



Fig. 6. Boru Guyyo, present Abba Gada (in the elevated position under the tree), blessing the Gumi, seated on the sacred stool.

their meetings independently and thereafter present to the Assembly only cases that required a final verdict in accordance with the custom (*aada*) and law (*seera*). He then adjourned the assembly.

The second day of assembly and the following days

The second day, the clans and clan associations met at their respective shrine trees to reexamine the important cases that were brought for discussion. They formed eight divisions, who met under eight different trees: the Karrayyu, a major clan, with a meeting place of its own, Digalu-Matt'arri, Dambe-Noono, Jidda-Maliyyu, Koono-Hawatt'a, Qarchabdu-Arusi, Odítu-Bachítu/Machítu, Galantu-Siraayu/Daachítu.

On the third day, an announcement came for all people to assemble at the shrine tree. When all were seated, the same blessing procedure was performed and the main speakers gave their speeches in turn.

The main speakers during all sessions were Guyyo Boru and Gobba Bule, the two retired Abba Gada. Each time they identified the aspects of custom (*aada*) and law (*seera*) touched on by the cases presented to the assembly by the clan leaders. This was the order of the assembly each day of the meeting. The Gumi Gaayo Assembly took