

Changes in Knowledge of Time among Gabra Miigo Pastoralists of Southern Ethiopia

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We examined representations of time among Gabra Miigo pastoralists in southern Ethiopia. Time was represented by changes in nature, cultural symbols, and social matters, although coherent knowledge of time representations was unequally distributed within Gabra Miigo society. We discuss how knowledge of time representation has changed and how modernization and Islam have affected this knowledge. Knowledge of time representations that regulate the age system has faded as the influence of Islam has grown. However, time representations that serve to retain historical memories are gaining social value in the modern context. Those who are well informed in such time representations have become “experts” and have begun to act as leaders. Gabra Miigo society, which was traditionally acephalous, is becoming a more top-down and centralized society.

Key words: Gabra, modernization, re-Islamization, change, knowledge, time

INTRODUCTION

Two African groups identify themselves as “Gabra.” One group lives mainly in Kenya and is called “Malbe” by the other Gabra group that lives in Ethiopia; this Ethiopian group is called the “Miigo” by the Malbe. To avoid confusion, these two groups are hereafter referred to as the Gabra Malbe and Gabra Miigo.

Tablino (1989, 1999) examined the unique solar calendar of the Gabra Malbe, which consists of precisely 365 days and has a proper name for each year. Based on the memories of elders and the proper name of each year, Robinson (1985) reconstructed the history of the Gabra Malbe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, revealing how this group struggled with the harsh environment during these periods. Robinson also recorded the relatively peaceful relationship that developed between the Gabra Malbe and the British colonial government. The colonial government, for example, sent the King’s African Rifles regiment to protect the Gabra Malbe from repeated attacks by the Dassenatch of Ethiopia. However, while various studies have examined the Gabra Malbe, little is known about the Gabra Miigo and their history. We therefore focused on the Gabra Miigo, with a specific interest in their representation of time⁽¹⁾.

In modern times, the Gabra Miigo have been subjected to the policies of the Ethiopian and Somali states and have occasionally struggled against neighboring enemies such as the Boran Oromo, Guji Oromo, and Garre Somali⁽²⁾. A brief overview of important events follows. The Gabra Miigo were subsumed by the Ethiopian Empire after the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1907, which delineated the border between Ethiopia and British East Africa. The

Ethiopian Empire imposed heavy taxes on the Gabra Miigo. Prior to World War II (1935–1941), Italian troops invaded and occupied Ethiopia, and Somali mercenaries (the “*banda italian*”) robbed the Gabra Miigo of their livestock. Around 1964, the Gabra Miigo were involved in a local battle begun by the Garre, who had joined Somali-supported guerrillas supporting Somalia’s territorial claims. The Boran, who were supported by the Ethiopian government, counterattacked the Garre guerrillas. Attacked by both the Garre and the Boran, the Gabra Miigo were caught in the middle and fled northward in southern Ethiopia. When the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces (in Amharic, the *Dergue*, or “committee”) seized power in 1974, the Gabra Miigo were again attacked by neighboring Boran and Guji and subsequently fled southward to the area near the border town of Moyale. Many men went to Somalia for military training and became engaged in the Ogaden War (1977–1978) as Somali-backed guerrillas fighting against the Ethiopian government and the Boran. At the same time, elderly people as well as women and children moved across the border to Kenya and Somalia, becoming refugees. Those who moved into Kenya risked arrest by the police, and thus many returned to Ethiopia by 1980. The Gabra Miigo in Somalia had peacefully settled in United Nations refugee camp; however, these individuals also returned to Ethiopia in the latter half of the 1980s because of the deteriorating security in Somalia. When the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) formed a transitional government following its 1991 victory over the *Dergue*, the Gabra Miigo fought against the Boran. After security was reestablished by the EPRDF transitional government, the Gabra Miigo lived safely in the Oromiya region and began to seek political rights under the rule of federalism.

Such experiences have greatly altered Gabra Miigo society, and these social changes can be understood from two different perspectives: modernization and re-Islamization. Here, the term “modernization” does not mean industrialization, but rather the process of social adaptation, or reaction, to the modern state and aggressive nationalism. The Gabra Miigo learned the manner of the modern state through their experiences of war. During the Italo-Abyssinian war (1936–1941), Somali mercenaries plundered the Gabra Miigo, who then became involved in battles with and suffered attacks from both the Garre and Boran around 1964. In 1974, the Guji and Boran attacked the Gabra Miigo, and during the Ogaden War, Gabra Miigo men trained and fought as guerrillas. More recently, in 1991, the Gabra Miigo and the Guji fought jointly against the Boran. In these conflicts, the Gabra Miigo experienced enemy attacks that were unlike the traditional raids of livestock; rather, these attacks were fueled by aggressive nationalism. The modern context has also shown the Gabra Miigo the importance of having representatives and local administrators to help their society access information and gain support from the Ethiopian government and live peacefully in southern Ethiopia.

While living in Somali refugee camps, the Gabra Miigo experienced formal education, decision-making through a committee of residents, and modern agriculture. Re-Islamization also occurred during this period through their close contact with Somali Muslims. The Gabra Miigo believe that they had originally been Muslims but had lost their beliefs. Their conversion back to Islam has brought changes to their society, including changes in the systems for representing time.

Here, we focus on time representations within the changing Gabra Miigo society. Durkheim (1915) proposed that the categories for understanding time, space, class, number, cause, and personality are derived from society, i.e., perceptions of time are socially determined. In general, societal structures are thought to be solid and slow to change. However, modernization can bring prominent, and sometimes rapid, change to a society. As many authors have noted, ideas of time, space, class, and personality vary greatly between pre-modern and modern European society (e.g., Anderson 1991, Giddens 1990). Schlee (1989) detailed the powerful impact of Islam on a social system and suggested that the age system by which most pastoral societies in East Africa were organized receded with the advance of Islam. Obviously, the social changes caused by both modernization and re-Islamization have altered the categories of understanding, including understanding of time, space, class, number, cause, and personality.

In this paper, we clarify changes in the knowledge of time representation among the Gabra Miigo and specifically focus on changes that have accompanied modernization and re-Islamization. First, we outline Gabra Miigo culture and time representations. The unequal distribution of knowledge regarding time is examined, followed by a discussion of how specific time representations have lost their societal value with the advance of Islam. Lastly, we discuss aspects of time representation that have increased in social value, as well as internal social changes in Gabra Miigo society in the modern context.

1. THE GABRA MIIGO

(1) Location and Subsistence

The Gabra Miigo reside separately in the Surupa, Arero, Web, Moyale, and Negele areas of the Yabelo and Liban zones, Oromiya Regional State (Figure 1). They are traditionally pastoralists, relying on camel, cattle, goat, and sheep products, and they also purchase maize and wheat from local markets. In the 1980s, they began rain-fed farming to produce food for their own consumption.

(2) Gabra Miigo Social System

Gabra Miigo society is patrilineally organized and segmented into moieties. The east moiety (*beri*) is further segmented into 11 clans, while the west moiety (*worashin*) has only the Lossa clan. Each clan is again segmented into 1–7 lineages. Most people can trace their patrilineage back 9–15 generations.

Until recently, Gabra Miigo society was organized on an age system resembling the *gada* age system of the Boran (Asmarom 1973, Baxter 1978) and that of the Gabra Malbe (Torry 1973, 1978). The Gabra Miigo system classified men into nine generation sets. Each generation set formed a rung on the ladder of generation grades. The generation set in the

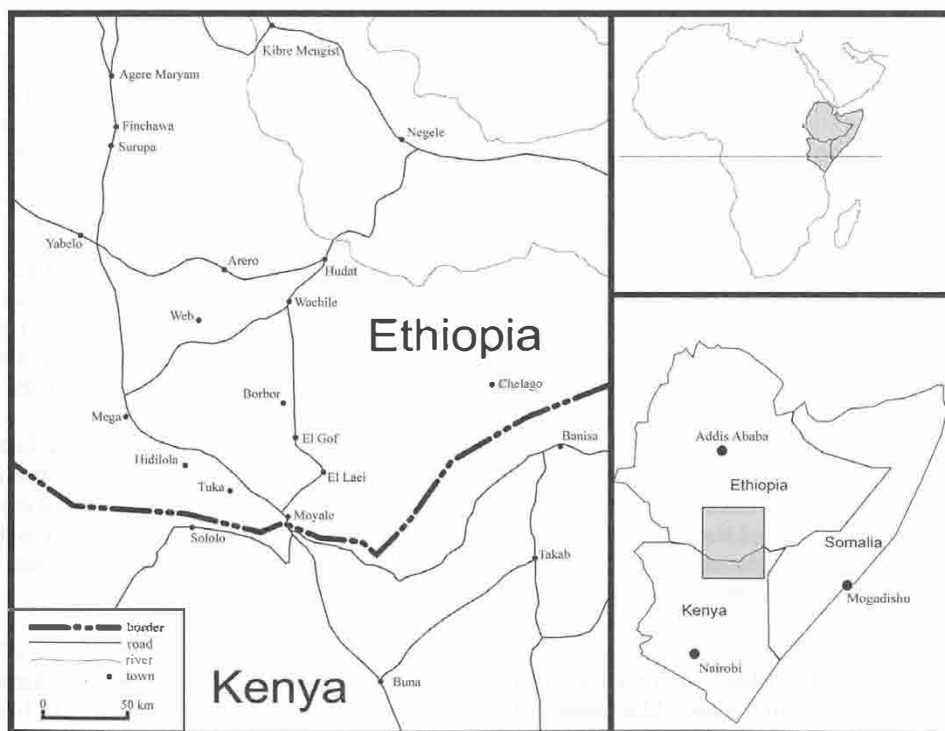


Figure 1. Map of the Study Area.

gada grade played an important role in social life; members elected an *abba gada* (political-religious leader) to represent their generation set and built a *yaa* hamlet that served as the center for rituals and arbitration. Every 9–10 years, each generation set moved up a grade in Gabra Miigo society, whereas in Gabra Malbe society, this change takes place every 14 years in principle. The promotion to a new generation set began with the *jilla*, a pilgrimage to sacred Mt. Ees which is located in the east side of web.

(3) Religion

Today, the Gabra Miigo mainly practice Islam, while the Gabra Malbe believe in *waqa*, or “God.” Both groups claim that they used to believe in Islam and then gave up these beliefs. Unlike the Gabra Malbe, however, the Gabra Miigo have returned to Islam.

The Gabra Miigo live by Islamic guidance for daily life (*diina*) as well as non-Islamic traditional values (*aada*), whereas the Gabra Malbe follow only the traditional guidance system (*aada*). As noted above, the Gabra Miigo regained a faith in Islam during their time in Somali refugee camps. During this period, as the *diina* guidance system increased in importance, the importance of the *aada* system diminished. Some customs traditionally regulated by the *aada* became regulated by the *diina*. In practice, the *diina* is a processed and modified Islamic guidance system that mixes Arab and Somali cultural influences. For example, in the *aada* context, clan marriages were exogamous; however, endogamy is now recommended in the *diina* context. This change reflects the patrilineal parallel cousin marriage tradition of Arab culture, not Islamic faith. Nonetheless, these two types of guidance, the *aada* and the *diina*, have greatly influenced perceptions of time.

2. TIME REPRESENTATION OF THE GABRA MIIGO

Gabra Miigo representations of time can be divided into three categories: (1) time representation based on changes in nature, (2) time representation based on cultural symbols, and (3) time representation based on social matters.

2-1. Time Representation Based on Changes in Nature

Time representation based on changes in nature ideates natural cyclical changes such as the Earth’s rotation (day and night) and revolution (seasons) and the waxing and waning of the moon (month). The day (*guya*), month (*ji*), lunar year (*waga*), seasons (no particular name), and solar year (*gan*) fall into this category.

(1) Day

A day is called a *guya*, which also means daytime, and sunset marks the beginning of a day. Table 1 lists the various names for times within a day. Each time relates to particular activities. For example, morning (*boru*) is the time for milking, and *bo’ba* means leaving for grazing; daytime (*guya*) is the time for grazing; in the evening (*galchuma*), the livestock are returned home. Time relates not only to subsistence activities, but also religious activities. For example, the word “*salaati*” (dawn) is derived from *salat*, which means Islamic prayer; thus, dawn is named after the time of prayer. *Dufuru* is also derived from the word for the Islamic midday prayer: “*zuhr*”. These time representations are thus embedded in human activities.

The Gabra Miigo sometimes name their sons after their time of birth. For example, the following names reflect the time of day that a boy was born: Guyo: daytime (*guya*); Galgalo: evening (*galgal*); Wario: nighttime (*wari*); Halkano: midnight (*halkan*); Salaat: dawn (*salaati*); and Boru: morning (*boru*).

(2) Month

A month is called *ji*, which also means moon, and is a unit of time that depends on the waxing and waning of the moon. The Gabra Miigo divide a month into first and second halves. The first half extends from a new moon to a full moon and is called *ji* or *a’deesa*, meaning luminousness. The second half begins on the 16th day (in terms of age of the moon) and lasts

Table 1. Time Representation of a Day

<i>galgal</i>	17:00–19:00
<i>magaraaba</i>	18:00
<i>galchuma</i>	18:00
<i>wari</i>	19:00–22:00
<i>i'shidi</i>	21:00
<i>halkan</i>	22:00–05:00
<i>salaati</i>	05:00
<i>ganama</i>	05:00–06:00
<i>bo'ba</i>	06:00–08:00
<i>boru</i>	06:00–10:00
<i>guya</i>	10:00–15:00
<i>oosowarrera</i>	12:00
<i>dufuru</i>	13:00
<i>orrushi</i>	15:00
<i>a'saaru</i>	16:00

Table 2. Time Representation of a Month.

First Half	Second Half
1 st <i>bati</i>	16 th <i>dukan toko</i>
2 nd <i>ji lam</i>	17 th <i>dukan lam</i>
3 rd <i>ji sadi</i>	18 th <i>dukan sadi</i>
4 th <i>ji afuru</i>	19 th <i>dukan afuru</i>
5 th <i>shan'an</i>	20 th <i>dukan shan</i>
6 th <i>ji jya</i>	21 st <i>dukan jya</i>
7 th <i>ji torpu</i>	22 nd <i>dukan torpu</i>
8 th <i>ji sade't</i>	23 rd <i>dukan sade't</i>
9 th <i>ji sagal</i>	24 th <i>dukan sagal</i>
10 th <i>ji kudan</i>	25 th <i>dukan kudan</i>
11 th <i>ji kudani toko</i>	26 th <i>dukan kudani toko</i>
12 th <i>ji kudani lam</i>	27 th <i>dukan kudani lam</i>
13 th <i>ji kudani sadi</i>	28 th <i>dukan kudani sadi</i>
14 th <i>oideera</i>	29 th <i>dukan kudani afuru</i>
15 th <i>gooban</i>	30 th <i>dukan kudani shan</i>

Table 3. Names for the 12 Months by Ethnic Group

	Garre	Gabra Miigo	Gabra Malbe	Rendille	Boran*
1	<i>Zaka</i>	<i>Zaka</i>	<i>Yaga</i>	<i>Daga</i>	<i>Sadasaa</i>
2	<i>Ragarr</i>	<i>Ragar</i>	<i>Raggara</i>	<i>Ragarr I</i>	<i>Abrasa</i>
3	<i>Moulid</i>	<i>Moulut</i>	<i>Raggara II</i>	<i>Ragar II</i>	<i>Ammaji</i>
4	<i>Birku I</i>	<i>Jibor I</i>	<i>Faile</i>	<i>Haitikelee</i>	<i>Gurrandala</i>
5	<i>Birku II</i>	<i>Jibor II</i>	<i>Jia Boor</i>	<i>Haiborboran I</i>	<i>Bittotessa</i>
6	<i>Birku III</i>	<i>Jibor III</i>	<i>Jia Boor II</i>	<i>Haiborboran II</i>	<i>Chamsa</i>
7	<i>Somder I</i>	<i>Somdeer I</i>	<i>Soom D'eera</i>	<i>Sondeer I</i>	<i>Bufa</i>
8	<i>Somder II</i>	<i>Somdeer II</i>	<i>Som D'eera II</i>	<i>Sondeer II</i>	<i>Wachabajji</i>
9	<i>Som</i>	<i>Soom</i>	<i>Sooma</i>	<i>Scom</i>	<i>Obora Gudda</i>
10	<i>Furam</i>	<i>Furana</i>	<i>Furama</i>	<i>Furam</i>	<i>Obora Digga</i>
11	<i>Sigital</i>	<i>Sigital</i>	<i>Iddi Yual</i>	<i>Didial</i>	<i>Birra</i>
12	<i>Arrafa</i>	<i>Arrafa</i>	<i>Arrafa</i>	<i>Harafa</i>	<i>Chiga</i>

Sources: Garre (Getachew 1988), Gabra Malbe (Tablino 1999), Rendille (Schlee 1989), Boran (Bassi 1988).

*: The Boran months do not correspond to those of other groups, because the Boran have lunar-solar system.

until the day before the next new moon; this half is called *dukan* (darkness). Table 2 shows how the Gabra Miigo calculate one month.

(3) Lunar Year

The lunar year is called *waga* and consists of 12 months. Table 3 lists the names of each month in the Garre, Gabra Miigo, Gabra Malbe, Rendille, and Boran calendars. Except for the Boran, these peoples have similar lunar years, and the names of each month may have been derived from the Islamic Hijra calendar. Like the Hijra calendar, these calendars do not adjust the lunar year to the solar year by any intercalary period such as a leap month, although there is a gap of approximately 11 days between a lunar year and a solar year.

The lunar year regulates the timing of marriage and other rituals. In the *aada*, or traditional customs, the months of *zaka*, *somdeer qara* (first *somdeer*), and *somdeer eege* (second *somdeer*) are auspicious times. In the *yaa* hamlet, the *abba gada* will sacrifice a castrated camel and an ewe at the *nabo* (sanctuary) on the tenth day of these months. The members of the *yaa* hamlet also climb sacred Mt. Ees to offer a sacrifice on the 14th day of these months. Even

in ordinary hamlets, people celebrate a *soryo* (sacrifice) on the tenth day of these months.

Weddings are also held during these periods. When a groom marries for the first time, the wedding is held on the even-numbered (*kite*) moon age during the first half of the month, or the odd-numbered (*anho*) moon age during the second half; on the other hand, if it is not his first marriage and if he has a son, the wedding must be held during the second half of these months.

Soom is derived from the word for a fast; in Islam, *saum* corresponds to Ramadan. The Gabra Miigo hold a month-long fast during the month of *soom*.

(4) Solar Year

a) Seasons

A solar year is called a *gan*, which also refers to the heavy-rain season. A year consists of four seasons. The *bon hagaiya* is the long dry season (December–March). *Gan* is the heavy-rain season (April–June). *Adolesa* refers to the cool dry season (July–September), while *hagaiya* refers to the short rainy season (October–November).

The Gabra Miigo sometimes name their children after the season of their birth. For example, Bonaiya is a man who was born in the dry season (*bon*). Roba/Robe is a man/woman born during rain (*roob*), indicating that he/she was born in the rainy season (*rooba*).

b) Year Calculation

The Gabra Miigo also calculated each seasons independently of the seasonal marks, such as clouds, wind, rain, and distant thunder. Each season contains fixed dates. The Gabra Miigo traditionally calculated a solar year as follows.

The solar year begins in (1) *bon hagaiya*, which lasts for 100 days, and (2) *gan* follows for 160 days. On the 161st day after the beginning of *gan*, the *ibid* (fire ceremony) is held, at which time (3) *adolesa* begins and lasts 90 days. (4) *Hagaiya* then starts and lasts for 15 days. *Hagaiya* is also called *almado* because the *almado* (milk-offering ceremony) is held three times during this period. The first *almado* is held on the first day of *hagaiya*, the second occurs on the eighth day of *hagaiya*, and the last *almado* offering marks the end of the solar year on the 15th day of *hagaiya*. The next day of the last *almado* is called *uluqo*, or New Year's Day, at which time *bon hagaiya* begins. The *uluqo* (New Year's Day) and the *almado* ceremonies always fall on the same day of the week each year. As well, the *ibid* (fire ceremony) always fall on the next day of the week of the *uluqo* (New Year's Day) each year.

Because the solar year consists of 365 days, with no leap year, the gap between the Gabra Miigo's solar year and the Gregorian calendar widens over time. The solar year is important because it supports the cycle of 7 years that regulates the age system, as described in greater detail below.

Tablino (1999: 40–42) clarified the Gabra Malbe calendar. According to his research, the solar year is comprised of six periods: (1) *Dibba Abba Guraa* consists of ten decades of days (100 days), (2) *Dibba Safaru* consists of ten decades of days (100 days), (3) *Jaatama adolessa* consists of six decades of days (60 days), (4) *Odoli ibidda bobeessa* consists of 3 weeks (21 days), (5) *Torban sagali* consists of 9 weeks (63 days), and (6) *Almado* consists of 3 weeks (21 days). The solar year of the Gabra Malbe consists of 365 days and has no leap year. Although some names for the periods of the year and the length of these periods are somewhat different, the structure of the Gabra Malbe solar year closely resembles that of the Gabra Miigo.

2-2. Time Representation Based on Cultural Symbols

Time representation based on cultural symbols ideates symbols such as a particular number (Koizumi 1989). In Western culture, for example, a week has 7 days, and a decade consists of 10 years, although there is no astronomical necessity for these numbers, which were selected merely for their symbolism. In the Gabra Miigo calendar, the week (*torbaan*) and the 7-year cycle (which has no particular name) fall into this category.

(1) Week

A week is called a *torbaan*, a term derived from *torpu* (seven). A week consists of 7 days: *ahad*,

Table 4. Day of the Week, Object, and Town where Market is held

Day of the week	Object	Town where Market is held.
<i>ahad</i> (Sunday)	camel	Aro Bake
<i>alshinin</i> (Monday)	goats and sheep	Surupa
<i>talaada</i> (Tuesday)	Muslims	Finchawa
<i>aruba</i> (Wednesday)	bachelors, livestock	Agere Maryam
<i>kamis</i> (Thursday)	dead person	Arero
<i>gumaat</i> (Friday)	<i>gada</i> grade	Dubluk
<i>septi</i> (Saturday)	camel	Yabelo

Table 5. Gabra Miigo Personal Names Devised from the Day of the Week

	Names for Men	Names for Women
Sunday	Ibrahim, Ibreen, Ibrow, Ibraiye	Ma'ka, Makai, Ma'ke, Ma'ko
Monday	Mohamedo, Manmudi, Manmo	Faaduma, Fade
Tuesday	Isaako, Isaaq	Adiijo, Adijja
Wednesday	Ali, Aliow, Alo	Alim, Ale
Thursday	Hassan, Useen, Hassano	Abiiba, Abiibo, Abe
Friday	Adan, Edin, Adano, Eeda, Eedo	Awai, Awo, Awayo
Saturday	Abudo, Abudi, Abudulai, Abudulo	Midiin, Midiine, Abudia

alshinin, *talaada*, *aruba*, *kamis*, *gumaat*, and *septi* (Table 4). These names are identical in the Gabra Malbe system and have clearly been derived from the Hijra calendar. A day begins at sunset and ends at the following sunset. For example, *ahad* runs from Saturday sunset to Sunday sunset. For convenience, days of the week are translated into English as follows: *ahad* (Sunday), *alshinin* (Monday), *talaada* (Tuesday), *aruba* (Wednesday), *kamis* (Thursday), *gumaat* (Friday), and *septi* (Saturday).

Each day of the week has a connection with certain categories of livestock or people. For example, Saturday and Sunday is associated with camels; therefore, the Gabra Miigo prefer not to sell camels on these days of the week. Friday is related to the *gada* grade; members of this grade used to sing a blessing song in the *yaa* hamlet. Wednesday relates to bachelors and is a favored day for first-time marriages, whereas previously married men shun Wednesday weddings.

In the study area, each town holds once a week market (*gabaya*). Table 4 also shows the day of the week of the market of each town. People visit the market of the nearest town every week. Thus, the day of the week regulates human activities.

Popular names for children reference the day of the week on which they were born. Table 5 lists a number of these names.

(2) Seven-year Cycle

The Gabra Miigo also mark cycles of 7 years. Each solar year of the Gabra Miigo is named after the day of the week on which New Year's Day falls. A solar year consisting of 365 days has 52 weeks and 1 day. Therefore, New Year's Day and the last day of the solar year always fall on the same day of the week, and the next year begins on the next day of the week. For example, if the solar year begins on Sunday, it ends on Sunday, and the next year begins on Monday. Thus, New Year's Day will fall on Monday (or any other respective day of the week) every 7 years. The Gabra Miigo name each year after the day of the week of New Year's Day in that year; consequently, year names will be identical every 7 years. The 7-year cycle and New Year's Day are identical for the Gabra Miigo and Gabra Malbe, although the structures of the solar year differ to some degree.

In a precise sense, the solar year New Year's Day of the Gabra Miigo is the *uluqo*, or the first day of *bon hagaiya*. For example, the most recent "Sunday" year should have begun on 4

November 2001⁽⁸⁾. However, people tended to recognize the new year in advance if it were scheduled to occur after usual activities of the *ibid* (fire) ceremony (See Appendix Table). Thus, in actuality, on 22 July 2001 was considered the beginning of the most recent Sunday year, and on 21 July 2002 marked the end of the year. Advancing the calendar is a popular method of indicating the time of an event, as discussed in the next section. Therefore, we refer to the advanced solar calendar hereafter. The 7-year cycle is also important because it marks the time for promotion in the *gada* system, and people calculate their ages based on this cycle.

2.3. Time Representation Based on Social Matters

Time representation ideates the social organization as well as social activities. The Gabra Miigo ideate three social matters: (1) the most significant event of the solar year in the community, (2) specific ancestral generations, and (3) the age system.

(1) The Most Significant Event of the Year in the Community

The Gabra Miigo record an accurate chronological history by linking the most significant event of the year in the community to the 7-year cycle. For example, one of the Thursday years (8 August 1935–6 August 1936) is referred to as *kamis Italian kobat*, meaning “the Thursday year when the Italians invaded Ethiopia.” Similarly, another Thursday year (6 August 1942–5 August 1943) is named *kamis gari Negele gal*, or “the Thursday year when camels taken from the Gabra Miigo by *jigür* (Somali bandits) were retrieved at the town of Negele.” Yet another Thursday year (4 August 1949–3 August 1950) is *kamis Alio Abudi dü*, “the Thursday year when the enemy killed a famous Garre man called Alio Abudi.” Although there have been many Thursday years, reference to the most significant event of the year enables the Gabra Miigo to identify the year in question. A year is sometimes referenced by several different events. For instance, the Thursday year (6 August 1942–5 August 1943) of the camel theft/recovery is also called *kamis chura dege*, or “Thursday year of the airstrip,” after the airstrip installed by the British colonial government to provide food relief at Moyale. Those who lived in Moyale around that time refer to this year by the airstrip event.

By referring to the most significant annual event, the Gabra Miigo can put the 7-year cycles in order; thus, the time-representation of the 7-year cycles spirals consecutively upwards and can be matched to the Gregorian calendar, as shown in Table 6. The Gabra Malbe (Tablino 1989, 1999, Robinson 1985) and Somalis (Lewis 1994) keep similar accurate chronologies.

Naming the years in this manner also reflects which events are considered most important by the Gabra Miigo. Table 7 lists the events referred to in this time representation from 1915 to 2000. These significant events concern rites of passage, the Ethiopian state, war, plunder, important meetings, war between enemies, diseases of humans and livestock, natural disasters, and migration. More specific discussion of these event types follows.

Events concerned with rites of passage include the sacrifice of a holy camel (*rocho mola*) by candidates for *abba gada* (political-religious leader) such as in the year *talaada Wario Isako rocho mola kalat*, i.e., “the Tuesday year in which *abba gada* candidate Wario Isako sacrificed a holy camel” (8 August 1933–7 August 1934). The following year, *aruba Wario Isako dubo fud* indicates “the Wednesday year in which Wario Isako took the *gada* office” (8 August 1934–7 August 1935). After taking office, the newly installed *abba gada* sacrificed another holy camel called the *kalam*, as referenced by the year *kamis kalam Wario Isako*, “the Thursday year in which Wario Isako sacrificed a holy camel” (8 August 1935–6 August 1936).

A number of other years reference the Ethiopian state. The year *aruba Wario Isako dubo fud* is also called *aruba enna Muse* (8 August 1934–7 August 1935), or “the Wednesday year of the counting Muse,” records when the tax collector of the Ethiopian Empire, Muse, counted livestock and imposed a heavy tax. The year *alshinin gaf Rawin kasan* (1 August 1960–31 July 1961) indicates “the Monday year in which the Ethiopian government deported the Rahanwiin Somali from Ethiopia to Somalia.” In the year *ahad kiiba Moyale* (31 July 1966–30 July 1967), or “the Sunday year of the Moyale camp,” the Ethiopian government forced the Garre to settle in a camp near Moyale to more easily identify Garre guerrillas in the field. Further, the year *aruba mengistu baqat* (25 July 1990–24 July 1991) was the Wednesday year in

Table 6. Chronology of Gabra Miigo History

	Gregorian calendar	Year cycle	Most important annual event	Notes
Menelik II Period.	16 Aug 1897 – 15 Aug 1898	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>dubo Sora Ibrae</i>	Sora Ibrae initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	16 Aug 1898 – 15 Aug 1899	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	–	
	16 Aug 1899 – 15 Aug 1900	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	–	
	16 Aug 1900 – 15 Aug 1901	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	–	
	16 Aug 1901 – 15 Aug 1902	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	–	
	16 Aug 1902 – 15 Aug 1903	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	–	
	16 Aug 1903 – 14 Aug 1904	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	–	
	15 Aug 1904 – 14 Aug 1905	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	–	
	15 Aug 1905 – 14 Aug 1906	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	–	
	15 Aug 1906 – 14 Aug 1907	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>Wario Manmo dubo fud</i>	Wario Manmo initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	15 Aug 1907 – 13 Aug 1908	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>kalam Wario Manmo kalat</i>	Wario Manmo slaughtered a holy camel.
	14 Aug 1908 – 13 Aug 1909	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	–	
	14 Aug 1909 – 13 Aug 1910	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	–	
	14 Aug 1910 – 13 Aug 1911	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	–	
	14 Aug 1911 – 12 Aug 1912	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	–	
	13 Aug 1912 – 12 Aug 1913	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	–	
The First Part of the Haile Selassie Period.	13 Aug 1913 – 12 Aug 1914	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	–	
	13 Aug 1914 – 12 Aug 1915	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>Raso lali faje</i>	Raso Aro prepared for the <i>gada</i> .
	13 Aug 1915 – 11 Aug 1916	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>dubo Raso</i>	Raso Aro initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	12 Aug 1916 – 11 Aug 1917	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>kalam Raso kalat</i>	Raso Aro slaughtered a holy camel.
	12 Aug 1917 – 11 Aug 1918	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	–	
	12 Aug 1918 – 11 Aug 1919	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	–	
	12 Aug 1919 – 10 Aug 1920	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>shifla</i>	Highlanders, called <i>Tigre</i> *, attacked the Gabra Miigo.
	11 Aug 1920 – 10 Aug 1921	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>golbo bouan</i>	The Gabra Miigo escaped from the highlanders to Kenya.
	11 Aug 1921 – 10 Aug 1922	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>kalam didilwo</i>	Raso Aro slaughtered a small holy camel.
	11 Aug 1922 – 10 Aug 1923	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>qando</i>	Malaria killed people.
	11 Aug 1923 – 9 Aug 1924	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>Laei bouan/ nagau</i>	The Gabra Miigo returned to Laei/ peace
	10 Aug 1924 – 9 Aug 1925	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	<i>Geti rocho mola kalat</i>	Geti Guyo prepared for the <i>gada</i> .
	10 Aug 1925 – 9 Aug 1926	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>dubo Geti</i>	Geti Guyo initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	10 Aug 1926 – 9 Aug 1927	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>kalam Geti</i>	Geti Guyo slaughtered a holy camel.

	10 Aug 1927 – 8 Aug 1928	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	9 Aug 1928 – 8 Aug 1929	<i>hamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>awanisa</i>	Grasshoppers ate everything.
	9 Aug 1929 – 8 Aug 1930	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>Arero Ibrow dui/ qando eege</i>	Arero Ibrow, the elder of the Uchoot clan died./ Fever killed people.
	9 Aug 1930 – 8 Aug 1931	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	9 Aug 1931 – 7 Aug 1932	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	<i>olki guba</i>	War broke out between the Boran and the Garre.
	8 Aug 1932 – 7 Aug 1933	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>lagokusa</i>	Drought
	8 Aug 1933 – 7 Aug 1934	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>bisan yaan/ Wario Isako rocho mola kalat</i>	Heavy rain in Dirre./ Wario Isako prepared for the <i>gada</i> .
	8 Aug 1934 – 7 Aug 1935	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>Wario Isako dubo fud./ enna Muse./ бага</i>	Wario Isako initiated the <i>gada</i> ./ The Gabra Miigo paid heavy taxes to the Ethiopian Empire./ Smallpox.
Italian Occupation	8 Aug 1935 – 6 Aug 1936	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>Italian kobat./ halam Wario Isako</i>	Italian troops invaded./ Wario Isako slaughtered a holy camel.
	7 Aug 1936 – 6 Aug 1937	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	7 Aug 1937 – 6 Aug 1938	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	7 Aug 1938 – 6 Aug 1939	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	<i>Italian tat/ gua</i>	Italian troops were stationed./ Livestock were sick with <i>gua</i> .
	7 Aug 1939 – 5 Aug 1940	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>Liban Sara dui</i>	The Degodia killed the <i>hayu</i> of the Boran.
	6 Aug 1940 – 5 Aug 1941	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>Italian kae/ loon Borana fudan.</i>	Italian troops left./ The Gabra Miigo and the Garre robbed the Boran of cattle.
	6 Aug 1941 – 5 Aug 1942	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>Shonkow dui</i>	One British man, Mr. Shonkow, was killed in battle.
The Later Part of the Haile Selassie Period	6 Aug 1942 – 5 Aug 1943	<i>hamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>gali negele gal/ chira dege</i>	Cattle stolen by the Marrihan were returned at Negele./ The British colonial government was provisioned at Moyale.
	6 Aug 1943 – 4 Aug 1944	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>dubo Godana Galgalo</i>	Godana Galgalo initiated the <i>Gada</i> .
	5 Aug 1944 – 4 Aug 1945	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>kalam Godana kalatan</i>	Godana Galgalo slaughtered a holy camel.
	5 Aug 1945 – 4 Aug 1946	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	<i>korra Korrobo Medielta</i>	The Gabra Miigo held a grand meeting at Korrobo Medielta.
	5 Aug 1946 – 4 Aug 1947	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>Oditu haalan</i>	The Guji attacked the <i>Yaa</i> of the Boran and killed a holy <i>qallu</i> .
	5 Aug 1947 – 3 Aug 1948	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>misho/ kuma</i>	The British colonial government aided the Gabra Miigo./ The Gabra Miigo received a large amount of money.
	4 Aug 1948 – 3 Aug 1949	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>furri/ ruhani</i>	Camel sickness called <i>furri</i> ./ <i>Aiyaana</i> cult prevailed.
	4 Aug 1949 – 3 Aug 1950	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>Alio Abudi dui/ ola kola ji</i>	Marrihan killed an old Garre man./ drought
	4 Aug 1950 – 3 Aug 1951	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>misal/ ga'ba/ havanki</i>	Rain fattened up livestock. (all names have the same meaning)
	4 Aug 1951 – 2 Aug 1952	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>gababudu/ gali dukan</i>	Little rain/ Camels were sick with trypanosomiasis.
	3 Aug 1952 – 2 Aug 1953	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	<i>bube dimtu/ rocho mora halat</i>	Red wind (drought)./ Galgalo Dida prepared for the <i>gada</i> .
	3 Aug 1953 – 2 Aug 1954	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>dubo Galgalo Dida</i>	Galgalo Dida initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	3 Aug 1954 – 2 Aug 1955	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>kalam Galgalo Dida</i>	Galgalo Dida slaughtered a holy camel.
	3 Aug 1955 – 1 Aug 1956	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>shiflu dumt/ furri</i>	The Degodia attacked the Gabra Miigo./ Camels were sick with <i>furri</i> .
	2 Aug 1956 – 1 Aug 1957	<i>kamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>bagaa</i>	Smallpox
	2 Aug 1957 – 1 Aug 1958	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>diq</i>	The Gabra Miigo and the Boran were forced to pay blood money to the Amhara ruler

The Dergue Period.	2 Aug 1958 – 1 Aug 1959	septi (Sat.)	<i>gababa/ nagaa</i>	Little rain/ peace
	2 Aug 1959 – 31 Jul 1960	ahad (Sun.)	<i>ree mardarreba dumat</i>	Goats and sheep died of a disease called "mardarreba."
	1 Aug 1960 – 31 Jul 1961	alshinin (Mon.)	<i>gaf Rawin hasan</i>	Ethiopian government deported the Rahanwiin Somali from Ethiopia.
	1 Aug 1961 – 31 Jul 1962	talaada (Tue.)	<i>furri/ Abudi Boru rocho moru kalat</i>	Camels were sick with <i>furri</i> ./ Abudi Boru prepared for the <i>gada</i> .
	1 Aug 1962 – 31 Jul 1963	aruba (Wed.)	<i>dubo Abudi Boru</i>	Abudi Boru initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	1 Aug 1963 – 30 Jul 1964	kamis (Thu.)	<i>gaf dolyo adani/ olki Robou</i>	The Garre attacked the Dolvo clan village of the Gabra Miigo./ Robou War.
	31 Jul 1964 – 30 Jul 1965	gumaat (Fri.)	<i>olki/ Robou Haji Hassan du</i>	War./ The Boran killed the famous Garre, Robou Haji Hassan Gababa.
	31 Jul 1965 – 30 Jul 1966	septi (Sat.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	31 Jul 1966 – 30 Jul 1967	ahad (Sun.)	<i>wenji/ hiiba Moyale</i>	The Gabra Miigo went to Wenji to avoid the drought./ The Garre were forced to settle in a camp near Moyale.
	31 Jul 1967 – 29 Jul 1968	alshinin (Mon.)	<i>gali dukan</i>	Camels were sick with trypanosomiasis.
	30 Jul 1968 – 29 Jul 1969	talaada (Tue.)	<i>ola</i>	Drought
	30 Jul 1969 – 29 Jul 1970	aruba (Wed.)	<i>dabera Dirre debile</i>	The <i>Yaa</i> hamlet returned to Dirre
	30 Jul 1970 – 29 Jul 1971	kamis (Thu.)	<i>ola</i>	Drought in the Dirre area
	30 Jul 1971 – 28 Jul 1972	gumaat (Fri.)	<i>Abudi Satawa lalaban</i>	Abudi Satawa initiated the <i>gada</i> .
	29 Jul 1972 – 28 Jul 1973	septi (Sat.)	<i>kulam Abudi Satawa</i>	Abudi Satawa slaughtered a holy camel.
	29 Jul 1973 – 28 Jul 1974	ahad (Sun.)	<i>furri</i>	Camels were sick with <i>furri</i> .
	29 Jul 1974 – 28 Jul 1975	alshinin (Mon.)	<i>gaf Gomole kate/ Yabelo marsan/ hiiba Yabelo</i>	The Gabra Miigo escaped from the Boran to Somalia and Kenya./ The Gabra Miigo escaped to Yabelo./ Yabelo camp
	29 Jul 1975 – 27 Jul 1976	talaada (Tue.)	<i>qawe diba duft</i>	The Gabra Miigo received 100 guns from Somalia and became guerrillas.
	28 Jul 1976 – 27 Jul 1977	aruba (Wed.)	<i>belji duft</i>	The Gabra Miigo received Kalashnikovs made in Belgium from Somalia.
	28 Jul 1977 – 27 Jul 1978	kamis (Thu.)	<i>kalashi bae</i>	The Gabra Miigo received Kalashnikovs.
	28 Jul 1978 – 27 Jul 1979	gumaat (Fri.)	<i>kenya bouan</i>	Due to a counterattack by the Ethiopian government, the Gabra Miigo escaped to Kenya.
	28 Jul 1979 – 26 Jul 1980	septi (Sat.)	<i>Gabrili Moyale (Yabelo) go ddaan</i>	Some Gabra Miigo returned to Ethiopia from Kenya.
	27 Jul 1980 – 26 Jul 1981	ahad (Sun.)	<i>bohe/ Gabriti Aro Bake ho-bate</i>	Mosquito/ The Gabra Miigo were forced to settle in Aro Bake.
	27 Jul 1981 – 26 Jul 1982	alshinin (Mon.)	<i>gaf gomole debie/ nagaa</i>	Some Gabra Miigo came back to Ethiopia from Kenya./ peace
	27 Jul 1982 – 26 Jul 1983	talaada (Tue.)	<i>Adano Tulo lalifat/ ola</i>	Adano Tulo prepared for the <i>Gada</i> ./ drought
	27 Jul 1983 – 25 Jul 1984	aruba (Wed.)	<i>ola</i>	Drought
	26 Jul 1984 – 25 Jul 1985	kamis (Thu.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	26 Jul 1985 – 25 Jul 1986	gumaat (Fri.)	<i>nu Bahe tene</i>	The Gabra Miigo lived peacefully in Aro Bake.
	26 Jul 1986 – 25 Jul 1987	septi (Sat.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	26 Jul 1987 – 24 Jul 1988	ahad (Sun.)	<i>lafti sochoot</i>	Earthquake
	25 Jul 1988 – 24 Jul 1989	alshinin (Mon.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace

EPRDF Period.	25 Jul 1989 – 24 Jul 1990	<i>talaada</i> (Tue.)	<i>kalam Adano Tulo</i>	Adano Tulo slaughtered a holy camel.
	25 Jul 1990 – 24 Jul 1991	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>mengistu baqat (deete)</i>	The <i>Dergue</i> regime collapsed.
	25 Jul 1991 – 23 Jul 1992	<i>hamis</i> (Thu.)	<i>olki wol adan</i>	War broke out between the Boran and Gabra Miigo.
	24 Jul 1992 – 23 Jul 1993	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>ola</i>	Drought
	24 Jul 1993 – 23 Jul 1994	<i>septi</i> (Sat.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	24 Jul 1994 – 23 Jul 1995	<i>ahad</i> (Sun.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	24 Jul 1995 – 22 Jul 1996	<i>alshinin</i> (Mon.)	<i>nagaa/ Guji Dalaasa hade</i>	Peace/ The Guji attacked the Dalaasa Somali.
	23 Jul 1996 – 22 Jul 1997	<i>talaada</i> (Tues.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	23 Jul 1997 – 22 Jul 1998	<i>aruba</i> (Wed.)	<i>hagaiya gabo</i>	Heavy rain in <i>hagaiya</i> .
	23 Jul 1998 – 22 Jul 1999	<i>kamis</i> (Thur.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace
	23 Jul 1999 – 21 Jul 2000	<i>gumaat</i> (Fri.)	<i>nagaa</i>	Peace

*: This Highlander, who is called *Tigre*, is the different people from the Tigray.

Table 7. Significant Events in the Chronology

Events	Total
Transition rites	21
Peace (since 1915)	17
Ethiopian state (excluding the war)	17
Disease of human beings and livestock	13
War	13
Natural disasters	14
War between enemies	5
Blessings of nature	4
Migration	4
Plunder	1
Death of a famous man*	1
Important meeting	1
Other	1
Total	112

*: An event that concerns the death of a famous man during war was placed in the war category.

which the *Dergue* regime collapsed.

Natural disaster years record notable events such as *ola* (drought), *gababa* ("short," implying little rain), and *lafti sochoot* (earthquake).

Events concerned with human disease include *qando* (fever, malaria), *bohe* (mosquito, or malaria), and *bagu* (smallpox), while years recording livestock disease have marked diseases such as *furri* (an unknown disease with symptom of runny nose) and *dukan* (trypanosomiasis) in camels and *mardarreba* (an unknown fatal disease) in goats and sheep.

War years are usually called *olki* (war), as in the year *kamis olki wol adan* (25 July 1991–23 July 1992), "the Thursday year of the mutual attack war." Years have also been named after events related to conflict, including the year *talaada qawe diba duft* (29 July 1975–27 July 1976), "the Tuesday year when 100 guns came"; the year *aruba Belji duft* (28 July 1976–27 July 1977), "the Wednesday year when guns made in Belgium came"; and the year *kamis kalash bae* (28 July 1977–27 July 1978), "the Thursday year of the Kalashnikov automatic rifle."

These guns were gifts from the Somali government, which intended to annex the Ogaden region of Ethiopia.

Year names also record *nagaa* (peace) such as *septi nagaa* (31 July 1965–30 July 1966), “the Saturday year of peace.” However, a year of “peace” is not always entirely peaceful. Even in the Saturday year of peace, three men were killed and two were seriously injured by the neighboring Boran⁽⁴⁾. Such small-scale murder conducted by a few men is called *gaada* and differs from *olki* (full-scale war) or *dula*, or traditional plunder by scores of men controlled by a leader (*abba dula*). While the family of the *gaada* victim would have suffered, for the Gabra Miigo as a whole, the event would have been minor and thus not recorded as the most significant event of that year.

As illustrated above, the time representation of the Gabra Miigo reflects significant events in the community. In this way, time representation plays a complementary role for the Gabra Miigo in remembering and referencing details of their collective memory.

(2) Specific Ancestral Generations

As previously noted, Gabra Miigo society is patrilineally organized, and people can often trace their patrilineage back 9–15 generations. The ancestors also serve as reference points of time for descent groups; therefore, the distance between two generations is taken as a distance of time.

The Gabra Miigo use specific ancestral generations to refer to events that occurred within the last several generations. When they refer to an event that occurred in much older times, they use the time representation of the age system examined in the next section.

Families commonly refer to time by three generational steps that have linguistically differentiated terms: grandfather (*ahaho*), grandmother (*ako*), father (*aba*), and mother (*ayo*). However, at the community level, the specific name of a male ancestor is often given as a reference point. The Gabra Miigo know not only their own patrilineal lines, but also the patrilineal lines of other community members over several generations; such knowledge enables the Gabra Miigo to make use of this time representation in the community.

As noted above, many Gabra Miigo names are associated with a day of the week, time of day, or seasons. Names can also reflect events, such as rituals or the shifting of a hamlet. The Gabra Miigo use no family or middle names. As this naming system provides for only a limited number of names, many people share the same name; thus, nicknames are sometimes used. The Gabra Miigo may refer to a specific person using a combination of his/her father's and grandfather's names. For example, many men are named Ibrahim. Thus, one Ibrahim may be called Ibrahim Boru, meaning the Ibrahim who is the son of Boru. However, if there are several Ibrahim Boru in the community, the name Ibrahim Boru Galgalo, meaning Ibrahim who is the son of Boru and grandson of Galgalo, may be used. By necessity, the Gabra Miigo remember the names of the fathers and grandfathers of other community members and use time representation to refer to specific ancestral generations in the community.

(3) The Age System

Pastoral societies in East Africa have developed an age system based on age and generation. The age system of the Gabra Miigo, known as *gada*, is based on generations, and every man belongs to one of nine generation sets throughout his lifetime. The generation sets are divided into three lines (*gogeesa*): line 1 consists of *Libale*, *Silgudo*, *Margudo*; line 2 consists of *Dibgudo*, *Desmala*, *Melgusa*; and line 3 consists of *Elguba*, *Desgudo*, *Irmangudo*. Family relations (i.e., grandfather, father, or son) determine the generation set. For example, if the grandfather belongs to *Libale*, the father belongs to *Silgudo*, the individual himself belongs to *Margudo*, his son also belongs to *Libale*, and his grandson belongs to *Silgudo*.

The nine generation sets form the ladder of generation grades. Each generation set regularly moves up a grade every 9 or 10 years. Promotion to the next *gada* grade is regulated by the 7-year cycle. For example, “line-1” generation sets hold rites of passage in Wednesday years, line 2 holds rites in Friday years, and line 3 holds rites in Monday years (see Figure 2). In other words, the line-1 and line-3 generation sets stay in their *gada* grade for 9 years, while

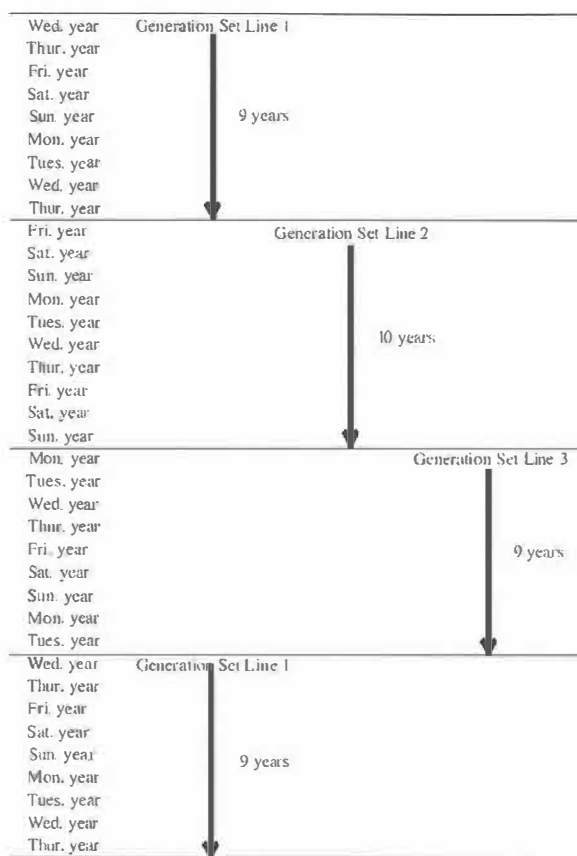


Figure 2. The Year of Promotion Rite and the Tenure of the *gada* office.

the line-2 generation sets remain in their *gada* grade for 10 years.

The generation set in the *gada* grade plays an important role in rituals and arbitration. Each moiety elects a *hayu* who represents the *gada*-grade generation set. The *hayu* of the east moiety (*beri*) is called the *abba gada* (political-religious leader) and is superior to the *hayu* of the west moiety (*beri*). There have been 24 *abba gadas* (Table 8), and the names of successive *abba gadas* also represent time for the Gabra Miigo.

2-4. Characteristics of Time Representation among the Gabra Miigo

This section compares time representations of the Gabra Miigo to those of neighboring societies. The Gabra Miigo's perception of time resembles that of the Somali more than that of the Oromo. The Boran Oromo have an accurate lunar-solar calendar (Asmarom 1973, Doyle 1986, Bassi 1988), while the Mijertain Somali have separate lunar and solar calendars (Lewis 1994). The Boran calendar has a leap month every third year to close the gap between the lunar and solar years, while the Mijertain do not have a leap system and use both calendars individually. The Mijertain solar calendar consists of two parts: one part has 6 months of 30 days and the other has 7 months calculated by the occultation of the star Spica (Lewis 1994: 63). The Gabra Miigo use their lunar and solar calendars separately; this use most resembles the practices of the Mijertain. However, the structure of the solar year in the Gabra Miigo calendar is completely different from that in the Mijertain calendar.

Cultural symbols of time representation of the Gabra Miigo also resemble those of the Somali. For example, the Mijertain Somali represent time based on 7-day weeks. In contrast, the Boran Oromo use a cycle of 27 days⁽⁵⁾. The Mijertain also represent time based on a 7-year cycle and by the most significant annual event in the community (Lewis 1994: 64);

Table 8. Successive *abba gadas* and generation sets

	Name of <i>abba gada</i>	line 1	line 2	line 3
1	Hare Guto	<i>Libale</i>		
2	Adan Ado		<i>Dibgudo</i>	
3	Ilmale Hare			<i>Elguba</i>
4	Manimo Boru	<i>Silgudo</i>		
5	Abudi Tuka		<i>Desmala</i>	
6	Wario Boru			<i>Desgudo</i>
7	Abudi Sora	<i>Margudo</i>		
8	Ali Jarso		<i>Melgusa</i>	
9	Iro Asano			<i>Irmangudo</i>
10	Manimo Moga	<i>Libale</i>		
11	Adano Abudi		<i>Dibgudo</i>	
12	Angule Ibrow			<i>Elguba</i>
13	Guyo Ado	<i>Silgudo</i>		
14	Sora Tulu		<i>Desmala</i>	
15	Sora Ibrae			<i>Desgudo</i>
16	Wario Manmo	<i>Margudo</i>		
17	Raso Aro		<i>Melgusa</i>	
18	Geti Guyo			<i>Irmangudo</i>
19	Wario Isako	<i>Libale</i>		
20	Godana Galgalo		<i>Dibgudo</i>	
21	Galgalo Dida			<i>Elguba</i>
22	Abudi Boru	<i>Silgudo</i>		
23	Abudi Satawa		<i>Desmala</i>	
24	Adano Tulo			<i>Desgudo</i>

these features are not part of Boran time representations. The Garre Somali and Gabra Miigo have similar names for the 12 months, and the revolutions of the 12 months also correspond in both systems (Schlee 1989). In contrast, the Boran have completely different names for the 12 months (See Table 3). Further, the 12-month revolution of the Boran does not correspond to that of the Gabra Miigo because the Boran have a leap month every third year. Although the Gabra Miigo speak an Oromo language, their calendar structure most resembles that of the Somali.

3. SOCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF COHERENT KNOWLEDGE OF TIME

Knowledge of time is unevenly distributed within Gabra Miigo society. We should differentiate two types of time-related knowledge: practical and coherent. Practical knowledge is used in daily life. This type of knowledge is not necessarily consistent and is often fragmented. However, those societal members with coherent knowledge of time can give a full account to the time structure and can relate time to other social or ritual activities and elements of cultural importance. Therefore, the following section focuses on the social distribution of coherent time-related knowledge within Gabra Miigo society.

Coherent knowledge related to days, months, lunar years, seasons, and weeks is evenly distributed in Gabra Miigo society. Everyone interviewed in this study was able to explain the structure of these time representations. However, coherent knowledge of the solar year and 7-year cycle was unequally distributed. Only two elderly Gabra Miigo men in the research area could explain the structure of these two time representations. In contrast, most male non-Muslims of the Gabra Malbe had a coherent knowledge of the solar year and 7-year

cycle. This difference may have emerged during the re-Islamization of the Gabra Miigo, as discussed in the following section.

Elder males hold much of the coherent knowledge of time as referenced by the most significant community event of the year. This coherent knowledge preserves historical memories as recorded in the time-representation system. As practical knowledge, people mention this time-representation system when referring to personal events. However, people sometimes also wish to explain past collective events in connection with the significant event. This referencing of time becomes especially prevalent when the community as a whole faces a problem that could be placed in a broader context by referencing past events. Such a situation requires coherent knowledge of time and its associated events. The elder men can generally explain the details of past significant events, and some men have a more comprehensive knowledge than others. The holders of this knowledge can provide details on the causes, effects, and background of events such as state policy and important participants. These men are regarded as the *qarole* (wise persons) and lead the discussion at meetings.

More men than women have coherent knowledge of time as related to specific ancestral generations. In this category of time representation, coherent knowledge means knowledge of the patrilineal ancestors of others. Compared to women, men generally have a wider sphere of activities. The unequal distribution of coherent knowledge of ancestral-based time representation may reflect gender differences in activity spheres.

A few elderly men hold the most coherent knowledge of the time-based age system. In this case, coherent knowledge refers to knowledge of the names of the *abba gadas*. Although there have been only 24 *abba gadas*, most Gabra Miigo cannot name them all and can only trace back several *abba gadas*. In daily life, there is generally little need to recall the names, and only a few *qarole* can list all *abba gadas*. Knowing these names also indicates knowledge of associated historical memories inherited from past generations. Those who know the names of *abba gadas* can connect these names to events as early as the eighteenth century by this method of time representation and can use this knowledge for persuasion purposes at meetings.

4. ADVANCE OF ISLAM AND DECLINE OF THE AGE SYSTEM

Schlee (1989: 143) proposed that the advance of Islam has led to a decline in the *gada* system. This section examines the loss of interest in the age system (and associated time representations) among the Gabra Miigo as Islam has advanced in their society. Three time representations relate to the age system: the solar year, the 7-year cycle, and the age system.

Today, most Gabra Miigo practice Islam, although their level of faith has varied in recent history. The Gabra Miigo generally believe that they had originally adhered to Islam but gave up their faith when the Boran established control over the Gabra Miigo. However, informants did not agree on when the Boran took control. Three informants each listed a different *abba gada* of the Boran at the time of this event: Gobba⁽⁶⁾, Abayi Babo⁽⁷⁾, and Gadayo⁽⁸⁾. According to Asmaron (1973: 191), Gobba Alla held the *abba gada* office from 1698 to 1705; Abayi Babo held the office from 1667 to 1674; and Gadayo was *abba gada* sometime before 1579. Thus, from these dates and names, we can estimate that the Gabra Miigo renounced Islam in the 16th or 17th century.

Islam regained a hold in the society in the 1950s under the influence of the pan-Somalism political movement. Re-Islamization accelerated from 1974 to 1988, during which time many Gabra Miigo lived in United Nations refugee camps in Somalia and sent their children to Quranic schools. These young Gabra Miigo became ardent followers of Allah. In daily life, younger generations, as well as teachers of Islam (*sheik*), follow the *diina*, a modified Islamic guidance system that mixes Somali and Arab cultures, rather than the non-Islamic traditional customs (*aada*). Under the *diina*, Islamic values as well as elements of Somali and Arab cultures have grown more dominant in Gabra Miigo society, and non-Islamic values have declined.

Gabra Miigo informants stated that they had been ignorant when they followed *aada* be-

cause they did not know how to pray to Allah. They said that they prayed to the *abba gada* in those days, instead of God. Islam does not allow the worship of human beings, and informants said that when they understood the teachings of Islam, they began to love the *diina* (modified Islamic guidance) rather than the *aada*.

According to the 23rd *abba gada*, Abudi Satawa, many Gabra Miigo began to follow the *diina* around the end of the leadership of *abba gada* Abudi Boru between a Wednesday year (1962–1963) and a Thursday year (1970–1971). Much discussion was said to have focused on whether to follow the *diina* or the *aada*. During the *abba gada* leadership of Abudi Satawa in the following Friday year (1971–1972) to Tuesday year (1982–1983), people tended to favor the *diina* over the *aada*, although both Muslim and non-Muslim (*kufar*) were present in Adudi Satawa's *yaa* hamlet. Only Muslims fasted during the month of *soom*. The ritual ceremonies of the *yaa* hamlet, which had been regarded as the center of the *aada*, were replaced by Quranic verses, and even non-Muslims joined in the Quranic verses.

Abudi Satawa was expected to hold the *abba gada* office for 10 years from a Friday year to a Sunday year, but he actually remained in office until a Tuesday year, thereby extending his leadership to 12 years. He remained in the *abba gada* office longer because his successor, Adano Tulo, and those who were supposed to build the new *yaa* hamlet with Adano Tulo were unwilling to take the office⁽⁹⁾ because they preferred the *diina* to the *aada*. In the end, Adano Tulo and his associates built the new *yaa* hamlet after a 2-year delay. However, no candidate has wished to be *abba gada* since that time, and the office of *abba gada* has been eliminated from Gabra Miigo society⁽¹⁰⁾.

As Islam grew stronger in Gabra Miigo society, fewer people followed the *aada*. Consequently, time representation referring to the age system based on *abba gada* names has ceased to production. The Gabra Miigo have also stopped organizing their society around the generation sets fundamental to the age system. Most persons under the age of 30 cannot name their generation set or the structure of the traditional age system. This situation contrasts with that of the non-Muslim Gabra Malbe, who are still organized by the age system.

The advance of Islam has also affected time representation by the solar year and the 7-year cycle. The solar year regulates the timing of the *ibid* (fire) and *almado* (milk offering) ceremonies. However, Islamic teachers (*sheikh*) have advised the Gabra Miigo to abolish these rituals, which they have condemned as a cult to evil spirits. People have abandoned these rituals, and consequently the importance of the solar year has diminished. Today, most Gabra Miigo do not know the details of the solar year. Many forget when New Year's Day should begin. Although the Gabra Miigo still follow the 7-year cycle, many incorrectly determine the cycle by merely following the weekday names of the years. In contrast, the Gabra Malbe precisely follow the solar year as well as the 7-year cycle. In place of the solar year, the lunar year (*waga*) is becoming important among the Gabra Miigo, because Islam regulates rites such as Ramadan by the lunar year. As the Gabra Miigo have become more devoted to Islam, the importance of the lunar year has increased, whereas the importance of the solar year and the 7-year cycle have declined.

This background helps to explain the unequal coherent knowledge of time representations based on the solar year and the 7-year cycle, which regulate the age system. During this research, only two men in the Surupa area had coherent knowledge of these time representations. Thus, Islam has led to a loss of interest in the age system.

5. INCREASED IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL MEMORIES IN THE MODERN CONTEXT

The advance of Islam has effectively extinguished the age system and has eroded the knowledge of time representation based on the solar year and the 7-year cycle. However, at the same time, in the modern context, time representation that refers to the age system and significant community events has increased in social importance.

The Gabra Miigo currently face a dilemma created by the Ethiopian government's adoption of a federal system based on ethnic groups and languages. The government has di-

vided the country into nine ethnically based states and two self-governing administrations. Major ethnic groups such as the Tigray, Afar, Oromo, and Somali enjoy self determination within these ethnically based states (*kilili*) as well as at the zone (*kabale*) level. Many minorities have also been allowed to establish their own self governments at the district (*warada*) level. However, by choosing one of the major ethnic groups as their ethnic identity, minority groups can acquire greater political rights and offices.

Oromo scholars have proposed that groups called the *gabra*, *gabaro*, *gabare*, and *ilma garba* were assimilated by the Oromo (Mohammed 1994, Oba 1996, Triulzi 1996). During the 17th century, these peoples were conquered, enslaved by the “pure” Oromo; these groups were assimilated into Oromo society through patron-client (*tirriiso*) relationships and peaceful clan alliances (*gosa*) around the 19th century. In fact, the Gabra Miigo themselves claim that they were conquered and treated as *garbicha* (slaves) and were named after slaves by the Boran. However, the Gabra Miigo do not necessarily regard their ethnic identity as Oromo.

The identities of marginal people such as the Gabra Miigo face flux in response to the current cultural, political, and economic situations. The Gabra Miigo waver between identifying with Somali and Oromo ethnicity according to local political situations and recognize the importance of choosing either a Somali or Oromo ethnic identity to survive and acquire better political rights. The Boran Oromo and Garre Somali of southern Ethiopia have had numerous conflicts over land and water resources. The Gabra Miigo have also become involved, making these conflicts three sided. Choosing their ethnicity has allowed the Gabra Miigo to form an alliance with the chosen ethnic group. For example, the Gabra Miigo identified themselves as Somali together with the Garre Somali on the verge of the Ogaden war; this alliance won the Gabra Miigo support from the Somali government from 1975–1978.

Today, the Gabra Miigo have begun to reconsider whether they should identify with the Somali or the Oromo under the new political situation. In general, the Gabra Miigo dislike the neighboring Garre Somali as well as the Boran Oromo. Occasional murders of Gabra Miigo by the Garre have also occurred in the Moyale area since Ethiopia introduced the ethnic-based federal system. The Garre wish to establish Moyale as an official regional territory with the help of the Gabra Miigo, but the Gabra Miigo have been reluctant to join the Garre. Gabra Miigo informants also said that the word “Somali” reminded them of the chaos of the Somali Democratic Republic. The Boran have also attacked the Gabra Miigo numerous times. A particularly violent year of Boran attacks occurred in the year *alshinin gaf Gomole kate* (29 July 1974–28 July 1975), “the Monday year of the escape the Boran from Gomole area.” The decision between Somali or Oromo ethnic identity is thus difficult.

The Gabra Miigo have held meetings to discuss this issue since 1994 when Ethiopia introduced the ethnic-based federal system. Proponents of Oromo ethnicity present the following argument. The Gabra Miigo currently reside separately in the Surupa, Arero, Moyale, and Negele areas of the Yabelo and Liban zones. Oromo such as the Guji and Boran represent the majority in these areas, with the exception of Moyale. Therefore, these proponents argue that the Gabra Miigo should be Oromo or else risk trouble with neighboring Guji and Boran. However, proponents of the Somali side argue that the Gabra Miigo, who had little formal schooling in the *Dergue* era (1974–1991), would be at a disadvantage relative to the well educated Oromo groups in gaining public positions in the Oromiya region. However, the Gabra Miigo may have a better chance of gaining public positions in the Somalia region, where the chaos of war also prevented schooling of the Somali people during the *Dergue* era. The Somali advocates contend that winning public political positions would help empower the Gabra Miigo. Thus, both groups have rational reasons for identifying with Somali or Oromo ethnicity.

Differences in opinion threatened to split the Gabra Miigo into two factions. To avoid such a divide, the Gabra Miigo began to discuss the issue, referring to cultural features, language, and religion. In other words, they attempted to solve the problem from an essentialist viewpoint. However, the Gabra Miigo have cultural features in common with both the Somali and the Oromo. The culture of the Gabra Miigo resembles that of the Somali. For example, both groups keep camels, live in dome-shaped huts covered with roof mats (*dase*), believe in Islam, and sing a special blessing song (*dikiir*) in the Somali language. However,

the Gabra Miigo speak an Oromo dialect and until recently have kept the *gada* age system, which was particular to Oromo groups. Cultural similarities do not provide a conclusive solution to the issue. Therefore, the Gabra Miigo have begun to develop a great interest in their historical memories to trace their origin. As the social value of historical memories has increased, so too has the value of knowledge of time referring to significant community events and the age system. Although interest in these time references has declined with the re-adoption of Islam, the context of the modern political system has re-kindled interest in these traditions.

Persons regarded as well informed in the time-based historical memories have become "experts" and have begun to act as leaders during meetings. As noted above, the Gabra Miigo have abandoned the age system. After the 24th *abba gada* Adano Tulo, they gave up building the *yaa* hamlets that functioned as the centers for traditional religion and arbitration. Instead, they organized a new committee called the *taaliya*. The Gabra Miigo claim that the *taaliya* was part of their ancient political system that existed before the age system was introduced; the Somali also have a similar political system. The choice of the *taaliya* political system reflects the re-Islamization of the Gabra Miigo. The *taaliya* committee arbitrates internal disputes and negotiates with the Ethiopian federal government as well as the Oromo state government. The Gabra Miigo elect *taaliya* committee members from each clan who are well informed in the policy trends of these governments, have broad historical memories based on the time-representation system, and/or are eloquent communicators.

One of the *taaliya* leader is popularly known as the "*abba gada*." However, he is not elected through the traditional promotion rites of the *gada* system; therefore, although the terms are the same, the *abba gada* of the *taaliya* is completely different from the traditional *abba gada*. The traditional *abba gada* did not lead the discussion nor voice his opinion before other participants had freely discussed issues and reached conclusions. The most important role of the traditional *abba gada* was to confirm the conclusion that participants had reached. In this sense, the traditional *abba gada* was not a "leader," but a "follower" in the acephalous society. In contrast, the *taaliya* leader speaks frequently and leads the discussion. He summons the *taaliya* committee for confidential discussion on the issue of their ethnic identity before and after general meetings. He also tries to align the course of the discussion in the general meetings with the ideas of the *taaliya*.

This phenomenon suggests that the Gabra Miigo are forming a top-down style of society. The *taaliya* committee has become the leader, and other community members have become the followers. On one hand, the *taaliya* committee is seeking the best path for the Gabra Miigo under the rule of the Ethiopian federal system. The committee and the community must evaluate the merits and shortcomings of the two ethnic identities and decide on the better option. However, leaders are also using the historical memories to persuade others. By monopolizing knowledge of historical memories, the *taaliya* committee members gain legitimacy for their assertions. Tannenbaum (1988) explored the social distribution of calendrical knowledge in connection with the distribution of power in Shan society, which is hierarchically organized. The Gabra Miigo, which used to be an acephalous society, are now developing a top-down leadership style and a centralized society as a reaction to the modern State. In this process, power is based on the distribution of knowledge about the Ethiopian modern political system as well as historical memories based on the traditional system of time representation.

NOTES

- (1) Possible explanations for the previous neglect of the Gabra Miigo by anthropologists are as follows. First, the Gabra Miigo have not been well known. The minority Gabra Miigo live among majorities such as the Boran Oromo, the Guji Oromo, and the Garre Somali and thus may have been lost within these majority populations. In contrast, the Gabra Malbe have been quite visible to anthropologists because they alone occupy the Charbi Desert. Second, it had been difficult for anthropologists to find the Gabra Miigo, who often fled when anthropologists attempted to

- conduct field research in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya in the 1950s. At that time, the Gabra Miigo were often fleeing from enemies and moved around a large territory. For example, they fled from the Garre Somali in southern Ethiopia in 1964–1965, and they fled from the Boran Oromo and Guji Oromo to Somalia and Kenya between 1974 and 1988.
- (2) Hereafter, these peoples are referred to simply as the Boran, the Guji, and the Garre, except when a distinction is required between Somali or Oromo groups.
 - (3) By Tablino's (1989, 1999) calculations, New Year's Day of the Gabra Malbe solar year is in perfect unison with that of the Gabra Miigo.
 - (4) This incident was related to the age system of the Boran. The Boran were well known for their precise age system (*gada*). They tended to raid neighboring pastoral people and collect penises (*qutu*) as trophies when they were advancing to the *raabagrade* (Schlee 1998: 128).
 - (5) Asmarom (1973: 181) provided the following names for the days in the Boran 27-day cycle: *Garladuma, Sonsa, Rurruma, Lumasa, Gidada, Ruda, Areri Dura, Areri Ballo, Adula Dura, Adula Balla, Garba Dura, Garba Balla, Garba Dullacha, Bitä Kara, Bitä Lama, Sorsa, Algajima, Arb, Walla, Basa Dura, Basa Ballo, Carra, Maganatti Jarra, Maganatti Briti, Saiban Dura, Saiban Balla, and Saiban Dullacha*.
 - (6) Abudi Ali Intalo (born in 1929, Wor Aba Chesa clan, interviewed on 27 Sep 2002, Surupa area).
 - (7) Wario Boru Adan (born in 1918, Adotile clan, interviewed 20 Feb 2004, Surupa area).
 - (8) Malichi Galhole Boronjo (Kabarkal clan, interviewed on 8 Oct 2002, Surupa area).
 - (9) Eso Boru, who was the 24th *hayu* of the west moiety, built the *yaa* hamlet with the late 24th *aba gada*, Adano Tulo. Eso Boru denied the assertion of the 23rd *aba gada*, Abudi Satawa, saying that the delay was not due to an unwillingness to take office but rather because of the poor security situation. The next leadership was supposed to take office in the Monday year (1981–1982), but this change was postponed until the Wednesday year (1983–1984). Eso Boru noted that security was so poor even in the Wednesday year (1983–1984) around the Web area where the new *yaa* hamlet should have been built that they built their *yaa* hamlet around the Aro Bake area instead. Eso Boru's explanation is logical and consistent with the historical situation. However, many interviews also supported Abudi Satawa's assertion, especially his view on the advance of Islam. Thus, Abudi Satawa's assertion is adopted in the text.
 - (10) This paper is based on the field work conducted between 2000 and 2002. Around that time, the Gabra Miigo struggled to choose their ethnic identity. However, the Gabra Miigo have chosen their ethnic identity as the Oromo in 2004. The Gabra Miigo also reestablished the *yaa* hamlet and elected *hayu* and *abba gada*, because those are cultural symbol of the Oromo. Thus, the time representation referring to the age system based on *abba gada* names has been revived.

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Appendix Table. The Gabra Miigo year in relation to the Gregorian calendar

Year Name	New Year's Day*	First day of the year taken in advance**	Year Name	New Year's Day*	First day of the year taken in advance**
Monday yr.	29 Nov 1897	16 Aug 1897	Saturday yr.	17 Nov 1951	4 Aug 1951
Tuesday yr.	29 Nov 1898	16 Aug 1898	Sunday yr.	16 Nov 1952	3 Aug 1952
Wednesday yr.	29 Nov 1899	16 Aug 1899	Monday yr.	16 Nov 1953	3 Aug 1953
Thursday yr.	29 Nov 1900	16 Aug 1900	Tuesday yr.	16 Nov 1954	3 Aug 1954
Friday yr.	29 Nov 1901	16 Aug 1901	Wednesday yr.	16 Nov 1955	3 Aug 1955
Saturday yr.	29 Nov 1902	16 Aug 1902	Thursday yr.	15 Nov 1956	2 Aug 1956
Sunday yr.	29 Nov 1903	16 Aug 1903	Friday yr.	15 Nov 1957	2 Aug 1957
Monday yr.	28 Nov 1904	15 Aug 1904	Saturday yr.	15 Nov 1958	2 Aug 1958
Tuesday yr.	28 Nov 1905	15 Aug 1905	Sunday yr.	15 Nov 1959	2 Aug 1959
Wednesday yr.	28 Nov 1906	15 Aug 1906	Monday yr.	14 Nov 1960	1 Aug 1960
Thursday yr.	28 Nov 1907	15 Aug 1907	Tuesday yr.	14 Nov 1961	1 Aug 1961
Friday yr.	27 Nov 1908	14 Aug 1908	Wednesday yr.	14 Nov 1962	1 Aug 1962
Saturday yr.	27 Nov 1909	14 Aug 1909	Thursday yr.	14 Nov 1963	1 Aug 1963
Sunday yr.	27 Nov 1910	14 Aug 1910	Friday yr.	13 Nov 1964	31 Jul 1964
Monday yr.	27 Nov 1911	14 Aug 1911	Saturday yr.	13 Nov 1965	31 Jul 1965
Tuesday yr.	26 Nov 1912	13 Aug 1912	Sunday yr.	13 Nov 1966	31 Jul 1966
Wednesday yr.	26 Nov 1913	13 Aug 1913	Monday yr.	13 Nov 1967	31 Jul 1967
Thursday yr.	26 Nov 1914	13 Aug 1914	Tuesday yr.	12 Nov 1968	30 Jul 1968
Friday yr.	26 Nov 1915	13 Aug 1915	Wednesday yr.	12 Nov 1969	30 Jul 1969
Saturday yr.	25 Nov 1916	12 Aug 1916	Thursday yr.	12 Nov 1970	30 Jul 1970
Sunday yr.	25 Nov 1917	12 Aug 1917	Friday yr.	12 Nov 1971	30 Jul 1971
Monday yr.	25 Nov 1918	12 Aug 1918	Saturday yr.	11 Nov 1972	29 Jul 1972
Tuesday yr.	25 Nov 1919	12 Aug 1919	Sunday yr.	11 Nov 1973	29 Jul 1973
Wednesday yr.	24 Nov 1920	11 Aug 1920	Monday yr.	11 Nov 1974	29 Jul 1974
Thursday yr.	24 Nov 1921	11 Aug 1921	Tuesday yr.	11 Nov 1975	29 Jul 1975
Friday yr.	24 Nov 1922	11 Aug 1922	Wednesday yr.	10 Nov 1976	28 Jul 1976
Saturday yr.	24 Nov 1923	11 Aug 1923	Thursday yr.	10 Nov 1977	28 Jul 1977
Sunday yr.	23 Nov 1924	10 Aug 1924	Friday yr.	10 Nov 1978	28 Jul 1978
Monday yr.	23 Nov 1925	10 Aug 1925	Saturday yr.	10 Nov 1979	28 Jul 1979
Tuesday yr.	23 Nov 1926	10 Aug 1926	Sunday yr.	9 Nov 1980	27 Jul 1980
Wednesday yr.	23 Nov 1927	10 Aug 1927	Monday yr.	9 Nov 1981	27 Jul 1981
Thursday yr.	22 Nov 1928	9 Aug 1928	Tuesday yr.	9 Nov 1982	27 Jul 1982
Friday yr.	22 Nov 1929	9 Aug 1929	Wednesday yr.	9 Nov 1983	27 Jul 1983
Saturday yr.	22 Nov 1930	9 Aug 1930	Thursday yr.	8 Nov 1984	26 Jul 1984
Sunday yr.	22 Nov 1931	9 Aug 1931	Friday yr.	8 Nov 1985	26 Jul 1985
Monday yr.	21 Nov 1932	8 Aug 1932	Saturday yr.	8 Nov 1986	26 Jul 1986
Tuesday yr.	21 Nov 1933	8 Aug 1933	Sunday yr.	8 Nov 1987	26 Jul 1987
Wednesday yr.	21 Nov 1934	8 Aug 1934	Monday yr.	7 Nov 1988	25 Jul 1988
Thursday yr.	21 Nov 1935	8 Aug 1935	Tuesday yr.	7 Nov 1989	25 Jul 1989
Friday yr.	20 Nov 1936	7 Aug 1936	Wednesday yr.	7 Nov 1990	25 Jul 1990
Saturday yr.	20 Nov 1937	7 Aug 1937	Thursday yr.	7 Nov 1991	25 Jul 1991
Sunday yr.	20 Nov 1938	7 Aug 1938	Friday yr.	6 Nov 1992	24 Jul 1992
Monday yr.	20 Nov 1939	7 Aug 1939	Saturday yr.	6 Nov 1993	24 Jul 1993
Tuesday yr.	19 Nov 1940	6 Aug 1940	Sunday yr.	6 Nov 1994	24 Jul 1994
Wednesday yr.	19 Nov 1941	6 Aug 1941	Monday yr.	6 Nov 1995	24 Jul 1995
Thursday yr.	19 Nov 1942	6 Aug 1942	Tuesday yr.	5 Nov 1996	23 Jul 1996
Friday yr.	19 Nov 1943	6 Aug 1943	Wednesday yr.	5 Nov 1997	23 Jul 1997
Saturday yr.	18 Nov 1944	5 Aug 1944	Thursday yr.	5 Nov 1998	23 Jul 1998
Sunday yr.	18 Nov 1945	5 Aug 1945	Friday yr.	5 Nov 1999	23 Jul 1999
Monday yr.	18 Nov 1946	5 Aug 1946	Saturday yr.	4 Nov 2000	22 Jul 2000
Tuesday yr.	18 Nov 1947	5 Aug 1947	Sunday yr.	4 Nov 2001	22 Jul 2001
Wednesday yr.	17 Nov 1948	4 Aug 1948	Monday yr.	4 Nov 2002	22 Jul 2002
Thursday yr.	17 Nov 1949	4 Aug 1949	Tuesday yr.	4 Nov 2003	22 Jul 2003
Friday yr.	17 Nov 1950	4 Aug 1950	Wednesday yr.	3 Nov 2004	21 Jul 2004

*: New Year's Day (*uluqo*) is the first day of *bon hagaiya*. It began at sunset on the day before given dates.**: The year taken in advance began on the day of the *ibid* ceremony which is the first day of *adolesa*.