drum [Dūfi] of sheekota Urada



Source: from the collection of Gummay Culture and Tourism office

Since there is no written material, most of the history of sheik Okkolla came from the oral informants. There were two traditions concerning from where sheik Okkolla came to Gumma kingdom. According to Deressa, the first tradition states that sheik Okkolla came from Jimma

¹⁴⁰ Informants: Haji Adam Bunaya, Kamal Abba Warri

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*

¹⁴² Deressa Bayisa, "A Historical Survey of Guummaa Oromo state" (MA Thesis in History Jimma University, 2015), p.80

kingdom. The second tradition claimed that shêik Okkolla came to Gumma from Gomma kingdom. In addition to, the above tradition there are also some informants groups who associated his origin with the long distance merchant traders.¹⁴³

Therefore, it is highly likely that shêik Okkolla came from either Jimma or Gomma. Because the kingdom of Jimma and Gomma were the two Gibe Oromo states who sent Islamic teachers in to the kingdom of Gumma for long period of time. Another Sheikh in Gumma was Sheik Okkolla, who except preaching the Islamic religion among the Gumma Oromo did not establish mosques and Islamic schools. Sheik Okkolla lived around today Saxxamma area.¹⁴⁴

Nural Ahmed who became a long time resident of Gumma considered as *wâli* and possessed *kârâmâ*, oral informants stated Sheikana Hussen prophesy that “ gaara fuulduti karamaan isaa karamaa koo dacha turban kan caaluu Nuuraal Ahimmed kaan jeedhaammu nidhaalataa jeedhamma” it is to mean that the *kârâmâ* of Nural Ahmed will be more than seven times than my *karamaa*.¹⁴⁵

Nural Ahmed came to Gumma around 1820s and lived in the kingdom until his death. At Gumma for the first time Nural Ahmed met the king of Gumma who was known as Abba Abbalo and discussed with him on the issues of his conversion and Islamic doctrine.¹⁴⁶

Abba Abbalo who ruled Gumma kingdom from 1810-1830 was one of the sons of Jilicha, who was remembered in the history of the kingdom of Gumma as well as in the Gibe region as cruel king who enslaved his own nation because of trivial mistakes and the king was converted to Islam by the efforts of Nural Ahmed.¹⁴⁷

Shekota Gumma was known among the Oromo of Gumma and neighboring states as Haji Adam Gumma, Abba ware and Shekota. Shekota Gumma was born in 1282 according to the Islamic calendar which is commonly known as *Häjirä*, from his father Abdalla and his mother *Ganne Burayaa* in the kingdom of Gumma at a place known as Säwää Araradaa Garabbeesso in Dambi Dhideessa, one of the former territories of the kingdom of Gumma which is now under the administration of Bunno Bedale zone.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ *Ibid* and Informants: Raayaa Abba Jamaal, Kader Idires

¹⁴⁴ Deressa Bayisa, p.80

¹⁴⁵ Informants: Awale, Shaamsuu, She Hussen Bore and Abba Degg

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁷ Isetu, p.206

¹⁴⁸ Seena Shekota Gumma, A manuscript found at Tobba Culture and Tourism Office, 2002, p.1

Shekota Gumma attended his Islamic or Qūrānic education with other Ethiopian Muslims at Dawwee in Wallo for 25 years. Dawwee was the most important center of Islamic learning. When he reported to his teacher to return to Gumma after completing his education his teacher say “Adam akka waaninni beekumsa hunda nujalla fuudhee gala jirutti nattii dhagammuusii kan barkaa haa ta’uuf” even it seems to me that Adam is backing to his country’s taking all forms of education from us, however let the God sanctify him.¹⁴⁹

While returning from Wallo on his way to Gumma Abba Jiffar II asked hem to live in Jimma and teaches his people the *kūrān*. Abba Jiffar II of the Jimma kingdom gives to shékōtä Gumma 30 gasha lands around the areas of Manna. According to Yonas before the foundation of Jiren the kings of Jimma first established their center at *Kiftānā* in the areas of Manna. Within a short period of time Shekota Gumma become admired among the officials of Abba Jiffar II.¹⁵⁰ Ones up on the time Abba Jiffar had been said in his public speech as follow:

Afaan Oromo

English

Murtiin mootii Abba Jiffar malee okkolla
inadequate

Judgment without king Abba Jiffar will be

Sheekumman sheekotta Gumma malee okkolla
Shékōtä

Religion (Islamic) without
Gumma will be also partial¹⁵¹

The above quotation indicates that as Abba Jiffar of Jimma was popular in the fields of politics in the Gibe region, shekota Gumma was equally important in the religious issues of the region. Shekota Gumma with the collaboration of Abba Jiffar II established a number of religious centers in Jimma and its surrounding.

After he stayed in Jimma for more than 20 years he came to Gumma where he taught a number of *däräsäs* (quranic students). According to oral informant, the main reason why Shekota Gumma back to Gumma after 20 years was due to the following reasons. Abba Jiffar II took a land from a poor women and gave that land to his relatives (the Dēgō clan) in that case the women applied to a religious father Shékōtä Gumma, following this Shekota asked why Abba Jiffar did this and asked for the return of the land to whom it belongs to, Abba Jiffar

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, Informants: Awale, Shamsuu, She Huussen Bore

¹⁵⁰ Yonas Sefu. ”Historical Servey of Jimma Town from 1936-1974” (MATHesis in History AAU, 2002), p.47

¹⁵¹ Informants: Raayaa, Jamaal, Yaasin and Abba Degga

II answered to shekota “shékötä why you asked me what I have been done in the past please ask me about my future plan and be on behalf of me.” Henceforth shékötä did not want to see the unfairness of Abba Jiffar II and decided to back to Gumma.¹⁵²

A number of *däräsä* came to Gumma from the Gibe states and Illu Abba Bor to follow their kuranic education under shékötä Gumma and back to their localities. Shékötä founded a number of religious centers out of Jimma and Gumma. He had established the following centers out of the two kingdom in Sökörü, Dedo, Manna (Garuke) Gomma, Ilbüü and the like.¹⁵³

Shekota Gumma have been a number of slaves, among shekota’s slaves Bilal Abba Dikoo, who engaged in selling and purchasing on behave of Shékötä with Häji Umar the relatives of Shékötä, Abba Waganno from the Waata clan, one of the cattle herders, Gibbo or Abba Magale “gaguraa gagurtuu” who was highly skilled in bees farming and honey extraction. The Gumma Oromo are particularly skilled in the art of beekeeping since they considered honey to be an important part of their diet. Shékötä Gumma often made traditional candles from bees wax, Honey was also used in the kuranic schools of Shékötä Gumma in alternative medicine. In shékötä’s *Qūrānic* shool bee farming also provided the wax used in lighting the *mädärsäs* and xawashii “keelaa egdu” are the most rembered slaves of shekota Gumma among oral informants.¹⁵⁴

However, the holding of slaves by Shekota Gumma were criticized by some of his students, since the *Qūrān* teaches the equality of man before *Allāh*, however the slaves of shekota were raised to some position in *Qūrānic* schools, there were also slaves who were engaged in teaching the holy *Qūrān*. Later following the further expansion of Islam in to the kingdom of Gumma slavery and slave holding as well as slave trade abolished, According to an eye whiteness account, most of them were volunteers to become slaves, even if they were labeled as slaves but actually they enjoyed every thing as a free man. Shékötä Gumma was also known in preparing traditional medicine, however the knowledge has not inherited by his students since some traditional knowledge has commercial value in the local and wider

¹⁵² *Ibid*, Deressa, p.81

¹⁵³ *Seenaa Sheekoota Guummaa*, pp.2-3

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

economy it should therefore be protected. As oral informants indicate, Shékötä Gumma had written the manuals on traditional medicine, the manual is still founded in the house of his families especial at the home of Râyä.¹⁵⁵

Shékötä Gumma was much known in cotton plantation, some sources and oral informants concerning cotton plantation in Gumma sates that cotton is introduced to the kingdom of Gumma by this sheik, before him there was no practice of cotton plantation in the kingdom.¹⁵⁶

Shekota Gumma is remembered among oral informants, us a man who taught the people using different examples. Ones a day many individuals come to his cotton plantation field to help him. However, from this individuals some of them helped him from the bottom of their heart, while others, became lassies faire after Shekota understood this he said to them “please do not mixed what you collect take into your home as it is, the works of *Allah* is the same to these”, Waanta funantaan walitti hin makinaati fudhaa gala hojiin Rabbi’s akkasuma jedhan”. At the end those who collect very much feel happy while those who collect very few feel sad.¹⁵⁷

In the kingdom of Gumma Shekota highly expanded his *darasas*, he established the *Quranic* schools in *Ayno, Dedo, Waruko, Quf, Illu Bore, Dambure, Sama, Nuurallach, Xa’o masara, Quuda* commonly known as *Quda Shékötä*, Obba Warkuko, Bore, Bara qulubii, Gaba Arga, Säxxämä, Segemo, Cora, Gera, Limmu and still there are also other places yet identified.¹⁵⁸

Sheik Häshêm Deya, Sheik Abdurahaman, Sheik Hussen Abba Magale, Sheik Xaha from Gera, Sheik Kader from Limmu, Sheik Abshru from Illu (Gumma) were the most remembered students of haji Adam Gumma and this individuals also highly contributed for the further expansion of Islam in the kingdom of Gumma and its surroundings. For inctance, Ibsa asserted that,

For the expansion of Islam in Gera, Shékötä Gümä also played a great role.[He]preached the people only to follow Islamic law ,which [he] condemn the mass of the society to stop the ritual practice of Qäällu and to prey to one Good,Allah.[he]also reach nearly 1500 individuals in the west of Gibe to the Sudan border. From Gera, individuals like, sheik Kadir Mangide,Haji Xahaa,Abba Gumbul and Haji Kälifä were the pivtal figure who received the teaching of the Shiks of Gumma.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ Informants: Raayaa, Saabiir and She Kamaal

¹⁵⁶ Informants: Ahmed Badii, Raayaa, Shee Kamaal and Shee Shamisuu

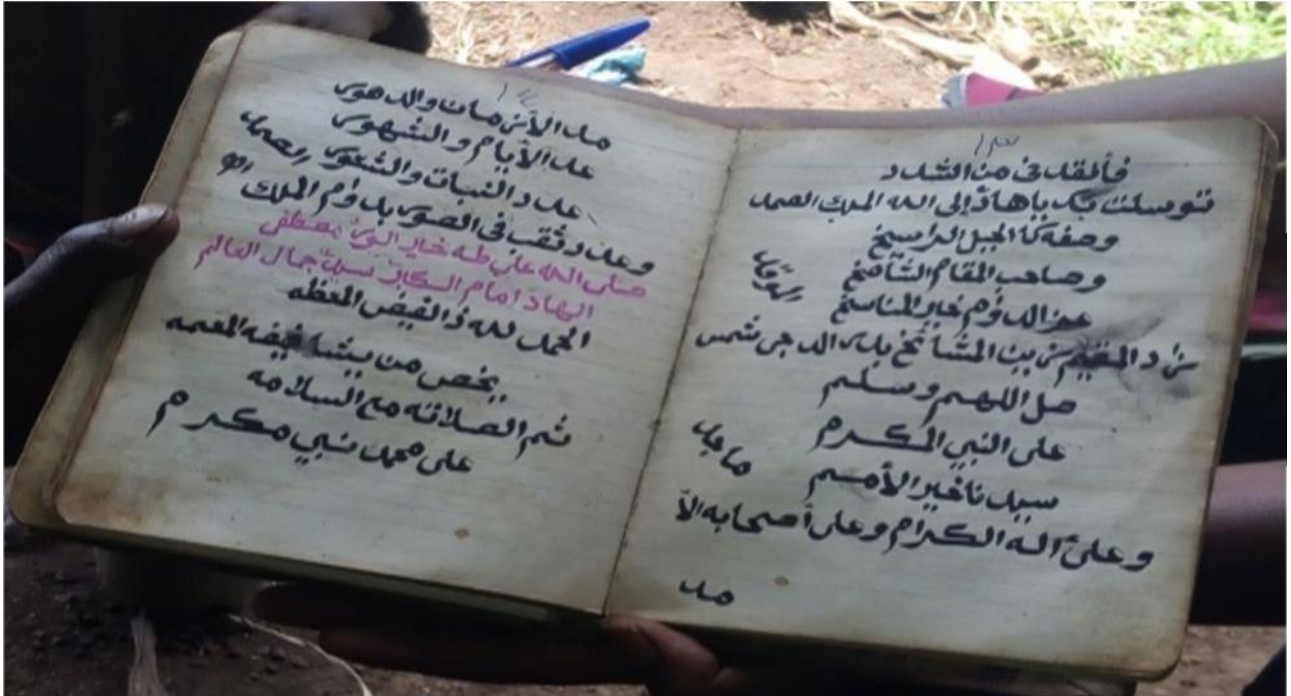
¹⁵⁷ *Ibid* and Deressa ,p.81

¹⁵⁸ Informants: She Ahmed Jamaal, She Adam Badi and Raayaa

¹⁵⁹ *Ibsa Huresa,pp.67-68*

During his teaching what had been challenge to Shêkõtä Gummä were shortages of the copies of *Qÿrân* and other religious manuscripts. To solve this problem Shêkõtä Gummä with his active *darasas* started to copy the *Qÿrân* in their own hand writing. Shêkõtä with his students fought with their traditional pens which had different colours, the favorites colours of Shekota were black and white colours.¹⁶⁰

Fig.5. one of the manuscripts of Sheekota Gumma



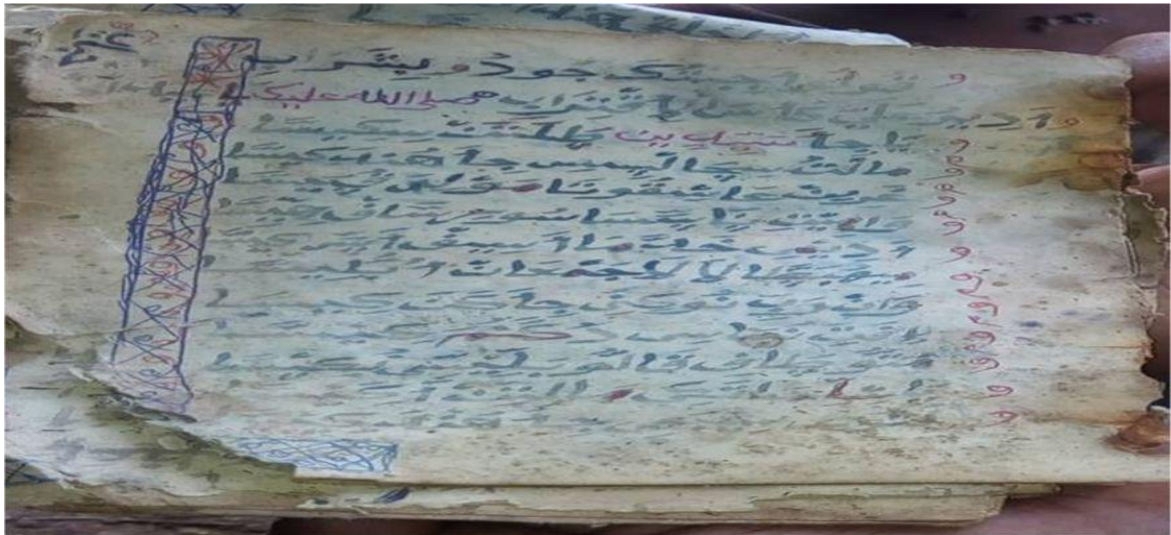
Source: from the collection of Sheik Tamam (Gummay Tobba)

Haji Adam with Muhammednur, sheik Abdusammed Abba Lafto, haji Muhammed haji Adam, the son of shekotta Gumma copied and translated *Qÿrân* and other manuscripts in to Afaan Oromo from Arabic.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ See Appedix NoV

¹⁶¹ Seenaa sheekota Gumma,p,7

Fig. 6. Photo of Islamic poem of Sheekota Gumma in Afaan Oromo using Arabic script



Source: from the collection of Sheik Tamam (Gummay Tobba)

Most of these manuscripts were brought to Gumma from Duwwe (Dawway) Wallo. Regarding this Hussen Ahmed reported as follows:”The Däwwäy wealthy merchants were also noted for the support they gave to local Muslim schoolars... They produced for them books and other types reading and teaching materials... these were either sold at reasonable prices to the students... or they were given force of change to some of the well established teachers ”.¹⁶²

Häji Adam Gumma used Arabic script for writing down his religious manuscripts in Afaan Oromo, among his most excellent works the following manuscripts are found at the home of his families and relatives. *Bäkürtalül-wahid* in Afaan Oromo and Arabic script, *Bäkürtätül – wäliid* were written for the women (females). Before their conversion to Islam, the Gumma Oromo women like the other Oromo while they grind grain sang traditional songs, so the aim of Shékötä Gumma was to replace this traditional *weedu* by *bäküratül-wäliid*.¹⁶³

Zäjirätü-düläl, written in Afaan Oromo using Arabic script, *Zäjirätü-düläl*, teaches the people to do good things and advice to come to the will of *Alläh*. *Shäfiyätü küräb* written in Afaan Oromo and Arabic script, this book tells as the history of Prophet Mohammed.¹⁶⁴ Regarding great Islamic religious work Ishirah maintains:

¹⁶² Hussen Ahmed, *Islam in the Nineteenth Century Wallo Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction*, (Brill, 2001), p.157

¹⁶³ *Seenaa Sheekota*, pp. 2-4

¹⁶⁴ *Seenaa Shekota*, pp.4-6

... these followers unrelated to the wali are learned disciples to their mystical matters, well-informed in religious matters having ample knowledge and experience of witting religious manuscripts ... they are responsible for leaving written manuscripts concerning the deeds and words of their venerated wali. These manuscripts usually written in Arabic ... the most family model for them to the ideal man, prophet Muhammed.¹⁶⁵

Shääfiyätü azhan written in Arabic language and Arabic script, *kūxbätü-indäyēne* written in Arabic language and Arabic script.¹⁶⁶ According to oral informants, some of these manuscripts are taken to Oromo cultural center at Addis Ababa. The other manuscripts that are found in the hands *Shékötä Gumma*'s families and relatives are in bad status of some parts of them are destroyed by rain and rats.¹⁶⁷

In addition to this, it is difficult to know the exact number of these manuscripts. The district Cultural and Tourism Office could not take any attempts regarding this issue. Shekota Gumma had been effectively preached Islamic religion using Oromo language (Afaan Oromo) since the introduction and spread of Islam in to the kingdom of Gumma, the using of Afaan Oromo language in *Qūrānic* teaching among *Shékötä Gumma* fosters the spiritual unity and faithful of the new religious followers of the Gumma Oromo.¹⁶⁸

At Dawwee many Oromo Islamic intellectuals are attended their *Qūrānic* education among those Oromo who had been learnt at Dawwee where people like *Shēik Umar Aliyyee*, and *Sheik Yusuf Adam*. Both of them are the well-known teachers of *Shēik Bākṛē Šaphälō*, who had devoted his life time in translating the Arabic script for writing Afaan Oromo and trying his best to create Afaan Oromo orthography. *Sheik Bākri Šaphälō* of Hararge and *Shékötä Gumma* used poems and examples to teach people about Islamic religion.¹⁶⁹

What *Sheik Bakri Saphalo* and *Shékötä Gumma* shares in common is that both of them attempts to teach their people and reduce illiteracy. They used Arabic script for writing Afaan Oromo.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Ishera, Minako, *Beyond Authenticity; Diverse Images of Muslim Awaliya in Ethiopia*, African Study Monographs (Nanzan University March, 2010), p.81, 82

¹⁶⁶ Seenaa Shekota, pp.2-3

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁶⁸ See Appendix VI

¹⁶⁹ Informants; Abdurazak, Ibsa and see also the Book of Asefa Tafara, *Eela, Seenaa Ogummaa Oromo*, p.142

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Mahdi-Ahimed Mude, the author of Oromo dictionary, elaborates the efforts of the Muslim Oromo scholars in writing Afaan Oromo using Arabic script as follows: “Arabic based orthography is very common among Muslim Oromo clerics in wollo, Harar, Arsi Bale and Jimma”. Mohammed Hassen further asserts: “Even today along with Dawwe in wollo, Jimma and its surrounding is regarded as the best center of Islamic learning in the horn of Africa. Despite such enviable and deserved fame, Oromo scholars in Jimma and Gumma produced a modest amount of religious literature in their own language”.¹⁷¹

Shèkõtä Gumma had the following outstanding qualities, he was devoted to teaching and learning, for Shèkõtä Gumma teaching was a duty and service at the same time, shekota in his teaching never added politics, even he advised the people to pay tributes for the king of Gumma on time.¹⁷²

When Shèkõtä Gumma started teaching Islamic laws in the kingdom did not get acceptances from the oldest groups, they were not willing to change their former traditional practices, such as drinking alcohols and smoking the water pipe tobacco. Then after Shekota shifted his teaching from the oldest groups to the children and the teenager generation, before telling to the children about social practices which were not allowed in Islamic religion he first equipped them with *shèriä* laws.¹⁷³

The students were taught drinking alcohol and chewing of chat was *haram* or was not allowed according to Islamic laws. Accordingly when the *därasäs* returned to their home destroyed the jars and all materials that their families used for the preparation of Arqe and Faresos. The teenager also rebelled against their parents and considered peoples who drink *Aräqê* and *färsō* as *häräm*, even refused to shake their hands and gradually the tradition of drinking alcohols and smoking of a water pipe tobacco became *häräm*.

Reading *Qŭrān* and other religious manuscripts, which he translated in to Afaan Oromo for his *därasas* was an integral part of his teaching methods, his goal was to cultivate his student’s interest in and appreciation for the words of *Qŭrān* and to encourage them to develop this talent or skill. Shekota teach people about social evils, one such social evil for him was

¹⁷¹ *Mohammed*, p.196

¹⁷² Informants: Raya, Kamaal, Sabti and see also Seena Shekota Gumma, p.5

¹⁷³ Informants: Raya, She Kemal, Sabit, Seena Shekota, pp.3, 4.

chewing chat, and shekota ordered people to abstain from alcoholic drinks such as *dhaadhi*, *farso* and smoking the water pipe tobacco (*gayyaa*), for shekota teaching is the first objective rather than enforcing the Islamic laws.¹⁷⁴

Oral informants assert that there were certainly many personalities in the religious history of the Oromo of Gibe in general and that of Gumma state in particular. But no other person is remembered as well by the Gumma kingdom in connection with the propagation of Islam as Shékötä Gumma. However, the information we have on his work is only what we obtained from oral informants and the districts manuscript. Regarding this Ishira stated that, “What is challenging for historians in their research work is collecting local customs of venerating Muslims, great religious leaders from sources contemporary and remote. Because of the above facts scholars of the time did not left for as written accounts”¹⁷⁵

After the death of Shekota Gumma four brothers were very known in propagating and expanding Islam in the kingdom, they are Sheik Abdulqader Abba Magale, sheik Abba Didha Abba Magale, sheik Hussen Abba Magale or commonly known as Shékötä *Boree* to mean the sheik of Boree and sheik Mohammed Abba Magale. Boree Abiyo mosque in the kingdom of Gumma were founded by the efforts of this four sheiks. Sheik Hussen Abba Dejee became the first caliph of Shékötä Gumma.¹⁷⁶

Islamic keenness in the kingdom of Gumma were in progress during the reign of Emperor Yohannes IV whose religious policy was manifested at the council of *Buru meda*. When the Emperor declared the Orthodox Christianity as the only state faith and ordered the rest of the people, especially the Wollo Oromo to be converted to Christianity (Orthodox Tewhedo) few of them are accept the king’s order while the majority refused to accept conversion and preferred to exile in to different territories.¹⁷⁷ Mekuria citing Tëklë-Tsädik maintains the role of Gumma and other Oromo kingdoms in accepting the Wollo exiles as follows:” ...Many fled to Matamma in northern Sudan to join Muslim resistance and many others migrated to Hadiya and Harar in the south and south east as well as to the states in to the south west such as

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁵ Ishira Minako, *Beyond Authenticity: Diverse Images of Muslim Awaliya in Ethiopia*, African Study Monographs, (Nanazan University March 2010), p.81

¹⁷⁶ Informants: Jamal Ahmed, She Kamal, She Adam Badi

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*

Jimma, Gumma and Gera”.¹⁷⁸

As it is indicated in the above quotation, the Gumma kingdom had been one of the states in southwest who warmly received the Wallo refugees and give them asylum. According to Literature and oral informants Gumma had been great role in forming and strengthen the Muslim league which was named as *Arfaan nagadotta* namely, Gumma, Gomma, Limu and Jimma .Gera later joined the league and the league become the five Gibe states. *Arfaan nagadota* is actually to indicate the four merchants states who embraced Islam, and the other group which existed during this time were known as *arfaan* Oromotta, states those followed different religious doctrine particularly traditional religion of the Oromo (*waaqqeffanna*), these states were namely Leeqa Neqmete, Leeqa Bilo, Leeqa Horde and Nolekaba¹⁷⁹

Under the leadership of Gumma the *Arfaan nagadota* declared *jihad* against *arfaan* oromotta and the two western Oromo confederacies fought at the battle of *Qumbi* and *Geedo* near the Dhidheessa River. At the battle *arfaan nagadota* emerged victories .In this battle the Mussulmen of the Gibe states were emerged victories and they also captured some of the warriors and took them to Gumma, then the following song was sang by the local people which was recorded by cerulli.

Afaan Oromo

Abbaa Bara Kan duriiti
Mataan badii naaf furii
me *Gatiin looni afurii*¹⁸⁰

English

O! Abba Bara of times past
Turn your head and redeem
the ransom is four cows

¹⁷⁸ Makuria Bulch. *Contours of The Emergent and Ancient Oromo*, (The Center of Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) Cap Ton South Africa, 2011), p.324 Huntingford, G.W.B, *The [Oromo] of Ethiopia, The Kingdoms of Kaffa and [Yam]*, p.37, Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopian 1855_1991*, p.47.

¹⁷⁹ Huntingford, G.W.B, *The [Oromo] of Ethiopia, The Kingdoms of Kaffa and [Yam]*, p.37, Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopian 1855_1991*, p.47, Informants: Jamal Ahmed, She Kamal, She Adam Badi

¹⁸⁰ Cerulli, *The Folk-Literature of the [Oromo] of Southern Abyssinia*, p.23

After the foundation of the Muslim league the kingdom of Gumma started to play the role of champions in the Gibe states. The members of the league, started to be held conferences at *Tullu Arga* at 1km from Gumay/ Toba .*Tullu arga* is the most important historical sites in the kingdom of Gumma as well as in the Gibe states. All the Gibe states discussed on different issues on the top of this mountain for long period of time According to some oral sources *Tullu Arga* became the *cäffé* of the Gibe states.¹⁸¹

Huntingford had supported the above ideas, which stated by Makuria and oral sources notwithstanding the collapses of the league Gumma remained a strong hold of Islam and it gave asylum to men exiled from other [Oromo] states for political reasons”.¹⁸²

Scholars were not reported the prerequisite war of Gumma Oromo in a similar ways. When Cerulli, Guluma and Mekuria reported Gumma were fought with the troops of Emperor Menelik II at three places, Mohammeds work only told as the war at the battle of *Baakee Ganjii* which was fought in 1902, again the manuscript of Toba/Gummay presented the Gumma fighting not in clear way.¹⁸³

According to Mekuria and Cerulli, the war of 1882 at Gumma was fought between the forces of Emperor Menelik II which was led by *Ras Daraso* who had invaded Jimma in 1881; this was recorded as the first battle that the Gumma fought against Emperor Menelik II forces at the battle of *Baakee Ganjii*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Waajjira Aadaa fi Turiizimii Aanaa Guumaay, p.9, Deressa, Bayisa, “A Historical Survey...p.26

¹⁸² Huntingford, G.W.B, The [Oromo] of ..., p.38_39, Gadaa Melbaa, *An Introduction the History of the Oromo people*, p.37.

¹⁸³ Cerulli, pp.22-27, Gulumma Gamada, *Islamization of the Gibe Region* ,p.155, Mekuria,pp.324-346, Waajjira Aadaa fi Turiizimii Aanaa Guumaay, pp.10-12, Mekurai, p.344.

¹⁸⁴ Cerulli, pp.63-27, Mekurai, p.344

Fig.7. the battle of *Bakkee Ganji*



Source: Photo by Anteneh Wasihun, October, 2017

Before the invasion of Jimma kingdom, Abba Jiffar II has been called all the Gibe states for support, at the crucial time; it was Abba Jobir of the kingdom of Gumma who quickly responded to the call of Abba Jiffar II. Abba Jobir, the king of Gumma ordered his hero brother Abba Digga to command the Gumma military that were sent to save Jimma from Menelik II invasion. However, his military reached after Jimma failed under Daraso's control. According to Mekuria and Abdulkarim, Abba Jiffar II had been advised by *ulemas* and *Ganne Gummiitti* to submit peacefully to the forces of Menelik II. An oral informant of Gumma also tells as that, it was Shekota Gumma from all *ulems* who did not support the peaceful submission of Abba Jiffar II to Menelik II fighters.¹⁸⁵ After the submission of Jimma was heard Abba Digga returned to his home for military mobilization and preparation, because Gumma would be the future target of the invasion. The expectation of Abba Digga was true, the forces of Ras Daraso after receiving tribute from Abba Jiffar II of Jimma triumphantly started to distract the Gumma resistance.

When Daraso reached Dhidheessaa (river) after receiving tribute from Abba Jiffar II of Jimma he faced a fierce resistance from Gumma. The two forces fought at Baakee Gaanjii near the Dhidheessa River. After fighting for a whole day, Gumma was defeated many of her forces were either killed or were taken prisoners. Both Abba Jobir and his brother's Abba Digga died in the battle field, and thus ras Daraso entered Gumma triumphantly.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Informants: Jihaad, Jamaal and Tajuu

¹⁸⁶ Mekuria Bulcha, p.344

After the death of Abba Digga and Abba Foggi the two brothers of the last king of Gumma, the state of Gumma existed as the hot bed in the resistance against Menelik's control of the Gibe region, the kingdom of Gumma become the symbol of Muslim keenness.¹⁸⁷

The written documents are clearly presented the death of Abba Jobir, the manuscript that is found in Tobba and the oral informants also tells as he was died in actual fighting at *Baakee Gaanjii* what was interesting after his death one of his three son Firrisa (Bulii and Caalii were born from Amahar qexxoo)¹⁸⁸ march to massawa through the red sea cost. In massawa he was joined by learned immigrant from Gumma by the name of Sheik Abdrahman. Firrisa and Sheik Abdrahman made many *jila* to mecca. And two of them are back to Gumma to raise revolte against Menelik's control or in the words of Mekuria "Menlik's "ethnocide" (that is the destruction of their religion and culture)".¹⁸⁹

Mohammed narrated these historical events as follow:

*Firrisa went through Eritria to Kassala and then to Sudan gathering some followers when most probably were refuges who had from the Abyssinian conquest a long the way. He and his followers entered Oromo land from the west heading to Anfillo and from there they wants through Leeqa Sayyoo and arrived in Gumma.*¹⁹⁰

Firrisa after entered to his mother land called all Gumma Oromo chiefs to a meeting and at the end he proclaimed himself king of Gumma. Fighting was ongoing between the Gumma Oromo chiefs which were led under the last prince of Gumma and *Dajjazmach* who became latter Ras Tesema forces. The Gumma Oromo scored military victories at the intial stag; this is at the battel of *Laga Saanxoo*.¹⁹¹

Firrisa exacerbated the Abyssinian armed forces from most of the Gumma lands. Mekuria stated "at the battle of *Lagaa Saanxoo* Firrisa dervout Shagirede and his troops out of Gumma and beyond the Dhidheessa".¹⁹²In the course of Gumma Oromo opposition the battle of *Lagaa Saanxoo* was the second battle while it was the first battle for Firrisa, the last prince of Gumma.

¹⁸⁷ Mohammed Hassen,p.160, Waajjira Aadaa fi Turiizimii Aanaa Guumaay, pp.9-10 and Informants: Adam, Abba Degga and Abba Tayee

¹⁸⁸ Informants:Adam,Abba Digga and Abba Tayee

¹⁸⁹ Mekuria,p.324

¹⁹⁰ Mohammed Hassen,p.160

¹⁹¹ Mekuria Bulcha, *Contours of the Emergent and Ancient Oromo Nation*, (The centre for Advaned Studies of African Society (CASAS), Cape Town South Africa, 2011), p.344

¹⁹² *Ibid*

The battle of *Baakee Ganjii* was the last decisive war in the course of Gumma Oromo resistance against to Menelik's ethnocide. The battle of *Baakee Ganjii* rembered among oral informants of Gumma "lolaa Baakee Gaanjiitti dhigni Farad jilba ga'e" to mean that at the battle of *Baakee Gaanji* the blood reaches the hourses knee.¹⁹³

It is apparent that the above quotation is not for the war that fought between Firrisa and Ras Tesema, rather it was for the first battle that were fought in 1882 between *Ras Daraso* and *Abba Digga*. As I have been discussed earlier the manuscript of *Gummay/Tobba* and the oral informants of Gumma are not gives any credit for Firrisa it narrate only the story of *Abba Digga Abba Dulla*.

There were several factors for the defeat of Firrisa's troops. The first factor was Menelik's II military superiority, which became the major factor. Tesema's forces are about 8000, in addition to this they are well equipped in modern weapens, written sources indicat that the troops of Ras Tesema those engaded at the battle of *baakee gaanjii* were supported by European armed force. The forces of Gumma joined the war thought their slogan "Gumma gumma'ii" to maean Gumma bee united against to your enemy. But the slogan *Gumma gumma'ii* did not last long, rumour started to divide the Gumma Oromo forces.¹⁹⁴

There were no clear aides that led to the division of Gumma forces however different views are arised Mohmmed had been reported that "support for his call was not lacking his jihad". The second idea was from what I resaved from *Tobba* tourism and cultural office manusetipt which reported as follow "nutii eenyuu gad taaneeti kan booda irra ykn fuula duraa hirriiru" to mean whay we first open fair against enemy this shows the superiority and inferiority complecs that created among the Gumma troops.¹⁹⁵

According to, some oral informants the main factor that led to the division of Gumma's army were the war stratages that Firrisa uses. He planned to make a reserve his own clan, the Adami, while he gives the command for the *Ganjii* clans and the *watta* to open faire first or meet head-onthe enemy. This arose grievance and led to the division of Gumma Oromo.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Tajuu and Adam

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*,

¹⁹⁵ *Wajjira Aadaa fi Turiizimii Aanaa, Seena Aanaa Gummay*, A manuscript fuod at the Culture and Tourism office of Gumay \Tobba, 2007, p. 11

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*,

On top of this when the war materials tremendously increased on the side of Ras Tesema's that of Firrisa's decreasing in alarming rate, shortage of arms, food supply and traditional medicines had been daunting challenges to the Gumma's resistance against Menelik II ethnocide.

Therefore, Gumma forces were completely defeated, than after Firrisa determined fle to Gobba west of Gumma land which was ruled by Fantaasa Illu. Fantaas Illu was ordred by *Ras* Tesema to open fair in opposition to Firrisa but he was not wellingens and he refused the order of the Ras. Latter Tesema captured him with his large number of troops in 1903. After they taken hem to Jimma he was panned in death penalty. Mohammed and Mekuria citing Cerulli brifly described his death as follow:

Firrisa demanded to excuted holding the quran in his hands, and before the hanging he cried out that he would be buried outside Ethiopia... The tragic death of the last king of Gumma made a great and pain ful impression on the [Oromo] curulli wrote that "all the musulmen of these lands consider Firrisa as a sanit (wali).¹⁹⁷

As it is explained in the above quotation, Firrisa of the kingdom of Gumma was not only the heir to the throne of Gumma however, he was considered by the muslimen of this land as a sanit.

After the defeat of Gumma the Gumma Oromo said the following:

<i>Gaafarsa gorra xiinsaa</i>	the Bufalo of Gora Xiinsa
<i>Arbaa gorra Abba Noonnoo</i>	Elephant of Gora Abba
<i>Nonno Qeransaa Gumma yuuloo</i>	the big Tigers of Gumma
<i>Jibichaa Gumma Tuttoo</i>	the big Bule of Gumma
<i>Dhadhii Ibichaa yuuroo tti</i>	Daadhi Ebicha in Yuro
<i>Kantuu Gummayiin fixee</i>	It is which killed Gumma
<i>Kantuu Darasuu fidhe¹⁹⁸</i>	it is this which brings Darasu

The heartbreaking death of Firrisa could not bring to an end the local resistances in Gumma. They never tolerated the settlers of Abyssinia. After the fail of Gumma under Menelik's troops the Gumma peasants said as follow:

Afaan Oromoo	English
<i>Ilimman haadha waltee</i>	Those sons of walatte
<i>Shawaa irra gadii haratee</i>	Flocked to as from shawa

¹⁹⁷ Mohammed Hassen,p,160

¹⁹⁸ Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Tajuu and Adam

Gurguddaa Nama keenya
Du'aa Nama godhatees
*Hin qaaltuu cibsitēe*¹⁹⁹

Makes the most respected mans
killed all of them
whom you wait why you killed

Following this poem the Gumma Oromo killed three hundred Gonderians those settled after the kingdom of Gumma failed under the control of Menelik II. Three hundred Gonderians were beheaded over a night before beheading them first they passed a uniform message using their mother tongue (Afaan Oromo) “holla mana koo jiru har’an qallen bulaa, attis holla mana kee jiru hin bulchin eddan qalii” this is translated as I behead the Gondere who lived in my house this night you have to do the same at this night, this were the crucial message which resulted for the death of three hundred Gonderians in the kingdom of Gumma after the death of Firrisa.²⁰⁰

In addition to this, one of the Gumma heroes Gurmessa Eba killed *Dējāzmach* Belata Desta, after they captured them they also taken them to Jimma and hanged them upside down. What makes things very serious in the kingdom of Gumma was that at Sigmoo, Gumma killed the *Mēselānē*. Following this event Emperor Menelik II decided to attack Gumma in *finno* (anteraces).²⁰¹

According to informant, Jihad Abba Bore and Taju Abba Delbe *harma mura* and *harkamura* cutting the women breast and the hands first started in the kingdom of Gumma around Saxxamma and Sigmoo before what had been happened in Arsi and Harar, Gumma was a place where Emperor Menelik tasted the effect of cutting hands and spreading epidemic diseases, which commonly the Gumma Oromo called *finnoo*. By this epidemic disease a large number of Gumma population lost their lives, and the resistance towards Menelik were totally weakened.²⁰²

3.3 Ritual Performance at *Quba Shēkōtä*

Quba Shekota Gumma site is one of the centers of ritual performance, the information about the custom of ritual performances conducted at the cult of *Quba* shekota mainly comes from the oral informants and what the researcher observed during the field work in Gummay or Tobba.

According to oral informants, the pilgrimage is conducted during the major Muslim festivals, the *Arafa* (idal adha) and the *Mawlid* (mawlid an-nabi) especially during the festival of *Mawlid*

¹⁹⁹ Informants: Adam Badi, She Shaamsu, Abba Degga and Jihaad

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Informants: Jihaad, Taajuu and Jamaal.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

an-nabi not only the muslims however, the Christians and the traditional religious followers were also took a pilgrimage to *Quba shekota* from different territories of the kingdom of Gumma until today. For this festival oxs and cows are slaughtered for both Muslims and non-Muslims independently.²⁰³

The Christians and the followers of traditional religions also contributed money for the ritual festival at *Quba shekota*. Before the coming of the festival on Thursday night people also gathered for religious program known as *hadara*. This is ceremoniously held religious gathering with the specific purpose for reacting. Chewing chat (*Catha edulis*) and giving Supplication (da'u) became common.²⁰⁴

Fig.8. Inscription on Stone found in the the mosque of Sheekota Gumma which indicates the year of the foundation of the mosque (1143Hijira)



Source: Photo by Anteneh Wasihun, October, 2017

At *Quba shekota* there is a tomb of shekota Gumma with a house built on it. The house of the tomb itself is surrounded by a fenced enclosure and the fence is built from wood, the house on the tomb of shekota Gumma is built by wood, mud, stone and iron sheet on its roof with

²⁰³ *Ibid*

²⁰⁴ Informants: Geetuu, Awaale, Kamaal, Gaazalii, Jihaad

sfer plan. The tomb was built on the very well-known Yemen resident know as Ali Hayeder. According to, the manuscript the people of Gumma paid one thousand Ethiopia birr for hem after he completed the constriction of the tomb. The total width of the tomb is about 72m and it has a length of about 5m. In the eastern front of the tomb there is a mosque which is commonly known as *masgidha shekota*. According to oral sources the mosque located near the tomb is used by the people for regular prayer.²⁰⁵ However, other Islamic sects such as salalifism (wahhabiya) strongly opposed this celebration and such interactions at *qubas*. The Wahhabi fiercely rejected pilgrim to the *quba shekota* as well as other practices irreconcilable with this idea. The openents of Sufism claimed that the Sufi teaching is irrelevant to the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*. According to Seyoum the Sufism has greatly affected the behest of the Muslim and diverted it from the pure Sunnah.²⁰⁶

When Islam started to spread in to the kingdom of Gumma at the beginning some section of the Oromo especially the youth and their families relinquished *Waaqqeffanna* and completely embraced Islam .Others, however, freely accepted Islam just to avoid repressions from the youth but secretly adopted double identities .They became Muslim who prayed to Allah during the day time and remained *waaqqeffata*, who prayed to waaqa in the evening.

<i>Yaa Ayyanna Abba Koo</i>	The spirit of my father
<i>Abbetti, Abbetti.</i>	Abbet, Abbet!
<i>Guyyaan Kan shekota</i>	The day is for shekota (Islam)
<i>Haalkaan Kan Waaqatti</i>	the night is for the Waaqa
<i>Abbetti Abbetti</i> ²⁰⁷	Abbet, Abbet!

One can discern from the above couplet during the day time they worshipped Islam with sheikhs and in the evening they worshipped their father’s spirit. Ayyana Abba is very common in Oromo traditional religion. Such like syncretism is supported by Berner; in his definitions of syncretism he identifies two levels of syncretism, syncretism at the level of element and syncretism at the level of system. When the first one is the act of adopting

²⁰⁵ *Ibid, see aslso Seena Shekota, p.7*

²⁰⁶ Seyum Merga. “An Archaeological Survey of Islamic Shrines in Jimma Zone, South Western Ethiopia “,(MA,AAU Thisis in Archaeolgy, 2012), p, 42.

²⁰⁷ Informants:She Tamam,Awaal,Jihad and Adam

element of one religion into another and the second idea refers to the process of eliminating the boundaries between the different religions with the purpose of reducing friction.²⁰⁸ What we observed among the Gumma Oromo seemed in line with the second definition of syncretism given by Berner, that is, on the level of system.

According to well-versed oral informants of Gumma, when the rainy season delayed and diseases attacked their cattle the traditional Oromo religion followers, the Muslims and the Christians of Gumma came together under big trees or around the water bodies and prayed together for God's intervention. For scholars like Berner such gatherings of people who followed different religions at a specific place is a hallmark of syncretism. Berner in his definition of syncretism states that syncretism is a survival strategy at a time of individual or communal crisis and tension.²⁰⁹ On the other hand, oral informants assert that whenever there were shortage of rainfall, outbreak epidemic and serious social unrest the Qädëriyā would also enter the *khälwäs* to repent long *dhirks* and offer *da'u*.²¹⁰

In addition to Quba Shekota hundreds of thousands of pilgrims travel to Quba Neural Ahmed and Waarukkoo .During these periods pilgrims partake in a numerous of rituals, one of which is votive offering(*silät*) in return for some kind of material or other benefits such as children,wealth and health obtained through prayers in the name of the spiritual leaders.²¹¹

The handing over of votive offerings is accompanied by public statement of alleged miracles. The shrines of Neural Ahmed is located in Dambi town, while the shrines of Waarukkoo is found in Gummay\Toba Quudaad Qunaacoo, west of Yaacii kebel about 4-5 kilometers from the main asphalted road .Among the Gumma oral sources when Neural Ahmed considered as the saint (wail), Shékötä Gumma and Shekota Okkola considered as the most respected and known scholars and Waarukkoo was a scholar-saint who spent most of his life time teaching the basicprinciple of Islam in Gumma and Gomma.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Berner, Ulrich.' 'The Notion of Syncretism in Historical and\or Empirical Research'' *In Historical Reflections\Reflexions Historiques* 27, no.3 (2001), pp.498-509]

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*

²¹⁰ Informants:Kamaal Yasiin and Abdii

²¹¹ *Ibid*

²¹² *Ibid*

Waarukkoo is considered by his followers as a junior Gumma saint (wali) .The shrine of Waarukkoo which is located in Qunaacoo has two main gates which are commonly known as keela Gumma and Keela Gomma. Pilgrims from Gomma, Jimma, Limmu and the surrounding areas entered through the former gate, however, the latter gate has been used for the pilgrims who came from Gumma territories.²¹³

The grave of Waarukkoo is found in a cemetery which has two small containers in which incense is burnt. The cemetery is covered with a linen cloth .A simple thatch roofed hut was erected over the grave probably around the last part of the nineteenth century. The shrine has two windows, a door and symbols of the star and crescent on the top of the roof. The shrine and the three eucalyptus tree are separated from the surrounding structures by a wooden enclosure .The shrine got its present structure during the 1940s when the thatch-roofed hut was demolished and a new Corrugated iron roof were built in its place.²¹⁴

The other structures that can be found outside the compound of the shrine of Waarukkoo are also cave, hills, streams and springs which are considered sacred. The stream at the foot of the hill is called by the local people as bishaan haadha Waarukkoo (stream of Waarukkoo).The other three water springs found around the compound of the shrine of Waarukkoo are called Zam Zam. Bishaan haadha Waarukkoo is believed to have a healing power and pilgrims even refer to it as Zam Zam.²¹⁵

²¹³ Aman Seifden, pp. 46-47

²¹⁴ Ibid and oral informants: Jihaad, shabu and see also seenaa, shekota Gumma, p.16

²¹⁵ *Ibid*



Stream of waarukkoo, photo by: Anteneh Wasihun 19, October, 2017

The healing power of the water is attributed to Waarukkoo's prayer and blessing that the water and the soil from places where he stood up and sat down and prayed should heal his followers from all sorts of sicknesses. According to oral sources narration, there are many pilgrims who claimed to have been cured of their sicknesses by drinking the water or washing themselves with it. There are also people who take the water to their home. They mix it with normal water and wash with it or simply drink it. Some of the pilgrims gave small quantities to their relatives, close friends and neighbors. Some of them kept *Bishaan haadha waarukkoo* for a long time in tightly closed containers and drank or rubbed parts of their body with it whenever they fell ill.²¹⁶

According to local elders, large numbers of people came annually from Gomma and its surrounding areas to the shrine of Waarukkoo. Besides *mawlid* and Islamic festivals, another important occasion which attracted large numbers of pilgrims was the celebrations of the "Night of Record" (Halkan walakkaa sha'abaa). Local 'ulama' stressed that every action of men in the coming year, whether good or bad, is recorded on the night of the 14th or the 15th of the Islamic month of *Sha'ban*. Thus, every Muslim who aspires to succeed in life, remain in good health, and gain materially and spiritually in the coming year, must pray to Allah on that night. Moreover, local Muslims used to visit the shrine of Waarukkoo on Fridays and during important Islamic holiday. Some local pilgrims to Anaajina, either on the

²¹⁶ Ibid and Informants: Abba Didu, Abba Gissa, Abba Warii and Abba Dulaa

start of their journey, or on their return, visited the shrine. Locally it is believed that pilgrimage to the Anaajinaa is complete when a pilgrim visits Waarukkoo's shrine, either at the start or the end of his \her journey.²¹⁷

Pilgrims to *Quba Shêkõtä*, *Quba Nueral Ahmed* and Quudaa Qunnaacoo performed numerous pre-Islamic practices through the nineteenth century. This pre-Islamic practices included sacrificing an animal, throwing food and milk around the shrine and under the trees. Shekota Gumma was the first scholar who condemned such kinds of practices. According to oral sources the aim of Shekota Gumma was to purify Islam from old viles and rituals.²¹⁸

According to Aman and oral informants, the *Derg* regime and the growing influence of the Wahhabi undermined saint veneration and belief in their power of intercession.²¹⁹ Furthermore, among all religious followers of Gumma there are practices connected to the belief in *jinni* and other magical rituals. Also the ceremonies of the individual life such as birth, circumcision, wedding and death are influenced by traditional customs. However, these traditional cultural activities are condemned as remnant of the pre-Christian and Islam polytheism by many of Muslims and Christians of Gumma²²⁰

3.4 Islamic Orders in Gumma

In Gumma and Limmu the *Qädiriyyä* were predominated. *Qädiriyyä* is the oldest self-perpetuated order in Islam and there are few parts of the Islamic world where it is not active and none where the name of its founder, Abd al-Qadir al-jilani (A.D 1077-1166).The *Qadiyya* order first penetrate into the land of North-east Africa through the commercial and maritime relations that existed between the coastal towns and other Islamic countries.²²¹ The order has spread amongst the Muslim of the Arusi region and Harar .The order was introduced to Gumma and its surrounding by a Somali Sheikh and has acquired a considerable number of followers .In Jimma and Gomma, where the *Tijaniyya* is the dominant *tariqa*, it is not very strong, but in Gumma it is predominated out of Gumma it has also spread amongst the Limmu, the Gurage and the Alaba.The adherent of *Qädiriyyä* were numerous than that

²¹⁷ *Ibid*

²¹⁸ Aman, p.46 and *Ibid*

²¹⁹ *Ibid*

²²⁰ *Ibid*

²²¹ Ostebo.Terje, *The Question of Becoming: Islamic Reform Movement Ethiopia*, p.7

of *Tijaniyya* in Gumma.²²²The Sammaniyya order is also another dominant tariqa in the kingdom of Gumma. Muhammed b: Abdal- Karim al-Sammani (1718-75) was its founder. Sammaniyya order was introduced into the region by a Sudanese, Sheikh known among the local people by the name of Sheikota Garbii. In the year between 1910 to 1920 he got supports from Jimma Abba Jifar II and Shekota Gumma.

Shekota Gumma played a leading role for the further expansion of the *tariqa* in Gumma and its surrounding.²²³ According to the narrations of oral informants Shekota Garbii established himself for a long period of time in Gumma. Later dead when he was the way to Gonder at Addis Alam on, 13, December 1926. After the death of Shekota Garbii his son whose name is Abba Bulguu succeeded him and he initiated many people into the *Tariq*. Abba Bulguu was died in 1993 and was buried at Bdaa Buna.²²⁴

The Tijaniyya is one of the orders in Gumma and its surrounding areas, particularly in Jimma and Gomma. Even though it seems difficult to get information from oral informants the Tijaniyya order seem to have introduced into the Gibe region at the end of the nineteenth century.

However, in Gumma as well as in Gomma and Jimma the Tijaniyya *tariqa* had a few followers.²²⁵ Al-Haji Yusif or commonly known among the local people by the name Shekota Coqorsaa of Jimma kingdom on pilgrims was initiated into the order by the western Africa Khalifa (particularly those from Negara). Beginning from this time Shekota Coqorsaa became one of the great Tijani Shayks who played a great role for the further expansion of the Tijaniyya order. Trimingham point out that the Tijaniyya order is to the kingdom of Gumma and its influence is second to that of the Qādirriyyā.²²⁶

In Gumma and its surrounding the dominant *Madhhab* (school of Islamic law) is the *Shafiiyya*. The *Shafiiyya Madhhab* was brought to Gibe region by Muslim *Ummas* from Wallo. Even if its

²²² Trimingham, J. S. *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Frances and Co. Ltd, new ed. 1965), p.239 and Aman Seifeden "Islam and the Muslim Community of Gomma: A Historical Survey (1886-1974)" (MA, Thesis in History AAU2006), p.63

²²³ Informants: Abba Tamaam, Hasan, Abba Garoo and Abba Biyaa

²²⁴ *Ibid*

²²⁵ Aman Seifeden "Islam and The Muslim Community of Gomma...", p.39 and Informants: Abba Zinaab, Abba Jamaal and Abba Nagaa

²²⁶ Trimingham, pp.96, 246 and Aman Seifeden, p.37

introduction first to Limmu-Ennarya and then to Gomma Shafiiyya had a large number of followers in Gumma. Next to *Shafiiyya Hanbali* had also same followers in the kingdom of Gumma and its surrounding.²²⁷ My oral informants of Gumma were not recalling about the other School of Islamic laws and its influence in Gumma under the period discussion.

Following the expansion of Islam deeply thorough the kingdom, the Islamic law, sha'ria began to operate in a gradual process. In fact it was Islam; highly affect the traditional cultural practices. This was due 'to the limitation of the shar'ia derives from the fact that it is subordinate to the local custom of many of these tribes though gradually, especially in the towns, amongst the detribalized and in a mixed settlements it gain greater hold.²²⁸

Since the people of Gumma predominantly settled in rural area and due to the existence of various tribes, the operation of *shr'ia* in case of marriage was in a slow process. In the first phase of introduction of Islam ,the kings were the first convert and then they facilitated its steady expansion while they practiced traditional *Qaallu* ceremonies .In case of marriage ,both the *shr'ia* and the traditional marriage ceremony of Oromo's of Gumma practiced in fusion. Accordingly, they practiced exogamy marriage by the five types of marriage: *butta, ababali, farada dhaba, assena and hassa'ana*. At the final ceremony of each marriage type, the *sha'ria* marriage custom *Nikah* implemented at the end .In the naming system, after Islam introduced ,they named both Muslim name like; Kadire, Hasen...ets and Oromo name, like Giddi, Jobire...ets. But most of the time they did not used Muslim name in the public affair, except the religious leader's .This custom gradually reduced after the influence of Islam grew strong. In addition to this, the males get the title of *Abba*, after they made marriage .This was given by a *warsa* (brother's wife) and if he had not a *warsa*, he begot by his families or his neighbors. For example if his name is Giddi, after marriage he named as Abba Giddi.²²⁹

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p.236 and *Ibid*, p.38

²²⁸ *Ibid*

²²⁹ Informants: Raayaa, Kassa, Jihaad and Adam

The Gumma oral informants are not recall when exactly the *Shari's* law started to be functioned in Gumma. However, according to same sources the Shari's law started to implement in Gumma before 1920s. The time of shekota Gumma most probably marked the beginning of *Shari's* court in Gumma, while shekota Gumma became the first *qadi* in Gumma.²³⁰

3.5 Islam in Gumma from the Italian Occupation to Post 1974

The Gumma Oromo were both collaborated and resisted to Italian rule .However; largely they relied to the former than the latter. ²³¹As Assafa mentioned ‘‘the Italians attempt to use Oromo grievances against their previous colonizers by changing the oppressive land holding system’’.²³²

In addition, the Italians gave many of the Oromo full right to their land they had cultivated under the Amhara land lords .Due to the modification of previous rure and Oromo's access to land and religious freedom the Gumma Oromo's and its surrounding Oromo's said as follows:’’ ha addaatu shaashii Haappii waaya, haa ammatuu Xaaliyaan waaya.this is to mean that Although the Itaians were cruel, they were less harsh than the Ethiopians.²³³ Immediately after Italians occupied Ethiopia the set up an Empire known as ‘‘African Orentel Italiana(Italian East African) also set in Jimma their own administration which were called as Governo Dell-Sidama came to be one of the six administrative regions of Italian East Africa, in which Gumma classified under [Oromo]-Sidama province’’.²³⁴

The Itaian occupation and subsequent administration contributed to the consolidation of Islam in Gumma as eleswere in Jimma or muslim popoulated areas in Ethiopia .This was mainly due to Italian religious policy that favor Islam at expesnse of other religion particularly the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians.The Italianauthorities knew perfectly all patriotic and nationalistic attitudes of the EOC and there fore saw in the church the great danger for their peaceful rure and settlement in Ethiopia.²³⁵

²³⁰ *Ibid* and See also Seenaa Shekota..., pp.11-13, Aman,p.69

²³¹ Aman, p.46 and Informants: Abba Didu, Abba Gissa, Abba Warii and Abba Dulaa

²³² Assafa Jalata .*Oromia and Ethiopia: State Formation and Ethno National Conflict 18-2004*, (Asmara,2005), p.104 and Informants: Jihaad, Naasiir Abba Fiixaa and Kamaal

²³³ Informant Abba Didu, Abba Gissa, Abba Warii and Abba Dulaa

²³⁴ Informants: Naasiir Abba Fiixaa Jihaad See also the work of Ibsa Huresa on the Gera Oromo

²³⁵ Yonas Seifu,’’The Historical Sevey of Jimma Town from 1936-1974.’’(M.A.Thesis.Hitsory, AAU, 2002), p.32

In the Gumma and its surrounding areas the Italians encourage Islam. The Muslim of Gumma like other Ethiopians Muslims enjoyed the confidence of the Italian colonial authorities and consequently were given better treatment and great opportunity in the government. Muslim festivals were celebrated in a solemn and public manner which had not hitherto been customary in the country. Several mosques were restored many new ones were founded wherever; there were Muslims, in the majority, or minority.²³⁶

In 1936 the Italians announced the release of Sultan Abba Jobir of Gumma, who had been imprisoned by Haile Silassie. Sultan Abba Jobir of Gumma had been imprisoned with Abba Jobir of Jimma in the same year, two of them were visited to Rome and warmly received by Mussolini in 1938.²³⁷

Sultan Abba Jobir of Gumma



(Source: from the collection of Farid Abba Boor, the son of Abba Bor Abba Magal the governor of Geera from 1937-1974)

²³⁶ Margray perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, (London, 1910), p.123, Girmaye G\Michael, "The Religious Setting in Jimma Zone (1880s-1974)" (M.A.Thesis.History, Jimma University, 2015), p

²³⁷ *Ibid* and Yonas Seifu, "The Historical Sevey of Jimma..." , p.18

Like in Jimma the Italians replaced Amhara judges with Islamic *Qādīs* and appointed Muslim chiefs. According to oral informants, narrative the Italians appointed Sheikh Kamaal a Muslim as *Qādi* of Gumma and paid him a salary of 200 Lire per month.²³⁸

Ethiopian liberation from the Italian rule begun in March 1941 the patriotic forces entered Jimma and the surrounding areas on 20, June 1941 which marked end of the Italian rule in the region in general and Gumma in particular. Immediately after the liberation Räs Garasu was ordered by the central government to handover the administration of Jimma and its surrounding areas which Gumma became his administrative part to Haile Silassie's official Räs Birru. During this time the Gumma Oromo Muslims totally lost internal autonomy. After his return Haile Silassie's government severely punished the Oromo Muslims peasants for accepting lands offered by Italians. Such lands were taken immediately and restored to the Crown, the Church, the government officials of Shawa Amhara Settlers. By 1947 Sultan Abba Jobir of Gumma had been confiscated about 175 hectares of land. Collaborating with the Italians during the occupation, Abba Jobir of Gumma temporarily regained his property and pore, but his collaboration with Italians, however, ruined his chances for reconciliation with Haile Sellasie's government after the restoration. Shortly the latter's return from exile, Abba Jobir of Gumma was summoned to accumulation of land with Sutan Abba Jobir of Jimma.

On the basis of their social background in the 1950s and 1960s some of Haile Sillassie's officials confiscated the land of Gumma. This officials included *Dājazmäch* Garasu Duke, Accordingly, he held about 330 gash lands in Gummay Tobba only and his son Tabor Garasu also held about 270 gash lands in the some area.²³⁹

The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution had a deep impact on Islam. Although it guaranteed religious equality, the *Derg* vigorously attacked some popular sufi practices as ant-revolutionary and 'backward cultures'. *Derg* officials arrested and executed some of important local holy men, moreover the land proclamation of 1974 villagization and the social dislocation that followed seriously undermined the economic potential of Mousqes.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Informants: Fared Abba bor the son of Abba Bor Abba Maagal balabat of Gera from 1937-1974

²³⁹ *Ibid* and see also Yonas, p.77 for the rest of the Gibe regions

²⁴⁰ Informants: she Kamaal, Haji Faris Haji Jamaal and Abba Degga Abba Warri

The governments of Haile Sellassie discriminated against the Muslims and even Muslims were considered as second class citizens. One of our oral informants indicated that during the reign of Emperor Haile Sellassies I there was an Amharic saying which clearly indicates the prejudice of against the Muslims. The Amharic Saying goes as follows: *amora marefaw wareka Muslim hageru Meka*, which literally meant “The birds live on the tree and the Muslims country is Mecca”²⁴¹ They have been regarded as peripheral because of this they were termed “muslims in Ethiopia” Islam, as religious institution was not permitted to established its own religious organization. These religious repression and other tyrannous actions led the Muslim community saw the 1974 revolution as an opportunity for breakthrough. Similar to other opperessed groups, the revolution also created hopes for better future of Ethiopian Muslims. Hence, on the demonstration carried out on, 20 April 1974, tens of thousands demonstrated to express their sympathy to the revolution. popular slogan of the time is persanted as follow:

*Equality is the basis of unity! We can not afforded to remain second class citizens! We demand for equal participation in administration! Out of 14 Enderases none of them is a Muslim! Out of 20 Ministers only two are Muslims! No Muslim is a General! Our demand is for equality, no superiority; the constitution discriminates against the majority of the population! Ethiopia is not only a “Christian Island!” we too are Ethiopians! Go away with religious discrimination! Ethiopia can not afford to have second class citizens! Declare secular state! Liberty, equality and fraternity! Men are born free and equal in rights!*²⁴²

According to oral informants of Gumma the demonstration in Gumma particularly in Tobba\Gumay the Christians were also actively participate in the donmisteration of the time. According to the narretive of Kassa and Qasima the Tobba\Gumay Christians involved in the demonstration in supporting their Muslim brothers as follows: “Secularize the state! Ethiopia is not only to the Cristians! We Christians support this democratic demand of our Muslim brothers! No state interferes in religion! Unity is the basis of equality! Separate the Church and the state!”²⁴³

The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution had a deep impact on Islam. Although it guaranteed religiuos equality, the *Derg* vigorously attacked some popular sufi practices as ant-revolutionary and ‘backward cultures’. *Derg* officials arrested and executed some of important local holy

²⁴¹ Informants: Jihaad Abba Bor, Haji Faris and Abba Dagga Abba Warri

²⁴² *Ibid* see also the manuscripts of Ethiopian Studies reference No 2396\02\5

²⁴³ Informants: kassa, Qasima, wande and Abdii

men, moreover the land proclamation of 1974 villagization and the social dislocation that followed seriously undermined the economic potential of Mousqes.²⁴⁴

According to the oral informant of Tobba, Naser Abba Fiixaa the year from 1974-1991 in religious history of Gumma seem to have been characterized by set back in religion in general. The military government also played a devastating role here and there in the country. It is amazing to recall *Derg* attitude towards religion in general.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Informants: she Kamaal, Haji Faris Haji Jamaal and Abba Dagga Abba Warri

²⁴⁵ Haji Naser Abba Fixaa

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY IN THE KINGDOM OF GUMMA

The Ethiopia Orthodox church (ECO) was introduced in the middle of the fourth century, when two merchant sons Syria arrived in Aksum and resided at the court.²⁴⁶ One of these sons, namely Frumentius, started converting, the Ethiopians, with the help of Alexandria, Frumentius converted king Ezana (244).After wrades, Orthodox Christianity became the church of the Akusmite kingdom. Because the Ethiopian Orthodox church was in close contact with the Egyption Coptic Church, it can be concluded that the Ethiopian Orthodox church had been influenced greatly by the Coptic Church. For example, during the split between the Catholic Church and the Coptic Church –which lead to the counsel of *Chalcedoñ in 451*-the Ethiopian Orthodox Church followed the Coptic Church and adopted monophysitism, to which it has been loyal until the present day.²⁴⁷

Orthodox christianity which deeply rooted in Ethiopian history, social life and ethnics,EOC, although it was never the faith of all Ethiopians has long been the dominant faith of all of highland Ethiopian partly due to the imperial rulers .Indeed,it played a significant role in state formation in the Ethiopian highlands. Ethiopian Orthodox christian has traditionally attracted the attention of historian, theologians, students of religion and philogists because of its long and complex history, its being a natural case for comparson with Western Christianity and its long written tradition, as evident not only in royal Chronicles, theological works potery (*Qĩñe*) and hagiographies of saints and holy men.²⁴⁸

The farther expansion of Orthodox Christianity took place toward the end of the 5th century, this was when the *Nine Saints* came to Aksum, however, lack of the written sources makes difficult to know the exact time of the introduction of Christianity to the Gibe region in general and to the kingdom of Gumma in particular. However, a few accounts mentioned that Orthodox Christianity was introduced to the ensuing the emergence of the kingdom of Enarya.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Marcus, Herald. *A History of Ethiopia*, California,(University of California Press, 1994), p.244

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.277, Haggai, Erlich.*Islam and Christianity in the Horn of Africa:Somalia,Ethiopia and Sudan*,(Lynne Rienner Publishers,2010),p.2,J.Abbink,*A Biography on Christianity in Ethiopia* (Leiden:African Studies Centre,2003),p.7 and Trimmingham,p.22-24.

²⁴⁹ Sergew Hable sellassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History 1270*, P.115

Trimingham has also posited that the Sidama kingdom of Ennarya was conquered by Yisäq between 1412 and 1428 and was subsequent converted to christianity by Sersa Denigl in 1586.²⁵⁰

According to the magazine of the *Jimma Diocese, Leyu Item* (special publication) the endeavour to reach the region of the present day Jimma had begun since the Middle age. However, it is difficult to ascertain the accuracy of this assertion for much of Enarya was under Oromo control precisely at a time when the kingdom is said to have accepted christianity or evangeliation efforts to convert the southern peoples in general and Ennarya in meticulous, Enarya is also mentioned for the first time in the documents of the Christian kings towards the end of the Aksumite period. Subsequently, the Christian influences grow strong and finally, Enarya became the tributary of the Christian kingdom during the region of Amade Tseyon.²⁵¹

Sources indicate the Christian influence had reached Enarya as the middle of the thirteenth century. After the conversion of Enarya the Christian kings started to send religious fathers for the further expansion of Christianity in to the kingdom.

At its early period there are some individuals who played a great role for its further expansion in to the Gibe region. The manuscript that I resaved from Jimma “ደጅቸሽ አይዘገብም” cited as follow:

... Stand from this Abba Yosef was sent to teach and preach Christianity to the former Enarya and know Limmu Kossa and Limmu Ska districts. For the other neighboring states it was Abba Arores, the great father Abba Adane with Abba Eyoseyas were sent especially around the middle of 13th century among the first fruits of the monasteries saints Abba Samuel's religious teachings and religious work enable him succeeded to have concerted a significant number of local people to Christianity, the conversion of this people followed with opening of a number of churches.²⁵²

The above question help as, to understand the foundations of Orthodox Christianity churches in the Gibe region were the effects of Abba Samuel who was sent to the area. In addition to this the question, tells as the further expansion of christianity to the kingdom of Gumma were may also back to the middle of the 13th century. Even it seems difficult to know the exact

²⁵⁰ Trimingham, p.22, Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia...*, pp.37-38

²⁵¹ Laphiso Delebo, *The Ethiopian Long History of People and Government 1st edition*, PP.250-252

²⁵² *Ye Jimma Hagere Sibket Hulegeb Intsa Mireqat Metset leyu Etim* Septeber 24, 2007, P.12, Girmaye G\michael “The Religi uos setting in Jimma Zone (1880s-1974)” M.A Thesis, Jimma University 2015, pp.85-86 and Informants: Mamhre Mulu, Liqe Tebebt Amha and Aleqa Mareshet

territories of Ennarya however; it is very simple to understand that the kingdom of Gumma became incorporated to Ennarya or the neighboring states of Ennarya. So according to above source it is possible to say the Abbunes and religious fathers are started to send in to the area around the Middle of 13th century.

A number of Orthodox Christianity churches are founded in the Gibe regions. According to sources accessible the oldest churches in the Gibe region were the churches of St. Merry of Limmu kossa and St. Tekle Haymanot of Limmu, two of them are founded in 1824. And the third oldest church to be founded in the Gibe region is St. Abune Gebermenfes Qidus church in 1855 is located in Sexxama in the kingdom of Gumma.²⁵³ Consecrating and sending bishops for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church from Egypt continued until 1958. The Ethiopian church was able to appoint its own patriarch and patriarchs were consecrated from Alexandria church of Egypt to the Ethiopian Orthodox church.

Beginning from 1929 the history of consecrating and sending bishops to Ethiopian Orthodox Church was changed. In 1929 five Ethiopians were consecrated by Alexandrian patriarch. Abune Mikael I was one of the five consecrated bishop and who was sent to administer and teach in *Illu Abbabor* and *Käffä Awräjä*s. The bishop made his diocese at Gore town and served Jimma and kaffa. For the first time around 1952 Archbishop was sent to Jimma (kaffa Awraja), Abune Geregoreyos was the first bishop to be sent to Jimma. The bishop administered the *Kaffa Awraja* from 1943 to 1958 then he was died in 1958 and buried at the graveyard of Jimma Medinealem church. Since then eight Archbishopshave been sent to Jimma and its surrounding.²⁵⁴

The expansions of the Ethiopian Orthodox churches in the southwestern parts of Ethiopia had been not only the mission of great religious fathers only, particularly at the end of the 19th century Emperor Menelik in his religious policy gave great attentions for the foundation of new churches. *Ras Goban* was assigned for its accomplishment. Gber Seliss in Lapiso cited as follow:

²⁵³ *Ibid*

²⁵⁴ Trimmingham, pp, 22-24

ስማ ስማ ያገሬ ሰው ጌታችን ኃይላችን ረዳታችን ኢየሱስ ክርስቶስ ለሀገራችን ለመንግስታችን ሰላምና ዕረፍትን ሰጥቶን ይህን ያህል ቀን አኖረን አስገዛን እኝም ይህን ሁሉ አስበን መረዳት አለብን እኔ ራሴ የከተማዬን ዘበኞቼን ይዞ ከከተማ ያሉትን አብያቴ ክርስቲያናት አሰራለሁ ሹማምንትም ባለጉልተትም በየ አጥብያህ ያለው መቅደስ ቤተክርስቲያን ስራ...ለጉልበትህ ለገንዘብህ ብለህ ቤተክርስቲያን አልሰራም ብለህ የወሰለትክ በሰማይ ይፋረድሃል በምድርም ሹመትህን እና ገንዘብህን ታጣለህ የሚል ቃል በሀገሩ አዋጅ ተነገረ:: *My country's of men pelece lessen me I well tell you what our lored do for us ,with the help of Juses Christ our country and our government got peace and rest. He helps us to live still today and allowed us to govern. So taking into consideration and understanding this, I myself with my city's grades constricted those churches found in the city. You the nobilities and the Bälé güilts started to built those churches founded in your surroundings...those who refused to built churches and not to employed your money and your energy, you got discussion in the kingdom of God, on the earth you lost you authority and money. This announcement was widespriad all over the country.*²⁵⁵

Following the declaration with in short period of time one thousand two hundred churches were founded in Sidamo, Illu Abba Bora, Arsi, Kaffa including Jimma and Wallaga, from this churches 50% were founded by the efforts of Ras Goban and his wife Ayelech.²⁵⁶

According to oral sources, the propagation of Orthodox Christianity in the kingdom of Gumma and its surrounding were very weak during and after the conquest of Emperor Menelik this was due to the natives of Gumma were predominantly Islamized before conquest. Harold Marcus indicates, unlike the process of forceful conversion to Christianity in the areas of the followers of traditional religion Menelik did not practice it in the strong Muslim areas of south western Ethiopia, including the Gumma Oromo areas.²⁵⁷ To borrow Marcus' words,

*While the 'pagans' who were forcefully converted to Christianity had only a superficial commitment to the new faith. For some of them the act of conversion seems to have marked the beginning of the acculturation and accommodation... in the strong Muslim countries which had traditions of statehood and were not adjacent to Christian areas,however, Menelik allowed no attempt at conversion and put no obstacles in the way of local religious practices.*²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Geber Selassie, *Tarek Zedagemaw Menelik*(Addis Ababa,1959),p.326, Lapiso G. Delebo, *The Ethiopian Tenancy stme and capitalizem*(Addis Ababa 1983), pp,100-101

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*

²⁵⁷ *Ibida* and see also the work of V.Stitz, "Distribution and Foundation of Churech in Ethiopia" *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol, 13, No I (1975), PP.11-36

²⁵⁸ Marcus, Harold G. "Motives, Methods and some Results of Unification of Ethiopia during the Region of Menelik II", *proceeding of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, P. 275.

In addition to the above points, even when the Gumma Oromo damaged the church of Abbune Aregawe in 1903, Menelik hesitated to take any measure, he (Menelik) probably felt that the addition of religious persecution to political suppression would result in trouble and uprising.²⁵⁹

The foundation and the expansion of churches in the kingdom of Gumma were also the parts of Emperor Menelik's religious policy. It is achievable to say that except a few churches those mentioned above, those churches founded in the Gibe region particularly in the kingdom of Gumma were founded during the reign of Emperor Menelik II.²⁶⁰

Next to Abune Aregawe church (1855) the second church to be founded in the kingdom of Gumma were St. Mary of Gatera, St. George of Tobba, Segimo Medinalme 1907. A priest whose name was known as *Méméhér Gosa* was reputedly mentioned with the foundation of St. George of Tobba church. According to oral informants, it was *Memehér Gosa* who brought the Holy Arks from *Bülégä* to Gumma, which is commonly known as *zébéhér Bulégä* to mean the country of *Bulega*.²⁶¹ In the holy days of St. George the Gumma Christians remembered Memher Gosa as follows: “ገሰ ገሰ የአባ ጎሳ ጊዮርግስ”.²⁶² This entails that the founder of St-George church of Tobba was *Abba Gosa*.

Qeññäzmäch Tafir was also another person who had immense contribution for the foundation of this church; he gave two gasha lands to the church. St-George of Tobba was first built at a place known as *Tobba Dage*. After Italian invasion of Ethiopia the church was rebuilt at *yesenyo gebiya*.²⁶³ Yonas cited that the Italian occupation of Jimma shows the further expansions of mosques construction and an attempt for the foundation of Islamic based learning institute. By the positive efforts of the colonialists Abba Jobir was released from detention and invited by Italians to visit the cities of Middle East countries and the capital city of Italy, Rome. Abba Jobir also explained for the Italian government that the willingness of Muslim Oromo to stand on the side of them. In addition to the above points, during their occupation (1935-1941) Italians wanted to intensify the tensions between Christians and Muslims. They want to form an alliance with the Muslim in the anticipation of weakening the

²⁵⁹ *Ibid*

²⁶⁰ Lapiso, p.100

²⁶¹ Informants: Kassa, Memehér Haile and Qes Yared

²⁶² Informants: Qes Girma, Mareget Amha and Deacon Hailu

²⁶³ *Ibid*

Ethiopian opposition; aware of the long oppression of Muslims by their Christian rulers they declared a pro-Islamic policy.²⁶⁴

According to Aman's report, the sheiks or *Ulamas* who engaged in teaching *kuranic* education in the Gibe region were financed by the kings, however during the occupation of Italy the teachers were free from all kinds of taxes, indeed some of them were paid salaries by Italian colonial administration.²⁶⁵

Through this policy, the Italians wanted to pretend as liberators of Muslim from Christian oppression. When they discouraged the construction of churches they encouraged the construction of mosques. In fear of this, practically in the Gibe regions, the relations between Italians and the Muslim Oromo, the church was transferred to the place known as *yesengo gabiya* for more protection.

Memehar Gosa was not only brought the Holy Ark to Gumma, but he also contributed in preaching the Orthodox Christianity for its further expansion. He copied different religious manuscripts, among his manuscripts *Gadla Georgies* is still serving the church of Tobba and Saxxama. The hagiography of st. George which was copied by Memehar Gosa got great appreciations Emperor Haile Selassie, who visited the church in 1959;²⁶⁶

The hagiography of st. Georgy was one of the rare manuscripts of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. *Mäshäfe säätät* is also another manuscript which had been copied by Memehar Gosa.²⁶⁷

Compared to the other Gibe states, the foundation of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity church had been too late in the kingdom of Jimma. This is because Menelik II and Abba Jiffa signed an agreement for the submission of Jimma, as a precondition. As ketabo wrote, around 1882 Jimma Abba Jifar and Menelik signed an agreement, Abba Jiffar on his behalf signed to accept Menelik as his overlord, to pay annual tribute and Menelik on his side promised to Abba Jiffar not to establish the churches by recognizing Jimma as Muslim Sultanate.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Yohans Sefu, 'A Historical Survey of Jimma Town (1936-1974)', (M, A Thesis in History AAU, 2002), P. 47

²⁶⁵ Aman Seifedin. "Islam and the Muslim Community of Gomma: A Historical Survey (1886-1974)", (MA Thesis in History AAU, 2006), PP. 74-77

²⁶⁶ Informants: Qese Mesgena, Memehar Yosefe and Maregeta Amha Aman Seifedin, "Islam and Muslim Community of Gomma: A Historical Survey (1886-1974)", (MA Thesis in History AAU, 2006), PP. 74-77

²⁶⁷ Informants: Kassa Woldeyes, Deacon Gizaw, Deacon Hailu.

²⁶⁸ Ketabo Abdiyo, *Abba Jifar II of Jimma Kingdom 1861-1934: A Biography*, (Jimma University Press, 2012), PP. 49-5

According to some sources Menelik even asked Abba Jiffar to marry his daughter Zewditu and become heir to the throne however, Abba Jiffar asked Menelik whether the marriage between the two families is the solution.²⁶⁹

Regarding the foundation of churches in Gumma kingdom the lingering question might be pertaining to founders of churches before one hundred fifteen years. According to written sources, the early settlers who had lived for generations in the region before the coming of Oromo people to the area and who were exposed to Christianity believed to have founded the churches. It seems that in southwestern Ethiopia most of the remnants of the earlier Christians existed in Anfello and the Gojeb valley.²⁷⁰

Consequently oral sources relates that Ttiro Iyesus (1810), Kossa Kidist Mariyam (1815) Kossa Abune Tekle Haymanot (1816), Gattira Kidist Mariya (1884), Saxamma Abbune Aregawe (1847), Walenssu Abbune Gebre Menfes qidus (1870) were few among the early churches of the then Limmu Ennaya.²⁷¹ However, in Jimma churches were not founded during this period, the course of history in Jimma kingdom changed by Abba Bore Menjo and Abba Jobir Abba Bulu. These two individuals went to Addis Ababa and were converted to Christianity. They were welcomed by the priestess and baptized and got the Christian names, when Abba Jobir Abba Bulu become Birhane Selassie (the light of holy Trinity) and Abba Bore Minjo became Wolde Giorgis, then after Birhane Sellasie and Wolde Giorgis returned to Jimma with priests, deacons and the Holy Ark.²⁷²

According to the report, these two individuals were motivated to bring the holy Arks and establish churches for political reasons than for religious incentives, because Abba Jiffar unwillingness to share power with both of them. Before the foundation of churches in Jimma, Abba Jiffar never allowed the deceased Christian to be buried because he feared that following his permission they may ask the construction of churches.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Informants:Kassa,Deacon Gizaw and Deacon Hailu

²⁷⁰ Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, PP. 109-111 and Mc Cann, J.C. "People of the Plow:" *An Agricultural History of Ethiopia 1800-1900*. (Wisconsin 1994), p.151

²⁷¹ Informants:Kassa,Deacon Hailu , Deacon Gizaw and Qes Belay and see also Ye Jimma

²⁷² Ibid and Ketebo 30

²⁷³ Ibid and Informants:Mamo,Ragassa and Bayesa

Orthodox Christianity was not very well expanded in the kingdom of Gumma compared to the Islamic religion. There might be several factors that delayed its further expansion. Among these factors; the inability of the Ethiopian Orthodox church to use the local language was the most important one. While the Gumma Islamic mosques and the protestant churches were using mother tongue educations in their respective religious institutions the Gumma Orthodox churches were not applying and supporting for the uses of mother tongue (Afaan Oromo). According to oral informants from the introduction of Orthodox Christianity to this day the church is using Ge'ez and Amharic languages.²⁷⁴ This is due to the fact that Orthodox was adopted at a time when Ge'ez was the principal language; following this many religious books are written in Ge'ez and Amharic languages, for instance starting from the Aksumite period up to the period of Emperor Tewodros II many religious books were translated from different languages in to Ge'ze. According to Takla-Tsadik beginning with the region of Atse Amade- Tseyen, many books were written in Ge'ez, the biographies of the saints were also written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the bishops who come from Alexandria and the Ethiopian monks who visited Egypt and Palestine brought with them books written in Arabic and translated them to Ge'ez.²⁷⁵

Among the books that are founded in Gumma Orthodox Christianity churches which were translated from Arabic to Ge'ez was the *wéddäsé-Märyäm*. Most of this religious books condemned magic and “pagan” worship, church music and doctrinal studies are instructed by Ge'ez.²⁷⁶

Perhaps some attempts were tried by European travelers and missionaries to translate the Orthodox Christianity religious manuscripts in to Afaan Oromo among this traveler, in the middle of seventeenth century, Hiob Ludolf, in his linguistic production wrote few Oromo words with its parallel translation in Geez and Latin. Next to Hiob, James Bruce, who visited Ethiopia did some work related to translation of the Orthodox Christianity manuscripts, but he points out that he could not get even one because of the traditional law that forbade the translation of any religious documents in to any language other than Geez.²⁷⁷ The act was religiously condemned and became immoral. In addition to the language that the church

²⁷⁴ Informants: Mamo, Ragassa and Bayesa

²⁷⁵ Tekel Tsadik Mekurya, *Ya-Ityopia Tarik; Ke Atseyikunno Amlak Eske Lebena Dengil*, PP.129-133

²⁷⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷⁷ Bruce, James, *Travels to Discover of the Nile in the Years 1768-73, V, III, P.1770-73*

followed the churches of Gumma did not have clergymen who served churches in the earlier years of its establishment. Main churches services like mass and christening to mean, *qéddäse* and *kristeña* in Amharic, including *fêtehät* and the communion service were not provided for the churches of Gumma, except in the churches of Tobba and Dambi, under the period covered in this study. Some of churches of Gumma were locked; priests were brought from outside for some religious festivals of the churches.²⁷⁸

No occasions in which Monks, Bishops and Arch Bishop's come to the churches of Gumma. Since the Amhara and Tigre peoples had a better numbers of clergymen especially priests, the churches of Gumma started to bring them paying salary for their services.²⁷⁹

On the other hand, most of the priests were not volunteered to provide church services for long period of time. Most of the priests starting from 1950s to 1960s were attracted by coffee and coffee related activist in Gumma and its surrounding than the church service. After accumulating money some of them back to their home, while few of the priest's engaged in business activities in Agaro, Jimma and *Bunno Awräjä*.²⁸⁰

Therefore, this and other related problems compelled the churches in Gumma to be closed in most days including the holydays the Orthodox Christianity religious followers of Gumma because of this kept their faith just traditionally ,priests are chosen from traditional families,are ordained without any training and are therefore ignorant,greedy and lazy. Without having important churches services such as *Têmqät* and *Qürbän* (baptism and communion) majority of them are still call themselfe as Christians, same of them also converted to Islam.²⁸¹

On top of this the churches of Gumma also lost some of its important manuscripts and the Holy Arks. The Holy Arks and the manuscripts were stolen by unknown groups or individuals, for instance from the Holy Arks that were found at st Mary of Tobba, the Ark of St.Kedhane Meherat was stolen in 1972. According to, oral informants some of the priests were engaged in stealing of the churches manscripts.The local people are also burnt the church in order to express their grievance against the Amhara or the *näftägñs* rule, consequently one of

²⁷⁸ Informants: Kassa Woldeyes, Aserat, Mamo, Ragassa, Deacon Hailu and Deaco Lij Alem

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*

²⁸¹ *Ibid*

the oldest churches of Abbune Aregawe was burnt to the ground around 1889 in Saxxama.²⁸²

In Gumma except those churches located in Tobba and Dambi towns others were not self sufficient economically. For instance St.Mary of Gatera, one of the oldest churches having a long history in the foundation of churches in the Gibe region could not get maintenance or not rebuilt in new form for more than one hundred years or above.²⁸³

The followers of Orthodox Christianity of Gumma could not afford the cost to building new churches, and they were forced to request for financial backing from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church patriarchate head office in 1988. The head office gave to st.George church of Tobba 5000 (five thousand birr) through Ato Feleke Alula who was one of the church's committee at the time.²⁸⁴

Throughout the *Derg* period, no churches were founded in Gumma, Orthodox Christianity also became the religion of peoples who lived in urban areas, and Christianity was not spread to the remotest areas during our period.²⁸⁵

4.2 Protestant Christianity in Gumma

Protestant Christianity was very late comer compared with Islam and Orthodox Christianity in Gumma However; the ex-slaves of Gumma were the first among those converted to protestant in Europe.They also scored a brilliant history in bible translation in to Afaan Oromo in Gumma Oromo delicets. Still some of the bible words are only used among Gumma Oromo but these words are not used in the other parts of the region. The dominances of Gumma Oromo dialects in Oromo bible show the early contributions of Gumma Oromo ex- slaves.²⁸⁶

In the time from 1800 to 1830 the Gibe Oromo monarchies were competing against one another for power and they possessed more lands, for the success of this, all of them strengthen human merchandise in the form of slave trade. The slave trade was conducted by the *Jabartis* and *Afkals*, these traders also imported to Gibe, the war materials which harmed

²⁸² *Ibid*

²⁸³ See Appendix No, IV

²⁸⁴ See Appendix No,VI

²⁸⁵ Informants: Kassa, Qasima and Hailu

²⁸⁶ Kulani Gudina, *The life History of Oromo Slave Ganame...* P. 58

the Oromo monarchies in many ways. The main importing items of this period were fire arms which enabled the Gibe monarchies to strengthen their rule over subject peoples and their neighbours. The history of the Gibe regions at the beginning of the 19th century shows an extensive expansion of the slave trade. During this period a large number of slaves were brought from the present-day Oromia region. Among those Oromo slaves let us see only those who were sold from the kingdom of Gumma and later played a pivotal role in the translation of the holy bible into AfaanOromo and attempted to return to Gumma for evangelization²⁸⁷

The extraordinary relation between the Oromo of Gumma and the German started before 1840s, `this means that before the formation of modern Ethiopia which began in 1855 by Emperor Tewodros II. The contact between these two nations was spurred by the two south German citizens known as Tutshek and krapf who made relentless efforts to establish Oromo studies in their country.²⁸⁸

The young Bavarian Karl Tutshek was a leading person to teach liberated slaves who were in Germany. Tutshek after learning Oromo language from the Oromo, whom he freed from slavery, was managed to write the first Oromo dictionary and published his works of Oromo in 1844 and 45, which paved the way later to record Oromo culture and history.²⁸⁹

Among the Oromo of Gumma Bilillee, who was born in Gumma and was captured with her sister and brought to Cairo, the German prince Pakler Muskau, an adventure at the court of Mahammed Ali Pasha purchased Bilillee of Gumma Oromo in 1837. Bilillee of Gumma was captured by slave traders form the locality known as *Onja* which is located between Sigo and Saxxama which were part of the former Gumma kingdom.²⁹⁰

Bilillee of Gumma was among 23 young Oromo were in Europe in the year 1841 and played a great role for the works of Tutshek, dictionary of the (Oromo) language. In addition to Bilillee of Gumma Oromo state, Oromo like Aggaa, Akkafedhee, Amaan, and Gunda were important individuals for the publication of Oromo dictionary in 1945.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp.13-14

²⁸⁸ Wolbert G.C.Smidt, "A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History", *The Protestant Mission and the Oromo in the Nineteenth Century*, P. 61

²⁸⁹ Kulani Gudina, *The life History of Oromo Slave Ganame...p.92*

²⁹⁰ Ishet u Erana, *The History of the Oromo from the Ancient to the nineteenth Century*, Addis Abeba, p.61

²⁹¹ *Ibid* and Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *A Remarkable Chapter of... , P.61*

These Oromo slaves provided not only information for Europeans who started to study Oromo culture and language they also made some important attempts, for instance Amaan one of the former Oromo slave in Europe in 1841 documented Oromo poem, again another Oromo slave Akkafedhee in 1846 documented Oromo prayer.²⁹² The letters exchanged between Oromo Ochuu Agaa and Akkafedhee from October 1840s were early examples of Oromo writing. Some of these letters are translated by Ezekiel Gebisa, professor at the department of liberal studies, Kettering University.²⁹³

According to Wolbert the letters of Akkafedhee and Ochuu Agaa were among the first texts written in Oromo language and also paved the way for the beginning of Oromo studies. In this regard, therefore, it is preponderant to briefly highlight the roles played by some of the ex – slaves, who were originally from the area under study and later on became missionary, in the expansion of Protestant Christianity.

Christian Rufoo

Roofu was the third Gumma Oromo who was brought to Germany next to Bilille and Ganame. Like Bilillee and Ganame Roofu was a key figure in the bible translation into Afaan Oromo,²⁹⁴ after the arrival of Billilee, Ganame and Roofu in Germany, Wolbert in his article states, "German missionaries had been harbouring growing hopes for the Oromo to one day become a culturally and politically important people in the horn of Africa (and even as for as central Africa), if only they converted to the protestant faith".²⁹⁵

Fig. 9 Rufoo (second row, second from right) in 1869 as Missionary Student at St. Chritschona



(Adopted from Wolbert G.C.Smidt, A Remarkable Chapter of German Reaseach History: The Protestant Mission and the Oromo in the Nineteenth Century, P.66)

²⁹² *Ibid*

²⁹³ *Ibid*

²⁹⁴ Ishetu Irana, *The History of Oromo from Ancient to The 19th Century...*, PP.104-105

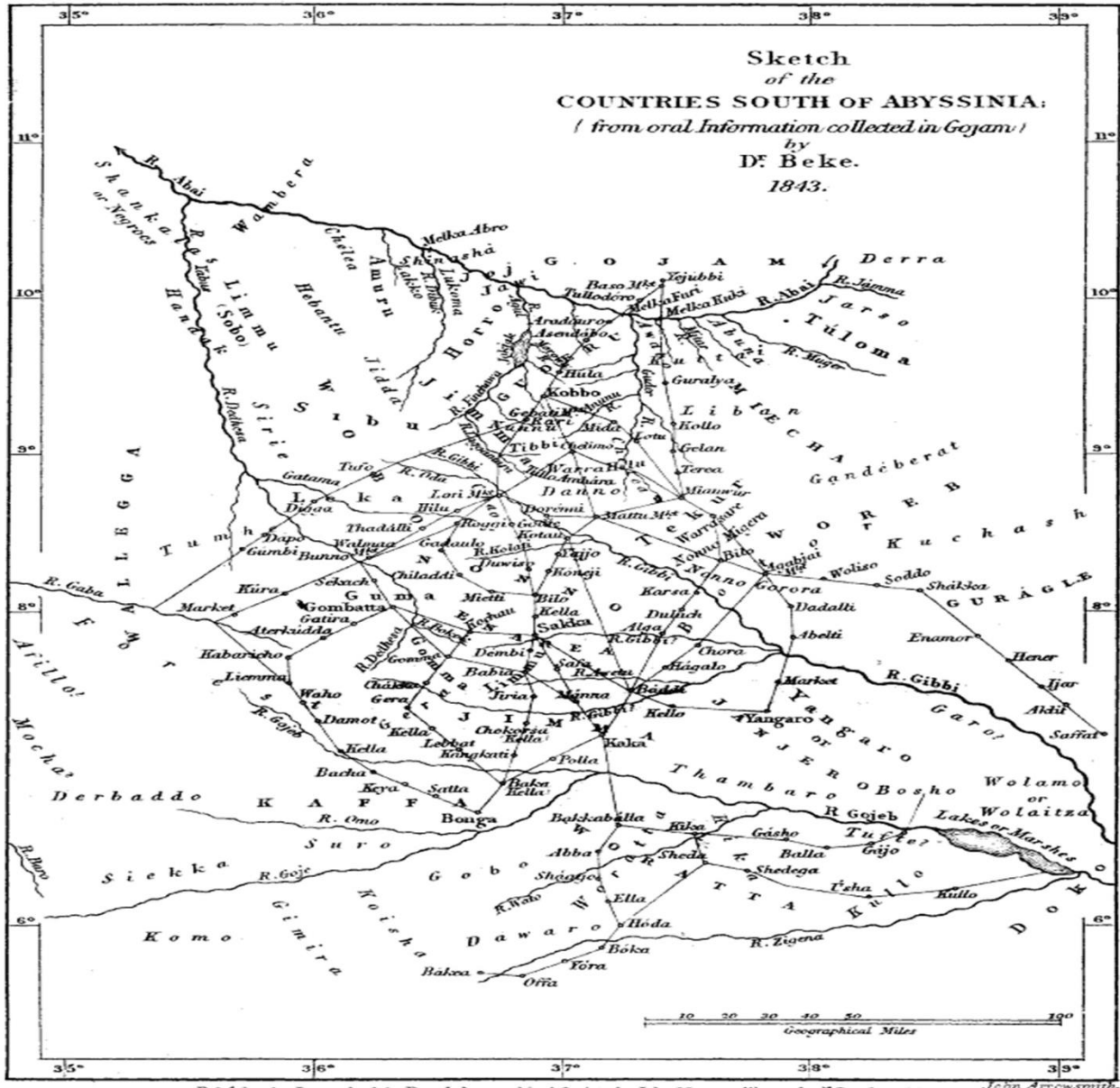
²⁹⁵ Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History...*, P.63

Pankhurst indicates that the birth place of Rufoo was the kingdom of Gomma. Other sources are not supporting Pankhurst's ideas rather they are indicating that Rufoo was from the kingdom of Gumma, specifically, from, a place known as Gombata.²⁹⁶

Actually Pankhurst's information about the origin of Rufoo is not acceptable, because we could not find an area known as Gombata in the kingdom of Gomma. For instance, the nineteenth century British traveler and philologist, Beke indicated some important trade centers of the Gibe regions and mentioned, *Gombata, Gatira, Atrakada, Sekacho Kabaricho, Chilladdi, Bunno Meti, Labu* as important trade centers of the kingdom of Gumma.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Pankhurst. *The Beginning of Oriomo Studies In Europe*. p.174

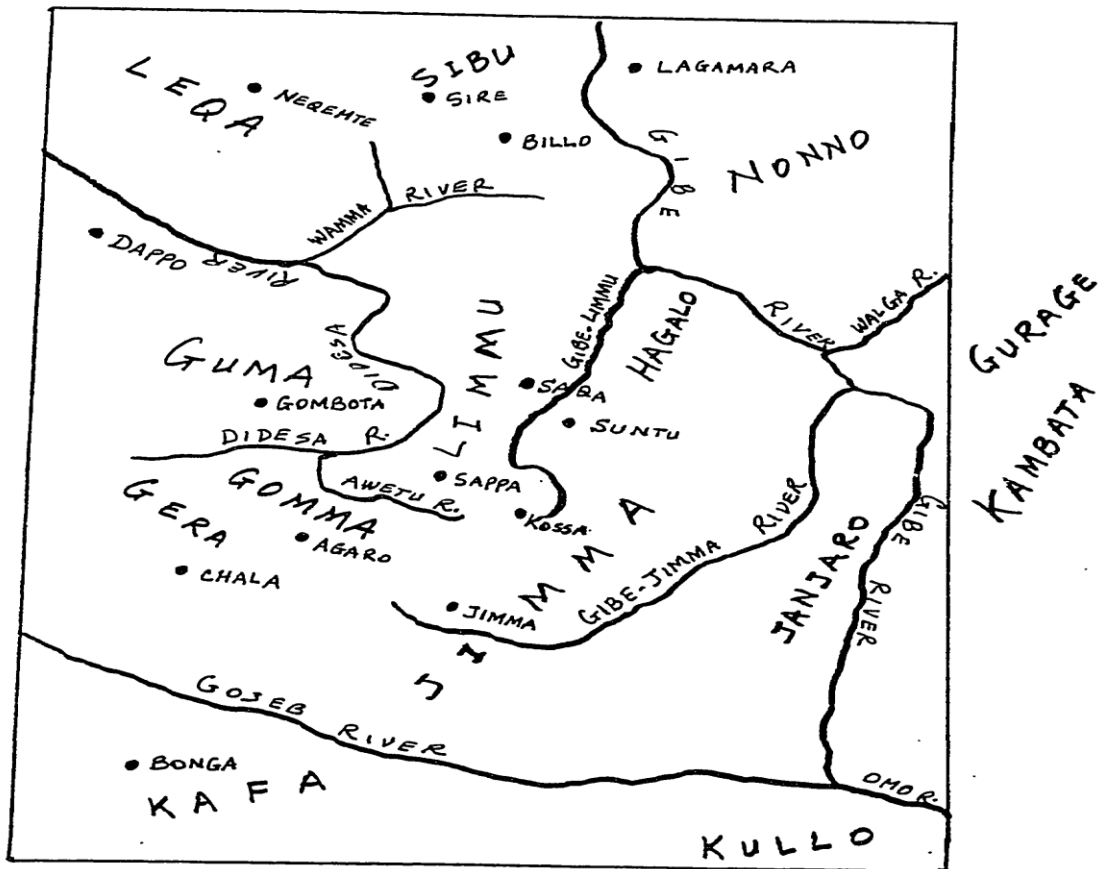
²⁹⁷ Beke, C.T. "On the Countries of Abyssinia". *Journal of the Geographical Society* Vol.XIII, 1043, p.259



In addition to Beke, Guluma also explained the importance of *Gobaxxa* which became the trade center of the kingdom of Gumma.²⁹⁸ *Gombata* is located near the present day Damib twon.

²⁹⁸ Guluma Gamada, "Markets, Tradets and Long Distance Merchants in the 19th Century" Proceeding of the eight International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Addis Ababa, P. 376

The Location of Gombata in the kingdom of Gumma



Adopted from :Guluma Gameda, 'Markets, Trades and Long Distance Merchants in the 19th Century', p,66

Ishetu's work on Rufoo also tells as, Roofu was an eleven years when he was taken by slave raiders from his village in the kingdom of Gumma and sold to the Muslim slave traders, they took him to Metemma in 1865.²⁹⁹ Asefa complicates this issue and indicates the origin of Roofu was "Gumma \Gomma".³⁰⁰ Wolbert G.C. Smidt states that Rufoo belonged to the Gumma Oromo and studied theology in different religious centers like Basel, Jerusalem and Cairo.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Ishetu Irana, *The History of Oromo from Ancient to 19th Century...*, P.

³⁰⁰ Asefa Tefara, *EELA: History of Oromo Litruetur...*, P. 78

³⁰¹ Wolbert G.C. Smidt, *A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History...*, P.67

Fig Rufoo (Second row, second from right) in 1869 as Missionary Student at St.Chrischona, with other Missionry Students



(Source: taken from the article of Wolbert G.C.Smidt A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History: The Protestant Mission and

Pankhurst asserts that Roofu was a young Oromo slave who was freed from the yoke of slavery by the positive efforts of krapf after he paid 90 *Maria Theresa Thaler*. After his liberation krapf ordered him to move to *Marsellies* via Cairo,³⁰² at Marsiellies Christian Rufoo effectively succeeded in translating the Holy Scriptures in to Afaan Oromo. Christian Roofu who was well versed in Afaan Oromo became an opportunity for European missionaries who started the translation of the holy bible in to Afaan Oromo. He also translated the four Gospels, the Acts, and the Genesis.³⁰³

Following the success of Rufoo in his bible translation wolbert cite the success as follow:

*The Gospel of Luke was printed in 1871, and the change in script is quite meaningful historically: the first manuscripts in the Oromo language had been written in the Latin script, thus starting a writing tradition, which re-appeared much later in 20th century ... the year 1871 thus also marks a turning point in Oromo literary history, but this made Rufoo also one ;of the first researcher assistants in the history of research on the Oromo.*³⁰⁴

³⁰² Pankerst, *The Beginning of Oromo Studies in Europe...*, P.174

³⁰³ *Ibid*

³⁰⁴ Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History...*, P.66

On 23 May 1869 Roofu of Gumma Oromo state was christened at st.chrischona, which attracted great interest among the population of Basel. Like Ganame of Gumma who received the Christian names paulin Johane, Roofu of Gumma also got the Christian names. He came to be known by the name Christian Paulus Ludwing Roofu among Germans.³⁰⁵ Christian Rufoo of Gumma Oromo kingdom was a man who made the long dream of the creation of an Oromo bible possible, which was started before him by Barkii in Ankober in 1840. Wolbert claims,

*The complete translation of the holy bible in to the Oromo language, which was written a generation later by a pupil of the Swedish mission, Onesimos Nesib was based on Roofu's translation as edited and published by krapf. This makes Roofu-paradoxically not Christian himself while producing the translation- a pioneer of the later exceptionally successful protestant mission among the Oromo. His New Testament was being widely circulated among the Oromo (1871-1886)... it also makes him a pioneer of the earliest written examples of the Oromo language and hence an important part of the language's history...*³⁰⁶

However, except the articles of Wolbert scholars who studied about the Oromo bible translation never give credit for the role of Christian Roofu of Gumma, for instance Gustav Aren in his book *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia* stated that a man whose name was Giber-Mikael with Waare assisted Dabtara Zanab (1869) in his bible translation project in to Afan Oromo. The works of Roofu was hidden by Gustav. Rufoo of Gumma was ignored and *Dabtar Zannabe* was glorified.³⁰⁷

In addition to Christian Rufoo there were Ethiopians who attended their missionary education in Germany. For instance, Kantiba Gabru Desta also attended his missionary education in st.Chrischona. After serving as German missionary in different parties of the country he also worked in the administration of Emperor Menelik at different positions.³⁰⁸ Mika'el Aregawi was also another Ethiopian who attended his missionary education in st.chrischona with Christian Roofu, Mika'el Aregawi played important role in the translation of bible to Ethiopian language, and both Mika'el Aregawi and Roofu had taken photo at the training institution of st.chrichona³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ *Ibid*

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, pp.67-68

³⁰⁷ Aren, Gustav, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia, The Origins of Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus* (Stockholm 1977), P.446

³⁰⁸ Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth century*, (Oxford, Athens, OH-Addis Ababa, 2002, PP.42-45

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*

In addition to Gustav, Richard Pankhurst did not give much emphasis on the role of Christian Rufoo. As we have seen above, Pankhurst even mentions the birth place of Roofu was Gomma.

In addition to Christian Roofu there were many Oromo slaves who got the opportunity to attend modern education and theology at Marsseilles, especially in 1866 (the year 1866 was when the number of Oromo's those come to Marsseilles increased) under Abba Massaia Guliemo, the Catholic priest took legal position of the college for the Oromo boys and construction was soon begun. Eventually on 15, April 1866 St. Michael's college of [Oromo] was opened and some of the students (the former slaves) who studied there returned to their country to preach the Christianity and some of them also served in the Imperial bureaucracy, for instance Onesimus Nesib who was sold to the slave traders and later liberated from slavery by Werner Munzinger (1832-1873) the vice-consul of the French at Massawa, Aster Ganno a girl gifted for languages and literature (1874-1964) and Lediya Debo the wife of Onesimus Nesib were those among the liberated ex-slaves who started preaching the bible while *Gêräzmäch* Yosef and others also served Empire Menelik as translators.³¹⁰

Rufoo was the first Gumma Oromo who began the Bible translation project. In doing so he laid foundation for Onesimos and Aster, who came to the scene after one generation. Christian Roofu of the kingdom of Gumma had been received different field of studies under local teachers such as Geography, Mathematics and Theology.³¹¹ Rufoo's ambition was to back his nation and to teach what he learned from European missionaries. Because of this he tried to convince his masters to send him to the Oromo but died on the way to his people.³¹²

³¹⁰ Ishetu Irana, *The History of Oromo from Ancient to This 19th Century*..., PP. 118-119.

³¹¹ Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History*..., P.68.

³¹² Ishetu Irana, *The History of Oromo from Ancient to The 19th Century*..., P. 103, Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *A Remarkable Chapter in German ...*, P.61.

Ganame

Fig .11 Photo of the former Gumma Oromo Slave Ganame



Source: Kulani Gudina, p.71

Ganame or Pauline was one of the Gumma Oromo former slaves. She was a six years old when she became the victims of slave raids which was very common in the Gibe region and particularly in the kingdom of Gumma.³¹³

According to oral sources, the markets of Labu and Gombaxa were the most famous trade of slaves in the kingdom of Gumma where Ganame and Roofu were sold to the slave traders. In this market, some of the slaves were sold to local people, while others were taken further north. Slaves who were from Gumma and Illu Abba Bora came later well known among Europeans and they also became the stepping stone for the beginning of Oromo studies in Europe.³¹⁴

Oromo slaves like Ganame and Roofu got attention among the European missionaries in their evangelical mission to Oromo nation. By citing Krapf Pankhurst argued, European missionaries were very much “desirous of forming a connection with the [Oromo]”.³¹⁵ Wolbert. G.C. Smidt indicates, “In Germany the Oromo were considered to be among the mosdevelopeble, creative and promising peoples of Africa, or as some said to be the Germans of Africa”.³¹⁶

³¹³ Isetu Irana, *The History of Oromo ...*, P. 105

³¹⁴ Informants: She Adam Bade, She Jamal, Jihaad Abba Boor

³¹⁵ Pankerst, *The Beginning of Oromo Studies ...*, P.174.

³¹⁶ *Ibid*

The life history of Ganame had been written by many European missionaries in different European languages. For the first time, her life history was translated in to Afaan Oromo from German language by Kulani Gudina in 2011.

Kulani stated that in the from 1800 to 1850s more than 125,000 Oromo were sold to the slave trade the ex-slaves like Onesimus Nasib, Ganno Salban (Aster Ganno), Bilille (Mahuba), Ganame, Christian Roofu were few of them who paved the way for the attempts of missionaries to come to Oromo country. From the total slaves sold in Europe, Middle East and Asia, 60% to 70% of them were females (Women).³¹⁷

The life history of Pauline Fathme was first published in 1867 and the last publication of this book was in 1927 by a missionary named Hermansburge. The incomes generated from the sales of this book were financed for the publications of Oromo bible which was translated by Onesimus Nasib and Aster Ganno in 1899. Reading the life history of Ganame for missionaries who came to Eastern Africa has been mandatory.³¹⁸

Ganame belonged to yaa'ii *sha seedaa odaa* Oromo clan. She was the first Oromo girl to introduce the land of Oromo to Europe. According to Eshetu, Ganame of Gumma was also the first black African girl former slave to attend or join secondary school at Sweden. She was a leading Oromo girl to introduce the people of Gumma and the Oromo land to European missionaries. For instance, based on the information they received from Paulin Fathme krapf attempted to draw the first chart which shows Ormania.³¹⁹ According to available sources, Ganame of Gumma was the first black African girl to be converted to Christianity in Europe.³²⁰

Ganame of Gumma after completing her secondary school education, she joined one of the much known theology college in German (theological training institute), in this training center the outstanding missionary like J.Luding and others attended biblical education and were sent to

³¹⁷ Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *A remarkable Chapter ...*, P.2.

³¹⁸ Kulani Gudina, *The Life Hisory of Ganame ...*, p.10

³¹⁹ *Ibid*, P. 21

³²⁰ Wolbert G,C Smidt, *The Role of the Former Oromo Slave: Pauline Fathme in the Foundation of Protertant Oromo Mission*, pp.2-7

the country of Oromo. In the presence of many friends of the mission, Ganame was baptized on 12,07,1852 and received different names.³²¹

She was actually not known by the name Ganame when she was sold in Cairo to Muhammed Ali Pasha. She learned how to prepare Egyptian traditional food. Around 1847/48 a European traveler who was named Von Muller came to Egypt to visit Mohammed Ali pasha. Von Muller received many gifts from the king of Egypt; Ganame had been one of his gifts. In Egypt her name was Fathme, which is a Muslim name. Ganame Fathme travelled with Bon Von Muller to Europe she also visited Vienna, Austria and the city of Leipzig. Ganame of the kingdom of Gumma had three names, Fathme which she got when she was in Egypt, Pauline which got after she was converted to Christianity and Johanne the name she got from the mother of Von Muller. Kulani writes, Pauline Johanne Fathme Ganame of Gumma used to send money for missionaries to support the further expansion of missionaries' education in the Oromo country. Pauline Fathme Johanne met several times with J. Krapf who was sent to East Africa as a missionary. After Krapf came back from East Africa Ganame discussed with him the conditions in which her people (Oromania) were living.³²² In his second journey to Oromania, she sent gifts for her people, these gifts were included, her photograph, modern and traditional German and Egypt dress and jewellery. Her letter which she wrote on 13, March 1855 cited in the works of Wolbert as follows:

*I also often think of East Africa. Oh! How happy would I be if the sweet Gospel could also be preached one day among my fellow compatriots, but this is so difficult... I am in great sorrow because of the dear Herr missionary Krapf, planning to travel so far in to the country...*³²³

As I have discussed earlier, in the book which narrates the life history of Ganame Pauline Johanne Fathme was for the first time written in German language and this book is entitled *Galla buchleing* to mean the Oromo book.³²⁴ Ludderhose was the first German who wrote the life history of Pauline Johanne Fathme or Ganame, after her death in 1855. In Ludderhose context the word *Galla* did not imply the derogative or pejorative meaning like the Abyssinian writers.³²⁵ The term *Galla* appeared for the first time in the book of *Abba Bahrey* in 1593 which intitled as *zeen huu la Galla*, beginning from this time the term Oromo were

³²¹ Kulani Gudina, P.35, Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *The Role of the former Oromo Slave...*, P.83

³²² *Ibid*

³²³ *Ibid* and *Ibid*

³²⁴ Wolbert G.C.Smidt, *The Role of*, P.84

³²⁵ Kulani Gudina, *The Life History...*, P.43

replaced by “Galla”. The writer of the biography of Ganame never considered the language that spoken by Ganame to be inferior to the European languages, rather he described it as “the language which spoken by our blessed Ganame,”³²⁶

The biography of Ganame of Gumma Oromo state, *galla-buchein* in its first edition supposed to spread information on the Oromos in general and that of Gumma in particular. The Europeans/Germans have understood from her name (Ganame Yaa’ii Shaseeda Odaa) the following concepts about the Gumma Oromo.

Ganame: means morning, which renewed everything according to Gumma Oromo world view, Yaa’ii means Oromo assembly, Shaseeda: means one of the dominant Gumma Oromo clan. Odaa: the Oromo word for the big tree under which an Oromo assembly meet, also used as a personal name.

Ganame’s father’s name thus reflects the traditional, political system of the Oromo. The role of Ganame was not only founding of the protestant Oromo mission, she was also the first Gumma Oromo Ambassador to introduce Gumma Oromo state.³²⁷ Wolbert Smidt the producer of fantastic article on the role of Paulin Fathme using the works of Ledderhose as a source explained the kingdom of Gumma as follows:

*Gumma was one of the Gibe states, in which Oromo dynasties had widely replaced the traditional rule through assemblies... the name of yaa’ii shaseeda odaa corresponds well to his development. Being a (hereditary?) chief, his name still, underlines the power of the assemblies, and it has reflects a discourse of legitimation.*³²⁸

The Oromo Bible was written in Latin script by Krapf and the Gumma Oromo slave Roofu after the death of Ganame of Gumma. However, by the pressure of Emperor Menelik II who conquered the region changed from Latin script to the Suban script.³²⁹ Nevertheless, some sources are not belaimed Emperor Menelik II for the translation of bible in to Saban letters or Amharic characters. For instance according to Pankherst there were been hot debates between those who started the translation project.” ...these could easily be changed into roman letters

³²⁶ Wolbert G.C. Smidt, *The Role of the former...*, P.85

³²⁷ Kulam Gudina. *The life History of ...*, p.38, Wolbert, *The role of ...*, p.78

³²⁸ Ishetu Irana, *The History of Oromo...*, PP.95-97

³²⁹ Wolbert G.C. Smidt. *The role of ...*, P.81

which were “preferable “and had “hitherto been used in printing (Oromo) works”.³³⁰

Another Oromo who had been engaged in the translation work at Adwa Dabtara zanab who’s origin from Ifat and served as one of the chronicler of Emperor Tewodros supported the translation of the Bible in to Afaan Oromo using Amharic scripts.”it would be well if an edition of 200 or 300 copies of the (Oromo) Gospel could be made in Amharic and who would read the Gospel to their country men who are scattered in Abyssinia. They can not read it in European characters.”³³¹

On the letters which were written to krapf from Girdstone states in pankherst as follow: “Many (Oromo) whilst residing in Abyssinia have learnt to read Amharic... delighted to read the gospel in their mother tongue, though with Amharic characters. Besides, there are many Abyssinians ... who understand the (Oromo) language as well as their own”.³³²

4.3 Christianity in Gumma from 1930s to Post-1974

As dicussed earilier the Italians favored Islamic based institutions and mosques.For instance in Jimma the Italians supported the establishment of *Dar-al-Ulam-al Islamiya* for the teaching of Islamic and Arabic and the building of mosque in Jimma and its surrounding areas.³³³According to oral informants, the Italians motivated the Muslims to destroy the churches which existed in their vicinity. For instance, the church of Gatera st.Mary was burned to ashes and the properties of the church were also confiscated by the local people. In Gatera the Italians also persecuted large number of Christian community.³³⁴

Because of chaos caused by Italians, the priest called *Mamhre* Girma fled to the forest with Ark of st.George of Tobba .For some three years the private house was serving as church.After liberation, the Christian community constructed the chuches which were destroyed in new form. Accordingly, st.George of Tobba was re-established at Segno gabeya. Later on after 1948 the churches of st.George of Tobba was again transferred to *Addis katama*³³⁵

The Italian authorities treated the Ethiopian Orthodox christiants with great hostile.To this end;

³³⁰ Asefa Tefara, EEIA, *History of Oromo ...*, PP. 71-73, Kulani Gudina..., P.39

³³¹ Pankerst,*The Beginning of Oromo Studies ...*, P.201

³³² Asefa Tefara, *EEIA... P.74*

³³³ *Ibid*

³³⁴ Yonas, p.47, Girmaye W\michael, p.76

³³⁵ Informants: Mareget Amaha, Qes Yared Qes Alemu and Deacon Hailu

they successively adopted two policy of suppression and a policy of moderation and conciliation. In dealing with the Ethiopian Orthodox church and Christians, the main objective of the Italian authorities at first was to punish and destroy the church there by weakening its great influence. One obvious method employed by the Italians to weaken the Orthodox church was to encourage Islam in the country. When the Muslims enjoyed the support of the Italian colonial authorities and consequently were given better treatment, the Christians became frustrated and hopeless.³³⁶

According to oral sources the main reason why the Italians supported the Muslims was for the purpose of divide and rule using as a justification or ploy the mistreatment of Muslims in the hands of the Amhara. Accordingly the Oromo of Gumma like other Oromo's there were the main victims of the *qalad* system and the church owned 34 *gashas* of land in 69 *qoras*³³⁷

A fundamental policy adopted by the military government was nationalization of the land, churches could retain the land on which their place of worship stood, but nothing else. This was the major blow to the Ethiopian Orthodox church which depended for most of its income on tithes dues from agricultural land and rents from urban property.³³⁸ In addition Christians became target for special harassment, priests and deacon were sexually seduced by female cadres posing as nuns in order to humiliate them publicly. The *Derg* cadre enforced the priests to break fast during the fast seasons. During the *Derg* period churches were not founded in the study area and Orthodox Christianity was also restricted to the urban areas.³³⁹

Regarding Protestantism, some seasonal coffee laborers especially from Kambata and Hadiya and some civil servants observed the faith in the 1950s and 1960s and until 1974 an organized church was not established within the study areas. It was only after 1991 that Protestantism in Gumma came to be institutionalized and organization by a combined efforts of those churches founded by its surroundings (Bunno Bedelle and Jimma), especially the role of Jimma Protestant church which was founded after the first two decades of the twentieth century played great role. The first protestant church to be founded in the study area was *Makane Yesus church*

³³⁶ Informants: Ato Gezu, Ato Mammo and Qes Alemu

³³⁷ Mire-Silassie G\Ammanuel, *Church and Mission in Ethiopia during the Italian Occupation*, (Addis Abeba), 2014, p.78 and Informants: Jihaad and Adm Badi

³³⁸ Baru Tafla, *Asma Gyorgis and His Wotks: History of the [Oromo] and the kingdom of Shawa*, (Stuttgart, 1986), p.125 and Informants: Jihaad, Jamaal and Abba Degga

³³⁹ Informants: Maregeta Amaha Qes Messigena, Deacon Solomon

in Dambi town.³⁴⁰ Despite the resistance the missionary faced from the religious police of *Derg*, the local communities who followed Islam and Orthodox Christianity, remarkable attempt was made to spread Protestantism in the study areas as far as Sigimo, Saxxamma, Tobba and Caalo. Thus at the end of the *Derg* period, the member of the churches and believers progressively increased in Tobba, Dambi and Gatera.³⁴¹ Compared to the two religions (Islam and Orthodox) in Jimma and Gumma in particular it seems appropriate to comment that its adherents are too small under the period the study covered, intolerance was also observed by the *Derg* towards this religion. One of my oral informants of Dambi stated the general situation of the Gumma protestant church as follows:

*There were not only a handful of converts nor were things easy for these few converts. They faced severe pressures from their communities including threats to their lives. Religion in general and Protestantism in particular suffered a set back in the 1970s and 1980s in Gumma. As a result there were very few people who dared to join the protestant church in Gumma during the Derg regime.*³⁴²

Meanwhile, Christianity was also not free from the influence of non-Christian practices. For instance, Yegenbot *lideta* (the celebration of the birth day of St. Mary) on Genbot (May), 1 according to the Ethiopian calendar is one of the manifestations of the influence of non-Christian practices. The celebration of Ginbot Lideta festival is considered as harvesting blessings from St. Mary. For these ritual practice all the village communities contributed money. For the festival a black color sheep which has white on its head is slaughtered. All the village communities without religious differences invited by the Christians at afternoon time by the name of “koota Bunna dhugaa”, in same villages the Muslims as well as the traditional religious followers participated in contributing money. The contribution of money of the festival of Genbot Lideta some times all covered by votive offerings (*silat*) what people do when their wishes are fulfilled. They pray in the name of St. Mary when they are faced with various problems, such as sickness, lack of children and poverty and at the same time they make various vows to keep if their prayers are answered. For example, they make a prayer for *waaqa* to fulfill their wishes through the intermediary of St. Mary and they promise to bring a sheep of a certain color. In all cases the villagers should bring a black color sheep, they must do so. If they promise to bring Arke or Farso drinks they should also do as they stated. If they

³⁴⁰ Informants: Wangelawe Mulu, Wangelawe Ayanna and Wangelawe Abdi

³⁴¹ *Ibid*

³⁴² *Ibid and* Informants: Marqose

promise to bring one birr, then they must bring the one birr and noting more or less or replacements for the one birr they pledged. There is no restriction on items that an individual or a family member should bring as votive offerings. The villagers are entitled to promise whatever they want and bring only what they have promised .No one force an individuals or families to promised for Gebot Lideta .They promised if they have cases to fulfilled for them through the intermediary of St. Marry or Gebot Lideta Miriam. The villagers also bring butter as offerings for their fulfilled wishes .This is especially the case when a Cow of a certain villagers’ was sickbed. They usually promise to bring butter prepared from the milk of the particular Cow when the Cow became healthily again. When the cow healthy again, the owner milks it, prepares butter of it and brings it during the celebration of Genbot Lidet Maryam festival as a votive offering.³⁴³ According to the oral informants of Gumma if a person believes in the intermediary of Genbot Lideta Maryam and if she or he prayers are answered she or he must bring what she or he promised .If something like this happens to individuals or any of their relatives or their belongings, they normally assume that it happened to them because they did not keep their vow and they will ask for forgiveness and fulfill their vows immediately. At the celebrations of Genbot Lideta the *daddarbaa* rituals were takes places and it is performed by women’s and children’s of the vicinity. In this ceremony worshippers throw food items and drinks, including alcoholic drinks, they brought as votive offerings in a place under the tree.³⁴⁴

In addition to *daddarbaa* the other ritual takes places during the celebration of Genbot Lideta is called *ciincaa* (burning some parts of slaughtered sheep) before eating. This is done to protect the people of the vicinity from the attacks by *jinni*. It is also believed this ritual takes places to feed *Abdarrii* .When *ciincaa* is burned, they feed on the smell and they are satisfied. Because of this they do not usually abandons an individual by accident, it usually abandons him once it smells *ciicaa* which is like a feast for them.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ Informants:Kassa, Qasima, Alemu and Abdii

³⁴⁴ *bid*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid*

SUMMARY

Before the Oromo people were converted either to Christianity or Islam they believed in one God whose color is black ‘*waaqa Guracha*’ to mean the black God. Without the knowledge of the Gadaa system it is difficult to appreciate a religious history of the Oromo because the Gadaa system is the conglomeration of religion, economy and politics of the society. The Oromo of Gumma like other Gibe Oromo had been practiced the Gadaa system at the center of *Tumma Goopa* and *Tullu Argaa*. They were also active participants in the the *Irrech* or thanks giving. The *irrecha* ceremony of the state of Gumma celebrated at Malkaa Yaacii.

Qaallu was a spiritual leader who was chief priest of the Oromo traditional religion .He served as an intermediary between the *waaqa* and the Oromo. It is said that after the Gumma *Qaalluus* died their spirit was inherited by their family or clans. A number of *Qaalluus* were existed in the kingdom of Gumma until recent times. The most famous *Qaalluu* in the kingdom of Gumma were *Qaalluu Abba Caffee* and *Qaalluu Malimoo*, this two *Qaalluus* are very well in the neighboring parts of the kingdom. *Qaalluu Fido* was also the renowned *Qaalluu* in Gumma. Women have their own role in Gumma Oromo traditional religion. They involved in local *Qaalluus*. Among the Gumma Oromo traditional religion *Attete* is considered as women’s religious celebration. The occasion of *Attete* celebration is commonly *guyyaa Maaram*. There are factors that led to the decline of Oromo traditional religion in Gumma ,the transformation of *Qaalluu* to *Qaallicha* which also paved the way for the *waaqqeffanna* religion to lose its social and religious values. Following the weaknes of Gadaa officials the powerfull *Qaalluus* in progress to size the political power in Gumma.

The kingdom of Gumma was the second state to be formed and the fourth to accept Islam .It is apparent that the king of Gumma played gigantic role in spreading Islam in the kingdom. According to oral sources, the first mosque in the kingdom was built by *Mootii Abba Duulaa* ,who received a letter written by Sheik Said Ahmad ,the custodian of the tomb of the Propher at *Al-Medina*. The letter reaches Abba Duulaa in late 1865 or 1866 .The role of king Abba Manoo of Gomma and Abba Boqa king of Jimma could not be negligibile in the the further spread of Islam in Gumma. During the 18th and early 19th centuries the teaching of *Qur’an* and other religious texts was dominated by the intinerant clerics know as

Naggade. There were certainly many personalities in the religious history of the Ormo of Gibe in general and that of Gumma in particular but not all of them are remembered. Islamic keenness in the kingdom of Gumma were in progress during the reign of Emperor Yohannes IV, during this period the Gumma state warmly received the Wallo refugees and gave them asylum, Gumma had also played the great role in forming the Gibe league which was named as *Arfaan Nagadotta*. The Gumma Oromo state fought with the forces of Emperor Menelik at the Battle of *Baakee Ganjii*. After the death of Gumma king at the battle, one of the king's son Frrisa marched to Massawa with Sheik Abdrama two of them back to Gumma and raise revolte against Menelik. Under the leader of Frrisa, the Gumma Oromo scored military victories at the battle of *Lag Saanxoo*, his forces expelled the Abyssinian armed forces from the land of Gumma. However, his force was defeated in 1903. Thare after, he was excuted in Jimma, after his death Gumma becomes the symbol of Islamic keenness. In Gumma *Qadiriyya* and *Tijaniyya* were the most know Islamic orders, while the dominant *madhhab* is the *Shafiyya*. The time of Shekota Gumma most probably marked the beginning of *sharia* in Gumma court while Shekota Gumma became the first *Qadi* in Gumma.

The Italian occupation and subsequent administration contributed to the consolidation of Islam in Gumma as eleswere in Jimma or Muslim populated areas in Ethiopia. This was mainly due to Italian religious policy that favor Islam. In 1936 the Italians announced the release of Sultan Abba Jobir of Gumma, who had been imprisoned by Haile Silassie. The year from 1974 -1991 in religious history of Gumma seem to have been characterized by setback in religion in general.

Conering Christianity, the exact date of its introduction to Gumma is not known. Yet, there were oldest churches which existed in Gumma like for instance, St. Abune Gebermenfes *Qidus* fouded in 1855. Orthodox Christianity was not very well expanded in the kingdom, compared to Islamic religion.

Protestant christianty was very late comer into Gumma. However, the ex-slave of Gumma were the first among those converted to protestant in Europe. They also scored a brilliant history in Bible translation into Afaan Oromo, Ganame and Christan Roofu were from the Gumma Oromo and played a pivotal role in the translation of the Holy Bible into Afaan Oromo which was completed a generation later by a pupil of the Swedish mission, Onesmos Nesib.

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No	Name	Age	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Remark
1	Shamsuu Abduu Islam (<i>Sheik</i>)	82	22/2/17	Tobba (Quda)	He is religious leader in Gummay/Tobba Sheekota Gumma thrid generation, is grand son of sheekota Gumma, as well as the Imam of Sheekota Gumma's mosque.
2	Awale Abba Taye (<i>Obbo</i>)	47	29/4/17	Tobba	He was growth up with the family of Sheikota Urada, The ayewetense account of the destruction of the Quba Sheekota Urada.
3	AbbaTamam Abba Dilbe (<i>Sheik</i>)	76	11/3/17	Tobba, Cando	A wel known Sheik who kept in his home the manuscripts of Sheekota Gumma.
4	Jihad Abba Bore (<i>Abba Gadaa of Gummay</i>)	50	10/1/17	Tobba, Naggo	He is resource fuil person on traditional Oromo religion, partic vally his information on the Qallus of Gumma was very important.
5	Jaware Abba Dilbe (<i>Ato</i>)	52	16/1/17	Dambii, Tobba	His information on the religious history of the kingdom of Gumma is very important
6	Taju Abba Dilbe (<i>Obbo</i>)	55	26/5/17	Tobba	His information on the confortation of Gumma Muslims with Darso at the battle of Baakee ganjii is valiable.
7	Yohannes Kana (<i>Ato</i>)	44	26/5/17	Tobba	His information on the manuscripts of Sheekota Gumma is very useful.
8	Adam Badi (<i>Sheik</i>)	70	30/2/17	Tobba	Well known person in narrating the Gumma clans.
9	Abba Birhane(<i>Obbo</i>)	72	21/3/17	Tobba,Naggo	Well known person in religious history of Gumma Oromo.
10	Getu Bata (<i>Ato</i>)	40	28/3/17	Tobba	He was one of the Christian family who attend several times a religious festivals at Qubs Sheekota.

11	Kassa Woldeyes (Ato)	77	28/3/17 30/3/17 16/4/17	Tobba	A long time resident of Gumma'ii/Tobba who served in several positions during the period of Hailessillassie.
12	She Hussen Bore (Sheik)	37	17/4/17	Tobba	He had in valuable historical tradition of Gumma that he learn from his family.
13	Jamal Ahemed (Sheik)	95	12/2/17	Tobba, Bore	He was one of the friends of Haji Abdusalam, the son of Sheekota GUMma.
14	Sabit Jamal (Ato)	55	17/7/17	Jimma	One of the families of Sheekota Gumma. agood narrator on the history of Sheekota Gumma
15	Raya Jamal (Obbo)	54	20/5/17	Tobba	A resourcefull person on the role of sheekota Gumma he also collected from different areas the manuscripts of Sheekota Gumma.
16	MashoAbba Magale (Adde)	57	27/3/17	Dambii	She is a very important woman in narrating the history of Oromo traditional religious practs.
17	Faxe Faris (Adde)	60	1/1/17	Sigmo	She rembered the practices of Attent of her mother.
18	Hailu Ababe (Deacon)	27	20/5/17	Tobba	He is Decon and knowns much about the history of the Gumma churches.
19	Gezu Alula (Ato)	63	23/5/17	Tobba	Who contribut a lot for the establishments of churches in Gummy/ Tobba and served the churches of mey and St-Georgy as Committee.
20	Nazife Mustafa (sheik)	52	8/4/17	Tobba, Rigo	A well known person on the history of Watta of Gumma Oromo.
21	Melik Abba Macca(Obbo)	57	12/4/17	Sigmo	who tell me about the Bussasse clan.
22	Shafi Siraj (Obbo)	53	11/4/17	Cando	Who tell me about the sub-group and divisions of Oromo Gumma clans.

23	Mulushawa (Ato)	70	10/3/17	Tobba	Who had been the intimate friends of an Italian Marchelo, the owner of coffe washing machine in Gummay/Tobba.
24	Sayed Koliphe (Ato)	71	10/3/17	Tobba	He is resourcefull person in narrating the historical settlement of Arabs, Yeman, and Sudances in Gumma.
25	Kasima Yemam (Obbo)	70	10/3/17	Tobba	Who tell me about religious activities during the Emperial times and Degree period.
26	Ibsa File (Obbo)	37	17/3/17	Jimma	He remembered some cultural practices of Gumma Oromo.one of expert at Gummay culture and Tourism office.
27	Mareshet (priest)	61	12/12/16	Tobba, Agayo	He is a priest at Agayyo Michael of Gummay (Tobba), who tell me the relationship between Christians and Muslimsin Gumma
28	Shabu Mohammed (Obbo)	35	13/9/17	Tobba	He provides me the traditional songs of Gumma Oromo when they took their cattles to <i>horra</i> .
29	Zelek Birane (Deacon)	37	14/12/16	Tobba	He provides me the stolem of the Ark of Kidane Mifta from Tobba.
30	Abdulkader Mohammed	42	19/8/17	Bedele	A good oral informant on Gumma Oromo resistance against the expansions of Emperor menelik II to Gumma.
31	Wasihun Workneh (Obbo)	73	10/7/17	Arjo	Who tell me about Qallu Mallimo and Qallu Abba caffe, which become the most known Qallus in Jimma and Illu Abba Bore.
32	Gazal Abba Fixa (Obbo)	36	14/4/17	Tobba	Who learned from his family about the legacies of Sheekota Gumma.
33	Abdurazaq Milke (Obbo)	90	14/4/17	Tobba	He tembed about the traditional medicen which were used in the Kuranic scools of Sheekota Gumma.

34	AbbaMilki AbbaMalka(<i>Obbo</i>)	77	15/4/17	Gachi	He is very useful person on the issues of traditional narrations of Gumma Oromo clans.
35	Gizaw (<i>Deacon</i>)	40	12/4/17	Tobba	He tells me about the role of individuals like Mamre Gossa and others for the foundation of St- Georgy church.
36	Kadija Abba Fira (<i>Adde</i>)	41	16/4/17	Dambi	She is good oral informant on the traditional Oromo Waaqeffannaa in Dambi.
37	Misbahu Shafi (<i>Obbo</i>)	50	29/4/17	Defo, Saxxama	He tells me about the existence of Qallu Bogoro in Defo antill the restant time.
38	Ganne Hadha Biyya (<i>Adde</i>)	57	3/5/17	Gachi	She is one of the follower of traditional Oromo religion Waaqeffanna until resent time, but now she is the follower of Islamic religion
39	Asefa H/Mariyam (<i>Ato</i>)	64	6/5/17	Tobba	He tells me about the role of Arab tradets in expanding Islamic religion and their participation for the foundation of different Mosques in Gumma.
40	Yasin Badiru (<i>Sheik</i>)	73	9/5/17	Bedele	He is a good narrator on the history of religious interactions in the kingdom of Gumma.



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የፍትሕ ሚኒስቴር
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Ministry of Justice

8/6/96

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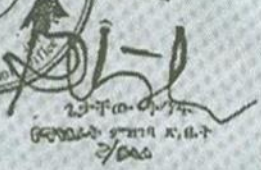
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ይሁን እንጂ ማህበሩን ከመዘገብነው በኋላ የሚያደርገው እንቅስቃሴም ሆነ
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 አዲስ አበባ

ሥነ-ምግባር ጋር

2000/06/06

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- ለሚኒስትሩ ጽ/ቤት
- ፍትሕ ሚኒስቴር
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- አዲስ አበባ

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Addis Ababa - Ethiopia

Appendix - VI

የገጽ ቁጥር
የቀን ቁጥር

ለብጫ ደክተር አቡነ ጳውሎስ
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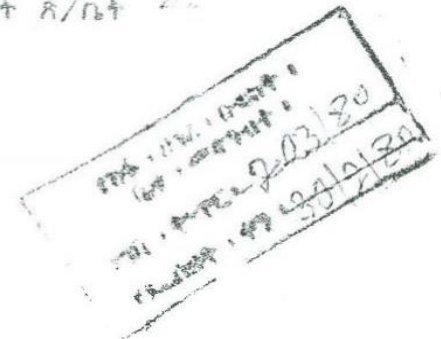
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ቤተ ክርስቲያን ከመቶ ዓመት በፊት የተሠራው ሕንጻ ከጊዜ በዚያት የተነሳ
በመፍረሱ በዘመናዊ ገንባታ ለማሠራት የሰበካው ያስመናን ገንዘባቸውንና ገሰ
በታችውን በግብ ተገባር ለማሠራት የእርሳታ አስተባባሪ ቦሌት አቋቁሞ ተገባሩ
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በረዳ ያሉ የሌሎች ያር ተቋማት ተጠቃሚ ቤተ ክርስቲያን አግኝተን ሁሉ እርሳታ
ና በአስተዋጽኦው መሰታተፍ ስለሚያስፈልገን የሀገረ ሰብከት ያስመናን ለጽዮን
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ኢትዮጵያ ተቀደሞ



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2023/03/30

GLOSSARY

<i>Abba</i>	Father, a title given in Maccaa Oromo for elder
<i>Abbaa Bokku</i>	leader of <i>gadaa</i> in power
<i>Abbaa Dula</i>	Military leader in the Gaada system
<i>Abbaa Muudaa</i>	spiritual head of the <i>muudaa</i> office for life
<i>Abbaa qoros</i>	local rulers
<i>Asqarri</i>	a cleric with meager Islamic knowledge, who only taught the Qur'ān
<i>Ayaannaa</i>	spirit
<i>Awraja</i>	Administrative sub-province
<i>Balabat</i>	Land lord or local hereditary chief
<i>Baraka</i>	divine favor, saintly power, miraculous gifts
<i>Caffee</i>	the <i>gadaa</i> assembly
<i>Daradas</i>	religious <i>students</i>
<i>Dhikr</i>	regular repetition of words praising Allah to attain spiritual uplifting
<i>Du'a</i>	supplication
<i>Dufii</i>	Drum
<i>Gadaa</i>	a socio-economic, political and religious institution of the Oromo
<i>Gabbar</i>	Tribute paying peasant
<i>Gasha</i>	Unit of land measurement equivalent to 40 hectares
<i>Genne</i>	Equivalent to woman in the former Gibe kingdoms
<i>Hiri'u</i>	literally meaning not full men, a man of low status
<i>Horaa</i>	mineral water

<i>Jabarti</i>	Muslim traders from northern Ethiopia
<i>Karama</i>	charismatic marvel, power of <i>wali</i> to work miracles
<i>Khalifa</i>	successor of head of the religious order
<i>Khalwa</i>	small, dark hut used as a place of retreat for Sufi practices
<i>Madrassa</i>	modern Islamic school
<i>Mawlid al-Nabi</i>	the Prophet's birthday festival
<i>Muudaa</i>	pilgrimage to the land of <i>Abbaa Muudaa</i>
<i>Murshid</i>	spiritual guide
<i>Mootii</i>	king
<i>Naggade</i>	refers interchangeably to merchants, strangers, and Muslim clerics
<i>Odaa</i>	the holy sycamore tree, a sacred place of assembly
<i>Qaallu</i>	the messenger of <i>Waaqaa</i>
<i>Qadi</i>	Muslim judges
<i>Qubbaa</i>	a domed-shaped tomb, shrine
<i>Salawat</i>	intercessory prayers, intercessory prayer book
<i>Shari'a</i>	the religious law of Islam
<i>Shekota</i>	an honorific title given to a highly respected <i>sheikh</i>
<i>Sufism</i>	the ascetic and mystical way of Islam
<i>Tariqa</i>	religious order or a spiritual way
<i>Ulama</i>	Muslim scholar
<i>Waaqqeffanna</i>	the Oromo religion
<i>Waaqefataa</i>	the followers of the Oromo religion
<i>Wali</i>	saint
<i>Zam zam</i>	the holy water

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Name: - Anteneh Wasihun

Signature _____

Place - Department of History and Heritage Management, College of Social Science and Humanities, Jimma University

Date of submission: June, 2018