# Traditional Medicine and Folk Religions in Ethiopia-Wallo

### by Mohammed Worku Hailemariam\*

#### Abstract

This article focuses on Folk Islam in Wolo, paying special attention to the people, objects, places, times, and rituals that are seen as sources of healing power in spiritual realm. These different sources of power will be analyzed from the point of view of their religious aspect and also from the point of view and practice of other religions. These power centers are similar in form to other folk religious movements, but they differ in their inner content and doctrine. In our country, Ethiopia, the focus of many people is on form and name rather than content. The manifestation of this is mainly in folk religion and traditional medicine. The issue of practicing and using spiritual power to achieve healing is accepted by many religious groups. However, especially in a few, it appears to be out of balance. Of these, Folk Islam and Folk evangelical movements are mentioned. The research questions of the study are the relationship between spiritual power and traditional medicine in Folk Islam and what the relationship between Folk evangelical believers is. From the point of view of the basic teachings of religions, how far can this practice and activity of traditional religious medicine lead to an unwanted and syncretistic approach? The purpose of this article is to understand these folk Islam traditional medicine activities and to investigate the similar aspects in other religions and customs by raising relevant questions to pave the way for future researchers.

### Keywords

Traditional Medicine, Folk Religion, Islam, Muslims, Evangelical, Healing, Yebalye, Believers, Syncretism, Spirits, Zar, Awlliya, Sheikhs, Kalcha, Power People, Power Objects, Beads (Chale), Amulets, Power Places, Grave Sites (Gatā), Power Times, And Power Rituals, Wadaja (Friendship), Abdul Qadir Jilani.

#### 1. Introduction

thiopia is located in the Horn of Africa at the East Africa Region with a population size of over 120 million and 88+ people and language groups.

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Ethiopia is a home for Christians and Muslims for over a thousand of years. Since the 7<sup>th</sup> Century, Islam has been practised in Ethiopia by millions of people. Currently, about 35% of the total population are Muslims under Sunni Islam, mainly

Sufis with Qādiriyya order, 63% Christians with an Orthodox majority, followed by Protestants and with very little percentage of Catholics as well as indigenous traditions. Traditionally, Ethiopia has been considered a Christian island.

<sup>\*</sup> Ethnographic Researcher, Lecturer of Islam, Mission, and Islamic movements, at the Evangelical Theological College and the Ethiopian Graduate School of Theology.

However, this notion has been challenged<sup>1</sup>. The 2007 census shows that Muslims accounted for 33.9 percent, Christians accounted for 62.8 percent (Orthodox 43.5, Protestant 18.6 and Catholic 0.7 percent respectively) and the remaining populations belong to different indigenous traditions.

Ethiopia was the first to host Islam by providing refuge to the migrants who were companions (ṣaḥāba) of Prophet Muhammad in the early days of Islam, 615. So, Islam reached the Ethiopian soil prior to many African countries, which could also reinforce the strategic nature of Ethiopia with regard to Islam. However, the majority of muslims is more inclined to Folk Islamic religion and practices with traditional medicines. Moreover, a significant number of evangelical believers (protestants) are practicing similar folk religious practices as medicine which could be considered as traditional medicine. The use of traditional medicine in folk religions is a bit unprofessional and unethical, which fact demands a serious scrutiny in this field of studies.

### 2. What is Folk religion?

The word Folk refers to the belief and practice of the majority of the population. This practice is famous, popular and hated by formal followers. Many religious people in our world practice their religious commitment based on Folk practices. However, no one would say that what I do is 'Folk' practice. This name 'Folk' originates from scholars in the field. Paul Hebert, Daniel Shaw, and Tite Tienu elaborate on this issue in their book Understanding Folk Religions<sup>2</sup>. Scholars have been promoting this division and expression by examining the direct and clear teachings of a religion and doing appropriate research in terms of what is done in prac-

They classify them according to the findings of their research saying that this is a mixture of the actual and the Folk arrangement.

Usually, those who are vulnerable to this traditional religious treatment are:

– Those who want hope, who want help, especially those who want to get out of their situation and problems in a way that is different from the usual practice. The Muslim's Journey to the Supernatural Power is mentioned as follows:

The helpless and hopeless

often take action to connect with a supernatural force. This type of event is considered customary among Muslims. (Swartley, 2005, p. 196)<sup>3</sup>.

Although Folk Muslims believe in Allah, they are bound to join traditional practices and alien worship. This situation is not only found among Muslims but also among followers of other religions. The main characteristic and manifestation of folk religion is that it strives to satisfy the feelings and needs of the majority of the people. In the book mentioned above, a writer named Rick Love states:

Their main focus is on the daily problems and life, but they have little understanding of the ultimate goals of life. What will continue to satisfy these people is power and success, not truth, logic, and a sustainable approach. (Love, 2000. p. 209)<sup>4</sup>

Folk Islam in Wallo is seen from the same perspective. People think they believe in an all-powerful creator, but they combine this belief with belief in other powers.

### A. Belief in one creator (Allah) and other powers (spirits)

Folk Islam in Wallo is considered by its followers to be the true path of Islam. But when their practice is examined in depth, their traditional behavior weighs it down. In particular, not few people see coexistence with alien spirits and (zars) as a suitable way of life. Some call the alien spirit above them: 'yebalye' in control of me. They think that the life they live is their lot of opportunities given by that spirit. Yet many are not in health, but in sickness; They live in fear, not confidence. Although Folk Muslims say that there is no God other than the Creator, many of them live in fear of evil spirits. We find this issue described by one of the writers in the book, Encountering the World of Islam, suggests:

Although Muslims believe in the greatness of Allah, many of them live in fear of evil spirits. The religion teaches that there is only one God and that there is no other intermediary between man and Him. However, a large number of Muslims are looking for someone with special prophetic powers.<sup>5</sup>

These people think that Allah is far away from them. According to J. Spencer Trimingham, they tend to seek power from a closer source, from spirits and gods. He suggests:

God's unity must be preserved in any situation.

However, due to God's remoteness and fear, the intercessors of spirits are needed.

(Trimingham, 1952, p. 256)<sup>6</sup>

Trimingham suggests, zar was inherited from mixed powers. Traditional Islam in Wallo is based on the worship of evil spirits and the fear of evil forces. There is no doubt about believing in God's power, but the belief is mixed with other powers.

According to one of my informants, Aregu Ali<sup>7</sup>, mentioned about someone who controls her life which most of the people in Wallo have what they call a chief (yebalye) or a controller. The meaning of *yebaly*): He who controls me or rules me. It is common to consult a superior when faced with important issues in life. Therefore, the belief of these people in one creator is interwoven and connected with the belief in other spirits and powers. Because of their frequent use

of Allah's name and their claim that they have good understanding, the extent of the suffering has been compounded.

### B. Believing in people: Shaykhs, Prophets and Awlliya

Folk Islam in Wallo gives great respect to sheikhs, *kal-cha* (a kalcha is a good name and feeling positive) to people who are considered holy. These are the people who lead the people into various alien cults and practices. These people are considered to have power (spiritual power). Hence, they become famous and perform famous acts.

These powerful people are thought to be close to the Creator. This is what Folk Islam believes. Healing, blessings, and other good fortunes and opportunities await you in the Wadaja ritual. They spit on people they think are our enemies (even when they aren't). Their touch and what they spit is important and useful, no matter how they do it. Sometimes khat is tasted and chewed and spit on a person's head, face, or where there is pain. Their prayers are considered very important. Also, their touch is considered to be a source of blessings. Their saliva is sometimes considered a powerful channel of spiritual energy.

Haji Sayid Bushra is one such person. His burial place is located on a high and hilly place in Kembolsha Wallo called Gatā. Haji Sayid Bushra died in 1855. However, people still consider them as saints and intercessors. Currently, the guardian and main person of that place is Haji Muhdin Adam. He has been serving there for more than three decades. People believe in this person and when they visit him, they bring him gifts.

One of my informants, Aregu, said: "Slaughtering an animal (madmat) is allowed only for a sheikh or a kalcha. Anyone who does not have this title cannot slaughter; especially the slaughter for sacrifice" (Argue Ali interview, 4 February 2002).

C. Belief in various alien or inanimate objects: sand, amulets and holy water

Beads (chale): is used as a tool for intercessory prayer while invoking spirits, saints and Awlliyas. For example, Abdul Qadir Jilani and Sheikh Nur Hussain are prominent figures in Wallo Folk Islam. Chale is used by many followers of traditional Islam in prayer at the end of the year (Pagumen season, 13<sup>th</sup> Months' of Ethiopian Calendar). Women usually wear it around their necks. This is done after immersing in butter. If there is a different order, men do it too; but without this, they don't. In this way, they thank God for the past year. They ask God for his blessing of the coming year.

Amulets: this is words or texts written on it and hung around people's necks or tied to their arms. The writings include verses from the Qur'an and the names of Allah. The first chapter of the Qur'an is Surah al-Fatiha (the opening chapter). People who make or hang this amulet think and believe that they will be protected from evil and will have success in business, farming, and their future life plans.

Another thing is holy water, which is called Zamzam water and is a prayer found in every area. Zebanai Tilahun<sup>8</sup>, one of my informants, who also practices witchcraft (she is called expert): she believes in the holy water at Jama Oda in her area. This place is located in Woreilu Jama in Deglo town. This holy water is believed to cure any illness. The special respect given to Zamzam water

coming from Mecca has always been preserved. Zamzam water is one of the things that many Muslims bring back after performing the Hajj in Mecca.

Folk Islam is very much concerned with belief in different objects; One of the possible reasons for this is Arabia's pre-Islamic conditions and practices. This practice has been easily transferred to today's religious practices. If a person falls ill, following the procedure, taking a verse from the Quran and writing it in ink, dissolve it in water and put it in a glass so that the sick person can drink it. The traditional practice easily leads to a belief in the object and the physical items. The purpose of believing in these objects stems from seeking protection, blessing and healing.

One of my informants, in Woreilu-Jama, said: "Zamzam water is a very useful medicine. A person who drinks this water will be fat, his beauty will be restored, he will be beautiful" (Sheikh Muhammad Juhar interview: 2 February 2002).

Saeed Ibn Ali wrote about Zamzam water in his small book:

Allah's Messenger Zamzam said about water: – It is blessed. It is food for the hungry and medicine for the sick. Said /Muslim/. (1991, p. 89)

As reported by Jobir, the Messenger of Allah said: – Zamzam water is used for the purpose of drinking. He said. /Ibn Majah/. (1991, p. 90)

Ibn al-Qayyim wrote: "I and the others tried treating him with Zamzam water. We have had excellent results. I have used it as medicine for many diseases and have been cured by Allah's will" (1991, p. 90).

Rick Love, summarizes and suggests: looks at the objects of magic and magic based on his informants; these are:

The analysis of one of my informants was very thoughtful. He counted seven different types of spells for me: 1) Weapons 2) Verses 3) Objects buried in the body 4) Rings 5) Gifts and ornaments from family 6) Various objects taken from holy places such as soil taken from graves and so on 7) Any inanimate object. Energize by people with different high powers. (Love, 2000, p. 31)

D. Believing in special places, grave sites and the like: – Gatā

Graveyards and houses have a special significance in the life of most (ordinary people) in Wallo Folk Islam. There are many cemeteries and houses in South Wallo connected with Qadriyya Sufi orders. Of these, Jama Nigus and Gatā are the main references. Jama Nigus was founded by Sheikh Muhammad Shafi bin Asqari Muhammad in the 18th Century. According to Hussein Ahmed, Sheikh Muhammad played an important role in the development of Sufi order.

They had a fundamental role in spreading the Qadriyya system. This is the second important aspect of transmission of the system which was initiated by the Yaju scholar, Faqih Zubair. He in turn taught his eldest son and many others about the Sufi order (Ahmed 2001. p. 83)<sup>9</sup>.

One of Hussain Ahmad's informants, Sheikh Muhammad Jama, described Sheikh Muhammad Shafi as: Zakir, teacher, mujahid (fighter/advocate in religious affairs) and a sheikh of the Sufi order. After his death in 1806/7, the place where he worked and the place where he was buried turned

into a Sufi teaching institution and a holy and special place. When pilgrims arrive at that place, the first thing they do is bow down and draw a picture of the tomb in front of them. This practice is similar to the practice of Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church people.

As Hussain Ahmed suggests: "This behavior shows a very intimate and emotional situation. This reveals the inner feeling that makes people intercede for blessings and intercession. Those who suffer from mental illness, are possessed by evil spirits, and suffer from violent passions, scream, fall, and faint under the influence of powerful spirits. These people are put on their feet by the hosts there or by the people who come with them. This peculiar spectacle and behavior is transferred to the process of exorcism. And the evil spirit that was troubling the person will be driven away by the invisible spirit of the Holy One. That is, falling unconscious is considered to be a struggle when the evil spirit is released" (Ahmed 2001, p. 85)10. After this, the pilgrims visit the house of the main and honorable person in that holy place and give gifts and kiss his right hand (this is done because it is considered to be the transmission of the blessing of the saint).

The holy place at Gatā was founded by the respected and learned mystic and reformer Al Haji Bushra Aya Muhammad. From the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the place called Gatā was a major teaching center of the Sufi order. Al Hajj Bushra is considered as the Wali and the main cause of Karma. In common sayings (legend) it was said: Bushra found the breath of Sayyidina Kader in their mouths. Following this, Bushra's body grew to an unimaginable size.

According to Hussain Ahmed's explanation from his informants, there is a prophetic announcement from an unseen voice (Hatif) about Syed Bushra: He who sees Bushra will have a happy relationship; It is said that the fire of hell will not touch him.

Through these saints, people show a special respect for the places. Thousands of people gather every year on the eve of Mawlid. After doing this, when they return to their respective areas, they take soil and other things from there and use it as medicine and to protect themselves.

### E. Belief in various rituals: friendship and prayer

Trimingham defines Wadaja as: A major religious ritual... a family or community prayer meeting... The word Wadaja is used in Wallo... for the Islamic night (*Adar*) prayer. But the word is also used for a meeting associated with sorcery and sorcery (1952, p. 262)<sup>11</sup>.

Berhanu Gebeyehu, in his study of Islamic Oral Literature, uses the local poetry and puts the purpose of Wadaja as follows:

I am not afraid when they say there is a problem.
I am not afraid of being sick when they say I am sick. I am not afraid when they say there is a problem.
So long as I have my brothers for these problems.
I will release by calling them.
(Berhanu 1998, p. 39)<sup>12</sup>

Kelkilachew Ali argued that the word "Wadaja" may have come from the word "friend". This is equivalent to the Amharic word wadaj/gwadegna. Ma-wadaja conveys the meaning of creating friendship between man and man and between God and man. This is the religious and social aspect of the ceremony.

The Wadaja ceremony is usually performed during the month of Pagumen (the 13<sup>th</sup> months of Ethiopian). The purpose of this is to thank for the past year and pray for the coming year. According Gebeyehu<sup>14</sup>, he revealed: Friend is a regular group meeting. It includes Muslims and Christians. Kchat, incense, lamb or chicken or porridge are offered on friends. The consecration and blessing will follow.

## F. Believing in days and seasons: Wednesday is different for Abdul Qadir Jilani

In Wallo traditional Islam, the days of the week are dedicated to the saints. For example: Nurhusen on Tuesday, Abdul Qadir Jilani on Wednesday, Seyedina Kedir on Saturday. This type of practice is common in other areas of Ethiopia. Prayer on these special days is considered powerful and effective. Abdul Qadir Jilani also has many good names: Inspirer of Faith, Beloved by Allah, Chief Guardian. They are very loved and respected by Wallo. In some legends and traditional sayings: As I got from my informant Hajer Kahesay:

Every Wednesday Jilani rose from his burial place in Baghdad, wearing white wings and sitting on a white horse. He comes to Wallo, wearing white riding gear with white beards, then he visit his farms there and then he visit those who are ready to meet him. (Interview 20 March 2007)

## 3. Survey of traditional Islam and traditional evangelical believers

See Tables 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

### 4. Conclusion

All sort of movements of folk religions with regard to traditional medicines are exposed for unprofessional, and unethical practices which could be hindrances for the development of scientific medicines. Such movements and practices which influence millions of people in a country like Ethiopia need further exploration and scrutiny by the researchers in the field of sociology of religion as well as medics.

Tab. 1. A. People with spiritual power.

A. People with spiritual power		
Folk Muslims	Folk evangelical believer	
Haji, Sheikh, Kalicha.	Apostle, Prophet, Pastor, Elder, Evangelist.	
Elderly people and youth.	Elderly people and youth.	
	Those who have received formal theological education and those who have not received formal theological education.	

Tab. 2. B. Various foreign and inanimate objects.

B. Various foreign and inanimate objects		
Folk Muslims	Folk evangelical believers	
Zamzem water and local holy water.	Ordinary water and oil.	
Quran.	Bible.	
Use dirt and anything from the grave area.	As a guide from the spirit.	
Chale, amulet.	Handkerchief.	

Tab. 3. C. Sacred places/area.

C. Sacred places/ areas		
Folk Muslims	Folk evangelical believers	
Cemeteries.	Chapels/Prayer rooms, Office of the Apostle.	
Graveyards.	Pulpits of the churches.	
Mosque premises.	Church/prayer house premises.	

Tab. 4. D. Special seasons/days.

D. Special seasons/days		
Folk Muslims	Folk evangelical believers	
Wednesday, Friday and the eve of Mawlid.	S Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.	
Pagumen (the Ethiopian 13 <sup>th</sup> Month's) Wadaja.	Pagumen 5 or 6 days of fasting and prayer at the end of the year.	
Various Wadaja Rituals	Whole Night prayers.	

Tab. 5. E. Various procedures.

E. Various procedures	
Folk Muslims	Folk evangelical believers
Zyera, Zar's movements	Emotional and devotional chants
Various Wadaja rituals	Praying holding hands and hand-in-hand
Cursing enemies	Cursing enemies

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