



**OROMO INDIGENOUS RELIGION: ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDING OF
WAAQEFFANNAA-NATURE LINK, WITH HIGHLIGHT ON LIVELIHOOD IN GUJI
ZONE, ADOLA REDDE AND GIRJA DISTRICTS**

BY MULUGETA JALETA GOBENO

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, COLLEGE
OF SOCIAL SCIENCE ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR REQUIREMENTES OF THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF
ARTS IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLGY**

MENTOR: ASSEFA TOLERA (PhD)

**JUNE 2017
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

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**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
MA PROGRAM IN SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

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Fourthly, I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to the three Abba Gada of the Guji three phratry Uruga, Matti & Hokku respectively. The cooperation and contribution of Abba Gada of Uruga (Guji Oromo senior phratry) and Abba Gada of Matti phratry is larger.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to investigate and identify the Oromo Indigenous Religion (IR)-Waaqeffannaa link to natural environment (Land and forest), and its values in all aspects of Guji Oromo life, in the anthropological lens. In this study, the what, where and why Waaqeffannaa persistently deep-rooted in to the daily life of Guji-Oromo and their amicable co-existence with nature have been discussed and analyzed. The study employed qualitative research approach with ethnographic research design, because of the nature of the identified research problem, that peoples' experience in the environment, and belief system and practices to be studied. The actual study participants have been selected by means of non-probability sampling method, from Adola Redde and Girja districts. Purposive sampling has been employed in this study, because, the relevant respondents from the target group have been selected carefully, by the researcher, to get reliable and rich data. Ethical issues strongly respected. Detailed interview, Focused group discussion, Observation, Informal conversation and Document review are data gathering tools employed. The sample size of this study depends on the saturation of data collected. Data collection and organizations took place in August and September 2016, while interpretation, and analysis took place in October to December 2016. Girja and Adola Redde Districts have been identified as study population due to their potential resource fullness which is useful to this study. This study argued that Indigenous Religion (IR) -Waaqeffannaa contributed to the existence and preservation of natural environment, which in turn, natural environment has contributed for the existence of conducive conditions for all lives both human and non-human nature in that area. As a result people of the area enjoyed diversified livelihoods due to favorable climatic conditions. Waaqeffannaa link with nature is more of spiritual and socio-economical in nature. Therefore, there is lesson to learn from ancestors that this study found and more studies recommended to be conducted for more lesson.

Key words: Abba Gada, Gada System, Waaqa, Waaqeffannaa, Guji-Oromo, Balli, Qallu, Ardaa-Jilaa

ACRONYMS

CSA-Central Statistical Agency

FGD-Focused Group Discussion

GCTB-Guji Culture and Tourism Bureau

IK-Indigenous Knowledge

IR-Indigenous Religion

MAE-Meteorological Agency of Ethiopia

SNNPR-Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regions

SNNP- Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mother Tajitu Ragassa Gammachu, who laid the corner stone of my educational life building, from non to current and where I will be next. Sadly, she is not sharing this world with me. Moreover, this study is dedicated to lives lost on *Irrecha* Thanks Giving Day on October 2. 2016 and all lives lost in 2015-2016 in the country.

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GLOSSARY OF LOCAL WORDS

Abbaa coomaa- (*Rosmarinus officinalis*)

Abba –Father

Ardaa Jilaa-Sacred sites

Baca –Many/Much

Baallii- Gada Cycle

Gaalee –dependent plant like rope (*no scientific name*)

Gabala –Traditional Administrative area in Guji Oromo

Haadha-Mother

Haadha bollaa- title given to wife of Abba Gada

Harrettii/qoddoo- (*no scientific name*),

Hayyuu- Wise / Knowledgeable person

Hosee- Good

Ka dhibii- Another

Kaayyoo/Milkii- Luck

Marga maattii (*Taj-sar in Amharic and no scientific name*),

Muka- Jilaa-sacred tree

Qadadduu-Supporter

Qaalluu- Oromo indigenous religion leader

Sukutee – (*tena-adam in Amharic and no scientific name*),

Waaqa-Supper Natural Being

Waaqa-Heaven/ Sky

Waaqeffataa-Follower of *Waaqeffannaa* (*Masculine*)

Waaqeffattuu-Follower of *Waaqeffannaa* (*Feminine*)

Waaqeffannaa-Indigenous Oromo Religion

Wolannaa- Opposite groups in Guji Oromo Gada cycle

Woyyuu-Holy, Someone with special talent,

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CHAPTER ONE:

Introduction

1.1. Background

Religious practices are one of the major valued human experiences that possess several purposes, and meanings in the history of mankind. It is very important to understand religion and its practices, in one way or another, as it has power to affect daily life. Taylor mentioned that failing to understand religion would result in failing to understand the world in which we are today. “You cannot understand the world today if you do not understand religion” (Taylor 2007: xiii).

Indigenous religions have their own values, and function to the people they serve. Oromo belief system -“Oromo Religion” as Bartels calls, *Waaqeffannaa* is one of the indigenous religions in Africa. Some studies explained *Waaqeffannaa* as one of the major indigenous African religions.

According to (Baxter, Hultin & Triulzi 1996), Oromo religion is one of the very few indigenous religions that have not been dominated by foreign religions. “Unlike other people who have adopted religions from which were not indigenous to their societies, in the case of Oromo, the people and the belief system have evolved together” (94).

Waaqeffannaa of the Oromo is among such indigenous religions, which survived for a long period of time. Of course, large number of Oromo have been converted to either Christianity or Islam religions, while significant number remained with their indigenous religion. This indigenous religion is practical in different parts of Oromia in varying degrees.

The way Guji and Borana Oromo practice their indigenous religion-*Waaqeffannaa*, wherever and whenever there are events and shrines, and value, respect, protect and special attentions given to nature surrounding them, in their daily life, influenced and drove me to be curious about the Guji Oromo and their indigenous religious practices in the natural environment, to know more. I repeatedly travel to both Guji and Borana zones for humanitarian activities since the last six years. I have observed and impressed by the different natural environment that covered Guji zone which includes high altitude with thick forest and its biodiversity, middle altitude, lowland and geographical landscape. For me, it cannot be an exaggeration, if I say, the friendly bond between

this people and the natural environment with its all components (both plants and animals lives) on this land has attention pulling.

Natural environment is holy place where prayer and religious ritual takes place in Guji Oromo land. Religious and socio-political rituals and practices are in the natural environment like forest, fields, under trees and on the bank of water bodies. This is the very nature of humanity in the history of mankind as Wade explains. “Primitive religions have no priests or ecclesiastical hierarchy. They are practiced by the community as a whole, with no distinction of rank. No separate organizations such as a church is recognized the entire community is a church” (Wade, 2009:101).

Places are not just ordinary places, but place which is irreplaceable and unchangeable, and have certain taboos. Sites of religious and cultural rituals, respected and protected by all, and transferred from generation to generation. No matter how much the sacred site is far away from the people, they did not establish another place. Rather, they perform pilgrimage to such sacred sites because of the value attached to that place through ancestral line. According to Taddesse, (1995:48), “These shrines are common properties of the whole group and were found all over the Guji territory, covering vast areas of land. Guji performs pilgrimage to these sites for Gada and other rituals”

The complex cultural background of this people, that supported them in keeping such diverse natural environment, since at least more than half a millennia, is perhaps, because of the influences of their complex indigenous religion, socio-cultural and political practices which is friendly to nature. Indigenous religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) which is the very heart of the culture of Guji Oromo, takes a lion’s share, in every aspects of Guji Oromo life.

However, so far, no detail studies conducted on this indigenous belief system-*Waaqeffannaa* and its link to nature as far as the researcher knows. Thus, the researcher is interested to understand what *Waaqeffannaa* is for this people? Where, and how Guji Oromo *Waaqeffannaa* practiced? Why *Waaqeffannaa*, is in the nature unlike other dominant religions, and *Waaqeffannaa* value attachment to natural environment?

These lines of tracing knowledge helps the researcher to learn the link between *Waaqeffannaa* practices and selected natural environment. Milton (1996) has mentioned that the importance of studying local knowledge is both for knowledge gap as well as to protect environment in relatively best way as locals have understanding of the real world than others. “There are many instances in which the knowledge anthropologists have gained of people’s understandings of their environments would support the view (widely held among environmentalists) that the best way of protecting those environments is to enable local, traditional cultures to survive” (53).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

A number of social science researches have been conducted on Guji Oromo under different titles and objectives. For instance, (Hinnant, T. John 1977), has studied *The Gada system of Guji of Southern Ethiopia*, in which he has elaborated the social structure, “traditional” political system, and some of the roles of *Qallu* on religion events during ritual practices (Hinnant 1977). Hinnant indicated that the *Qallu* who are socially, the highly respected and heard individual, and indigenous religion leader, was much knowledgeable in Guji-Oromo culture.

However, he met such an individual suddenly, on ritual practice where groups of people attending their religious ritual, practices at the end of his study.

By the end of the field work period, I had access to hundreds of people, was in regular attendance in two spirit groups and knew the official Guji historian, the leaders of the Gada system, and the high Kallu, the most important religious figure in Guji. Yet I learned more from my adopted father than from these specialists. They knew specific aspects of Guji culture more than anyone else (Hinnant 1977: ix).

This indicates, there is more lesson to learn the religious aspect of the culuture. Indigenous religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) is the center of the whole Guji Oromo culture.

Secondly, the practices of this Indigenous religion in the other parts of Oromia has two nature. The first is Thanks Giving to *Waaqa* following end of rainy season and beginning of spring. The idea is to thank *Waaqa* for his ending rainy, cloudy, muddy ground and replacing with sunshine and flowery environment. This ritual is called *irrecha/irressa* and performed in the nature, usually, on

the bank of water bodies (Lake or river side). No studies indicate about ritual performance for *Waaqa*'s giving of raining up on request so far.

This thanks giving ceremony-*irrecha/irressa*, has a re-cycling nature because its performance at the end of rainy season specifically in the mid September when natural environment decorated with yellow flowers on annual base and celebrated in different parts of Oromia but the number of participants are not in millions like the big *irrecha* ceremony at *Hora Arsade* in *Bishoftu* town 45 kms to the south of Addis Ababa.

The second nature of *Waaqeffannaa* is request for intervention of *Waaqa* in to some problems. The request can be for human or animal epidemic diseases, delayed rain, instability, repeated accident and repeated deaths in a family or a community to *Waaqa* through ritual performance. As events happen unexpectedly, such form of *Waaqeffannaa* – requesting *Waaqa* for intervention performed irregularly unlike the abovementioned thanksgiving ritual. It has no specific time base unlike *irrecha*-thanks giving elaborated above.

In brief, *Waaqeffannaa* can be seen in two explicit ways. The former is thanks giving which is time based and has recycling nature while the later is request for help or intervention of *Waaqa* when ever needed.

However, in the case of Guji Oromo, *Waaqeffannaa* rituals have no fixed time, and purpose. It is quite complex, and diversified. Therefore:

1. The reason behind these differences between other parts of Oromia and Guji Oromo, remained open and needs answer.

2. What is the influence of such *Waaqeffannaa* (daily life based) in Guji Oromo on natural environment?

3. The third issue remained open is the practical outcom of natural environment on Guji Oromo due to their different ways of *Waaqeffannaa* they practice?

Therefore, to fill the above mentioned gaps this study is focused on *Waaqeffannaa*-Natural environment link with highlight on livelihoods of the Guji Oromo in the anthropological light. The

ritual practices of *Waaqeffannaa* in these selected natural environment, where *Ardaa-Jilaa* found were the very heart of this study.

Guji zone is selected due to the availability of such religiously important sacred lands which indicate the presence of relatively larger followers of *Waaqeffannaa* in Guji land than other parts of Oromia, as earlier researches findings reveal. “Culturally sacred sites are more available in Guji-Oromo occupied lands than Borana Oromo (Asmarom 1973:17); (Hinnant 1977); (Taddesse, 1995:48).

Moreover, the rationale behind the abundance of sacred places in one area (more in *Adola Redde* districts) than the other areas within Guji land itself needs more explanations. This study considered to analyze these natural environment which is culturally protected places beyond just being “ceremonial place”. Dove and Carpenter argued that, Places are not just locals but source of feelings, meanings and memories of past experiences; there is power to identify who and what we are yesterday and analyze in the lens of where we are now.

...there is now an “impressive array” of anthropological research demonstrating that “places are locales of intense emotional attachment, think with meaning and memory, shaped by both local and trans-local phenomena; they possess the ‘power to direct and stabilize us, to memorize and identify us, to tell us who and what we are in terms of *where we are* (as well as where we are *not*)’ (Dove and Carpenter, 2008:53).

The argument of this study is on this indigenous religion-*Waaqeffannaa* link to selected natural environment (Land and Forest as sacred sites), and its effects on the natural environment, which in turn, has influence on the way of life of the Guji Oromo.

The source of primary data for this study were the community, who are regular participants of the rituals at *Ardaa-Jilaa* and those who used to participate in different rituals and ceremonies as well. The religious values attached to such natural environment, why such natural environments selected religiously? The influence of *Waaqeffannaa* on human action against natural environment, and the natural environment effect on the way of life and daily life of the Guji Oromo have been studied in depth in the anthropological lens.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to understand and examine Oromo indigenous religion (IR) -*Waaqeffannaa* link with natural environment, in the anthropological understanding.

The specific objectives of this study are:

- ✚ To understand *Waaqeffannaa* belief system among the Guji Oromo;
- ✚ To analyze *Waaqeffannaa* value attachment;
- ✚ Values attached to Natural environment;
- ✚ To analyze *Waaqeffannaa* influence on natural environment
- ✚ To examine the influence of natural environment on the Guji Oromo's livelihoods.

1.4. Research questions:

This research answer the following questions:

- ✚ What is *Waaqeffannaa* for the Guji Oromo?
- ✚ What are the values attached to *Waaqeffannaa*?
- ✚ What are valuea attached to Natural environment?
- ✚ What are *Waaqeffannaa* influences on natural environment?
- ✚ What are natural environment influences on livelihoods and daily life of the Guji Oromo?

1.5. Significance of the study

Religious practices are one of the major valued human experience that possess complex meanings, and influences human mind. It is important to understand religion and its practices, as in one way or another, it has a power to affect daily life. This study discussed Oromo Indigenous religion practices in the natural environment among Guji Oromo and has the following significance.

Oromo indigenous religion –*Waaqeffannaa* is among such indigenous religions. This study focused stressed on the significance and function of this indigenous Oromo religions (*Waaqeffannaa*) practices in the natural environment among Guji Oromo. Therefore, it has the following significance:

- It uncover information (purpose, value attachment, link with nature and roles of individuals in the system) about what indigenous religion of Oromo-*Waaqeffannaa* is among the Guji Oromo
- It would have an added value and may contribute to the few available *Waaqeffannaa* - nature related researches
- It would serve as an introductory to further research to be studied in depth in such indigenous religion and physical world tie, to pave the way for “Environmental anthropology” to open as field of study in the department of Social Anthropology.

1.6. Scope of the study

Because of time and budget constraints it has been found difficult to conduct research in all districts of Guji zone. Thus, this study delimited to two districts- *Adola Redde* and *Girja* of Gji Zone in Oromia regional state.

There are twenty eight (28) kebeles and three (3) town administrations in *Adola Redde* district while there are twenty kebeles in *Girja* district. This study has been delimited to eight (8) kebeles and two (2) town administrations in *Adola Redde* and four (4) kebeles in *Girja* districts respectively. In Both sites, kebeles where *Ardaa-Jilaa* (Sacred sites) are available and the current Gada leaders with their followers were performing ceremonies and rituals have been selected.

1.7. Research Methodology and Methods

1.7.1. Research Methodology

As this study is concerned with less measurable human experiences, it is significant to consider appropriate research methodology and methods to address the research problem accurately. Therefore, qualitative research approach has been employed as it is relevant for this particular study due to the nature of the research problem addressed. Because, the study is lived experiences of human which cannot be quantified.

1.7.2. Research design

The researcher chosed ethnographic research design in this study because it is appropriate to qualitative research methodology and more useful to understand the cultural and religious practices of the people; it is also helpful to understand social structure and organizations of the study

population accurately. This is due to the fact that the thesis is about Peoples' lived experience and their interaction with their natural environment.

1.7.3. Study Population

The study population of the research were two districts (*Adola Redde* and *Girja*) in Guji zone, Oromia Regional State, where *Matti* and *Hokku*, Guji Oromo sub groups predominantly inhabited. The study has been conducted in kebeles such as *Bachara*, *Michicha*, *Darartu*, *Qiltu Sorsa*, *Oda Buta*, *Dole*, *Anfarara*, *Sakarro* and *Abulo Rukessa* in *Adola Redde* District and two towns' administrations namely *Adola Woyu* and *Maleka*, in *Adola Redde*.

In *Girja* district there are (20) kebeles. Out of these the study has been conducted in four, *Qallina-Gobu*, *Harenfama-Dhebissa*, *Harenfama-Qallina* and *Harenfama* kebels respectively. There are a number of *Ardaa-Jilaa* (Sacred sites) in both districts which are protected by the community reside surrounding them. The number of *Ardaa-Jilaa* in *Adola Redde* is larger than the number in *Girja* district. These study sites were selected due to their potential resource richness for this study as the current Gada leaders were slowly moving in these villages located in the two districts.

1.7.4. Sampling Method

Non probability sampling method employed in this study. The actual study participants have been selected from Guji zone, *Adola Redde* and *Girja* districts by means of non-probability sampling method.

1.7.5. Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling technique has been applied, because, the relevant respondents from the target group have been selected by the researcher carefully, to seek relevant, rich and reliable data. Abba Gada of the three Guji phratries-*Uraga*, *Matti* and *Hokku* with their followers, were involved in this research. This technique used to get in depth information from all segments of population understudy such as elders, religious leaders, and youth, of both sex among Guji Oromo inhabited in *Adola Redde* and *Girja* districts.

The idea behind qualitative research is to purposefully select participants or sites (or documents or visual material) that will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question.

This does not necessarily suggest random sampling or selection of a large number of participants and sites, as typically found in quantitative research (Creswell 2014: 239).

1.7.6. Sample Size

The sample size of this study depended on the saturation of the data collected; as number of respondents in the qualitative research design determined when the data shows repetition. Data collection stopped when replication started.

1.7.7. Data Gathering Methods

Data collection methods applied in this study were:

-  In-depth interview
-  Focussed Group Discussion
-  Observation
-  Informal conversation and
-  Document review

Indeed, all questions cannot be answered in a single method because of various factors. Each method has its own strong and weak sides. In this research, gaps in each method were filled by the other methods applied orderly to make data more complete and accurate.

As a primary source of data, the above listed first four methods were selected. Data from the four tools crosschecked to enhance credibility of the data producing power of the study. Some photographs related to the study taken on the field have been used as supportive information for the data.

Instruments prepared in both Afan Oromo and English versions. The English version was not used in the field. It is prepared to be attached to this thesis to make clear for the reader what type of questions used in the field. The indepth interview, Focus group discussion, Observation and informal conversation mainly consisted of basic concept of *Waaqeffannaa* and natural environment variables and specific interview questions focused on the link between the two variables in complimentary sense, when the target groups practice *Waaqeffannaa* rituals in their daily lives in the study sites.

Three Sacred sites, namely *Ardaa-Jilaa Milkii*, *Ardaa-Jilaa Dhibaaayyu Soodduu*, were observed in the presence of Abba Gada with their team while *Ardaa Jilaa Haro Gobbu (Malkaa-Gannaalee)*

was observed in the absence of the followers of the religion. Data collection took place at the first two *Ardaa-Jilaa Milki* 80 kms from Adola Woyu town where the two senior Guji groups (*Uraga* and *Matti*) temporarily sheltered for ritual activities. *Hokku* the junior Guji Oromo groups met for data collection at *Ardaa- Jilaa Dhibaayuu Soodduu*-some 20kms away from Adola Woyu town. As the groups travel slowly on the basis of their indigenous calendar, the researcher visited the third *Ardaa-Jilaa Ardaa-Jilaa Haro Gobbu (Malkaa Gannaalee)* without the presence of Abba Gada with their followers.

1.7.7.1. Indepth Interview

The key informants of this study were diversified and carefully selected. Both male and female from culturally knowledgeable elders, Qalluu (*Waaqeffannaa* leaders) family, Abba Gada (indigenous socio-political leaders) with their social structures and *Haadha Bolla* (wives of Abba Gada) as well as youth who are believed to be well versed in cultural practices were participated in this research.

Moreover, as district Culture and Tourism Bureau experts took part in this study as they have close interaction with the culture at grass root level. Local administrators in charge of administration activities at local level, partly participated in the study for two basic purposes.

The first is, as the time of this research was coincided with security deterioration in the region, it was important to get up-to-date information of the study site. Local authorities are then inevitably useful for such updating in addition to community based source of information to get security status of the study site for the security protection of the participants.

Secondly, the two districts culture and tourism bureau experts have also been involved to offer the location of available *Ardaa-Jilaa* in their respective administrative areas. However, interview with such experts took place after data collection from all participants' finalized. The reason why interview with such experts implemented at the end of the study was to avoid possible influence and bias prior to reach the primary data source.

In total, twelve (12) individuals participated as key informants in this data gathering instrument. In-depth interview method is significant in the qualitative research approach, so as to collect detail information and primary data. Unstructured questions used in the middle of the interview, for more understanding of the problem under study.

1.7.7.2. Focused Group Discussion

This data gathering method used to get clear understanding of the issue under study while participants debate on a given question. A group of seven members from Uruga and Matti phratries participated at *Ardaa Jilaa Milkii* and a group of six members from Hokku phratry at *Ardaa Jilaa Sodduu Dhibayyu* took part on this Focus group discussion. In this Focus group discussion, participants discussed openly. The researcher's role was moderating the debate and taking notes. Fifty-one (51) of the eighty-one (81) *Ardaa Jilaa* sites names recorded in this study were collected during data gathering instrument application.

1.7.7.3. Observation

Although it was not related to this study, informally, I have started observation of the area six years back (since 2010). This zone in which the study sites located included in my job description by the organization in which I used to work. As a result, I have had a chance of observation of some ritual practices by the Guji Oromo in the natural environment. It is this past experience which influenced and drove me to choose this Guji zone as study site.

So that, informal observation used in this study began six years ago and systematically used during this formal study. Systematic observation began during the proposal phase of this study in order to identify the relevant study site and population.

The core objective of observation as a method is mainly to observe this indigenous religious ritual practices and re-track back potentially missing information from detailed interview questions. Moreover it is used to counter-check whether the respondents' answers match with the real world or not, as sometimes some experienced respondents who have participated on various researches may face and adjust themselves to the supposed answer the study wants than the real world.

Furthermore, this method helped the researcher to internalize the understanding of data and increased the researcher's confidence and knowledge on this particular research problem. The researcher observed three major *Ardaa Jilaa* (Sacred sites) where in two of them the Abba Gada of the three major Guji Oromo groups were on *jilifannaa*-on ritual practice for the two weeks at the time of contact in *Ardaa Jilaa Milkii* in *Adola Redde* district, *Bachara* Village. Both the *Uruga* and *Matti* groups with their Abba Gada each, met at this sacred site.

The last group called *Hokku* met in the same district on the outskirts of *Adola Woyu* town, *Darartu* village, *Ardaa Jilaa –Soodduu Dhibaaayyuu* (sacred site). This *Ardaa Jilaa* is plateau surrounded by relatively medium trees and few *muka -jilaa* (sacred trees). Detailed interview was conducted at these *Ardaa-Jilaa*-sacred sites.

The researcher has observed, when some groups of Abba Gada leaving for *Adola Woyu* town using rented motor bike service. They were called by local administrators of the town to seek cultural solution for social problems that local court was unable to find solution for. The researcher raised questions that consolidate the semi structured questions for more understanding. There were questions which sourced from observations in the field.

During field observation of this study pictures of observed environment, interviewed key informants and participants of Focused group discussion including the Abba Gada of the three groups (*Uruga*, *Matti* and *Hokku*) from senior to junior, with all their administrative teams were taken with their permission.

Observation field notes taken carefully to enrich primary data. Some farmers on their daily life activities have been observed while working in their farm land. Group of people mainly youth dominated, worshiping in front of their home have been observed and informal dialogue conducted with some of them to understand issues going on at the moment. They were on their regular spiritual activities of non indigenous religion.

This observation helped to generate more digging questions in detailed interview and informal conversation. Therefore, each method used in this study helped in the form of inter-feeding cycle.

1.7.7.4. Informal Conversation

Informal conversation method is good and useful if carefully applied. This method applied just randomly without selecting individuals in different places such as in the market, on the street, in cafeteria, *Mana Bookaa/ Daadhii* (local wine houses) and in the religious event. This method was conducted when people were engaged in their normal daily life as ordinary chatting. The researcher's knowledge of Afan Oromo with Guji Oromo dialect eased the establishment of temporary friend ship with respondents for few weeks. The issue of discussion systematically

linked to the topic of the study in the way that the respondents continued talking freely as open discussion.

This informal conversation helped much in elaborating some issues treated in the above three tools. Some respondents have been observed while they were struggling to bring ideas to be more matched to the questions asked during detailed interviews. However, during this informal conversation, no sign of tension or any facial expression from respondents as all of them just openly explain what they know and feel. Thus, using such ordinary chat, un-cleared points have been re-constructed with clear understanding and ideas.

1.7.7.5. Document Review

Available and related literatures on the problem under study thoroughly reviewed for more understanding and internalization. Published academic books, Ph.D. dissertation, and official online documents such as Central Statistical Agency of Ethiopia (CSA), Meteorological Agency of Ethiopia (MAE), and magazines from Oromia Bureau of Culture and Tourism have been used as secondary source data enrichment. The general concepts of the study, Indigenous Religions (IR), population profile of the study area, climatic conditions, topography, and indigenous administrative system have been reviewed.

1.7.8. Data Analysis

Interpretation of the gathered data by the abovementioned methods managed in the field to be on the safe side of any information loss. As methods involved in the qualitative data gathering approach need immediate action, data description and interpretations done freshly and followed by analysis.

Indepth interview, Focus Group discussion, observation and informal conversation outcomes, carefully analyzed and crosschecked against the reviewed documents to draw analytical findings and conclusion in the lens of the research objectives and research questions.

1.7.9. Limitation of the study

The primary source of data for this study was mainly from elders and local communities who reside in remote rural areas where *Ardaa Jilaa* located and accessibility is challenging due to lack of transportation and accommodation. As there was no accommodation in this village, the researcher decide to base in the closest town which is on the distance of over 80 kilo meters. This

problems affected somehow, the time and budget allocated for the sacred sites where the majority of respondents were temporarily sheltered.

The researcher used rented motorbike to travel over 80 kilometers twice a day in bad and remote roads for three to four hours to reach *Bacharra kebele*, *Milki* sacred site. Therefore, this geographical barrier consumed more energy, time and budget beyond plan.

Moreover, this zone where this study conducted divided in to two zones as “Guji zone” and “West Guji zone”. Some districts mentioned in this study located in the North-West of Guji zone such as *Uraga*, *Hamballa Wamana* and *Qarcha* included in to the newly established “West Guji zone”. However, the two study sites (*Adola Redde* and *Girja* districts) remained with in Guji Zone.

Further more, scarcity of relevant literature like Lambert Bartels book (1983), John Peel (2000) and others limited the researcher not read original book.

1.8. Epistemological Stance and Ethical consideration

1.8.1. Epistemological Stance

As far as we are in this dynamic world, which is composed of diversified Socio-cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds, it is less difficult to imagine the presence of multiple realities. As I think, it is natural to expect diversified outcomes from diversified and dynamic sources. As a trainee in social science research, I believe, in the presence of multiple realities, which needs reconstruction to be universally meaningful, and inclusive in aspect. Therefore, the researcher’s epistemological stance falls on constructivism world view.

1.8.2. Ethical Consideration

Prior launching data collection, the following three ethical issues have been carefully considered and applied.

1. Human subject matter: The researcher respected the norms of the society and agreements reached on the basis of context and indigenous culture of the population under study. The respondents were respected and treated humanely with full human dignity. The nature and purpose as well as time spent to take part in answering questions clearly notified compensated to the participants.

2. Confidentiality: In all tools, individuals' name not taken and uncovered to anybody. Those names and pictures used in this study were by the consent of the participants and for academic purpose only.
3. Informed consent: The consent of the respondents have been ensured in verbal forms as it was convenient to the participants.

1.9. Organization of the Study

The thesis organized in to six chapters. The first chapter dealt with Introduction and its sub-topics such as: Statement of the problem, Objectives of the study, Research questions, Significance of the study, Scope of the study, Methodology and methods of the study which includes limitation of the study, epistemological stance and ethical considerations applied during data gathering consecutively.

The second chapter discussed Review of the related literature which consisted of two main sub topics: Conceptual framework and Theoretical frame work. Conceptual framework discussed three major issues. The first is conceptual definitions of religion by different anthropologists, and identification of the appropriate match to this study. And then followed by Theoretical frame works discussion. Under Theoretical frame work, Theory cultural ecology and Interpretive Anthropology were reviewed. Litratue on *Waaqeffannaa* and Conceptual meaning of ritual discussed in chpter two.

Chapter three dealt with Historical and socio-cultural background of Oromo nation with focus on Guji Oromo. Under this title, historical overview of Guji Oromo, Guji Oromo Indigenous Religion, Gadad System and Social Orgnization discussed.

Chapter four discussed, The ritual practices in Guji Oromo. Some cocepts such as *Woyyu*, *Hayyu* and *Kayyo* elaborated. The influence of *Waaqeffannaa* and the “Universality” of *Waaqeffannaa* discussion ends the chapter.

Chapter Five dealt with the Concept and value attached to *lafa* (land), and Guji Oromo livelihood. Perception of *lafa* (land) and Guji Oromo livelihood under the title.

Finally, the study summarized with analytical discussion, Concluding remarks and Recommendations in Chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Related Literature

2.1. Conceptual Framework

Man exercised religious rituals in human made shelter and natural environments. Rituals manifested in the form of dancing and chanting, mixed with physically visible and invisible emotions. The claims to “super natural” being, the way human and non-human nature interact, its origin and end varies as per the diversity of human society throughout the world. “Every religion makes a (more or less integrated) system of claims about the “super- natural” world and its relationship with the natural, human, and social worlds” (Eller 2007:52).

Likewise, as a part of human society, Oromo nation has its own monotheistic indigenous religion, in which they believe in a supreme being called *Waaqa* (Guluma 2005:28).

It is important to conceptualize the central terminologies of this study (religion and nature). There is no single definition for the term religion so far. Different anthropologists defined differently in different times.

E. B. Tylor, offered in his (1871) book titled in *Primitive Culture*, what he considered to be the “minimal” or simplest possible definition of religion. Religion is “the belief in spiritual beings.” His definition raised need for more definition to the phrase “spiritual being”. On the other hand, James Frazer (1958), elaborated more and defined religion as “a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and human life” (as cited in Eller 2007:7).

According to Marx, (1843–4/1975), Religion is the ideal place of relief gaining, for the oppressed and marginalized people. “Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people” (as cited in Patterson 2009:60).

Clifford Geertz (1973), provided the most commonly quoted definition of religion in more elaborated and inclusive way. “ a religion is: (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating

conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic” (90).

Religion is a symbolic system that establishes powerful universal and a lasting moods with motivation through expression of general order of life sustainably in human society, as this definition depicts.

There are ritual practices with symbolic meanings in Oromo indigenous religion. People believe and obey religious leaders (*woyyu*) as they are symbolically represent *Waaqa* who is believed to be responsible for the general order and existence of life on earth realistically.

The conceptual meaning of religion adapted to this study is therefore, that of Geertz concept of religion elaborated above.

Whenever *Waaqa* mentioned in this study, the understanding and its meaning is in the way the followers of this indigenous religion views. *Waaqa* is the supernatural being believed to create univers with its all components administers its operation.

‘Nature’ refers to natural environment or physical world in this study. Sometimes used to depict terms and ideas contextually, as innate or something in born. Moreover, used to explore some behavior. Out of plenty natural environment which have connection with *Waaqeffannaa*, only selected parts of nature that protected by the community understudy were considered in this thesis.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical frameworks adapted to this study are “Cultural Ecology” and “Interpretive /Symbolic Anthropology”. The researcher decided to use the two theories selected, because of the following reasons.

As the nature of the study is to explore and examine the action and interaction of human and nonhuman nature, it is relevant to review the following theories.

1. Cultural ecology: this theory gives clue how human interact with natural environment surrounding them and make life possible and sustain (Steward, 1963). As this research concerned with part of human culture (indigenous religion) interaction with natural environment, Cultural ecology is relevant in this study to be reviewed to understand human nature interaction.

2. Interpretive /Symbolic anthropology: Religious practices are usually rich in rituals. In ritual practices there are verbal and non-verbal actions and interactions in which symbolical communication takes place. As indigenous religion of Oromo-*Waaqeffannaa* is the central issue of this research, and rich in divinity and ritual practices which is full of symbolic meanings, it is very important to review Symbolic anthropology. Therefore, the theoretical framework of this thesis was the combination of the above mentioned theories.

2.2.1. Theory of Cultural Ecology

According to this theory, environment and culture are not from separate spheres but are involved in a reciprocal causality within the same sphere (Steward 1963). Human and human action cannot be seen in separate sphere from natural environment. Belief system is the very center of humanity and has power of influence on other aspects of human cultural practices and its interaction with natural environment.

As Girardot, Miller & Xiaogan (2001) indicated, religion is much important to know well our natural environment during our worldly life to keep natural balance. “We will understand ecology better when we understand the religions that form the rich soil of memory and practice, belief and relationships where life on earth is rooted. Knowledge of these views will help us reappraise our ways and reorient ourselves to ward the source of and resources of life” (xi).

Cultural ecology studies, the details of specific cultural phenomena of different regions in a comparative ways to derive general explanation to culture change from common shares of different cultures “Cultural ecology differs from human and social ecology in seeking to explain the origin of particular cultural features and patterns which characterize different areas rather than to derive general principles applicable to any cultural-environmental situations” (Steward 1963:36).

Its main goal is to understand the influence of culture on natural environment and vice-a-vice. It begins from specific culture of a given society and expands to different societies cultural experiences. This theory proposed by an American anthropologist Julian H. Steward as a response to the nineteenth century social evolutionist theory who believed in the unilinear and universal evolution of human social progression. He disproved the ethnocentric theory of Unilinear and universal theories and proposed the multiple progressive social change called multilinear evolution.

Moreover, as Kottak mentioned:

The 1950s–1970s witnessed the emergence of an area of study known as *cultural ecology* or ecological anthropology. That field focused on how cultural beliefs and practices helped human populations adapt to their environments, and how people used elements of their culture to maintain their ecosystems. Early ecological anthropologists showed that many indigenous groups did a reasonable job of managing their resources and preserving their ecosystems. Such groups had traditional ways of categorizing resources, regulating their use, and preserving the environment (Kottak 2010:284-85).

As human beings live and practice their culture in the physical world by nature, the influence of culture on natural environment and vice-versa is inevitable. The cultural ecology perspective is based on the assumption that continues interplay takes place between human and their environment. “Cultural ecology pays primary attention to those features which empirical analysis shows to be most closely involved in the utilization of environment in culturally prescribed ways” (Steward 1963:37).

Cultural ecology accepts the significance of all cultural patterns and aspects in society. All aspects of culture are interdependent on each other. Every part and parcel have specific purpose and contribution to the sustainable existence of a society.

However, this does not mean society is a giant organic feature as structural functionalist explain. If this is the case our world is a supper organic feature which composed of multi societies of our globe. Steward categorized religion in to his culture *culture Core* as very crucial in his model.

The first category generalized as *Cultural core* as to Steward includes those features that most related to basic need (subsistence) activities and economic arrangements as well as social, political and religious patterns (Steward 1963). Religion is in the box basic need which can not be avoided as this theory indicate.

Therefore, as *Waaqeffannaa* is mainly practiced in the natural environment, the influence of *Waaqeffannaa* on natural environment and vice-a-vice examined in the anthropological glance in this study.

2.2.2. Interpretive / Symbolic Anthropology

Interpretive anthropology is another important theory in this study. The significance of this theory is to get insights on how symbolic actions and interactions work and meanings can be drawn out of it.

According to symbolic anthropologists' perspective, there are a lot of cultural symbols that cannot be explained in the way that cultural materialists perspective state. It rather needs systematic way of understanding and explanation. "Rather than viewing values, beliefs, and worldviews as a reflection only of environmental, technological, or economic conditions, symbolic anthropologists argue that these cultural symbols may be completely autonomous from material factors" (Scupine 2012:120).

Victor Turner, Clifford Geertz, Mary Douglas, and J.David, Eller are the most prominent and influential in symbolic anthropology (Moberge 2013). According to Turner, (1967), "Symbol is the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior; it is the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context. ... The symbols I observed in the field were empirically objects, activities, relationships, events, gestures, and special units in the ritual situations" (19).

Symbol composed of different source of information from which meanings drawn by the practitioner of that culture. Symbols then interpreted widely as they consist "objects, activities, relationships, events, gestures, and special units" (Eller 2007:59).

Man lives in a symbolic universe. Language, myth, art, and religion are parts of this universe. [. . .] No longer can man confront reality immediately; he cannot see it, as it were, face to face. Physical reality seems to recede in proportion as man's symbolic activity advances. Instead of dealing with the things themselves man is in a sense constantly conversing with himself. [. . .] His situation is the same in the theoretical as in the practical sphere. Even here man does not live in a world of hard facts, or according to his immediate needs and desires (Cassirer 1954 as cited in Eller 2007:58).

Clifford Geertz pioneered a symbolic approach to religion in particular and culture in general. Geertz argue that religion is a system of symbols and culture is extensively rich and complete system of symbols. Geertz (1973) elaborated symbols as "tangible formulations of notions, abstractions from experience fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgments, belongings, or beliefs" (91).

This indicates that, the widely accepted definition of religion introduced by Geertz begins with symbol. Religion is “a system of symbols” these symbols act to create some interconnected chains that man imagine and practices.

Geertz (1973) distinguished two types of symbolic descriptions known as “thick” and “thin” descriptions. The former concerns with the deep and hidden meaning of symbols while the latter deals with the upper and observable symbolic meaning.

Eller (2003) describes the importance of symbolic meanings and empirical interpretations in the study of culture and religion in the field of anthropology, and suggested to stress on capitalization of meanings attached to different symbols as it helps not to miss meanings of the insiders view.

If culture generally and religion specifically is a system or pattern of symbols, then the task of anthropology is to “interpret” or “translate” or “decode” these symbols. As Geertz puts it, anthropology becomes an essentially “semiotic” exercise, looking for the “meanings” within which people act. Real-life social action is never lost or ignored; we cannot study symbols in abstract isolation from social life (59).

The combination of these two theories Culutral Ecology and Symbolic Anthropology helped to understand and discuss the link between this indigenous religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) and natural enviroment.

Moreover, Symbolic Anthropology helped to understand different actions and symbols during *Waaqeffannaa* ritual performances in selected natural environment. Symbolic meanings attached to human and nonhuman nature analyzed and interpreted in the real world point of view.

The thesis effectively used the above mentioned two theories so as to examine *Waaqeffannaa* and natural environment link through the employed methods with research participants.

2.3. Literature on *Waaqa* and *Waaqeffannaa*

A number of scholars from different disciplines: anthropology, sociology and philosophy have studied Oromo culture and stated the concepts of *Waaqa* and *Waaqeffannaa*. For instance, according to Zitelmann (1994), *Waaqeffannaa* and *Waaqa* defined as “*Waqeefanna* (“the way of *Waaqa*”), the Oromo way of praying to God, is a small, but visible movement, both within Ethiopia and in the diaspora” (as cited in Guluma, 2005:80).

Bartels (1983) was the first to publish and disclose Oromo belief system, with a book titled in “*Oromo Religion*”, in the second half of the twentieth century (as cited in Guluma 2005:4). As to Father Bartels (1983), *Waaqa* defined as: “*Waaqa* (sky/ God) is "both one and, at the same time, also many" As the Supreme Being, *Waaqa* is the source of life and the creator of all things. For every natural phenomenon, every plant, every animal and every social entity, *Waaqa* has appointed a place in his cosmic order” (as cited in Guluma, 2005:87).

Human being is assigned by *Waaqa* to take care of all these human and non-human living creatures. It is believed that in the event of something beyond human control *Waaqa* is in charge of solving such problems. As to my understanding from the above argument, *Waaqa* is the wisest, intelligent, and equally responsible for all things in the universe. Next to *Waaqa*, human being shares responsibility.

According to Hinnant (1977) the Guji Oromo land is rich in spirituality. All forms of divinity and rituals performance are indications of the manifestation of *Waaqa*. Like many other religions in the world, the explanation for the origin of the cosmos remain open. “The Guji lives in a world rich in forms of divinity. The most potent and pervasive of these is the god Waka. While there is no explanation for the Origin of the earth, sun, moon, stars or Waka himself, the creation of life is conceptualized in myth” (33-34).

On the other hand, Taddesse, (1995) explained *Waaqa* as: “*Waaqa* (high god/ Sky), who is said to have created everything, is at the center of Guji religion. He is believed to have lived among humans until he was annoyed by their evil deeds and finally moved to the sky where he is living now in seclusion” (47).

As Workineh (2011) stated, there is no creator of *Waaqa* because, he is Omnipotent, no one is before him, and has no elder so that he has no creator. He is only one, the source of truth, likes truth, wise, omnipotent and generous. *Waaqa* does not have an elder. There is nothing that has power over *Waaqa*. For the Oromo *Waaqa* is eternal and the final cause of all things in the universe. *Waaqa* is the self-existing Being and is immortal. In other words, He is ever-living. “The Oromo thus had the concept of the monotheistic supreme God from time immemorial, although their conception of God is quite distinct from the Western one” (69).

The above argument slightly indicates that to some extent *Waaqa* is similar with Abrahimic belief system. “I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending saith the Lord, which is, and which was and which is to come, and Almighty” (Holy Bible, Revelation Chapter 1: verse 8).

As to John Peel (2000), “...religious conversion ought to investigate not just how Africans became Christian but also how Christianity became African”, (as cited in Bekele 2013: 118).

On the other hand, Ezekiel argued in Bekele, 2013, that western protestant missionaries found that Oromo religion-*Waaqeffannaa* is, in many aspects well-matched to their Christianity. It was the first religious exchange in the case of *Macca* (Matcha) Oromo.

In the case of the Macca Oromo, I argue, conversion denotes the emergence of a variant of Christianity which I characterize as a blend of what European Protestant missionaries found in Oromo religion to be acceptable and what Oromo found in Protestant Christianity to be compatible with their indigenous religion. It was a beginning of religious exchange in which the Oromo accepted evangelical Christianity within the framework of religious concepts already inherent in their indigenous religion; (as cited in Bekele, 2013: 119).

Lambert Bartels has also indicated that conversion to Christianity or Islam affected *Waaqeffannaa* little or not at all. “Whether they became Christians or Muslims, the Oromo’s traditional modes of experiencing the divine have continued almost unaffected, in spite of the fact that several rituals and social institutions in which it was expressed, have been much diminished or apparently submerged in new ritual cloaks” (as cited in Bekele 2013:119).

There are three embedded and inseparable concepts of Oromo worldview, in which *Waaqa* manifested during *Waaqeffannaa* rituals. These concepts are *Ayyaana*, *Safuu* and *Uumaa*. In these three concepts spiritual, social, political, economic and cultural practices of Oromo nation excised. These concepts stated by Bartels (1983) and more elaborated by Gemetchu (1993).

2.3.1 Three Conceptual Oromo Worldview

There are three interconnected entities in which Oromo view their world. These entities are complex and cannot be explained separately as they are inseparable by nature. It gives birth to each other. These embedded components are known as *Ayyaana*, *Uumaa* and *Safuu*. It is important

to understand each concept as it has connection with natural environment which is the concern of this study. The confirmation of the existence of *Waaqa* by the Oromo is through observation of physical world, such as heaven (*Waaqa/sky*) and earth (*lafa*) with all their components. “For the Oromo, the existence of *Waaqa* is confirmed by the very existence of Heaven and Earth, and by the orderly movement that takes place within them” Gemetchu (1993: 259).

2.3.1.1. Ayyaana

Ayyaana refers to the way and date *Waaqa* create something. It is the causing factor for something to happen as well the time when event to happen. *Ayyaana* also represent the spirit of one’s parent can be father or mother or both. *Ayyaana* is the complex way that *Waaqa* manifested his deeds to man according to Oromo worldview. In western Oromia there is diversified meanings in the term *Ayyaana*. For instance, *Ayyaana* of father or mother can be called to solve unconditional problems, to offer blessings for good doings and curse bad lucks and bad events to a family members (lived experience). When unexpected event emerge with potential harm to an individuals it is said *Yaa ayyaana abbaa koo ati nabasi!* or *Yaa ayyaana haadha koo ati nabaasi!*-the spirit of my father /mother save me from this unlucky event.

In the case of blessing, elders (seniors) bless younger (junior) with *ayyaana* of their father or mother and wish good luck and success in life. In this sense, the concerned fathers’ whose spirits is being requested to do something are supposed to be “holy”, generous, and obeyed *Waaqa* in *Waaqa*’s way when alive.

Such blessing, offered when someone travels for long time and long distance, it is said that *ayyaanni abbaa koo si duukaa haabu’u!*-may the spirit of my father follow you! Here we understand the need for protection as *ayyaana* serve as “protector” from any forms of danger and unlucky event.

As to V. Deloo (1991), *Ayyaana* refers to “those innate qualities which each person has been given by *Waaqa*” (207). Therefore, any Oromo, has *ayyaana* to bless, to wish good luck and favor, to offer *galaa-galgalaa* as a saving account to be used at late age. Usually such blessings are by elders to the young generation to teach and socialize them in the way that doing right and good is an asset for their late life. When individuals face good luck they are called as *Ayyaana qabeessa*

(for male) and *ayyaana qabeettii* or *ayyaantu* for (female). Its literary meaning is, one with the sprit of good or luck; so that such person is “lucky person”.

Ayyaana is the base for *Uumaa*. The meanings of *Ayyaana* go further and for the purpose of this study this may be enough. It is believed that, it was through *ayyaana* that *Waaqa* created human and non-human natures and set a reconciling mechanism and activities called *Safuu*.

Gemetchu (1993) elaborated the basic meaning of *ayyaana* as follows. “The core meaning of *ayyaana* refers to that by and through which God (*Waaqa*) creates anything and everything. *Ayyaana* is in fact both that which causes something to come into being and becomes that which it has caused. *Ayyaana* is, therefore, that which exists before and after, that which it causes to come into existence” (254).

2.3.1.2. Uumaa

Uumaa is an Oromo term which in an interchangeable way to represent creator and created. It is only *Waaqa* who can create all things. Therefore, *Uumaa* is another word which can represent *Waaqa* replacing the English word “creator”.

Uumaa represents a collective name called *Uumaa* or *uumamaa*-which means all physical world. When strange or uncommon creatures observed Oromo of Western Oromia say *safuu! Uumaa Waaqaa!*

uumaa refers to the entire physical world and the living things and divine beings contained within it, animal, vegetable, mineral and spiritual. In this sense, *uumaa* even embraces *ayyaana* itself, just as *ayyaana*, which is the cause of *uumaa*, also encompasses it. The term *Uumaa* is derived from the verb *uumu* meaning literally “to create” The nominal form of *uumaa* therefore refers to everything that is created, in short, to *Waaqa*’s (God’s) creation, (Gamatchu, 1993:254).

2.3.1.3. Safuu

The third components of Oromo worldview is *Safuu*. This concept is everywhere at every time according to Oromo worldview. Things are at their right position because of *Safuu*. *Safuu* plays a mediation role inter and intra *Uumamaa* (the physical world) and *Ayyaana* (spirit). *Safuu* draws boundary line between/among two or more things inter-actions. *Safuu* keeps the balance between

Uumaa (Creator) and *Uumamaa* (creatures/physical world); between human and non-human nature as well as between *Ayyaana* and *Uumaa* (*Waaqa*).

These three components of Oromo worldview have direct and indirect link with natural environment which is one of the central issues of this study. I have tried to demonstrate the three concepts in the following diagram.

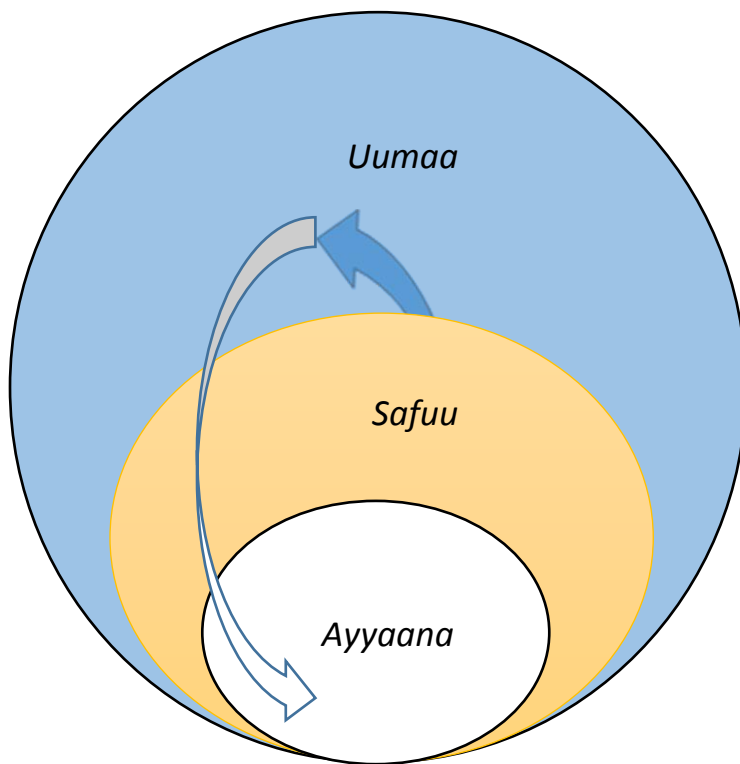


Diagram depicts the three embedded Entities of Oromo world view

Diagram 1.

As Gemetchu's informant explained, *Ayyaana*, *Uumaa* and *Safuu* have inter connected roles like human organic body flesh, bone and blood. Blood may not be expected in the absence of bone as its source is bone marrow. Bone may not well protected in the absence of flesh.

All body organs operation sustain by the network that connect bone with flesh through blood root. Each parts of human body has their own distinct roles to sustain as one human body. Without bone, probably no blood, without the two (bone & blood), probably no flesh without three of them no human body.

The physical world (*Uumaa/Uumama*) created by *Waaqa*, associated to flesh which everyone can see. This can be associated to Geertz (1973) symbolic interpretation of "thin" description which

means upper meaning. The deep and abstract world that visible to few is *ayyaana*, associated to bone “thick” description deep meaning; and the relationship between the two bone and flesh is connected by blood roots. Thus blood roots associated with *Safuu*. The informant described knowledge (world view) as follows:

Knowledge has flesh; knowledge has bone and knowledge has blood. The knowledge of the world as sensed through the flesh is physical knowledge: it is the knowledge of *uumaa*, of the created world. The knowledge that is felt through the bone is knowledge of the inner qualities of things; it is the knowledge of *ayyaana* or the cause of creation. The knowledge that comes through the blood knows the moral values attached to things; it is the knowledge of *saffuu*, of the light and just path. This is sometimes referred to as *qalbii*, 'thought ' A wise man is not a person who merely knows; it is rather a man who lives his knowledge (Gametchu, 1993:255).

From this world view, we understand the extent of the complexity of this indigenous belief system. There are some similarities between *Waaqeffannaa* and Daoism/Taoism of China. For instance as *Waaqa* on the sky/heaven and in male status, earth is sensed in the female status (Bartels as cited in Workineh 2011:152), and the same is true for Daoism. “Dao is identified as heaven. Heaven is above and in the male position. Earth is below and in the female position” (Girardot, Miller & Xiaogan 2001:36). As in Oromo *Waaqa* is in male position, God of Christianity, *Allah* of Islam and Dao of China have same male positions, and such associations in some cases appeared to be humanity.

2.4. The Conceptual meaning of Ritual

It is significant to discuss the concept and types of ritual in this study as there are a number of rituals practices that performed by the population understudy.

There are different religious rituals that human being exercise for various purposes in different times and places. It is important to understand first the concept of ritual, and its purpose.

There is different conceptual definition given to ritual. The definitions and explanations varies from scholar to scholar. Studies show that, many societies’ religious, political and socio-cultural activities are concerned with different ritual practices.

According to Kottak (2010) ritual is defined as: “Formal-stylized, repetitive, and stereotyped that People perform them in special (sacred) places and at set times. Rituals include liturgical orders-

sequences of words and actions invented prior to the current performance of the ritual in which they occur” (194).

As to Kottak (2010) ritual is formal, has its own style, specific time and place to be performed. The repetition of ritual practices across years and generations ends in keeping values, attached to it. Moreover, he added that ritual is “social act” in which individuals take part as part of social entity. However, all rituals are not space and time bounded. For instance, in the case of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, individual believers offered *fethat* “release from sin” and blessings by priests wherever and whenever they meet (lived experience). Therefore, ritual can take place in any time and any place regardless of time and place limit.

On the other hand, Eller (2007) stated that, whenever religious idea raised inevitably we think of ritual. Ritual is to a great extent connected to religious behavior. “When we think of religious behavior, we think of *ritual*, that fascinating, colorful, and symbolic activity that expresses religious beliefs and directs toward religious beings or forces (109).

Ritual performed to establish or break, maintain or disrupt relationship with human and non-human nature as well as super natural being. This can be performed for different purposes such as to solve daily life challenges, seek solution for problems, or for mediation with human, non-human and super natural being.

Ultimately, ritual interaction may not be “communication” in the normal sense-that is, the transmission of information-so much as performance intended to establish, maintain, influence, or break relationships, including relations with the nonhuman and superhuman. Humans may interact ritually with the superhuman precisely because ritual is how humans interact (Eller 2007:110).

On the other hand, Victor Turner (1967) defined ritual as: “prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to belief in mystical beings or powers.” To Turner, “The symbol is the smallest unit of ritual” (19).

CHAPTER THREE

Historical and Socio-Cultural Overview of the Oromo nation with focus on Guji Oromo

Under this chapter, the general overview of Oromo nation, Guji Oromo indigenous religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) and socio-cultural practices were discussed. Details of the indigenous religion and ritual practices discussed in chapter four.

The general history, social and cultural background of the Oromo nation and the Guji Oromo in particular have been discussed consecutively, to have general pictures of Oromo nation and the study population. Currently Oromo nation is the largest single ethnic group occupying the largest region in the modern Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, where over eighty-three ethnic groups with diversified language and culture live together (CSA 2007).

According to Central Statistical Agency (CSA) of Ethiopia, census 2007, the current population of Oromo nation covers 37% of the total population of the country. Guji Oromo accounts slightly two million out of the total population of Oromo. Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau stated that the geographical coverage of Oromia in Ethiopia, measures 363,375 km², which accounts 34.3 % of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's total land mass. Addis Ababa (a century old name), indigenously called *Finfinnee* is capital for both Federal and Oromia Regional Governments. Oromia Regional Government use the indigenous name- *Finfinnee* for the capital.

CSA elaborated that, Oromia land, covers 51.2% of the crop production, 45.1% of the area under temporary crops and 44% of the total livestock population of the country.

<http://www.ethiopia.gov.et/stateoromia> (accessed on August 20.2016).

The Oromo nation in which Guji Oromo is part is one of the many ethnic groups originated from the Cushitic family who are indigenously living in East Africa. For instance there are a number of clans of Guji, Borana and Gabra Oromo in Southern Ethiopia, Northern Kenya, and Western Somalia. From Indian Ocean bordering east Africa including the entire Nile basin to its end known as "Land of Kush" in the Holy Bible (1973).

The above source indicates Cush inhabited land includes south of today's Egypt, and surpasses the Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and Kenya. "...Xerxes who ruled over 127 provinces stretching from India to Cush" (Esther Chapter 1 verse 1). Parts where the name Ethiopia mentioned in the reviewed bible were originally known as "land of Cush". As mentioned in Genesis chapter 2 verse 13 "...the name of the second river is Gihon (Nile); it winds through the entire land of Cush".

Gada (1988), stated that "The Oromo people is the largest ethnic group of the Cushitic language family that makes up a significant portion of the population occupying the horn of Africa" (1). As studies indicate, among east African countries where Oromo nation live in large number are Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia. Asmarom (1973) stated that the Oromo people is belong to the Cushitic language sub family which extends over most of the North-Eastern African vast land (6).

Gemetchu (1993) has elaborated the geographical scope of this single largest ethnic groups across international borders. "The Oromo are an Eastern Cushitic speaking people, who live in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia" (19).

Gada (1998) argument on the origin of Oromo is in opposite direction with Asmarom (1973) findings which indicated the origin of Oromo in Southern Ethiopia, between Guji, Bale and Borana zones and more precisely *Madda Walabu* which is in today's Bale zone of Oromia Regional State.

Gada (1988) argues that, the Cushitic families in which Oromo nation is one of the dominant, originated in the area between North and Northwest Ethiopia and expanded to other parts of the country. "The land of Kush, Nubia or the ancient Ethiopia in middle and lower Nile is the home of the Cushitic speakers. It was most probably from there that they subsequently dispersed and they become differentiated in to separate linguistic and cultural groups" (4).

Whatever the case, concerning the origin of Oromo from both studies, we understand the fact that this nation is one of the dominant Cushitic speaking people, originated in East Africa. For this study purpose, I am interested to mention three important components of Oromo culture which differentiate them from others Cushitic and non-Cushitic speaking people. These are Afan Oromo (Oromo language), Gada system (Indigenous socio-political and economic system), and Oromo

religion now a days called *Waaqeffannaa*, which is the central part of this thesis. The last two points have been discussed in chapter three.

3.1. Guji Oromo

Guji zone, which is predominantly inhabited by Guji Oromo groups, geographically located in southern Oromia which is by default becomes southern Ethiopia. The zonal seat is Negelle town which situated on a distance of 600 kms to the south of Addis Ababa. Administratively, Guji zone share borders with two regional states, Somali in the South–East and Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) in the North & North-West. Bale zone shares the largest border in the North and North East part, while West Arsi zone borders some part in the North West between Bale and SNNP junction. The remaining whole southern Guji zone border is shared with Borana zone of Oromia.

The central, North west and Northern parts of Guji is by large highland and most forested while vegetation cover decreases towards South and South East borders with Somali Regional State and Borana zone respectively. The following map 2 provides more briefs of the location of the study sites and only used for explanation of this study.

Historically, Guji Oromo is one of the large Oromo branches inhabited in the Southern Oromia. Once, the Guji Oromo were called “*JamJamtu*” by their neighbors, as has been mentioned several times in a number of literatures, although the reason is not clear, (Van De Loo 1991; Tadesse 1995).

The Guji Oromo repeatedly waged wars with their neighboring Oromo and non-Oromo people. Guji waged wars with other Oromo groups like Arusi, and Borana as well as non-Oromo ethnic groups such as Sidamo (Tadesse 1995). For instance, the first Qallu (big Qallu), has been captured and taken to Alabadu during such wars with neighbours unknown years ago.

There are five major branches and two relatively small sub branches of Guji Oromo in Guji land and in the neighboring sidama land respectively. The first five branches have their own Gada. In their seniority order, these are: *Uruga*, *Matti*, *Hokku*, *Halo* and *Wessitu* as well as the two relatively small sub branches inhabited deep in to Sidamo called *Ottu* and *Shello*.

The first three phratries cover the largest portion of Guji land. Uruga, Hokku and Matti covers the larger land mass in Guji.

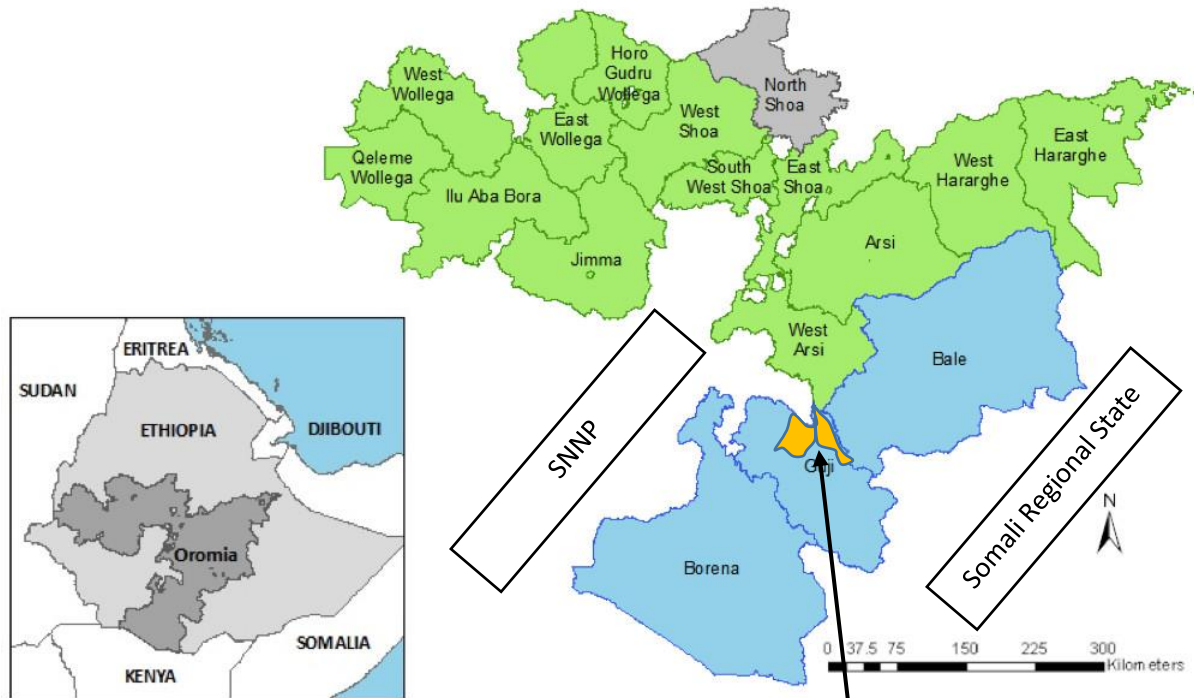
The *Ardaa-Jilaa* (sacred sites) in the whole Guji Oromo land are common properties for all branches of Guji, so that every one has an indomitable right to enjoy where ever and whenever needed.

The Abba Gada of the far north *Halo* and *Wessitu* are under the close follow up of the Qallu of *Alabdu*, Qallu *guiddicha* until recent time. The Southern branches-*Uruga*, *Matti* and *Hokku* have very limited contact with Qallu of *Alabdu*, but it is mandatory to meet at least once during *baalii* ceremony per eight years. According to my Key informant (AnnexI-1) who are originally from Qallu clan *Galalcha-meta* of the *Uruga* can serve as representative of Qallu and provide spiritual service.

Currently, Guji zone is divided in to two zones as “Guji zone” with Fifteen (15) districts and three (3) town administrations. Five (5) of the 15 districts are with high land climate, six (6) districts including three (3) towns administrations have semi-high land climate and altitude while the remaining four (4) districts are in low land climatic zone and altitude.

The second zone is known as “West Guji zone”. It included five former districts administration under borana zone and two from Guji zone (Guji zone, administration office). This division did not affect the study sites as both study sites remained in the same administrative zone. However, as the recent map of the two zones are not released officially, the old map used in this study.

Topographical view of Guji zone falls in to one of the few vegetative areas bimodal rainfall experiences.



<http://www.oromiatourism.gov.et/index.php/home> (accessed on 21 June 2017)



Map 1. *Administrative Map of Oromia & the study sites*

Study Sites (Adola Redde and Girja Districts)

The central, North and North West Guji natural forest has different levels of canopy and heterogeneous in types which is home for varieties of wild lives including recently discovered endemic bird called Liben lark. Liben lark is a part of small sized birds which are available around Negelle town and other forested parts of Guji.



Pic.1. Liben Lark in the forest of Guji Oromo land (Picture taken from Oromia Culture & Tourism Web page)

<http://www.oromiatourism.gov.et/index.php/home> (accessed on 18 September 2016)

Small birds have cultural values among Guji Oromo and carefully protected. Their importance and contribution to Guji Oromo people have been discussed in chapter Four.

According to CSA, Guji Oromo settled in three major ecological zones-High land, mid-highland and low land. The highland (*Baddaa*) ecological zone covers some parts of the central, North and North-west Guji land which accounts 27% of the zone with 10-15 °C temperature and 3,500meters of altitude above sea level.

This zone followed by mid-highland (*Badda-daree*) which covers 33% of the Guji zone total land mass, as Meteorological Agency of Ethiopia (MAE) and Guji zone culture and tourism bureau sources indicate. The temperature varies between 15°C -24 °C from the border of highland to low land areas respectively. The mid-highland lies between 1,500-2,500 meters above sea level and the most inhabited, forested and farmed parts of Guji land compared to the rest two zones.

Low land (*Gammoojjii*) zone lies below 1,800 meters above sea level and the lowest is 500 meters above sea level. Temperature of low land is between 20°C-27°C and increases from semi-highland border to center of low land area. Therefore, slightly 40% of Guji land falls in the low land (*Gammoojjii*) while 60% is in semi-highland (*Badda-daree*) and highland (*Baddaa*) ecological zones. The semi-high land is predominantly populated by *Matti* phratry who is the second senior

phratry of Guji Oromo branch. The Low land inhabited predominantly by Uruga and Hokku phratries the senior and third senior.

Physical map of Ethiopia (Ad apted from Google map) The Great Rift Valley



Map.2 Physical Map of Ethiopia Guji high land

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Ethiopia#/media/File:Ethiopia_sat.png(accessed on September 20, 2016).

Concerning population profile, as to zonal Central Statistics Agency (CSA) source, the population of the zone estimated slightly to two million as minimum estimative calculation gives 1,827,022. The Male female ratio is randomly equal as it is 1:1.

The major livelihoods of the zone is agriculture which covers 68%, and followed by livestock raising which accounts 22 % and the remaining 10 % covered by traders and Government employees as sources from Zonal Culture and Tourism Bureau indicates. Agriculture and pastoralism covers 90% of the total populations' lively hood.

3.2. Guji Oromo Indigenous Religion,

Guji Oromo social, cultural, economy, religion and politics firmly embedded in each other. As a result, when ever one aspect of the culture discussed, there is possibility of interference in one or more parts of the culture. Therefore, under the discussion of *Waaqeffannaa*, Socio-political and economic system (Gada system) of the Guji Oromo assessed.

Like other Oromo branches, Guji Oromo believes in the Supreme Being known as *Waaqa* who believed to be living on *Waaqa* (sky/heaven). *Waaqa* is represented by Qallu, and selective holy individuals called *Woyyu* on the earth. Three useful concepts in this study need to be conceptualized that have connections with the issue of discussions in this study. These local terminologies are *Woyyu*, *Hayyu* and *kayo* respectively. Although these words defined and conceptualized in a number of literatures, there is some difference in this study.

Guji Oromo religion is not limited to Oromo indigenous religion *Waaqeffannaa* only. There are different Christianity religion sects and Islam religion followers.

One of the different experience observed and learned in this field work is that the people respect their individual's religion and make sense of religious diversity practical. No matter which religious sect or institution they follow, they have respect for cultural issues and indigenous norms. The interaction of *Waaqeffannaa* with other religions is highlighted in the following topic.

During field data collection, data gathering commenced at *Ardaa-Jilaa* (sacred site) *Milki in Adola Redde* district, *Bachara* kebele, where the two senior Guji Oromo phratries (*Uraga* and *Matti*) sheltered for three weeks. I have asked one of my key informants, (Annex I-1) why they were there? The response was as follows:

Gujiin dhugaa qaba; dhuga'aa beeka.

Waaqi'ii Waaqa dhuga'aati, bakka dhuga'aan jiru jira!

Tokkichum sana, hangafticha, hangafa hinqabne!

kan abbootii keenya oliyyee dhufe; kadhibi hinjiru;

Gujiin Waaqa kana kadhata, bakka bacatti bahee:

Malkaatti bahee, Maddatti bahee, tulluutti bahee,

Ardaa-Jillaa bahee, Waaqa tokich san kadhata. Saniif as jirra! Akkas!



Picture: 2 Adola Redde, Bacharra kebele, Ardaa-Jilaa Milki. (photo taken on 27.08.2017)

Guji has truth; knows truth; *Waaqa* is *Waaqa* of truth; he is in a place where truth is! He is the only one, the elder without elder, who is believed by ancestors from the very beginning, no other *Waaqa*; Guji prays to *Waaqa*, by marching to multi- places: marching to rivers, marching to source of streams, marching to hills (mountains), marching to sacred sites, prays to that sole *Waaqa*; that is why we are here! that is it!

Such movement continues through out the entire land of Guji in all the three phratries *Uraga*, *Matti* and *Hokku* traditional administrative areas known as *Gabala*.

3.2.1. Ardaa-Jilaa (Sacred sites)

In the two study sites, eighty-one (81) such *Ardaa-Jilaa* (sacred sites) have been identified during this field work (see annex III). Guji zone culture and Tourism bureau estimates 370 such *Ardaa-Jilaa* in the zone. But all sites were not identified yet. Some of the above mentioned identified *Ardaa-Jilaa* were not known so far. Therefore, probably these findings would be shared with the zonal Culture and Tourism bureau.

The resident community surrounding each *Ardaa-Jilaa* benefit administrative and spiritual services from Abba Gada and their followers during their movement on such sacred sites. Solutions to family and broader disputes, prayer to *Waaqa* for delayed rainfall and blessing for peace and prosperity and health are among services that the hosting community gain.

As focus group discussion result shows, there is a kind of reciprocity and gifty at *Ardaa-Jilaa* between the hosting community and the Abba Gada groups who are on move. Heads of cattle offered as a gift to Abba Gada and his teams and receive blessings. Households provide food for free to these groups as the responsibility of caring them is on local community who hosts them. This does not mean the community is forced to feed such a large number of population which estimated to one hundred individuals.

According to my key informants and informal conversations done with locals in some towns like *Maleka*, *Adola Woyyu*, *Harenfama* and villages such as *Darartu*, *Bacharra*, *Anfarara*, *Harenfama kalla* and *Kalina Gobu*, all agrees that there are plenty *Ardaa-Jilaa* in their respective towns and villages. However, all sites and names of the *Ardaa-Jilaa* were not identified and recorded by the time of this study.



Pic.3. Picture taken in field at Ardaa-Jilaa Haro Gobbu On the bank of Ganalle River dissects the two study sites (Adola Redde and Girja)



Pic.4 (Picture taken in the field) (Abba Gada of Matti) (Abba Gada of Uruga)

Interview with the two Uruga & Matti phratries Abba Gada at ardaa Jilaa Milkii

Hokku group, the junior phratry, follows them slowly and the researcher met them at *Ardaa Jilaa Soddu Dhibayu*.



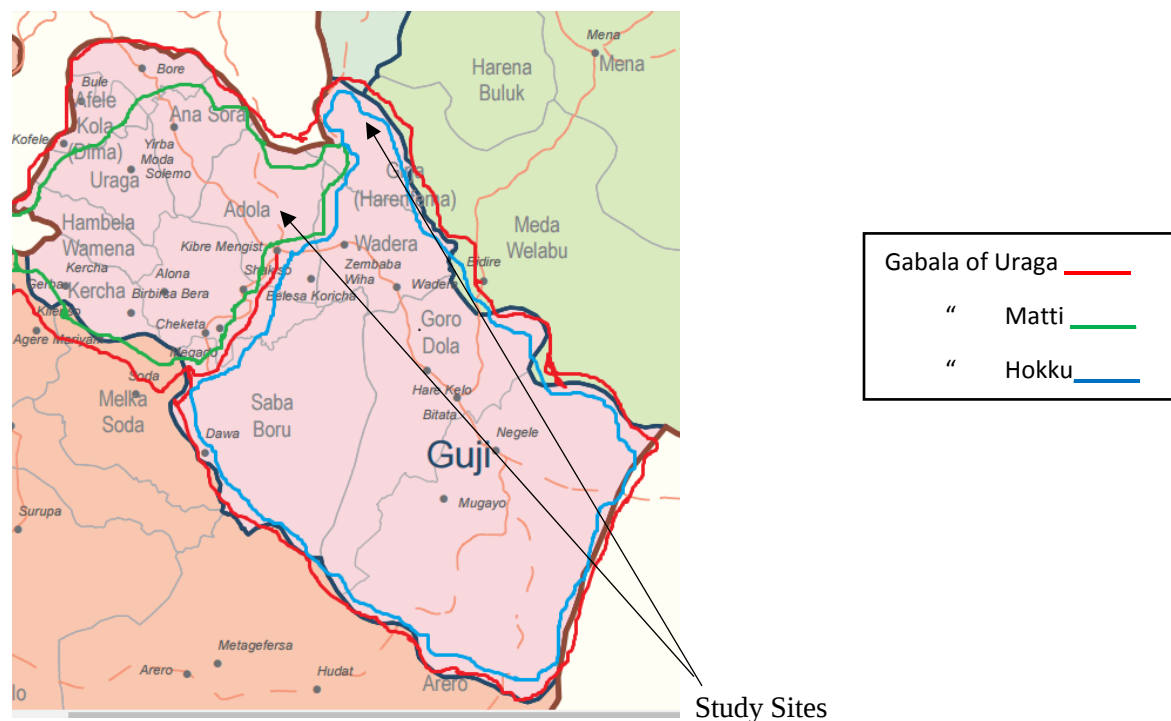
Pic.5. Picture taken at Ardaa Jilaa Soddu Dhibayu on Focused Group Discussion where Hokku groups temporarily sheltered.

Another group from *Hokku* phratry, some fifty individuals met at *Ardaa-Jilaa Sodduu Dhibayyuu* about 20 kms to the North-west of Adola Woyyu town where 51 of the 81 *Ardaa-Jilaa* listed.

The coverage of these sacred sites denser in *Adola Redde* district than the rest districts located in Guji zone. It appeared that the availability of forests with diversified sacred trees, rivers and landscapes in *Adola Redde* district that have attracted the people to have more choices, so that resulted in the emergence of numerous *Ardaa Jilaa* in this area.

Moreover, the altitude of *Adola Redde* district falls in mid-highland where the temperature is between 15Co-24Co with altitude of 1,500m-2,500m above sea level (CSA). This area is very hospitable place for both human and animals. As a result the population of this area became higher than other districts. Therefore, the people has no reason to move to distant place to search for sacred site as the more needed natural environment is closer to them.

It could be confusion if one wants to understand the whereabouts of all these sacred sites by referring to administrative maps, as the indigenous administrative area (*Gabala*) of each senior groups (*Uraga, Matti and Hokku*) does not match exactly with that of government administrative system. I have depicted some *Gabala* in the study sites in which all the *Arda Jilaa* located.



Map 3. This sketch map is used to describe the three Guji Oromo branches cultural Indicative Sketch Map. Lines of the three senior Guji Oromo groups *Gabala* (administrative areas)

For instance, *Ardaa Jilaa* march extends as far as *Gadab* River which is currently in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR) Gedeo zone, and still ritual practices take place there as it is the place where the two senior Guji Oromo groups *Uruga* and *Matti* continues their movement separately towards their *Gabala*-administrative areas. They believe this area is part of their *Gabala* although it is in the SNNP region. There is proverb related to the history of *Gadab* River and *Gada* system. According to my key informant (Annex I-3) *Uruga* and *Matti* depart at *Ardaa-Jilaa Gadab* by killing bull for farewell ceremony.

Gada'aa muume'ee namaa, -----Gada end of man

Gadab muumme'ee lafa'aa -----Gadab end of land

The sense of this proverb is to indicate that, what is better than *Gada* for human, as it is transparent, systematic little or no individual influence in the system, and inclusive. For them, it is complete and comprehensive. That is why perceived as end of man, which mean complete enough.

The idea reflected in the second line is to show that end of the planned destination. Because they know that there are other Oromo branches and non-Oromo neighbors beyond *Gadab* River.

The Other dimension of this end of land is the common *Gabala* (traditional administrative areas) for the two phratries-*Uruga* and *Matti* ends there, as they are going to be in their respective *gabala*-administrative areas after that common turning point.

Therefore, *Gadab* is historical and ritual center for Guji Oromo where the two senior branches start independent movement after warm farewell festive escorted with bull sacrifice. All these *Ardaa-Jilaa* are in the natural environment, respected, and carefully protected by all Guji Oromo and transmitted from generation to generation with their values.

People obey the rules and regulations passed by *Abba Gada* carefully. Because it is believed that the origin of the rules and regulations is *Waaqa* and passed to *Abba Gada* via *Qallu* who believed to be holy and respected individual among Guji Oromo. Of course, all activities of *Qallu* is different from ordinary Guji Oromo activities. For instance *Qallu* never till land, very selective to talk, he hold his sacred stick made of *Muka dhugoo*-tree of truth, follow truth and play role of safe guard of *Waaqa's* way and law. *Qallu* conduct follow up in the implementation of laws by the mass, who were under the leadership of *Abba Gada*. The spiritual processes, activities and ritual

performances by humanin the natural environment and other places are to have mediation with Waaqa. That is partly what *Waaqeffannaa* mean.

3.2.2. Guji Oromo Gada system

As mentioned above, socio-political and economic system of the Guji Oromo is embedded in their indigenous religion. Gada system of the Guji Oromo begins and ends with *Waaqeffanna*. During *Baalli* (power) transfer there is Gada initiation rituals by spiritual leaders. Both Abba Gada, who supposed to handover power and receive power to assume office blessed by spiritual leader Qallu or Woyyu. Abba Gada's power legitimized and publicized by the big spiritual leader Qallu. That is why this study highlighted Gada system in this thesis.

The Guji Oromo Gada system is complex and partly embedded in age grade based social organization. I have tried to discuss part of the Gada system related to this study. There are five Gada cycles known as *Dhallana*, *Halchiisa*, *Muudana*, *Roobale*, and *Harmuufa* in Guji Oromo. Guji Oromo Gada cycles have a complex system of supportive groups (*baallii*) called *Qadadduu*.

On the other hand there are opposing groups or *baallii* known as *wolannaa*. The magnitude of opposing each other is moderated by the practices of *Safuu* (moral value) and fear of *Waaqa* and does not go beyond limit to the extent of fighting.

Waaqa is at a pick of Gada system and all aspects of Guji Oromo life. *Waaqa* is represented on Earth (*lafa*) by Qallu whose specific role is spiritual activities recruiting competitors of Gada and legitimizing the elected Abba Gada to power. Qallu of Alabdu, which geographically located to the north-west of *Gabala* Uruga from Obitu clan are the great Qallu for Guji Oromo.

Then, followed by few selective clans such as *Galalcha* clans and *Metta* sub clans from both Uruga and Hokku phratries. There is no Galalcha clan in Matti phratry. Matti branch claim that four of the seven houses of them became extinct due to repeated wars waged with neighbours. Qallu is the only individual who never assume and enjoy political power in Oromo culture. Both Abba Gada and Qallu are male centered system. Gada system is one of the core instruments of Guji Oromo social organization, and cascaded to individuals' daily lives.

Thus, it is important to discuss the role *Waaqeffannaa* plays in Gada system operation which in turn has lions share influence on the natural environment that leads to the conducive condition for both human and non human living nature.

I argue that the role of Qallu in Gada initiation for *baallii* (power) exchange, and facilitation for competitors is impartial, neutral and independent of influence as I have learned from the knowledgeable elders.

This can be true because, firstly, the culture itself portrayed clear and meaningful boundary between Qallu institution and Gada system physically and ideologically in the minds of the people. The Qallu and their clans partially separated from the other clans and live in the most northern part of Guji land. It is believed that Qallu and their village is *Woyyu-Holy*, so that very respected and protected. The core and sole purpose of Qallu in Oromo is to ensure the proper implementation of *Seera-Waaqa* (*Waaqa's* law) on the *lafa'a*-Earth. The proper implementation of *aadaa* in other word *seera-lafa'a* (earthily law) is responsibility of Abba Gada, whose power is legitimized by Qallu. Qallu believed to have never speak wrong, except truth (*Qallun daba hindubbatu, dhugaa malee*), and holds a sacred stick made from a tree known as *Muka Dhugoo*.-tree of truth. Thus, as they have such distinct power and the most respected individuals in the society no intention of power need.

Secondly, the ideology of both Qallu and the people strongly influenced by the Gada system and internalized deeply. Qallu and his clan believes he meant to be Qallu on this earth by *Waaqa*. People are very careful of Qallu and other clans who believed to have specific power of doing something wrong or good to man.

Waaqa and *Seera Waaqa* is very feared by all Guji Oromo and the Qallu himself, who is the spiritually responsible man. Qallu and Abba Gada are the second and third respected and feared men in Guji Oromo culture. Other special families who are believed to have special talents called *Warra-waaqaa* similarly feared and respected.

Abba Gada share the status of *Woyyu* in Guji Oromo. There is ceremony that facilitated by Qallu, on which Abba Gada kills the powerful and poisonous snake called *Buutii*, burn and rub his *Ulfaataa/ kallacha*-phallic with the ash of burned snake.

Symbolically, this depicts Abba Gada has a poisonous response to those who break *seera-lafaa* (earthly law) but ok if everybody is as per *aadaa-seera lafa* (earthly law). This shows, Abba Gada, who performed this ritual and assumed power considered as *woyyu* but lesser than Qallu. Still Qallu's position is higher than Abba Gada as the position is legitimized by him.

In summary, as the power of Qallu is higher than that of Abba Gada, no tendency of wishing power because of the two reasons discussed above. The first is the clan from which Qallu originate is separate and hereditary in nature. Socially, such clan is very respected and feared more than Abba Gada.

The second reason is Qallu clan perceived by the people as *woyyu* and this is deep-rooted in the society. They are not expected to pass in the competitive five age based gada grades known as *Daballe* (from 0-8 years), *Kusa* (9-16 years), *Raba* (17-24 years), *Dori* (25-32 years) and *Gada* (33-40 years) for four decades. Therefore, any family from such clan, socially bounded not to participate in Gada system.

As discussed above, *Waaqa Dhuga* (*Waaqa* of truth) is omnipotent and omnipresent. It is believed that as *Waaqa* is everywhere, people are very careful of untruthful action. Let us see the following short Oromo proverb: *Nama nisoban! Waaqa hinsoban!* You can lie human; you cannot lie *Waaqa*. No matter where ever you are, *Waaqa* can see and hear you, always at any time in any condition. So that no room for lying and the choice is obeying *Waaqa* and acting in accordance with *Seera Waaqa* (divine law) and *Seera Lafaa* (earthly law) truthfully.

Currently, Gada *Harmuufa* is on power which is one of the five Guji Oromo Gada *Baallii* (cycle). They are making their third, complete Gada system, to be equal with the rest four *baallii* series. *Harmuufa* will complete its three round at the end of 2023. These three complete Gadas for each five is on going since the time of the current elders able to recognize. One Gada cycle is eight years while one complete Gada, cycle is five times of such eight turn which is forty (40) years, and counts forty (40) years times three (3) complete Gada cycles which means one hundred twenty (120) years. The rest four from recent to earlier- *Dhallana*, *Haalchisa*, *Muudana* and *Roobale* have already completed three complete Gada cycles each. The current Abba Gada of Guji is 74th Abba Gada and his *baallii* is *Harmuufa*. The Abba Gada was participant of this study as key informant.

Therefore, if a living elder in Guji Oromo can tell us three complete Gada cycles of five permanently cycling groups mentioned above, we can learn the fact that this people has practicing such a complex socio-political and economic system at least six hundred (600) years back! Slightly before the modern history of US America.

According to Guji Oromo lore, Gada system is operational few years after the heavenly being seen on Guji Oromo land. So far, no one knows the exact time of this historic event. But, the Guji Oromo believes that it is the beginning of the idea and practice of both *Qallu* as a spiritual and Gada system as socio-political practices between these two individuals (Heavenly being and the *hayyu*-wise man).

The ancestor of the Guji *Qallu* came down from the heaven. A Guji of old times saw a strange human figure, covered only with long fur. This heavenly being was utterly lost and wondered around and asking for help. The Guji who first found him did not know what to do. They decided to consult a *ciddeessa*, a *specialist*. He thought it would be appropriate to first shave this strange being; then to give it some clothes. The specialist was generously blessed for his recognition of this being as the *Qallu* and thus became the first Abba Gada of the Guji (Van De Loo, 1991:56).

As we understand from this paragraph, *Qallu* survived because of *hayyu*-the wise man generosity and humanitarian intervention while *hayyu*-wise man benefited from the event as he has enjoyed a chance of being the first Abba Gada (traditional political leader) of his people due to his humanitarian help to the sudden appeared heavenly being-later became *Qallu*. Hence, this has something in that and that has something in this; so that, this would not be there without that and that would not be there without this. The relationship between the two might have began at such remote time and continued in the same way up to now days.

Qallu gives *Qumbii* to nominee Abba Gada to his mouth on a ceremony escorted with chanting and singing. According to my Key informants, (AnnexI-3), it is difficult to try *Qumbi*. He was very reserved to explain secrete of *Qumbii* eating. He rather preferred to tell me oath repeated during *Qumbii* eating ceremony. I have learned why he was afraid of explaining when he pretended like *Qallu* and repeated the following phrases.

The following *hirbuu*-Oath is repeated by *Qallu* and agreed by *Qumbii* eaters.

Dhuga'aa afaan sika'e!-----I did put truth in your mouth!

Dhara Afaanii sifuudhe!-----I picked out false from your mouth!

Daba hinqorin!-----Don't treat wrong issues!

Buna bulluqaan hin qorin!-----Don't treat issues with just boiled coffee!

Haagaa hariyaan hin qorin!-----Don't treat issue on the basis of clan & friendship!

Firaa worraan hinqorin!-----Don't treat on the basis of near and distance relatives!

Dhugaa Waaqaa-Lafaan qori!-----Treat on the basis of heavenly and Earthly (*Lafa*)truth!

Yoo daba qorte afaan dabi!-----If you treat wrong !let your voice be wrong! Curse

The oath has symbolic meanings that from the time of the event and eating *qumbii* on wards, participants take care of what they speak and do. Confidentiality is one of the characteristics displayed from members of *qumbii* eaters.

Moreover, it is believed that false has been taken from mouth and truth replaced. So that, all members have to obey their oath. The way they analyze issues is then on the bases of (*dhugaa waaqaa-lafaa*) heavenly and earthily truth only. Followed by warning phrase with curse phrase, *yoo daba qorte, afaan dabi!* (If you treat/examine issues wrongly, let what you say be wrong!).

Traditionally, this is serious curse because, if your say is wrong, you will have no acceptance in the community. It is strongly believed that blessing and curses work in life very soon and people are careful of such things. As a result the Guji Oromo take care of it and try their best to increase elders' blessings and minimize curses.

Eating *qumbii* is symbolically an indication of reaching the stage of being able man to deal with various challenges of life at community level. For instance, at this stage, individual's broad mindedness, analytical ability, patience and leadership capacity examined. Confidentiality is key code of conduct in *Qumbii* eating ceremony and considered as basic regulation.

It is important to highlight *baallii* as one's *baallii* members can be considered as the same family during some sort of *Waaqeffannaa* rituals. Guji Oromo believes that this complex Gada system is designed and offered by *Waaqa* to man to administer himself and other non-human nature.

The prove to this argument is that *Waaqa* is at a pick of the hierarchy of Guji Oromo Gada system.

As mentioned above, Guji Oromo Gada has five cycles called *baallii*. *Baallii* has also the contextual meaning of power. Each *baallii* has equal chance of enjoying power after one complete Gada cycle which takes forty (40) years. That is why ideally one Oromo man became Abba Gada, forty (40) years after his father's Gada period. His father will begin the stage of *Jarsa Qululu* (81-88) at the time of his son assume Gada power in Guji Oromo Gada cycle.

In each steps of Gada grade and ritual performance, there are labour divisions that females share. They play significant role in supporting their husbands on Gada power by mobilizing families of *torbi* (the seventh/Guji groups) in Gada system. Wives of each *torbi* are responsible to *Haadha Bollaa* (title for wife of Abba Gada).

Guji Oromo Female participate in Gada system through their husbands' *baallii*. According to (Annex I-5), as the wife of Abba Gada is responsible in leading the wives of Abba Gada team under *Torbi* and the structure goes down to community. At *Ardaa-Jilaa* women play mainly facilitation role walking in front of the Abba Gada.

Haadha Bollaa (AnnexI-5) added that at *Dori* (final stage to pass to Gada) stage, female would have *Guutuu* on her head when her husband. If her husband became successful to Gada power (become Abba Gada), her title will be *Haadha Bollaa*. While her husband have *Ulfaataa*/phallic on his fore head, her *Guutuu* upgraded to *Guutimaala*. Only Abba Gada's wife entitled to put *Guutimaala* on her head in Guji Oromo culture. Some *Ardaa-Jilaa* like *Darartu* with many sacred sites dominated by women ritual practices. Therefore, female's contribution in Gada system on *Waaqeffannaa* is not simplistic according to (AnnexI-5).

The five Gada cycles of Guji Oromo opposes and supports each other. *Dhallana-Halchiisa-Muudana-Roobale* and *Harmuufa*. *Dhallana* is opposite (*wolannaa*) to its predecessor *Halchiisa* and its follower- *Harmufa baallii*-cycles. But supporter (*qadadduu*) to *Muudana* and *Roobale baalli*. The cycle continues in the same way to all *baallii* continuously. The consecutive *baallii* opposes each other, because, during their time of competition they uncover shortfalls of their predecessor in favor of their alternative "policies" to pave the way to Gada power. Shortfalls of their predecessors collected carefully and analyzed to get attention for future competition to Gada power. As the predecessors are elders both by age and *baallii* the way *wolannaa* displays weakness is diplomatic, respectful and based on visible facts called *dhuga'aa muldhatu*. *Safuu* (the moral

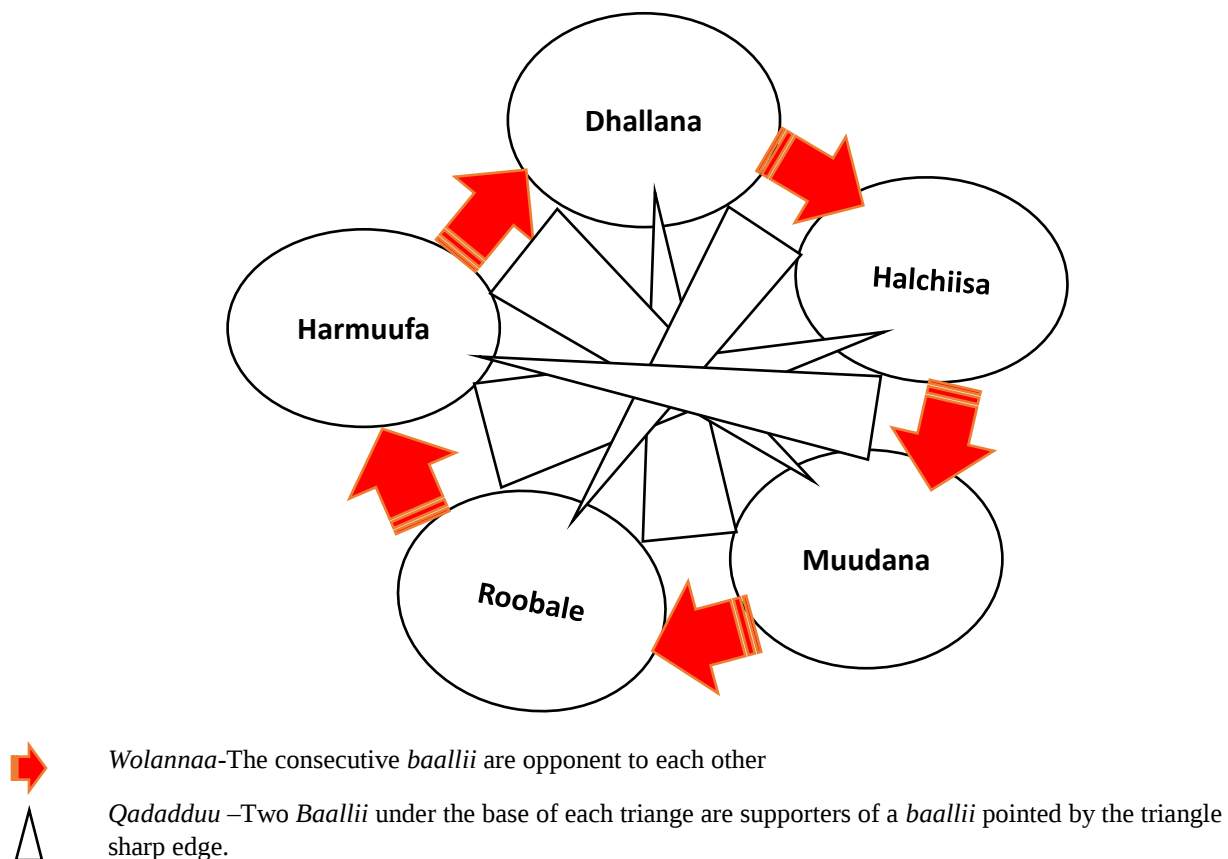
code) is very practical in such conditions mainly in respecting elders and senior *baallii*. The *baallii* under evaluation do not defend or fire back its shortfalls.

There is both blood and social ties among *Qadadduu* of each *baallii*. Marriage among *Qadadduu* *baallii* is common but not mandatory. As demonstrated by the following diagram, the consecutive red arrows indicate each consecutive *baallii* is *wolannaa* (opposite) and work hard to find fault on its predecessor to use as input for future power competition.

On the other hand, *Qadadduu* (supporters/fans) located at two edge point of the base of each triangle and the sharp point of the triangle indicates the *baallii* to which the two *baallii* fan (*Qadadduu*). For example *Dhallana baallii* is *wolannaa* (opposite) to *Halchiisa baallii* (cycle). Same is true for *Halchiisa-Muudana-Roobale-Harmuufa* consecutively.

On the other way round, *Dahllana baallii*'s supporters are the consecutive two *baallii* located after *Haalchiisa*. These are *Muudana* and *Roobale baallii*. For more clarification, I have tried to demonstrate this Guji Gada system *baallii* cycles in the following diagram

Diagram 2. Guji Oromo Gada *Baallii* (Gada cycle)



Thus, as two *baallii* on both right and left are *wolannaa*-opponent, and the remaining two *baallii* are *Qadadduu*-supporter, there is equal balance of power in terms of supporting and opposing each other.

There is two basic bonds among each *Qadadduu*. The first is social bond in which members of *qadadduu* support and fan their *baallii*. In this system each five *baallii* has equal chance of having two *qadadduu* groups. If the number of *balli* is four, two groups may occur and both would destroy each other. The presence of the fifth *baallii* play central role in bringing change and keeping balance as one side becomes three groups and have power over the two remaining *baallii*. See Diagram 3 above.

The second bond is marriage tie. According to my key informant (AnnexI-3), usually marriage is from same *Qadadduu baallii* than *wolannaa baallii*. This does not mean that there is no marriage among *wolannaa baallii*. The way *Qadadduu baallii* interconnected socially and spiritually has been discussed in chapter four.

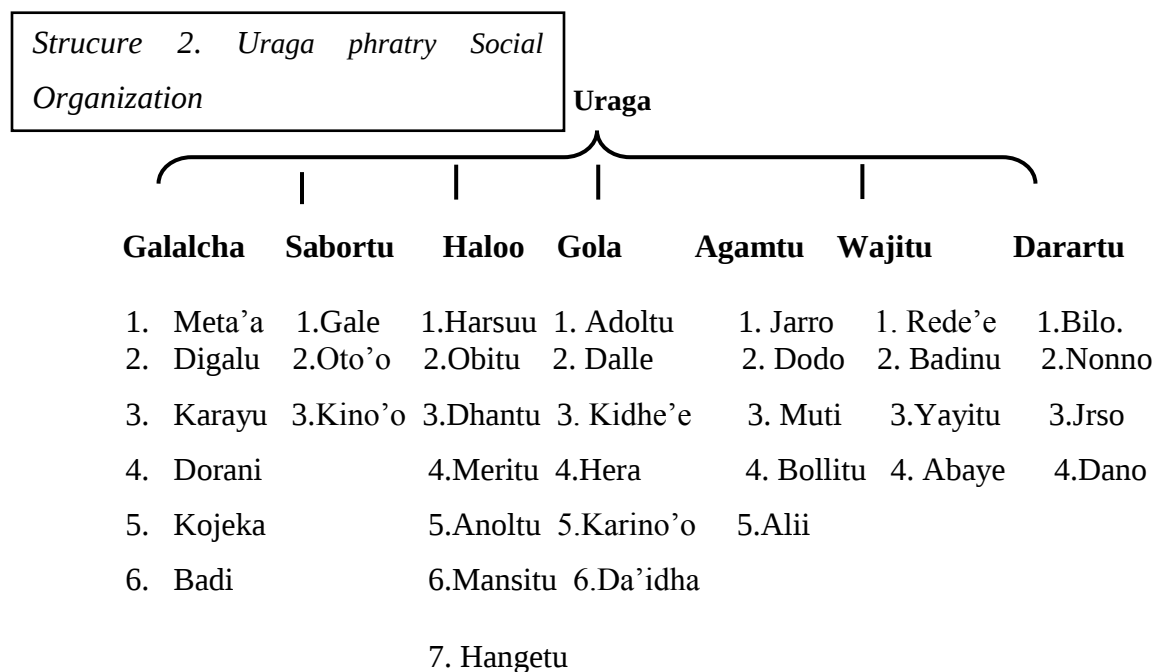
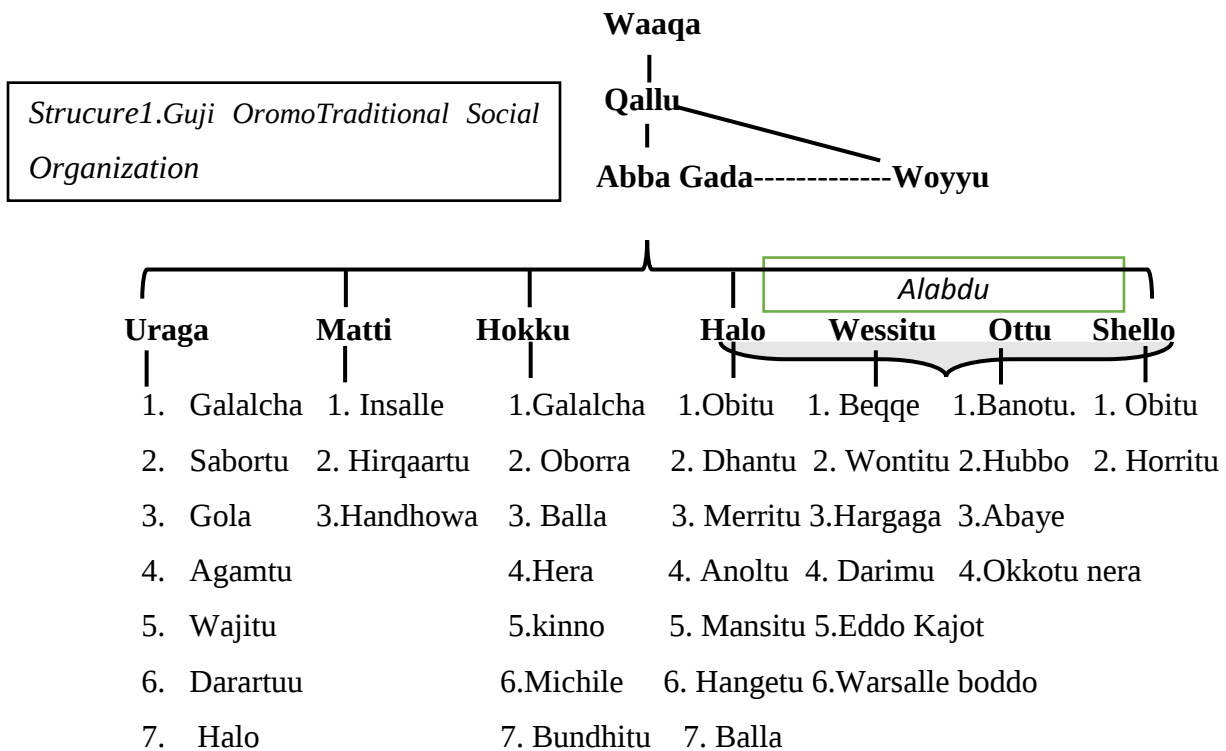
In summary, in every size of opposition, there is relatively equal size of support in each *baallii* which keeps check and balance of power.

3.2.3. Guji Oromo Social Organization

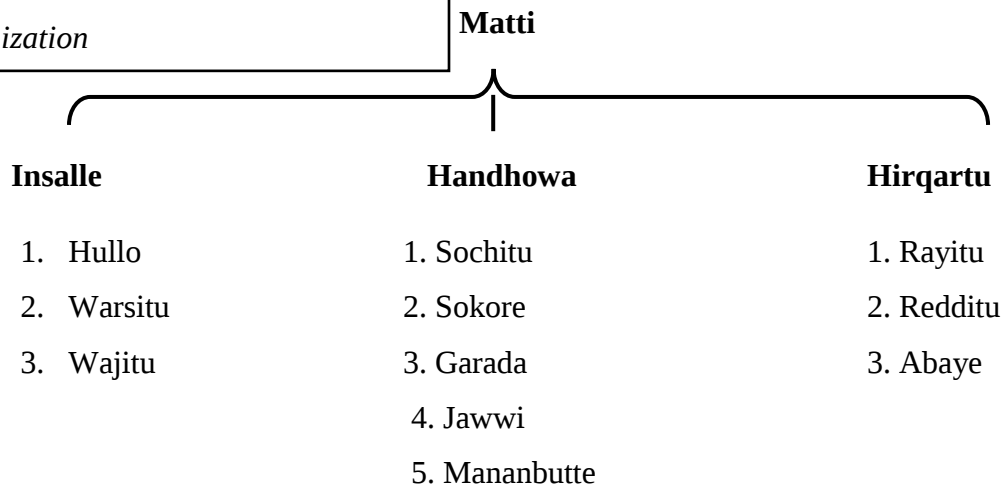
In these social organization, the major three groups (*Uraga, Matti and Hokku*), who are inhabited in the study sites were the source source to depict how Guji Oromo organized themselves traditionally. As the objective of this study is to see Oromo religion links to natural environment and the influence of natural environment on their daily life, it is important to understand how these people traditionally organized themselves, act and interact with each other individually, socially, and religiously in their natural environment.

Therefore, the following structures is only to show how Guji Oromo hierarchically organized, and systematically communicate with one another, as well as with their natural environment. The information is mostly from participants of the study and I have demonstrated in the way I understood. All of the study participants are from the first three major Guji Oromo groups who are believed to be seniors of all Guji Oromo groups and very respected consecutively. Members of all

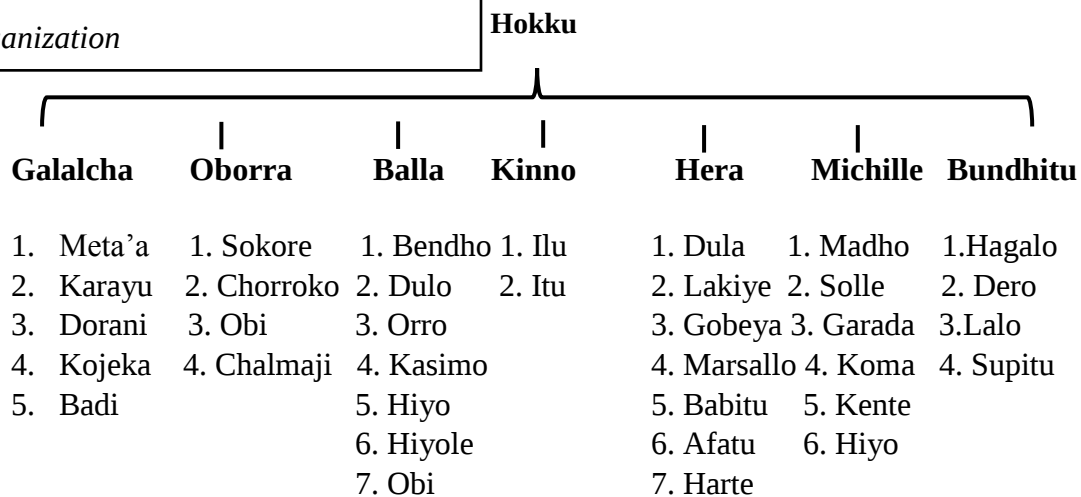
the seven groups can live across all *gabala*- administrative areas of each groups without restriction. The social organization of Guji Oromo demonstrated in the following page structurally.



Strucure 3. Matti phratry Sub-Social Organization



Strucure 4. Hokku phratry Sub-Social Organization



All Guji Oromo rules and regulations, of both categories, *Sera Waaqa*-Devine law and *Sera Lafa* sometimes called *Aada'a*- earthly law pass from top to down to the mass in such organized hierarchy and applied by the mass in their daily life. So that, they are very careful of both rules and apply accordingly.

This social organization gives them clue who to marry, who from which clan and sub-clan to be married. On the other hand, each groups and sub-groups respect each other and take care of their respective social organizations dignity and values carefully to keep their pride in the community.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ritual practices in Guji Oromo

There are a number of ritual activities that performed for both human and non human nature in Guji Oromo culture. Most of the rituals performed to solve some kinds of problems occurred both on human and animals. The problem can be fertility issues, epidemic diseases, repeated accident and deaths in both human and livestock. There are specialized segment of population who are said to have knowledge of handling such problems. It is believed that they are *Woyyo* “holy” who have been offered such extraordinary skills by *Waaqa*. The following concepts are important in this study and elaborated below before proceeding to rituals. These concepts are: *Woyyu*, *Hayyu* and *Kayyo*.

One of my key informants (Annex I-20) from *Qallu* family repeted the following phrases when I asked him these terms.

Hayyuun ka nama 'aa ti,---Hayu is from man (given by man)

Woyyuun ka Waaqa 'ati.---- Woyyu is from Waaqa (Woyyu is given by Waaqa/God/

4.1. *Woyyu*

The upper meaning of *Woyyu* is holy, while the deeper meaning goes further, and I have elaborated bellow. As to my understanding, *Woyyu* has no specific meaning as holy. *Woyyu* can be seen in two major aspects and two sub aspects in this study. *Woyyu* in the aspects of humanity and non-human nature.

4.1.1. *Woyyu in the aspects of humanity*

In this aspect *woyyu* refers to special skill and ability that extraordinarily individual display. This special skill is acquired innately. This part of *woyyu* can be categorized in to two sub parts. The first part is to do something good for the benefit of all without jeopardizing the interests of other groups whereas the second is to do certain activities for the benefit of groups by risking others interests.

According to oral tradition, the first *woyyu* as human is *Qallu*. There are individuals, families and groups who enjoy the values attached to *woyyu*. These individuals are firstly, the Great *Qallu*, followed by *Abba Gada* of the three groups (*Uraga*, *Matti* and *Hokku*) and *warra kallacha* (phallic

families), and clans in *Alabdu* and others from Metta of Galalcha clans from both *Uraga* and *Hokku* phratries. *Matti* has no Galalcha clan.

The two main groups known and feared of their special abilities are the *Shabolla* families believed to be known for their control of lightening, whereas the *Dalacha* families known for their release of trouble internal diseases to individuals respectively (Taddese 1995). Both were considered as *woyyu*, because it is believed that, they were offered this ability by *Waaqa* purposefully. The latter groups are useful to punish individuals or groups supposed to be punished due to their failure to obey certain norms like failure to obey *Seera Waaqa* (divine laws) and *Seera lafaa/namaa* (earthly/human law).

The *Shabolla* families are those who believed to control lightning to protect human from potential harmful disaster regardless of discrimination. Where as, the *Dalacha* families believed to act against human by releasing terrible internal diseases particularly on people who are supposed to be corrected due to failure in applying rules, regulations and norms.

In conclusion, the meaning attached to *woyyu* is not only “good doing” but also having power of “harm doing” as well. Therefore, *woyyu* in the humanistic aspect, can be defined as the ability to do something or anything good or bad to human in extraordinary way.

4.1.2. Woyyu in the aspect of non-human nature

The second dimension of *woyyu* is the non-human aspect. There are non-human nature such as birds, animals, plants, and places which are believed to be *woyyu*. Small birds are believed to be *woyyu* because it is believed that they are source of information to know *kayyo* (luck). Any type of animals and wild life in the sacred area considered as *woyyu*, so that no one is entitled to hunt. In the same time plants in such area never used for physiological need and no settlement in such area at all. Therefore, *woyyu* is not limited to human but also extends to non human nature.

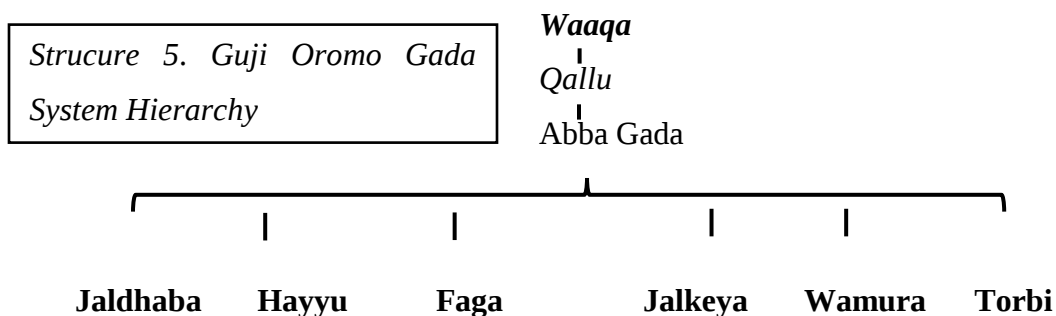
4.2. Hayyu

Hayyu is another concept in *Waaqeffannaa* religion to be understood. As my key informant mentioned *Hayyuun ka nama'aa ti*, (*Hayu* is from man /given by man). This does not mean *hayyu* is absolutely man given ability in this sense. Because it is believed that all knowledge skill and talents given to man by *Waaqa*. But man approves *Hayyu* title on the basis of ability and experience

one have. The English related meaning of *Hayyu* is wise man, knowledgeable, have good analytical ability in comparing and contrasting the past and present conditions for the leaders and the people and support Abba Gada, being a member of *Torbi*-the Seventh, in the structure of Gada system.

The word *Torbi* is an adjective modifying the noun *torba*-meaning seven. Guji Oromo known as *Guji balbala torba*- Guji of seven houses. So that, these *Torbi* which includes Abba Gada, and has seven members. Symbolically, it represents these seven houses of Guji Oromo. The seven houses have been depicted on the above social organization chart. Seven of them have different names and roles in Gada System. *Hayyu* is then, placed on the third step following Abba Gada. This is only to indicate the position of hayyu in Gada team structure.

They believe, the seven houses of Guji created by *Waaqa* and symbolically represented in Gada structure as leading team. Their wives have the same positions and hierarchy following their husbands under *Hadha-Bollaa*.



4.3. *Kayyo*

Kayyo is like testing something or activities planned to be done, whether it is on the right track or not. On the other way, *Kayyo* is the way of cross checking whether *Waaqa* knows the issue, and approve or disprove the plan or activities going on. *Kayyo* is known as *milki* in other Oromo branches in western Ethiopia. Therefore, the interaction of *kayyo* played among three bodies, Human-non human nature-*Waaqa*.

The position where the small bird/s are (on the left or right) and as well as types of other animals crossing the road have symbolic meanings in *kayyo* analysis.

Hayyu interprets sounds of birds to predict *Kayyo* either good or bad luck. *Kayyo* is a kind of precondition to any activity, which includes Gada ritual, war, marriage related issues, travelling to house of a person in need of solution for fertility problem. If *kayyo* is not promising, *hayyu* suspend, sometimes cancel if felt bad luck. And the person in need advised to look for more solution with complex ritual. Taddesse (1995) has stated that, to what extent *kayyo* plays role in Guji Oromo daily life as: “It is important to know that every major undertaking of Guji is governed by *kayyo*” (48).

4.5. The influence of *Waaqeffannaa* and some rituals

It is fact that this indigenous religion influence is deep-rooted as we can analyze from both visible and invisible facts on the ground. From the insiders’ point of view, this lived experience is strongly valued and serving them since early ancestors’ period and it is intergenerational in nature. As respect and value attachment to seniority is the very center of Oromo culture, any ancestral practices evolved from early generations is respected, valued and applied in accordance with its indigenous rules and regulations. Such belief and value attachment to early ancestral legacies are invisible cultural aspect that influence visible experience.

Moreover, The invisible influence of *Waaqeffannaa* concerns with some sorts of belief related to fear, fertility of both human and livestock, lucks (both good & bad), and purification activities rituals which ha symbolical meanings. The influence of *Waaqeffannaa*, therefore, goes from invisible to visible extent.

The visible influence as can be observed from the natural environment protected and preserved for long period of time and still supporting both human and wild lives live in. This is the visible part of *Waaqeffannaa* influence as to my understanding. The preserved natural environment for religious purpose (as sacred sites, sacred trees, sacred animals, and sacred land) are the place where wild lives live with more freedom compared to unprotected places. This indicates *Waaqeffannaa* influence benefit is not only for human, but also wild lives benefit some guarantee of survival as hunting is not allowed in side the protected area. Moreover, plants grow and die naturally as cutting trees is not allowed in such places. Therefore, both animal and plant live their natural lives in such places because of *Waaqeffannaa* influence.

Guji Oromo prays to *Waaqa* for various reasons. Some of these reasons are:

- Prayer for rain during delays /dry season,
- Prayer for help to revert bad luck and replace with good luck (*Hulluqa Ritual*),
- Prayer for intervention of *Waaqa* when there is epidemic disease, with ritual (*bita-baafannaa*),
- Prayer for peace and prosperity, and thanks giving (*irreecha/irreessa*) for response.

They believe, it happens and it works. Guji says, *Waaqa* replies to their request and that is the sign of his manifestation to them.

I have asked my key informant (Annex I-1) to know how they view *Waaqa* in any event of various ceremonies (*ayyaana*). His reply was as follows:

Waaqa nami dhagge hinjiru. Waaqi kamul'atu hojii isaan.

Yoo rooba kadhatan rooba!,

Yoo kaayyoon nama baddee kadhatan nama dhagaha!

kayyoo hose'ee godha. Waaqi hojiin nama quunnama.

Jiraachuun Waaqa fi lafa kanaa, waan Waaqijiruuf!

No one saw *Waaqa*. *Waaqa* manifestation is in his work, not in person. If we pray for rain, it rains! If *kayyo* is bad (bad luck) and pray to *Waaqa*, he makes *kayyo* good. *Waaqa*'s communication with human is in his deeds. The presence of sky and earth is because of the presence of *Waaqa*.

The idea is *Waaqa* cannot be seen physically, but his presence proved by his response to human requests for intervention to problems and the presence of physical world like sky and earth. This idea contradicts with the myth that *Waaqa* used to live on earth with human but has left for heaven because of human human evil deeds where he is residing now in seclusion.

In *Adola Reddde* district, *Abulo ruklessa kebele* near Ganalle River a farmer working in his farm land met with his two sons. Informal dialogue conducted with them. We have started chatting mixed with jock and I have learned that the two youths were fanatic Christians who recently joined *Hawariat* Christianity sect. The speech of their father and the two men contradicts and I have tried to be neutral as much as I can. No one knows what I was doing. The idea of one of the man

indicates their father is uneducated, un-enlightened by modern religion as he still follows Indigenous religion unlike him. The man claimed that he knows leave alone this world, even the “world” after this world, better than his father! The father said, *Osoo dursa Kan beekuu maltu beekte hose’e!* It would be good, if you understand first, what you have to understand! It appeared to be philosophical statement! I have asked him the father if he has tried school. He has never been to school.

The intention of the young man was to let me know that he is following modern religion and civilized, so that he chat with me as he considered me as an educated man from “city”. I have asked one question on the point that he repeated he is working for the time of another world (life after death) that his father has no plan for that as far as he did not convert. How did you know that world? (New world for which he is working). He replied “I did not see, but I have been taught by evangelists and there is on the Bible as well!” he added, I have joined the new religion because my father’s religion has no new world (place for the life after death). The father repeated the above statement in other way: *Osoo kan asii hinbeekin kan hinbeekamne akkamiin beeku?* Without knowing what is here (on this world), how can one know the unknown world?

What I have observed and learned from this family is the formal and organized training given to some segment of population focusing on youths creating confusion on the understanding of their culture which has potential effect on the indigenous knowledge to be continued.

Here one can understand the fact that there is attitude change in the study sites in a given segment of population (youths) by institutions and may affect the continuity of the culture in general and indigenous religion which has friendly relationship with natural environment in particular.

I am interested to discuss three rituals activities in which Guji Oromo believe *Waaqa* communicate and manifest himself through his response to the questions such as fertility (both human and animal) issues, repeated accident in family and bad lucks in the past, prevention of epidemic disease, as well as intervention to psychological tension and stress problems. The rituals performed to the above listed problems are known as *Malxxuu*, *Hulluuqqaa* and *Bita-baafannaa*.

4.5.1. *Malxuu* (Puffing) Ritual

Malxuu ritual is one of the Guji Oromo purification ceremonies performed to clean, fertility problem and lack of son or daughter in birth, less productivity in livestock production at individual or household level, repeated death at house hold level, repeated accidents at household level are among the reasons leads to *Malxuu* ceremony.

A person, usually house hold, who is in need of this intervention, prepares some drinks which are essential for the ceremony made of honey for problems related human while milk for problems related livestock production. As there are two categories of *malxuu* has been discussed separately.

4.5.1.1. *Malxuu* for repeated death in a family

As have been mentioned above, a person who faced repeated death in his family request for intervention and prepare *Boka/Dadhii*-Local wine made from honey and invite three *hayyu* or elders on agreeable fixed date. They carefully see and analyze *kayyo* when they are traveling to the house of enquirer. When information is scanty to predict *kayyo*, *hayyu* can see and estimate what would be the *kayyo* during *malxuu* (puffing). *Boka* filled in to three wooden containers called *Qorii* given to each *hayyu* from senior to junior by repeating the following phrases.

Let me share what my key informant who is from Qallu family, (AnnexI-20) from *Girja* district explained to me. I have asked him why people wants *malxuu* (He has replied to me with a strong tone as:

Ilma koo! Dhala dhabuun rakko! ----- My son! Lack of children is problem!

Ilma dhabuun rakko! -----Lack of son is problem!

Karra dhabuun rakko!-----Lack of livestock is problem! (karra is traditional fence of livestock, it represents livestock)

Duuti baayyatuun rakko!-----Increase of (in number) death is problem!

Lubbuu dhabuun rakko!----- Loose of life is problem!

Guji 'iin kanaaf fala falata.--- Due to this Guji seeks solution.

Rakkoo kana manguddoo dhiyeeffata---These problem presented to elders/hayyu.

Maanguddon Waaqa kadhatti, ---elders pray to Waaqa

Waaqaan walitti araarsiti.-----mediate with Waaqa.

Ritual procedure of *Malxuu* for repeated death in a family, performed in such a way that, the person who faced repeated death in his family and in need of intervention seeks solution to his problem. The enquirer holds one of the three *qorii* (wooden container filled with *booka*- local wine made of honey) and distribute to the three *hayyu* as per their seniority. And then he holds the container with his two hands with the *hayyu* and repeat the following phrases.

Enquirer: *Hoo 'u... kennadhe!*

Maa kennatte! ? Hayyu/ elder

“ *Qorii lubbuu, lubuu kennadhe! Lubbuu sanii bahi!*

1st Sip the *booka* stare up and say:

Anattaa kennatanii... ani Waaqa sittaa kennadhee!

Waaqa sun sooradhu!

puff up to *Waaqa/ sky* :

2nd sip and puff down to the ground and say

lafa sun sooradhu!

3rd, sip and puff sideways and say:

Gadaa sadiin soradhu!

Doori sadiin sooradhu!

Raaba sadiin sooradhu !

4th, sip and puff to the *kallacha*-fore head of the enquirer and carefully observe the flow of the *boka* down on his face for analysis.

The remaining two elders do the same thing and disclose the result of the ritual performed on the spot if the findings are good, as a good news, if not, propose more alternative ritual believed to be appropriate.

It is bit difficult to translate the above ritual phrases word by word. I try to state the meaning in the aspect of the insider view. The person (enquirer) who is in need says with emotional sound *Hoo 'u... kennadhe!*- take ...I have brought for my problem! In the sense that he is eagerly seeking solution, and then, the elder/*hayyu* says with the same emotional sound as: *maa ...kennatte?* Why

...you brought to me? *Qorii lubbuu... lubbuu kenadhe!* This is issue of soul/life, and I brought for life /soul solution (to get solution to life challenges facing so far). And then, replies *Lubbuu sanii bahi* get rid of that life (soul) challenges. Then, the *hayyu* sip the *boka* and keep in mouth then, say *Anattaa kennatanii... ani Waaqa sittaa kennadhe!* They brought to me... I brought to you Waaqa! *Waaqaa sun sooradhu!* Waaqa absorb that!..., puff upward to heaven/sky. .

The second puff to ground, saying *Lafa Sun sooradhu!* Land absorb that! And the third puff is to each Gada, *Dori* and *Raba* of the three Guji phratries. *Gadaa Sadiin, Doorrii Sadiin Raaba Sadiin sun sooradhu!* And the final puff is on the forehead of the enquirer. The fourth puff is the source of symbolic meanings to be drawn as a solution or means to solution of the enquirer.

The upper meanings of *malxuu* is appeal to Waaqa takes place through the mediation of *Hayyu* and response is expected from Waaqa until then, the enquirer gains some sort of psycho social support. The deep meaning comes after analyzing the flow of puffed liquid on the forehead of the enquirer. There are notes taken during travel to the enquirer's house on the way while they were checking *kayyo*. These notes form *kayyo* coupled with *malxuu* and analyzed carefully to draw conclusive recommendation to enquirer.

Elder would cancel and return back from traveling to enquirer's house if *kayyo* is not promising at the very beginning. It is only when the tendency of *Kayyo* is more on good side than failure that elders continue to the place of the ceremony hoping the remaining process may give either good solution or clue to the solution.

The enquirer and his family including neighbors feel happy soon they see *hayyu* because it is believed that *kayyo* is good. They would not come if *kayyo* was not good. That is the first psycho social support gained by enquirer from *malxuu* ritual ceremony.

The deep meaning and interpretation comes after puffing on forehead of enquirer. This is final game and final time to know the fate of once problem solution or alternative process to solution. Ideally, the coverage of this liquid on the face of enquirer is expected to be more or less equal on both right and left side. If the coverage is larger at his right side, symbolically, it depicts the presence of problems with his father/ fathers. It is believed that he had some wrong doings on his father. Father is not only biological but also relative through father, social/cultural fathers are

considered as fathers. Social fathers includes Abba Gada and his followers, and one's father *baallii* members, and *Qadadduu baallii*, and father in-law are part of fathers.

The step is first the needed individual biological father and proceed to extended fathers mentioned above. If the flow is more on his left side the same issue attached to mother, mothers sisters, mother-in-law and social mothers.

The contribution of *Malxuu* ritual analyzed in the following two angles. Firstly, it is a means to solution or an attempt to seek solution for an individual or family who have encountered different challenge in life. Because, such ceremony is prepared purposefully, passing through numbers of steps and procedures by both the hosting family (enquirer) and the service providers (*hayyu*).

There is alleviation of mental and psychological suffering for the hosting family (enquirer), because, initiating and starting the process of the ceremony by itself gives meaningful relief as it is considered as the beginning of seeking solution to tackle the problem.

The second aspect of *malxuu* ritual is its broader dimension and contribution on socialization. Father and Mother is not limited within biological boundaries in Guji Oromo. But it goes further this limit when parents are not alive due to natural process or different events that cost life. This ritual brings group of people who may do not know each other, but their family might have known each other, to be in close contact and cooperate, support each other and provide fatherhood or /and motherhood feelings. In such a way, people help elders who have no supporter at late age in familyhood sense. Therefore majority of the people consider each other as close family.

4.5.1.2. *Malxuu* for Livestock fertility

The complexity of *malxuu* for livestock reproduction is lesser compared to human *malxuu*. The person in need of intervention to his livestock fertility request *hayyu* who are famous and successful in livestock raising. Having large number of livestock is one of the core social prides in Guji Oromo.

According to my key informant (AnnexI-20) for livestock *malxuu* specialized *hayyu* in livestock requested to lead the ritual. “*Okolee kanaaf, ka okoleen isaanii bonaa-ganna hingogne, fincaan isaanii jiidhaa-dheeraa ka ta’e kadhatan*”. For livestock *malxuu*, *hayyu*/ elders whose milk

container never dry throughout the year, their livestock urine is wet and long, who were known for their well-nourished and productive livestock and well skilled to be invited for conducting *malxuu*.

Milk prepared in three leather containers known as *Okolee*. All processes on the way to enquirer like *kayyo* checking takes place until they arrive enquirer's house like *malxuu* for human. The arrival of the *hayyu* has a symbolic reflection of promising of *kayyo* which makes the host successful in his plan. No reading, no complicated symbolic activities in *malxuu* of livestock except appropriate advise to enquirer how and what he has to do for good livestock production in the form of chatting. The ritual takes place by repeating the following ritual words.

Enquirer --- *Hoo kennadhe!*

Maa kennatte? Hayyu/elder

---*Hortee Qorii Hortee Kenadhe!*

Okolee -Gaadiin horsiittaa kennadhe!

Raadaa -Jibichaan horsiittaa kennadhe!

1st, Sip the milk and puff up to sky
and say: *Anattaa kennatanii, ani*
Waaqa sittaa kennadhee,
puff..Waaqa sun soradhu!

2nd Sip and puff to ground and say *lafa*
san sooradhu!

3rd . Sip *Gadaa sadiin soradhu! Doorii*
sadiin sooradhu! Raaba sadiin
sooradhu!

4th sip and puff to the stomach of the
enquirer and say: *Bonaa-Ganna hori!*

Okolee- gaadiin Hori!

Raadaa- jibichaan hori!

On this Livestock, *malxuu* more of the concern is on experience sharing, how the successful live stocker reached at such pride level, what types of ups and downs in his past life related to his current status, are among topics of chatting with enquirer in detail. This indigenous knowledge shared through this ritual performance in which enquirer learn from the practical experience of the *hayyu*. Such local experiences and traditional economic advice have lessons to learn for those in need and lead them to socio-economic progress.

4.5.2. *Hulluuqqaa* Ritual

Hulluuqqaa ritual is the second important ritual concept in *Waaqeffannaa* religious practices of Guji Oromo. This ritual used to review bad *kayyo* or bad luck that has hampered social and individual lives in the past. This ritual performed to clean up oneself, family, or even livestock from bad luck situations and experiences to somewhat new hope and bright future. According to oral tradition early Aba Gada used to perform when they were unsuccessful during their *baallii* unlike their predecessors. This performed to forget unlucky past experience and to think for better future.

Unlike *Malxuu*, *Hulluuqqaa* ritual takes place in the natural environment. *Hulluuqqaa* can be performed at household level, or at community level.

People can perform *hulluuqqaa* when there is mental and psychological tensions to reduce stress, repeated failure of plans, activities to track back good luck instead of bad luck. When there is problems on livestock *hulluuqqaa* can be performed for livestock as well.

Procedurally, plant named *gaalee/hidda*, *xixxiixaa*, and *dikicha* (scientific names are unknown) dissected and fixed together. And then, decorated by green grass and gate shaped with enough size to pass through.

There is specific time when *hulluuqqaa* ritual takes place. It is in the early morning before light ray seen. Usually conducted when the direct bird sound heard. And then, participants in need, pass in the prepared *Hulluuqqaa* and pass through the decorated small gates slowly assuming that their problems, stress offloaded in that darkness and they transferred to light with bright feeling and hope. It is believed that past problems undressed in darkness and bright future dressed in the light. This is indigenous psychosocial support particularly for stressed and depressed individuals.

4.5.3. *Bita-baafannaa* “Siding-left” Ritual

The literary meaning of a compound word *Bita-baafannaa* is composed of two Oromo words. *Bitaa* (left) and *baafannaa* is a noun derived from the verb *baasuu*-take out. So when combined it give a meaning of “siding-left”.

Positions like right and left have symbolic meanings in Oromo culture. Whenever you walk and someone comes from front, it is believed that you should keep your right because it is your luck. Your right is your luck.

In western Oromia, *abbaa mirgaa* means a man who is lucky, successful and played game in killing big and power full wild animal like buffalo, and lion. Such men are respected and have voice in the community. They are called *abbaa mirgaa! Mirgaan gale*-he is back with his right! This mean symbolically he is back with success. It is not with his biological organ right hand body part but symbolically, it shows the success of an individual in certain cultural activities.

In Guji Oromo Gada power exchange ceremony, the new Abba Gada supposed to step up to power takes one of the two feathers (*baallii*) from the right part of the head of the Abba Gada stepping down from Gada power and put on his right hand side of his head. Soon he step up on his horse back and start chanting with his team. This is symbolically indicate that power has been transferred to the new Abba Gada successfully. Therefore, in Oromo culture, the right hand side and some positions have positive connotation.

Contrary to this, the opposite is true to the left side. Symbolically, left is considered as the sign of bad luck, and odd. Even, naturally, left handed trained imposed to practice in their right hands in all possible means. Left hand side has negative connotation

Culturally, values attached to the above compound words differs as per the activities or event with which the terms associated. Unwanted and harmful events supposed to be on the left while good luck, good event and success believed to be on the right hand side.

In line with this idea that *bita-baafannaa* ritual performed to prevent community from the danger of potential threat of epidemic disease heard harming the neighbors to be left-sided before its arrival in to Guji land. Because pushing to left is the sign of successful resistance to danger.

When information about the catastrophe of disease on both human and animal in the neighboring or distant villages heard, elders gather community and present the issue to the community with prevention proposal. The preventing ritual is done by households both by male and female but at different time on the same day because, there is work division between what male and female has to do separately.

Male prepare a cone shaped broom from Rope like plant called *Gaalee/ xixxiixxaa* (no scientific name) and insert in to hooky bush plant and hold in hand and move around their individual houses in anti-clock wise which is right to left side repeating the following phrases by moving the material in hand broom.

Farraa fagaadhu ! Golgolaa badi !----- Devil be far away! Odd disappear!

Farraa fagaadhu! Faaro qajeeli!----- Devil be far away! Good luck be in position!

Dhukkubaa nuhanqadhu! ----- Disease! Don't reach us!

Dhukkuba bara dhufee nu baasi!----- Save us from this unconditional disease!

All neighbors gather at one place and burn the material used as a broom and Chant-*Qeexalu* and dance together.

Firstly, the symbolic meaning of the movement in anti-clock wise-right - left gives the name of the ritual itself *Bita -baafachuu* which means cleaning from right to left. As discussed above, right has symbolic meaning of success, good luck and positive connotation while left has opposite meaning. Therefore, the purpose of this ritual is to revert harmful event to happen negatively on the community towards left direction which believed to have the meaning of failure of danger.

Females do same thing following males and clean their houses and its surroundings and more by rounding their houses holding a piece of leather used to collect trash called *erbee* on their left hand in the same direction as their husbands did. They gather garbage at one point burn, chant and sing whatever sings they want. This is to indicate that *lafti-nagaa*-everything is fine and normal symbolically.

This ritual has a psycho-social support aspect because in reality, the hazards has already been known and appropriate ritual action performed even if the area is not absolutely normal. People

are encouraged to feel free and prepare to cope with any challenges to happen. This indicates how they work to enhance their mitigation capacity to be disaster resilient community.

Secondly, cleaning environment by itself is local method of hygiene promotion and application which has influence on some catastrophic diseases prevention. This people knows indirectly, cleaning environment and burning garbage can prevent possible harmful diseases and has the concept of early warning.

4.6. “Universality” of *Waaqeffannaa*

In the modern time, western culture and religion rapidly expanded in to different parts of the world. Africa is among the major places where these cultural and religious expansion and conversion took place.

The conversion of followers of Christianity and Islam to indigenous religion is very rare because, usually, most indigenous religions have no literature. However, in the case of *Waaqeffannaa*, the conceptual worldview on supernatural being is less changed. The Oromo world view towards *Waaqa* is that *Waaqa* is the creator of all human and nonhuman nature in the universe remain as it is. Because, it seems that the converted Oromo continue believing the same supernatural God-*Waaqa* and accepted the literature as complement to the literature gap in their original religion.

If the concept and meaning given to an Oromo word “*Waaqa*” is different from the concept and meaning given to the English word “God”, the word “God” would have not been exchanged with the word “*Waaqa*”.

Oromo religion (*Waaqeffannaa*) has no multiple *Waaqa*. There is one *Waaqa* manifested in multiple ways escorted with spiritual activities. In *Waaqeffannaa*, there is no saints for *Waaqa* as he is omnipotent and omnipresent in nature. According to Guji Oromo, *Waaqa* is Supreme Being who is *Waaqa-dhugaa* (God of truth) lives in the place of truth everlastingly. Wherever, there is truth, justice and peace it is believed that *Waaqa* is manifested there, that is why that happened. In the absence of such things, Oromo prays to *Waaqa* for intervention in the form of different ritual performance, in which *Waaqa* believed to be manifested by responding to human requests. It is believed that, as he is the creator of all human and nonhuman nature in this universe, he knows and understands all languages and cultures of the world, and things in the Universe which is created

and administered by *Waaqa*. No matter from which culture (*aadaa*) you are from, what language you speak or religion you follow, Oromo believes that *Waaqa* created that culture (*aadaa*) to you, that language, and religion to you as far as you are within the domain of Universe. So that, according to this perspective, *Waaqa* is the creator and owner of you and what you have regardless of geographical, cultural, racial, and religious differences we have as human.

Some of my key informants in the three Guji Oromo branches have two names. Those who used to follow Islam religion have Arabic names. But both have local names which originated from Oromo.

Christian Oromo believes *Waaqa abbaa* is “God the father”, *Waaqa Ilmaa* is “God the son” and *Waaqa afura Qulqullu* is “God the spirit”. Here we can see that the word “God” represented by “*Waaqa*”

Ofcourse, *Waaqeffannaa* is composed of multiple spirits in which different rituals performed for different purposes in the natural environment, where *Waaqa* believed to manifest his work and power. But that is not related to the Christian concept of “Trinity” which is known as *Waaqa abbaa* “God the father”, *Waaqa Ilmaa* “God the son” and *Waaqa afura Qulqullu* is “God the spirit”.

On the other hand, Oromo indigenous religion followers believe that *Waaqa* has no family, he is sole and elder, has no elder at all (Workineh 20:11). It appeared that the converted Oromo perceived the same *Waaqa* in to three dimensions. That is one of the difference between converted Oromo and none converted. Anyways, the position of *Waaqa* remained supreme as it is in both concepts believed to be supernatural.



Pic.6 Religious conference close to Ardaa Jilaa Maleekkaa

(Saturday, September 3, 2016)

The above picture was taken while participating on religious conference in one of the town in the study sites. This place is known as *Ardaa Jilaa Maleka* and the Aba Gada team spent few weeks at the same place for the same cultural practices this study discussed.

There is a Church close to the sacred field and trees which are still there protected as can be seen on the picture. This shows how some religious institutions practiced without contradicting each other.

Moreover, a number of prominent ex- Abba Gada, and two of the current active Abba Gada were members of nonindigenous religion according to their self-explanation of their religious background during this study field work. Abba Gada of *Matti* used to follow one of the Christianity sects in Guji in the near past, while Abba Gada of *Hokku* used to follow Islam religion as interview with his immediate assistants and teams explained (Annex I -8) from *Hokku* phratry.

The very prominent ex-Abba Gada of *Uruga* and *Hokku*, used to have top religious position as Church leader and Haji. This indicates no matter what non indigenous religion they follow many Guji Oromo have the same stand in their cultural affairs. This seems that due to the indigenous religion *Waaqeffannaa* influence.

Oromo believes that *Waaqa* has many things that are known and unknown to human. Therefore, those alien things are categorized under unknown parts of *Waaqa*'s creature and treated positively as far as no danger to human.

Furthermore, even place of *Ardaa-Jilaa* shared with equivalent religious institution for spiritual purpose as mentioned above. This shows the extent to which *Waaqeffannaa* is open and conceptually embraces other belief system.

CHAPTER FIVE

Lafa (Land) and Guji Oromo Livelihood

5.1. *Lafa (Land)*

Land is perceived as crucial natural resource. Culturally, there is strong value attachment to land to the extent of sacrificing life. First let us see how the word “country” and land intermingle became one word and represent the word “country” in Oromo. The equivalent meaning of English word country is *biyya* in Afan Oromo. The word *Lafa* represent land or ground while *biyyoo* or *biyyee* is soil. Thus the planet Earth is called *biyya-lafaa* and sometimes called *addunyaa*.

The perception of land is not limited to an ordinary natural resource in Oromo culture. In Guji Oromo land, *Lafa* (land) is considered as sacred and respected in Guji Oromo. My key informant (AnnexI-1) described *lafa* as follows.

Waaqi Woyyu 'u gooro 'o!

Lafti itillee Waaqa ti, gooro 'o! Kanafuu lafti kabaja qabdi seera!

Uumama lafaa hinmiidhanu, hinballessanu, seera!

Ardaan jilaa woyyu, seera! Muka irraa hinmuratanu seera!

Hinqotanu seera! Irra hinqubatanu seera!

Itillee is a flat sheet like material made of livestock hide used as mat. The above statement *Waaqa* is holy, divine! , land is a mat of *Waaqa*, so that it is sacred, and respectable because it is norm. Nature on land should not be touched, abused, it is norm! Sacred sites are holy, it is norm! Cutting trees from sacred site is taboo! it is norm! Never cultivated, norm! Not allowed for settlement, it is norm!

Firstly, land is attached to divine power as we can understand from the first two lines. *Ardaa-Jilaa* are holy, which are part and parcel of land. Most things associated to *Waaqa* are very crucial and have special respect in the culture. This *lafa* (land) contains both human and non-human nature such as water bodies, vegetation, animals, birds as well as all nonliving things. So that, land is considered as one of such indispensable part of non-human nature that valued at higher level in Oromo.

When I was young boy and play with peers by hitting and stubbing land elders shout at us, with scary facial expression and say: *Lafa hinreebin!* Don't hit land! *Lafa hinwaraanin!* Don't stub land! We obey them and change our game or leave the place and continue our play (lived experience).

There is symbolical meanings why such actions are not allowed. The upper meaning of this event is that the body action (facial expression) supported with loudly voice to such immature stage has unforgettable and lesson, not to repeat certain culturally "wrong" action. The deep meaning give the idea that there is relationship between humanity and this physical world that elders know, and children supposed to know at later age. That is what I am learning now! On the above discussion under *Malxuu* ritual sub topic following puffing to *Waaqa*, the second puffing is to land saying *Lafa sun sooradhu*-Land absorb that! Or absorb that! Symbolically, land has sense as it has been offered something to enjoy (drink or absorb). This shows that perhaps land senses like human or human sensed that land sense like human. Therefore, elders' advice at my child stage appeared to be repeated in this study at my maturity stage. The perception of *Lafa* (Land) is not ended here. It has further purpose related to ancestors and discussed below.

5.2. Perception of *Lafa* (Land) beyond earthly life

The importance of *Lafa* in Oromo is not confined to earthly life when human is glued with soul and flesh only. It is equally important after the separation of *Lubbuu* (soul) from flesh. Even *ekeraa*-dead ancestors' ghost believed to live on *lafa*. *Lafa* is very important and strongly valued, as it is ancestral bodies rest in.

Planting tree on the grave of ancestors is the very center of the tradition of Oromo. This practical among Guji Oromo. Although the grave is in non-indigenous religion centers in other parts of Oromia, planting trees is practical everywhere to recognize the grave sites of their loved one. No specified types of trees planted on grave in west Oromia where conversion to non-indigenous religion is very high (lived experience).

However, in Guji Oromo, there is category of trees planted on male and female graves. On Females' graves, trees with fluids such as:

Adaammaa/adaamii (Euphorbia candelabrum),

Bokkoniisa/Bakkanniisa (Croton Macrostachys),

Harbuu (Ficus sur)

Dambii (Ficus thonningii) and any tree with fluid can be planted on females' grave.

On male graves, trees like *Qilxaa/Qilxuu (Ficus Vesta)*, *Odaa (Ficus genaphalocarpa)*, and *Dambiii (Ficus thonningii)* are among common trees planted. The following grave pictures have been taken from country side between *Wadera* and *Adola Redde* Districts to be used as supportive information.



Qilxaa/Qilxuu (Ficus Vesta) on Male Grave

Pic 7. Trees planted on Male & female Graves (picture taken on 12.09.2016)

Bokkoniisa/Makkanisa (Croton macrostachys) on Female grave.

The Objective of planting trees is to recognize the whereabouts of flesh and bones of ancestors. There is emotional and psychological feelings while recognizing ancestors, whenever such places

were seen. The trees together with land have then aesthetic values and considered as ancestors rest site. Pic 7. Trees planted on Male & female Graves (Photo taken on 13.09.2016)



Bokkoniisa-(Croton macrostachys) on Female grave. Qilxuu (Ficus vasta) On male grave

It is believed that land is perceived like mother from the service it gives point of view, not from gender point of view. According to Guji elders view *lafa* (earth) holds us up when we are alive and embraces us after earthly life. Therefore, I share Workineh (2011) findings in his study in Borana and other West and Central Oromia parts. “In fact, the Oromo do not say that the Earth is Waaqa’s wife. What is clear is that *Waaqa* is considered as a male whereas the Earth is considered as a female” (78).

Let us see and analyze the following popular proverb in Oromo. “*Lafaa fi Lafee irra jiraatu*”. The direct interpretations of these words are: *lafa* (land) *fi* (and), *lafee* (bone) *irra* (on), and *jiraatu* (living). When interpreted to its equivalent English meaning, it gives the following explanation but not really free of distortion.

“*Lafaa fi Lafee irra jiraatu*”- Life is possible on land and bone. In other word, human being lives on land and bone. The tone, indicates the impossibility of life without land and bone. Land has

priority concern in Oromo culture. According to tradition of Oromo, existence of life without land is difficult and un-imagineable.

According to one of my key informants, (AnnexI-2) Current Abba Gadaa of *Matti* of Guji Oromo group), land is priority concern in Guji. “*Uumama keessa, Lafti dursa; maan jennaan, bakkaa fi madda jirenyaa uumama cufa’aa ti*”.

From all creatures, land has priority concern; why? It is the place and source of means of living for the existence of all creatures.

The second important element mentioned in the above proverb is *lafee*-bone. Human being had its current human physiological structure combined with flesh and bone ideally other components believed to be within the two. Had it not been for *Lafee* (bone), human being would have reptiles body structure. We can imagine, what human body structure looks without bone. It is because of bone that the picture and structure of humanity we have today is as we know. That is why, the Oromo says, human being lives on land (*Lafa*) and bone (*Lafee*). Without these two fundamental elements, humanity picture, physical structure and Socio-psychological imagination of humanity we have today would be distinct from what we know and have today.

Another important concept need to be understood is the indispensability of values attached to *Lafa*-Land and *Lafee*-bone. Land is physical environment whereas bone is biological element of human anatomy. These two distinct elements glued together by humanistic feeling and perception in the sense that absolutely inseparable elements. This is human attachment with non-human physical world socio-psychologically. That is what anthropology curiously deals with. Inseparability, of land from humanity advances even beyond earthly life the destination of human body is still land.

Bone and flesh is directly shared from biological and ancestral families through biological process where as land from ancestors with its components such as vegetation, water, mineral inherited from ancestors through socio-cultural process in Oromo. Culturally, this ancestral land with their components on them have links with ancestral families as their bones and flesh rested in it. There is emotional feelings when ever plants on graves of ancestors seen. But this does not mean Oromo believes in land and trees and considers them as ancestors.

Therefore, land and trees on it are beyond being ordinary natural environment in Oromo as there is unexplainable link. Such natural environment has power of memorizing ancestral deeds and provoke emotional feeling.

The reason behind restriction of trees not to be cut is due to the two laws: *Seera Waaqa* (Divine Law) and *Seera Lafa* (Earthly law) with its value, perception and application. Earthly law (*Seera lafa*) which is the extension of divine law has central role in what to do and not to do aspects in the natural environment. The part which played central role in the success of these laws is its method of application and acceptance. Both *Seera Waaqa* and *seera lafaa* (divine law and earthly laws) have been cascaded to daily life of Guji Oromo and deeply internalized like spiritual mission.

So far, we have discussed how Guji Oromo practices their indigenous religion in the selected natural environment (Land and forest) which has embeddedness in the social, political, and administrative aspects of Guji Oromo life. The influence of *Waaqeffannaa* on natural environment has also been discussed above. In the following topic, the impact of natural environment on the livelihood and daily life of Guji Oromo has been discussed.

5.3. The Guji Oromo Livelihood (*Jiruuf- jireenya*)

Like many societies in the world, the Oromo livelihood is diversified as per the diversification of the land they occupied (highland, mid-highland, and low land). The related term for livelihood I preferred is Oromo common term called *Jiruuf-jireenya*. The direct meaning of the term *jiruu* is work while *jireenya* is life, meaning, “work” and “living”. So, the collective concept of *jiruuf-jireenya* therefore, gives, the outcome of means of living or livelihood and life. The simplistic definition of livelihood is means of living. Even normal greeting in Oromo chat we find *jiruuf-jireenya*-work and life. Gemetchu has explained Oromo concept of work as follows.

The Oromo cannot imagine life without work. This is perhaps why their word for work is derived from and usually linked with that for life. The Oromo term for work is derived from the word for "existence", *jireenya*. The verbal form of *jireenya* is *jiruu*, meaning both to work and to live. The two terms *jiruu* ("being"; "work") and *jireenya* ("life", "existence") are coupled together in the formula, *jiruuf-jireenya* following a characteristic pattern of the Oromo oral tradition (Gemetchu 1993: 45).

Guji Oromo livelihoods are as per the diversified climatic, land, and vegetation covers. This diversified natural environment and conducive climate is the result of Guji Oromo friendly interaction with their natural environment. This in turn allowed them to have diversified livelihoods and repeated crops production within a year. The following topics deals with livelihoods of the Guji Oromo which is the outcome of conducive climatic influence.

5.1.1. Agro-pastoralism

As discussed in chapter two, the vast majority of the population inhabited in the area where agriculturally conducive climatic zone (15°C - 24°C and altitude between 1,500-2,500 meters above sea level) which covered 33% of the zone population while 29% of the population resides in highland climatic areas. Majority of Guji Oromo inhabited in mid-highland and low land as the major livelihood is covered by agriculture and livestock rearing (CSA)

According to National Meteorology Agency of Ethiopia, Southern and south eastern part of the country experience bimodal rainfall. Guji zone high land and mid high land then experience a bimodal rain fall type, majority of which comes from Atlantic Ocean in normal raining season (June-September). Some rain fall comes from Indian Ocean between March to May by the Eastely wind and condense on Guji highlands and forest and give rainfall. The wind is onshore as it is originated from Indian Ocean and bellows to land. This created conducive condition for agricultural activities in some parts of southern Ethiopia which includes Guji zone.

Mixed economy is the very nature of Guji land economic activities across the three climatic zones. Being without livestock is not common in Guji Oromo. Having cattle is ideally appeared to be mandatory. A Guji Oromo, who has no livestock at all is not considered as proper Guji Oromo and has lesser respect in the community. If there is livestock fertility problems there is a means to solve by *malxuu* for livestock as discussed above. The People believe that having such means of solution one should not free of livestock by no means.

The above mentioned seven rain fall months in a year is experienced by the mid highland and high land parts of Guji, where the large population is inhabited. The volume of the rain fall is higher during the normal raining season (June-September) and slightly decreases during the second raining season (October-December). In these two parts Guji rain fall continues in the following

two months (in December & January) but lesser than in the first six months. This favored the Guji Oromo inhabited in highland and semi-highland to produce crops three times a year.

Guji Oromo has their own calendar. According to their calendar, there are twelve (12) months in a year and (28) days in each months. Each days in a month has its distinct name (see Annex V). The names of the last two days in a month goes to the first two names on the beginning of the following second month. The names of months with their related months in Gregorian calendar presented as follows just as a sample. But names of days are not the same throughout a month. So that difficult to relate them with English names of dates.

According to Guji elders and Guji zone bureau of culture and tourism, as the beginning of month from January for the West, September for Ethiopia, the counting begins from July in Guji Oromo. The consecutive order of months in a year stated as follows sequentially.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Adoolessa</i> - July | 7. <i>Qaamuu</i> -January |
| 2. <i>Hagayya</i> - August | 8. <i>Badheessaa</i> -February |
| 3. <i>Onkoloolessa</i> -September | 9. <i>Bisdootessa</i> -March |
| 4. <i>Birraa</i> -October | 10. <i>Caansaa</i> -April |
| 5. <i>Sadaasa</i> - November | 11. <i>Ella</i> - May |
| 6. <i>Arraasaa</i> -December | 12. <i>Wacabajjii</i> -June |

There is farming, harvesting, again farming throughout these eight months in semi-highland Guji Zone. During this field work, in the mid-August to Mid-September 2016, fresh farm and growing maize seeds, matured maize on conception, and dried maize prepared for harvest in the same plot of Landhas been observed in the field. This was impressive because green plant for consumption twice or more a year is unusual, except in the area where irrigation is common. In the case of Guji it is possible without Irrigation. There is preparation of land for farming, cultivation, sowing seeds, consuming and harvesting at the same time. The possibility of planting the same crop at different times and harvesting triple times in a year is common in Guji land.

As can be seen on the picture taken from farm land by the permission of the owner, on the border between *Adola Reedde* and *Girja* Districts, *Ganda Haarenfama Qallina* of *Girja* District, the debris of recent harvest in the growing maize seeds observed as picture on the right hand side

depicts. Half portion of the land is covered by under growing maize seedlings, followed by ripen maize as can be seen on distance as well as cultivated portion which is under preparation for different crop.



Pic. 8 Crops of different stages on the same farm land (Picture taken on 10.09.2016)

Guji land grows multiple-type crops that grows in Highland, mid-highland and low land areas. Maize, *teffe*, (*Eragrostis tef*) barley, wheat, lentils, coffee, *enset*, (*Ensete ventricosum*) different leguminous crops, oil seed crops, varieties of vegetables and fruits are parts of common crops grown in Guji land.

Farmers are very careful during agricultural activities, and led by *seera lafaa* (Earthly law) which includes sub-law called *seera bosonaa* (Forest law). It is strictly forbidden to cut trees except it fall down by itself due to natural reason. All laws are cascaded to daily life of individuals and believed to be seen by *Waaqa* who can see, and can be everywhere.

Pic.9 depict farmland close to forest



(Picture taken in the field. Adola Reede District, Ganda Diilalleessa 13.09.2016)

Secondly, there are elders who were member of *Yaa'aa*-representative of the people in Gada system, conduct follow up on the issue of forest use and protection. They have power to punish individual who abused forest. Punishment levels from corporal punishment by clan to payment in kind in heads of cattle. So that farming takes place just by the forest without hampering natural environment.

Guji farmers have livestock rearing beside agricultural activities as secondary livelihood. In the area where agriculture is dominant, livestock production is secondary activity. Culturally, a Guji without livestock is considered as improper person. Every Guji expected to have livestock traditionally, at least for consumption as elaborated above. As there are cultural means in case of possible challenges to livestock rearing, ideally all Guji expected to have livestock by solving its challenges through necessary ritual performance.

The types of livestock and types crops produced diversified as per the climatic conditions and pasture land availabilities in the area.

Pic.10 Farmers with their agro-pastoral activities products



Farm land in Adola Redde District, Ganda Abbuloo Rukkessa. Picture taken on field on 08.09.2016.

Guji farmers enjoy different income sources from varieties of agricultural products. On field work to Girja district, I have observed plenty of diversified agricultural products on Saturday weekly market day in Girja district at district town called *Harenfama*. The farmers are the major source of agricultural products supplier to both local traders and urban dwellers consumption. Significant number of town dwellers makes living from re-selling of agricultural and livestock products by buying from farmers travelling to the town at the vicinity of *Harenfama* town. Another group of youth works as laborer with business persons who buy agricultural products and make their living from that.

The life of the people interconnected in such a way that where natural environment and farmers play central role in this cycle. The natural environment is influenced by the indigenous religion, and the natural environment influenced climate and soil fertility which in turn influenced the people to produce such crops and livestock sustainably. And then, diversified livelihood followed in which significant number of people making their living out of it.



Pic 11. Photograph taken during observation in Girja District, Harenfama town market place, 30.08.2016
Crops like beans, Coffee, Maize teffe, sorghum, Barly, and wheat are common agricultural products in Guji land.

Informal conversation conducted in this market day with traders, laborers and marketers (farmers) who came from different villages of the district.

Girls make money from simple agricultural products and grown in the garden like, *Marga maattii* (*Taj-sar* in Amharic and no scientific name), *Sukutee* (*tena-adam* in Amharic and no scientific name), *harrettii/qoddoo* (no scientific name), *Abbaa coomaa* (*Rosmarinus officinalis*) as well as from garden coffee plant and *enset*, (*Ensete ventricosum*).

Moreover, local salad, and different types of vegetables, onion, garlic, ginger, and fruits used as a source of income generation for young girls. Furthermore, livestock products like milk and milk products, play significant role as money making for female in general.

5.1.2. Livestock

Although the low land part of Guji zone is far away from my study sites except Girja district. Observation conducted in two places namely *Goro Dola*, and *Liben* districts. Negelle town which is the capital for Guji zone is in this liben district. According to zonal sources, the lowland districts are five in number which accounts 38% of the total number of the districts. In these five categorized

lowland districts, 27% of Guji Oromo people inhabited and raise livestock as major lively hood while limited agricultural activities exercised as optional. Cattle, goats and sheep, are the major varieties of livestock that extensively produced, while some parts rear camels. These cover the central livelihood of the lowland Guji Oromo.



Pic.12 Liben district pastoralists leading their Livestock to river in country side. (Picture take on 13.09.2016)

There is seasonal internal movement within Guji land from highland and mid-highland agricultural dominant zone to the low land pastoral community inhabited areas. The highlanders and mid-highlanders move to the lowland for agricultural activities where there is sufficient rainfall in the low lands. Likewise, the lowlanders move from low land to mid-highland and highland during dry season for pasture land and shedding for their livestock as this area is more covered by forest, palatable grass and vegetation. Therefore, the population of Guji is not limited to Highland, mid-highland or lowland but move throughout the whole climatic zone for lively hood diversification on seasonal base.

The main difference is those who prefer livestock as their main livelihood more reside in low land than the mid and high lands residents due to the availability of vast land for pasture. Most part of

the community whose economic activities more relied on agriculture than livestock permanently inhabited in mid and high land climatic zone.

In pastoralist dominated part of Guji Oromo, source of income for food, health and any basic needs raised from heads of cattles sellings. Small animals like Goats and sheep sold for basic food supply. Milk and milk products are among common food in Guji Oromo inhabited areas. Meat of sheep and goats share significant portion of home made food. Animals hides usually used as home utensils like *okolee* (milk container made of leather) and mat.

Larger animals like camel and bulls sold when there is serious conditions occur only. For instance if there is drought induced over-grazing problems and animals surviving is in danger it can be sold.

5.1.3. Forest product

Guji zone has thick natural forests that covers the high land, mid-highland as well as some parts of the lowland climatic zones. For instance the main forests in the zone are:

In *Adola Redde* district: - *Anfarara* forest, *Sakaro* forest and *Hirboora* forest,

In *Wadera* district: - *Sarbaye* forest, *Harmufo* forest, and *Anoga qundhe Anonu* forest,

In *Girja* district:-*Bari* forest and *Arbo Jigessa* forest, are among the known natural forests found in Guji zone.

There are varieties of products that Guji Oromo earn from the forest they care for. There are a number of livelihoods sourced from it besides serving as a fundamental life base for wild and domestic animals. It is also home for different wild life like different types of birds, and large animals including lions.

Culturally, very important forest product-honey is sourced from *darara bosona* - forest flower. As the forests are heterogeneous in nature, the trees flowering time is also diversified which influences honey production to be throughout the year. The flowers and flowering times are not limited to bigger trees but also, under growing trees of different canopies and shrubs which gives flowers in varying times and feeds to round year honey production. But the amount of honey production throughout the year is not the same. In January, April and May, there is plenty of honey production because of excessive flowers from heterogeneous types of trees in the forest.



Pic. 13. Malekka Town Friday Market Forest product as goods. The above tree bark is forest product and used to make local bee hive (02.09.2016) Maleka town Friday Market. Honey

The second forest product that people makes living out of it is production of different home utensils made of usually from dried plants stuffs such as *Qorii*, (a container used for *malxuu* ceremony to keep *Booka/Daadhii*-local wine made of honey), wooden plate, wooden chair, table, farm material like yoke, wooden mortar used to grind maize, coffee, and cereals are parts of forest product that some parts of the population depend on, as livelihood to make living and lead families.

Moreover, ploughing tools like yoke, and large curved wooden fixed to yoke, bee hive and wooden spoon from matured and dried trees are another forest products used by community. Plant's bark used to produce bee hive is forest product that collected to be sold. Young children can easily collect this bark from the forest to make money (see picture 13 above). As can be seen from the above picture, children sell for their family and some for themselves according to informal interview conducted in the market.

The people knows how to keep balance and wisely use natural resource better than the outsiders. Their knowledge is said to be inherited from ancess. Abba Gada and his teams under Gada system supervise the proper implementation of both laws with focuss on earthly laws. Such structure reach grass root level and accepted as divine order by local people.

Pic13. (Taken in field Maleka Town Friday Market)



Forest product as goods. Local Plates made of matured dried tree (02.09.2016) Maleka town Friday Market

As discussed above, cutting big tree is taboo, because when it fall down it has very huge power and sounds which would scare *Waaqa* mainly and all human closer to the area as well. Big trees are respected like big men/elders in Guji. Moreover, it affect the hearing ability of people closer to that place. Culturally, leave alone *Waaqa* who is supper natural being, it is strictly forbidden and out of norm to scare elders. Everybody is respected as per his / her age and social positions in Oromo. Such norm and respectful activities known as *Safuu* in western Oromia. *Safuu* has already been discussed above in chapter two of this study. It is universal and central code of conduct that regulates relationship among human and non-human nature.

Contrary to this, thick forests observed in some Guji land cleared by federal for electric power pole construction which is said to be “national” interest. The destruction appeared to be not manual as the forest is too thick and the trees are veru big that human cannot cut manually except machine supported.

According to informal conversation with the local community and few district officials. The objective of the clearing parts of the forests was to clear ground for Electric Power cables that crosses in the zone.

Local administrators claim, there will be compensation to the destroyed forest, from the project which is part of Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP).



Pic.14. Cleared forest in Guji zone between Malekka and Anfarara forest (Picture taken in field 30.08.2016)

Afforestation of such thick natural forest needs hundreds of years if wanted to be restored at its current volume and age. It is not difficult to analyze the assumed benefit to get from the project and the value attached to the natural forest by the local community. As I think, the relationship and feelings of the community around these forests towards the forest and the outsiders feeling is quite different. As elaborated above, forests are not just natural resource, but there is bond with humanity as it is on the bones and flesh of ancestors.

Assume that there is compensation to be paid to this community as reciprocity. Do the value attached by local community to the forest preserved for hundreds years cross-generationally, balance with the assumed compensation to be paid by the concerned body is open question. Because, the degree of value attached to paper money supposed to be compensated and the value attached to the forest which have aesthetic value and certain early ancestral historical bond and feelings balance each other or not is a striking question.

To sumup, this indigenous religion influenced the relationship between human and their natural environment positively. However, this influence and value attachment to nonhuman nature les understood or less valued by other group of population for certain unsustainable objectives. The state follows environmentally friendly policy in theory.

Generally, this study found that Oromo indigenous religion -*Waaqeffannaa* influenced natural environment, Natural environment influenced climate, and climatic conditions influenced lively hoods of the Guji Oromo, livilihoods influenced production and the abundance of production influenced peace, prosperity happiness and motivated the people to strengthen their belief system.

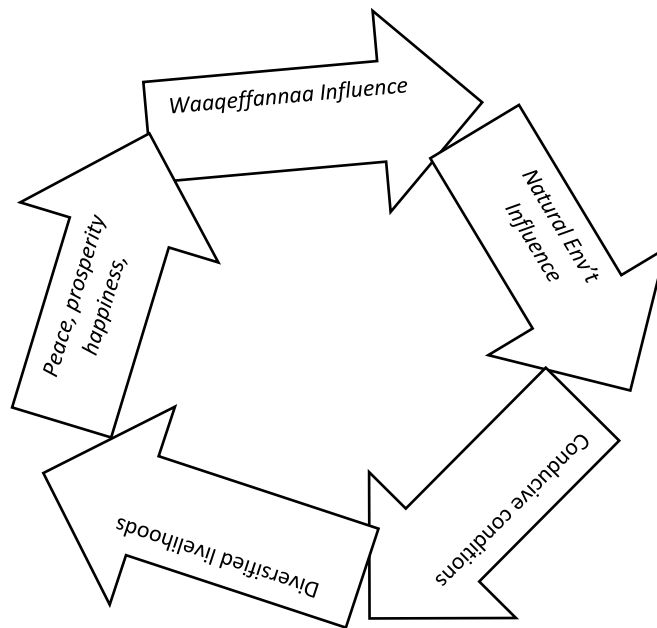


Diagram 3

Waaqeffannaa-Nature influence cycle

CHAPTER SIX

Summary of the Study, Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

It is important to summarize what has been dealt with so far in order to get the substance of the study in brief. This chapter deals with the summary of the overall study and finalize the thesis with concluding remarks and recommendation.

The first chapter dealt with what? Why? How? And Where? Of the study while the second chapter reviewed others works, as well as conceptual and theoretical frame work of the study. Third, fourth and fifth chapters are the findings of the study and sometimes justified with literatures when felt necessary. And then, the thesis finalized by summary, conclusion and recommendations.

6.1. Summary of the Study findings

In this thesis, Oromo indigenous religion *Waaqeffannaa* analyzed in the anthropological lens to understand the what, how, where and why of this indigenous religion for Guji Oromo in particular.

There are three major cultural elements which have been highlighted in this study that can be help full for the readers to have picture of the nation. One of these element is Afan Oromo. Oromo has its own distinct language which is from Afro-Asiatic supper family and Eastern Cushitic sub family. Secondly, OromoIndigenous religion *Waaqeffannaa* and some ritual has been discussed. This indicates that Oromo nation inhabited area is one of the place where indigenous reliogion practiced

Thirdly, Gada system (complex socio-political and economic system) link with *Waaqeffannaa* which is one of the symbols of Oromo nation and identity, currently registered as World human Heritage, elaborated in this thesis.

Waaqeffannaa is generic in nature, as a result has no conflicting nature with other belief systems. *Waaqeffannaa* has no specific worshipping time like weekly, monthly or yearly. In some places, like Guji zone it is daily life.

Waaqeffannaa is daily life in Guji Oromo because the livelihood of early Guji appeared to be livestock in which people meet each other rarely. As a result everybody expected to apply all *seera Waaqa* (heavenly/divine law) and *seera lafa* (earthly law) which includes the how to interact with nonhuman nature wherever they are without need for supervision.

Waaqeffannaa has great contribution in Gada system functioning. All part and parcel of Gada system regulated by *Safuu* which has moral and spiritual concept and sense.

Waaqeffannaa and other cultural practices preserved by Oromo probably because of the concept and practices of *Safuu*, as it contains respect, validating elders view, advise, orders and passing to the following generations. This is sourced from *Waaqa* and that is what *Waaqa* likes according to insiders view.

The indigenous socio-political and economic system of Oromo-Gada system, has five stages called Gada cycle sometimes known as *baallii*. Each cycle */baallii* regulated by two supporting and opposing cycles called *Qadadduu* and *Wolannaa* respectively. *Qadadduu* is supporter of each other while *Wolannaa* is opposite to each other. The opposition of *Wolannaa*-two consecutive *baallii* is not in the sense of enmity, but in the sense of wishing more benefit for the people they were competing to serve/lead. The difference among *wolannaa* is moderated by the concept of *Safuu* which is part of *Waaqeffannaa*.

There is indigenous psychosocial support in Oromo culture. *Malxuu* ritual is performed to “reverse” repeated death events at a particular family, praying for fertility problems, to address type of birth (male/female) need by individuals, and livestock fertility problems.

Up on the arrival of *hayyu* at the house of a family with one of the above mentioned problem, the family soon feels happy because it is the first sign of solution for the family. This is proved by *Kayyo* as *hayyu* do not arrive without good *kayyo*. They hope their problem will be solved soon or alternative means of solution would be forwarded soon. Therefore, this is indigenous psychosocial support.

Moreover, *Hulluuqqaa* ritual is the second indigenous psychosocial support for people with mental stress and psychological suffering. It is not limited to this only, but also, early Abba Gada, who faced challenges during their governance period, as a result became less successful in fulfilling expectations of their people, used to perform *Hulluuqqaa* ritual. It is believed that they feel relief after performing the ritual, as all the weakness and bad lucks dropped and swept away from their lives. People believe, new and fresh life began after *Hulluuqqaa* ritual performed.

The third important concept is *Bita-baafannaa*- siding left. It is performed when hazards of epidemic disease heard happening in the neighboring village/s. Elders gather their communities

and discuss about the hazard and give guidance of what to do. And then order male households to perform *Bita-baafannaa* ritual as soon as possible. Male prepare object made of bush hooky plant and round their individual houses and burn at the same place and chant (*Qeexalu*). All female do the same thing and clean their houses and gather all garbage at the same place and burn.

The symbolic meaning of burning garbage is burning the hazards and potential harm to come at distance. The cleaning of their environment is prevention from disease and it is cultural actions that coincided with science. It is self-understood by people if *Bita-baafannaa* ritual performed as it is warning message to be ready for something harmful to happen and it has happened somewhere. Therefore, this *Bita-baafannaa* can be considered as indigenous early warning system.

Plants in general and some trees in particular are sacred and have aesthetic values in Guji Oromo land. Trees like *Qilxaa/Qilxuu* (*Ficusvesta*), *Dambi* (*Ficus thonningii*), *Birbirsaa* (*Podocarpus gracilior*), *Adaammaa/ Adaamii* (*Euphorbia candelabrum*), *Bokkoniisa/Bakkaniisa* (*Croton Macrostachys*), *Harbuu* (*Ficus sur*), *Horooroo* (no scientific name) and *Oda* (*Ficus genaphalocarpa*), are among sacred trees and usually planted on Graves. These plants on graves have special respect and protection, as they are on bones and flesh of ancestors. This is traditional contribution to afforestation and protection of natural environment.

The practicality of *Waaqeffannaa* is in the natural environment, and natural environment partly became *Ardaa-Jilaa* (sacred sites). Sacred sites are respected and protected because of *Waaqeffannaa* which in turn resulted in eight (8) rainy months which is unusual in all parts of the country with the exception few areas bimodal rainfalls.

The people have diversified livelihood, conducive climate and weather conditions due to indigenous natural environment availability. The preservation of these natural environment is due to the influence of *Waaqeffannaa* and *Waaqeffannaa* affiliated Oromo indigenous socio-political and economic system.

As we can understand from this study, *Waaqeffannaa* is friendly to “culture exchange” because non-indigenous religions share some values and concepts of *Waaqeffannaa* to the exchange of their values and concepts. For instance the concept and understanding of the supernatural being - *Waaqa* as creator of the universe and its component is similar with that of Christianity and Islam.

According to *Waaqeffannaa*, all human and non-human nature created by *Waaqa* and belongs to *Waaqa*. So, whatsoever culture one have, believed to be created by *Waaqa*. Therefore, culture exchange is the very likely in *Waaqeffannaa* while culture change is less likely.

Waaqeffannaa cares for the existence of all living and nonliving things in balanced way and can be called as playing safeguard role in eco-system.

In the study area individuals religion respected. Nomatter which religion one follow respect response for cultural call is common. The conceptual understanding of supernal being being in Indigenous religion and non indigenous religion is similar but the way and place of worshipping is different.

During this study filed work, religious expansion at high rate throughout the zone, has been observed. According to Adola district culture and tourism bureau source it is to the expense of the indigenous religion. Because, as the non indigenous religion expansion rate increase, the indigenous religion decrease in the same or more rate. *Waaqeffannaa* has no organized and systematic way of dissemination in nature, to expand the system while other religions institutions use this tactic for expansion.

The expansion of other religions in this zone is at high rate according to Guji Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau (GZCTB). This has been confirmed during travel from place to place in the study sites in a number of places deep in the country side.

The following picture was taken by the verbal agreement with the participants in the country side located between Adola Redde and Girja districts.

Pic.17. Group of people holding drum and emotionally singing met on the side of street between Girja and Adola Redde district ;(Picture taken in field, 03.09.2016)



Pic.15. Group of people holding drum and emotionally singing met on the side of street between Girja and Adola Redde district ;(Picture taken in field, 03.09.2016)

If young generation has lesser attention to their indigenous cultural practices, and the knowledge confined with in the horizon of elderly segment of population, the fate of such useful human experience will unquestionably in danger.

The following links between *Waaqeffannaa* and nature were identified in this study.

Basically, this indigenous religious practices takes place in the natural environment. Natural environment is the center of ritual and different spiritual activities in Guji Oromo. Therefore, the first *Waaqeffannaa*-nature link is spiritual in nature.

Secondly, Abba Gada move from place to place with their administrative teams in their common and separate *Gabala* (traditional administrative areas) and monitor the community and the natural environment. More over they monitor the relationship the have with their neighbours and proper implementation of the two *seera*-laws divine law (*Seera-Waaqa*) and earthly low (*seera-lafaa*). Abba Gada and their team then resolves disputes in the community, and family, as well as disputes with neighboring peoples as well. Even if the movement is more of spiritual as every place they

settle temporarily are sacred sites and spiritual activities performed, they provide the above listed administrative services in their respective *gabala*. Therefore the second *Waaqeffannaa*-nature link is administrative activities.

The third link goes to the effect of the first link. Which mean, activities done due to spiritual purposes influenced the natural environment mainly plants to be preserved and exist in their natural way. This in turn brought plenty of rain and conducive climatic conditions in the area. The more rain fall, the more under growing trees grow and the more land to be fertile and being conducive for crops to grow on. The presence of the above mentioned climatic elements and their causative effects resulted in the diversification of lively hoods and good production of agricultural activities, livestock production, and forest products including honey production throughout the year because of the availability of flower around the year. Moreover, some nature like trees and water bodies (*hora*) has medical services for both human and animals. Those parts of natural environment identified as sacred and used as medication purpose for some physical and internal diseases for human and livestock respectively. These benefits are because of their friendly relationship and values attached to their natural environment for mainly for religious purpose and religious affiliated purpose. Hence the relationship close to physiological link.

The fourth link of *Waaqeffannaa*-nature appeared to be socio-political. Because, Abba Gada and their teams move from place to place, sometimes jointly, another time separately in their common and separate *gabala*-traditional administrative areas, and provide administrative service to the people inhabited in these *gabala*. All inhabitants in the *gabala* pleased to provide basic needs like meals, including milks, *boka/dadhi* (local wine made of honey), and cattle for some rituals. People are self-aware about these services and do without any form of notification. The arrival of the team with *woyyu* and *hayyu* is symbolically perceived as the arrival of blessing, solutions, happiness and local community mobilize themselves to welcome and support them. It is believed that collective family and community problems would be solved by their usual administrative measure they exercise throughout the *gabala*. The Abba Gada and their teams are recognized by the community as their legitimate spiritual and political leaders.

Moreover, this study identified that relevant cultural education needed by the community who were in remote areas and unable to participate on power exchange ceremony at Me'e Bokko per eight years get updating information on *seera* (formulated laws by newly appointed Abba Gada) during this march in each *Ardaa-Jialaa*.

Another findings of this study is the presence of social fathers/mothers due to *malxuu* ritual for human problems. In the absence of biological father or mother due to death, *Qadadduu* groups or same *baallii* of father or mother can replace biological parents for the ritual. In such away, fatherhood and mother hood relationship established between non relative families. Thus, there is cooperation and support to each other like close family.

The concept of *woyyu* has been re-elaborated in this tudy. Because, as to my understanding the meaning of *woyyu* is not just “holy”. It went further and includes unholy activities. Therefore, it is special talent that an individual or a group of people have and display.

Identification of some *Ardaa-Jilaa* are partly some contributions of this study. This would help as an introductory to move further in the identification of more such sacred sites in the zone.

The cyclical positive relationship between *Waaqeffannaa*-Nature-livelihood and their induced factors eased life of the peple in the study area. Therefore, I think this is another contribution of this study.

The people believe that the source of all what have been elaborated above is *Waaqa* and their positive relationship with him which includes obeying *Seera Waaqa* (divine law) first and secondly *seera lafa* (Earthly law). On the other hand science (meteorological explanation) stated that this climatic zone is part of the bimodal rain fall experiencing parts of Ethiopia.

In their prayers they request for some physiological needs like rain, flower (for honey), green pasture for livestock (in relatively drier areas) and prosperity.

6.2. Concluding Remarks

As a trainee in research, I have learned a lot from this thesis which led me to be more curious about what and why ancestors used to do. Knowledge and ability of analyzing issues, proposing means for solution, problem solving, and traditional prevention and mitigation mechanism to hazards, and capacity of resilience to disaster and broad mindedness is quite far from literacy and institutional certificates! Elders, who were participants of this study have higher level capacity of examining and analyzing ideas and were rich in their cultural knowledge.

The first two specific objectives and research questions of the thesis, the “what” and “purpose” of *Waaqeffannaa* among Guji Oromo have been analyzed and met in the discussion stated in chapter three and four. *Waaqeffannaa* is not just time based religious practices like dominant religions of our world which have fixed dates leveling from week to year. It is, part of their daily life practices. As this indigenous religion embraces all social, political, and economic and legal system of Guji Oromo culture, any form of rules and regulation passed from Abba Gada and his team accepted, respected and applied. Therefore, the indigenous administrative system uses the advantage of *Waaqeffannaa*.

The last two specific objectives and research questions, the influence of *waaqeffanna* on natural environment and the influence of natural environment on livelihood of the Guji Oromo have been answered in chapter four and five.

According to this study findings ritual is not necessarily formal and stylized act and always at specific time as Kottack argues. It can be at any place and any time. It is true that ritual is repetitive, performed in special places (sacred sites) and passed from generation to generations keeping values. This study agrees that ritual is “social act” in which individuals take part of social entity. For instance *Malxxuu* ritual is not time and place bounded for performance.

Chapter four of this study is more of about Interpretive/Symbolic activities as it discussed different rituals and meanings attached to activities. Rituals performed like *Malxxuu*, *Bita-baafannaa* and *Hulluuqaa* symbolically described activities. There are “thick” and “thin” description in each. So that Symbolic anthropology is practical in this study and helped much during field work to understand the real world.

Moreover, value attachments to *Waaqeffannaa* and natural environment were discussed in chapter four and five. The influence of *Waaqeffannaa* on natural environment, demonstrated through “*Seera Waaqa*” (heavenly law) and “*Seera Lafa*”, (earthly law) in chapter four.

The diversification of livelihoods and plenty raining seasons helped the Guji people to produce crops two to three times a year. It appeared to be the outcome of their friendly interaction with their natural environment. This has been discussed in chapter four and five.

Seniority has great value among Oromo of all area when observed as a general. There should be respect, and priority for elders/senior in any case and any time because there is *Safuu*. Elders advise and comment is strongly valued, no matter how much it gives sense or not. This does not mean all elders’ idea is perfect and accepted as divine law. But just to respect and applied if useful when relevant.

No matter which religion they follow, the life of Guji Oromo is influenced by the concept of *Safuu* which is part of *Waaqeffannaa*. This concept involves respect for elders, strangers, gender, and wild lives in the sacred sites.

It seems because of respect and attention paid to elders’ idea that the relationship between overall culture of Oromo in general and *Waaqeffannaa* in particular, in Guji Oromo land, continued in the way ancestors used to interact with nature.

Concerning the change and continuity of human lived experience in this study, there is conversions to non indigenous religions in significant number of areas throughout Oromia in general and in the study area in particular. Names of individuals changed to Arabic or Abrahamic names, mode of worshiping changed from indigenous style (in the natural environment) to constructed buildings in the case of both those who converted to Islam and Christianity.

On the other hand, the basic world view about the supernatural being remained unchanged and continued as it is. Because it is believed that *Waaqa* is the supernatural being who created the universe with all its components and order, administer in the way it was, it is, and it will be sustainably. No matter which religious institution the Oromo follows they have the same name and

basic conceptual worldview for supernatural being as *Waaqa*. For instance, famous religious leaders experiences discussed in this study can be taken as indications of the unchanged parts of the indigenous religion influence. To introduce non-indigenous religion to unconverted Oromo, it is very difficult to begin without starting from the concept of *Waaqa*. Perception towards nonhuman nature including natural environment continued without change.

As they found no harm in this ancestral experience with nature, they continued applying and passing this lived experiences from generation to generation for an unidentified period, probably thousands of years.

Some “development” related measures appeared to be done with little or no research based approaches as to my understanding. It is important to notice the fact that both human and non-human nature have interactions naturally. Issues related human, need a multi-disciplinary approach to study human related issues before action. Before taking action to such natural resources which need many hundreds of years to restore, it would be appropriate to calculate the cost benefit analysis ahead, with strong consideration of values attachment to such resource by the local communities.

I would suggest the amicable bond between human and non-human nature, due to the indigenous religion *Waaqeffannaa*, needs attention to be voiced more. Gada system which is discussed in this study is not operational throughout Oromia. It is confined and reduced to limited areas like Guji and Borana. It needs special attention of academia to conduct academic follow up by mobilizing community through conduction of academic research focused on challenges of the system via community based approach.

At last, but not least, I found in my little knowledge and trainee level of research capacity in this study, that: IN A NUMBER OF CASES, WE ARE FALLACIOUS, WHILE ANCESTORS WERE VERACIOUS!

6.3. Recommendations

- ❖ This thesis tried to assess one of the oldest Oromo indigenous knowledge-Indigenous religion, links with natural environment. Therefore, using this study as an introductory, it is possible to begin further study as “Environmental anthropology field of study” for more problem solving means.
- ❖ This study findings revealed the presence of indigenous knowledge that can serve as psychosocial support for people in mental and psychological sufferings and indigenous early warning system. Concerned field of study may investigate more useful findings if empirical study conducted in this Indigenous knowledge.
- ❖ Whenever, national projects proposed and planned it is strongly recommendable to consider the socio-cultural and economic aspects of the local communities’ in their natural environment in the anthropological light to keep balance between the context and the national plan.
- ❖ Indigenous knowledges like (Gada rituals, and different *Waaqeffannaa* rituals) should not be used as a temporary event decorations. It should be independent of any political parties’ influence.
- ❖ Cultural practices are one of the core indications of the identity of agiven society. As the continuity of a given society depends on the following generations, the continuity of the culture influenced by how the following generations’ value and practice ancestral culture in the way their ancestors used to do. Therefore, It is suggestable to respect and care for ancestral culture, no matter which religious sects we follow as far as there are useful experiences.
- ❖ As this study findings indicate, there is useful indigenous knowledge which can be shared as indigenous problem solving meachnism. The friendly relationship of the study population and its surroundings with their natural environment would serve as local problem solving human experience if recognized and shared with the area where population have opposite relation ship with their natural enveironment.
- ❖ Policy makers need to consider such useful lived experieces to use as an imput in the national policy legislation in the relevant area of conservation of natural environment.

- ❖ It is important to note that academia need to consider and conduct follow up during academic research implementation in such rich cultural practices area, as cultural practices appeared to be less practical among youths than elders.

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APPENDICES

Annex (I)

The three abba gada, and group of people accompanying the jila march

SN	Informants' name	Clan	Sex	Age	Religion	Occupation	Position	Month of interview	Place of interview
1.	Jillo Mandho Gambello	Urag a	M	59	Waqq.	Agro-pastoralist	Abba Gada	August, 2016	Bacharra Kebele at Ardaa Jilaa Milkii
2.	Midhaga Nete'e Gannale	Matti	M	45	Waqq.	Agro-pastoralist	Abba Gada	"	"
3.	Magaada Somba Didole'e/Abba Girja	Urag a	M	68	Waqq.	"	Hayyu	"	Adola Woyyu
4.	Abba Bokko Fagticha Jaldo	Matti	M	80	Waqq.	"	Hayyu/F agticha	"	Bacharra Kebele at Ardaa Jilaa Milkii
5.	Hadha Losaa Ararso Adula	Matti	F	35	Waqq.	"	Hadha Bollaa	"	"
6.	Obbo Dabo Tero Sorsa	Urag a	F	56	Waqq.	"	Hadha Bollaa	"	"
7.	Obbo Kilta Girja Guye	Hokku	M	50	Waqq.	Agro-Pastoralist	Abba Gada	"	Ardaa Jilaa Dhibaayyu Soodduu
8.	Obbo Jibicho Sabicho Galchuu	Hokku	M	63	Waqq.	Pastoralist & Semi Agr.	Hayyu	"	Ardaa Jilaa Dhibaayyu Soodduu
9.	Obbo Adola Dambi Galchu	Hokku	M	80	Waqq.	"	Hayyu/F agtich	"	"
10.	Obbo Gannale Adola Horo'o	Hokku	M	95	Waqq.	Pastoralist	Hayyu	"	"
11.	Obbo Waddessa Dube'e Tuka	Hokku	M	85	Waqq.	Pastoralist	Jaldhaaba/Security	"	"

12.	Obbo Kure'e Gannale Nenko	Hokku	M	75	Waqq.	Pastoralist	Hayyu	“	“
Interview with ordinary people in the community									
13.	Obbo Ware'e Haro Heto	Hokku	M	90	Waqq.	Agro-pastoralist	-	“	Adola Redde , Abbulo Rukkessa Kebele
14.	Obbo Utala Uddo Galcho	Hokku	M	33	Christian/Haw.	“	-	“	“
15.	Obbo Gobana Ware	Hokku	M	32	“	“	-	“	“
16.	Obbo Dabasso Arerri Guye	Matti	M	75	Christian/Mek.	“	“	“	Adola Redde, Malekka kebele
17.	Hayyu Nenko Gobana Guye	Hokku	M	62	Waqq.	“	Hayyich Guda	“	Girja , woreda
18.	Obbo Gobana Girja Biqo	Hokku	M	65	Wqq.	“	-	“	“
19.	Obbo Lulessa Boru Amessa	Hokku	M	75	Waqq.	“	-	“	“
20.	Obbo Wayu Barisso Abullo	Hokku	M	58	Waqq.	“	Qallu	“	“
Interview with adola redde and girja woredas culture & tourism staffs									
21.	Obbo Tepissa	Matti	M		Christian/Mek	“	“	“	“
22.	Obbo Haile Boru Edema	Matti	M	34	Christian/Mekk.	“	“	“	“
23.	Hirpha Guficho Bule	Hokku	M	34	Waqq.	Girja Woreda Head Culture & Tourism	—	“	Girja woreda, Harenfam a town
24	Obbo Tahir Ali Muhammed	Hokku	M	32	Islam	Deputy, Head, Girja Culture & Tourism	-	“	“

Annex (II) Guiding Questions

English Version

A. Background Information of key informants

Sex : Male ☐ Female ☐ **Age** ----- **Religion**(Current)------(Former)----- (if any?)

MaritalStatus A. Single ☐ B. Married ☐ C. Separate ☐ D. Divorced ☐ Widow ☐ or ☐

Educational Qualifications

None ☐ 1-6 ☐ 7-8 ☐ 9-12 ☐ 12 & above ☐

B. Detailed interview Questions

Guiding questions for Specific Objectives (SO)

Specific Objective (SO) I.

1. Which Guji Oromo clan/s inhabit/s in this *woreda*?

2. What is religion for you?-----

3. Would you explain when and how you have started following your current religion? -----

4. Why you have changed your former religion? (if you have more than one religion in life) ? -----

5. How do you perceive /sense your current religion? -----

6. What is *Waaqa* ?-----

Specific objective (SO) II

7. What is the function of your current religion for you? -----

8. What do you know about *Waaqeffannaa*? -----

9. What is the function of *Waaqeffannaa* (if different from question number 7)?-----

10. Where is/are place/s of *Waaqeffannaa* in your area? -----

Specific objective (SO) III

11. Why *Waaqeffannaa* and other rituals take place in the natural environment (forest, under Odaa tree, by mountain, by river side, on the field)?-----

12. What is/are the link/links between places of *waaqeffannaa* (*arda-jilaa*)-sacred sites and *waaqeffannaa*?-----

13. How do you protect these *arda-jilaa* (sacred site/s)? -----

14. How do you perceive values attached to such sacred site/s (*arda-jilaa*)? -----

Specific objective (SO) IV

15. What is/are the major livelihood/s of your local community? -----

16. Identify and elaborate places where these livelihoods practices takes place -----

17. How do you perceive the influence of natural environment on these livelihoods?-----

18. How do these livelihoods uphold the wellbeing of the Guji Oromo trans-generationally? -----

Odeeffannoo gaaffi-deebiftootaa (Afan Oromo version)

Saala : Dhiira ☐ Dhalaa ☐ Umurii ----- Amantaa (Amma)------(Kan durii)---Yoo jiraate)

Haala Gaa'ilaa: A.hin-qabanne ☐ B. Qaba ☐ C. gargar-bahe ☐ D.Hiike ☐ E.Duute/du'e ☐ F.dhibii

Educational Qualifications

Hinbaranne ☐ 1-6 ☐ 7-8 ☐ 9-12 ☐ 12 fi ol ☐

C. Gaafilee Gadi-fageenyaan (Detailed Questions)

Gaafilee Gadi-fageenyaa Kaayyoo Gooree (KG)

Kaayyoo Gooree (KG) I.

1. Gosa Guji kamitu, irra-jireessaan aanaa kanaa keessa jiraata?

2. Amantaa/Amantii jechuun maali isiniif?-----

3. Yoomii fi akkamitti amantaa keessan amma hordofaa jirtan, akka eegaltan nuuf ibsaa? -----

4. Amantaa keessan durii maaliif akka jijjiirtan nuuf ibsaa? (yoo jireenya keessan keessatti amantaa tokkoo ol hordoftan ta'e) ? -----

5. Amantaa keessan amma hordofaa jirtan akkamiin ilaaltu ?-----

6. Waaqi maalii?-----

Kaayyoo Gooree (KG) II

7. Faayidaan amantaa keessan ammaa hordofaa jirtan maalii?-----

8. Waa'ee Waaqeffannaa maal beektuu? -----

9. Faayidaan Waaqeffannaa maali? (Yoo lakkofsa 7 irraa adda ta'e qofa)-----

10. Ardi-jilaa/Bakki arda-jilaa naannoo kanaa eessaa?-----

Kaayyoo Gooree (KG) III/ Specific objective (SO) III

11.Maaliif Waaqeffannaa fi ardi-jilaa dhibii/ biraan uumama kana akka bosonaa, muka Odaa jalatti, naannoo tullu/gaara, laga, fi dirree irratti kabajama?-----

12. Walitti-dhufeenyi iddo Waaqeffannaa (arda-jilaa) fi Waaqeffannaa gidduu jiru maalii? waaqeffannaa?-----

13. Iddooleen ardaa-jilaa akkamiin eegamuu? -----

14. Kabajaa fi bakki (value) arda-jilaa kanaaf kennammu akkamiin hubattuu/ilaaltuu?

Kaayyoo Gooree IV (KG) IV/ Specific objective (SO) IV

15. Malli jireenyaa (livelyhoods) gurguddoo uummata naannoo kanaa maal-faadhaa? -----

16. Iddoolee/naannoo malli-jireenyaa/ hojiilee kanaa adda baasaa nuuf ibsaa? -----

17. Dhiibbaa (influence) uumamni naannoo mala-jireenyaa/hojii ittiin jratani kana irratti qabu akkamiin hubatu/ilaaltu?-----

18. Akkamiin malli-jireenyaa/hojiin Kun uummata Gujii dhalootaa-dhalootatti dabarsaa jiraachisaa ture, akkasumas jirachisaa jiraa? -----

GALATOOMAA!!

FGD Guiding Questions Checklist

English Version

Background Information of participants

Sex: Male ----- Female ----- **Age** ----- **Religion (Current)** ----- (Former) ----- (if any?)

Marital Status A. Single ☐ B. Married ☐ C. Separated ☐ D. Divorced ☐ Widowed ☐ other ☐

Educational Qualifications

None ☐ 1-6 ☐ 7-8 ☐ 9-12 ☐ 12 & above ☐

B. Guiding question checklist

1. What is *Waaqa* and *Waaqeffannaa* for you?
2. Where is *Waaqeffannaa* ritual centers and why?
3. How do you perceive the relationship between *Waaqeffannaa* and natural environment?
4. What are the benefit of *Waaqeffannaa* rituals for you as a member of a society?
5. How do you evaluate the strength and weakness of such cultural practices?
6. Which part needs improvement?
7. What can each one of us do to effect progress and share good experiences?

Afaan Oromo Version

1. Waaqa fi Waaqeffannaan isiniif maali?
2. Bakki waaqeffannaan itti geggeeffamu essaa, maaliif?
3. Walitti dhufeenya Waaqeffannaa fi Uumamaa akkamiin ilaaltu?
4. Bu'aan jilifannaa Waaqeffannaa isiniif maali akka miseesna saba tokkootti?
5. Jabinaa fi laafina aadaa kanaa akkamiin madaaltu?
6. Gara kamtu fooyya'iinsa barbaada?
7. Tokkoon-tokkoon keenya yoo maal goone jijjirama mul'isuu dandeenya?

Annex (III) Identified *Ardaa Jilaa* (Sacred Sites) in the Study area

This list is not full-fledged, but shows some of the *Ardaa- Jila* in the zone. In the same time it represents some *Gabala* of *Uraga*, *Matti* and *Hokku*.

No	Name of <i>Ardaa Jilaa</i> (Sacred Sites)
1.	Haroo Karayyuu
2.	Nuura Humbaa
3.	Dakoraa Diribaa
4.	Reeba Dibbee woyyuu
5.	Handarakkuu Xuulloo Kallachaa
6	Odaa Tuulam
7.	Rukkeessa Muka yaa'aa
8.	Sokoraa Diribaa
9.	Birbirsaa Balnalaa(Dirree)
10.	Malkaa Horaa
11.	Hadho Horaa
12.	Sokoraa Okoluu (Tulluu)
13.	Gambeela Qilxa Gaaguraa(Dirree)
14.	Xuuxaa/ Gombooba Bullaallaa (Malkaa)
15.	Adaamaa dhibbaa
16.	Hagalaa komaa
17.	Meexxii goolaa
18.	Qilxuu mura'aa
19.	Kooba Soorsaa
20.	Soodduu dhibaayyuu (Where interview conducted)
21.	Haroo Laallee (tullu)
22.	Ejersa Ilaalaa
23.	Soodduu Diddibaa
24	Dhugoo Doooyyaa (tulluu bosonaa'aa)
25	Me'ee Bokko (dangaa Gabala Maattii fi Hokkuu)
26	Maleekkaa
27	Haroo Basayyee
28	Bantii Sooro'oo
29	Daraartu (Baca)
30	Odaa Buttaa
31	Samarro
32	Milkii
33	Eessaa
34	Gololee
35	Dambii Dagallee
36	Aanole

37	Qilxuu mura'aa (Adoola Woyyu)town
38	Soodduu dhibaayyuu
39	Ilaala
40	Odaa buttaa /Golocha Cirrattee (fooqa)
41	Roqaa kormaa (korma itti qalan)
42	Samarroo
43	Suutame / Odaa Kallacha
44	Girja
45	Baaya Magaadoo
46	Odaa Fooyaa
47	Haaranfama
48	Dhandhansa oborraa
49	Haama daabbaa(Malka)
50	Haqunquraa deeyyee
51	Xibirroo Baallaa
52	Koortuu Gaaraa (stepy slop)
53	Galaana daadhii
54	Qorkee Gurra'aa
55	Majoo Gurra'aa
56	Malkaa Gabaa
57	Lallaba Kuluu
58	Birbirsaa Kuta'aa
59	Ulaa yaasaan kaate
60	Cirrii badhoo
61	Cirrii Qaldhoo
62	Lookoo
63	Dagaaggaa heexichuu
64	Xiloo habayaa
65	Iyya'aa Malkaa
66	Uraagaa Hirbooraa
67	Golocha gobbuu
68	Haroo Malkaa
69	Ejersa Goolaa
70	Anoo nuqundhee
71	Dhugoo Korommii
72	Hoomaa Turqum
73	Moolich Karrayyuu
74	Soodduu mendhee
75	Taqee birrii
76	Hirboora barkoo
77	Birbirsaa waldeennaa

78	Soodduu Araaraa yubaa
79	Kadaandee
80	Odaa Adoolaa
81	Haro Gobbu

Annex (IV) Glossary of Plant Names

Vernacular name	Scientific name
Abbayyii	<i>Maesa lanceolata</i>
Adammii	<i>Euphorbia candelabrum</i>
Ameessa	Scientific name is unknown
Andoodee	<i>Phytolacca dodecandra</i>
Andorra	<i>Phytolacca dodecandra</i>
Argisa	<i>Aloe spp.</i> (several species of <i>Aloe</i>)
Baddeessa	<i>Syzygium quineense subsp</i>
Bahaa	<i>Olea welwitsehii</i>
Bakkanniisa	<i>Croton macrostachys</i>
Biddiesii	Scientific name is unknown
Birbirsaa	<i>Podocarpus gracilior</i>
Birreessa	<i>Terminalia brownie</i>
Boggee	Scientific name is unknown
Bosooqa	<i>Sapium ellipticum</i>
Burquqqee	<i>Acacia nilotica</i>
Buruurii	<i>Vangueria apiculata</i>
Cadaa	Scientific name is unknown
Caggoo	<i>Maesa lanceolata</i>
Caakko	Scientific name is unknown
Callanqaa	Scientific name is unknown
Canaa	Scientific name is unknown
Ceekaa	<i>Calpurnia aurea</i>
Chirii	Scientific name is unknown
Chobii	<i>Cissus quadrangularis</i>
Coqorsa	<i>Chloris gayana, Cynodon dactylon</i>
Daakkaraa	Scientific name is unknown
Dambii	<i>Ficus thonningii</i>
Daannisa	<i>Dombeya</i> or <i>Grewia</i>
Daqqoo	Scientific name is unknown
Dhakaa	Scientific name is unknown
Dhiqa	Scientific name is unknown
Dhummuugaa	<i>Adhatoda schimperana</i>
Doddota	<i>Acacia gerrardii</i>
Ebicha	<i>Vernonia amygdalina</i>
Ejersa	(<i>Olea africanum</i>),
Enset	<i>Ensete venticosum</i>
Fiincoo	Scientific name is unknown

<i>Fulleli</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Garse</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Gaattiraa</i>	<i>Juniperus procera</i>
<i>Gatamaa</i>	<i>Scheffera abyssinica</i>
<i>Giliboo</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Goraa</i>	<i>Rubus stevdneri</i>
<i>Halchiisa</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Haaloo</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Hambaabeessa</i>	<i>Alibizia schimperiana</i>
<i>Harbuu</i>	<i>Ficus sur</i>
<i>Hargessa</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Harooressa</i>	<i>Grewia velutina</i>
<i>Hiddii</i>	<i>Solanum marginatum</i>
<i>Hindheenssa</i>	<i>Juniperus procera</i>
<i>Hindiduu</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Hoomii</i>	<i>Pygeum africanum</i>
<i>Horooroo</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Ilamoogorii</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Jimma</i>	<i>Catha edulis</i>
<i>Karayyu</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Konamii</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Liqixii</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Lolchiisaa</i>	<i>Bersama abyssinica</i>
<i>Luyaa</i>	<i>Trichilia dregeana</i>
<i>Maraacaa</i>	<i>Clerodendrum myricoides</i>
<i>Meexxii</i>	<i>Phoenix reclinata</i>
<i>Odaa</i>	<i>Ficus gnaphalocarpa</i>
<i>Ogdaa</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Qalliyoo</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Qararoo</i>	<i>Akacaathera schimperii</i>
<i>Qilxuu/ Qilxaa</i>	<i>Ficus vasta</i>
<i>Qobboo</i>	<i>Ricinus communis</i>
<i>Qooccoo sexanna</i>	<i>Wild Ensete ventricosum</i>
<i>Qurquraa</i>	<i>Ziziphus abyssinica</i>
<i>Reejjii</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Rigaa raabaa</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Roqaa</i>	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>

<i>Saphanssa</i>	<i>Acacia Senegal</i>
<i>Sarrii</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Saritti</i>	<i>Asparagus africanus</i>
<i>Siidaa</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Somboo</i>	<i>Ekebergia capensis</i>
<i>Sondii</i>	<i>Acacia gerrardii</i>
<i>Sootalloo</i>	<i>Milletia ferruginea</i>
<i>Soyomma</i>	<i>Vernonia thomsoniana</i>
<i>Suddii</i>	<i>Seriestachys tomentosa</i>
<i>Tuufoo</i>	<i>Cararina eminii</i>
<i>Ulmaayaa</i>	<i>Ekebergia capensis</i>
<i>Urgeessaa</i>	<i>Premna schimperi</i>
<i>Waddeessa</i>	<i>Cordia Africana</i>
<i>Waleensuu</i>	<i>Erythrina abyssinica</i>
<i>Wandabiiyyoo</i>	<i>Apodytes dimidiata</i>
<i>Warangoo</i>	Scientific name is unknown
<i>Xaddacha</i>	<i>Acacia tortilis</i>
<i>Xarasoo</i>	Scientific name is unknown

Adapted from (Workineh 2011:326)

Annex (V)

Names of Days in a Month (Maqoota Guyyaa Ji'a/ baatii keessaa) according to Guji Oromo Callendar

Each days of a month have different names but the last two days names replaced by the first two days names of the same month. The second month begins from day 3 and day four as can be seen from “A”. It is cyclical and continues in the same way through out the year.

A.

1.	Areerii Qaraa	B.		C.	
2.	Areerii Eegee				
3.	Adulaa Qaraa	Adulaa Qaraa			
4.	Adulaa Eegee	Adulaa Eegee			
5.	Harrattuu	Harrattuu		Harrattuu	
6.	Deettii	Deettii		Deettii	
7.	Dullatii	Dullatii		Dullatii	
8.	Bitaa Qaraa	Bitaa Qaraa		Bitaa Qaraa	
9.	Bitaa Jidduu	Bitaa Jidduu		Bitaa Jidduu	
10.	Bitaa Eegee	Bitaa Eegee		Bitaa Eegee	
11.	Sorsa	Sorsa		Sorsa	
12.	Algaajima	Algaajima		Algaajima	
13.	Arba	Arba		Arba	
14.	Bolla	Bolla		Bolla	
15.	Basaa Qaraa	Basaa Qaraa		Basaa Qaraa	
16.	Basaa Eegee	Basaa Eegee		Basaa Eegee	
17.	Carrawa	Carrawa		Carrawa	
18.	Dureettii	Dureettii		Dureettii	
19.	Dullattii Bidirsaa	Dullattii Bidirsaa		Dullattii Bidirsaa	
20.	Bidirsaa	Bidirsaa		Bidirsaa	
21.	Shalbaana Deettii	Shalbaana Deettii		Shalbaana Deettii	
22.	Karaabicha	Karaabicha		Karaabicha	
23.	Gardaaduma	Gardaaduma		Gardaaduma	
24.	Busaawa qaraa	Busaawa qaraa		Busaawa qaraa	
25.	Busaawa jidduu	Busaawa jidduu		Busaawa jidduu	
26.	Busaawa Eegee	Busaawa Eegee		Busaawa Eegee	
27.	Gidaadaa	Gidaadaa		Gidaadaa	
28.	Ruuda	Ruuda		Ruuda	
29.	Areerii Qaraa	Areerii Qaraa		Areerii Qaraa	
30.	Areerii Eegee	Areerii Eegee		Areerii Eegee	
		Adulaa Qaraa		Adulaa Qaraa	
		Adulaa Eegee		Adulaa Eegee	
				Harrattuu	
				Deettii	