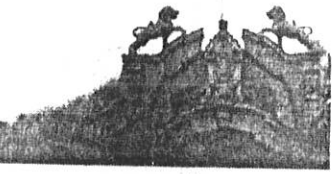


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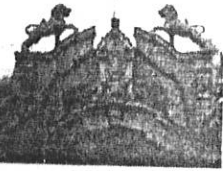
Study of Warra Elemo Qallu Institution
The Case of Inikka Elemo

By Kumela Chala Alaka

June 2010
Addis Ababa

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By

Kumela Chala

Approved by

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20 August 2010

Examiner

Bayleymen Tasew

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20/08/10

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In the course of this study, I was assisted by several members of the community in the study area whom I want to acknowledge for their valuable contributions. Though it is difficult to list down all the names of individuals who participated in this research, it gives me a great pleasure to call some names out of many. This never means I forget the assistance of others. The following individuals were my consultants who gave me their knowledge without seeking any material or monetary advantage in return.

1. Obbo Nagesso Muttal Kesi
2. Obbo Ararsa Muttal Kesi
3. Obbo Naga'a Homa Kesi
4. Obbo Shumi Dirribsa Kesi
5. Obbo Nagasa Turura Homa
6. Obbo Bay'isa Tolasa Garre
7. Obbo Nata'a Turi
8. Obbo Hundessa Muttal Kesi

I would like to extend my heart felt gratitude for their valuable assistance. I am also grateful to Obbo Kumala Fayyisa (the Qallu) for his kindness and invitation to his own residence to spend nights during my data collection periods as one of his close friends.

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Abstract

Historically, the subject of this study, the Qallu institution, was widely used among the Oromo as important religious institution. Its significance as a religious institution, however, declined through time as the Oromo started to adhere to new forms of religious beliefs including Christianity and Islam. Yet, the Qallu institution didn't weather away from the Oromo socio-cultural life. Though its religious significance waned through time, it continued to survive in other dimensions, for instance, as a crucial institution for conflict resolution, magical healing and peace building. It is these surviving dimensions of Qallu institutions and the rituals accompanying them, which became the concern of my study. In order to analyze the dimensions of the Qallu and the accompanying rituals, I selected the Warra Elemo Qallu institution in West Shewa, because this Qallu tradition represents the most untouched in terms of scholarly investigation. Of the Warra Elemo Qallu Institutions which are four in number, this research focuses on the Inikka Elemo Qallu Institution.

In order to obtain the necessary data for my research, overwhelmingly I relied on qualitative method of data gathering. The qualitative data gathering tools employed in the study include interview, participant observation and focus group discussion. Besides, photographic and video graphic methods were used to capture the ritual performances, the scenes (settings), and the participants. All these were corroborated by review of secondary sources.

The finding of this research is that Qallu as an institution among the Macha of West Shewa is still a living institution. In spite of the fact that the people of the area currently adhere to Christian religion, the Qallu still plays an important role in the life of the society without, however, pretending to be a substitute for the two dominant religions. The Qallus especially serve as key mediators in conflict and traditional healers possessing extraordinary power.

The thesis is organized as follows: the 1st chapter deals with the proposal of the study and background. The second and third chapters are about the works of others that are related to this culture, i.e., literature review and conceptual frame work. In this, it is believed that sufficiently enough works have been assessed to serve the purpose. Chapters four to six are the main body parts of the study. In these, the ritual houses, genealogy of the qallus, the rituals, and the social roles of the qallu have been analyzed based on observations and interviews. Both methods were used to analyze the above mentioned points parallel to one another.

The last chapter seven is devoted to summary, conclusion and Oromo glossary. In this, a trial was made to sum up important points and the outcome of the study. The qallu is the most important person in the society and his institution serves the society at best. The religions part gives people spiritual satisfaction. The social roles maintain peace among the society and the individuals. It preserves Oromo culture. It may also bring unity among the Oromo. So, it may be concluded that it is a living culture that deserves to be maintained.

Glossary of Oromo Words

arfaasaa - *Autumn*

abbaa - *father, owner*

ayyaana – *Waqqa's creative activity in any creature special agents of Waqa, invisible part of man his personality good luck and guardian of any creature of Waqa.*

aayyoo- *mother, old woman*

angafa- *senior*

afuura- *breathe*

ayyaana abbaa- *father's ayyana, Nabi (Waqqa)*

bodee - *spear*

birraa- *springs*

bona- *summer, sunny days*

bofa muata- *snake that causes muata cult*

boora - *yellow, horse of Yellowish colour*

boorana- *father of Oromo, people considered to be pure Oromo descent*

buddeena - *food*

caaccuu- *female ayyaana's ritual symbol*

coqorsa- *grass*

dalaga- *ritual ceremony every 14-days.*

dalagaa- *participants of the dalaga ceremony.*

dibbee- *drum*

daanyii - *ritual assistant, member of jarsumma*

dullacha- *cow(literally, old cow)*

dhugaa- *truth*

dhalootaa- *birth, nature, the incoming Gada official*

fit't'ayii- *ritual assistant, singer of the song of ayyana (dalaga)*

gindillaa- *vestibule*

gooftaa- *lord*

giiftii - *lady*

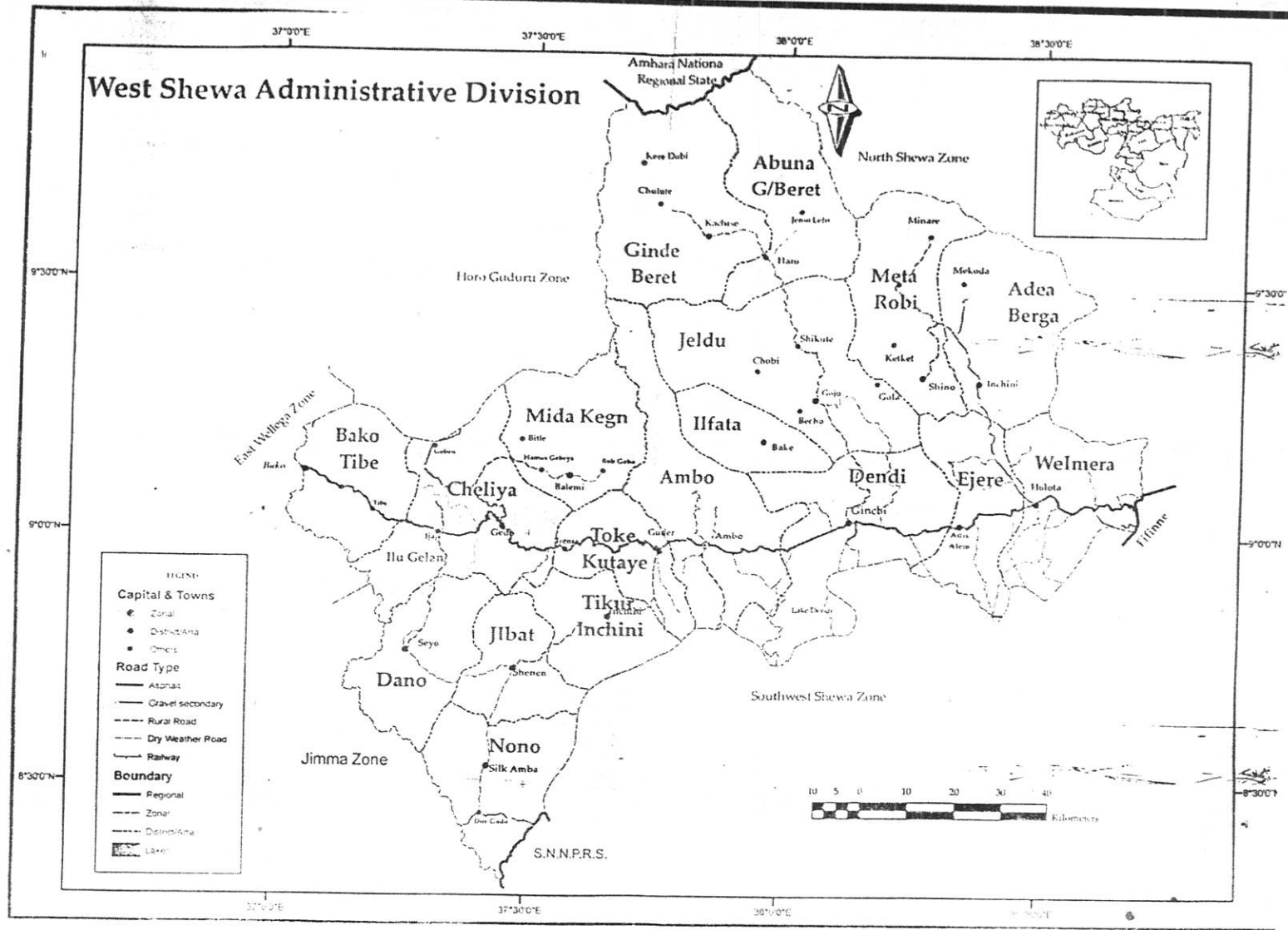
gorro - *separating wall of the galma*

guddifacha- *adoption*

ganna- *rainy season*
galma- *ritual house*
gaadidduu- *shadow, ritual impurity for sexual intercourse*
guulaa- *a man participated in the 40-year Gada cycle.*
hammachiisaa- *name giving*
hurruuba- *ritual dance for ayyana*
haadha- *mother*
hoolaa- *sheep*
irreessa- *greeting leaf or grass for ayyana*
irreessa fuudha- *bringing irreessa, the first step of dalaga*
iftuu - *ring worn by qallu on fingers*
iroo- *ring worn by qallu on wrist*
ibsaa - *a bunch of wood for annual fire*
jawwee- *serpent*
jaarsummaa - *system of traditional arbitration*
jaarsa araaraa- *elders take part in arbitration*
jaaloo- *large pot used for boiling porridge*
kenna- *gift for ayyana*
korma- *bull*
kora- *unity, promise*
laguu- *purity rule*
lammii- *lineage*
maqaa - *name*
marqaa- *porridge*
midhaan- *grain*
muyet- *Guraghe special cult that possess spontaneously*
muata- *special type of ayyana usually possessing women spontaneously*
masara- *compound of galma*
masqala- *thanksgiving*
madabii- *a stage for the qallu to sit on during the female ayyana's ceremony.*
muuda- *anointment*

Nabi- *father's ayyana (or Waaqa)*
noolee- *old ladies devoted to the ayyana*
nagaa- *peace*
ooda- *abstinence*
qaalluu- *a ritual expert who has a special relationship to one or more ayyanas*
qaallicha- *a name used by non-Oromos (especially, the Christians) to address qallu*
qulqulluu- *pure*
qilt'uu- *sycamore*
qehee- *homestead*
re'ee- *goat*
saqalaa- *bed for the qallu to sit on during the male ayyana's ritual ceremony.*
saantala- *tambourine used by the qallu.*
seera- *law*
torbii bu'uu- *rounding seven times*
utubaa- *pillar*
ujuba- *grave*
ulmaa- *period of abstinence from outside situations.*
warra- *family, wife*
Waaqa - *God.*
wagii- *custom*

West Shewa Administrative Division



9

VI

Table of Contents

Content	Page
Acknowledgement	1
Abstract	2
Glossary of Oromo words	3
Map	6
Content	7

Chapter One

General Background

1.1. Brief Overview of the Study Community	8
1.1.2. The Language	9
1.2. Statement of the Problem	10
1.3. Objectives of the study:	11
1.3.1 General Objective:	11
1.3.2. Specific Objectives:	11
1.4. Methods and Tools of the Research	12
1.5. The Scope of the Study	13
1.6. Significance of the Study	13

Chapter Two

Review of the Related Literature and Conceptual Framework	14
2.1. Literature Review	14
2.2 Conceptual Framework	21
2.2.1 The Concept of Waaqa	21
2.2.2 The Concept of Ayyaana	22
2.2.3 Qallu and Qallu Institution	23
2.2.4 Evil Ayyana	24

Chapter Three

The Qallu Institution among the Oromo Society.....	26
3. General Overview.....	26

Chapter Four

Study of Qallu Institution of Warra Elemo: The case of Inikka Elemo	29
4.1 Description of the Elemo Family genealogy	29
4.2. Rule of Succession among the Qallu.....	32
4.3 Elemo's Successor Qallus and their Ritual Houses.....	33
4.4. The Qallu Institution of Inikka Elemo	35
4.5 Ritual Houses.....	36
4.6Lagu(Taboo).....	40

Chapter Five

Analysis of Qallu Rituals	43
5.1 A Fortnight Ritual of the Inikka Family Qallu	43
5.2Objects of Qallu Rituals.....	49
5.3 Annual Rituals	51
5.4 Ulma.....	54
5.5 Muata	55

Chapter Six

6. The Social Roles of Qallu	57
------------------------------------	----

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion	64
7.1 Summary and Conclusion.....	64
Bibliography.....	67

Appendix

Chapter Three

The Qallu Institution among the Oromo Society.....	26
3. General Overview.....	26

Chapter Four

Study of Qallu Institution of Warra Elemo: The case of Inikka Elemo	29
4.1 Description of the Elemo Family genealogy	29
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4.3 Elemo's Successor Qallus and their Ritual Houses.....	33
4.4. The Qallu Institution of Inikka Elemo	35
4.5 Ritual Houses.....	36
4.6Lagu(Taboo).....	40

Chapter Five

Analysis of Qallu Rituals	43
5.1 A Fortnight Ritual of the Inikka Family Qallu	43
5.2Objects of Qallu Rituals.....	49
5.3 Annual Rituals	51
5.4 Ulma.....	54
5.5 Muata	55

Chapter Six

6. The Social Roles of Qallu	57
------------------------------------	----

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion	64
7.1 Summary and Conclusion.....	64
Bibliography.....	67

Appendix

Chapter One

General Background

1.1. Brief Overview of the Study Community

The Oromo are one of the most numerous peoples of Ethiopia living in Eastern, western, southern, Northern and central parts of the country neighboring several other nationalities. They are spread in an area extending from Tigray in the north to northern Kenya to the south, and from Wallagga in the west to Harar in the east with Addis Ababa in the intersection of the two axes (Claude Sumner 1995: 30).

Of the different Oromo regional groups, the Borana live in the southern most part of Ethiopia and northern part of Kenya. To the north west of Borana live the Gujii. Gujii is not one tribe as the Borana. They are divided into four tribes: Alabdu, Uraga, Mati and Hoku (Knutsson, 1967:31). Neighbouring Guji the Arsi Oromo inhabit a large area extending from the boundary of Harar (Awash River) to the region inhabited by the Shawa Oromos (Macha and Tulama).

The other group of the Oromo is the eastern one, which we can classify as Afran Qaloo or Harar Oromos. Harar Oromos are mainly peasants, perhaps, that is why they were given the name 'Qottuu' which means land tillers. The ones that have inhabited in Wollo and Tigray are Islamized Wollo Oromos and the Rayya or as some call them Azebo. Historically, Wollo Oromos depended on agriculture while the Rayya or Azebo were herds -men (Knutsson, 1967: 31).

The largest part of Shawa is populated by the Oromo belonging to the Macha and Tulama sub ethnic groups. Western Shawa, Jimma, Wallagga and Illuabbabor are populated by the Macha Oromo with some other neighboring nationalities.

During their long history, the Oromo developed their own cultural, social and political system known as the Gadaa system. It is a uniquely democratic, political and social

institution that governed the life of every individual in the society from birth to death (Gadaa Malbaa, 1988). But according to H.S. Lewis (1965:26), ecology, time and interaction with other peoples and cultures led to great diversity among Oromo groups, especially, with regard to political organization and religion.

Traditionally, leadership in the Oromo was derived from the Gadaa, in which one group of the five parties serve only for eight years and transfer power to the succeeding party group members. Gadaa is an age- set system in which five organized parties come to power cyclically in eight years.

Many scholars are concerned with the origin of the Oromo people. For instance; Malbaa (1988:4) states the following as the home of the Oromo people: "The Kushitic speakers have inhabited north-eastern and East Africa for as long recorded history. The land of Kush, Nubia or the ancient Ethiopia in middle and lower Nile is the home of the Kushitic speakers". Malbaa adds, "it was most probably from there that they subsequently dispersed and became differentiated into separate linguistic and cultural groups". According to Malbaa, the Oromo are indigenous to east Africa from unknown time. Lewis (1965:20), explaining the distribution of the Kush languages speakers over Ethiopia, strengthens what Malbaa (1988:4) says, and concludes that Kushitic speaking peoples have lived in this area (Ethiopia) for a long time. Currently, the Oromo are organized as a self-governing regional state under the Federal Republic of Ethiopia in zonal and sub-zonal administrative regions. These regions include Shewa, Wallagga, Iluabababora, Arsi, Bale, Jimma and Hararghe.

1.1.2. The Language

The Oromo speak a language known as Afaan Oromo, which is common for all Oromos living in Ethiopia and abroad. The Oromo of Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya speak a language of the eastern branch of the Kushitic language family, a sub-group of the Afro Asiatic language family (H.S. Lewis, 1965:19). It is very closely related to Konso, with more than 50% of the words in common. It is also closely related to Somali and distantly

related to Afar and Saho, according to Malbaa (1988:9). Afan Oromo is among the most widely spoken languages of Africa. It is used as a lingua franca in most parts of Ethiopia except in the northern part of the country. It is a language spoken in common by members of many of the nationalities like Harari, Anyuwak, Barta, Sidama, Gurage, etc. who are neighbors to Oromo (Malbaa).

The Oromo dialects fall into three large groups: Western (including Wallagga), Eastern (including Harar), and southern (e.g. Borana) with a large transitional area in the center (Shawa) (Sumner, 1995:32). But according to a more recent study, the Oromo dialects fall into five categories: Macha, Tulama, Itu, Arsi and Borana (Wasane Basha, 2003:7-8); but basic communication is possible between very distant away dialects.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Knuttsen (1967), on the Macha society, Asmärom (1973) on the Borana Oromo, Gammachu (1998) on the problems that arise in the understanding of the Oromo culture, Gamta (1990) on the study of the belief system of Oromo in general, De salviac (1901, as translated by Qanno, 2008) contributed to the Oromo studies by assessing the various aspects of Ormo history and culture including their belief system. Concerning the belief system, they touched upon the general aspects of rituals related to qallu, and more or less congruently defined the concepts of Ayyana and Waq'a. But, the current study of Elemo Dulle and its Qallu Institution had not been directly the focus of their studies. The general features of qallu institution as studied by the above mentioned scholars might be similar; the details vary significantly according to the context. Time can also be one factor, since culture is dynamic. So, since the Elemo Dulle family's Qallu institution and its specific features had never been the subject of serious scholarly investigation, though deserves proper treatment, the current work serves to fill this gap. Moreover, studies so far conducted concerning Qallu institution besides lack of depth, did not aim at proper documentation and preservation of the various valuable aspects of cultural features associated to this institution. Thus, the current study tries to redress these deficiencies and imbalance of treatment. Mainly, however, it is a conviction that these cultural features should be documented so as to ensure their passage as valuable cultural heritages to the

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next generation that motivated this study. In the course of the current study, the researcher intends to answer the following research questions:

1. What is Qallu institution and what social roles does it play?
2. What are the concepts of Waq'a and Ayyana in relation to the Qallu institution and to the believers?
3. Is the Qallu ceremony performed by Elemo Dulle family of persistent character? If yes, what are its defining features, which need to be documented and preserved?
4. Which segment of the local community participates in the ritual ceremony?
5. What are the environmental and social settings in which Qallu ceremony takes place? Who are the main actors and the audience?
6. What is the importance of this belief at local levels?
7. What does it contribute to the general knowledge of culture?
8. Is it endangered? If yes, how can we preserve it?
9. What is the attitude of the local people towards the Q'allu institution?
10. Is it a culture to be maintained?

1.3. Objectives of the study:

1.3.1 General Objective: The main objective of this study is to collect data related to Elemo Dulle family's Qallu institution, and contextually document performance acts or rituals related to it, analyze, and make the data gathered during the research amenable for proper preservation.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives:

1. Analyze the social and organizational structure of the institution under study;
2. Examine how the Qallu institution functions in the community;
3. Study the role of Qallu in mitigating some social problems;
4. Describe the entire ritual processes associated with Qallu spiritual ceremony;
5. Examine and document the environmental and social settings in which Qallu spiritual ceremony takes place;

6.Document the scene, the actual performance, audiences, and accompanying material culture of Qallu ceremony;

1.4. Methods and Tools of the Research.

This thesis work largely depended on qualitative forms of data gathering and interpretation. The necessary information is generated by review of related literature and empirical observation in the field. Basically, the above mentioned institution and the qallu himself constitute the main source of information. Hence, in this study, I used the following methods and techniques of data gathering:

1. **Observation:** My observation was made from February,20,2010 to the end March,2010.It included the rituals,the accompanying ritual objects and the daily lives of the surrounding people at the place known as Wachan,where the Inikka Elemo Qallu Institution is found.I also participated in the rituals six times in forty days,dined and spent nights with the participants.Much of my time was devoted to attending the arbitration processes taking place around the social office of the Qallu known as Yabbo.This helped me much in introducing my self to the culture.

2. **Interview:** In collecting data for this thesis work I used an open-ended-interview.This was done simultaneously during observation.The selection of informants was based on knowledge.Elders recommendations were of great importance to do this task.I totally interviewed 15 individuals of different ages and sex,even if my main informants were 8.This includes adolescent ages (13-15),two women (age: 35-40) and 8 men of ages 42-73.I interviewed them,sometimes,one by one and the other time in groups of three.This helped me to clear confusions.

3. Recording texts and analyzing using the following softwares

- audacity for sound editing
- praat for transcription
- *_elan for annotation*

1.5. The Scope of the Study

This study mainly focuses on the rituals, the accompanying material objects and the social roles of Inikka Elemo Qallu Institution which is one of the family members of Warra Elemo Qallu Institution.

1.6. Significance of the Study

- 1) Currently, as the policy of the government supports the development of indigenous cultures, this study can create awareness among the people and cultural bureaus. It is also assumed that the outcome of this study will serve as useful reference for researchers in the area.
- 2) It can be used for preparing reading and text materials for students.
- 3) It adds knowledge to the study of culture.

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Chapter Two

Review of the Related Literature and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Literature Review

A brief review of the existing literature indicates that studies exclusively dedicated to Qallu institution are very much scarce. Qallu institution is often discussed in combination with other issues and was seldom studied as an independent theme.

This could probably be explained in terms of the complexity of the Oromo Gada system which constitutes a mega system that embraces the entire Oromo life philosophy. Thus, here I would like to mention only some of the authors who made at least a passing reference to Qallu institution while focusing on other issues.

Among them, was Asmerom Leggese (1973:44), who studied the Gadaa system of the Borana Oromo and made reference to the Qallu institutions. He explains that the Qallu are the most senior men in the system and ritual leaders of the moieties. Besides all major conflicts between clans may be taken to them for adjudication in which he explained the position of the Qallu and roles played in the societies. Furthermore, Asmerom explains the political and religious roles and the power of the traditional Qallu in the Oromo of Borana as follows: "The Qallu villages are the spiritual centers around which political debate is organized. The principal power of the Qallu lies in his right to elect the political (Gadaa) leaders who govern Borana for eight-year periods. This clearly indicates that the traditional religion of the Borana is interlinked with politics and social roles.

The other points Asmerom (1973) tells us in his sub-title Qallu and Gada are the activities of the Qallu linking up with the Gada system. These are the Muda ceremony performed by the Gada class in power to honor the Qallu, and the lallabaa ceremony in which Qallu organizes and oversees the election of Gadaa leaders. Here, besides facilitating and supervising the election process in Gadaa, he was used to bless the lallaba or the proclamation of the law by the incoming Gadaa officials once in eight years among the Borana. And this seems to have provided the proclamation a spiritual touch.

Gamta (1990) gives the concept of ayyana as 'God's creative power manifesting itself through His creatures. According to him, he is both the creator and His creation. This seems to be ayyana is part of Waaqa (God) and at the same time part of waaqa's creation.

Claude Sumner (1995: 33), on his part gives definitions and concepts of the Oromo interpretation of the superhuman: Waaqa and ayyana. Waaqa is Sky and/or God. According to him, the traditional divinity is, both the same to Knutsson's (1967) definition of the two concepts Waaqa and ayyana, but he gave clarification on the difference in meaning of the ayyana depending on contexts.

Gammachu Magarsaa (1998: 43-44) stresses the problems that arise in the understanding of the Oromo culture, particularly, in terms of religious practices. His points in this case are the whole and parts of the culture. He argues that describing the whole without analyzing the parts leads to confusion. According to him, at the highest level of abstraction, ayyana is that, by which and/or through which waaqa (equivalently God) creates everything in the universe. In everyday life, however, ayyana is a sort of spirit which is possessed by the Qallu, and is often associated with evil spirits than the almighty God (Waaqa in this context).

Zerihun Dodu (2001) in his M.A Thesis defined both 'ayyaana' and wuqabi as spirits. He used the terms qallicha and qallitti without mentioning the term 'qallu'. In this, he did not tell the difference between the Qallu and qallicha/qallitti. But he states that the central aim of the cult is curing illnesses or misfortunes and actively participating in organizing the social/community life. Here, nothing has been touched about the equivalence of the terms ayyaana and wuqabi, and the appropriateness of the usage of the terms of qallicha and qallitti.

Father Martial De salviac (1901, cited in Qanno, 2008: 3) wrote the depth of the faith of the Oromo in Waaqa, that he calls the fundamental belief of the Oromo, as follows: 'The

Oromo are not fetishists. They believe in Waaqa Tokko, unique universal creator and master'. De salviac's discussion is no more different from others (e.g. knutsson, Bartels) in concepts. Similar evidence has been preserved by Almeida (1628-46, as stated in Malbaa, 1988: 19) as follows:

'The Gallas (Oromos) are neither Christians nor heathens, for they have no idols to worship". This clearly strengthens De salviac's witness about the fundamental belief of the Oromo long ago.

Bartels (1990:89) presented the definition and concept of waaqa in a similar way to others (e.g. Gada Malbaa, 1988 and knutsson, 1967). But interestingly, he uses sayings and proverbs to explain the concepts. For instance, as he explains the dependence of the Oromo on Waaqa, he used the following proverbs: ho

Mana Waaq ijaaretu ijaarama- *a use that is built by Waaqa will be completed*

Kan beela fidu Waaqa- *it is Waaqa who brings hunger* it is al

Kan quufa fidus Waaqa- *so Waaqa who brings plenty/satisfaction*

Kan Waaqa abdate hin daaru- *one who trusts in Waaqa will not go naked*

Kan Waaqa abdate hindhabu- *one who trusts in Waaqa will not suffer from lack anything*

Lambert Bartels uses the native language (Afaan Oromo) at many places to explain concepts, which makes understanding easier. Besides, he further discusses the non-equivalence of Oromo 'Waaqa' to the English word 'God' because the Oromo Waaqa, as he says, comprises more than the supreme being, creator and ruler of the universe in the Western sense. He prefers to define Waaqa as divinity, a kind of nature or existence.

Bartels explains concepts convincingly using evidences he collected from the Macha. Some of the concepts in reference to the ayyana are the following.

Evel ayyana' (ayyana hamaa), as he says, is a superhuman being (above man) but quite different from the true ayyana. These are not 'something of Waaqa', but rather seen as amoral being acting only in regard to people whom Waaqa had withdrawn. A similar explanation was given by Knutsson that Waaqa uses evil ayyanas to punish those who

break the rule of dhugaa, truth. According to Bartels, conceptually evil ayyana and devil are the same. But the latter came into the Macha with Muslims and Christians. He presents what an old man of Oromo told him during his interviews: (1990, p: 120).

“The Satan came to our country with Christianity. Before, there were no seet’ana, believe me”. Evil ayyana can be associated with seet’ana even if they were basically (in origin) not the same, but the word ayyana is ‘something of Waaqa’ according to Bartels.

The other concept Bartels refers to is the term “ Maaram”. Maaram is the divinity of Mother hood’ He associates Maaram to Ateete as Ateete is also the mother of fertility even if the eastern Macha people tell that Ateete and Maaram are different divinities of motherhood.

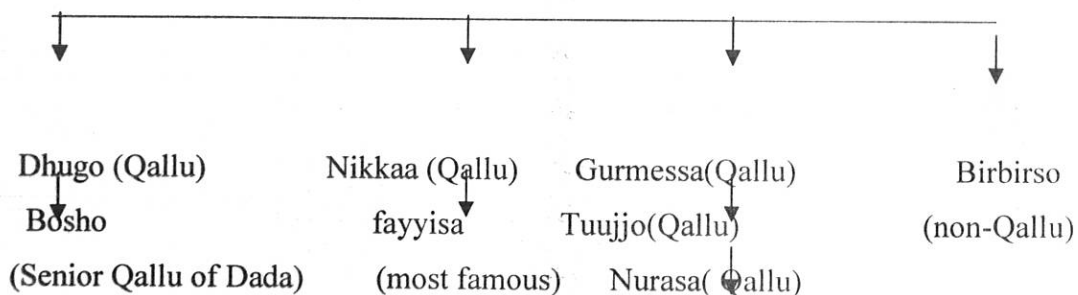
A pamphlet annually printed (Irreecha or Irreessa) by the cultural Bureau of Oromia (2002: 2) is introducing one of the popular ritual celebrations of the Oromo, known as Irreecha. Irreecha is a thanksgiving annual celebration taken place at a chosen place. The choosers are Qallus, the leaders of the Oromo religion, known as Waaqeffannaa. ‘Waaq- means approximately equivalent to the English word ‘God’. It is a short form of waaqayyoo. This celebration, according to the pamphlet and other source, started in ancient time by the people of the Nile Valley Cushites. The top of mountains, rivers and lakes are preferred for the celebration. The reason why the top of the mountains is chosen is that because during the dry seasons people pray to God for rain and the rain giving clouds are collected at the top of mountains. In September the places of the celebration are at river banks and lakes for that sun light and flowers are found at these places. This time, the Oromo give thanks to Waaqa for the change of the season ganna (winter) usually taken to be ‘dark’ to a pleasant month (September) which is sunny and flowery. Knutsson (1967: :65), makes distinction between the term Qallu and qallicha or qallitti. He says, ‘Qallu always designated the few traditional ‘high priests’ while qallicha represents a mainly anti-social or at least anti-traditional, ritual role. He continues to say, genealogically, a ‘great’ Qallu is regarded as the most senior person in his lineage and clan. It is beneath the dignity of a great Qallu to ask his ritual clients for gifts or payment while a qallicha however, is notorious for extracting remuneration by threats. But in the

Macha, as every native person knows the wealth accumulated by Qallus is what people bring him in the form of gifts known as galcha.

The other phenomenon in touch with knutsson is the muwaata cult associated with female members. He has not mentioned the origin of it but he tells us that it is found in both Guragheland and the Macha. In Guraghe, it is called ‘muyet’. Takkele Tadese (2004: 95), gives more explanation of muyet of guraghe in another issue: “Among the Guraghe, there is a certain kind of clandestine organization. The organization is said to be a response to a demand of a certain goddess called muyet”. When the members are possessed by this goddess, they automatically begin to speak in an unknown language spoken only among them. It is spoken only when they are possessed by the muyet. Takkele, further, tells that after possession, the muyet dance, and sing around the village with a bunch of thorny branches of some bush held high up above the head while knutsson say nothing about the performance of the Oromo muwaata.

Knutssou (1967: 38) also studied the chief Qallus of the ‘Dada clan.’ He puts the Elemo Qallus in charts as follows:

Elemo Dulle (the first Qallu)



Dada clan of the Macha society is one of the numerous peoples of Macha who trace their genealogy to Macha; but Knutsson has not traced them to Macha taken to be the father of all Macha society.

It is surprising that the Qallu institution in its present form is a relatively late phenomenon. For instance the clan Qallu in the Sullo clan of Macha represents the fourth generation of Qallus of the clan. In the Abebe clain, only the falthers and grandfathers generations in the lineage of the present Qallu are reported to have been Qallus. The

situation is the same in Gamo and Dada clans of Macha (Knutsson, 1967). Knutsson explained the recent phenomenon of the Qallu institution in its present form. But the situation of the earlier Qallus has not been touched upon in depth here.

Asaffa Jalata (1998:35-37) explains the Oromo belief system for his topic civil and political culture. He says, Waaqa, the creator of the Oromo, regulates their existence and functions in a balanced way. Quoting kassam, jalata continues: 'Waaqa, whilst being a monotheistic God, is not only a personal and intelligent God who directs the world from above. He is also the divine principle that controls everything from within...' This was presented by Jalata as an image of creation that has important consequences for the Oromo vision of the universe as a whole.

According to Jalata (1998), in the Oromo world view, there are three Oromo concepts to explain the organization and interconnection of human, spiritual and physical worlds: 'ayyana (spirit), uumaa (nature) and safuu (moral order). He adds that through ayyana, Waaqa created human and physical worlds and through ayyana these physical worlds are also interconnected to their creator. Further, through each person's ayyana Waaqa creatively acts in the person's life. Uuma includes everything created by Waaqa, including ayyana. A moral and ethical code that Oromos use to differentiate bad from good and wrong from right is called safuu (Jalata)

According to Jalata(1998), the original Qallu (religious leader) was descended from heaven. A Qallu is thought to possess sacred characteristics that enable him to act as intermediary between the people and Waaqa (Kelly, as stated in Jalata, 1998). 'The qallu had no administrative powers but could bless or withhold blessings from Gada leadership, and had an extraordinary power to curse anyone who threatened the well-being of the entire society by deviating from waaqa's order.' These statements seem to explain the role of a traditional qallu in relation to the Gadaa system in which the possession of ayyana by the Qallu was non-existent.

Jalata (1998) also explains the criteria for being a 'Qallu' and 'abbaamuudaa'. 'Criteria for being a Qallu included seniority in lineage, respectability, expertise in the ritual practices (i.e. ritual and moral cleanliness), respect for cultural taboos, sound economic status and other leadership qualities. And the leader of all Oromo Qallus was abbaamuudaa, father of anointment, who was considered to be the spiritual leader and

prophet of original Oromo religion'. Here Jalata clearly stated the original religion of the Oromo, which is, usually misinterpreted as possession of evil spirits by non-Oromos.

Bartels (1990: 126) defines Qallu as follows: 'Qallu are pagan ritual experts who made their appearance on the scene as a reaction to Christianity'. He also needs that 'to enforce their position they adopted certain Christian elements in to their cult'. But he didn't present what Christian elements have been adopted except he gives a reference book of Knutsson (1967).

Bartels (1990) gave a complete idea of what Maaram is: 'Maaram is not Waaqa'. She doesn't create a child in the women's womb. But, after Waaqa has given the child, everything is in Maarams hands. According to the belief, Maaram can ask Waaqa what ever she needs and get a positive response.

Bartels (1990) states that the Macha do not have myths about the creation of the world as we find them e.g. in the Bible. As him, when they speak of the beginning of time the world and even man himself are already in existence. However, there is a myth about the origin of the Oromo (Salgan Borana) discussed in depth in Waaqeffannaa (2002, Vol. 3: 23).

Craig Calhoun (2002) discusses about the complex meanings of rituals, especially when shared within groups and related to basic themes of group culture. He adds, the study of rituals is at the heart of much anthropological research and, like so many key terms resist strict definition. He further argues that ritual constitutes the basic mechanism and expression of social solidarity.

Waaqeffannaa(2003, onko.05, p, 33) describes the process of Muuda ceremony in one of the Oromo thanksgiving ceremony, Irreechaa. 'The people are gathered, leaders of the religion and elders come with chaachu and kallacha. A korma, bull is brought for sacrifice (to be slaughtered). The Abbaa Muuda, religious leader starts to anoint inserting green grass in butter from the forehead of the bull to its tail three times'. The name of Abbaa Muudaa has been derived from the meaning of the muuda which means 'to anoint'. Here, the magazine doesn't describe why the ritual objects are brought to the ceremonial place.

Mohammed Hasen (1990) defines qallu as, the spiritual leader of Oromo traditio He further explains what a qallu is using myths. According to him, the first qallu was of divine origin, i.e, fell from the sky. According to another myth, he explains, the qallu was the eldest son of Oromo. Therefore, as the eldest son of all Oromo, the national myth confers upon him the title of the father, the source of customs and traditions, the prophet of the nation, who guarded the laws of waqa, and their interpretation

As could be seen from the above brief review the study of qallu institution has never been an independent inquiry. Rather it occupied an auxiliny status being submerged to mere clarification of certain rituals or spirit possessions like ayyaana. Moreover the

content of qallu institution is shrouded in mystery: sometimes misinterpreted and other times outrightly neglected. Despite this, I think that as an important constituent element of Oromo culture this institution should be studied independently. Studies should uncover its valuable aspects which are often overshadowed by misinterpretations. Thus, this thesis work intends to throw light on the obscure side of the qallu institution by focusing on its social significance.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 The Concept of Waaqa

The meaning of Waaqa comprises more than the meaning of ‘God’ in the Western sense. Waaqa includes countless particular manifestations in this world, particularizations of his creative work which are conceived as beings. Hence, the word ‘divinity’ will often be a better translation than ‘God’ (Bartels, 1990: 89).

The Oromo Waaqa is one and the same for all. He is the creator of everything, source of all life, omnipresent (or present everywhere), infinite (or boundless or endless) and incomprehensible (Waaqaeffana, 2003:16).

Waaqa’s creative and ordering activity manifests itself in all things. It manifests itself in the specific characteristics of man in general, of every species of plants and every species of animals. It is manifested also in the individual characteristics of every man , of each plant and each animal taken singly (Bartels 1990: 89).

As the Supreme Being, Waaqa is taken to be the source of all life, i.e, giving life is reserved to Him alone. The Macha visualize that Waaqa exists in the world every

time. This is expressed by Bartels (1990: 89) as, 'Waaqa is as much of this world as the vault of the sky'. But this seems to mean, Waaqa is not the vault of the sky.

Bartels (1990), states the absence of myths regarding the creation of the world as it is found e.g in the Bible. When the Macha speak of the beginning of time of the world, even man himself are already in existence.

To Macha Waaqa is invisible to man, not the vault of the sky but rather the Supreme Being. As Waaqumaa Toleeraa (informant of Bartels,p.92) put it:

"We do not see waaqa, we only see his works"

Macha believes that all life belongs to Waaqa and man is not free (allowed) to use everything created by Waaqa. However, (according to Bartels)' the animals and plants they kill for food were blessed for them by Waaqa'

The following examples may show the difference between a) Waaqa as the vault of the sky' and b) 'Waaqa as the Supreme Being from the contexts.

a) Waaqa roobaa____ rain containing (cloudy) sky

Waaqa gurraacha_dark sky

Sabbata waaqaa- rain bow

b) Waaqa hunda uume –Waaqa, who created all

Waaqa tu beeka –Waaqa knows .

Hojiin Waaqaa hinbeekamu- the works of Waaqa is unknown .

The dependence of the Oromo (Macha) on Waaqa is expressed in their everyday lives i.e, in proverbs and sayings, songs, tales, rituals, etc. When one calls the name of 'Waaqa' from contexts, we can easily distinguish the message whether it is associated with the physical Waaqa (Sky) or the vault of the sky) or the Supreme Beings.

2.2.2 The Concept of Ayyaana

For the Oromo divinity is one. It includes the super-human quality in its entirety and in all its manifestations. Nevertheless, much of the contact between man and the supra-human takes place through the cult of special divine agents'. The general name for these is ayyaana (Knutsson, 1967: 53).

According to Bartels, Waaqa's creative and ordering activity manifests itself in all things: in man, in plants and in animals, and in each man, each plant and each animal

taken singly. This Waaqa's creative activity is known as ayyaana. These ayyaana may be personalized, feared and at times, invoked, but in spite of this appearance of multiplicity each one is also seen ultimately as a manifestation to the one divinity. Both Knutsson and Bartels explain the concept in the same way.

The concept of ayyaana may be categorized depending on contexts. The explanations below, basically depend on Knusson (1967:53)

- a) Ayyaana has in part the meaning of divine being. Some ayyaana can possess men or as the expression in the Oromo is, ayyanni itti bu'a , ayyaana descends upon him.
- b) Ayyaana refers to man's quality and the cause of this quality. Ayyaana qaba, has ayyaana, refers to his quality in character or personality .
- c) Ayyaana abbaa, father's ayyaana, is known as Nabi and he is the protector or the guardian of the individual. The members of the family as a group, the clan and the Oromo as a whole, all have ayyaaba abba , their guardian.
- d) Ayyaan qaba, has ayyaana, also refers to luck or good fortune. This is the same as saying that the man is successful.
- e) Ayyaaana also means festival day and each day in the lunar month calendar is thought to be under the influence of an ayyaana, which makes the day favorable or unfavorable for various undertakings.

2.2.3 Qallu and Qallu Institution

A Qallu may be a man or a woman, but usually a man. The word qallu can be used for both masculine and feminine. The qallu's senior wife is addressed as gifti, the lady. She is the closest helper of her husband during the rituals without being a Qallu in a real sense.

The term qallu is found in all Oromoland. The terms qallicha and qallitti are also used by non-Oromos, especially by the Orthodox Church believers to address the qallu. Qallicha and qallitii are used for both masculine and feminine respectively. But no one uses these terms in the native Oromo people because they lack respect.

In all the Oromo regions, galma is the common word for ritual houses, and in Macha today, the word stands for the qallu's ritual house. In Macha, the qallu usually has two galmas: one for the female ayyaana and one for the male ayyaana.

In Macha society, the popular qallus have big ritual halls accommodating large number of participants during the ritual time. The ritual ceremonies regularly take place every two weeks or one month.

Nowadays, there are people of different ages serving qallu institutions for different reasons. For instance the popular qallu institution, the Elemo qallu institution is said to have more than 300 servants in his galmas found at several places. These servants are not salaried but fed and clothed by the Qallu. They include children, young boys, adults and old men, including both sexes. All are assigned to do certain works according to their capacities. For instance, children are assigned in doing easy works such as transporting food equipments around the dining halls, bringing water for hand washing, and messengers for the Qallu (big ones). Women are assigned in the kitchens and helpers of the gifiti, the wife of the Qallu. The male adults are used for guarding the Masara, compound, body guards of the Qallu and the wise ones as advisors. The reason why these individuals do these type of work is that the fear of the ayyaana of the Qallu. The tragic thing is that the children in the institution are not sent to schools because they are seen as the properties of the ayyaana. For every measure the servants must get permission from the ayyaana during the ritual ceremony, when the ayyaana is said to descend.

2.2.5 Evil Ayyana

The evil ayyanas belong to the superhuman world, they are more than human, but at same time they are inhuman. Ayyanas are like Waaqa in power but unlike him because of their amoral quality (Knutsson, 1967:55). These evil ayyana can be used by Waaqa to punish man when he breaks the rules of dhugaa, truth and chubbuu, sin. These evil ayyana are usually called seet'ana, but not in the Christian conceptions of the Devil.

They are harmful to men. They frighten and hurt, but they can be persuaded and calmed with appropriate respect and necessary ritual ceremonies, especially prepared for him. In the Christian conceptions of the Devil, there is no as such persuading and calming or correcting the Devil to be good to man. But, if the devil ayyanas are not persuaded and calmed with appropriate rituals, they can bring about a failure of the crops, send sickness, and cause death.

Bartels (1990:120) also discusses evil ayyana (ayyaana hamaa, in the Oromo) as superhuman beings but quite different from the true ayyaana. He states, evil ayyaana were never referred to as 'something of Waaqa' but rather seems as amoral beings, acting only in regard to people from whom Waaqa had withdrawn. On the other hand, there are people who believe that there is nothing evil in ayyana, all ayyaana are good, including informants of Bartels (1990) as written in the book.

These evil spirits may also possess people. Such cases of 'possession' with all their frightening and unexplained effects, are quite common now a days, and people frequently have recourse to the priests to expel these devils (Bartels, 1990: 121).

The usage of the terms for evil ayyana (devil) and true ayyana are different. For the devil, it is said, 'A devil has jumped on him/her'. Devils are of this earth and act on their own account. But for the true ayyaana, one says, 'ayyana come down on man' to mean that ayyaana descend from above; they come from Waaqa.

Chapter Three

The Qallu Institution Among The Oromo Society

3. General Overview

According to Oromo myth, qallu were regarded as religious leaders in the Oromo society. Aseffa Jalata (1998:35) writes the following about qallu: 'A qallu is thought to possess sacred characteristics that enable him to act as intermediary between the people and Waaqa'. Qallus had no administrative powers, but an extra-ordinary power to to bless or curse any one who threatened the well-being of the entire community by deviating from Waaqa's order.

Asmerom Legesse (1973:44), who studied the Borana Gada system in depth, states that 'The qallu are the ritual leaders of moieties. The most important activities of the Qallu linking up with the Gada system are first, the Muuda ceremony performed by the Gada class in power to honor the qallu and second, the lallaba ceremony in which the Qallu organizes and oversees the election of the Gada leaders.' It is also known that Qallu was the head of council of electors. The criteria to be a qallu included seniority in lineage, respectability, expertise in ritual practices, moral qualifications (i.e. ritual and moral cleanliness), respect for cultural taboos, sound economic status, and other leadership qualities (Jalata, 1998:36)

According to Asmerom Legesse (1993), the wife of qallu holds a very special position in Borana society. Not all the wives of the qallu can become the mothers of future qallus. Only one of the wives, the qallitti has the right to be a mother of the future ritual leader (qallu). Here, Asmerom tells us that qalluship is also hereditary.

Asefa Jalata (1973:37), further states, 'Oromo representatives used to travel to the highlands of the mid-south Oromia before they were prevented by the Ethiopian authorities from honoring Abbaa Muuda and receiving his blessing and anointment that qualified the pilgrims (Jila) to be ritual experts in their respective regions'. The political contributions of abbaa muuda is that he served as the symbol of Oromo unity and assisted all Oromo groups to keep in touch for several years. Jalata (1998), even argues more as 'as the Jews believe in Moses and the Muslims in Mohammed, the Oromo believe in their Abbaa Muuda.'

Knutsson (1967:147), reported in length about abbaa muuda depending on the reports of some scholars before him. The following are some in brief. Depending on d'Abbadie (1845), who lived among the Guduru in Northern Macha:

The pilgrims, Jila, leaves their home region in June and return from their pilgrimage to 'walal' the following year. After starting the journey, they do not cut their hair or their nails. While they are absent, their wives do not put butter on their hair and eat only such bread as they have baked themselves. On returning, the jila receive gifts and are on the whole considered to represent for the tribe.

Depending on Cecci, Knutsson (1967:148) farther wrote: Abbaa Muuda is a soothsayer who lives in a grotto with great snakes. He is also said to be the leader of a pastoral tribe. The journey to Abbaa Muuda is made partly to honor him and partly to receive his blessing and anointment which qualify the pilgrims for ritual functions in their own home region. Only those who have committed no serious crimes may make the journey to Abbaa Muudaa. They must be married and circumcised which means 40 years participation in Gada system. As they reach Abba Muuda, the pilgrims leader offers food to the snake that guards Abbaa Munda's grotto. After communal prayers, Abbaa Muuda anoints, the Jilas and gives them myrrh. He commands them not to cut their hair, and to be righteous, not to recognize any leader who tries to get absolute power, and not to fight among themselves.

Based on Guid, Knutsson (1967:148) also described that "The Gallas(Oromos) have a custom called jila. This exists among the Galan, the G nibichu, the Abbichu and almost all Galla tribes. They Journey to Abba Muda in Borana."

Depending on De Salviac's travel account (1901) Knutsson (1967:149) still tells us the following: "The eastern Galla made expeditions to Muda. The Harar Galla journeyed to a place called Mormoro, while the others went to walabu at the foot of Mount walal."

Knutsson wrote much about the journey to Abba muda based on different authors' travel accounts . All witnessed that the leader of the Oromo qallus was Abbamuda. In the pilgrimage to Abbamuda women were not allowed. The aim of the pilgrims was to receive the blessings and anointment of the Qallu, that will help the 'jila' or the

pilgrims to disseminate the teachings of a religious father (chief Qallu) among their respective Oromo clans. .

The Oromo believed in one Waaqa. The Oromo Waaqa is the creator of every thing and is believed to be the source of all life. The oneness of the Oromo Waaqa was also reported by De Salviac (1901) as, 'The Oromo are not fetishists. They believe in Waaqa Tokko, unique universal creator and master'. He adds, they see his manifestations in the great forces of nature, without mistaking them for Him (in Qanno 2008: 3).

According to Knutsson (1967), qallus are even younger and new ones are still appearing. Based on traditions, the origin of the Macha Qallu institution was a region around the Rogge Mountains and Tuqur plain near the source of the Guder River.

The qalluship is one of the most clearly defined offices in the Macha society (Knutsson, 1967:105) It is one of the most important in the Oromo culture. The qallu village is the spiritual center, where political debate is organized, even if the qallu is not a participant in political affairs. But, in Gada, he served as the organizer and supervisor of the election process, and the father of anointment.

Chapter Four

Study of Qallu Institution of Warra Elemo: The case of Inikka Elemo

4.1 Description of the Elemo Family genealogy

Warra Elemo or the family of Elemo, are found in different localities among the Macha of West Shewa. According to Ararsa Muttal Kesi(1), some of the names of the places of settlements of the family members of Elemo, the son of Dulle, are around Ambo town, T'uqur, Ilfata, Ginchi, Jaldu and Wadeessa. Elemo Dulle patrilineally belongs to the clan known as Dada of the Macha society. His lammi (lineage) is called Haru, the name of Elemo's forefather. Elemo was the first Qallu in his lineage. His popular ayyana is Maram, usually referred to as Gifti Elemo, the lady of Elemo. Maram is a female ayyana associated with motherhood (fertility). He also had ayyanas known as Dache and Jabir.

The personal life of Elemo is not much remembered but his descendants tell that he lived long enough and got popularity among his people. Elemo was born and lived much of his time in T'uqur. Tuqur is a highland locality around the source of Guder River, the largest river in West Shewa.

Elemo had a large plot of land and numerous cattle. This economic status enabled him widen his influence, land holdings and build more ritual houses (galma). The acceptance of his ayyana, Maram, among the Macha society of West Shewa was also associated with his material fortune, i.e., his wealth. The exact time when Maram descended upon him is not known, but according to consultants, it happened at his young age and four generations back from the current time.

The reason why Maram of Elemo has been popular to the present time is mythical. According to Nata'a Turi (2), close assistant of Obbo Kumala Fayyisa (the Qallu),

"Once upon a time while Elemo was around home with his family members and his animals, a miraculous thing happened: Elemo was suddenly covered with bidu (rain-bow) and ascended to the sky. People were frightened by the event and prayed for several days. Elemo stayed long, but finally descended down to earth at the same place, i.e., to his qehe, homestead."

(1) Ararsa Muttal: age 52, school teacher, Ginchi, West Shewa

(2) Nata'a Turi, age 48, farmer, T'ule Farmer's Association, West Shewa

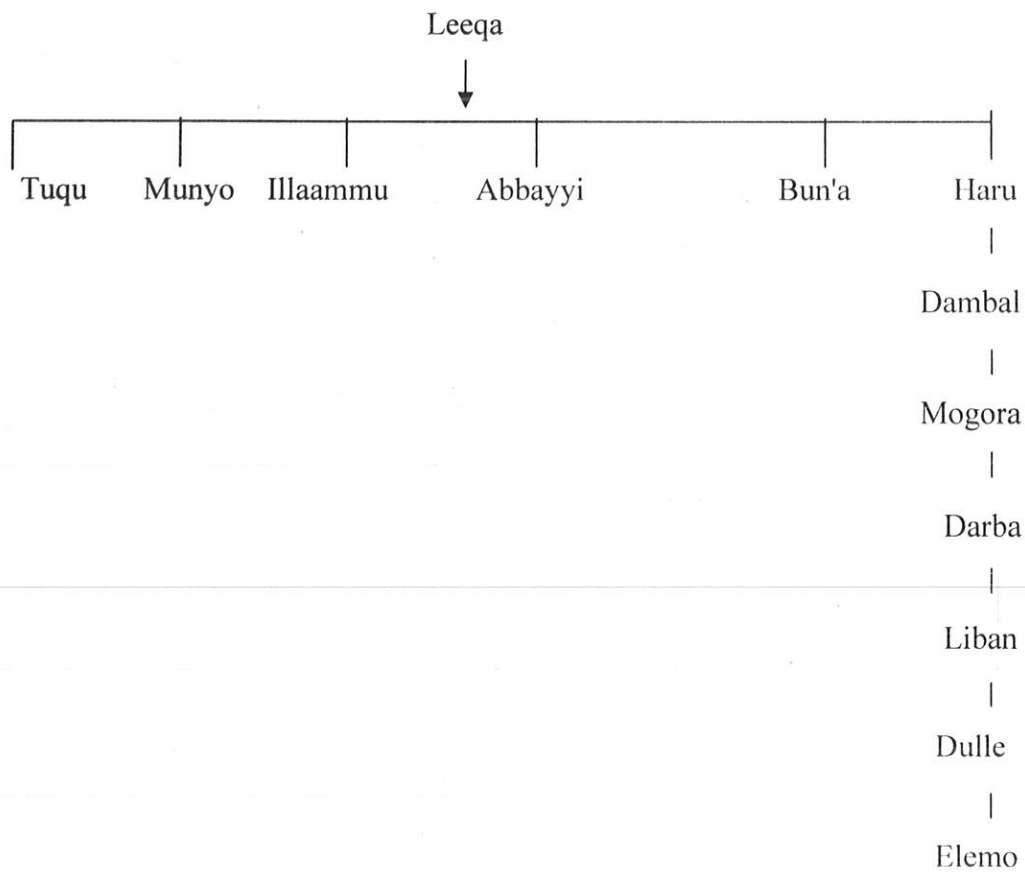
From that time on, Elemo grew richer and became the most popular Qallu among Qallus of the region. He was also able to expand his landholding and build other ritual houses at different places. One of these was the place known as Lakku (Ilfata) found about 40 kilometers north of Ambo town. Lakku is the place of his ujuba (grave).

According to Nagesso Muttal Kesi (3), Elemo had several biological and adopted sons. The exact number of Elemo's children is said to be twenty two. From these the most remembered sons of Elemo are Dhugo, Birru, Innatu, Bayi, Kesi, Inikka and Gurmessa. Dhugo was the senior son of Elemo. From these, four of them were Qallus: Dhugo, Kesi, Inikka and Gurmessa. Inikka was the senior of Gurmessa. Both (Inikka & Gurmessa) were adopted sons of Elemo Dulle. Their biological father was called Elemo korme (not Elemo Dulle). The mother of the sons, the wife of Elemo korme, was known as Bere Badhas. She lived with her husband and children in T'uqur in the neighborhood of Elemo Dulle. Bere was also a Quall. Her ayyanas were Danfa and chabsa. Danfa is usually called Danfa Bere or Gofta Bere, Danfa of Bere or Lord of Bere.

Most of the descendants of Elemo have been taught to trace their lineage at least to the forefather, Leeqa. The sons of Leeqa are remembered as Jahan Leeqa (the six sons of Leeqa). These were Tuqu, Munyo, Illammu, Abbayyi, Bun'a and Haru. The senior son of Leeqa was Tuqu. The first son in the Oromo is known as angafa; he is the senior in all aspects. The rest are called qut'usu, juniors. According to the rule, Tuqu has the right to open any meeting or discussions of mass gatherings by giving blessings. In the absence of Tuqu (the senior) a relatively senior son is invited to bless at the opening ceremony. This means that in absence of Tuqu, Munyo is the right person to act; in the absence of both Tuqu and Munyo the rest will act in order of their birth.

As mentioned earlier, every member of the Haru lammi, lineage, traces Elemo to Leeqa, the forefather. Ararsa Muttal, a member of the lineage traces Elemo to his forefather, Leeqa as follows: Elemo-Dulle-Liban-Darba-Mogora-Dambal-Haru-Leeqa. The sons of Leeqa (Jahan Leeqa, the six sons of Leeqa) may be written patrilineally as follows:

(3) Nagesso Muttal, age 72, farmer, Bajiro Farmer's Association, West Shewa



Leeqa may also be traced to Macha as: Leeqa - Buludo (kuttaye)- Liban- Macha. Buludo was the mother of Leeqa. She was also called Dade (Dada). Her name today signifies the name of the clan of the Leeqa descendants. Marriage is possible among the six sons of Leeqa .But it is not possible among the Haru lineage. One should count seven generations before requesting for marriage. This rule also includes the qallu.

The father of Leeqa was kuttaye. His first wife's name, as mentioned, was Buludo. She was the mother of the clans Dada and Abebe, known as lamaan kuttaye, the two kuttaye's sons. The second wife of kuttaye was Galano. She had five sons, known as shanan kuttaye, five kuttaye's sons. Kuttaye, therefore, had seven sons from both wives of him, as a whole known as 'torban kuttaye', kuttaye's seven sons .

4.2. Rule of Succession among the Qallu.

As a rule, the successor of a qallu is the senior son born to the senior wife. A qallu, before his death, can also decide his heir according to certain prescribed rules. The rule is

invite a higher official (chief Bokku), a representative known as
wooden or metal scepter, a sign of authority kept by abba gada, the
assembly (Malba, 1988). Nowadays, based on Nagesso Muttal, the
what the sam'alo, representative of the Bokku, says is realized
to choose his successor(s) consults:

am'alo)

o participated in the 40-year gada period

oming gada official

)

ows:

ve spears, are laid on the ground pointing to the east (East is taken

ds and makes them to decide (hin tumsiisa).

es his heir calling a name.

ni jedhe irraa hin jallatiin, mo'i! Meaning, 'don't deviate from

!' This statement is known as 'tuma' and according to the belief,

alized without failure. But if the qallu fails to follow this process

choose the one who he likes as a successor. According to sources,

prefer to choose wise ritual experts as their media. But usually the

riority to be a successor.

ollowed when the ayyana for the first time descends upon a new

people appeal to or call upon ayyana to be quite and calm

i.e., the ayyana is asked to be good for the qallu and believers.

e adopted and biological sons of Elemo were many. From these

hugo, Kezi, Iniba, and G. The

Currently, these four qallus have ritual houses at different places in West Shewa .But all have connections in many ways because the basic rules of ayyana are the same. There is also a sense of familyhood.

Among the above four qallus, the most popular one is the Inikka Qallu institution. The other three Qallus are not easily accessible because they are found at far distances from the main road. So, I chose to introduce these qallus based on the information I have and go to the Inikka Elemo Qallu institution on which the study is based.

4.3. Elemo's Successor Qallus and their Ritual Houses

1) Dhugo Elemo

According to Naga'a Homa and Shumi Dirribsa, (consultants), Dhugo, the elder son of Elemo Dulle, lived in T'uqur, at his birth place, the original home village of his father, Elemo. His ayyanas are Maram and Jabir. He has been succeeded by two sons so far. These are Bosho and Mulugeta respectively. Currently Mulugeta is a qallu succeeding his father, Bosho. Their galmas are found at a place known as Yubdo, near T'uqur Inchinni town. When any successor of Elemo Dulle is in a problem with his ayyana, he must consult Dhugo's descendant Qallu to persuade and calm for him because Dhugo is a senior(angafa) son of Elemo Dulle family.

2) Kesi Elemo

Kesi was also a known Qallu succeeding his father, Elemo. His ayyanas are known as Dache and Maram. The places of his ritual houses (galma) are called Bulti-dula and T'iro. Bultidula and T'iro are places found about 30km to north of Ambo town, the main town of West Shewa. Kesi has been succeeded by only one Qallu named Nata'i Jigsa. Jigsa was the elder son of Kesi. Kesi, therefore, was succeeded by his grandson because the son of Kesi, Jigsa died before his father.

The successor of Kesi, Nata'i lived long and died two years ago, but his ayyanas have descended upon no body for unknown reasons. Ritual ceremonies are performed regularly every month, but there is no sign of ayyanas. Some say the ritual ceremonies have not been arranged sufficiently to attract the ayyanas. However, the social roles of Kesi's institution have been continued led by the deceased Qallu's senior son, named Dalasa. Elders are seen around his ritual houses dealing with conflict resolution.

messa

brothers, Gurmesssa and Inikka were adopted sons of Elemo Dulle. Their father mentioned, Elemo korme. First Inikka was adopted to Elemo Dulle. According to the legend, when Elemo Dulle asked Elemo Korme to adopt Gurmesssa, Elemo korme refused because he had already given him Inikka for adoption. But later, he agreed to a type of adoption known as bargam- fata. This type of adoption enables the child to be the son of both fathers with respect to property but the name is changed to the adopting father. Gurmesssa took the name of Elemo Dulle, but inherited both the properties of Elemo Dulle and Elemo Korme according to his share.

The Gurmesssa's Qallu institution is found at a place called Jaldu, north east of Ambo. He has been succeeded by three generations: Tujjo, Addunna and chalchisa. His ayyanas were inherited from his mother, Bere and Maram from Elemo Dulle.

4) Inikka

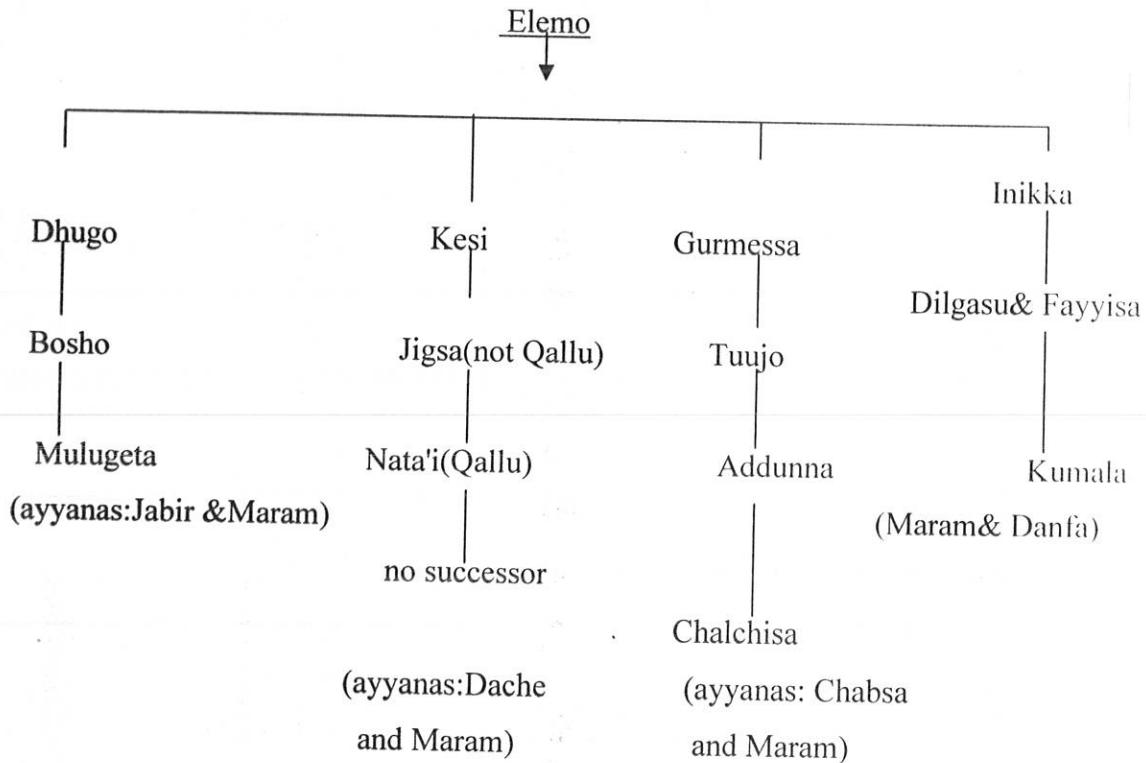
Inikka was the brother of Gurmesssa and the adopted son of Elemo Dulle, was the most prominent Qallu of all the Qallus among the Elemo family. He has been succeeded by three generations, in which the two were his own sons and the present Qallu is his grandson. Gurmesssa, the ayyanas Danfa and Maram first descended upon Dilgasu, the elder son of Inikka, and finally descended upon his grandson, Kumala, the present Qallu of the institution.

According to the myth, the ayyanas, Danfa and Chabsa are mythical. According to the myth, *at that time, while Bere Badhas (Inikka's mother and prominent Qallu) was taking her cows to graze, a sudden strong attracting force threw her into a deep pond around the bank of Guder River. People did not know what to do. But a wiseman (waabeektuu), a local witchdoctor, told them to pray for nine days continuously around the pond as the man advised them. At the end of the ninth day Bere was rescued from the pond possessing the two ayyanas, Danfa and chabsa. The people then sacrificed nine white bulls (maadi sagal) and took Bere home singing the song of praise (gama) and built galmas for both ayyanas.*

After that, Bere Badhas confessed that Inikka and Gurmesssa would be her heirs. She decided that Danfa would descend upon her elder son, Inikka Elemo and Chabsa upon her younger son, Gurmesssa.

Chabsa followed the line Bere preferred in her prayers. Maram is common for all because She descends from their father, Elemo Dulle.

Diagram 2. Genealogy of Warra Qallu Elemo



4.4 The Qallu Institution of Inikka Elemo

Traveling about ninety kilometers from Addis Ababa, following the main road leading to Ambo (West Shewa), to the north, we find a dusty road (muddy during the rainy seasons) taking to Wachan, the place where the Inikka Elemo Qallu institution is found. Its distance from the main road is about 8 kilometers. Wachan got its name from the name of a person once lived there in the past .There is no modern means of transpiration to Wachan. People use animal's back for transpiration, i.e., donkeys, mules and horses. Wachan was founded by Inikka Elemo, the grandfather of the present Qallu, Kumala Fayyisa Inikka. It is known that Inikka was a rich person owning land and cattle. He came to the place Wachan and settled because the place was occupied by no one. The reason why he chose Wachan, according to Ararsa Muttal and Nata'a Turi (consultants), is said to be the following:

1. the availability of water for irrigation and other purposes.
2. the proximity of Wachan to a relatively big river, Dabbis, for his cattle's water consumption.
3. the availability of fire wood and wood for construction.
4. the availability of large trees to shelter his animals in the shadow.
5. the convenience of the mild temperature of the surrounding locality (about 20^oc to an average).

As told by the present grandson of Inikka, the Qallu, following the arrival of Amhara, Inikka was at risk of losing his land by the then powerful feudal lords. But he managed to negotiate with them to pay annual tribute in cattle and in money to retain his holding, and this term finally enabled him to transfer all his holdings to his children. At the end of

Feudalism in 1975, some peasants living on the land got small plots of land as a result of the land proclamation of the Derg Regime, but still most of the land owned formerly by Inikka is in the hands of the present Qallu and his family members(blood relatives). The occupation of the people of Wachan is mixed agriculture except very few traders.

4.5 Ritual Houses. The Inikka Elemo Qallu ritual houses are known as galma. The ritual houses of this institution are especially big ones, so that it is better to call them ' ritual halls'. According to Bayisa Tolasa (4), a close assistant of the Qallu, one of the halls is for the female ayyana, Maram and the other is for the male ayyana, Danfa. The ritual hall of the female ayyana (Maram) is known as Galma Maram, Maram's ritual hall or Galma Gifti Elemo, the ritual hall of the lady of Elemo. The male ayyana's ritual hall is similarly called Galma Danfa, the ritual hall of Danfa or Galma Gofta, the ritual hall of the lord.

The two galmas have been built closely near to one another: Maram's Galma to the left and Danfa's to the right, when seen from one of the gates of the Masara, compound. Out of the Masara(compound) of the ritual halls(galmas), to the east, there is an open field with big and scattered umbrella accacia trees used by elders to sit in the shadow during jarsumma, reconciliation processes. At about the center of the field, there exists the office of the Qallu used for blessings and dispute resolutions. It is built with light wood and is surrounded by pine trees cut to the same size.

(4) Bayisa Toasa, age 63, farmer, Solbe Farmer's Association, West Shewa

The main gates of the Masara are found in the direction of the north: the first one leads to Galma Maram and the second to Galma Gofta. There are also internal gates that connect the two galmas. Before entering the compound, just at the gates of both galmas, we find piles of leaves known as irressa. It is soft branches of trees and grass, specially used to greet the Qallu and ayyana by believers. It is forbidden to use thorny leaves as irressa.

As one enters the compound, a very huge tree covering a large area is found at the left corner. It is known as quilt'u jawwe, sycamore of the serpent. Qilt'u is sycamore; jawwe is a serpent, so that, quilt'u.jawwe means, in a sense, where serpents are found. There are many who believe that the serpent is found under the sycamore. Children of adolescent age(13-15), witnessed that they saw the serpent while a woman assigned to feed it was giving food to it. A sacrifice is also said to be given to it annually. Traditionally, it is known that qallus had snakes at a protected places around their galmas. As is said, the aim of zooping snakes, especially, serpents is to use them to attack those who break the rules of the galma. If one breaks rules, the serpents will break him into pieces during his entrance to the Galma with out the order of any body.

At about one third of the place in the Masara, compound, there exists galma Maram or Galma Gifti Elemo. The vestibule of the door of the galma is known as gindilla. It is made up of very thick polished wood. The roof is built with iron sheets with frames of wood. Its shape is round.

The inner part of the hall is divided into two by a divider known as gorro. There are eight pillars supporting the roof, erected round in the shape of the hall. At the center of the hall, the roof is mainly supported by a thick pillar known as furda. Literally, furda means thick. Beyond furda, there are rooms. The central room is a stage for the Qallu to sit on during the ritual ceremony.



Galma Maram, ritual house of female ayyana



Galma Maram, ritual house of female ayyana



Galma Gofta, ritual house male ayyana

In Galma Maram, the ritual hall of Maram, this stage is known as madabi Maram. Maram's Madabi. Madabi is made of mud and wood frames. But in Galma Gofta or Galma Danfa, the ritual hall of the lord, or the ritual hall of Danfa, the stage differs. It is a modern bed placed at a higher level of the floor of the hall. It is made up of steel. To the left side of the madabi, there is a bedroom in which the Qallu spends only the night of the ritual day. The right side of the room is a store in which ritual objects and other necessary materials are kept. There are also rooms behind Madabi: mana foonii, butchery, mana farsoo, local beer brewery and gada Qallu bedroom for gust qallus.

A galma, ritual house, is never used as a residential house. A qallu must have two galmas, one for his female ayyana, one for the male ayyana and a residential house. The Inikka Elemo family Qallu has a modern residential and several service houses including a dining hall in which he invites gusts and believer participants in his ritual ceremony. The Inikka Elemo qallus built similar ritual houses at different places in the Macha society: Tofe, Ilfata, Kilbe, Sombo, Guute and Qorke .These galmas may vary in size and the

number of rooms that are found in them but all are round in shape .The naming of the partitioned rooms and the necessary ritual objects are also the same.

4.5 Lagu (Taboo)

As Shumi Dirribsa(5) tells, the compound of a qallu and the qallu himself is believed to be clean and pure. A qallu is expected to follow the traditional rules of conduct, including rules forbidding sexual relations and marriage. A qallu, as a rule, cannot marry more than one woman. The one he chooses must be a virgin. It is not possible for a qallu to marry a married woman, or to have sexual relations with her. He must strictly follow the rules of truth and avoid any form of injustice, crime and sin .The general name for the above proscriptive rules is known as lagu, meaning ‘taboo.’

Lagu for a qallu is very strict, so that he must carefully and permanently follow through out his life. He never visits a mourning house and have contact with dead or some one who has had contact with the dead, even if the dead is his own family member. He also never makes contact with a menstruating woman including his wife. He cannot also visit a woman who has given birth until weeks (2weeks)is lapsed, even if the woman is his own wife. She cannot come back to his/her residence before a month.

In addition to the above rules, there are also food taboos. Some of them are the following:

- 1) A qallu never eats the meat of an ox used for plowing .The reason for this is that an ox used for plowing is abba buddena, source of food.
- 2) Hoola, sheep, is not eaten by a qallu because a sheep was initially dropped from the heaven carrying Chachu and Kallacha (important ritual objects) according to oral tradition.
- 3) Re'e, goat stepped on the cloth of Waaqa as he laid on the ground to dry, when Waaqa was once living with man. For this, Waaqa punished it by turning its tail up ward and exposing out its sexual organ. So, it is forbiddin for a qallu to eat its meat(based on a myth).
- 4) The meat of a hen is not eaten by a qallu because hens feed on impure food types.
- 5) Talba, a known oil seed, is believed to increase male sexual potency. In addition to this, a pure Borana race avoids eating talba or drinking it in a liquid form. As a rule, a

(5)Shumi Dirribsa, age 58, farmer, Bulti Dula, Farmer's Association

qallu should be sexually calm. So, eating or drinking talba is forbidden for a qallu because of the above two reasons.

In addition to the above mentioned taboos, a qallu never shares his drinking, sitting, sleeping and other materials with others. The only thing I saw he shares with others is a flour mill. The flour mill is the property of the qallu and it is commercial. Two types of grain are ground here: midhaan afuura, grain of breath, and midhaan qulqullu, pure grain. Midhaan qulqullu is for the qallu, and it enters the house of the mill through the window. Midhaan afuura is for others and it enters the house of the mill through the door.

The family members of a qallu also follow the rules of lagu or purity. Gifti, the wife of the qallu, strictly follows all the rules. But, in case, a close family member dies, she can go to the burial place without entering the house of the dead and touching any body who has participated in the burial or entered the mourning house. She can also visit her mother's and father's family members entering or having meal if their houses are free from lagu. This rule must also be respected by his children who live in the same residence with him. If any member of the family breaks any of these rules he is obliged to pass out of the residence until its expiry date.

The rules of lagu may vary from qallu to qallu. This is because the rules can be improved when the ayyana first descends upon a new successor. This is done by the Bokku according to the rules of seera tuma (law making). The procedure is similar to what was discussed earlier. The gulas bring the five spears of the Bokku, lay them down pointing east, hold it with hands kneeling down to decide on the rules one by one. The new successor of the qallu must follow the purity rules (lagu) according to the rules Bokku has decided by seera tuma (law making). The qallu cannot add or reduce these rules because the right of seera tuma is only the right of the Bokku. Participants of ritual ceremonies (believers) must also follow lagu rules to enter galma and have contact with the qallu. Some of these are the following:

1) Touching a dead body:

- If one enters a mourning house or touches a dead body during or before burial, he shall not enter the galma and have contact with the qallu until it expires after forty days.

- If one touches the person who has entered a mourning house or who has touched the person took part in the burial, he/she shall not allowed to enter the galma before an expiry date of thirty days.
- If a third person has touched the second person who touched the dead body or who entered the mourning house, he shall not enter the galma before an expiry date of ten days.
- A fourth person who has touched the third person is pure, & that he can enter the galma and have contact with the qallu.

2) Menstruating woman

- A menstruating woman cannot enter the compound of the galma. During her menstruating period, it is also her obligation not to be seen by the qallu including his own wife. The reason is that if the qallu sees a menstruating woman, she will be endangered.

3) Gadiddu, shadow, refers to sexual intercourse. The time of expiry for gadiddu, shadow, is only twenty four hours.

Chapter Five

Analysis of Qallu Rituals

According to Nata'a T'uri, for the Elemo Dulle Qallu institution, there are different types of Qallu rituals celebrated at different intervals of time. These are mainly fortnight rituals and annual ones.

5.1 A Fortnight Ritual of the Inikka Family Qallu

The Qallu has a key social and religious power in the Macha society because of his possession of ayyana. The ritual ceremonies for this possession of ayyana are performed at a regular interval of time, every 14-day period for the ayyanas of the Inikka Elemo family Qallu. At the climax of these ceremonies, it is said, the Qallu has been possessed by the ayyana (spirit). Participants believe that through possession of Qallu by ayyana, people will have contact with Waaqa, the creator of all things and sources of all life, as discussed earlier.

The ritual ceremony for an ayyana is designated by the Oromo word 'dalaga' and the participants are called dalagaa. Literally, the word dalaga means 'work', in the Eastern Oromo dialect. So, 'dalaga ayyana', work for ayyana, means a work of a group of believers whereby attempt is made to please the ayyana by singing and dancing, using drums as a musical instrument and make him to descend upon a Qallu. In dalaga, the participants sing and dance beating drums in a peculiar way.

Dalagas take place on Tuesday nights and Wednesday mornings for the female ayyana, Maram, and Thursday nights and Friday mornings for the male ayyana, Danfa, every 14 days. These days are chosen by the ayyanas themselves. Priority is always given to Maram's ritual because she is the most senior ayyana of all. According to the culture, all days are not taken to be 'full'. Tuesday for instance, is taken to be a 'full day', and is chosen for a sewing day for crops. The same is true for Thursday. Therefore, the choice of Tuesdays and Thursdays for ritual days may depend on this conception.

The Inikka Elmo Qallu institution is always very busy on Tuesdays to Fridays every 14 days. Out of the compound of the institution, under the shadows and the umbrella of acacia trees, reconciliation processes are actively going on in the afternoons. Some basic

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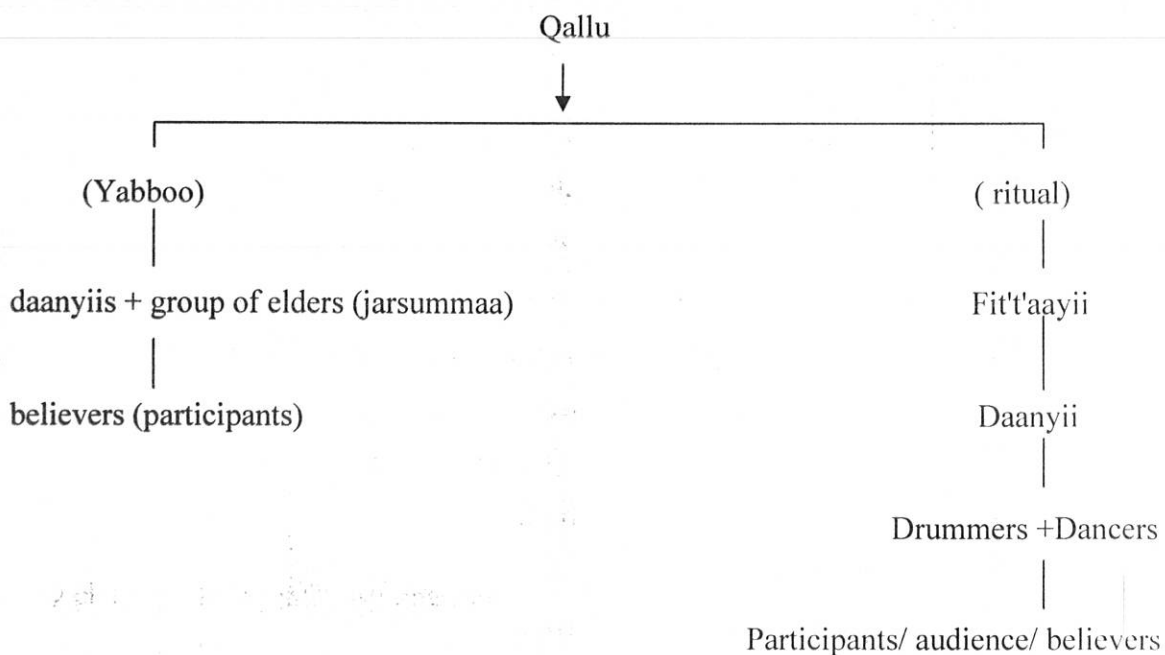
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commodities and local drinks are also ready for the needy. After sun-set, the participants of the ritual ceremony gather at the gate of the galma/hall and are ready to start 'dalaga', the ritual ceremony. Although most of them are adults, these include children, young boys and girls, women and men of different ages. But most of them are adults.

From observation and Shumi dirribsa(consultant),we may take the Qallu as the head of this ritual and social affairs office (Yabboo) .Under rituals we can classify the fit't'aayii(close helpers and song receivers from the Qallu), the daanyii, relays, drummers and dancers and the ordinary participants. Under the social affairs office (Yabboo), we may classify elders and participants (shown below). Daanyiis, in addition, have roles in the group of elders in the Yabboo.

Diagram 3. Steps of the Performance of Qallu Ritual



On the day of the ritual, the participants come to the Qallu ritual carrying irreessa, the green greeting branches of selected trees locally known as mi'eessaa, urgeessaa, ulmaa, sariitii, and a grass known as choqorsa. In the absence of these, leaves of any green grass except thorny ones may be used as irreessa.

After most of the participants have come, the ceremony starts with a process known as irreessa fuudhuu, bringing irreessa, from a nearby river known as Dabbis. As they return to the galma, they sing the song of ayyana (dalaga) saying:

irreessa kee- your irreessa

duulaan naanna'e- campaigners have surrounded (The participants repeat the same)

The Qallu comes to the gate of the Masara (the seat of the chief Qallu) compound, as the dalagaa (participants) approach. The dalagaa greet the Qallu putting their irreessa in front of him and kissing it. Lastly, the Qallu receives his own irreessa from his helper and goes

back to the galma. Like the participants, he also puts his irreessa at several places including the gindillaa (vestibule) of the galma because he himself is also a believer. He

first enters the Galma and the participants follow him.



Participants with their *irreessa*

In the galma, women and men sit separately occupying the right and the left sides of the hall. Women occupy the right division of the galma and men the left one. Children can join any of the sides. The Qallu directly leads to his stage known as madabi in the ritual hall of Maram, the female ayyana and if the ritual ceremony is for the male anyyana in his ritual hall (galma Gofta), he leads to saqala. Madabi is a place where the Qallu sits during his ritual ceremony. It is made of mud and wood frames and is elevated above the

floor of the hall. Saqala is also a seat for the Qallu during his ceremony in the ritual hall of the male ayyana. It is a bed made of steel placed at a higher level of the floor of the galma as mentioned earlier.

There are benches and chairs to sit on and the floor of the galma is covered with dry grass. Elders sit on the benches and chairs but most of the people sit on the floor covered with dry grass. The sick and disabled ones, even, sleep on the floor.

After the Qallu has reached the Madabi and kissed the floor of the Madabi putting his irressa at all necessary places, the curtain is closed behind him. The drummers, noolee, devoted old women to the ayyana, fittaayii, close helpers of Qallu and singers of the song of anyyana, hurruubduu, dancers, daanyii, relays or case presenters to the ayyana and the participants occupy their places and become ready for the ceremony. Fire is also lit near furda to boil porridge (marqaa). This is known as jaaloo dhaabuu (jaaloo=large pot and dhaabuu=to erect).

For Maram, two pots of porridge are necessary. One for her self and the other is said to be for her son, Walde. Walde is believed to be the son of the female ayyana, Maram. But for the male ayyana, Danfa, only one pot of porridge is enough. It is done by one of the noolees and helpers. The porridge is eaten around the furda after making daddarba, putting some amount under the furda for the ayyana.

According to Nagesso Muttal and my own observation, the actual performance act (the dalaga) of the Qallu is heralded by the ululation of the drummers and the participants, which is an expression of happiness. Then, the Qallu starts dalaga beating his tambourine known as saantala Qallu, a small drum (the big ones used by the drummers are called dibbee). He says:

hoofuu, Maaram - come on safely, Maram (for the female)

hoofuu, Maree - come on safely beloved Maram (for the male)

Nooruu yaa abbaa koo - come on safely, my father

Nooruun araara dayee - your coming safely brought peace

hoofuu hofuu yaa abbaayyee - come on safely! Come on safely my father

hoofuu salgani - welcoming of the nine

amma Waaqayyoo hin darbanii - no one is above Waaqayyoo

abeet jenna abeet - we pray saying 'abeet' (O Waaq).

Then, the *fittaayii* (close helpers and singers) take over the *Qallu*, and intensify it more and more. The songs are usually similar to what the *Qallu* already had said, but they sometimes make modifications inserting some names including the names of the *Qallu*. There is also a time when they leave the song of the *Qallu* and sing their own praise calling the names of the *Qallu* and places of the *galmas*.

Yaa aayyee koo - my mother

Nagaan mee nu gahi - reach us in peace

Ayyee Yuubdoo - mother of Yuubdoo(place)

Nagaan mee nu gahi - reach us in peace

Ayyoo Inikka - mother of Inikka (*Qallu*)

Nagaan mee nu gahi - reach us in peace

Ayyoo kumee - mother of Kumala(*Qallu*)

Nagaan mee nu gahi- reach us in peace

This ceremony continues for a long time and is very tiresome for singers, drummers and dancers. The whole *dalagaa* (participants), especially, the drummers and singers are asked to intensify it more frequently. The young drummers using their drums warmed by fire to give an increased vibration give a rhythmic breath *uhuu- uhuu- uhuu-....* with bodily movements. The women dancers' style is a bit different and more attractive than that of men.

The *noolee* move around the *furda* in line. If the *ayyana* stays too long before descending, they start to kneel down and move seven times putting dry grass on their styled grey hairs around the *furda*. This process is known as *torbii bu'uu*, meaning rounding seven times. It is a process in which the respected and devoted ladies pray to the *ayyana* to descend soon. *Torbii bu'uu*, is common during the ritual ceremony of *Maaram* but the male *ayyana*, *Danfa*, doesn't need a long process as such.

It is after this long and boring exercise that the *ayyana* is said to descend. During the descending, the *ayyana* gives a peculiar sound similar to the sound of a big and strong bird locally known as *risa*. *Maram*, the female *ayyana*, and *Danfa*, the male *ayyana* are different in their characters. *Maram* is calm and *Danfa* is harsh. They also differ in their

symbolisms: Maram wears qolo and chachu, and Danfa wears lions mane on his head and shoulder, grasps gachana and bode, shield and spear, in his hands. Qolo is a thick cloth made of cotton and worn as over coat and Chachu is made of a leather band on which cowries shells are fixed straight on beautifully. Chachu is used to pray to waaqa when there are serious problems such as drought and war in search of solutions.

The male ayyana, on the other hand, is a warrior. He wears lion's mane, gachana, shield and bode, spear which are symbols of war. His bode spear is used during the process of oath (swearing). The Qallu wears qolo and chachuu by the help of his wife, gifti. But a woman doesn't touch the cloth of the male ayyana .So; he wears the mane, gachana and bode by the help of his male helpers. When Danfa is said to descend, he rocks back and forth, saying, 'ani Danfaan dhugaa fan dhaapha', which means 'I, Danfa stand for the truth'. When he shakes the spear and rocks himself back and forth, he seems as if he just throws it. After the ayyana has descended, there is a session of communication between the ayyana and the participants on different issues. These include health, cases between a wife and husband, death of one of the family members, theft, fight between individuals, murder cases, gifts to the ayyana, and soon.

There are two terms used by the participants during the communication: Wagii and ooda. When one says' wagiidha jedhi', it is known that the person has brought a gift to the ayyana. But when he says' oodaanan dhaabbadha', it means' the person is standing to tell his problem to the ayyana'. To relay these messages, individuals known as 'daanyii' stand at three different places: one near the Qallu (ayyana), one at the Gindilla (door of the Galma), and another in the compound (out of the Galma). Daanyiis relay / communicate the messages in both directions i.e., to the ayyana and back to the participants from the ayyana. When the glory of the ayyana is told by a participant all the women ululate saying ili-li-li-li.... and the participants kiss the floor of the galma bowing close enough to the floor.

This process continues for about three hours to mid-night and a large amount of money is collected in a form of gifts for services given by the ayyana. The gifts include materials that are not valuable as such, for instance, a match, to an ox and from coins, to hundreds of birr.

The main process that brings money for the Qallu is what is known as 'wareega;. Wareega is a contract with the ayyana. It has a form of: if you do me..... I will give you.... When the ayyana (is said) satisfies the need of the contracting person, the person is obliged to bring the gift he promised. If he fails, he is risking his life and the lives of his family members as a whole. Hammachiisaa, name giving, is also another type of a process that brings money for the Qallu. 'Hammachuu' means' to 'embrace' in the Oromo, literally. It is similar to the Christian baptism culturally. Hammachisa in the Oromo is name giving. The mother brings her child and simply says 'maqaa naa baasaa', give him/her a name. As a rule, the Qallu has to lift the child, embrace, and bless the child in the name of his ayyana, and finally gives name to the child .But, in my observation, he simply gave name.

The ayyana cannot receive all the cases brought by different believers. He receives most of the cases and the rest is left to the morning session. As the possession ends the ayyana gives his peculiar sound, i.e., the sound of the bird known as risa. The descending and ascending sounds are the same. Then, it is said, 'ayyaanni gale', the ayyana has gone home and the ceremony concludes by closing the curtain.

5.2. Objects of Qallu Rituals

Like many other rituals, the Qallu rituals are accompanied not only with verbal expressions, and emotional feelings, but also with material objects used for various purposes bearing and conveying varieties of symbolic meanings. That is why scholars say rituals are acts where tangible and intangible cultural features converge. In the case of the Qallu ritual under discussion,with the help of Nagesso Muttal and observation, the following materials are used as accompanying elements:

Iftu- is a ring worn by the Qallu on his finger. A number of iftuus are seen on his fingers. Traditionally, iftu is made of copper, but nowadays, silver and gold iftus are seen worn.

Iro- is worn by the Qallu on his rist and around elbows. They do have the colour of gold. The reason why iftu and iro are worn is that to distinguish the Qallu from the ordinary people.

Chachu- is the chief female ritual symbol for Maram of Elemo. It is made of a leather band decorated by cowri shells fixed carefully in a line on it.

Chachu is used by the Qallu during the ritual ceremony of his female ayyana. It is hung on the shoulder of the Qallu by gifti, the lady(wife of the Qallu) before the ayyana descends. Chachu is taken out of the galma when a serious problem arises in the community for praying to Waaqa. These problems include, drought, war, heavy rain, disease, etc.

Qolo- is ayyanas dress during the ritual ceremony for the female ayyana. It is made up of thick cotton and is worn as overcoat by the Qallu . The Qallu always wears and hangs his female ayyana's objects by the help of the gifti, the lady(his wife).

Bullukko- is a very thick cotton made cloth worn by the Qallu as overcoat during the ritual ceremony of the female ayyana, when he receives the dalagaa (participants) at the gate of the galma. During this process the Qallu holds waddessa (stick) with irressa in his right hand.

Jano- is the same to bullukko in manufacture but the ends are decorated by red colour. Jano is worn during the ritual ceremony of the male ayyana.

Kallacha- kallacha is also owned by the Qallu . Kallacha is not seen except in special events . It is said, kallacha is made of special black iron and its shape is conical . Initially, chachu and kallacha are believed to be dropped from the heaven. When transporting kallacha one should cover it with an opaque material to protect people when they see it . It is said, it hurts. It is taken out with chachu when problems are arisen to pray with. The family of a child, for instance, usually refuse to give their child as guddifacha (adoption), but if the Kallacha is brought with request, it is not possible to refuse.

Bode, spear- is a symbolism for the male ayyana, so that the male ayyana grasps it with gachana, shield and wears lion's mane on his head and shoulder by the help of his assistants. Bode is also used during swearings (oaths) to ascertain actions performed secretly. During swearings, bode is laid on the ground facing east direction, and the suspected holds the spear (bode) and say' bodeen Danfa naa waraanu yoon sobe' let Danfa's' spear butt me if Ispeak lie'

5.3 Annual Rituals

In addition to the 14- days or fortnight rituals, the Inikka Elemo Qallu institution has several annual rituals performed at fixed times. From these the most important ones are Masqala or thanksgiving day, Kenna Birra or Gift of springs, and kenna Arfasa or Gift of the Autumn as well as Kora Birra and Kora Arfasa (Kora is also a gift for the male ayyana, Danfa) and it has the meaning of unity. There is also kenna Nabi, or Gift for Nabi, at the beginning of Ethiopian calendar before Masqala. These rituals in a way bear cyclical character recurring every year. Below are their descriptions:

1) Masqala- is celebrated at the beginning of October annually. It is a common ritual day for both the female and male ayyanas. Masqala is a thanksgiving ritual for ayyanas. Devoted believers come to the compound of the institution at the evening with bunches of dry bush for fire and light with other believers at a known place called damara or ejere.

As is said, the fire signifies the shiny and flowery season, Birra, for that the ayyana enabled them to pass to a shiny and flowery season from the season thought to be dark (ganna, winter). According to Knutsson(1967), historically, these fires served as 'relays' in the oral communication system which made it possible, by means of heralds using a special calling technique, to pass on news of hostile attacks.

As usual, the sacrifices are given to the female ayyana, Maram, and the male ayyana, Danfa: dullacha, cow, for Maram in the morning and Korma for Danfa at the evening . Both animals are slaughtered to the gindilla (vestibule) of Galma Maram, and Galma Danfa (Gofta, lord). According to custom, both animals should fall down to the right and the throats must be cut by the Qallu and the blood should be sprinkled to the respective gindillas .Before slaughtering the animals, the Qallu prays saying:

Sa'aa namaan- in property and man

Naa toli- be good to me

Dukkaniitii gannaa - from the dark gannaa (winter)

nu baafttee - you passed us

Booqaabirraa- white patched Birra (Springs)

nu agarsiiftee - enabled us to see

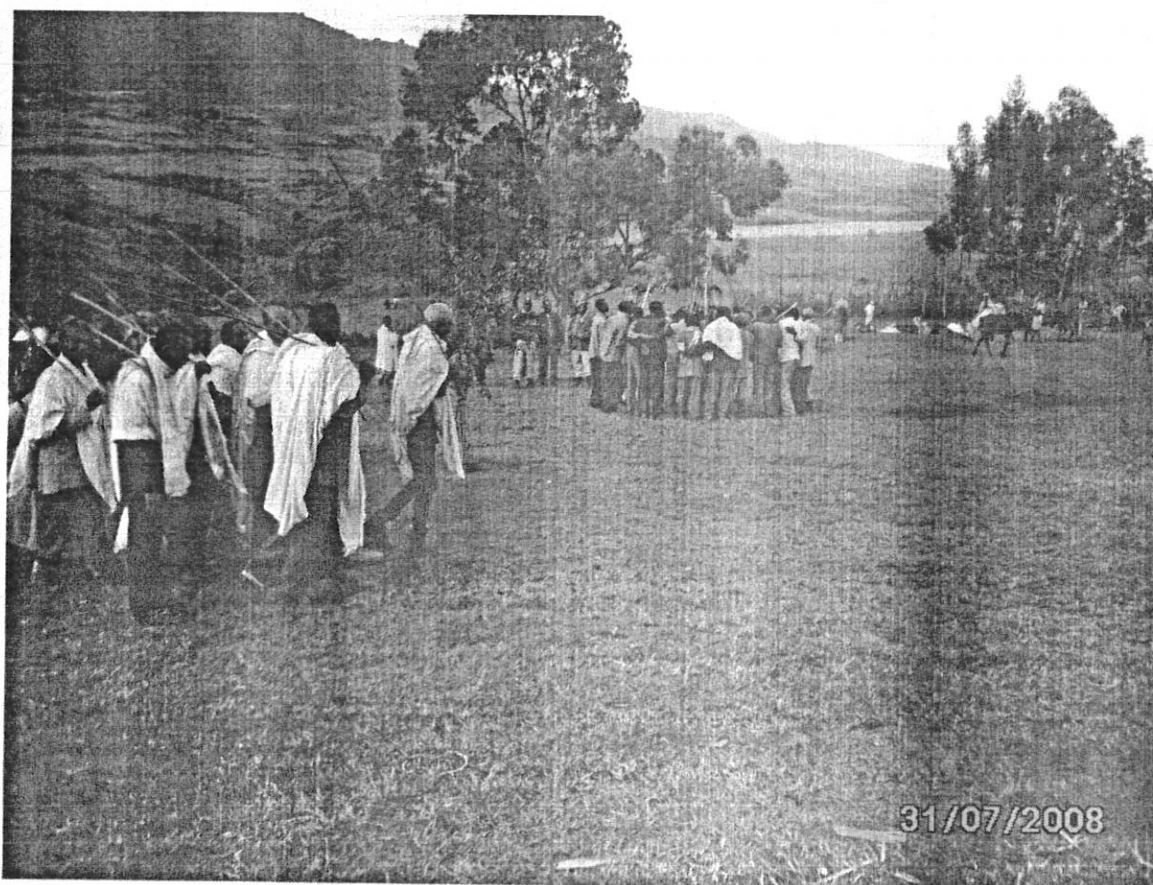
Qilleensa birra- air of Birra

Nu hoofkalchi - make us live

For Nabi (Ayyana Abba), Fathers Ayyana, the sacrificing animal is korma, bull Nabi is Waaqa, therefore, his gift comes first at the beginning of the Ethiopian calendar year (September). As mentioned above, the aim of this ritual is to give thanks to the ayyana and/or Waaqa and to entertain believers by inviting them. During this ritual day the surrounding believers, and even non-believers come to the compound to celebrate. Young men and women, and horse men come singing and dancing. Guests such as journalists, researchers, governmental officers and some foreigners are also seen to visit this ritual ceremony,

On the ritual day, at noon, Wachan (the ritual place) is very busy in organizing every thing for the ceremony. People start to come in all directions singing and dancing.

Devoted believers hold irressa and ibsa (bunches made from bush tree) for the fire ceremony. The Qallu first lights the fire to the ejere.



People celebrating the annual ceremony with songs and dances

After the Qallu has lit the ejere, everybody throws his ibsa into it. Young men and women sing and dance round the fire. The songs and dances continue through the night

until coak-crow. In the mean time, gusts and believers came from distant areas are invited at the dining hall and the residential houses and are given sleeping rooms to spend the night in mass.

The next day is also an entertainment day. Young men and horse men come singing holding their irressa and rounding the place of the fire known as dara Masqala ash of masqala and put their irressa. The Qallu himself visits the participants being on his famous horse, Bora. He wears lion's mane and grasps gachana, shield and eeboo, spear, in his left and right hands (At this moment he is said possessed by the male ayyana, Danfa). The muata shout and fall in front of him almost under the feet of the horse. Surprisingly, the horse never touches the muata. The Qallu is a kin horse-man and his horse is also well trained. The believers say, it is the ayyana that protects the muata from danger.

As the Qallu returns to the galma, the ceremony concludes. But invitations, singing and dancing continue. In the afternoon, people watch horse-race at a place about two kilometers far from Wachan known as Alaltu. The reason for changing place is to get a convenient field for the race. Around the campus invitation of gusts and believers continue to the end of the week.

2) Kenna Kello Birra and Kora Birra are gifts ceremony to the ayyanas. Kenna Kello Birra (Kenna=gift, Kello=seasonal flower known as kello, Birra=spring (season)) is for the female ayyana, and Kora birra is for the male ayyana. The sacrifices are as usual dullacha (cow) for the female ayyana and Korma, bull for the male ayyana. Except in its aim, kenna birra and Kora birra are similar to Masqala. Entertainments, blessings and seasonal prays are also the same.

3) Kenna Arfasa gift of Autumn for Maram, and Kora Arfasa, gift of Autumn Autumn for Danfa are also similar to Masqala except their difference in blessings or prays and season. During this season, Arfasa, Autumn, the Qallu gives sacrifices as usual, and prays:

Awwaara bonaa irraa - from the summer dust

nagaan nu baaftee - you have passed us in peace

dukkaniitii gannaa irraa- from dark gannaa (winter)

nagaan nu baasi - pass us in peace.



some assistants of the Qallu celebrating the annual ceremony

In reference to rituals for ayyanas and Waaqa, there are things believers say. Among these is the necessity of rituals for the ayyanas. Unless rituals are performed regularly at fixed times the effects will be seen on health of the people, rain necessary for crops and cattle, well being (peace) of the people, etc'. This means that the ayyanas can cause crop failure, war, drought, disease, etc.

5.4 Ulma

Following the annual ritual ceremonies (kenna) of the ayyana, there is a custom of Qallu in which he passes 24 hours in his house unseen by anybody except his own wife. This custom is known as ulma. During this period, it is forbidden to the Qallu to see the outside world. He should wear a piece of skin taken from the front limb of the slaughtered animal on his right hand and the abdominal fat of the animal on his shoulder over his wears. He should not wear trousers but only bullukko, the cultural cotton overcoat. The reason for ulma is told to be to abstain himself from committing mistakes

by speaking and seeing evil deeds. It is also said to be bad if he sees people during this period of time. His sight hurts his people and himself too.

5.5 Muata

According to Bayisa Tolasa and Naga'a Homa (6), 'muata' is a special type of ayyana created for honoring or serving the normal ayyanas during annual ceremonies including the burial ceremony of Qallus. They are usually appearing around the compound of Elemo Qallu during the Masqala, kenna and Kora ritual ceremonies. When a Qallu and any member of muata dies, as they have heard the news, they are possessed by the muata cult spontaneously, they throw everything in hands and start to run cutting thorny branches of trees and raising overhead. Their sound (shouting) is peculiar, so that other members can distinguish from other sounds. When the sound of one of the members is heard or the news has reached members, all run towards the sounds, and finally, they meet at one place. Being together, they start to move towards the place of the ceremony shouting huy,huy,huy,.....

Other normal ayyanas need ritual ceremonies for possession, but the muata is spontaneous in possession. In addition to this, a Qallu is morally qualified, and during his possession, no one is afraid of him to be attacked by physical means. On the other hand, a muata member or members may attack someone using his/their thorny branches of trees during possession. The muata cult is usually seen on women. Men are rarely possessed by this type of ayyana. The way women are caused to possess this type of ayyana is something complex and not easily understood. As elders say, there is a type of snake known as bofa muata, snake of muata. This snake bites a woman it wants for this purpose immediately, after she has been bit by bofa muata, she will be unable to speak. This event is know as dumdummi, unable to speak even a word. Since this is known among the people, her family call a member of muata. Other members also come to her, and shout at her, and taking her out of the house. They start giving her orders in an unknown language, spoken only by members during possession. They treat her outside the house in a shelter for five days speaking their own language. At the fifth day, the possessed woman starts to speak opening her mouth, and now on, she is a full member of the muata.

(6) Naga'a Homa, age 67, farmer Bultidula Farmer's Association West Shewa

The origin of muata is not clearly known. Knutsson(1967),wrote about the existence of this type of cult in Guragheland. It is called muyet.Takkele Taddese(2004), even gives more explanation for its existence. He says, 'Among the Guraghe, there is a certain kind of clandestine organization. The organization is said a response to a demand of a certain goddess called muyet. When the members are possessed by this goddess, they authomatically begin to speak in an unknown language spoken only among them'.

In Guraghe the cult is a goddess. In the Oromo, it is a type of ayyana. It was not the interest of Takkele (2004) to explain the difference and relation of this goddess with God or Waqqa. In Macha, as explained earlier, ayyanas are parts of Waaqa. They are also related to Qallus as mentioned in the beginning. On the other hand, the Guraghe muyet is not related to a Qallu. This may mark the difference between muata and muyet. So, where is the origin of muata? Guragheland or Macha? It needs further studies on Macha and Guraghe.

Chapter Six

The Social Roles of Qallu

. The role of the qallu institution is manifested through the positive or negative deeds of the person standing at the helm of it. Thus, when we talk about an individual qallu, we also talk about the institution as they do not stand apart.

Coming back to the discussion about the activities of the current Qallu, Kumala Fayyisa whom I observed busy mainly in organizing his regular and annual rituals at his different galmas found at seven different places and social dealings. People see him as an advisor of important social affairs, such as marriages, adoptions, and even for relations to governmental offices. But the regular duty of this qallu beyond his rituals is dispute resolution. He deals with all disputes with no exception from minor cases such as the dispute between mother and children to inter-clan disputes that lead to war, and guma (blood price). The final decision for guma (blood price) is given by a body organized for this purpose, known as Bokku for which the qallu facilitates the preconditions and concludes the process with blessings.

As mentioned earlier, this Qallu has seven ritual houses at different places. At all these places, he has representatives that totally amount to more than three hundred. These representatives are known as daanyii. In the absence of the qallu, for certain reasons, such health problems, and short of time for urgent cases, the social services are never been interrupted. He is substituted by his assistants (danyi).

According to Nagesso Muttal, the arbitration process led by the qallu of Inikka Institution is not new, but is the same to the traditional one used in every village of the Macha society. This process is commonly known as jarsumma. It is organized by a certain number of elders called jarsa arara meaning reconciliation elders.

When two or more individuals quarrel or fight or commit a more serious crime in a village or in the surrounding, friends or family members usually organize a body that bring peace among them. Both disputing parties are told to come to jarsa arara for reconciliation. When the two parties come to the reconciliation process, the first step is started by asking them questions, by the leader of jarsa arara as Nagesso Muttal explains:

Waan Daada jedhe nuu galtuu? - Do you accept what Dada said?

yoo kiisi jenne kiiftuu? - Do you compensate if we say so?

yoo kiifami jenne kiifamtaa? - You will be compensated if we say so?

If the two parties say 'yes', the jarsa arara gives order to the two parties to bring two persons each to guaranty their presence for the future sessions. These persons are known as wabi. If the two parties do not appear during the sessions, the wabi is responsible. In addition, the two parties are obliged to bring one person each from their close relatives. These two are known as qabata fira, relative holder. The responsibility of qabata fira is to advice the two parties when they break the traditional norm. With this, the first session ends deciding the time of the second session giving order to the two parties to bring one elder each for taking part in the reconciliation process, in jarsa arara.

The decisive arbitration process should have the following five members:

- the two wabis chosen by the two parties.
- one elder from the organizing party (common for both parties)
- the two elders brought by the two parties.

The second session of the reconciliation process starts by inviting the two parties to speak about their case. This process is known as afaan saaqqachuu, opening mouth. After the two parties have spoken, Waaqa kadhaa, a praying ceremony follows by saying:

Yaa Waaq - O Waaq. Nagaan nu bulchitee - you let us to pass the night in peace.

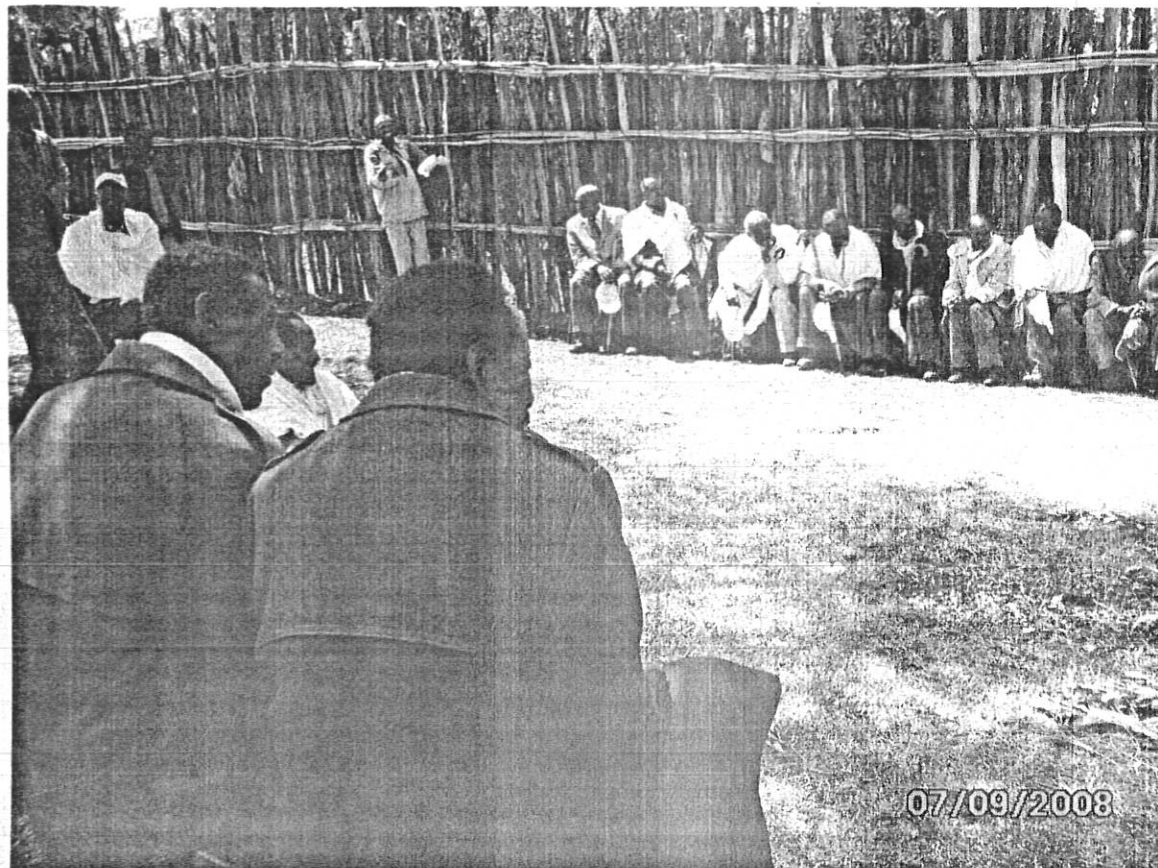
Nagaan nu oolchi - let us to pass the day in peace.

Taatuu nu dubbisi - let us to speak the possible.

Chubbuu nu lagi - protect us from sin.

Dhugaa nuu mul'isi - let us to see the truth.

Dhara sulula buusi - drop untruth into gorge



Qallu's meeting with his assistants

When the process moves to ask the two rival parties one by one in the absence of the other. In this, they persuade him to tell the truth in the absence of his opponent to get detailed information about the case. After this it is time to send out the two parties and start discussions about the decision. The jarsa arara may call both parties for clarification one by one in the mean time. If there is denial from one party, the other party is ordered to bring evidence for the third session. But if the two parties have given sufficient information, and there is no denial, decision is automatic and the dealing ends in two sessions only.

The problem of jarsumma (reconciliation process) arises when both or one of the parties does not agree about the decision. The only chance the jarsa arara have is persuading the two parties to accept the decision. Jarsumma lacks sanctions for violating its decision. It has no coercive power at its disposal. When the violation happens the jarsa arara may send the case to the Qallu where the social sanction is highly paralyzing.

When the case has reached the Inikka Elemo Qallu Institution, the Qallu sends a message to the disagreed party through his danyi, representative of him at that surrounding, to report to his social affairs office known as Yabbo. Now, the disagreed person must report to his office because the Qallu can impose a strong social sanction upon him. Some of the social sanctions imposed on the individual (known as tuma) are the following decisions:

Yoo iyye hin birmannu - We do not respond to his call for help.

Yoo ibiddi dhamme hin kenninu- We don't give him fire if set off.

Yoo du'e hin awwaallu - We don't bury him if he dies.

Yoo namni saame hin birmannu - If robbed, we do not go for help.

Yoo manni gubate hin dhaamsinu - If his house is burnt, we do not put off; etc.

The office of the Qallu (Yabbo) is opened every 14-days on Wednesdays and Fridays in the mornings after the regular ritual ceremonies. The first step in the Yabbo is praying and blessing according to their seniority led by the Qallu. Words in blessing, in short, are the following:

Ayyallaan siree haa ta'u - let gorge become bed.

Boolli dibdibbee haa ta'u - let pit become field.

Kormi cirrii haa ta'u - let bull mount fast like bird.

Rimaan haphee haa ta'u - let fertilization becomes sticky.

Maseentuun haa deessu - let the barren give birth , etc (other elders accompany by saying : haa ta'u)

The blessing and praying ceremony is concluded by Qallu. Some of his words are presented below:

Waaqni biyya nagaa nu haa oolchu - let Waaqa allow us to pass the day in peace (participants: nu haa oolchu).

Roobee tortorsaa nu haa baasu - let He saves us from a spoiling rain

(participants: nu haa baasuu).

Caamee goggogsaa nu haa baasu - let He saves us from drying drought

(participants: nu haa baasu).

Dargaggeessi haa beeku - let the young know (haa beeku).

Jaarsi dubbatee haa hoofkalu - let elders in dealings live safely

(haa hoofkalu),etc.

After the qallu has concluded the blessings and praying ceremony, dealing with cases is started led by the qallu. The participating elders are many, and sometimes they exceed twenty. The procedures are identically the same to what we have discussed above, i.e, the traditional jarsumma system. What makes the qallu's office different is that the number of the members of the system and the power the qallu has depending on social sanctions. The Qallu also has recognitions of governmental officials. When cases are presented by individuals or the qallu, every member listens attentively and take part in the discussions actively. Some even harshly criticize others when mistakes are made, by asking questions, 'Do you want to distort the rules of Yabbo of Elemo'? The role of the qallu, here, is to collect points of summary and show the direction of the decision. When the members show agreements in words or gestures, the final statement of the decision is forwarded by the qallu.

Once decisions have been given, there is no room for complaints. The reason is that first, the two parties are usually convinced by reasoning, second, the fear of the social sanction behind, and third, the mouth of the qallu is the mouth of the ayyana, from where truth comes out.

Believers who come with cases to the Yabbo are highly, advantageous at least for the following reasons:

- No individual can change the course of the decision because the members are many; i.e, there is no room for corruption and bias.
- There is no money paid for this service but they may invite local drinks after the dealings.
- There is no unnecessary wastage of time. If the Qallu is occupied by urgent cases, his assistants (danyi) can do the work.
- Minor disputes, sometimes, can be settled directly by the Qallu with advice like decisions.

Childlessness is a great sorrow among societies even if it occurs rarely. A childless family, according to the culture, should adopt one of the sons of another family. This is common in the Oromo and it is known as guddifacha (adoption). But the problem is that

families are not usually willing to give their sons as guddifacha. If a childless family asks the child of another family according to the existing rule, and if the result is refusal, the remedy only becomes the qallu. Using his acceptance among the society, the qallu may persuade the refused family to give one of their sons as adoption for the Childless. If they still hesitate to give the child, he sends his ayyanas horse known as Bora with Kallacha. The situation is, now, serious so that it is not possible to refuse and the childless family is told to prepare for the guddifacha ceremony according to the culture.

The ceremony of guddifacha is part of the process of tuma (law making). In this case, tuma is making regulations that define the position of the adopted son in the family. To do his, the adopting family needs two gula. Gula is a person who participated in the forty year period in the Gada system. In addition, five spears of the Bokku are needed. But before performing the guddifacha ceremony, the childless family should receive the child. The family of the child simply bring their son, put him down, and turn their faces and go home without seeing backward. The childless family take off the wearings of the child and wear him new cloths and go home singing the song of the ayyana (dalaga) saying:

Galatoo Maaree, Ya ayyolee - thank you my beloved Marm

As they have reached home, the guddifacha ceremony starts with slaughtering a bull. The adopting father and the gulas start performing the ceremony. The procedure is as follows: The two gula lay the five spears down on the ground pointing to the east. They hold the spears with their two hands kneeling down near the spears. The adopting father says the following and the gulas and the accompanying people say, haa ta'u, let it be.

Guddifadheera,(haa ta'u)- I have adopted,(let it be).

Ilmoo koo ti, (haa ta'u)- He is my child (let him be).

Hin kaadu, (haa ta'u)- I do not deny (let it be).

Seerri seera Liibani, (haa ta'u)- it is the law of Liban (let it be).

Hin jigu, hin dhangala'u,(haa ta'u) - it doesn't fall or flow (let it be)

Tumneerra seera (haa ta'u)- We have decided, it is a law (let it be).

It is after the tuma ceremony have been performed that the adopted child becomes the son

of the adopting family. If this ceremony is not performed, there is no guarantee that the child is their son. In case, this son returns to his biological family, his life will be risked because the ayyana angers at him.

The other most important role played by the qallu in the society is cultural preservation as the ritual should be accompanied with many material culture such as chachu, kallacha, bullukko, jano, iro, iftu, etc. The way he has built the ritual house is also an indication of the traditional engineering. His trees are axe free. There are sycamore (qilt'u) trees of age more than hundred years. The way he is treating water for irrigation for horticulture is also of great interest in the surrounding and can be an example for other horticulturalists. I also observed linguistic preservation. Very old words and expressions are frequently heard around the institution. The names of the material culture have also been preserved in the compound of the qallu.



People building a bridge by the help of Qallu

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary and Conclusion.

The Word Waaqa can mean sky or 'God'. The concept Waaqa includes ayyana. But according to Bartels (1990), the term divinity is taken as better designation than the Word 'God'.

As discussed, the basis of Oromo Religion is the conception based on human and superhuman reality or simply, man and above man (superhuman) conception. If man do not perform ritual ceremonies and do not give sacrifices to the ayyanas, the ayyanas may cause problems such as crop failures, death, diseases and wars, because they are more than (above) man.

Qallu is a ritual expert who has relations to one or more ayyanas which possesses him at regular intervals. This word is found in all Oromoland (Knutsson, Bartels). Some opponents of the belief address qallu by the name qallicha which lacks social respectation.

As explained earlier, Elemo was the first qallu in warra Elemo qallu institution. The name of the institution represents the name of Elemo often called Warra Elemo Qallu who had four successor qallus. They were: Dhugo, Kesi, Inikka and Gurmessa. Elemo's ayyana, Maram descended upon all the successor qallus of warra Elemo to the present time.

The two sons of Elemo qallu institution, Dhugo and Gurmessa are functioning well except that 1) they lack young participants, especially the schooled ones, and 2) the dominance of the Protestant Church teachings around their ritual houses has minimized the number of participants. The signs of endangerment may occur in the near future.

The Kesi Elemo qallu institution has no successor so far since its qallu had deceased. There are elders seen around the galma for the usual arbitration processes even if there are no signs of the existence of ayyanas. It is clearly on the verge of extinction.

The compound of the qallu, and the qallu himself are said to be clean and pure. The general rules for these are termed as lagu (taboo). There are also food lagus (taboos) for the qallu under study.

Muata is a special type of ayyana created for honoring or serving the normal ayyanas during annual ceremonies including the burial ceremony of them. Muata members are

usually seen around the compound of qallu during Masqala(thanksgiving), kenna (gift to ayyana), and kora (unity) rituals.

It is the Inikka Elemo qallu ritual that is apparently strongest. Of course, young participants are very few when compared with adults, old men and women. There is less pressure by other religions on Inikka Elemo rituals.

As discussed earlier there are two things that have bound the society to the qallu: the religious and the social systems. It is difficult to see these two separating one from the other. The religious system clearly gives spiritual satisfaction. This is evident from the obedience the participants show kissing the ground in front of the Qallu and bring him gifts in the name of his ayyanas.

The Inikka Elemo qallu Qallu is used as an advisor of important social affairs such as marriage, adoption, and conflict resolution ranging from minor family disputes to murder cases. The reconciliation regularly takes place every 14 days after the ritual ceremonies on Wednesdays and Fridays without fail. This is one of the most important social roles of this qallu institution. To mention some of its advantages, 1) there is no room for corruption and bias, i.e., no individual can change the course of the decision because the elders that take part in the reconciliation are many. 2) there is no money paid for the service. 3) there is no unnecessary wastage of time. In absence of the Qallu, assistants substitute him. 4) minor disputes can get decisions by the Qallu alone with his advices.

The Inikka Elemo Qallu is a preserver of Oromo material and spiritual culture. The material culture basically includes ritual objects, the usual wearings of the Qallu and the traditional ways of house building. The institution is also an economic center for few traders. Local drinks and industrial commodities are well sold to hundreds of people taking part in the rituals and reconciliation. Linguistic preservation is also easily observed. Very old words and expressions are frequently heard around the compound of the Qallu, especially, in prayers, blessings and cursings.

The Elemo Qallu social roles are diverse. But there are some basic problems that can disturb him. These are the following: 1) There are no all weather roads leading to his institution. 2) There is no enough shelter for elders taking part in the reconciliation and visitors. 3) There is no money paid for elders atleast for the days they pass in reconciliation. 4) There are no pipe water and electricity for his visitors, participants and

.the village people.These problems may get solutions dicussing with the regional government and the people.

Inspite of the fact that the people of the area currently adhere to Chritianity,the Inikka In general,Elemo Qallu plays an important role in the life of the surrounding society.It is still a living institution.The Qallu, especially,serves as a key mediator in conflict resolution possessing extra-ordinary power.

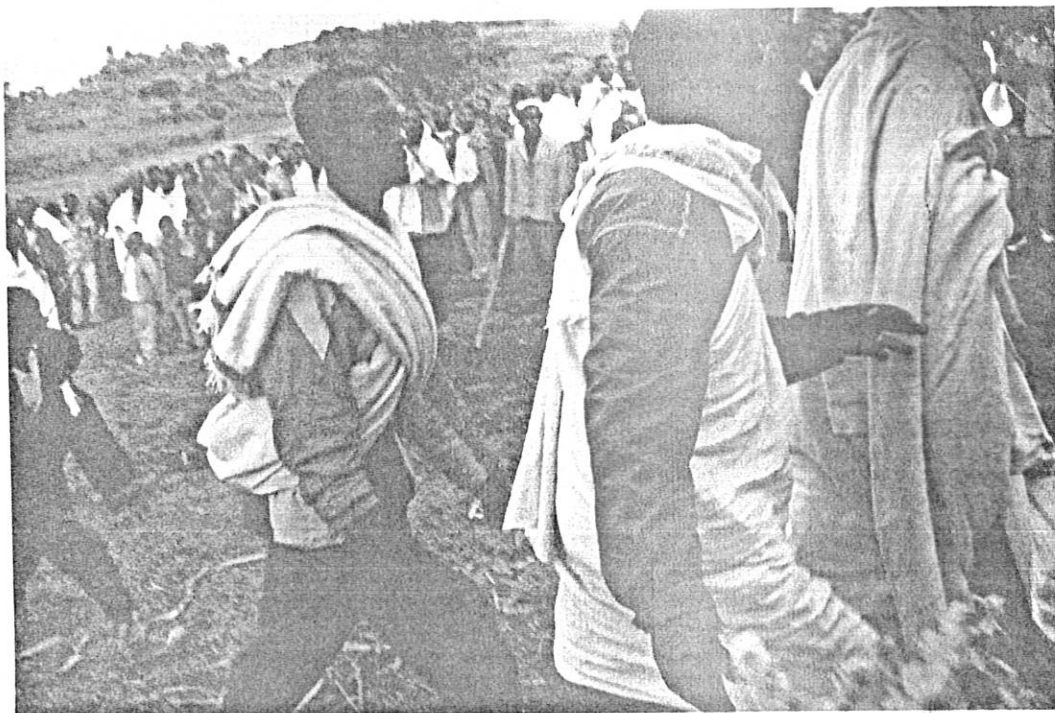
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Appendix



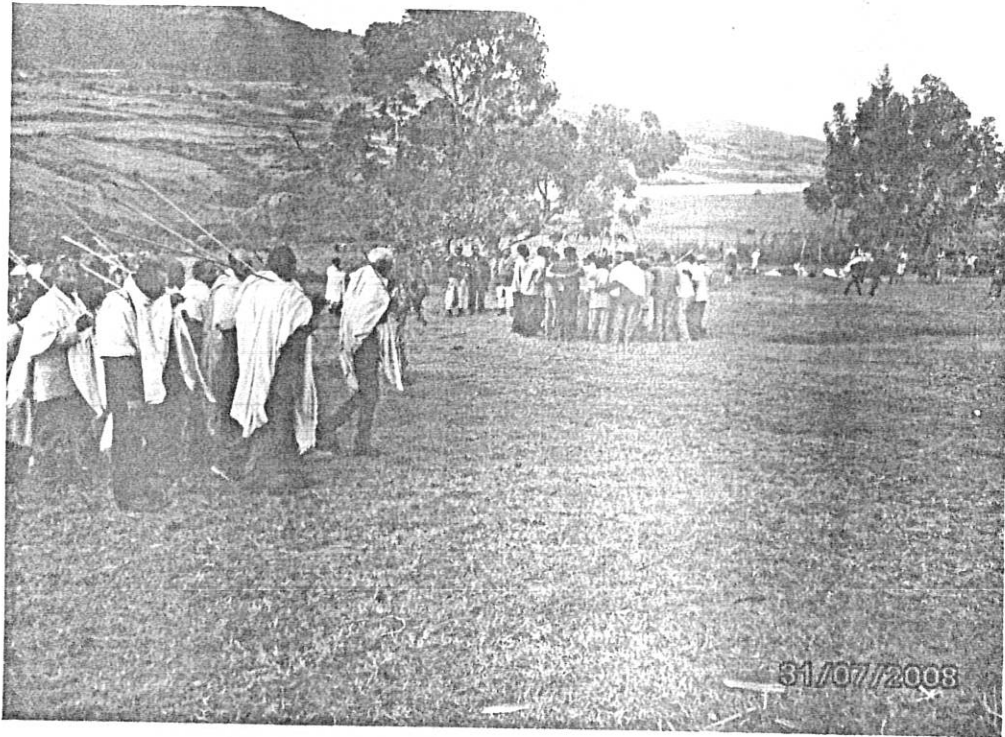
Right to left: Ararsa Muttal (1) and Nagesso Muttal (3), consultants



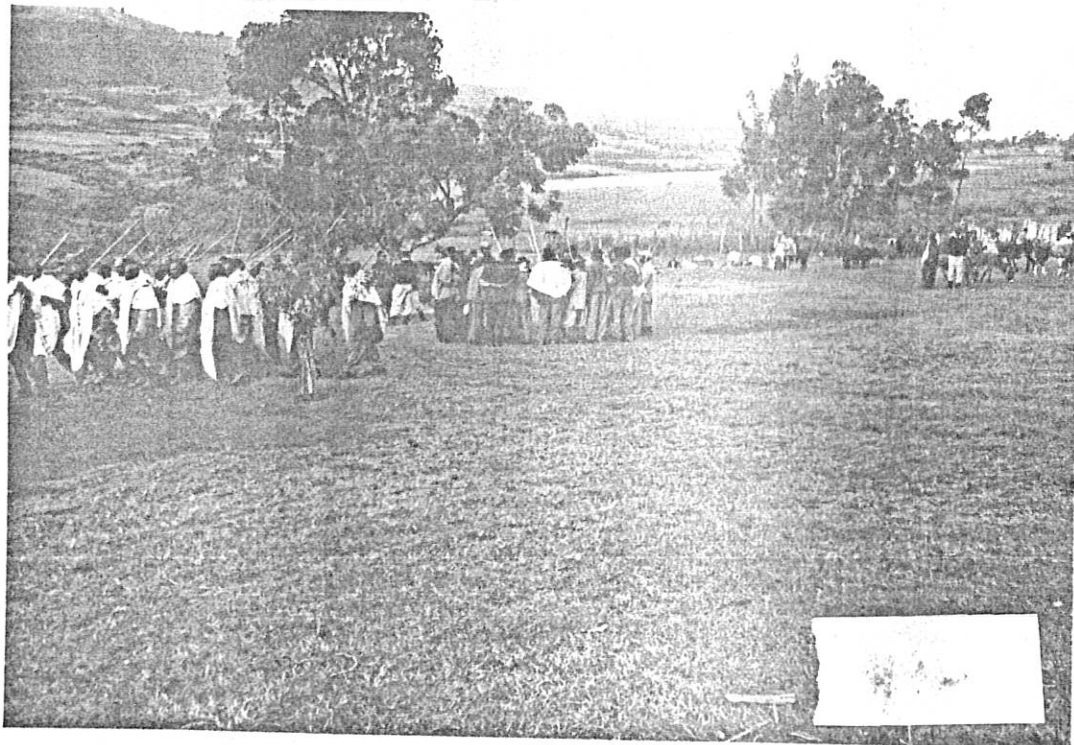
People celebrating annual ritual of Inikka Elemo Qallu



Chachu (female ayyana's ritual symbolism) and qolo (ritual cloth of female ayyana).



People dancing at the annual celebration (Masqala)



Cultural dance



Elders usually participate in arbitration processes



The process of blessing at the office of Kumala Fayyisa (the Qallu)



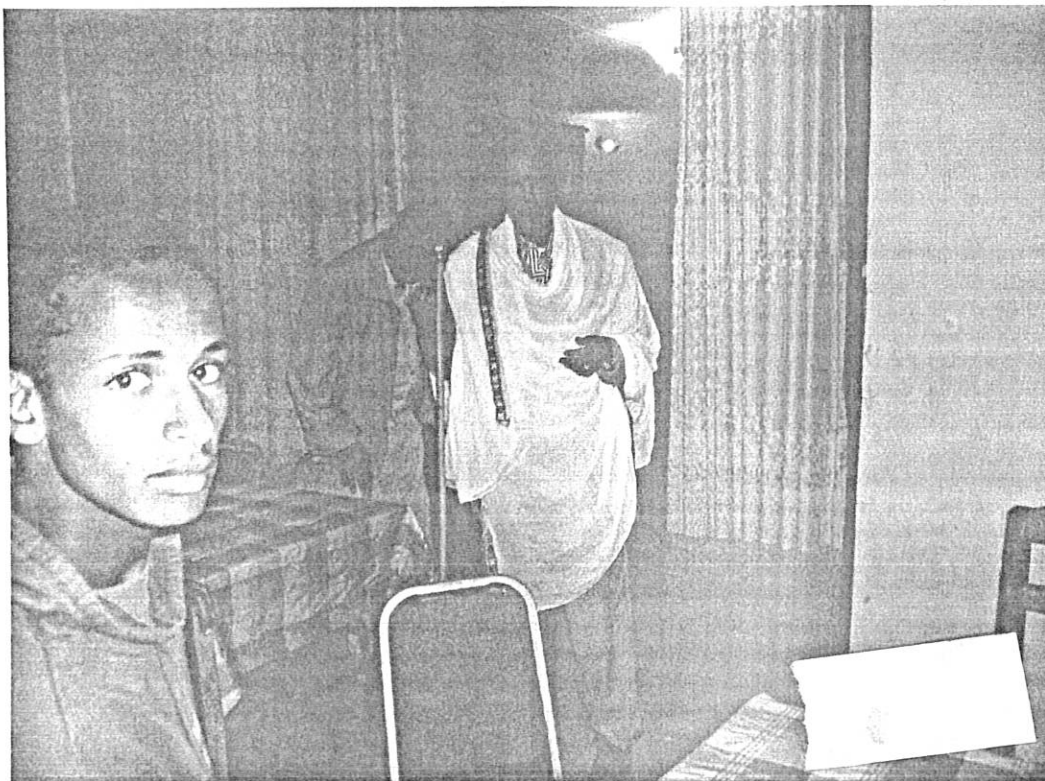
People at the place of the Annual Fire



The Annual Fire (Masqala)



Annual Fire (Masqala)



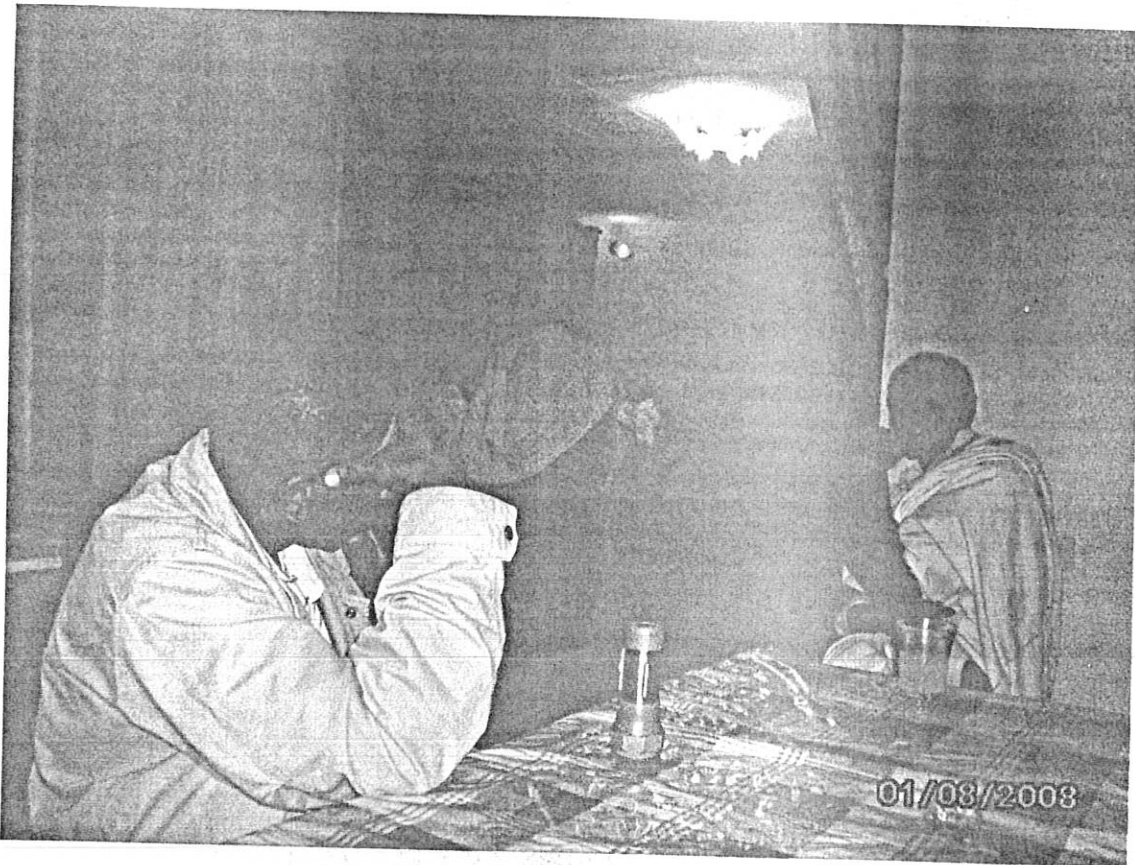
The Qallu (Kumala fayyisa) inviting guests in his residence



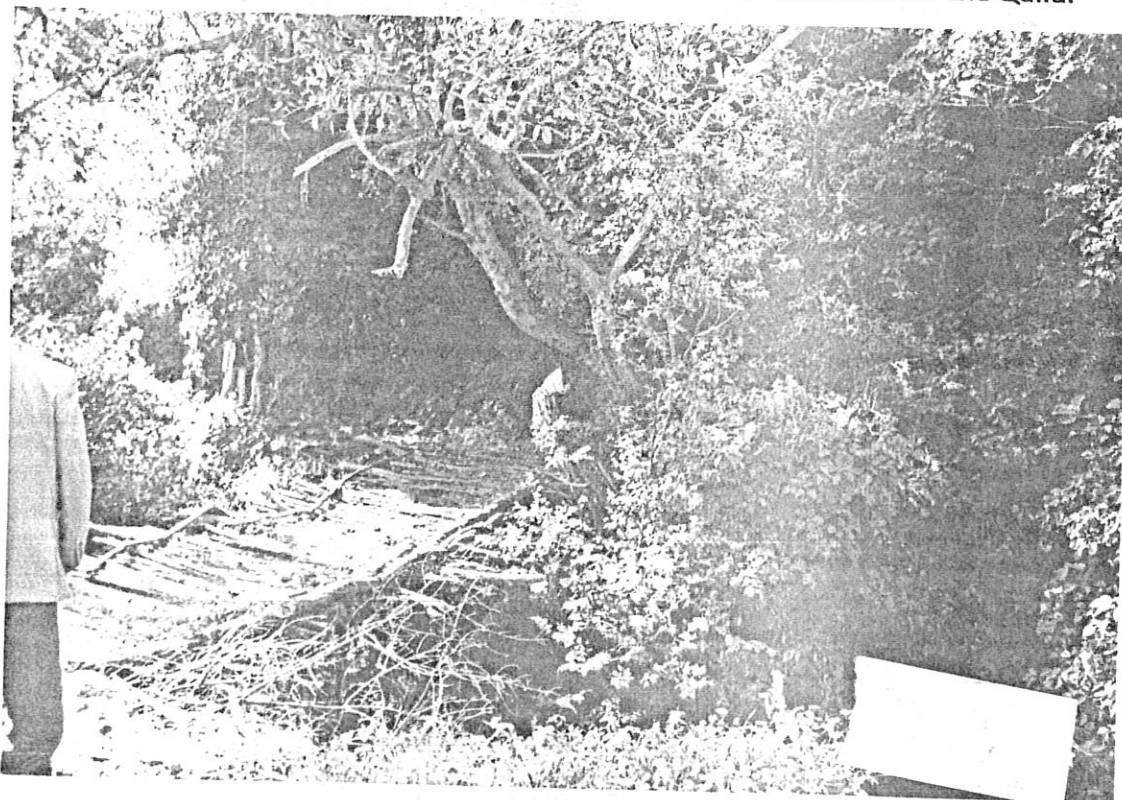
Foreignes visiting the institution



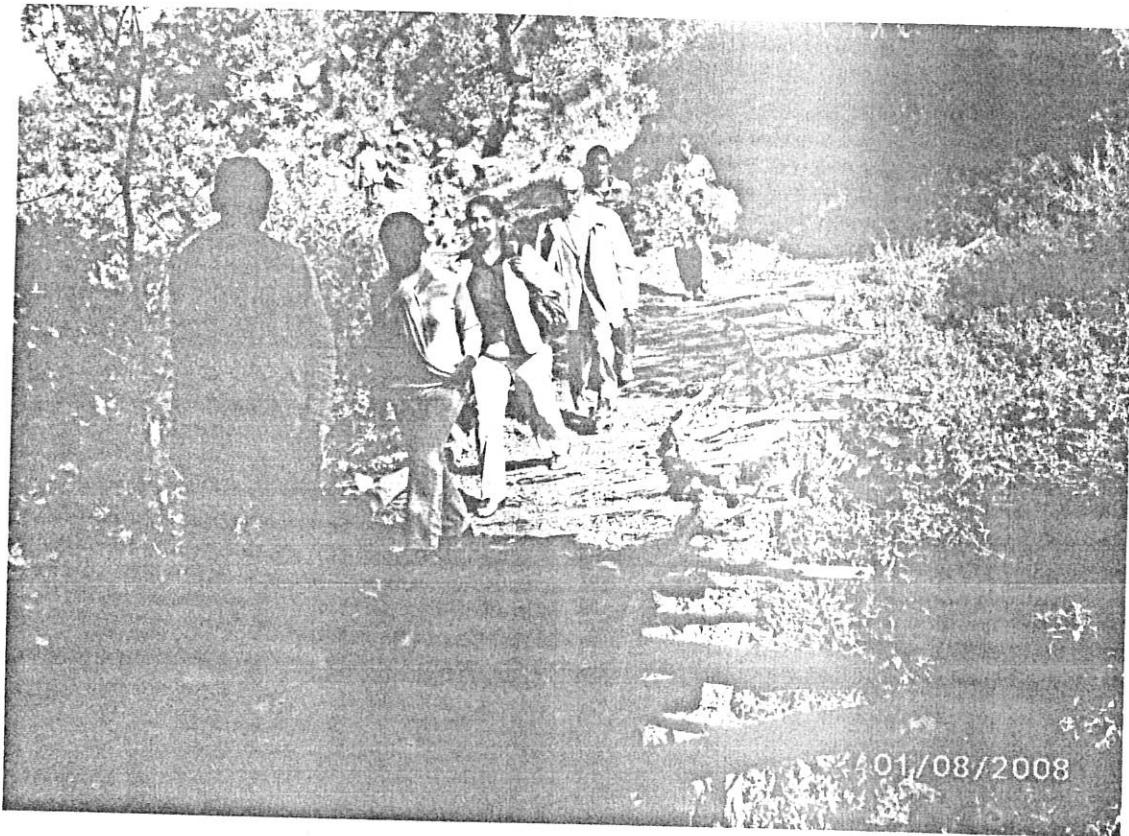
Invitation in the residence of the Qallu



Hundessa Muttal (consultant) with his brother in the residence of the Qallu.



Ancient bridge leading to Inikka Elemo Qallu institution



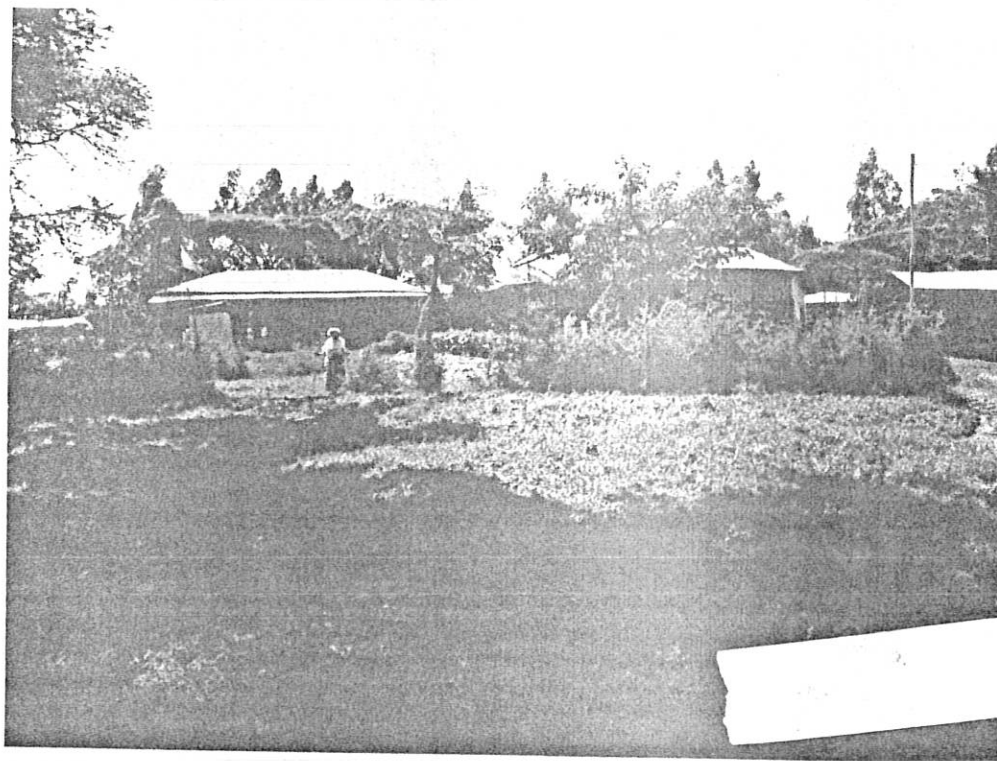
Participants of the Maqala ceremony crossing the ancient bridge



Galma Maram, the ritual house of the female ayyana



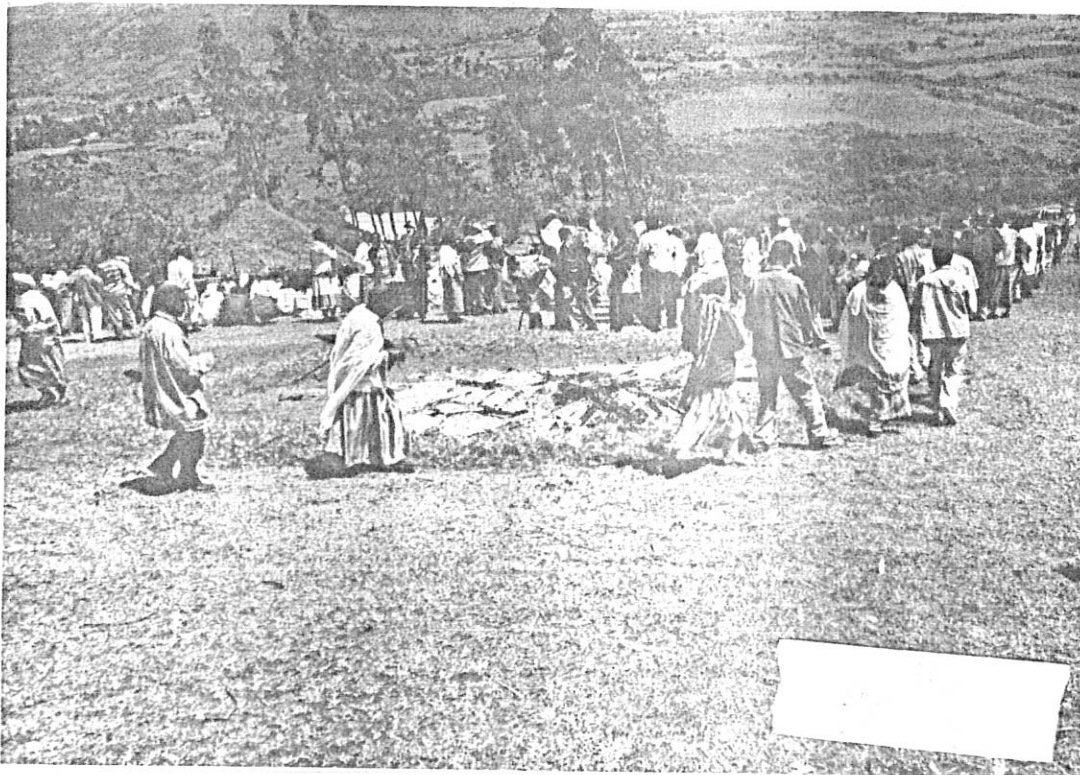
Galma Goofa, the ritual house of the Lord .



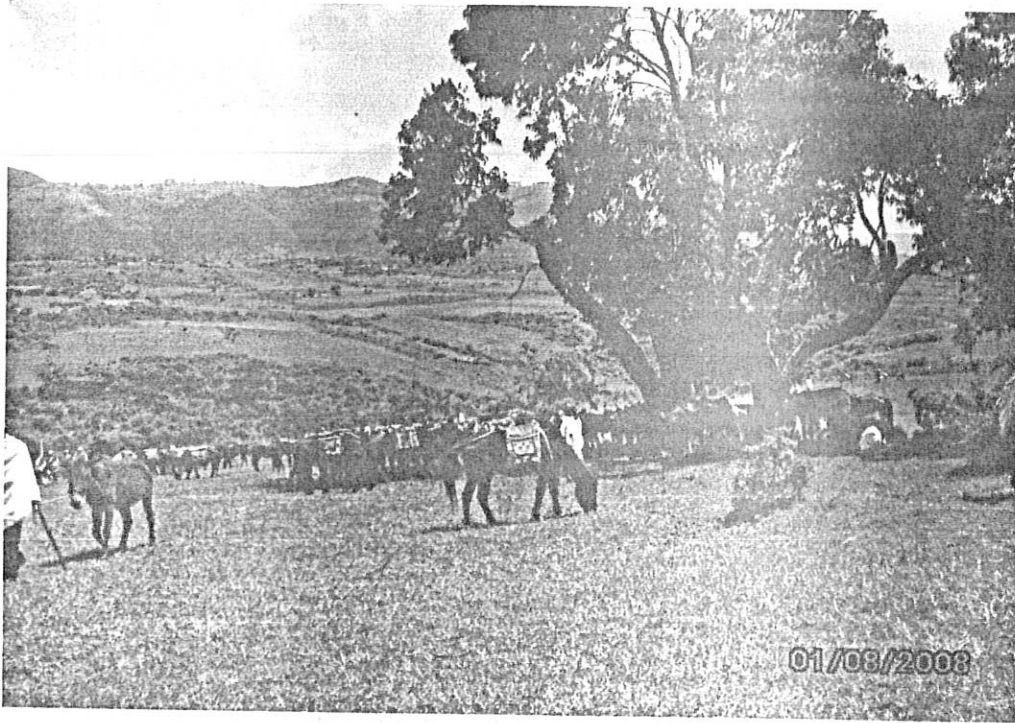
Residential house of the Qallu.



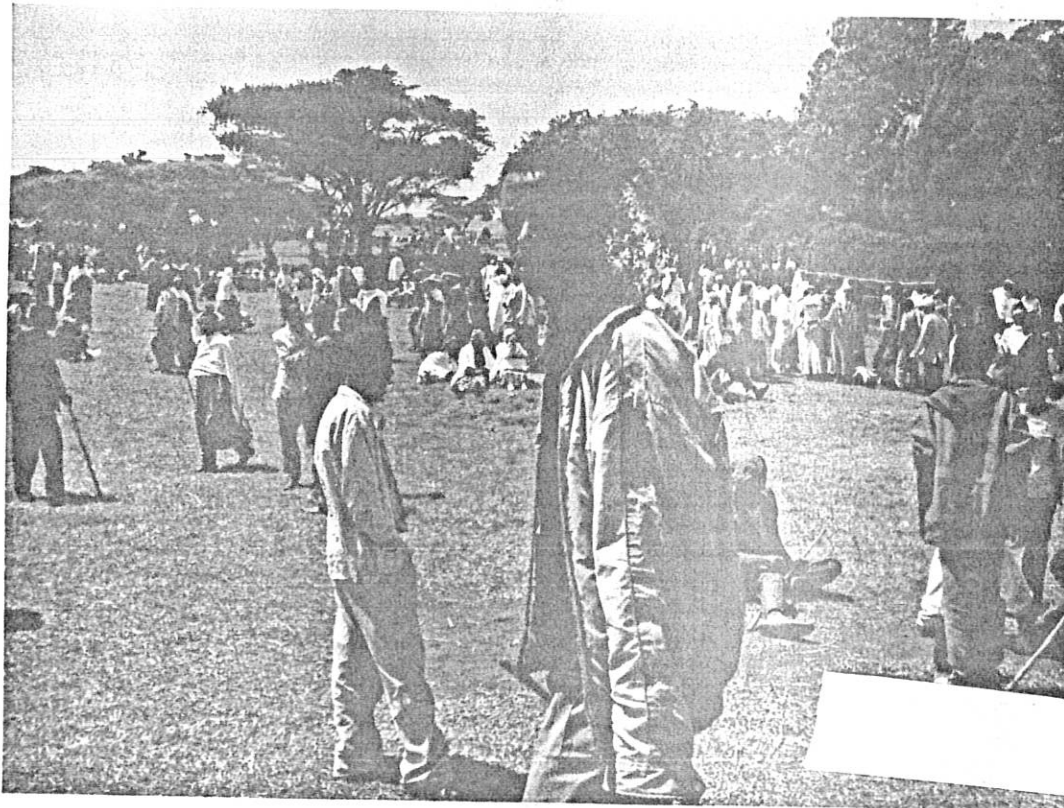
Qilt'u Jawwe, sycamore of the serpent



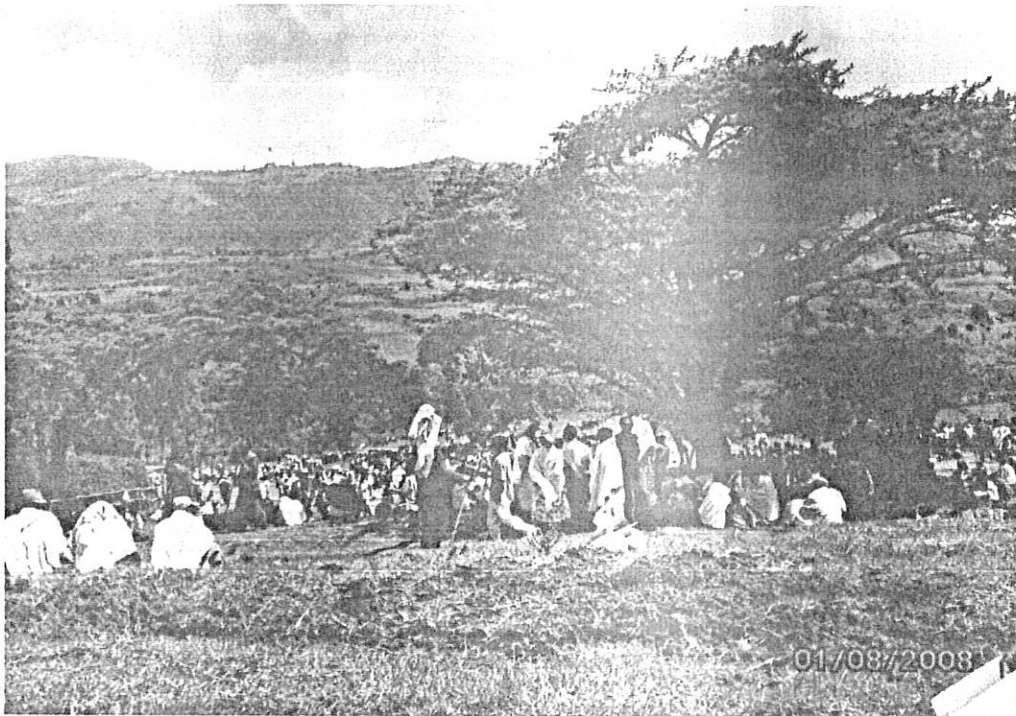
The ceremony of irressa around the ash of the Annual Fire



Horses of participants



Participants of the ritual Masqala



Participants around the ritual houses



Left to right: Ararsa Muttal (consultant) preparing for the fortnight irressa



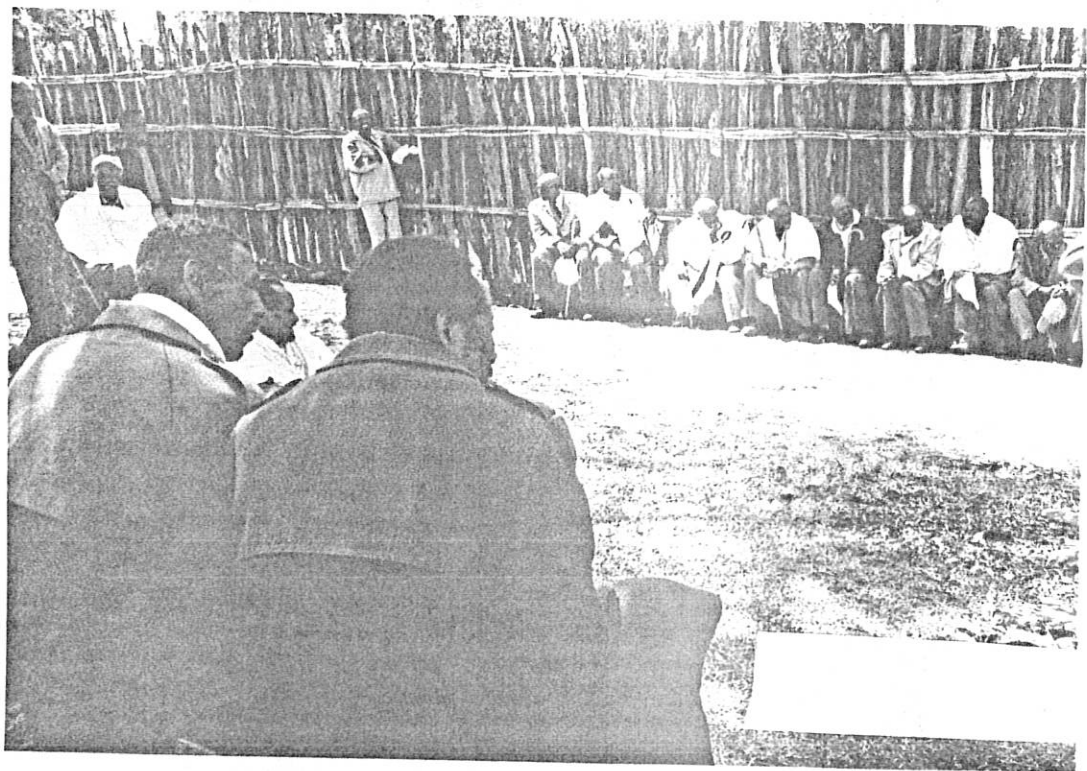
Men praying out of the Masasa (compound)



Women praying out of the compound



The Qallu dealing with elders



The Qallu with elders in one of his urgent meetings



Nata'a Turi (consultant)



The Qallu visiting his assistants



Some of the children living in the compound of the Qallu



Bay'isa Tolasa (consultant)



Right to left: Nagasa Turura (consultant) and Naga'a Homa (consultant), participating on arbitration process out of kesi Elemo ritual house's compound.



Ritual house of Kesi Elemo Family