# DEBRE BERHAN UNIVERSITY

## SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

## Department of History and Heritage Management

# A History of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa (c.1800-1900)

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# ABSTRACT

*This thesis presents a history of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa, 1800 to 1900. As one of the major religions in Ethiopia, particularly in the Jimmaa region, Islam has not studied. The available literature on the history of Islam in the kingdom gives some insight into a limited set of historical themes. Therefore, the basic objective of this thesis is to reconstruct a history of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa during the nineteenth century. In so far as the preparation of this thesis is concerned, data have been collected through qualitative method. As much as possible data have been also analyzed after carefully handling through qualitative method. The collected data essentially cover the history of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa during the nineteenth century. The result of data analysis has come up with main findings which can be considered as central themes of this thesis. These findings underscore that the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa by merchants, clerics and local rulers. In the second half of the nineteenth century Jimmaa has been considered as center of Islamic learning for southwestern from where Islamic religion was gradually diffused into southwestern Ethiopia.*

# GLOSSARY

*Aadaa (Afaan Oromo)* – Indigenous Oromo Custom or culture

*Abbaa (Afaan Oromo)* – (lit. father) - a tittle indigenous *Gadaa* officials and the tittle for honor for Jimmaa Oromo after marriage

*Abbaa Bokkuu* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Father of Scepter

*Abbaa Duulaa* (*Afaan Oromo*) –Father of Campaign

*Aanaa (Afaan Oromo)* – District

*Abbaa-Muuda* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Father of anointment

*Afree* (*Afaan Oromo*) – The four groups of the Machaa Oromo

*Asqarri* (Arabic) – Tittle for Muslim teachers

*Ateetee* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Indigenous Oromo female deity

*Awliya* (wali or waliyi) (Arabic) – Muslim saints

*Awrajja (Ahmaric)* – Province

*Ayyaana* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Spirit like beings

*Caffee (Afaan Oromo)* – *Gadaa* Assembly

*Daggal-saaqii (Afaan Oromo)* – Opener of the forest

*Darasa* (Arabic) – A religious student in Islamic education

*Dhugaa* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Truth

*Du'aayii* (Arabic) – Prayer, blessing

*Ganda (Afaan Oromo)* – Village or locality

*Gurraacha* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Black

*Hadith* (Arabic) – Tradition of Prophet Muhammad

*Hadra* (*Arabic*) – Sufi gatherings for collective worship

*Hora (Afaan Oromo)* – Mineral water

*Ilm* (Arabic) – Advanced Islamic knowledge

*Jama'a* (Arabic) – A Muslim community

*Dajjazmach (Amharic)* – "Commander of the Imperial gate", a indigenous politico-military title

*Jum'a* (Arabic) – Friday Prayer

*Kakaa* or *Kakuu (Afaan Oromo)* – Oath or swore

*Karaama (Arabic)* – A power of wali (waliyi) to perform miracles

*Madhab (Arabic)* – School of Islamic jurisprudence

*Masaraa (Afaan Oromo)* – Palace

*Masgiida* (*Afaan Oromo* corruption of the Arabic word masjid) – Mosque

*Mootii* (*Afaan Oromo*) – King

*Mootummaa* (Afaan Oromo) – Government

*Nagaa* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Peace

*Naggade* (Amharic) – Merchant/ trader

*Naggadras* (Amharic) – Head of merchants

*Odaa* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Sycamore tree

*Qaalluu (Afaan Oromo)* – Oromo holy man, Oromo religious leader

*Qabiyyee* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Land holding system

*Qadi (Arabic)* – Judge

*Qoroo* – Administrative sub-districts

*Sadachaa* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Three groups of the Machaa Oromo

*Safuu* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Tradition, moral code

*Salat* (Arabic) – Prayer

*Sanyii* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Clan

*Seera (Afaan Oromo)* – Law functioning in the Oromo tradition

*Sheikh* (Arabic) – Scholar, Muslim religious leader, teacher

*Shimbirtuu* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Spy

*Tumaa (Afaan Oromo)* – Declaring the indigenous Oromo law

*Ulama* (Arabic) – Muslim scholars or religious teachers

*Ulee* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Stick

*Waaqeffannaa* (*Afaan Oromo*) – Indigenous religion of the Oromo people

*Waliyyii* (*Afaan Oromo* corruption of the Arabic word *wali*) – Saint

*Woreda (Ahmaric)* – District

*Zakat (Arabic)* – The due right of the poor from the rich taking 2.5% of the income on annual basis.

# INTRODUCTION

Islam in Ethiopia has its origin in the early seventh century with the arrival of the first batch of immigrants, to the Aksum. According to Islamic scholars, some members of Mohammed's family and his early converts had taken refuge in Aksum, Ethiopia.[1] Islam has formed constituent part of the history of northern Ethiopia since the seventh century. The old nation of Ethiopia as "an Island of Christianity in the sea of Islam" has been abandoned; for recent scholarship has shown that the history of Islam within the Ethiopian state is impossible to avoid the influence from that outside of its (changing) borders and that influence is equally old, complex, and significant.[2]

Islam officially introduced in the Kingdom of Jimmaa in the first half of the nineteenth century due to internal and external circumstances. In the nineteenth century, merchants, clerics and local rulers-worked together and facilitated the process of Islamization at large. Scholars who contributed in the study of the region were historians, ethnographers and anthropologists, who viewed and interpreted the history of Islam in the kingdom of Jimmaa from their own perspectives. As for the economic and political history of the Machaa Oromo in general and Jimmaa in particular, attempts were made by different scholars to study it, [3] although one of the major religions in Ethiopia in general and in Jimmaa in particular, Islam has not been well studied.

Some scholars viewed the spread of Islam into the kingdom of Jimmaa as a historical event that occurred at a specific period of time and radically altered the indigenous religion.[4] However, the spread of Islam into Jimmaa, mainly among the majority of people took place through gradual

[1]Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*. (London: Geoferey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press,1952)p.199; Hussien Ahmed. Islam in Nineteenth Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform and Reaction (Boston: Brill,2001)p.14.
[2] Hussien, p.16.
[3] Huntingford, G.W.B. *The (Oromo) of Ethiopia: the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero, Ethnographic Survey of Africa*. (London: International African Institute, 1955) p.35; Herbert Lewis, An (Oromo) Monarchy: Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, Ethiopia, 1830-1932 ( Madison: University of Winconsin,1965)pp.34-35; Mohammed Hassen, The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History, 1570-1860 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pp.111-112.
[4] Tekalign Woldemariam."Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Kingdom of Jimmaa (1800-1935)" M.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, 1984), p.34;Yonas Seifu, Historical Survey of Jimmaa Town, M.A. Thesis in History, (Addis Ababa University,2002) p.12.Lewis,p.35 Mohammed Hassen,p.112;Abraham Alemu, Jimmaa Oromo Oral Prose Narratives: A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis, M.A. thesis (Addis Ababa University, 2000) pp.47-49.

process involving merchants and the propagation by Muslim teachers without altering the practices of the indigenous culture and religion. It did not create conflict and gradually the kingdom became the center of Islamic culture and education.

A number accounts written on the history of Islam in the Jimmaa contain only passing references. Some writers used as the subject while treating other themes of the nineteenth century. While some of these who directly or indirectly attempted to give attention to Islam in the area associated it with the state formation. Some did not discuss the course of spread of Islam. So, there is no comprehensive work on the subject. Therefore, this thesis is conceived to fill partly that gap. Accordingly, the thesis focuses on important events and themes like the factors that facilitated the introduction and diffusion of Islam in the kingdom of Jimmaa and the role played by the merchants, clerics and local rulers. Geographically, the scope of the study includes the present six Woredas located in JAimmaa Zone.

The study used of both oral sources and written historical documents. However, it is largely based on the oral traditions gathered from the area. The writer had made much effort to carefully criticize, examine and evaluate the information collected from oral informants. The traditions were collected during the fieldworks carried out almost in all districts. Besides the traditions, primary and secondary written sources were collected, interpreted, and integrated into the research to maintain the credibility of information. Unfortunately, I was not lucky to get access to sufficient existing written primary sources like chronicles, letters, and traveller accounts to substantiate the history of Islam due to limited resources pertaining to this study. Yet, the researcher has produced the thesis through crosschecking of unpublished theses, books, and traditional sources.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### 1.1 Geographical Setting

Before recounting the geographical location of the Kingdom of Jimmaa, it is pertinent to define the term Jimmaa. It refers to the Oromo people of the Gibe region as a whole and to the land they used to inhabit. It, therefore, describes both the region and the people living in the area west of the Gibe River and east of Gojebr River. According to Jimmaa Oromo oral traditions, the term Jimmaa which later became the name of the kingdom, was derived from the name of the founding-father of the Machaa Oromo groups of the *Sadachaa* Confederacy, who first settled in the area. Accordingly, this leader and founding-father was named Jimmaa-Sirbaa, who is indigenously claimed to have been the great grandson of Machaa-Rayya and the primordial ancestor of the Machaa Oromo. [5]

Levine, referring to the list of the indigenous Jimmaa kings, puts the Jimmaa clan leaders in an ascending order up to the leader named Jimmaa Akako.[6] Though today the name Jimmaa refers to all of the Oromo of the Gibe region, it originally referred only to five clan groups (*gosaa*), (descendants of Jimmaa Sirbaa) which were Diggo, Harsu, Lalo, Badi and Hagalo. These five groups seems to have united and formed the kingdom of Jimmaa *Kakaa* in early nineteenth century. The other four major groups, i.e., those who did not descend from Jimmaa Sirba, were said to have come later on and settled in the adjacent areas that eventually became small kingdoms: Geera, Gommaa, Gummaa, and Limmuu.[7]

According to Jimmaa town's Administration archives and Huntingford, there are still many areas in western Oromia bearing the name Jimmaa. For instance, Jimmaa Horro, Jimmaa Tibbee,

[5] Informants: Abbaa Mancaa Abbaa Bulgu, Abdulhakim Abbaa Fixa. They count the genealogy of this founding-father in an ascending orders as follows: Jimmaa- Akako- Machaa- Jidda-Rayya-Sirba-Bofoo; Lewis, *A Oromo Monarchy: Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, Ethiopia, 1830-1932* (Madison: University of Winconsin,1965) p.39; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History1570-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1990)pp.xiv,18.

[6] Donald Levine, *History of (Oromo) of Ethiopia: With Ethnology and History of South West Ethiopia, Bahrey, Almedia, Hunting ford and Beckingham* (Oakland: African Sun Publishing, 1993) pp.33-36. According to Levine, Jimmaa tribal (clan) leaders were: Sirba- Rayya-Maca- Akako-Jimmaa, in a descending order; Lewis, pp.39-40.

[7] Abreham Alemu, Jimmaa Oromo Oral Prose Narratives: A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis, M.A. thesis (Addis Ababa University, 200) pp.30-31.

Jimmaa Raree, Jimmaa Gobbo and Jimmaa Arjo. Our intention here is not to place name but the political entity after the name of one of its *mootii* (king) Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar.[8]

During the imperial times, particularly after 1941, Jimmaa had assumed a new status as one district (*awrajja*) in Kafa Province, in which the other formerly independent Gibe States were also included. It was administered directly from Addis Ababa by a governor-general appointed by the central government. [9]

According to the current state structure of Ethiopia, the historical kingdom of Jimmaa stands for a Zonal administration. It is currently one of the twenty one Zones of the Oromia National Regional State. [10] The Jimmaa Zone today consists of seventeen local administrative districts (*Woräda or aanaa),* largely coinciding with the borders of the formerly independent kingdoms of Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, Geraa, Gommaa, Gummaa, and Limmuu.[11] Hence, the name Jimmaa in this study refers to is the old kingdom of Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar. Formerly, the kingdom covered the land between 7° 14' N latitude and 36° 52' E longitudes and one of the five Gibe states in the Southwestern Ethiopia. Nowadays, Jimmaa is the name used for Jimmaa Zone headquarters, which is located 355 km from Addis Ababa to the Southwest, as well as for the Zonal Administration.[12]

The kingdom of Jimmaa was the largest of the five Gibe states in population. It was founded in the early nineteenth century. It was bounded by the Yam in the Northeast, Kambatta and Sidama states on the Gibe River in the east, Garo (Basho) in the South east, Dawro-Konta and Kafa in the South on the Gojeb River, Limmuu-Enarya in the North, and Gommaa and Geraa states in

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[8] Ya JimmaaKatam*ā*Astad*ā*dar Sehfat Bet, "Ya Jimmaa Katam*ā* Ka Yet Wad*e*t" (Jimmaa, 1986 E.C.)pp.3-4 (Unpublished); G.W.B Huntingford, *The (Oromo) of Ethiopia: the Kingdoms of Kafa and Janjero, Ethnographic Survey of Africa*, (London: International African Institute, 1955)pp.14-16; Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau (OCTB), *History of the Oromo to the Sixteenth Century*,(Finfinnee,2006),p.61.

[9] Jimmaa Town Administration Office, p.5

[10] *Ibid,pp.5-7.*

[11] Tekalign Wolde Mariam, "Slavery and the Slave Trade, in the Kingdom of Jimmaa (1800-1835)", M.A. Thesis,(Addis Ababa University, 1984)p.30; Abraham, pp.30-32.

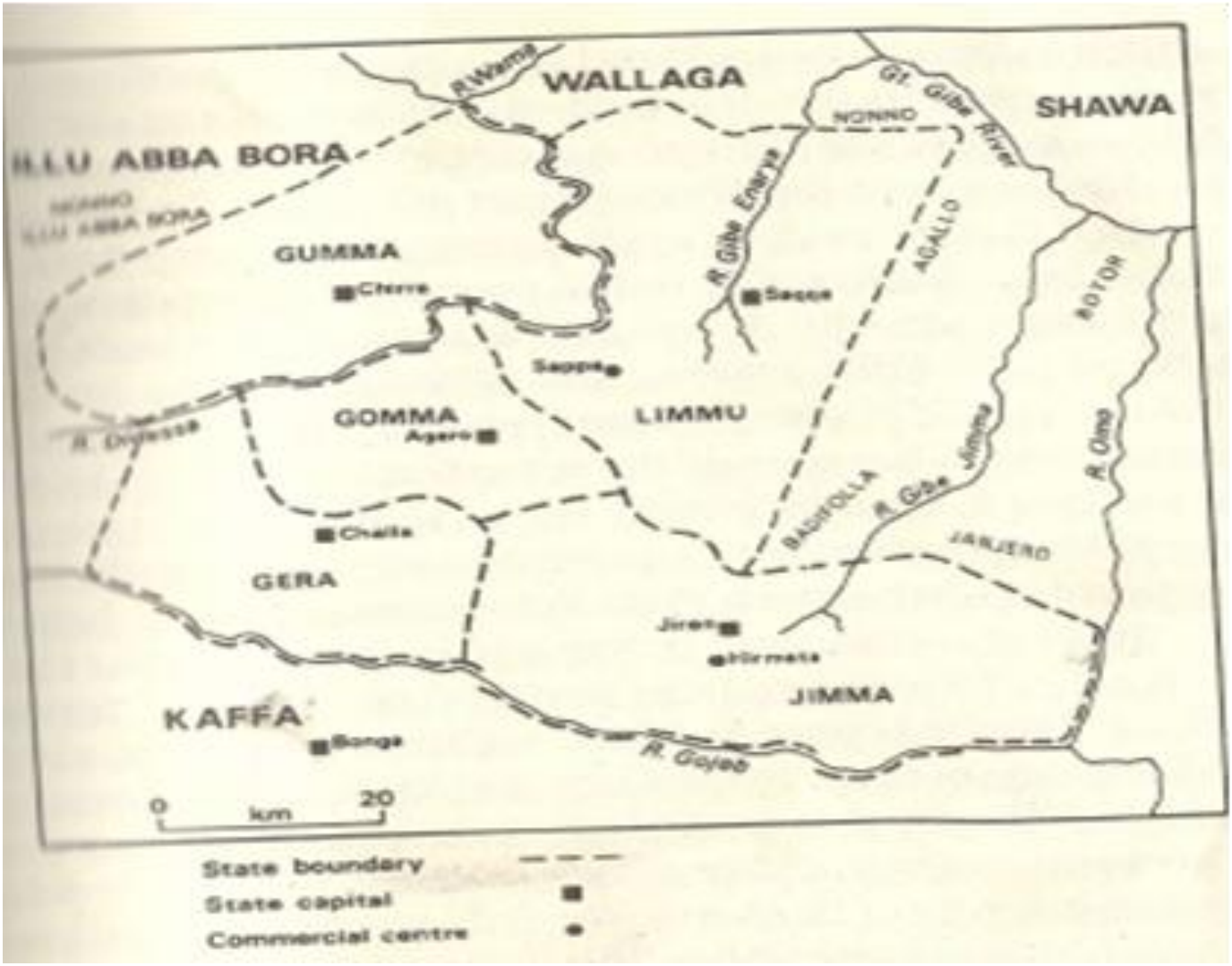
[12] Bureau of planning and Economic Development Office, *The Regional State of Oromia Statistical Abstract* (Finfinne, 1996), p.18; Yonas Seifu, Historical Survey of Jimmaa Town, M.A thesis, Department of History, (Addis Ababa University,2002) pp.1-2.

the West and Southwest respectively.[13] The kingdom covered an area of about 20,000 to 25,000 Square Kilometers. It included today's *Woredas* of Dedoo, Saqqaa Coqorsaa, Manna, Qarsaa, XiroAfataa, Omo Nada, Sanxama and Sokorru on which this study was conducted.[14]

The estimate of the population of the kingdom varied at different times. Lewis states that in the 1860's, Jimmaa had about 150,000 inhabitants. In the 1930s, it rose to 300,000 people living in an estimated area of 5000 square miles.[15] However, Tekalign, who recorded the oral traditions of the area claimes that, in the 1880s Jimmaa had about 350,000.[16]

The total population of the present Jimmaa Zone is estimated to be about 2.5 million. The Oromo constitute the largest number of population though there are other ethnic groups. The kingdom has a tropical highland climate characterized by an annual heavy rainfall of on annual average between 12.5 and 25.4 mm and, warm temperature averaging between 13.3 and 27.2 c° and long wet seasons. Jimmaa appears to have been one of the most fertile regions of Southwestern Ethiopia with favorable climatic conditions for the cultivation of different types of agricultural products (food crops as well as cash crops) and animal breading.[17] Although scholars have not yet established exact date of the Machaa Oromo in Jimmaa, there is a consensus that it was in Jimmaa area that the *Sadachaa* early (confederacy of the three) of the Machaa groups (Obbo, Suba, and Akako) settled.[18]

[13] Lewis, p.40; Mohammed Hassen, p.18; Tekalign, pp.29-30; Buli Ejjeta, *Seenaa Masaraa Abbaa Jifaar*, Jimmaa zone Sports and Culture Affairs, pp.2-3. (Unpublished); Getachew Haile, The Kingdom of Janjero: A Historical Survey to 1894, B.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, 1985) pp.1-3.
[14] Lewis, p.35; Yonas,pp.3-4; *Informants*, Haji Tamam Abbaa Jobir, Balambaras AbbaaGaro; Regional Planning Office for Western Ethiopia (RPOWE),(Jimmaa, 1987E.C)pp.10-12. (unpunlished).
[15] Lewis, p.48; Tekalign, p.30; Mohammed Hassen,pp.116-117.
[16] Tekalign,pp.30-31.
[17] Bureau of Planning, p.16; Yonas, pp.5-6.
[18] Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Survey to 1910, MA thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, 1980)pp. 3-6; Idem, The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: From the Mid-16th to the Early 20th Centuries, PhD Dissertation ( Michigan State University, 1986)p.80; Mohammed Hassen,p.138; S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, (Geoferey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press,1952)p.45.




Map.1 The Oromo Monarchies of the Gibe Region in the Nineteenth century

Source: Huntingford, *(Oromo) of Ethiopia*, p.14

## 1.2. A Historical Survey of Settlement Patterns and Religious Setting

According to 1994 census report, 87.6% of the people of the Jimmaa area are Oromo and religiously, 84.65% of them are Muslims. This implies that Jimmaa is an area which is dominantly inhabited by Muslim Oromo.[19] Therefore, it is now important to see the history of settlement patterns and pre-Islamic religion of the Oromo of Jimmaa.

[19] Federal Democratic of Ethiopia, *Office of Population and Housing Census Commission, Summary Reports at Country and Regional Level (Central Statistical Authority (CSA),* Addis Ababa..,1994) p.16

According toTesema and Mohammed, the area of today's Jimmaa was inhabited by the Oromo people following the mass expansion of Oromos during the sixteenth century.[20] Before dealing with the main topic, it is perhaps important to see the sixteenth century history of the Oromo people. As noted by Tesema, the sixteenth century witnessed a great turning point in Oromo history which could be termed as a period of Oromo Renaissance.[21]

The Oromo are indigenous inhabitants of Northeast Africa and speakers of their own language, the *Afaan* Oromo, which belongs to eastern Cushitic, a sub-family of Afro-Asiatic. As Tesema states, "it is beyond any shadow of a doubt that the Oromo who belongs to the Cushitic stock are one of the earliest indigenous inhabitants in Northeast Africa".[22] Though the Oromo cultural identity began to develop in the earlier period of the distant past, the history of Oromo people up to sixteenth century has not been well recorded. Although the period up to 1500 A.D witnessed the growth and development of the Oromo society as a distinct social group with their own *Gadaa* institution during this period. Like that of many African societies, not much has been recorded and documented about the Oromo in Northeast Africa.[23]

Attempts have been made by scholars to study the original homeland of the Oromo before their historic movement and expansion. However, attempts by only recent studies have come up with some possible views on the country of the Oromo people. Both Lewis and Tesema claimed that the original homeland of the Oromo was in the area between and around Lake Chamo and Mount Walabu in northeastern Borana.[24] Others, based on oral traditions, also support the assertion that the Oromo first lived in south central Ethiopia, and continued to live there after their expansion.[25] However, the Jimmaa oral traditions say nothing about the original homeland of the Oromo, before the Machaa branch settled at a place called Tute Bisil Osolee.

[20]Mohammed Hassen, pp.92-94; Tesema Ta'a, "The Place of the Oromo in Ethiopian History," *In The Journal of Oromo Studies. Vol.11, No.2*. pp.1-4.
[21] Tesema Ta'a, pp.2.
[22] *Ibid*, p.1
[23] Alemayehu Haile, *History of the Oromo to 16th century*,(Adama, 1996),pp.106-113; Tasama,pp.4-6.
[24] Lewis, "The Origin of the Galla and the Somali," *Journal of African History*,Vol.II, No.1, 1966,pp.27-28;Tesema, The Oromo of Wallaga, pp.4-6
[25] Yasin Mohammad, A Histrorical Study of the land tenure system in Highland of Illubabor (1889-1974), M.A. thesis in History (Addis Ababa University, 1990)pp.18-20

Thus, the question of the original homeland of the Oromo has been a subject of discussion among various scholars.[26] Mohammed claims that some Oromo groups were living in the region of Walabu (Madda Walabu) since the twelfth century. He proposes that the ancestral home of the Oromo was both in the lowland and the cool highlands of Bale in South Central Ethiopia.[27] The Oromo people, in the highland area, were engaged in mixed farming while the lowlanders were mostly pastoralists. It was the pastoralist Oromo groups, who drifted away from their main group due to the nature of their socio- economic system. In those early days, the Oromo shared a common indigenous religion and the *Qaallu* institution and they used to be administered by the *Gadaa* system under *Abbaa*, a reflection of the unity of the Oromo people.[28]

Some recent studies refuted the assertion that Southern Ethiopia was the only cradle of the Oromo people. According to Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, the Oromo original homeland was around the Blue Nile. Accordingly, long before the sixteenth century, the Oromo lived occupy the central part of Ethiopia and the study has also come up with the idea that the Machaa and Tulamaa branches of Borenaa Oromo settled in the same region even before the sixteenth century. Hence, the study of Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, on the origin of Oromo as well as on the place where the Oromo seem to have started their expansion needs further investigation. This is because, in the 16th century, the great Oromo population movement was from south to south east, southwest, northwest, and to northeast directions.[29]

This and other traditions about the origin of the Oromo, in general and the people under discussion in particular need a further study. In the first half of 16th century, the Oromo people had begun a successful expansion from an area called Madda Wallabu (today located in Bale zone). According to Warkineh, the name Madda Wallabu means source of freedom which is derived from two *Oromiffa* words, *Madda* (source) and *Walabummaa* (freedom).[30]

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[26] 30 Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp. 4-5; Lewis, Origin of Galla, pp.32-34; Unrick Braukamper, "Oromo Country of Origin: A Reconsideration of Hypothesis," Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Tel-Aviv, 1986, pp.135-136; Nagasso Gidada, *History of the Sayyo Oromo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730-1886* ( Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise,2001),pp.46-48. The study of Negasso shows that the Oromo people lived in Shawa during the 14th century at a place known as katal, in Menz. However, this assertion still need further study.

[27] Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp.4-5.

[28] *Ibid*, pp.6-8.

[29] Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, *History of the Oromo to the16th Century*, (Finfinnee, 2006) ,pp. 64-68.

[30] Warqineh A.Sori, Sirna *Gadaa*, Maxxansa 3ffaa, (Finfinnee, 2010) pp.12-13.

Tesema states that in the second half of 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, the Oromo were well consolidated under the *Gadaa* system and obtained an upper hand against all their rivals and had settled in the wealthy lands of today's Oromia and even more. [31] The Oromo movement of sixteenth century began to expand from Bale to different areas of Ethiopia and the Horn. Therefore, the Oromo movement of the sixteenth century was from Bale to the southeast, southwest, northwest and north east of Ethiopia. According to Lewis, the political organization of *Gadaa* contributes to the success of Oromo population movements.[32]

The Oromo seem to have been regularly structured in *Gadaa*. Over centuries, *Gadaa* grew finally with the actual age sets of their members. Under *Gadaa*, in every eight years, the Oromo would hold a popular assembly called the *Gumii Gayyoo*. Accordingly, it was the achievement of *Gadaa* officials which made the Oromo expansion and continuous movements successful and all officials, at the time of expansion, had united for cooperation against the external forces. Their unity for common objective of extending territorial occupation ended up in the creation of a vast Oromo territory in Ethiopia and the Horn.[33]

It was during the 16th century that the Oromo people had settled around the areas of Jimmaa. In this regard, Mohammad state that the south western part of Ethiopia was controlled by the Machaa and Tulamaa branchs of Oromo during the time of *Gadaa* Birmajii (1579-1586). These two groups of Oromo had practiced *Gadaa* system in union until the beginning of seventeenth century and their *Gadaa* center used to be known as *Odaa* Nabe with its set at Akakii (today it is part of Addis Ababa city administration). [34]

Later, the Machaa Oromo had established its own separate *Gadaa* center known as *Odaa* Bisil with its center around Ambo and occupied the south western Oromia. Then, the Machaa Oromo had further divided itself into two groups known as *Afree* and *Sadachaa* (which means the fourth and the third). In the first half of 19th century, the *Afree* group had established the two Leqa

[31] Tesema, p.5; Mohammad Hassan, p.11-12; Asafa Jalata, *Oromia and Ethiopia: State Formation and Ethno-national Conflict,1868-1992* (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 1993)pp.19-20.
[32] Lewis, "A Reconsideration of the Socio-Political…, pp.139-40.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Mohammad Hassan,pp.38-40.

states in Wallega known as Leqa Qellam and Leqa Naqamtee, while the *Sadachaa* group of Machaa established the five Gibe Oromo states. [35]

Scholars unanimously agree that *Odaa* Bisil (Tute Bisil Osole) was located between the towns of Gedo and Billo Bishe in today's Western Shawa. The place is also confirmed by the Machaa Oromo traditions as the place of the departure.[36] Lack of communication, single leadership and contact with non-Oromo groups living in the region influenced the Machaa Oromo.[37] Tesema argues that the Machaa had moved and finally settled in Tute Bisil Osole. Tute Bisil was famous for its strategic importance. It remained the Centre of the Machaa for "five generations," playing the role of the old *Caffee* of *Odaa* Nabe. [38] However, for Tekalign, the Oromo stayed at Tute Bisil for four or five generations before starting to move into different directions of the region.[39]

Unfortunately, scholars have not yet established the exact date of the first settlement of the Oromo in Jimmaa. Lewis and Trimingham propose that year 1700 was the first date of their settlement.[40] It is neither possible to establish the exact date of their earliest settlement, in the region in general and Jimmaa in particular, nor easy to know when the Omotic speaking people, named the Kafa seems to left the Jimmaa area. However, attempts have been made to determine the relative chronology of Machaa Oromo expansion and settlement on the basis of genealogical continuity, one generation is estimated at 25 to 30 years.[41] There is also consensus among scholars that the Oromo settlement in the Jimmaa area was not sudden rather a gradual process. The earliest groups arrived in the region between the last decades of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. [42]

Regarding the pre-Oromo inhabitants of the present Jimmaa, different scholars hold different views. Tekalign and Guluma, state that when the Oromo crossed the Gibe region i.e. prior to

[35] Tesema, pp.12-14 ; workinesh, p.23; Mohammad Hasan, p.42.
[36] Tesema, The Oromo of wallaga, p.23; Tekalign, p.33; Abraham, p.34. According to Abraham, all Machaa oral traditions identify Bisil or Tute Bisil as the land east of the Gibe River, were forced to cross the River in search of land.
[37] Lewis, p.26; Geda Melba, pp.28-30 ; Abdullkerim Abbaa Garo , The History of Jimmaa kingdom under Abbaa Jifaar II ( 1877-1913) ( Addis Ababa University, 1988) , p. 4 ( unpublished paper ).
[38] Tesema , " Political Economy , " pp. 46-47, 65.
[39] Tekalign, p.33.
[40] Lewis ,P.39; Trimighan, p.200.
[41] Yasin, pp.21-23; Mohammad Hasan, p.42. According to Lewis and Trimingham, the name Sidama in the south western Ethiopia is all non- Oromo people.
[42]Tesema, Oromo of wallega, p.46; Mohammed Hassen, pp.7-8; Yasin, p.21.

their settlement in Jimmaa, they found unoccupied area and settled without serious resistance.[43] According to Guluma, the Kafa people were driven off the Jimmaa area by sixteenth century wars of Imam Ahmed Ibrahim (1527-1543) and when the Oromo crossed the Gibe they found an unoccupied area and settled without resistance. [44] However, this view is not plausible for Tesema argues that the *Sadachaa* Oromo of the region faced stronger resistance from the "well organized" Omotic kingdoms of the Gibe region than from the dispersed Nilo-Saharan people's refuted Guluma's assertions. Perhaps the letter (Nilo-Saharan) lived in areas where the *Afree* groups settled and developed into Leqaa states. [45]

According to oral traditions and some scholars, on the earliest penetration of Oromo in to the Gibe Valley first, there was a certain leader named Jimmaa Akako, who was claimed to have been the first to settle in Jimmaa area. He lived for many years and died while he was fighting the Kafa near the present day Dedoo. His eldest son, Wayyu and younger son Hararo similarly continued fighting the Kafa people although they were defeated and retreated back to their indigenous Centre of Tute Bisil. [46]

Tekalign indicates that before the Oromo settlement, the Jimmaa area was not inhabited by any one so that the Oromo occupied it relatively in an easy way. He further states that, learning of the arrival of the Oromo in the region, the Kafa came from beyond the Gojeb River to drive the Oromo out of the Jimmaa area. Perhaps this was the reason why the Oromo stayed in Tute Bisil for four or five generation before they started pushing the Kafa people. [47] After few generations, a strong Machaa group of the *Sadachaa* confederacy led by Diggo Jarso, the great grandson of Wayyu had fought against the Kafa people at a place called Ogdi Budo near Dedoo. At that time, the Kafa people were defeated by the Oromo and retreated back to the land beyond the Gojab River.[48] Thus, the name Jimmaa, which was used interchangeably to refer to the people, the land and the kingdom, was given by the founding father of the sub-Oromo clan. The *Sadachaa* leader Diggo Jarso, was apparently a person of remarkable power of leadership and intelligence. Oral sources indicate that the different Oromo clans spread out and eventually dominated the area

[43] Guluma , Historical traditions p.10-11; Tekalign, pp.30-33; Lewis, p.38.
[44] Guluma, p.12.
[45] Tesema, the political economy, p.48.
[46] Informants: Abbaa Faajii Abbaa Manca, Abdo Sheikh Kamal; Tekalign, pp.30-32; Lewis, p.38; Abdulkerim, pp.9-10.
[47] Tekelign, p.34.
[48] Lewis, pp.38-39.

between the Gibe River in the north and Gojab River in the south. After expelling the Kafa people, the *Sadachaa* occupied the vast land between dhidheessaa, Gojab and Gibe Rivers. It was this group which later formed the five Gibe Oromo monarchies among which Jimmaa was one of the dominant ones.[49]

Other sources indicated that the Kafa were defeated at a place called Xiro Afata between the main Gibe and its tributary (Gibe *Xiqqaa* or Gibe *qalla*) whichis currently known as *gelgal* Gibe Rivers. The stench of the dead bodies made it difficult for people to cross the area. As a result, the place was named *Xiroo Afataa* (which means full of stench or bad smell). The Kafa abandoned the war and retreated by destroying everything they found on their way. For instance, they destroyed the *hora* (mineral water used for cattle). The Oromo had occupied this area and settled permanently.[50]

According to Oral traditions, from Bisil, the Oromo first sent people described as a hunting group.[51] Perhaps, these were what Tasema identified as *dagal-saaqii* (forest breakers or forest openers) and the *simbirttuu* (reconnaissance) probably hunters proceed to pave the way, and then the major groups followed.[52] Although there is unanimity among all scholars concerning the *Sadachaa* settlement in the region except, Tekalign, no one has attempted to identify the place, Xiro or the direction they followed when they crossed the Gibe River and entered the area of Jimmaa. Xiro was a site where the Kafa people had been beaten, had strong historical connection with the expansion and settlement of the Oromo in the region. Some oral informants from the Jimmaa area also support this view. [53]

The *Afree* and the *Sadachaa* confederacies, in Tute Bisil, entered into intense conflict with each other during the *Gadaa* Mudana (1610-1618). Probably, due to demographic factor (increase in number of population) and shortage of land, their conflict gradually led to the final collapse of their common *Caffe* at Bisil. The descendants of both *Afree* and *Sadachaa* confederacies eventually emerged as rich leaders. Subsequently, the cohesion was dissolved which led them

[49] Informants: Abbaa Zinaab Abbaa Jamaal, Abaa Nagaa Abbaa Fogii,Tamaam Abaa Digaa; E. Ceruli, "Folk Literature of the (Oromo) of Southern Abyssinia," Vol.3: Harvard: African Studies (Cambridge, 1922)p.12; Tesema, The political Economy, p.48.
[50] Tekelign,p.34.
[51] Informants: balambaras Abbaa garo, Haji Kamal AbbaaFixa; Abdulkerim, p.30.
[52] Tesema, The Oromo of Wollaga, p.5; Yasin, p.20.
[53] Tekalign, pp.33-34; Informants: Haji Awalu Abbaa Jobir, Abbaa Garo.

move into different directions. As a result of the conflict, the *Afree* moved towards the west and southwest, particularly, to Wallaga and Illubabor; whereas, the *Sadachaa* expanded to the Gibe Region.[54] The wealth and fertility of the land of the Gibe Valley was a fundamental factor attracting the frequent incursions of the *Sadachaa* from Tutee Bisil area into the Gibe Region.[55]

Almost many of the Jimmaa oral informants confidently assert that the Kafa had not settled in the area in the pre- Oromo period and controlled the lands of the Jimmaa area. [56] According to Abraham, at the time of the coming of the Oromo, the Jimmaa area had been largely uninhabited. He indicated there were only a few Kafa people who occasionally visited the area in search of grassland and *hora* (mineral water) for their livestock. With the arrival of the Oromo, the Kafa fled the area and moved beyond the Gojeb River.[57] Upon returning from a successful battle against their enemies, traditionally, the Jimmaa Oromo warriors brought all their booty to an open space at the foot of the small hill of Hirmata for distribution among themselves. The process was known as *hirmaata* or *hirmaachu* (which means to share). The place later grew into a big commercial and political center of the kingdom of Jimmaa.[58]

Having crossed the Gibe River and settled in Jimmaa area, the Machaa Oromo lived under their traditional *Gadaa* administration.[59] The first clans were called "*Jimmaa shanan*" (the five Jimmaa) while the second were "*Jimmaa arfan*" (four Jimmaa). They formed "*Jimmaa salgan*" (the nine Jimmaa clans) or *sanyii* under the Abbaa *Gadaa*s of different clans such as Diggo, Badi, Qore, Lalo, Hagalo, Bito, Billo (Bilu), Sadachaa and Harsu. [60] After their departure from the Bisil area and their occupation of the region, they continued to be governed by the newly-established common *Caffee* of the *Gadaa* center of *Hullee* in the area of Hulle Bayyum. Oral traditions from Jimmaa associate the name *Odaa* Hulle with that of *Odaa* Jimmaa. It was here

[54] Mohammed Hassen, pp.54, 63-64.
[55] *Ibid*, p.56; M. Abir, *Ethiopia and Read sea; Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and Muslim- European Rivalry in the Region* (London: Frank Cass and company limited, 1980) pp.164-165
[56] Informants: Hajj Abbaa jobir, Abbaa jihad Abbaa Siraj; Lewis, p.35.
[57] Abraham, pp. 34-35. 75; informant: Abbaa Goro, Sheik Abdo Abbaa Jidda; Tekeligh, p.65 76; Guluma "Gomma and Limmu" pp.47-48.
[58] Informant: Sheik Abdo Abbaa Jidda, Abbaa Goro; Tekelign, p.65.
[59] Guluma, pp.47-48.
[60] Abraham, pp.34-35; Ketebo Abdiyo *"Abbaa Jifaar of Jimmaa Kingdom 1861-1932, A Biography*, History department, (Jimmaa University, 2003) p.5. The first *Jimmaa shanan* settled in the Jimmaa area, while the second group, *Jimmaa arfan* are said to have settled in the adjacent areas.

that the *Seera tumaa* Hulle had been issued. It was perhaps the common law throughout the Oromo inhabited areas.[61]

As soon as they occupied and settled under Diggo Jarso, the Oromo clans seem to have agreed to hold their council of elders to celebrate their indigenous *Gadaa* ceremonies and declare their *Seera* (law) under certain *Abbaa Gadaa*.[62] Although Lewis and oral traditions couldnot reveal the name of this Abbaa *Gadaa*, it was probably Diggo Jarso. This assertion is supported by Ketebo who indicates that at the council of *Odaa* Hulle, a local chief of Diggo Jarso came out as the more powerful leader of the Jimmaa Oromo local chiefs. All clan representatives met and swore an Oath of allegiance known as *Kakaa* (*Kakuu)* to Diggo.[63] It was after that the machaa name of Jimmaa *Kakaa* was derived. The *Kakaa* (Oath) indicates not only Oromo clan faith-fullness to the Diggo leadership but was also associated with whole unity of the clans' leaders. [64]

Diggo Jarso, thus emerged as a strong and influential *Gadaa* leader after the meeting of the council for he forced all clans to accept his leadership. The *Kakaa* included the right to hold the *qabbiyyee* belonging to their leaders and Diggo Jarso's private possession contrary to the former Oromo *Gadaa* principle of communal land ownership which has already been part of the Oromo indigenous the private land possession led to the state formation of the region particularly Jimmaa.[65] In addition, the *Seera* Hulle of the region became the legal administrative frame work and fundamental basis for rules of the Oromo of the region by which they could solve the common problems they later encountered in their socio-political relationships that is why Jimmaa traditions refers to Diggo Jarso by his nick name Abbaa Dabano, for introducing the basic *Seera* (laws) for the community of the region.[66]

According to Yonas, Jimmaa *Kakaa*, one of the five Gibe monarchies came into existence in the second half of the eighteenth-century. He asserted that the center of the monarchy was Hirmata, one of the kingdom's principalities ruled by Abbaa Magal. In the eighteenth century, the Jimmaa state came into existence. It was not Abbaa Magal but his father Ose Kobil, Abbaa Faro who was

[61] Guluma, Historical traditions, p.11; Informants; Abbaa Gali Abbaa Machaa, Abbaa Goro.
[62] Informants: Abbaa Fiixaa Abbaa Diimaa, Balambares Abbaa Goroo, Lewis, pp.32-38.
[63] Mohammed Hassen, Economic history of Abbaa Jifaar, p.84; ketebo Abiyo, p.6.
[64] Tekalign ,p.35.
[65] Tekalign, p.36.
[66] *Ibid.*

the founder of Jimmaa state. Certainly, Diggo's position was enhanced as a result of the Machaa Oromo over the Kafa people since it provided him with a special position.[67]

The date of the Oromo settlement was between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[68] Between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, various socio-economic and political changes which brought about sate formation occurred in the region. Nevertheless, until the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Machaa Oromo socio-economic and political relations were based on the *Gadaa* rule.[69]

As far as early religion is concerned, the Oromo people had their own indigenous religion prior to the coming of Islam and Christianity to the area, which is called *Waaqeffannaa*. This society has awareness of its relation to nature, the existence of superpower who regulate between his society and nature. Likewise, when Islam was introduced into the area, the Jimmaa Oromo were followers of indigenous religion based on the belief in *Waaqa*, which the Oromo considered as a supernatural power.[70] They believed in *Waaqayyoo* (God), who is a creator and giver of blessing where *Ayyaanaa* (sprits) may act as mediators. The belief in such creator is known as *Waaqeffannaa* (belief in Sky God).[71]

*Waaqeffannaa* came from two words, *Waaqa* (Oromo sky-God) and *fannaa (*process of thanks giving). Thus *Waqeffannaa* is a thanks-giving religious ceremony to *Waaqa*. The definition of *Waaqa* itself is difficult. For instance, Knutson who studied Oromo religion defined *Waaqa* as vault of the sky or the sky itself or linked with the sky. While Mohammad defined *Waaqa* as both the sky god and the sky itself, manifesting the dual nature of the two moieties within the nation who controlled the fertility, peace and life giving rains and also waaqa is the creator and lord of the earth who had the power of doing good and evil.[72]

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[67] Yones, p.4; Tekalign, p.37.
[68]Guluma, Gomma and Limmu, pp.11,20 ; Lewis, p.29.
[69] Mohahammed Hassen,p.86; Tesema, pp.49-51.
[70] Gada Melba, pp.18-21; Daniel Ayana, "The concept of waqa and the missionaries: A preliminary study in the Grafting of Christianity on a indigenous belief in Wallaga," *Annual Seminar of the department of History, April, 27-30, Vol.I, 1983*, pp.113-174. The waqaa has three intertwined meanings, which were differentiated from each other by the context in which they are used. The Waaqaa refers to sky as seen from the earth. It can also mean a Supreme Being, or heaven, the abode of the Supreme Being.
[71] Fekadu Gurmessa (Translated and edited by Dr.Ezikel Gabissa), *Evangelical Faith Movement in Ethiopia, Origins and establishment of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus.*Minneapolis, 2009, p.21.
[72] Karl Eric Knutson, *Authority and Change: A Study of the Qallu Institution Among the Machaa (0romo) of Ethiopia* (Gothenburg: Etnografiska Museet, 1967) pp.25-27; Mohammed Hassen,pp.12-14.

Oral informants also assert *Waaqa* as *Waaqa Guraacha* (black Waqa) who is merciful and capable of listening to his creature's invocations. Some Jimmaa Oromo believed that *Waaqa Guraacha* at one time came to earth and talked to mankind. He is frequently invoked in prayers as well as in ordinary conversation. The Jimmaa Oromo did not associate their idea of *Waaqa* with that of mortal being.[73]

*Waaqa Guracha* always made contact with creation through *Ayyaana* (spirit). The concept of *Ayyanaa* is equivalent to the English word "fortune" or luck. It also means a holiday. Yet in another context, *Ayyanaa* refers to the ancestral spirit. However, is not identical with the *Waaqa*, as Kunutson states, but it is a kind of spirit which protects the family from danger. In the context of ancestral cult spirit, *Ayyanaa* lives before as well as after one dies.[74] *Ayyaanas* was believed by some Jimmaa Oromo to be a guardian of their daily lives. *Ayyaana* was a sign of *Waqa's* mercy to Oromo in order to help them observe Oromo law and custom.[75] When the *Ayyaanas* possess somebody, an expert called *Qalluu* would act as an intermediate between the one possessed by the *Ayyaana* and the *Ayyaana* itself. Since the *Qalluu* was the representative of *Waaqa*, he had the ability to interpret the needs and aims of the *Ayyaana*. The Jimmaa Oromo believed that the first *Qalluu* had divine origin that was given from above as a favor to them. [76]

*Qalluu* was used to be considered the head of the indigenous Oromo religion. *Qalluu* was also considered as *qulqullu* (holy) and its position was hereditary. During their expansion and subsequent settlement in the region, each clan of the Machaa Oromo had its *Qalluu* and *Qalluu* spirit, the clans' (*sanyii)* and confederacies, *Qallus* used to guide them to live a good and disciplined life based on the Oromo social norms (*saafuu). Qalluu* also helped the Oromo to predict their fate.[77] *Qalluu* followed the Oromo during their expansion and settlement. There was a chief *Qalluu* or a chief priest of *Qallus* called Abbaa Muuda.[78]

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[73] Informants: Abbaa Jabal Abbaa Fixaa, Haji Abdulqadir Abbaa Giddi.
[74] Karl Eric Knutson, pp.25-27; Daniel, p.117. According to Daniel Ayana, when somebody dies his *ayyanaa* is believed to be changed in to *ekera*, ghost, which was believed to live around the house in which the man had died. For the *ekera* one has to arrange a ceremony known as *dachi, mijuu or dhibayyu* which is similar to the tezkar of Orthodox Christianity.
[75] Mohammad Hassan, pp.7-8; Lewis, p.19.
[76] *Informants:* Abbaa Bulgu, Abbaa Nazif Abbaa Manna.
[77] Gunther Schlee, "Islam and the Gada system as conflict shaping Forces in southern Oromia" in Harold G. Marcus (ed.), *New Trends in Ethiopian Studies, Papers of the 12th International Conference of Ethiopian studies, Vol. II, 1994*, pp.900-903
[78] Gada Melba, p.19; Mohammed Hassen, pp.6-7

According to Oral tradition, *Qalluu* was considered as a high priest and the spiritual leader of the Oromo people. There are different views regarding the origin of *Qalluu* and its institutions. The *Qalluu* was also considered as the "eldest son" of all Oromo, the source of customs and traditions, and 'the prophet of nation' who guarded the laws of the *Waaqa*. [79] In all situations, *Qalluu* must follow the truth and avoid sin. Here, *Qalluu* institutions were among the most important in the Oromo traditions and culture, especially among the Machaa Oromo.[80] The Oromo belief system was closely interwoven with the *Gadaa* system and *Seera aadaa* (the customary law).[81]

The residence of *Qalluu* was considered as spiritual centre where political matters were also discussed among the candidates of *Qondaltoota Gadaa* (*Gadaa* officials).[82] According to Tekalign, there were five Oromo clans who arrived in Jimmaa who had their own *Qalluu* and *Ayyanaa*.[83] Islamic religion was introduced into Jimmaa area in the first half of the nineteenth century and the Oromo indigenous religion began to decline in the area.[84] However, in most part of Muslim Oromo areas including Jimmaa, the Oromo indigenous religion existed side by side with Islam as the later was mostly tolerant in the past. Therefore, some elements of pre-Islamic Oromo culture were incorporated into Islamic practices. That is why Jeylan Hussein states that the indigenous Oromo tradition offered Islam an African features.[85] The *Qalluu* cult was gradually replaced by Islamic culture.[86] Scholars attributed the decline of *Gadaa* administration in the region to the gradual adoption of sedentary life and expansion of Islam. The decline of the *Gadaa* gradually contributed to state formation.[87]

## 1.3. A Process of State Formations

The literature about the early Oromo monarchies of the Gibe Region is based on the mid-nineteenth century European travellers and often related with missionary accounts.These

[79] Informants: Fixaa Abbaa Jihad, Siraj Abbaa Garoo; Gada Melba, p.20.
[80] Gustav Aren, *Evangelical Pioneers in Ethiopia: Origins of the Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus* (Stockholm: Uppsala University, 1978), pp.259-260.
[81] Gada Melba, pp.19-20.
[82] Guluma, Historical Traditions, p.28.
[83] Tekalign, p.35.
[84] Mohammed Hassen, pp.19,42.
[85]Jeylan W.Hussein, "The Functions of African Oral Arts: The Arsi-Oromo Oral Arts in Focus", *in African Study Monograph vol.26,(* 2005), pp.19-21.
[86] Gada Melba, p.21.
[87] Lewis, pp.39-143; Tekelign, p.35; Asmarom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society*, (New York: The Free Press, 1973) pp.76-78.

accounts were either imbalanced or incomplete in their coverage.[88] They presented conflicting views on the socio-political developments of the region. However, their contribution to the construction of Machaa Oromo expansion and settlement in the region should not be underestimated.[89]

Regarding the factors for the state formation in the region, scholars are still divided over whether the internal or external factors were more decisive. Externaly, some scholars attributed it to the influence of the Kafa people of the area with whom the Oromo first came into contact. [90] M.Abir considered trade as the major factor for the formation of the Gibe states.[91] Other scholars also give equal emphasis to both the external as well as internal factors that facilitated the complex socio-political changes of the region.[92]

At the initial stage of their settlements, warfare or conflict among the local Oromo chiefs was not visible perhaps for the *qabiyyee* (an established form of land holding) then possessed was plentiful. In addition, they must have been busy fighting against the Kafa people of the area to acquire more extensive *qabiyyee* and *boojuu* (booty).[93] However, the growth of population led to the growth of individual ambitions, which worked against the survival of the *Gadaa*. Besides, the fertility of the land and the existence of trade routes that connected to the northern Ethiopia regions with the rich market centers of the southwestern regions crossed. Hirmata, the main market center in Jimmaa, was also another factor.[94] The rivalry for the mastery of long-distance trade, and constant state warfare, therefore, weakened the *Gadaa* administration and led to state formation. [95]

The caravan traders used to be allowed to cross the region and were given protection by local chiefs, usually called *Goftaa* (lord) along the trade routes because there was insecurity.[96] The

[88] Tesema,p.78, lewis, Jimma Abbaa Jifar, Tekalign.
[89] Tesema,pp.79-80.
[90] *Ibid*, 84-85; Tirmingham, pp.203-204.
[91] M. Abir , The Emergence and Consolidation of the Monarchies of Ennarya and Jimmaa in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, *Journal of African History, VI,II,(1965)*, pp.208-209.
[92] T. Beke, On the countries south of Abyssinia, Journal of the Royal Geographical society, Vol. XIV,(1843), p.255; Trimingham, p.199; Tesema, p.78.
[93] Yasin, p.22.
[94] A. Triulizi, The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbors in the Two generations before the battle of Embebo, Journal of Ethiopian studies Vol. XII, No.1, 1995, pp.53-54.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] Abir, pp.122-123.

indigenous power of Abbaa Dula and Abbaa *Gadaa* was greatly reduced, especially as the able bodied warrior class, who elected their own Abbaa Dula, who later became *mootii.* Gradually, each began to have its own chiefs.[97] The developmentof commerce in the region had the blessing of local Oromo chiefs some of whom monopolized the trade in certain precious products like gold and ivory. In addition, agricultural products helped them accumulate wealth and consolidate their power. The local chiefs' rivalry for the control of rich natural resources and trade routes hastened the decline of the *Gadaa*. On the other hand, the continuity of the authority of *Gadaa* officials beyond eight years helped them to become *mootii* of their own respective areas.[98]

In some areas, there were individuals elected as war leaders, but within the *Gadaa* setting, while in the other areas successful warriors outside the *Gadaa* circle were elected by their own followers and challenged the power of the *Gadaa* officials.[99] Tekalign states that, the major factors for the decline of the *Gadaa* system and state formation was when Abbaa Dula became richer and more powerful, and gained influence over their areas and proclaimed himself *mootii*.[100] With this change, the Oromo had gradually begun to turn the indigenous *Gadaa* administration into absolute monarchial rule in the region, which was important for the nineteenth-century Ethiopian long-distance trade.[101]

The beginning of the establishment of kingship in Jimmaa was a controversial issue among scholars. Recent works, based on oral traditions, concluded that Jimmaa received its first *mootii* two generations after the arrival of the Oromo in the region. Perhaps, the seventeenth century was the most likely date for the Oromo settlement in region.[102] This date seems to go very well with the date of the Machaa Oromo clans' dispersal from Tute Bisil in the late sixteenth century.[103] However, Cerulli's proposal of a different date for their settlement in the sixteenth

[97] Lewis, p.28.
[98] Abir, p.126; Abdukerim, pp.5-7.
[99] Abir, The emergence and consolidation, pp.206, 219; Tekalign, p.36.
[100] Tekalign, pp.36-38.
[101] Lewis, p.28; Mohammed Hassen, pp.192-193.
[102] Hailemariam, pp.1-4; C.F. Bekingham and G.W.B. Huntinford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,1593-1646 1649:Being Extracted from theHistory of High Ethiopia [Abyssinia] by Manoel di Almeida together with Bahrey's History of the (Oromo) (*London:Hakluyt Society,1954), p.205.
[103] Tesema, The Oromo of Wallagga, pp.66-67.

century is too early,[104] while Tirmingham's date, the early eighteenth century, is too late since by this time the process of the state formation had already been underway.[105]

Some scholars confidently assert that on the eve of the establishment of monarchical rule, political power was concentrated in the hands of "queen" named Makko Hore and Abbaa Qiriphe, local chief of Badi clan (before Abbaa Faro of Diggo clan took throne in 1742 and ruled until 1787).[106] Concerning on the decline of the *Gadaa* system and formation of state, the first reasons is narrative of a certain "queen" named Makka Hore and the plot against her. The clans refused to pay tribute to a "queen", because they became unhappy with her leadership. Thus, they issued their own law called *tumaa* hulee at *Odaa* Hulee, the politico-religious of the Oromo of the Gibe Region. [107]

According to Lewis and Abdulkerim, Makka Hore led the earlier Oromo settlers in Jimmaa. It was under the leadership of this queen that the Kafa peoples were pushed out of the area to the land beyond Gojeb. Thus, when the Oromo first came to Jimmaa the queen set a Bokku and went to the frontier of Kafa and the ground began to shake. Then the Kafa fled beyond the Gojeb River and the Oromo took their land where they settled. [108] Tekalign and Oral traditions also agree with that that the sixteenth century Kafa was not strong enough to resist the Oromo penetration. One can safely argued that the she was not either a queen or a *Gadaa* leader, as Lewis asserted that, she was Abbaa Bokku holding a bokku (scepter), perhaps she was simply *Qalluu* who had accompanied the Oromo *Gadaa* leaders during their movement and subsequent settlement in the area. Perhaps, she was Abbaa *Ulee* (Hulee) (father of stick). The plot against Makka Hore, however, illustrated the declining of the *Gadaa* system.[109]

According to some informants, she was the *giftii* (queen) of Jimmaa Badi who had been politically and economically dominant in the area is said to have established the first Jimmaa monarchy. Hence Jimmaa was known as Jimmaa Badi.[110] The different clans of Jimmaa like the

[104] Cerrulli, p.166.
[105] Tirmingham, p.199.
[106] Lewis, p.82; Jimmaa /TAO, p.4.
[107] Lewis, pp.38-39; Abraham, p.37. According to *seera tumaa Dubartiin hanqudha.* "Women are not equal with men,'' because they are not adept at using spear. In addition, women's pregnancy hinders the movement of the Oromo. While there was a total of eight kings who had reigned over Jimmaa kingdom, there were no female rulers.
[108] Lewis, p.38-39; Abdulkerim, p.10.
[109] Tekalign, pp.32-33; Informants: Jemal Abaa Simal, Awal Sheikh Zakir, Abbaa Nagaa, Abbaa Zinaab.
[110] Informants: Abbaa Fixaa Abbaa Jihad, Tayyibb Abbaa Fogi.

Diggo of Manna, Harsu of Dedoo, Badi of Saqqaa and Laalo of Qarsaa under their own respective chiefs finally became rivals against each other.[111] In Oromo history, the *Odaa* tree used to serve two main purposes. Firstly, it was a symbol of link between the *Waaqa* and the Oromo society; and, secondly, it was the site of traditional *Gadaa* rituals.[112] *Odaa* Hulle, the politico-religious center of the Oromo of the Gibe region and the place where *Seera tuma* Hulle used practiced was gradually transformed into the center of confrontation among the different clans. The meeting of elders under *Odaa* Hulle continued until the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. The earliest meeting was convened to celebrate the Oromo victory and the *Gadaa* ceremony. The chiefs of the area were disbanded after their usual meetings.[113]

For instance, Abbaa Faro of Diggo had extended his control Manna to Hirmata, the great market center. The first move taken by the Diggo was against the Laalo clan. After the defeat of Laalo clan, the Diggo moved to Jiren and took control of Hirmata which was under the Badi clan chief. When Abbaa Qiriphe, the powerful Badi clan chief was defeated by Abbaa Faro, all the clan chiefs meet at a place called Bakkee Ganjii and elected Abbaa Faro. Abbaa Faro was thus the founder of Diggo (Jimmaa) monarchy and the first *mootii* of Jimmaa.[114] Henceforth, Diggo survived in Jimmaa traditions both as one of the name of the politically dominant clan as well as the name of a Jimmaa local chief. This continued until the kingdom's incorporation to the modern Ethiopian empire.[115]

When the Oromo arrived in Jimmaa, first, they claimed that they were the new owners of the land called *qabiyyee*. However, after Abbaa Faro came to power the Diggo clan's control of the *qabiyyee* land was expanded. Besides Diggo clan's chiefs, non-Diggo chiefs were also given lands in return for their services to the government.[116]

Guluma indicates that, the pressure from surrounding Omotic kingdoms, forced the Jimma Oromo clans to unite and create new political structure. It was particularly, where the Jimma Oromo clans faced strong resistance from the Omotic kingdoms, that the need for effective

[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Dereje, pp.1-2.
[113] Hailemariam, p.3; Ketebo, p.5-8; Abdulkarim, p.10-11; Lewis, p.29.
[114] Lewis, pp.39 -42; Abdulkerim, p.70.
[115] Hailemariam, pp. 9-10; Guluma Gemeda**,** The Process of State Formation of the Gibe Region, *in proceeding of the second Annual seminar of the department of history, 1984*, p.140**;** Tekelign, p.38.
[116] Hailemariam, p.69; Mohammed Hassen, p.140; Tekelign, pp.29-30.

political organization was seriously felt. The all Jimma Oromo clans came toghether to form a state.[117]

This process was followed by the establishment of hereditary rule in Jimmaa, when his eldest son and successor, Abbaa Magal (1787-1827) succeeded him. The clan chiefs, who used to attend the coronation ceremony of *mootii* Abbaa Faro and witnessed the succession of his son, king, did not suspect about the long-term consequences of the succession but they simply thought that it was the customary exercise of the indigenous principles of power had over of the *Gadaa* rule.[118] When Abbaa Faro was elected accepting the offer, it was only a member of the Lalo clan, a rival of the Diggo clan, who opposed this. He is believed to have said, "you have elevated this man (Abbaa Faro) today and called him on your heads, but tomorrow you will find it difficult to remove him". The reign of Abbaa Faro lasted about two generation (1742-1787) after the first Hulle meeting. The first Hulle meeting seems to have taken place around 1700.[119]

When the son and successor of Abbaa Faro, Abbaa Magal, assumed the throne, the government was transferred to Hirmata, one of the principalities of Jimmaa Kaka. Hirmata was the place where the Oromo first settled and the warriors shared (*hirachuu*) the booty (*boojuu*) they had captured when they subjected the Kafa people.[120] Abbaa Magal launched a series of wars against his neighbors and extended his kingdom as far as Xiro Afata (dimtuu), east of Jiren. According to Abdulkerim, at the age of 104, his eldest son, Abbaa Rago (1828-1830) came to power as his successor. However, Abbaa Rago is believed to have been a weak *mootii* whose officials finally overthrew him when Jimmaa was attacked by the neighboring peoples. This circumstance provided an opportunity for Sana, the later Abbaa Jifaar I to come to the throne.[121]

As soon as he came to power, Abbaa Jifaar I consolidated his military and administrative powers and introduced various innovations. One of these was that the kingdom adopted his name and became Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar.[122] His first name was Sana while Jifaar was the name of his horse. Hence, Abbaa Jifaar means owner of the dappled horse.[123] For instance, M. Abir asserted that in

[117] Guluma,pp.137-141.
[118] Tesema,p.88.
[119]Tesema, pp. 88-90; Tekalign,p.39.
[120] Guluma, Historical Traditions, p.11.
[121] Abdulkerim, pp.10-13; Hailemariam, pp.11-14.
[122] Lewis, p.41; Hailemariam, p.19; Tesema, p. 88.
[123] C. Beke, pp.259-260; Tesema, p.89.

1833 Abbaa Jifaar I became Abbaa Dula of Hirmata.[124] However, Tekalign mentions that, the names of three *mootis* of Jimmaa before Abbaa Jifaar I. This view is also supported by the king's list of Jimmaa, which is in agreement with Jimmaa oral informants.[125] Generally, one can deduce from these that Abbaa Jifaar I was not the founder of the monarchy but the famous *mooti* who consolidated the power of the monarchy and continued the war against the neighboring local chiefs.

According to Yonas, in 1830 Abbaa Jifaar I became the first *mootii* of the kingdom. He added that it was particularly during his reign that most of the territories of the kingdom were subjugated.[126] However, he was not the first *mootii* of Jimmaa kingdom, but the first to consolidate the kingdom which had already been established before his time.[127]Abbaa Jifaar I extended his power at the expense of Limmu-Ennarya.[128] Perhaps this was the reason why the kingdom was named after him. He was the strongest *mootii* of Diggo dynasty who unified the various clans beginning from the 1830s.[129]

In addition to extending his kingdom's frontiers as far as the Gibe Region and consolidating his military, economic and political power, Abbaa Jifaar I encouraged the introduction of Islam, the central theme of this study. According to Tekalign, no exact date can be proposed for the introduction of Islam, though the *mootii* embraced Islam in the early days of his reign in order to consolidate his authority and promote political cohesion.[130] Trade and Islam reinforced political power.[131] Abbaa Jifaar I realized the need for the wealth and ideology to achieve further unity of the Jimmaa Oromo clans promoted Islam than for religious purpose.[132]

The emergence and consolidation of Jimmaa as a powerful state during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar I attracted both the local and long-distance trade Muslim merchants. The *mootii* provided security for merchants within the confines of his kingdom. In return, he obtained luxury items,

[124] Abir, The Emergence and Consolidation, pp.209-215.
[125] Tekaligh, pp.39-40; Informants: Abdukerim Abbaa Machaa , Hajji Garoo Abbaa Siraj.
[126] Yones, pp.4-5.
[127] Terefe Waldastasadik, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1800-1935)Wallaga," *Journal of Ethiopian studies, Vo.I, 1968*, p.73; Guluma, " Historical and Tradition, p.14.
[128] Lewis, p.41; Haile Mariam, p.13.
[129] Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991 (London: James Currey,2002)p.18; Tesema,p.89
[130] Tekalign, pp.39-41; Mohammed Hassen, p.112; Jimmaa Town/JTAO, pp.8-10.
[131] Tekalegn, pp.40-41.
[132] Mohammed Hassen, p.112; Abir, The Emergence and consolidation, p.125.

such as jewelry, swords, beads, silks and cotton clothes in the form of gifts, tributes and dues.[133] Islam was, therefore, responsible for the consolidation of the monarch.[134] The mooti's benevolent attitude made Hirmata's market centre "a very busy cross roads" between Kafa, Bench Maji in the south west; Dawro-Konta and Ambo in the south; Limmuu, Nonno, Leqa Naqamte in the north west; Gondar, Gojjam, Wallo, Shoa and Tigray in the north.[135]

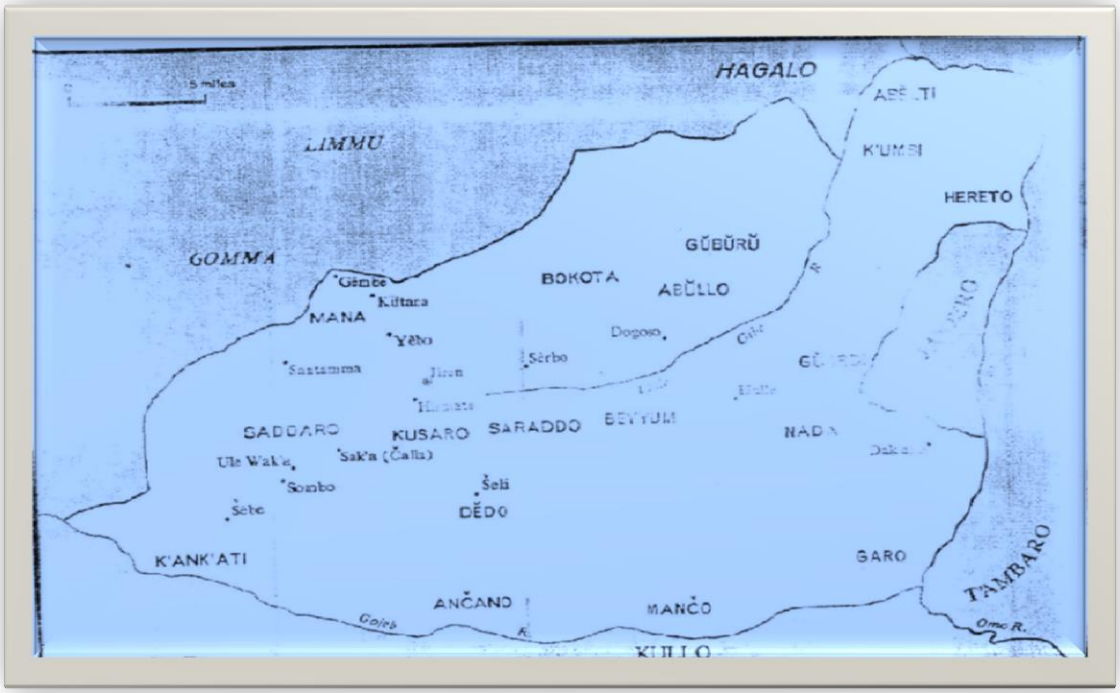
During the reign of Abbaa Bogibo (r.1825-1861) of Limmuu-Enarya, local Muslims (*Jabarti*) and Arab merchants flocked to Jimmaa because of the opportunities for trade.[136] Abbaa Jifaar I also built four *masaras* (palaces) in different regions of the kingdom to secure the safely of merchants. The four *masaras* were located in Manna, Jiren, Saqqa Coqorsa and the later site of his a grave of Dego (in Xiro Afata district) east of Jiren.[137] Abbaa Jifaar I spent a great deal of his time of the *masara* in Saqqa Coqorsaa a locality called Calla, that had been the center of the Badi Jimmaa chief, Abbaa Qiriphe .[138] The main *masaraa* was in Jiren,[139] the *mootii* stayed at one *masaraa* only from three to six months each year. [140]

Jimmaa gradually annexed Hagalo, which had formerly resisted Abbaa Bagibo because the trade route crossing the areas was a bone of contention between the two Muslim *mootis.* Abbaa Jifaar I was surrounded by Muslim merchant councilors who settled in *mandaraa-saxoo* (Muslim merchants residence quarter). Based on the advice of Muslim merchants, Abbaa Jifaar I freed his Kingdom from dependence on Limmuu-Enariya for commerce. The two Kingdoms actually yet frequently into war until the balance of power changed in favor of Jimmaa.[141] Actually, Islam cannot be considered as decisive factor for either the origin of the Jimmaa kingdom or the development of its administrative structure as well, since the state was already created prior to the introduction of Islam and strongly influenced by the indigenous egalitarian *Gadaa* administration.[142]

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[133] W.C. Harris, *The Highlands of Aethiopia, Vol. III* (London: Longman, and Longmans, 1844), p.13 .
[134] Lewis, p.49; Tesema, The Political Economy, pp.89-91.
[135] Lewis, pp.132 -134.
[136] Abir, pp.120-122.
[137] Abdulkerim, pp.11-13; Lewis, p.41.
[138] Abdulkerim, p.13.
[139] *Ibid.*
[140] Tirmingham, p.199; Aren, Evangelical Pioneers, pp.52-53; Abir, The Emergence and consolidation, pp. 210-211.
[141] Lewis, pp.31-32.
[142] Abir, Southern Ethiopia, p.126.

The reign of Abbaa Jifaar I was the most eventful in the history of the kingdom.[143] He united the different clans and consolidated the dynasty. He was the first ruler to annex Hagalo. His Kingdoms expanded the area between Jimmaa and the Gurage markets, the route crossing directly to the north east of Shawa.[144] When Abbaa Jifaar I died in 1854, his successors followed his commercial policy.[145] Nevertheless, immediately after his death, there was a power struggle between his eldest son and legitimate successor, Abbaa Gomol and his younger son, Abbaa Rebu (indigenously called Abbaa Sambi). Finally, Abbaa Rebu who obtained the gold ring kingships insignia (*amartii*) succeeded the throne while Gommol was exiled to Kafa. The region of Abbaa Rebu (r.1854-1859) was characterized by frequent conflict with the neighboring Gibe Kingdoms.[146]




Map.2.The Historical Kingdom of Jimmaa

Source: Lewis, *Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar*, p.40.

[143] Tesema, pp.92-93.
[144] Abdukerim, pp.12-13.
[145] *Ibid*, p.10,
[146] Tekalign, p.45.

Genealogy of the Jimmaa kings

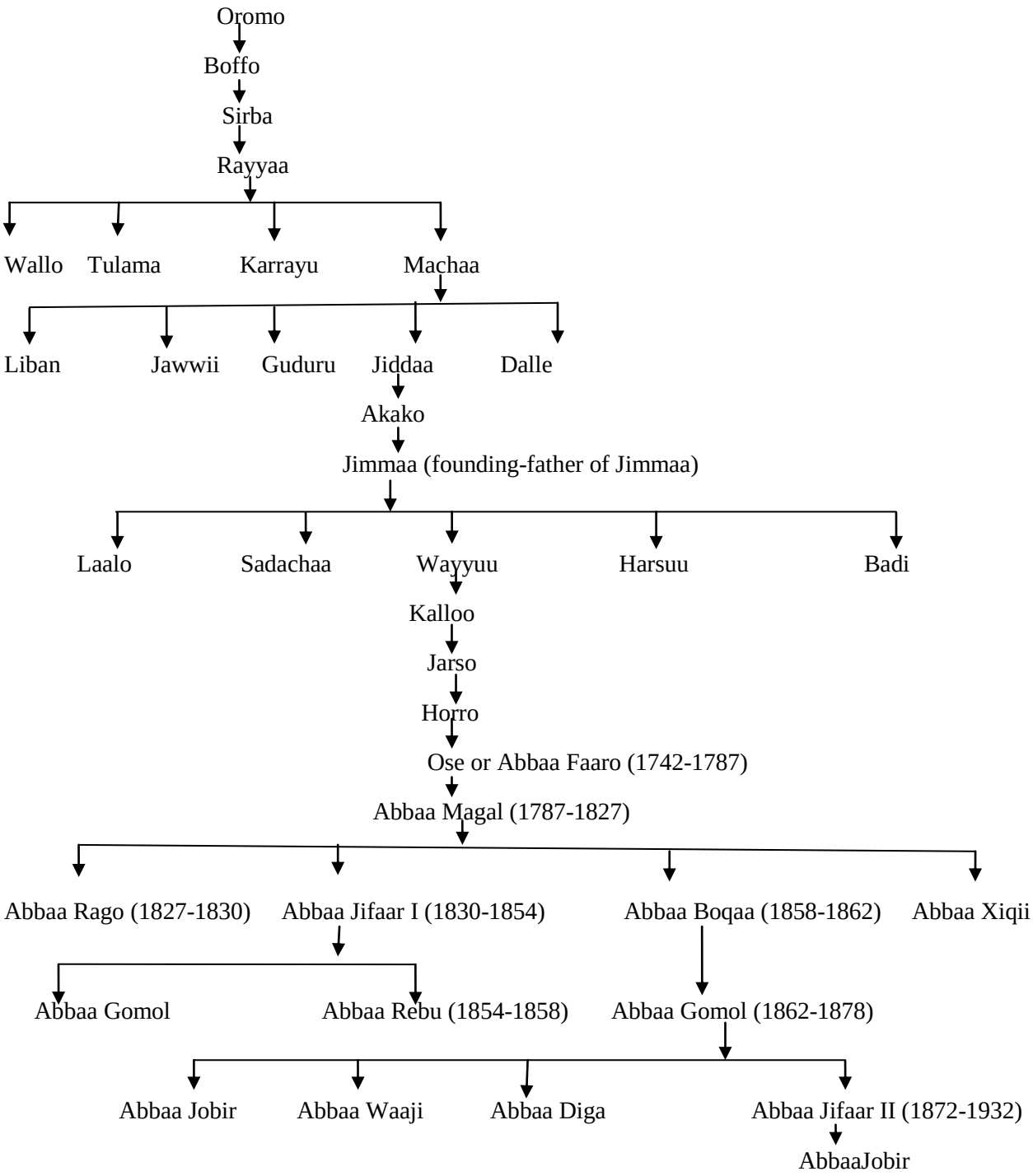



Fig.1. The genealogical division of Jimmaa Kings.

Source; Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, pp. 148,160; Informants: Abdulkerim Abbaa Garo, Abbaa Faajii Abbaa Zinaab.

# CHAPTER TWO

# 2. INTRODUCTION AND DIFFUSION OF ISLAM IN THE KINGDOM OF JIMMAA

## 2.1 Introduction of Islam into the Kingdom of Jimmaa

Islam in other parts of Ethiopian region has a very long history. The relationship between Ethiopia and Arabia can be traced back to the period before arrival of Islam which can be expected even long before the introduction of Islam and then through trade and political relations. Scholars suggest that the introduction of Islam to Ethiopia had connections with the arrival in Ethiopia of the first Muslim refugees who escaped the persecution from the Kureish of Mecca during the seventh century. The migration to Ethiopia was by the order of the Prophet Mohammed himself in order to save some of his relative and followers from the persecution of the Kureish tribe in Mecca. [147]

In addition to this immigrants, Islam was introduced into the Ethiopian region through important gate ways such as Dahlak and later through Zeila.[148] According to Trimingham, Islam was introduced to the Ethiopian region during Aksumite's effective control over the Red Sea coast andits trade beginning from the middle of the eight century. This meant that the history of the introduction of Islam can be related with that the history of Aksum.[149]

According to Hussein, "the increasing influence of Islam on the Red Sea and the decline of Aksum as a naval and commercial power in the Horn of Africa brought two parallel developments that one affecting the other. As a result, the penetration of Islam into the Ethiopian region preceded the collapse of Aksumite state".[150] Indeed, Islam gained access to Ethiopia, especially through the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden coastal areas which are remote from control of Aksumite State. It was the role and contribution of traders from

[147] Hussein Ahmed, *Islam in Nineteenth Century Wallo, Ethiopia: Revival, Reform, and Reaction* (Leiden: Boston press, 2001), p.31; Ali Yassin Ali, *The Development of Islamic Education System in Ethiopia: Its features, relevance and influence on Muslim culture with reference to south Wollo*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, press 2005), pp. 63-44.
[148] Trimingham, p.142.
[149] *Ibid*, p.146.
[150] Hussein Ahmed, p.42.

the coastal region into the interior, who claimed as the carriers of Islam throughout the centuries and able to establish small trading settlements which also served as a centers for the diffusion of Islam to the interior part of the country.[151]

There are three mechanisms in which the doctrines of early Islam penetrated into the Ethiopian hinterland from the coast. These are trade, conquest, and preaching; as well as through intermarriages between Muslim Arab immigrants and the local peoples.[152] These conditions gradually led to the establishment of Muslim State in different Ethiopian region. These include the Sultanate of Dahlak which was established around 702; the Sultanate of Shoa which was established around 897; the Sultanate of Ifat which was emerged at the end of the 13th century; the Sultanate of Hadiya, the Sultanate of Bali in the 13th century, the Sultanate of Adal around Harar which emerged in the 16th century. Others Sultanates such as Sharka, Dawaro, Fatager and Arbabbin were prominent Muslim Sultanates of medieval Ethiopia. The medieval Muslim Sultanates of Ethiopia had common features and trade was claimed as the main factors for their emergence. These include: Their population consisted of Muslim communities; their rulers exercised both religious and political power, and Islam and trade were the main factors for their emergence. [153]

Seyoum claimed that the introduction of Islam in Southwestern Ethiopia was a base for the emergence of the five Gibe states.[154] However, Lewis and Tirmingham confirmed that the establishment of the five Gibe states preceded the arrival of Islam in the area. Accordingly, Islam was introduced to the Gibe region in the early of nineteenth century after the formation of the five Gibe monarchies were formed during the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth century. It was introduced by traders who came to the region from Gondar, Shoa, and from the outside.[155] Therefore, the introduction of Islam in the Gibe region was relatively late as compared with its introduction in other areas in Ethiopia.

Regarding the introduction of Islam into the kingdom of Jimmaa, different scholars have held different views. Tirmingham indicates that the inhabitants of the Gibe region in general and

[151] Trimingham,p.139.
[152] Ali Yassin Ali, p.68.
[153] *Ibid*,Tirmingham,pp.141-143.
[154] Seyoum Marga, p.3.
[155] Lewis, Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, p.71; Trimingham,p.198; Mohammed Hassen, p.157.

Jimmaa in particular embraced Islam in the nineteenth century. The introduction of Islam in the Gibe region was made possible by commerce and the agents of Muslim merchants and teachers from the north, mainly from Gondar, Shoa, and Wallo, and some from Harar who introduced Islam among the local rulers and the community in the region. Accordingly, it was the kings who were the first converts and followed by other members of the ruling class. This change of religion is believed to reinforce the monarchial state, to strengthen the authority of their rulers, and facilitate the flourishing trades. [156] Mohammed stated that "the Jimmaa ruler embraced Islam not derived by religious motives but for ideological purposes".[157]

According to Tekalign, no exact date can be proposed for the introduction of Islam in Jimmaa, however, Abbaa Jifaar I embraced Islam in 1830s in order to consolidate his authority and promote political cohesion. Abbaa Jifaar I realized the need for the wealth and ideology to achieve further unity of the Jimmaa Oromo clans hence embraced Islam.[158] Lewis stated that Islam was introduced in Jimmaa kingdom between 1830s and 1840s by Muslim merchants and clerics who came from northern Ethiopia.[159]

Yet, other scholars refuted the above mentioned time were not the first for entrance of Islam into the region. Some scholars rather traced the introduction of this religion to early sixteenth century of the Oromo population movement and their subsequent settlement. According to Guluma, Islam first reached the region, including Jimmaa, beginning from the sixteenth century. The argument attempted to claim that some Oromo had accepted Islam in the sixteenth century as the process of their movement was carried out through the lands of the Muslim states. He states that there were some Jimmaa Oromo groups who traced their origin to the sixteenth century and proud of the Muslim names in their genealogies after their conversion to Islam in the nineteenth century.[160]

However, Levine rejects the assertion that Islam was introduced to the region in the sixteenth century but Muslim merchants had contacts with the peoples of the Gibe states before the reign

[156] Lewis, p.49; Trimingham, p.199; Hussien Ahmed, p.17; Huntingford, pp.74,85.
[157] Mohammed Hassen, pp.158-159.
[158] Tekalign, pp.39-41; Mohammed Hassen, p.112; Jimmaa Town/JTAO, pp.8-10 ; Abir, The Emergence and consolidation, p.125.
[159] Lewis, pp.30,49.
[160] Guluma, p.85.

of Abbaa Jifaar I.[161] Mohammed argued that Islam was introduced into Jimmaa earlier than what scholars had thought but it spread in the nineteenth century as a result of the effort of Muslim merchants and teachers.[162]

In the nineteenth century, the Oromo of Gibe region in general and Jimmaa in particularl experienced profound socio-economic, political and religious transformations. The new political reality of Jimmaa required adjustment not only in political but also in religious aspect. Islam spread in Jimmaa because of the socio-economic and political circumstances that favored the Islamization of the Jimmaa Oromo in the nineteenth century. These were the decline of the *Gadaa* system and the emergence of new political structures, the role of Muslim merchants and clerics. Accordingly, the collapse of the *Gadaa* system and subsequent rise of Oromo chiefs helped Islam to have grown stronger and weakened the indigenous Oromo belief. [163]

Hussein noted that the period between 1800 and 1850s was a turning point in Islamic revival as a consequence of the expansion of Islamic mystical orders.[164] Perhaps, Islamic revivalism in Wallo and Harar contributed to the introduction and spread of Islam into the Jimmaa kingdom during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar I. This view is also supported by oral traditions and some scholars.[165] To begin with, Islamic religion itself was initially encouraged by Abbaa Jifaar I for political and economic motives. For instance, Abbaa Jifaar I invited a number of Muslim clerics to evangelize freely in his domain in order to attract Muslim traders. He allowed and gives protection to Muslim traders to safely travel within their respective territories in the region.[166]

The Jimmaa Oromo had close contacts with Muslims since the 1830's; however, they resented conversion to Islam for quite a long time in defense of the indigenous religion. In this early period, Islam was only a court religion of the kingdom.[167] But, during the reign of Abbaa Boqa (r.1859-1862) the people of Jimmaa became Muslims.[168] The Jimmaa Oromo masses had adopted fasting, Islamic law, started to pay the *zakat*, and went on the pilgrimage to Mecca from

[161] Donald Levine, *History of (Oromo) of Ethiopia: With ethnology and History of south west Ethiopia, Bahrey, Almedia, Hunting ford and Beckingham* (Oakland: African Sun Publishing, 1993) pp.11-13.
[162] Mohammed Hassen, p.93.
[163] Trimingham, p.199; Mohammed Hassen, pp.149, 153; Hunting ford, pp.85-87; Abraham, p.165.
[164] Hussein Ahmed, "The Historiography of Islam in Ethiopia, pp.25-27.
[165] Gada Melba, p.18; Tekalign, p.85; Lewis, p.48; Informant: Abdulkerim Abbaa Garo, Siraj Abbaa Jabal.
[166] Informants: Hajii Abaa Boor, Hassan Abbaa Zinab.
[167] Abdulkerim, pp.11-14.
[168] Guluma , Gomma and Limmu, pp.83-84; Mohammed Hassen,pp.92-93.

the 1860s.[169] Generally, the Jimmaa people fully embraced and started practicing Islam fairly recently.

## 2.2 Factors for the Diffusion of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa

Before I discuss about the agents that facilitated the expansion of Islam, I would like to describe the reason of religious conversion of the Jimmaa Oromo during the nineteenth century. Conversion to Islam, like to other religion, involves contact between two groups of people: the carriers of a new faith and the recipients. Through contact, as a result of military conquest, nomadic movements and commerce, Islam was introduced to non-Muslim communities. To understand the process of Islamization in Jimmaa, an examination of the socio-political condition of the non-Muslim society and the frame of mind of the individual convert is very important. As Available sources and Oral traditions indicate, the socio-cultural and political circumstances that favored the expansion of Islam in Jimmaa during the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the internal and external factors are contributed for the introduction and spread of Islam in Jimmaa.[170]

Due to the internal and external factors, Islam was accepted by the Jimmaa Oromo in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it is interesting to point out that the Gibe Region in general and Jimmaa in particular had long years of contact with Muslim communities before their conversion in the nineteenth century. It is likely that they were exposed to elements of Islamic traditions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Then, they passed through areas inhabited by Muslim communities in east-central Ethiopia. But until the early nineteenth century, conversion to Islam did not take place.[171] Internally, among the Gibe Oromo in general and Jimmaa in particular, new socio-political changes were taking place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These changes required a new ideological frame. Scholars suggested that, during the expansion and settlement, the Jimmaa Oromo experienced many social and economic changes.[172] Those who settled in the Jimmaa area between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, shifted from pastoralism to agricultural product of cereal crops like maize, millet, teff,

[169] Hussien Ahmed, Islam in Nineteenth century , pp.20,29-30;Lidwien Kapteijns "Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa," in Nehemiah Levtzion & Randall (eds.)History Of Islam In Africa.(Ohio University Press,2000),pp.77,231; Mohammed Hassen,pp.77,104-105.
[170] Abraham, pp.165-169; Trimingham, pp.199-2002; Mohammed Hassen, p.153; Hunting ford, p.87; *Informants*: Tamam Abbaa Garoo, Abaa Faajii Abbaa Fiixa.
[171] Mohammed Hassen, pp104-105.
[172] Tesema Ta'a, *The Political Economy*, pp.89-95; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp.103-111.

and etc. They also produced coffee and traded their agricultural products with merchants who came from northern and eastern Ethiopia.[173]

At the same time, equally important socio-political changes took place within this society. Gradually, the *Gadaa* system was modified and then abandoned. Many factors contributed to the changes in the *Gadaa* system. In the sixteenth century when it functioned effectively, the *Gadaa* system played an important role in the social, political and religious life of the people. For example, its strict child rearing practice helped to control the population pressure. The rules for lower and upper age limits for child bearing created good combination of age groups for effective military actions. Population control internally and military success against the neighbors minimized the social tension in Oromo society. [174]

The *Gadaa* system also served the religious needs of the Oromo society. Its officials performed religious activities as well, the Abbaa Bokku, the head of the ruling *Gadaa* group and the *Qalluu,* the chief ritual expert, for example, headed over ritual ceremonies. The normal functioning of the system gave a sense of social order and spiritual satisfaction to the community. On the other hand, social problems and natural disasters were interpreted as signs of disorder within the material and spiritual spheres. The latter happened among the Oromo who shifted from pastoralism to sedentary agriculture after the sixteenth century.[175]

According to Knutson, indigenous Oromo religion was based on a two- level structure. At the higher level is *Waaqa*, the Supreme Being; and at the lower level are a number of lesser spirits, the *Ayyaana*. [176] With the decrease of some of the rules of the system, the *Gadaa* system faced serious internal contradictions. Its military effectiveness declined. Vast geographical distance, difficult terrains and internal disputes made everything risky for Oromo communication. Common ritual centers were abandoned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [177]

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[173] H.S. Lewis, "A Reconsideration of the Socio-Political System of the Western Oromo", J*ournal of Semitic Studies, IX,* 1964, pp. 139-41; Idem., *Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar,* p.16; M. Abir, "The Emergence and Monarchies of Limmu-Ennarya and Jimmaa in the first half of the nineteenth century", *African History, VI,*1965, pp.208-215; Guluma Gemeda, *Gomma and Limmu,* pp. 46-7.

[174] Asmarom Legesse, Gada,p32; Karl E. Knutsson, *Authority and Change: A Study of the Qallu Institution Among the Macha Oromo of Ethiopia* (Goteborg, 1967)p.52 .

[175] Tesema Ta'a, p.95; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp.111-112.

[176] Knutsson, pp. 152-55. For Africa in general, see Horton, "African Conversion", pp. 101-3.

[177] *Ibid*; Asmarom Legesse, Gada,pp.44.

According to Knutson, the consequences of *Gadaa* declines were crucial for the Oromo society. When the *Gadaa* customs were destroyed, everything else was also destroyed. There was no justice; the man who had formerly respected truth and justice abandoned them and the crops that were cultivated no longer grew. [178] In general, that the decline of the *Gadaa* system was followed by social and ideological crises. Yet, different Oromo groups apparently reacted to such circumstances differently. In some areas, where a different kind of *Qalluu* institution emerged such as *Qalluu*, a kind of spirit possession became intermediate between *Waaqa* and the individual. In this case, the disintegrating microcosm was reorganized through the agency of the *Qalluu*.[179]

But in other places, the decline of the *Gadaa* system led to the emergence of new political structures. In the Gibe region, for example, the decline of this system was followed by the emergence of five Gibe Kingdoms- Jimmaa, Geera, Gommaa, Gummaa and Limmuu. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, these kingdoms were busy fighting each other and their neighbours to extend their political control.[180] For example in Jimmaa, at the beginning of the nineteenth century; Abbaa Magal initiated a series of campaigns against his neighbours and achieved the territorial expansion of the principality. The territorial expansion of Abbaa Magal was further advanced by his successor Abbaa Jifaar I (1830-1854), that most of the territories of the Kingdom were conquered. In this situation the *Gadaa* system provided very little assistance. Politically preserving the *Gadaa* system was not satisfying. Abbaa Jifaar I rather favored the elimination of the system partly to break away from the indigenous limitations of the *Gadaa* system on their power. Apparently for this reason, the king was attracted to Islam. [181]

Nevertheless, if the rulers were attracted to Islam for political and economic reasons, the non-elites embraced it in the hope of reestablishing the harmony and order in their *Waaqa*. As indicated above, the decline of the *Gadaa* system had been perceived as the disintegration of the indigenous religion. In this situation, the individual naturally felt abandoned by his/her guardian spirits and lost the blessings of *Waaqa*. Apparently, he also lost confidence in his indigenous belief system. During such period of confusion, Islam offered new possibilities to reestablish the

[178] K. Knutsson,p.180.
[179] Asmarom Legesse, pp. 44-49; Knutsson, pp. 135-155.
[180] Abir, The Era of the princes, pp.74-75; Guluma Gemeda, "The Process of State Formation, pp.130-142.
[181] Lewis, Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, pp.49-52.

spiritual order. Here, the fact that Allah, the Islamic God is different from *Waaqa* did not make much difference. Allah was very easily identified with or replaced *Waaqa*; and Islam became the religion of all sections of the society.[182]

Nevertheless, the expansion of long distance trade in the early nineteenth century contributed to this process of Islamization. Internally, both the rulers and the society were prepared to embrace a new faith for different reasons. And the readiness from within was met with favorable external circumstances: the coming of Muslim merchants and clerics from the north and others who initiated the preaching process. Because of these two factors, process of Islamization was successful in the Jimmaa kingdom.

In the next section, I would like to discuss factors that played a pivotal role for the expansion of Islam in the Jimmaa kingdom.

### 2.2.1 The Role of Muslim Merchants and Clerics in the Process of Islamic Expansion

The Muslim merchants and clerics who came to Jimmaa from north Ethiopia and other Muslim countries as result of expansion of long-distance trade in the early nineteenth century contributed to the process of Islamization. But the trade route of the Gibe region was famous from early times. It appears that the Muslim sultanate of Shoa, which was replaced by Ifat, and the Solomonic dynasty which was established in 1270, traded with the Gibe region. From medieval times, the region was the economic center, as it lays on the main caravan routes from east to west, from north to south. The importance of the region was all the greater because it produced vital luxury goods.[183]

After the Oromo conquest and settlement in the Gibe region, the Muslim traders continued coming to the area, though less frequently. However, at the end of eighteenth and the beginning of nineteenth centuries the establishment of monarchial rule in the Gibe region favored the development of agriculture product and expansion of local and long-distance trade. The rise of new political system in Gibe region was also contributed the establishment of new markets in near political centers and revival of older one. Depending on the location, availability of certain

[182] Lambert Bartels, *Oromo Religion, Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia*: *An Attempt to Understand*, (Berlin: Dietrich, 1983)pp.14-15; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp.149-152.
[183] Mohammed Hassen,p.133; Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 1968) p.396.

items and local political condition, local markets gradually attracted different groups of merchant.[184]

The commercial interest of the Muslim traders from the north and local clan leaders coincided. As long as the Muslim traders gave gifts, the Oromo leaders protected them and extended hospitality to them. However, at this stage in their relations, the Muslim traders did not find the time encouraging for both marketing and preaching, the ground was not sufficiently prepared. They do not seem to have engaged clearly in religious propaganda, perhaps for fear of alienating *Gadaa* officials.[185]

With the decline of the power of the *Gadaa* officials and the rise of war leaders, the Muslim traders were encouraged to settle in Gibe region itself. That was the turning point in the spread of Islam in Gibe region. Beginning with the early nineteenth century, many Muslim merchants were able to penetrate into Gibe region. Some of these merchants came from northern and eastern Ethiopia, and from the Sudan and Arabia. The Jabarti traders from the northern Ethiopia played a very prominent role in the conversion of the nobility of Gibe region. In their capacity as traders, the Jabarti established good relationship with Gibe nobility. After they settled in the Gibe region, the Jabarti traders seem to have assumed the responsibility for teaching of Islam and for the education of the children of nobility.[186]

Scholars unanimously suggest the emergence of different trade centers in the south western Ethiopia in the early of the 19$^{th}$ century. Among these local centers of trade, the famous were Saqqa (in Limmu), and Hirmata (in Jimmaa). These market centers, located on the busy long distance trade routes, also served as political centers. They had both administrative and economic significance. [187] Lewis wrote that, not only in Jimmaa and Limmu, but the people of Gomma kingdom were also excellent traders during the nineteenth century, because the *Jabbarti* traders from the north and their agents crossed through Sayyoo, Gomma's capital.[188] In fact, Mohammed

[184] Abir, The Era of the Princes, pp.51-53.
[185] Informants: Shafi Mohammed Hassen, Abbaaf Haaji Abbaa Fiixaa; Mohammad Hassan,pp.157-158.
[186] Tirmingham, Islam in Ethiopia, p.272.
[187] Richard Pankhrust, pp.398-399; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp.111-112.
[188] Lewis, p.40.

affirmed that most of the merchants of the region were the local (*Afkalaa*) in addition to those who came from the north, the *Jabbarti*.[189]

According to Mohammed, in Saqqaa (Limmuu Ennarya), the *Jabbarti* merchants from the north, the *Afkalaa* from the Gibe region and other traders from the Gurage, Hadiya, Dawro, Konta, Kafa, Yam, Gamo-Gofa, Kambata, Walayta, Ilu Abbaa Bora and many other places met during trading their goods. Up to the 1860s, Abbaa Bogibo's policy contributed to the growth of his capital, Saqqa by inviting Muslim merchants who included Arabs, Hararis, and a few Christian traders from the north and the surrounding Gibe region.[190]

Regarding on the establishment of Jimmaa local markets, it was Abbaa Magal (r.1787-1827) who first made Hirmata, the commercial center. Subsequently, in the 19th century, at the weekly Thursday market (*gabaa Kamisaa* or *Kamisee*), Hirmataa is mentioned to have been attended by as many as 30,000 people.[191] Guluma Gemeda stated, after the Oromo settled in Jimmaa, some of the spoils of war were exchanged for other commodities at Hirmata that gave gradual rise to a small market.[192] According to Guluma, in the 1830s and 1840s the rulers of Limmu-Ennarya and Jimmaa Kingdoms were engaged in a serious struggle in order to control the major market centers and the trade routes that connected the Gibe Region with Gonder in the north, Shoa in the east, and the Omotic kingdoms in the south. The emerging importance of long-distance trade intensified this competition. To strengthen their respective positions, both fought over a territory between the Janjero and Badi Folla. In mid-nineteenth century, Limmu Ennarya's economic predominance in the southwestern Ethiopia was effectively challenged by Jimmaa kingdom under Abbaa Jifaar I (1830-1854).[193]

In addition to this, Mohammed states that Jimmaa's commercial pre-eminence was further secured after the military success of Abbaa Jifaar I over Janjero (Yem) and Badi fola in 1844 and 1847 respectively. The victory of Abbaa Jifaar I assured him of control over an important caravan route between Jimmaa and the northern markets. Thus in the second half of the nineteenth century, Hirmaata of Jimmaa kingdom became the most important center of trade in

[189] Mohammed Hassen Hassen, p. 141.
[190] *Ibid*.
[191] *Ibid*; Guluma, "An outline of the early History of Jimmaa Town," *Proceeding of the fourth seminar of department of History, 1989*, p.32.
[192] *Ibid;* Tekalign, p.41.
[193] Guluma, The Process of State Formation in the Case of the Gomma and Limmu, pp.147-49.

the Gibe region. [194] After Abbaa Jifaar I controlled caravan route between Jimmaa and northern markets, the *Jabbarti* merchants abandoned Saqqa in favor of Himata and the Muslim traders maintained good relationship with the Abbaa Jifaar I and established several trading stations in several places within Jimmaa. The rulers of Jimmaa kingdom's learning of the benefits of the trade provided legal protection to Muslim merchants. Thus, with this active Muslim merchant's commercial activity, the Islamic faith inevitably penetrated into Jimmaa. [195]

According to Abraham, about the turn of the nineteenth century, Islam began to be expand into southwestern Ethiopia. This was the time of commercial expansion, particularly in Jimmaa, and contacts with the northern Muslim merchants and the outside world. Several export items such as slaves, ivory, coffee and civet were the most important commodities brought to Jimmaa (Hirmaata) from the neighboring Kafa and the Gibe Oromo states and taken by caravan merchants to different parts of the country as well as outside world. Manufactured goods from foreign countries were brought to Jimmaa and the adjacent areas. This enabled Jimmaa to establish strong relations with Arabia, India, the Sudan and Egypt.[196] From the mid nineteenth century, in addition to merchants, European travelers and missionaries from various countries had started to come to Jimmaaa, perhaps escorted by Muslim merchants.[197] It also led to the emergence of different local markets in the kingdom and also to consolidate the long-distance trade.[198]

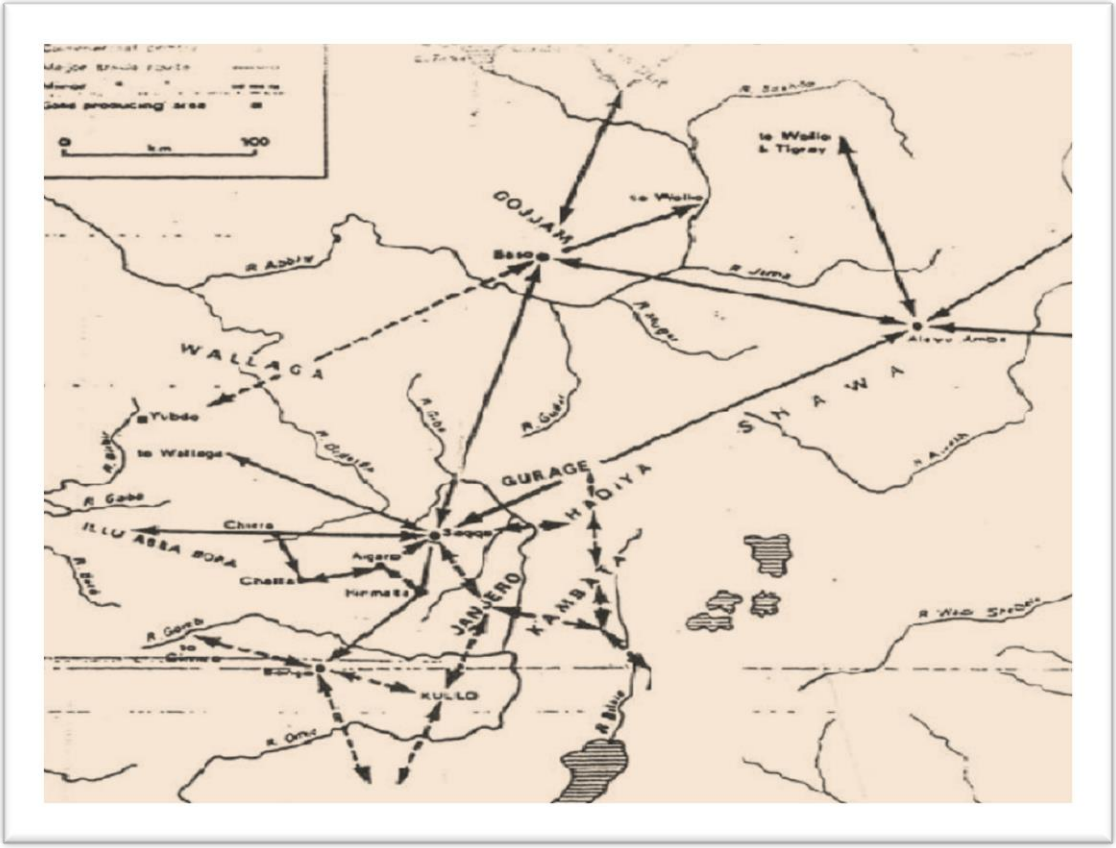
There is a general consensus that trade and trade routes were the main channels, and the *naggaadota* (merchants) from the north were the most important agents for its introduction.[199] As Tekalign states that, these Muslim merchants who were involved in religious activities were also known as "*naggade asqarri"*, probably from the Arabic word "*qara'a"* which means to recite. The activities of these Muslim merchants also clearly indicate the interconnection between trade and the spread of Islam in the kingdom.[200]

[194] Mohammed Hassen Hassen, pp,175-176.
[195] Yonas,p.8; Lewis Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, p.42.
[196] Abraham Alemu, p.39; Abir, Ethiopia, The Era of prices,p.85.;Bahru Zewde, A Modern, pp.18-19.
[197] Tekalign,p.29.
[198] Workineh Abebe, "Religious History in Kaffa'' B.A. thesis in History, (Addis Ababa University, 1999), pp.86; Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, p.108.
[199] Mohammed Hassen, pp.150-151.Tekalign,pp.9,29,53;Guluma, Historical Traditions, p.124.
[200] Tekalign, p.40.

According to Tekalign, Islam helped rulers to legitimize their authority by introducing Islamic law in to the kingdom of Jimmaa. The foundation of Jimmaa kingdom's economy was agriculture; however, trade helped the rulers to increase their power.[201] Guluma claimed that the introduction of Islam was a gradual process. He argued that the local traders, perhaps the *Afkalaa*, might have accepted Islam even prior to the local rulers and the community since they had already established stronger relations with the northern Muslim merchants than the masses.[202]

According to Kapteijins, the development of trade shaped the history of Islam and patterns of Islamizaiton in the Gibe Region in general and Jimmaaa in particular. Attracted by Muslim merchants and teachers, the first to embrace Islam were kings and the nobility. However, beginning from the 1860s, Islam became part of the life of the common people. Nonetheless, he pointed out that, the Kafa and some principalities of the southwest Ethiopia who had been deeply involved in the trade of the region did not totally become Muslims; rather, they preserved their indigenous religion until the expansion of the ethioipian Empire state. Perhaps, it was not only for the sake of preserving their indigenous religion, as the writer asserted, but because of lack of skilled teachers and native preachers of Islam in the area who could convince the people to convert as in Jimmaaa. [203]

[201] *Ibid*,p.41.
[202] Guluma, Historical Tradition, p.124.
[203] Kapteijns, pp.232-233.




Map.3.Trade Routes in the Gibe Region in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.

Source: Mohammed Hassen, p.137.

There is a general consensus that the trade routes and long-distance trade were the main channels of Islamizaiton while Muslim merchants were the most important agents of the faith. Moreover, both Tekalign and Ketebo noted that Islam entered the region on a wider scale beginning from the early nineteenth century through the agents of Muslim teachers accompanied by merchants.[204] Most of the Jimmaaa markets were located along the east-west and north-south long-distance trade routes, which crossed Soddo, Ankober, Aliyu Amba and Abdul Rasul in northern Shawa; Ancharo and Dawwe in Wallo; Dire Dhawa and Harar in Hararge, terminating at Zeila, Tajura and Berbera in Somalia and Obock (Djibout). Thus the center and origin of all these trade routes as well as goods was the Gibe Region, especially Kingdom of Jimmaaa.[205]

[204] Ketebo,p 36; Tekalign, p.85; Trimingham, p.205.
[205] Yonas, p.17.

During the time of Abbaa Jifaar II, the merchants were provided with protection for their lives and properties even in the local market centers beyond Hirmaata. On the four corners of the Kingdom, there were *Kella* (gates) at which the traders were checked and taxed. The southern gate was called Kulo *barri*; the southwestern was Kafa *barri*; the northwestern was Limmu *barri*; and the northern was Shoa *barri*. All *kellas* were guarded by *Abbaa Kella* to ensure the security of merchants and collection of taxes. Still these names are today commonly used in Jimmaa area. The *Abbaa Qoroos* had an obligation of protecting merchants against mistreatment by local chiefs and robbers. The coming and contacts of these Muslim merchants who were accompanied by teachers and cleric immensely enhanced the establishment of the Muslim community in the kingdom and spread Islam through indigenous Islamic education.[206]

Despite the fact that merchants were primarily concerned with business, some scholars emphasize their role in the process of Islamization of the Jimmaa region. Harris, for example, describes a close relationship between trade and the process of Islamization. He also believed that merchants were active agents for the spread of Islam.[207] This rather active role of merchants in the process Islamization is also confirmed by other scholars. For example Trimingham, says that it was merchants coming from Gondar, Wallo, Egypt, and the Sudan who introduced Islam in Jimmaa. Accordingly, these merchants combined proselytization.[208] Abir argues that the penetration of Muslim merchants was a vehicle for the spread of Islam. But like previous, he was unable to identify the crucial role of the less visible clerics who accompanied with merchants to the Jimmaa. Consequently Islamization was begun in the kingdom of Jimmaa and the whole of Gibe region.[209]

Although the role of merchants is undeniable, Merchants contributed to the spread of Islam rather indirectly. In this regard, Beke claimed, the traders were largely dependent on the local people for their safe conduct; they were always careful enough not to antagonize their hosts by preaching a new religion. Initially, their contact with the local people was apparently limited to

[206] Mohammed Hassen, p. 45, Lewis, p.70; Yonas, pp.6,1 0-11.
[207] W.C. Harris, *The Highlands of Eethopica, Vol.III*. (London: Longman, Green and Longmans, 1844)pp.53-60.
[208] Trimingham, Islam in Ethiopia, pp.109,199; G. Massaia, My Thirty Years of Missionary Work on the Ethiopian Plateau, A.Lavery (trans.), Vol. 6.1975,p.2.
[209] Abir, The Era of the Princes, p.72.

business relations. Apparently, due to fear of negative reaction from the local people, caravan merchants refrained from preaching Islam openly. [210]

According to Oral informants, the *neggade* did not want to risk their business by spreading Islam which might be rejected by their masses. They also claimed that merchants did not have the time to preach Islam.[211] Despite these claims, merchants were able to influence some of their business partners. However, the active role of conversion was carried out by itinerant teachers. In the first half of nineteenth century, some Muslim teachers accompanied with merchants came to Jimmaa. But their role was not clearly realized by scholars. This is understandable. Being neither merchants nor Muslims teachers, some scholars were not able to distinguish the Muslim clerics from the ordinary caravan merchants.[212]

Historical traditions are relatively better regarding Muslim teachers who played a major role in the Islamization of the Jimmaa Oromo. These teachers came to the Jimmaa in the first half of the nineteenth century mainly with the purpose of preaching Islam in the area. Eventhough they came with merchants, teachers were different from the *neggade* (merchant). The merchants usually preferred to camp at the market places, while the teachers from the beginning, joined the courts of local rulers. From there, they carried their teachings with the support of the rulers. The Islamization of the Jimmaa Oromo is widely attributed to the Muslim teachers. The most widely remembered cleric in Jimmaa was Sheik Abdulhakim.[213] These religious teachers who came to Jimmaa with Muslim merchants gradually became succeesful by instructing Islam the rulers first, and then the masses. In this respect, Lewis gives emphasis to Sheikh Adulhakim who came from Gondar to Jimmaa and first began his teaching from his base near the Jiren main *masara* to the children of dignitaries (elites), then, he converted their parents.[214]

Sheikh Abdulhakim came to Jimmaa in the 1830s from Gondar and settled in Jiren near the *masaraa* of Abbaa Jifaar I, at a locally called Tirinyii. Before he came to Jimmaa, Sheikh

[210] Charles Beke, "On the countries south of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical society, Vol.*1, 1843, pp.255-260.
[211] *Informants*: Haji Abbaa Jabal Abbaa Digga, Sheikh Aliye Abbaa Diko, Sheikh Hassen Sheikh Omar.
[212] The difficulty of distinguishing the role of Muslim merchants from the clerics (teachers and holy men) is observed by Lewis, Islam in Tropical Africa, p. 20; N. Levtzion, "Merchants and Clerics in West Africa: Differential and Complementary Roles", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 20 (1986), pp. 27-43.
[213] Informants: Sheik Sultan Abbaa Jidda, Abbaa Faajii Abbaa Zinab; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, p.136; Guluma Gemeda, Gomma and Limmu: *The Process of State Formation*, pp.137,141.
[214] Lewis, p.49.

Abdulhakim lived and studied in both Arabia and Sudan for several years who converted Abbaa Jifaar I and his wife, *Gannee* Busassitti to Islam. Hence forth Abbaa Jifaar I played an important role in facilitating the spread of Islam by inviting Muslim teachers to come to the kingdom and teach Islam. Abdulhakim first asked the *mootii* for permission to teach the children around the *masara*. Having studied the principles of Islam, the children influenced their parents to embrace the new faith. Nevertheless, in the 1830's Islam did not affect the masses. However by the second half the nineteenth century, followers of indigenous belief were converted to Islam.[215]

According to Tekalign and oral tradition in the period between 1840s and 1870s, Muslim teacher propagated the faith and converted the Oromo chiefs of the region to Islam, but some elders opposed to the teaching of Abdulhakim, especially regarding the Ramadan fasting. [216]

Concerning the opposition to Abdulhakims teaching oral informants narrated an interesting story. The elders asked Abdulhakim the following question:

*Akkamitti Rabbi (Allah ykn Waaqayyoo) kan nama uume nyaataa fi dhugaatii eebise namaaf kenne guyyaa sodama ganamaa hanga galgallaatti soomaa namaan jedha? Situ (Abdulhakim) dirqama kana uumee seera Rabbittii dabale malee:* how could Allah who endowed human beings with the desire for food and drink orders them to fast thirty day from morning to evening? It is you (Abdulhakim) who invented this obligation.[217]

Perhaps it was such challenges that led him to teach first the children about Islam. Oral informants indicate that he was well received by Abbaa Jifaar I who gave him permission to teach the Quran to the children of the court dignitaries (*soressa*). His strategy eventually worked very well. Within a short time, he was able to convert the children of the *soressa* to Islam without antagonizing their parents. [218] While teaching the children the elements of Islamic faith, Abdulhakim approached the elders leniently and preferred to influence them indirectly. Even after they accepted Islam, he allowed them to retain the pre-Islamic practices, for example the drinking of *farsoo* local beer. Thus while laying the ground for the future success of Islam, the Sheikh did not want opposition from the elders. They succeded in this strategy and Jimmaa

[215] Abdulkerim, pp.42-43; Gustav, p.265.
[216] Informants: Abbaa Garo, Hajii Abbaa Jobir; Tekalign,p.40.
[217] Informants: Haji Kamal Abbaa Garo, Talha sheik kalifa.
[218] Informants: Hassan Abbaa Gero, Sheik Tayib Abbaa Bulgu.

became an important center of Islam in southwestern Ethiopia in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[219]

Nonetheless, all traditions unanimously agree that besides Abdulhakim different Sheikhs arrived in the kingdom to teach Islamic education. The dominant Madhab (Islamic legal school) was the Shafiiyyaa but there were also many followers of the Hanafiyyaa which was introduced by Abdulhakim were also found all over the region. The other religious figure who introduced Islam in the Jimmaa was Abbaa Arabu, who came to Jimmaa during the reign of Abbaa Boqa. He was also known by Jimmaa people as a *wali (*Islamic saint*).* Today, the *Qubbaa* (Tombs) of these religious men are considered as religious centers or shrines and venerated by the Muslim community.[220]

During the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II, Muslim teachers were highly respected. This new attitude also helped some immigrant Muslim teachers, to intermarry with the ruling families of the Jimmaa Oromo. Among these immigrant Muslim scholars, Mohammed Dallane of Wallo became brothers-in-law of Abbaa Jifaar II because he married his sister. He was an *alim* (religious scholar) who had studied Qur'anic education and Islamic law in Mecca and Yemen. He played an important role in the Islamization process of the kingdom Jimmaa.[221]

These Islamic scholars settled with the Jimmaa Oromo community and taught Islamic education. These itinerant Sheikhs played an important role in the expansion of Islam in Jimmaa. Their students became the first local Sheikhs in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of the students, who were taught by Sheikh Abdulhakim in the 1830s and 1840s, went to study in Dawe in Wollo, Harar, and other Islamic centers in Ethiopia. By the 1870s and 1880s, the local Sheikhs have emerged as respected teachers and advisers to rulers. The first generation of local sheikhs established their own centers of Islamic learning in Jimmaa. One such center is, for example, Shekkota Jimmaa and Shekkota Laftoo which was established by Sheikh Ahmed Sayo and Sheik Adam Kamal respectively. Together with other sheikhs who arrived from northern Ethiopia in

[219] Mohammed Hassen,p.158.
[220] *Ibid*, p.112; Yonas, p.9; Lewis, Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, pp.56-57; Tekalign, p.29; Trimingham, p.204; Abir, Ethiopia, The Era of princes, p.85.
[221] Mohammed Hassen Nasir,p.65.

the late 1870s and 1880s, local Sheikh were responsible for the expansion of Islam in the region by the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. [222]

### 2.2.2 The Role Played by Local Rulers

In the Gibe region, mainly Jimmaa the introduction and expansion of Islam was local rulers, who invited and supported the Muslim clerics. Islam was the established religion of the kingdom beginning from the 1830s. As mentioned earlier, Islam was not the religious of the masses during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar I but his younger brother Abbaa Boqa (r.1859-1862). Although the former was the first to be converted to Islam, the latter seems to have been inspired by the "zeal" he displayed in religious matters. Abbaa Jifaar I and his younger son and successor, Abbaa Rebu, accepted Islam "more for political ends than from faith", whereas Abbaa Boqa and all his officials became Muslims since he declared Islam to be the official religion of the kingdom. [223]

Furthermore, it was only after the 1860s that Islam became the major religion in Jimmaa. It was during the reign of Abbaa Boqa (1859-1862), who expanded Islam in the whole of the kingdom. It was believed that the *Qoroos* were created by Abbaa Booqa not only for administrative purposes as mentioned by some scholars but also for religious purposes to spread Islam in the kingdom, to build mosques in their respective provinces and to support Sheikhs. The *Qoroos* of Jimmaa had divided the kingdom into a number of small administrative districts, each governed by its own Abbaa *Qoroo*. The Abbaa *Qoroo* often held the administrative, judicial and military powers in his own respective districts perhaps including the religious affairs.[224]

Abbaa Boqa of Jimmaa (1859-1862) devoted his short reign to the cause of Islam. According to Mohammed, this *mootii* earned the title of "the reformer", since he was said to be a dedicated king to the cause of Islam. His name is remembered for his achievement like in construction of many mosques both in Jiren and local vicinities.[225] According to oral traditions, before the reign

[222] *Ibid*, pp. 192-193; Informants: Abbaa Warri Abbaa Kabe, Abbaa Rago Abbaa Zinab.
[223] Mohammed Hassen, p.157.
[224] Abir, Ethiopia, The Era of Princes, p.83.
[225] Mohammed Hassen, p.159.

of Abbaa Boqa, there were no mosques in the kingdom and Muslims used to pray in their private residences and in the houses of the Muslim Sheikhs as well as under the shade of large trees.[226]

During his reign, Abbaa Boqa built four mosques in the kingdom. The first and major one is at Jiren, *Masgida Afurtama (*mosque of the forty), the second was in Mandara-Saxoo to the southwest of Jiren at about 5Kms distance, the third was in Dedo and the fourth was in the southwest corner of the Jimmaaa kingdom, at a place called Shebe, popularly called *Masgida Shekota* Lafto, or *Shekota* Coqorsa, bordering Kafa on the other side of Gojab River. [227] Among the Jimmaa *mootiis,* Abbaa Boqa was also a man of peace. He abandoned his predecessor's aggressive policy; and the other Gibe kings made peace with him. He strengthened his relations with the king of Gumma through marriage alliance. At that time, Gumma was experiencing Islamic revival for the first time. Accordingly, a daughter of Abbaa Dula Abbaa Jilcha, the king of Gumma (r.1854-1878) was given in marriage to Abbaa Gomol Abbaa Boqa. It was out of this marriage relation that the last strong and most famous sult*a*̄n, Abbaa Jifaar II (1878-1932) was born. [228]

After the death of Abbaa Boqa, his son and successor Abbaa Gomol took the throne and reigned for about thirteen years (1862-1875). Under Abbaa Gomol, Jimmaa gained more area and importance than before. Abbaa Gommol was a committed king to expand the frontier of Jimmaa at the expense of the neighboring states. On the east, he extended his kingdom up to Dimtu and on the south, he incorporated Garo into his kingdom. However, Abbaa Gomol is said to have been a very lenient *mootii* of Jimmaa to consolidate Islamic faith and culture and rather facilitated the revival of indigenous *Gadaa* practices and Oromo beliefs. Nevertheless, he lived peacefully with the neighbouring Oromo Muslim kingdoms like Gumma through marriage alliance, Abbaa Gomol married the daughter of the king of Gumma, named *Gannee* Gummitti.[229]

It is generally believed that the neighboring Muslim States particularly, Gumma, had a far reaching impact that empowered Jimmaa in its religious expansion processes. The first and

[226] *Informants*: Amin Abbaa Nagaa, Sheikh Ahmed Abbaa Waajji, Abbaa Tamaam Abbaa Macaa.
[227] *Ibid*; Yonas,p.76.
[228] Mohammed Hassen, p.185.
[229] Lewis, Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar, p.43; Tekalign, p.40; Abdulkerim,pp.12-13;Massia,p.11,Cerulli,p.103; Mohammed Hassen, p.99. According to Mohammad Hassan, in the entire Gibe kings had the Oromo title of *motii (*king or conqueror) and they were known more by the name of their war horses than by their personal names. Similarly, the queens were addressed by the Oromo tittle of *genne* (the lady), followed by the name of the country of their origin.

foremost was the impact of Abbaa Arabu who came from Gumma, during the wedding ceremony of Abbaa Gomol of Jimmaa and Gannee Gummitti of Gumma.[230]

Generally, in the Kingdom of Jimmaa, kingships and Islam were highly interwoven. According to scholars and some oral traditions, *mootii* Abbaa Gomol of Jimmaa died in 1875. Accordingly, Abbaa Bulgu, the *naggadras* of Jimmaa during the reign of Abbaa Gomol, a well-versed in the Qur'an and Islamic law was elected as his successor before the king's death because Tullu (Abbaa Jifaar II) was too young to take the throne of his father. However, Tullu's mother put the golden ring (*amartii*), the symbol of kingship stained with blood, on her son's finger. [231] Oral Traditions stated that the news of the death of Abbaa Gomol was immediately released by beating the *bidiruu* (big drum) whereby the announcement took the following form:

> *Iyyaa Iyya dabarsaa mootiin taajabaniiruu*
> *(du'aniiruu), ilmi Gannee Gumittii mootummaa*
> *dhaalaniiruu.* Cry, pass the cry, the king has died;
> the son of *Gannee* Gumittii (Abbaa Jifaar II) has
> taken the throne.[232]

Abbaa Jifaar II thus became the *mootii* of Jimmaa on the death of his father in 1875 and his effective reign started after 1878. Abbaa Jifaar II was among the zealous Muslim *mootiis* of the region in the second half of the nineteenth century. His Oromo name Tullu (literally mountain) was changed to Muhammad Dawud. According to oral traditions, Abbaa Gomol had many sons and daughters from his other wives, though Abbaa Jifaar II was the first born son for his mother and the fourth for his father. His brothers were Abbaa Jobir, Abbaa Waji, and Abbaa Digga. However, there was an agreement is between *mootii* Abbaa Boqa of Jimmaa and the Gumma ruling family that led to the marriage between Abbaa Gomol and *Gannee* Gumitti. According to their agreement, the first-born son of the Gannee Gumitti was to be successor of Abbaa Gomol. It seems that this agreement more than his seniority which enabled Abbaa Jifaar II to succeed to

[230] Informants: Abbaa Faajii Haji Aliye, Amin Abbaa Nagaa,Abbaa Zinaab Abbaa Bulgu.
[231] Lewis, pp.44-45; Mohammed Hassen, p.185; Cecchi, p.541; Ketebo,p.13; Abdulkerim,p.12;Tekalign,p.45; Informants: Abbaa Jobir,Abbaa Nagaa,Abdulkerim Mohammed.
[232] Informants: Hajji Abbaa Jobir, Abbaa Nagaa.

the throne of his father. In addition, the agreement was intended to strengthen the relationship between the two neighboring kingdoms.[233]

In his childhood, Abbaa Jifaar II completed the memorization of the Qur'an education. After he became king, Abbaa Jifaar II was assisted by a Council of Regency consisting of his mother, Gannee Gumitti, Abbaa Dikko Abbaa Billo (the chief Minister of Abbaa Gomol), Abbaa Gole Abbaa Jilcha (the nephew of Abbaa Jifaar II) and a few of the influential Abbaa *Qoroos*. Perhaps, it was in 1878, that Abbaa Jifaar II took over the effective political power and the Council of Regency was dissolved. When his father died, before its dissolution, Abbaa Jifaar II was too young to rule. Besides, this period was also a time of conflict and rivalry among the neighboring Oromo Muslim states of the region.[234] According to oral traditions, the most famous Muslim woman in the history of Jimmaa was Gannee Gumitti. She was considered as intelligent, who was dominated the Council of Regency. It was she who prevailed over her son to submit peacefully to Ethiopian empire.[235]

In contrast to his predecessors, Abbaa Jifaar II's reign was the longest and the most eventful. He was remarkable by territorial extension and the expansion of *madrasa* (Islamic schools) in the kingdom. The kingdom, hence, reached its climax in the second half of the nineteenth century because of his outstanding diplomatic, religious and administrative policies. Abbaa Jifaar II was the eighth Oromo king since the foundation of the kingdom and the fifth Oromo Muslim *mootii* of the kingdom Jimmaaa *mootii* (kings) who ruled the kingdom beginning from the time of Abbaa Faro (1742-1787). [236]

During the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II, the two mosques within the palace compound were constructed by the order of Abbaa Jifaar II himself. The one located on the eastern side and attached to the *masaraa*, was built for the king and his family service. The other one, *masgida Jama'a*, was built for the public use of village and his officials, which was located at the eastern

[233] Ketebo, p.29.
[234] Jimmaa Town/JTAO,p.5; Abdulkerim, pp12-13, Ketebo, Abbaa Jifaar p.13.
[235] Informants: Hajjii Abaa Jobir, Abdulkerim, Hassan Abbaa Garoo.
[236] Haile Mariam, pp.4-9; Guluma, Historical Traditions, p.37.

corner of the palace compound. The Egyptian gift of Capet (prayer mat) is still found in the mosque though the date of the gift is not known.[237]

Abbaa Jifaar II was a devoted Oromo Muslim *mootii* like his grandfather, Abbaa Boqa. He attempted to perform the *Arkan al-Islam* (the five pillars of Islam). The five pillars of Islam-*Shahada, Salat, Sawm, Zakat, and Haji*, were rigorously upheld by the people at large. Of the five, fasting during Ramadan seems to have been well observed. He broke the fasting in the evening at the *masaraa* mosque with some of the people. Abbaa Jifaar II paid *zakat* and made gifts regularly to the poor people. However, there are no oral or written sources which indicate Abbaa Jifaar's undertaking of the pilgrimage to Mecca, though he provided annually money to many Jimmaa Muslims to undertake the pilgrimage. Nothing is known about why he did not perform the pilgrimage.[238]

Another important development contributed to the expansion of Islam and the growth of Islamic learning was confrontation among Gibe States and local Chiefs. The war between Jimmaaa and Geeraa had again far reaching consequences on the expansion of Islam within and outside of the territory of the kingdom of Jimmaa. The cause of this war was the detention of one of Abbaa Jifaar II's fathers-in-law, who was the Councilor of the "Queen" of Gera, who later on the deserted her and entered the service of the Jimmaa rulers. The "Queen" had him arrested. Furthermore, Jimmaa kingdom's isolation from the four Muslims league (*arfan naggaadotaa*) formed the four Oromo league (*arfan Oromootaa*) made Gannee Gumitti, the mother of Abbaa Jifaar II, to urge her son to submit to Menilek and seek his protection against the Gibe states, *arfan naggaadotaa*.[239]

Accordingly, Abbaa Jifaar II and his mother, realizing the weakness of their forces to resist the force of Menilek agreed to pay an annual tribute and *qurx-geber*, and to help Menilek's force in the campaign against the surrounding peoples. In return, Jimmaa continued to enjoy internal autonomy and to keep Islam and Islamic law. Abbaa Jifaar II advised his neighboring Gibe Oromo Muslim states to do likewise although they refused and fiercely fought and suffered

[237] Yonas, p.6.
[238] Ketebo, p.75; Informants: Abaa Nagaa, Abbaa Zinaab.
[239] Informants: Ato Zinab Abbaa Bulgu, Abbaa Fiixaa Abbaa Garo; Haile Mariam,p.35, Samuel Mammo," The Administration of Arjo(Southeast Wollega)1882-1936," M.A. thesis in History ,( A.A.U, 1998), pp.9-12; Abraham Alemu, p.34.

heavy casualties from the devastation of their economy, loss of human lives and the suppression of Islamic religion and culture. From 1886 onwards, therefore, among the five Gibe Oromo monarchies, only Jimmaa retained its internal power. [240]

Oral traditions and Tekalign also attempt to point that the agreement made by Abbaa Jifaar was inclusive of the clause for assisting emperor Menilek. The relative peace he obtained might have helped him extend his frontiers beyond the limits of the early historical kingdom of Jimmaa which also helped the spread of Islam. Hence, Jimmaa Abbaa Jifaar became one of the biggest sources of Menelik's annual tribute among his various chiefs. The 1882 agreement between Abbaa Jifaar and Menilek formalized the position of Jimmaa as tributary state whereby Abbaa Jifaar II controlled the internal affairs of his kingdom.[241]

Abbaa Jifaar II's strong relation with the Muslim merchants and immigrant clerics was also believed to have contributed for the large-scale expansion of Islam. Among these immigrant Muslim scholars, Muhammad Siraj of Wallo who settled in Sokorru was considered as one of the intimate friends of Abbaa Jifaar II because of his religious devotion. Hence, Abbaa Jifaar II became the adopted son of Sheikh Muhammad Siraj. By supporting the religious leaders; Abbaa Jifaar II assumed the role of 'guardian' or 'protector' of the Islamic faith.[242]

The Muslim clerics in Wallo, Sheikh Muhammad Shafi b.asqarri Muhammad and al-Hajj Bushra Muhammad who introduced the Qadiriyya and the Sammaniyya order respectively. These two orders were instrumental in Islamic revival, and many Sufi teachers interacted closely with the heads of the Wallo Oromo dynasties, often receiving grants of land to sustain themselves and their followers. As a result of strict observance of principles of these orders, these religious leaders often suffered internal and external persecution. They criticized and declared the local rulers and children of wine-drinking chiefs illegitimate. It is believed that it was such a practice which led the ruler of Qallu, Birru Luboo, expel such sheikhs. Therefore, due to this reason and particularly due to persecution in the hands of Christian rulers like Yohannes IV (1872-1889) who decreed that all Muslims of Wallo were to be "baptized or suffer banishment", a number of sheikhs began to flee to the kingdom of Jimmaa during the second half of the nineteenth century.

[240] *Ibid.*
[241] Haile Mariam, pp.38-39; Tekalign, p.47; Informants: Abdulkerim. Sheik Ali Abbaa Zinaab ,Abbaa Nagaa.
[242] Hussein, Islam in the nineteenth, pp.283, 273; idem, The Historiography, pp.16-17; Kapteijns, p.233.

They began to travel to Jimmaa attracted mainly by Abbaa Jifaar II's administrative and religious policy.[243]

Besides Abbaa Jifaar II's policy, the fertile nature of the Jimmaa land also played an important role in attracting the Muslims merchant accompanied by teachers and influenced the expansion of Islam in the kingdom. Generally, the process of Islamizaiton in the kingdom was to a considerable extent initiated by both the local rulers, and facilitated by Muslim teachers.[244]

Besides the *mootii* Abbaa Jifaar II, there were some local chiefs who played a vital role in the spread of Islam in the kingdom. For instance, in Dedoo, the younger brother of Abbaa Jifaar II, Abbaa Waji, and his son and successor, Abbaa Machaa contributed to the spread of Islam in the area. Especially Abbaa Machaa was a devoted religious scholar who had the skill of indigenous medicine and was famous for his curing abilities. One of the sons of al-Hajj Umar Adam Nur of Andodee, Shaykh Ibrahim was invited to Dedoo to spread Islam. Shaykh Ibrahim married one of the sisters of Abbaa Waaji Abbaa Gomol.[245] During his reign, Abbaa Jifaar II also encouraged Arab, Indian and Greek merchants to set up their businesses and sell manufactured goods for coffee, hides, wax and ivory especially from late nineteenth century. Abbaa Jifaar II took the title of *sultan* and upheld Islamic faith, culture and law. As a result of this, the word "a thousand times slaves of Allah Muhammad bin. Dawud" were inscribed on his stamp.[246]

Although, Abbaa Jifaar II was a 'strict' Muslim, according to Gustav, he was also a 'liberal' king who attracted both Muslims and Christian teachers. Hence, in 1880, a man named Neguse Tashu and his followers arrived in Jimmaa from Massawa with a large caravan headed by a Christian merchant named Haile Mariam from Yajube in southern Gojjam.[247] He also stated that Abbaa Jifaar has been so tolerant to other religions and non-Islamic practice to the extent of sending in an envoy in order to receive missionary who can help his people in teaching how to write and read.[248] Gustav and oral informants indicate that, when Neguse commenced his missionary activity, some prominent Muslim rose in protest against him. However, Abbaa Jifaar sent to

[243] Hussein, The Historiography,pp.16-17; idem Islam in…,pp.283,273.
[244] *Ibid.*
[245] *Ibid.* According to informants, the Qubbaa of Abbaa Machaaa is today visited and venerated by his Tijaniyya followers and supporters for more than a week on the day of the celebration of Muslim festivals, like mewlid al-nabi, coming from as far as Assosa, Wallaggaa, Iluu Abbaa Booraa, Arsii, Bale and Harar.
[246] Lewis,p.43.
[247] Gustav, evangelical pioneers, p.267; Ketebo,p.50.
[248] Gustav,pp.271-272 .

Neguse a couple of boys to receive education. He granted a piece of land to him. The king also employed Neguse as Secretary to write letters in Ahmaric to be sent to Menelik and his Shoa officials.[249]

This missionary venture of Nigusie and his colleagues at Jimmaa was the "First Expedition" of the missionary to the Oromo country. This meant other attempts to reach the Oromo were to follow. Like the Ethiopian Christian rulers, Abbaa Jifaar II showed an interest in European missionaries. In 1884, a merchant by the name of Damote arrived to Massawa from Jimmaa. He was sent from Abbaa Jifaar II with an amazing message to the missionaries already established there. He went to Imkulu to see Onesimos (Abbaa Gamachis) and told him that the Abbaa Jifaar II was eager to get foreigners who could start modern education in his kingdom like the one the mission had started at Masawa.[250] During the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II, the missionary activities were not successful because of the well-established of Islam in Jimmaa and resistance from some prominent religious local clerics and leaders. The work that began in Jimmaa could not take root and expand. Subsequently, they started their organization at Boji in Wollega.[251]

As of the reign of Abbaa Boqa, Jimmaa kingdom was already divided into sixty *Qoroos*, each governed by its own respective Abbaa *Qoroos* (sub-district governors). Abbaa Jifaar II also tried to make the kingdom the center of Islamic studies by "*ulama*" to settle in each *Qoroo* to teach Qur'anic education and the Islamic law. The settlement of Muslim merchants and teachers in *Qoroos* of the different parts of the kingdom was thus linked to Islamic study centers. The founders of these centers of Islamic studies inthe kingdom were considered as *wali*, Muslim "saints".[252] Abbaa Jifaar held the right to appoint, transfer and promote his officials such as the Abbaa *Qoroo* and Abbaa *Gandaa*.[253] Abbaa *Qoroo* had the administrative and judicial authority in their respective areas which dealt with matters like peace and security, tax collection, war and *jiga* (corvee labor). However, their judicial authority was limited to minor offices, which did not require the interference of the *mootii* Abbaa Jifaar II and the religious judge, *qadi*. [254]

[249] Aren, p.272; Informants: Abbaa Asnaaqaa, Dassalagn Kidane, Abaraa Girmaa.
[250]Gustav ,pp.248-249,279.
[251] *Ibid*. ,pp.371-412.
[252] Trimingham,pp.246-247.
[253]Trimingham, pp.48-50.
[254] Trimingham,pp.240-247; Hussein, Islam in the Nineteenth…p.194.

Hence, Jimmaa elders remembered Abbaa Jifaar II as one of the most remarkable *mootii* politically, spiritually and in administrative affairs. They respected him for the effort he made in spreading Islam. The neighboring kingdoms like Yam were subjugated during his reign in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Yam, D*a̅*wro-Kont*a̅* and Kafa were influenced by Jimmaa Muslims and Islamic faith. Therefore, most of the oral traditions stress the fact that the peaceful submission of Abbaa Jifaar II to Menilek had contributed for the spread of Islam to the neighboring community. Although he introduced changes that consolidated the administrative and religious affairs of the kingdom, he preserved the monarchical rule and did not completely alter its indigenous political structure. [255]

According to oral tradition, Abbaa Jifaar II was regarded as the "pious" Muslim who dedicated his time and resources to the expansion of Islam. He was also a devoted king to maintain peace both in Islamic and indigenous Oromo customs of laws (*seera*) of the kingdom.[256] According to *Gadaa* Melba, there was a judge in Jimmaa, called Abbaa Jiga. Justice in Jimmaa was administered according to Islamic law, *aadaa* (indigenous law) and the royal court.[257] A litigant could take his case to either the indigenous or to the *qadi* court. During the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II, if any one lost his case in either of the two, he could take it not directly to the *masara* court but to the court of Abbaa Gurmu (chief ministers), and then finally to king's court (masara court).[258]

The period 1880s to 1900s was generally characterized by an Islamic militancy that had its roots in the preceding period. Kapteijn stated that including Jimmaa, in the Gibe region, militant reform movements that had targeted the non-Muslim neighbors and attempted to stop Menilek's southward expansion. For instance, Abbaa Jifaar's support for Hasan Enjamo of Qabann*a̅* Gurage is considered as one of the anti-Christian rulers' movement.[259]

Generally, the successful process of Islamization was achieved in the Jimmaa kingdom in nineteenth century because of the external and internal circumstances were favorable: that is the Muslim merchants and clerics were available at a time when the recipients were ready to

[255] Informants: Abbaa Jihad Abbaa Fiixa, Hajjii Abaa Jobir, Hassan Abbaa Garoo.
[256] *Ibid.*
[257] Gada melba, p.43.
[258] *Ibid;* Haile Mariam,pp.26-27.
[259] Warku, p.51; Kapteijns, pp.231-236; Tekalign, p.50; Ketebo, p.23.

embrace a new religion. Since the early nineteenth century, however, merchants, clerics and local rulers worked together and facilitated the introduction and expansion of Islam at large.

In spite of this, there are several reasons why Islamization was successful in Jimmaa by the nineteenth century. First, the early conversion of the ruling elite also made Islam socially prestigious and politically and economically rewarding. Second, after the 1860s, the emergence of local clerics also played a significant role in the expansion of Islam. Third, the increasing volume of long distance trade facilitated the expansion of Islam. Fourth, the political situation in northern Ethiopia also contributed to the consolidation of Islam in Jimmaa.[260] These above conditions helped the consolidation of Islamic institutions in the kingdom of Jimmaa at the end of nineteenth century, which will be discussed this issue in the next chapter.

[260] Informants; Abbaa Faajii Abbaa Bulgu, Sheik Ali Abbaa Zinab.

# CHAPTER THREE

# 3. THE MAJOR ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE KINGOM OF JIMMAA AND THEIR ROLE FOR THE DIFFUSION OF ISLAM

## 3.1 Indigenous Islamic Education and Expansion of Islamic Center

Islamic learning was part of the indigenous schooling system. These were important among the Muslim communities of the country including Jimmaa. Islamic education was introduced primarily for the propagation of the philosophy and laws of Islam.[261] Based on the evidences from literature and informants, the purpose of Islamic education includes: to teach the Islamic dogma and practices, to teach clerical groups, to teach rights and duties of people whenever dealing with the creator (Allah), people and even others so as to enable them to be successful both in each ones life and in the life hereafter as well as the spread of literacy are the major purposes of the Islamic education.[262]

Regarding the task of Islamic education in the Gibe region, mainly in the kingdom of Jimmaa, different scholars assert that Islamic education started by the ruler named Abbaa Boqa (r.1859-1862), who promoted the expansion of Islam and built a number of mosques in the different *Qoroos*. He further declared Islam to be the official religion of the kingdom of Jimmaa and he built the center of Islamic learning in different *Qooros*.[263] Perhaps, the reign of Abbaa Boqa was the time of the emergence of Islamic centers in the kingdom Jimmaa in as far as evidences from oral traditions assert, in Jimmaa Islamic education started when Islam was introduced among court officials. Traditions credit for the beginning of Qur'an education in Jimmaa to a certain Sheikh Abdulhakim during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar I (r.1830-1854) who resided near the king's *masara*. Having secured permission from the dignitaries, Abdulhakim was said to have started teaching Qur'an to the children of the elite in his own house. An increasing number of students came to him though gradually Islamic centers emerged. [264]

[261] Hussien Ahmed, p.86.
[262] *Ibid*, p.97; Informant: Sheikh Muhammad Haji, Awalu Abbaa Bulguu.
[263] Mohammed Hassen, p.112;Yonas,p.33 .
[264] Informants: Abdulkerim Abbaa Garo, Abbaa Faajii Abbaa Fiixaa

Based on oral traditions, the development of aspects of Islamic education had taken four stages; Centered around the teachers houses, *zawiyya*, mosques and *madrasas*.[265] At the earliest stage, Islamic education was carried out in a very informal way and it suited the environment at earlier time where it centered around teachers houses. Students came to teachers' residential area to learn Islamic education. By the teachers' houses it meant both within their houses and compounds including under large trees. This practice of Islamic learning is still in function around teachers' houses, especially when the Sheikhs are busy doing business, or experienced sickness.[266]

In the Gibe region, in general and Jimmaa in particular, the second Islamic institution was the *zawiyya*, thatched huts made of mud and wood roofed with grass which was common in the kingdom. It is assumed that due to the increasing number of students (the *darassa*) flocking to teachers houses (which were also mainly huts). These houses could no more accommodate all of them, so much to that the idea of religious education to be in *zawiyya*.[267] This center of Islamic education was a multi-purpose institution wherein Muslims not only used to send their children to learn Islamic education and other related Islamic sciences,[268] but also serve them as places of worship, prayer for the dead and social gathering.[269] The *zawiyya* represented the basis at which Islam established itself in its formative stage of development as faith and way of life.[270]

Throughout the Gibe region, the third Islamic institution was established in the mosques. Islamic education was attached to the local mosques in Jimmaa was relatively after 1860s. It was hardly possible for emergence of Islamic institutions such as mosques during the reign of Abbaa Boqa (1859-1862). There was a rapid expansion of Islamic education in the region particularly during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II (r.1878-1932). An aspect of this emphasis was the building of a new mosque dressed with hewn stone of the best quality. [271]

Islamic education in Jimmaa was usually offered, as in many parts of the country, by established scholars who were recognized for their mastery of the different branches of *ilm.* Generally, due

[265] Informants: Muhammad Awal, Abbaa Zinab Abbaa Nagaa.
[266] *Ibid.*
[267] *Ibid.*
[268] Hussein Ahmed, Islam in the nineteenth century, p.85.
[269] Informant: Sheikh Tamam Ali, Haji Yusuf Abbaa Giddi.
[270] *Ibid.*
[271] Mohammed Hassen, p.159.

to the length of time required for acquiring expertise in all subjects; and the acute shortage of resources needed to follow advanced studies, the various subjects were taught by different scholars residing in different places. Hence an important characteristic of the educational system has been the seeking out of these masters by itinerant students.

The range of subjects offered has got different levels: *Majlis* (reading and writing the Qur'an), *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *Nahw* (Arabic Grammar and syntax), *Tasfr* (translation and interpretation of Qur'an), and *Tawhd* (Islamic theology) and Hadith (the study of the traditions of the Prophet). Those are widely taught and usually each under a separate guiding teachers.[272] The sheikh, the personage distinguished for his pious learning, functions as teacher in these schools. After the construction of *madrassas* in the kingdom of Jimmaa, these levels are organized under the two-levels: Primary and Higher education levels. At the primary level, students learn reading and writing Arabic (the Qur'an) and hence *mana Quranaa* according to the Muslim Oromo of the area. At the higher education level, students learn Islamic canon law; *Fiqh, Nahw, Tasfir* and *Hadith* respectively.[273] This practice has still continued in contemporary *madrassas* in Jimmaa region.

The life of teachers and their students has been one of the problems as they had no regular means of subsistence. The teachers lived on the produce of their own plot of land which was cultivated by their students and other members of the local community along with made voluntary contribution by each family of students attending their learning there. The students commonly known as *darasa* or *qallicha*, sought out their teachers in the various specialized fields of study. Many of them were supported by the local farmers, traders and some local rulers. Usually, they were provided with morning and evening meals while some were allowed to live in the house of their patrons, others still lived at the village were *zawiyya* is situated. The patrons and sponsors of the students were known as *Qallabi* and the food or meals known as *Qari'a.*[274]

In contrast to his predecessors, Abbaa Jifaar II's reign was the most eventful for Islamic activities. The *mootii* Abbaa Jifaar II promoted the spread of Islam and the creation of Islamic centers and culture by pursuing for the consruction of the Muslim scholars' settlement in the

[272] Ketebo,p.43.
[273] Informants: Haji Bakar xayib, Sheikh Awal *Abbaa* Kamal, Sheikh Abdella Hussein.
[274] Informants; Sheikh Hussen Garo, Sheikh Ismael Bikila Abbaa Fixaa.

kingdom and provided them with materials and moral support.[275] According to oral traditions and available sources, during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II, Jimmaaa not only became the center of trade but also of Islamic learning and culture in the southwestern region. He was known to have encouraged the construction of *madrasas* (Islamic schools) in the kingdom. He constructed sixty madrasas in the sixty *Qoroos* of the kingdom, thus the sixty madrasas giving the Jimmaa the reputation of being a venerable center of Islamic center in the Horn of Africa. It is apparent that this strength of Islam and Islamic learning in Jimmaa contributed for the consolidation of Islam in the southwest.[276]

The king attracted Muslim scholars from Harar and Wallo to enhance Islamic learning in his kingdom. The kingdom, had therefore, reached its climax at the end of nineteenth century because of his outstanding diplomatic, religious and administrative policies.[277] A large number of students came to Jimmaa for Islamic education from the surrounding areas such as Gomma, Gumma, Limmu, and Gera as well as from Ilubabor, Arsi, Bale and Hararge.[278] For instance, he established the first madrasa in the compound of the *masara* as a primary and secondary schools in the kingdom. According to Mohammed, by the late 1880s, both the old and young always memorize the Qur'an, which is taught in the *madrasa*.[279] This enables the emergence of indigenous Muslim scholars in the region who's contributed the consolidation of Islam in the region.

According Yonas, many Muslim refugees from north, running away from the persecution of Emperor Yohannis IV, have moved southwards to Jimmaa. They resided in Jimmaa and became teachers and founders of Islamic education which contributed to the strengthening of the position of Islam in the whole of Jimmaa region.[280] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a group of Muslims from the Gurage area was permitted by Abbaa Jifaar II to settle in the Abalti, Andodee and Hereto. This was under the patron al-Hajj Umar Adam Nur of Ifat whose hand was

[275] Mohammed Hassen, p.159.
[276] Informants: Abbaa Jihad, Hajji Abaa Jobir, Abdulkerim Hassan Abbaa Garoo; Warku Nida, "The Revivalist Movement of Hassan Enjamo: A Biography". B.A. thesis in History (A.A.U,1984), pp.41-49;JTAO,p.5;Abdulkerim, pp12-13, Ketebo, p.13.
[277] Ketebo, p.14.
[278] *Ibid*; p.158; See also Abdo Adem, "Qubba Abbaa Arabu, An Islamic Shrine in Jimmaa" (B.A. Thesis, AAU, 1992), p.15.
[279] Mohammed Hassen, p.157.
[280] Yonas, p.77; *Informants*: Abbaa Fogi *Sheik* Abuyazid, *Sheik* Hussen Abbaa Tamam, Haji Ali Abbaa Jamal; See also Mohammed Hassen Hassen, p.161.

amputated because he refused to be converted to Christianity and fled to Gurage area (Sebbāt), from there he was finally invited by Abbaa Jifaar II to come to the kingdom and established center of Islamic learning in the region.[281]

Regarding the basic factors for the flight of al-Hajj Umar Adam Nur from Ifat to Jimmaa, oral traditions and Tirmingham unanimously give emphasis to the revivalist movement of Hasan Enjamo of Gurage, which was followed by the campaign of Menilek to suppress it. Accordingly, Menilek made two campaigns first in 1875/6 and the second, on the eve of his coronation in 1889 against the Gurage. In the first victory of 1875/6 the king defeated and occupied the area and had shown tolerance to Islam and given a religious autonomy to the Muslims of Qabannā.[282]

Hassan Enjamo also maintained contacts with Abbaa Jifaar II of Jimmaa. According to oral tradition and Worku, both chiefs had exchanged gifts and the latter supported the former in the attempt of expanding Islamic education in Qabannā by providing him with foreign and local instructors and gifts of slaves and money (Maria Theresa dollar), before his rise. It is said that during his rise, Hassan asked Abbaa Jifaar for help and the latter appears to have promised material and moral support. This promise perhaps must have influenced Hassan to rise.[283]

Hassan wished to establish center of Islamic learning in Qabannā at sebbā had established the strong Islamic center more than his predecessors by increasing the number of mosques and teachers. One of these was *al-Hajj* Umar Adam Nur from Ifat, who fled to Qabannā for refuge.[284] In 1878 Hasan, led the Muslims revolt from Sebbā against Bakisa, a leader of the area who had been appointed by Menilek after his victory of 1875/6. Bakisa was overthrown and Hasan came to political power. However, Bakisa fled to Addis Ababa. Hasan extended his campaign to whole of the Sebat-Bet Gurage.[285]

Subsequently, Hassan was advised to escape to Jimmaa with his remaining *shaykhs* like *al-Hajj* Umar and his Muslim followers to obtain support from Abbaa Jifaar II and to launch a counter attack the force of Menilek. Hassan's demand of military support was not accepted by Abbaa Jifaar because the latter feared that Jimmaa would be invaded by the Ethiopian's forces if he

[281] Awal Abdo,p.10.
[282] Informants: Sheikh Hussein Abbaa Tamam, Abbaa Tamam, Haji Ali Abbaa Jamal; Trimingham,p.246.
[283] Informants: Shafi Abbaa Jobir, Abbaa Nagaa, Abbaa Zinaa; Warku, pp,49-50.
[284] Warku, p.51.
[285] *Ibid*.pp.75-76.

collaborated with the former. However, until his return to Qabann*a*, Hassan sought refuge in Jimmaa and *Abbaa* Jifaar also gave cattle and land to the Qabann*a* Muslim community who had accompanied Hassan allowed them settle in Jimmaa kingdom. Consequently, they settled in Abaltii and later spread to Andode where their descendants are still residing. The latter is the place where the shrine of Hajj Umar Adam Nur and his two grandsons are living. Moreover, when he returned to Qabann*a*, *Abbaa* Jifaar gave to Hasan about 200 Maria Theresa dollars and forty slaves. [286]

Another prominent itinerant and immigrant Muslim Shaykh was al-Hajj Bushra Geta of Wallo origin, who was the founder of the Islamic center of Shaykota Hellan in Dedo. He built a mosque currently called *Masgida* Hellan and established an Islamic center and a madrasa. *Hajj* Bushra acquired his Islamic education in Dawwe, southern Wallo. He was well-known for the teaching of *Fiqh* School. He contributed the expansion of Qadiriyya orders in Jimmaa. Here at Hellan also the annual *mawlid al-nabi* is annually celebrated with a great festival and prayers for about two weeks. [287]

Shekkota Saddeqa in Sokorru district was founded by Abu Bakar al-Adam. Abu Bakar is said to have been a '*wali'* who came from Bale during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II. He built the Masgida Saddeqa or Saddeqiyyu (the mosque of Saddeqa) and established center of Islamic learning in Sokorru. Abu Bakar had studied his Qur'anic education in Bale and Harar contributed to the spread of Islamic education in the Sokorruu area and other districts such as Qarsa and Xiro Afata. In order to strengthen his relations with the Jimmaaa Muslim community, Hajj Aliyyi married a Diggo Oromo woman of the Jimmaa royal family, who was popularly called *giftii saddeqiyyu ("queen" sadeqqiyyu).*Abu Bakar died in 1892 and is buried in Bure district.[288]

The political stability and effective administration of Abbaa Jifaar II played a significant role to the expansion and consolidation of Islamic education. He had good relation with the Muslim clerics who settled in Jimmaa and married local Oromo women and were involved in the advisors of Abbaa Jifaar II. It was a glorious period for Jimmaa as it enjoyed religious and

[286] *Ibid,* pp.77-79; Informants: Hajii Muhammad, Abbaa Jihad, Abbaa Wudaad. His grandson and one of my informants, Abbaa Wudaad is still living in the area.
[287] Informants: Haji Jemal Mohammed Hassen, Abdulhakim Woyessa.
[288] Informants: Hajii Muhammad, Abbaa Jihad. His *Qubaa(*shrine) is visited and venerated by the local Muslims as well as those from Harar, Bale and Arsii.

commercial center. [289] During this period, several public schools and Islamic higher institutions were built in the close to the *Masara*. Among the important measures taken by the Abbaa Jifaar II was the establishment of an ‘‘Islamic Institute’’ (*Daral-ulam al-Islamiya*) in Jiren.[290]

According to Hussein, the *Sufi* Islamic order played a pivotal role in the expansion and revival of Islam in Ethiopia in general and Wallo in particular. And this stimulated the development of Islamic religious scholarship and opened up a new dimension for individuals and collective devotion of religious activities and, it introduced new practices such as session of *dhkir* recitation and saint veneration.[291] These practices must have influenced the religious practices of the Muslim community of Jimmaa.[292]

The purpose of veneration of the tomb (*Qubbaa*) of the Muslim saints, *Waliyyii (wali*), was to have access to the *Baraka* (blessings) based on the *karama* (miraculous power) of a saint. Thousands of pilgrims flocked to the shrine at the time of the Islamic religious festivals, seeking health and blessing, the *Baraka*.[293] In Jimmaa, the Tijaniya order is the dominant one. The followers of the Tijaniyya had their own practices of veneration and religious assembly (*hadra).* Every Thursday between *salat al-asr* (the late afternoon prayer) and *salat-al-maghrib* (the evening prayer) the occasion was often performed.[294]

According to Tirmingham the Sammaniyya order, which was founded by Muhammad Ibn Abdal-Karim (1718-75), was also brought to the Gibe region, including Jimmaa kingdom. It was introduced by Sheikh Sharif Husain, in the late 1890s. His son, Muhammad became a *Khalifa* (assumed descendant of the order) in Jimmaa but did not have many followers among the people of the region except in Saqqa Coqorsa. [295]

There is a general consensus that the Qadiriyya order founded by Abdal-Qadir al-Jilani is the oldest and ‘self-perpetuating’ order of Islam. It was also the first order to be introduced into the northeast of Africa, including Ethiopia and the Gibe region. It was strong in Wallo and Harar, the

[289] Yonas, p.15; Tekalign, p.47; Guluma, p.169; Lewis, p.45.
[290] Informants: Kalifa sheikh Ahmed, sheikh Hudad shekota ,Sheikh Mahammud Abbaa Digga; Jimmaa Town Administration Office(JTAO),p.10.
[291] Hussein, pp.77-78; Trimingham, pp.240-247.
[292] Informants: Hajii Mohammed Hassen Abbaa Fiixa, Hajji Jamal Abbaa Jabal.
[293] Trimingham,p.246.
[294] Abdo,pp.10-12.
[295] Trimingham,pp.246-247; Braukamper, p.177.

latter was from where it gradually spread to the Gibe region, especially Jimmaa.[296] It was introduced to Jimmaaa by *Sheikh* Abdala Yusuf of Harar where it acquired a considerable number of adherents. Muslim teachers influenced by such new Islamic orders gradually flocked to the kingdom to teach Islamic faith.[297]

Accordingly, the two orders of mystical Islam, Qadriyya and Tijaniyya were the dominants in the kingdom. Regarding this, Cerulli who visited Jimmaa in the late 1920s, states that in Jimmaa, Tijaniyya was predominant along with Qadiriyya.[298] Moreover, M. Ishihara also states that Tijaniyya order was further expanded in the western Oromo land by Al-Faki Ahmad, a Tijaniyya Sheikh from Bornu (Nigeria) who settled at Dembi Dollo. Hence, Tijaniyya order of Sufism was introduced and further expanded in Jimmaa from Dembi Dollo.[299] Consequently, M. Ishiharo said that "the Muslim scholars of Dembi Dollo became revered as sophisticated mystic in Jimmaa and were also given the honorific title *Sheekota* Dembi (the great religious leaders of Dembi Dollo)".[300] Sheikh Al-Faki Ahmad Umar was one of the shekkota Dembi who believed to have introduced the Tijaniyya order into the region during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II. Sheikh Al-faki Ahmad Umar is still remembered by Jimmaa Muslim elders for his consolidation of Islam.[301] Thus, the Sufi centers of teaching raised a tradition of literacy and conformity to Sunni Islam produced the professional men of religion and later mystics.

## 3.2 Major Islamic Shrines in the Kingdom of Jimmaa

In the kingdom of Jimmaa as a whole, there have well known Sufi establishments from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which serve several functions: as seats of higher Islamic learning, centers of shrines and sites of local pilgrimage where the annual celebrations of the prophet's birthday have been, and still are held. In this topic our discussion will focus on the only two Islamic shrines which flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[296] Trimingham,p.246.
[297] *Ibid*, p.248; Braukamper, p.177; Informants: Hajii Mohammed Hassen Abbaa Fiixa, Hajjii Jamal Abbaa Jabal. The descendants of these immigrant Muslim merchants and teachers are still playing a leading role in the religious affairs of the former kingdom in their respective areas.
[298] Cerrulli, p.27.
[299] Minako Ishihara, "Spirit Possession and Pilgrimage: The Formation and Configuration of the Tijanni Cult in Western Oromo land", *In Proceedings of the 16th International, Conference of Ethiopian Studies,* Trondheim, 2009.p.84.
[300] *Ibid*, p.85.
[301] Gada, p.72; Yonas, p.25; Informants: Abbaa Zinaab Abbaa Jihad, Sheik Ali Abbaa Nagaa.

### 3.2.1 The Shrine of Abbaa Arabu: an Islamic shrine at Mujja

The sanctuary of Abbaa Arabu is situated in the eastern side of Jimmaa town at a distance of 9 km on the hill known as Mujja. The shrine site of Abbaa Arabu is in close proximity with the *masara* of Abbaa Jifaar II which is located on the Jiren hill. Accordingly, the shrine is located on the northern side of the *masara* of Abbaa Jifaar II at a distance of 1.5 Km. Abbaa Arabu settled at Mujja for the teaching Islamic education. In addition to his religious knowledge, he had the skill of indigenous medicine and curing people whom might largely influenced the inhabitants to follow this newly emerged religion. [302]

There are two versions of legends and beliefs about the origins Abbaa Arabu. One version claimed that, Arabuu came to Jimmaa during the reign of Abbaa Boqaa (1859-1862) from Gumma, during the wedding ceremony of Abbaa Gomol Abbaa Boqa of Jimmaa and *Gannee* Gummitti, the daughter of the king of Gumma. He was not of Arab origin but physically looked like an Arab so the Jimmaa people referred to him as an Arab (Abbaa Arabu).[303] However, Mohammed argued that, Abbaa Arabu was famous religious leader of Jimmaa who spread of Islam in the region and he was Arab origin. [304]

Moreover, Oral traditions assert that Abbaa Arabu came to the kingdom of Jimmaa during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II (1878-1932). He was an Arab holy man who came directly from the Arabian Peninsula and claimed to be a descendant from Arab origin family of the prophet Mohammad. It was his father, Said Abdullah who came from the direction of Egypt and settled in Sudan. Thus, his son Sheikh Ali entered Dembi Dollo and then to Jimmaa, specifically Mujja. The name Arabu given to him by local people because of the he was come from Arab and descendant of prophet. It was said to be Islam was expanded to the area by him. [305]

According to Trimingham, saints were rarely born in territory where their shrines are situated. Rather, they came from the outside world, claiming to be the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.[306] Accordingly, Abbaa Arabu might have been an Arab holy man who came to the region from an Arabian peninsula since oral tradition of the region traced the origin of some

[302] Mohammed Hassen, p.183; Lewis, pp.45-46;Haile Mariyam, pp.25-26;Abdo pp.10-15;Cerulli,p.22.
[303] lewis,pp.45-46;Abdo,pp.10-15; Abdulkerim,pp.12-13.
[304] Mohammed Hassen, p.157.
[305] Informants: Abbaa Faajii Abbaa Garo, Sheik Hudad Sheik Kalifa.
[306] Trimingham, p.199.

saints to former saints who had great reputation and lived many years ago.[307] It is now reasonable to generalize that Abbaa Arabu was one of the descendants of Prophet Muhammad who spread Islamic religion in Jimmaa.

Abdo stated that Abbaa Arabu was recognized by the Jimmaa people as a *wali* (spiritual person whom Allah gives a special gift of miraculous, *baraka*). He was sought to cure the sick and for blessings or offering a child to women who did not have children through prayer. Making *du'a* he gained a saintly reputation and was accepted as a *wali* owing to his ability of performing miracles. He is believed to be spiritually close to Allah, who may act as intermediary between the believer and God. The founders of religious orders were regarded as guides and their spiritual descendants inherited their blessings and continue their functions.[308]

After he settled in Mujja, he thought Islamic education and established center of Islamic learning. After the death of Abbaa Arabu the center of Islamic learning transformed in to shrine for the devoted to Abbaa Arabu who belonged to the mystical orders. The establishment Islamic shrine is depended on the role of saints as the expansion of Islam in the area and the miracles during his life time then after the death of saint the shrines was constructed. The establishment of this sanctuary was obviously intended to strengthen the Islamic mission among the followers of indigenous religion. [309]

Oral traditions claimed that, Mujja became shrine site when Abbaa Arabu died there in 1887. Accordingly, Abbaa Arabu's shrine site is one of the centers of pilgrimage and ritual performance. The pilgrimage to shrine is properly described as *ziyara.* A great deal of the visits to a saint tomb is made with object of obtaining his help. The pilgrims offered according to their vow and in most cases the offering includes, incense, sugar, coffee, and cattle. On the western side of the tomb of Abbaa Arabu, there is a small hut and the hut is located between the residential area and the tomb, this hut is called *Mana Nazri* and it is used to keep the votive offerings of the pilgrims. On the foot of the hill of Mujja, there is a spring called *zamzama Abbaa*

[307] Informants: Abbaa Faajii, Abbaa Zinaab Abbaa Jihad, Sheik Ali Abbaa Nagaa; Abdo, p.10.
[308] *Ibid*, pp.11-12.
[309] Informants: Haji Mohammad Sheikh Kalifa, Sheikh Abdo Abbaa Gaali.

Arabu (holly water of *Abbaa* Arabu). Almost every pilgrim who comes to visit the shrine of *Abbaa* Arabu carried some *zamzama* from the spring and back home for medicinal use. [310]

The people pilgrim to the local shrines during the major Muslim festivals, the *Arafa* (in the season of Muslim pilgrimage to mecca), the *Mawlid (*the birth day of Prophet Muhammad) and also thanks giving to saints for the role of expansion of Islam in the region. In addition to this, on the Thursday night people also gathered for religious program known as *hadra*. This is regularly held religious gathering with the specific purpose for reciting prayers. The Miracles of Abbaa Arabu is also narrated at locally held weekly gatherings where followers alternated between chewing *chat* (*Catha edulis*) and giving supplication (*du'a*). [311]

During the annual festivals, between 20,000 to 30,000 pilgrims come to the shrine of Abbaa Arabu from different parts of Gibe states and the surroundings such as Silte and Illubabor areas. Reasons for conducting the pilgrimage to Abbaa Arabu shrine are diverse. Some pilgrims go to shrine cult to fulfill their votive offerings *(nazri)* and others because of illnesses and infertility. They have in common their reverence or love for Abbaa Arabu.[312]

According to oral traditions, one of the religious practices is the pilgrims' song hymns in *Afaan Oromo* in praise of Abbaa Arabu emphasizing his charisma and spiritual quality, particularly his role as spiritual leader. Some of the songs show belief of the people that Abbaa Arabu does not only protect them while they are alive but also play an intermediary role between them and Allah after death. Accordingly, the pilgrims demonstrate their religious affections and devotions to Abbaa Arabu by performing *Shubbisaa.* Moreover, the prayer at Abbaa Arabu's shrine is the same as the Friday prayer. Then, religious prayer is followed by religious teaching. After the teaching, a myth about Abbaa Arabu's *Kaarama* (charisma), *Baraka* (holy virtues) and *Mujiizaa* (miraculous manifestation) is narrated. Finally, the pilgrims queue to fill their water jugs with *Zamzam* of Abbaa Arabu and back to their home.[313]

Jeyylen states that, Islamic shrines as places where religious and cultural practices are conducted. Generally, Islamic shrine centers are not only a place where religious practices are conducted but

[310] *Ibid*; Abdo, p.18.
[311] Informants: *Abbaa* Gomol *Abbaa* Fixa, Shiekh Umer Ida'o.
[312] *Ibid.*
[313] Informants: Haji Muhammad Ali, Siraj Abbaa Zinab.

they are also important sites which the past cultural and historical experiences are accumulated.[314] Accordingly, the Abbaa Arabu shrine site of nineteenth century identified religious places and as well as where the cultural, historical and political development of the people are deposited and demonstrated. It is now important to see the implications of geographical proximity of the shrine site with the political centers.

In this case, the geographical proximity of Abbaa Arabu's shrine site in Mujja has historical indication that shows the devotion and official recognition of the local rulers to Islam. Mohammed states that as a result of the devotion of the rulers to Islamic religion, by the end of nineteenth century about sixty madrasas were established in Jimmaa. These were mostly located in and around Jiren.[315] In addition to this, Trimingham claimed that "Abbaa Jifaar II (1878-1932) enthusiastically tried to make Jimmaa a center of Islamic studies and encouraged *fuqara* (Muslim scholar) to settle around his palace and teach". Based on this, Abbaa Arabu was perhaps one of the *fuqara* whom the rulers of Jimmaa kingdom invited to settle around Jiren and teach Islam there.[316] Therefore, the geographical proximity of Abbaa Arabu's shrine with Jiren can be seen as tangible evidence to prove the history of Islamic relation with the rulers of Jimmaa kingdom.

### 3.2.2 Sadeqiyo: An Islamic Shrine Centre in Sokoru

Sadeqiyo is an Islamic shrine center located in Sokoru district, Sadeqa kebelle. Sadeqiyo's cult found at a distance of about 155 km from Jimmaa town. The shrine was established in 1893 for the dedication of a Muslim saint called Mufti Sadeqiyo.[317] Oral traditions indicated that, the shrine was built on the place where Mufti Sadeqiyo settled for twenty years. Though the saint died in 1892 and buried at this place, his former residential area became a shrine in 1893 to his commemoration. The area of the present shrine was also the area where he preached Islamic religion.[318]

Adjacent to the shrine, there is a residential area. This is a place where the devotees of the saint settled since the time when Mufti Sadeqiyo established center of Islamic learning during his life time. According to oral traditions, the hut is particularly built for the dedication of Mufti

[314] Jeyylan W.Hussein, "The Functions of African Oral Arts: The Arsi-Oromo Oral Arts in Focus", in *African Study Monograph* vol. 26. 2005. p.15.
[315] Mohammed Hassen Hassen, p.158.
[316] Trimingham, p.204.
[317] JTAO, p.34.
[318] Informants: Sheikh Hussen Garo Sheikh Abdinaser Odwa, Abbaa Qarsa Awal.

Sadeqiyo, it is named by the local people as *Mana Abiyo* (Father's house). In addition to this, there is an area covered by volcanic rock located to the east of the shrine. The slave trade site is locally called *Gabaa Garbaa* (slave market).[319] The area was used as a market place for slave trade. The slave trade in the area was abolished by the teaching of Mufti Sadeqiyo. He taught the merchants of slave about equality of all human beings in the face of Allah. Consequently, slave trade was abolished in the area.[320]

Since there is no written document about the history of the shrine itself, oral tradition is the only source of information. In relation to this, Mohammed states about the importance of oral traditions in historical reconstruction of the Oromo people as follows: "The Oromo oral art provides us with ample information about the entire society, including the myths from God's attributes, through the relation of God to man to the complimentary aspects of man's relation to him".[321] Therefore, it is important to mention history of the shrine site and other related issues based on the oral information of the respondents. As it has been mentioned above, Sadeqiyo shrine emerged for the dedication of the Muslim saint called Mufti Sadeqiyo. The former name of Mufti Sadeqiyo was Abu Bakar al-Adam. Later, he was named by the local people as Sadeqiyo, to demonstrate his role as savior and protector over the Muslim Oromo of the *Sadeqa* area. [322]

Regarding the origin of Mufti Sadeqiyo, oral informants claim that he was one of the descendants of *Sheekana* Hussein (Sheikh Hussein) of Bale, who came to the kingdom to teach Islamic faith.[323] As available sources indicate that Islamic religion was initially introduced and later expanded among the Oromo of Gibe states by Muslim merchants and clerics from Sudan, Gonder, Wallo, Harar, Bale and Arsi areas. [324] Specifically, M. Ishiharo noted that "the descendants of Sheikh Nur Hussein (*Sheekana Huseen*) of Bale were settled in different parts of Gibe Oromo states and played important role in the establishment of Islamic learning in the area".[325] To sum up, in considering both oral and written information, it is reasonable to

[319] Informants: *Abbaa* Garo Dadi, Sheikh Sayid Guluma.
[320] *Ibid.*
[321] Mohammed Hassen Hassen, p.16.
[322] Informants: Abbaa Hikam, Sheikh Abdella Hussein.
[323] *Ibid.*
[324] Trimingham, p.199 Lewis, p.35; Mohammed Hassen, p.112.
[325] M. Ishiharo, p.8.

conclude that Mufti Sadeqiyo was one of the venerated descendants of *Sheekana* Husen (Sheikh Husein) of Bale who took part in the dissemination of Islamic religion in the Jimmaa kingdom

The religious intelligence of Mufti Sadeqiyo is highly valued by Muslim Oromo of the area. They said that though there were many religious teachers in the area, none of their teaching was as valuable as the teaching of Sadeqiyo. Regarding this, oral traditions stated that "the teaching of other Muslim scholars brought a little light, just like the light of moon, while the teaching of Mufti Sadeqiyo brought a great light, just like the light of sun". [326] As the shrine of *Abbaa* Arabu, pilgrimage to the shrine of Sadeqiyo is conducted during the annual Muslim festivals like, the *Arafa and Mawlid*.[327]

In the religious practice, *hadra* is regularly held on Thursday. The *hadra* program at Sadeqiyo shrine starts on the Thursday noon and continues all the night. The ritual performance of *hadra* is accompanied with lunch program which is followed by coffee ceremony. Most of the attendants of the program eat their meal on the leaf of *qocco* and others on the plates. According to the informants, the peoples eat food on the green leaf of *qocco* to show their gratitude to Allah for he makes their land green and fertile. The lunch program was followed by coffee ceremony.

As in the case of the ritual performances conducted at the shrine of *Abbaa* Arabu, votive are offered, the hymns in *Afaan Oromo* is sung and *Shubbisaa* (a rhythmic rocking motion) dance is performed by the pilgrims to praise Sadeqiyo, to demonstrate their love, to get his peace and blessing. Moreover, myths about spiritual quality and miraculous acts and life of Mufti Sadeqiyo are also orally narrated. In general, the shrines of Sadeqiyo and *Abbaa* Arabu have similar religious functions.

As already stated, the geographical location of Islamic shrine sites of the kingdom has implications with political and economic centers. Accordingly, the shrine of Mufti Sadeqiyo is located in close proximity with a former market place. This has also important historical implication that shows the relationship of Islamic religion with the local market of the area. To begin with, Islamic religion itself was initially encouraged by the rulers of Gibe states for political and economic motives. For instance, Abbaa Jifaar I invited a number of Muslim clerics

[326] Informants: *Abbaa* Hikam, Sheikh Abdella Hussein.
[327] *Ibid.*

to evangelize freely in his domain in order to attract Muslim traders. Hence, Abbaa Jifaar I embraced Islam for political and economic motives than for religious needs.[328]

In addition to this, the local markets of Jimmaa had both religious and economic significance. According to Yonas, the local markets in the Jimmaa were religiously and economically important areas because of two reasons. Firstly, a number of *ulamas* were settled and preached Islamic faith there. Secondly, a number of Muslim merchants came to the markets from different regions with both economic and religious mission.[329] It is because of this reason that traditions as well as written accounts attribute the introduction of Islam in the Jimmaa kingdom to the Muslim merchants and clerics from different parts of Ethiopia and the Sudan.[330] Thus, the geographical proximity of the shrine of Sadeqiyo with market place can be seen as best illustration for the history of Islamic relation with the commercial activities of the Jimmaa area. Generally, the two Islamic shrines are important histories which help us to understand the interrelationship between religious, political and economic development of Jimmaa area.

In addition to this, the shrines of *Abbaa* Arabu and *Mufti* Sadeqiyo have similar religious value with the shrine of Sheikh Hussein of Bale. According to Jeyllen W. Hussein, the symbolic value of *Annajina* for the Northeast African Muslims is parallel to the significance that Mecca has gained in the eyes of the world Muslims. [331] As *zamzam* (the sacred well inside the ground mosque) of Mecca, the water from *zamzam* of *Abbaa* Arabu of Jimmaa are considered as sacred and used by the Muslims for medicinal purpose. Like the pilgrims of Mecca, peoples conducted pilgrimage to the shrines of *Abbaa* Arabu and *Mufti* Sadeqiyo based on beliefs that the saints have the power to intercede between them and Allah during the life time and after death.[332]

However, the ritual activities conducted at the shrine sites are fiercely opposed by the Salafism and also arguably, shrines is associated with Islamic sect known as Sufism. According to Hussein, Sufism refers to mystical Islamic belief and practice in which Muslims seek to find the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. The Salafi worked towards the reform of existing religious practices, which they perceived as being

[328] Lewis, p.41; Mohammed Hassen Hassen, p.112.
[329] Yonas Seifu, p.6.
[330] Trimingham, pp.198-201; Lewis, p.35.
[331] Jeyllen, p.21.
[332] Informants: sheikh Abdukerim Sherif, *Abbaa* Gomol *Abbaa* Fixa.

mismatched with Islamic orthodoxy. As a result, Salafi started to give way to the oppose rituals and saint veneration. [333] Thus, Salafism in Jimmaa and others areas has been to reform Islam from existing religious rituals and symbols accepted to be unnecessary innovations (bid 'a), and to separate Islamic practice from any connections to local culture.[334] Therefore, the mystical Islam and the reformist Islam have different views towards the customs of venerating Muslim saints and conducting pilgrimage to the shrines. This shows the divergent views of different Islamic sects towards the shrines of Islamic saints. But these practices where still common among the people of the Jimmaa.

According to Abraham, after the spread of Islam, there were some changes and continuities of socio-cultural in Jimmaa. For instance during the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II every new arrival in Jimmaa greeted the members of a house hold with *assamalykum* (peace for all), to which people in the house responded by saying as *wa'alaykum assalam*. This practices of greeting; which started after the spread of Islam completely replaced indigenous Oromo custom of greeting, *nagaa bultanii* (good morning) or *nagaa oltanii* (good evening) shacking each other's hand.[335] According to oral traditions, some of the Islamized Oromo of the south and central parts of Ethiopia, adopted Arabic names and began to consider as descendants of Prophet Muhammad, Allah replaced *Waaqa*, Islam was preached in the Arabic language instead of *Afaan* Oromo. However, in Jimmaa Islam was preached in *Afaan* Oromo and the first name of the people were Oromo origin. For instance, the name of Jimmaa kings from the day of their birth and individual after their marriage, were Oromo names preceded by the tittle '*Abbaa'* that reflects the continuation of indigenous *Gadaa* tittles. Abbaa Jifaar II retained his popularity by keeping the balance between indigenous Oromo socio- cultural values and Islamic culture.[336]

Similarly, the spread of Islam in the kingdom of Jimma was followed by the introduction of Islamic orders and visitation and veneration of tombs, which replaced the Oromo indigenous spirit cult's veneration. Accordingly, the two Islamic shrines of Jimmaa deposited several pre-Islamic cultures of the Oromo people, including traditions of Oromo ecstatic dance (*Shubbisaa)*

[333] Hussein Ahmed,2001,pp.86.
[334] Erlich Haggai, *Saudi Arabia and Ethiopia: Islam, Christianity and Politics Entwined* (London: Lynne Reinner publisher,2007)p.80.
[335] Abraham,p.34.
[336] Informants: Abbaa Cabsaa, Hasan Abaa Garoo.

are continued within the dominant faith.[337] According to Asmarom, there are many similarities between the ritual activities conducted at the shrines and the *Muudaa* ceremony to Abbaa Muudaa, though the former has a clear Islamic implication. The ritual performance at Islamic shrines and *Muudaa* ceremony are similar as both intensively involve prayers, blessing and animal sacrificing.[338] In addition to this, it is also worthy to note that the utilization of coffee for ritual performances at Sadeqiyo's shrine is another element of Oromo indigenous religious practices preserved within the Islamic ritual performances. In relation to this, Cerulli claimed that the indigenous Oromo religion, Waqeffannaa is the pillar of coffee rituals. [339]

Therefore, the two Islamic shrines in Jimmaa is very important to the consolidation of Islam in the region, and their significances in demonstrating the relationship of Islamic religion with the political and economic centers of the Jimmaa state, they have also important values in preserving the pre-Islamic ritual and cultural practices of the Oromo people.

[337] *Ibid.*
[338] Asmarom Lagesse, pp.9-10.
[339] Cerrulli, p.28.

# CONCLUSIONS

During the nineteenth century Islamization was achieved in the kingdom of Jimmaa due to internal and external circumstances highly favorable to embrace this new religion. Nevertheless, it is interesting to point out that the Jimmaa Oromo had long years of contact with Muslim communities before their conversion in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, until the early nineteenth century conversion to Islam could have taken place thanks to the three agents namely merchants, clerics and rulers who strongly worked together and facilitated the process of islamizations.

The history of Islam in the kingdom of Jimmaa, in the nineteenth century, was characterized by several features. On the one hand, contrary to the other Gibe states, the kings of Jimmaa attracted itinerant Muslim clerics. On the other hand, they tried to keep a balance between the other and Islam. The other Gibe states quikly worked to eliminate of indigenous and cultures, to in the name of diffusing of Islam and its consolidation. In Jimmaa, there was a strong relationship between the state and agents of Islamization such as sheikhs either through marriage ties or by other social affairs.

During the reign of Abbaa Jifaar II, different Islamic scholars from Northern and Eastern Ethiopia come to Jimmaa and founded Islamic centers in different parts of the kingdom. This contributed to the consolidation of Islam there. Hence, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Jimmaa was the leading center of Islamic learning in the whole of Oromo inhabited areas. Nevertheless, even after its establishment as a dominant religion, Islam seems to have continued to co-exist with certain features of indigenous religion. In some cases, aspects of the latter are given Islamic appearances, though they essentially remain unchanged. The survival of pre-Islamic practices among the Muslim communities in the Jimmaa and its environments was indeed not something unique. Dualism in religious practices is quite common among Muslims of Ethiopia. The rulers of the kingdom of Jimmaa have retained some features of their indigenous social and religious organizations. Interestingly, the political offices and the state structures in this region remained essentially non-Muslim.

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## LIST OF THE INFORMANTS

| No | Name | Gender | Age | Date of interview | Place | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Abaa Garoo Mohammed Nur. | M | 78 | 22/9/2017 | Jimmaa | He was born and lived in Jimmaa. He knows well the History of Islam in Jimmaa. |
| 2 | Abaa Nagaa Abbaa Foggi | M | 76 | 14/1/2018 | Sanxama | Well versed in the history of the indigenous religion of Machaa in general and Sadachaa of Jimmaa in particular |
| 3 | Abbaa Hakim Abbaa Digaa | M | 65 | 25/11/2017 | Sokorru | He is the descent of Shekota Sadeeqa and waliyi Shaykh Alliyi.Well versed in in the Historyof the introduction of Islam and its orders into kingdom of Jimmaa. |
| 4 | Abbaa Milkii Abbaa Waqqo | M | 45 | 1/9/2017 | Shebee | Knows well the early History of Jimmaa as he was born and lived in Jiren as a farmer for a long time. |
| 5 | Abbaa Faajjii Abbaa Fixaa | M | 63 | 4/10/2017 | Naadaa | Believed to have been decent of Abbaa Rebu Abbaa Jifaar I. He is a Quranic Quranic teacher and well versed of the history of introduction of Islam. |
| 6 | Abbaa Foggii Abaa Jobir | M | 70 | 15/12/2017 | Saqqa Coqorsa | He was among the members of the Diggo royal familiy. Served as Qoroo (Governor) of Saqa. Well versed in History of the Oromo of Jimmaa. |
| 7 | Abbaa GarooMohammad | M | 64 | 17/11/2017 | Jimmaa | Born at Jiren. Has been a farmer. His father was among religious teachers. |

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| 8 | Abbaa Tamaam Abaa Duulaa | M | 76 | 4/12/2017 | Qarsaa | He lived in Jimmaa for A long time. Well versed in the History of the Oromo of Machaa and Jimmaa kingdom. |
| 9 | Abbaa Zinaab Abbaa J amaal | M | 60 | 23/11/2017 | Jimmaa | Well versed in the history of the TR of Macaa in general and sadachaaa of Jimmaa in particular. |
| 10 | Abdulkerim Abbaa Garo | M | 67 | 9/11/2017 | Jimmaa | Commonly Known as Pele, Versed in History of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa. He is close relative of Abbaa Jifaar II as his mother was one of the daughters of Abbaa Dulaa Abbaa Jifaar. |
| 11 | Ato Awol Abaa Fixaa | M | 60 | 20/12/2017 | Shebee | Well versed in the history of the Indigenous Religion of Macaa in general and sadachaaa of Jimmaa in particular |
| 12 | Ato Tafarii Ayanaa | M | 62 | 8/11/2017 | Saqqa | Well versed in the history of Machaa in general and Sadachaaa of Jimmaa in particular |
| 13 | Badradiin Kaliil (Ato) | M | 72 | 7/11/2017 | Sokorru | One of the diggo clan. He knows well about the Immigrant Muslim traders and *Waliiyyis*. |
| 14 | Dasalagn Dantamoo( Ato) | M | 62 | 29/9/2017 | Jimmaa | He lived in Jimmaa town for long period. Well versed of early missionary activities in Jimmaa. |

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| 15 | Getahun Mengistu | M | 68 | 17/10/2017 | Jimmaa | He was a civil servant in Jimmaa.Lived in Jimmaa for long time and well versed of history of Jimmaa kingdom. |
| 16 | Haajjii Mohammed Hajjii Jamaal | | 62 | 13/12/2017 | Deedo | Claimed himself decent of Muslim immigrant from Wollo,Haji Nasirellh. |
| 17 | Haajjii Abbaa Jobir. | | 69 | 30/9/2017 | Qarsaa | Born at Jiren (Masara),Abbaa Jifaar II's grand son whose father was Qadi of Jimmaa |
| 18 | Hajii Abaa Tamaam Abbaa Cabsaa | | 70 | 12/11/2017 | Deedo | Has been serving as the wored*a* islamic council.He is well versed in the history of the introduction of Islam in the Kingdom of Jimmaa. |
| 19 | Hajii Nuradin Hassan | | 61 | 25/9/2017 | Xiroo Afataa | He is Mosqes Imam at Diimtu. Have quranic knowledge as he was educated in Mecca prior and during the Derg. He stayed in Mecca for a long period. He is one of the principal informants about how the Mosques in Mecca were been built and sold. |
| 20 | Hasan Abaa Garoo | | 74 | 9/9/2017 | Manna | Served as a lawer in Jimmaa court. Well versed in the the History of kingdom of Jmma. |
| 21 | Kalifaa | | 43 | 5/10/2017 | Jimma | He is currently a Secretory General for |

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| | Shaykh Ahmed | | | | a | Jimmaa Zone Islamic council. Knows well about the history of the introduction of Islam into Jimmaa. |
| 22 | Sharafadiin Shaykh Muhammad | | 74 | 18/11/2017 | Sokorru | One of the grandson of Haji Umar Adam Nur of Ifat. He knows well the history of introduction of Islam into Jimmaa Tracing it with biography of his grandfather. |
| 23 | Shaykh Mohammed Deliil | | 67 | 13/12/2017 | Sokorru | Lived in Sokoru for a long time. He is one of the grandsons of Haji Mumar Adam Nur of Ifat. |
| 24 | She Mohammed Abbaa Digga | | 37 | 5/12/2017 | Xiroo Afataa | Imam,Munir Mosque |
| 25 | She Abaa Hudaad Hajii Bashuraa | | 70 | 2/12/2017 | Deedo. | Born in Deedo. He claimed that he is a decendent of the immigrant Muslim teachers. |
| 26 | Shaykh Hudad Shekota Mohammed | | 55 | 12/12/2017 | Jimmaa | Chief mosque of awuqaafa. Well versed of the present development of Islam in Jimmaa |
| 27 | Tamaam Abaa Digaa | | 58 | 20/1/2018 | Jimmaa | Has been working in civil service. His father Was close relative of Abbaa Jifaar. Well versed in the history of the kingdom of |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Jimmaa. |
| 28 | Teyib Abbaa Fogii | | 67 | 16/1/2018 | Manna | Born in Manna. Well known in providing crucial information on the introduction of Islam and expansion of Islam in the kingdom of Jimmaa. |
| 29 | Ustaz Ahmed Mohamme d Nur | | 71 | 24/1/2018 | Sanxa maa | Jimmaa zone Islamic council (member) |