

Jimma University

College of Social Sciences and Humanities

Department of Oromo Folklore and Literature

**Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa Center of Amuru Oromo in Folkloric
Perspective**

By Dinkisa Sagni

January, 2020

Jimma

Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa Center of Amuru Oromo in Folkloric Perspective

By Dinkisa Sagni

Thesis Submitted to the Department of Oromo Folklore and Literature in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement of Degree of Master of Art in Oromo Folklore and Cultural Studies

Main Advisor: Dheressa Dhebu (PhD)

Co-advisor: Wondimmu Legesse (PhD)

January, 2020

Jimma

Table of Contents

Contents	Pages
Acknowledgements.....	I
List of Maps and Photo.....	II
Transliteration.....	III
Glossary	V
Abstract.....	VI
Organization of the paper.....	VII
Chapter One: Introduction	1
1.1. Back ground of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	2
1.3. Research Questions	4
1.4. Objectives.....	5
1.4..1 General Objectives.....	5
1.4.1. Specific Objectives.....	5
1.5. Significance of the Study	5
1.6. Delimitation of the Study.....	6
1.7. Limitation of the Study	6
1.8. Research Methodology.....	7
1.9. Methods of data analysis.....	10
1.10. Ethical Considerations.....	10
Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature.....	11
2.1. The Concept of Folklore	11
2.2. Gadaa System: An Overview	13
2.3. Gadaa System in Relation to Odaa Tree	15
2.4. Odaa Tree as Oromo Socio-Economic and Political (Gadaa) Center	15
2.5. The Gradual Decline of Gadaa System and its Revitalization.....	17
Chapter Three: Background of The Study Area	20
3.1. Physical Location of Amuru District	20

3.2. Agro-Ecology and Climate.....	21
3.3. Natural Resources	22
3.4. Tourist Attraction Sites	24
3.5. Genealogy and Kinship Structure of the Amuru.....	26
3.6. Rites of Passage.....	28
3.7. Religion	30
3.8. Economic Activities of Amuruu	31
3.9. Cultural Foods, Drinks and Clothes	32
3.10. Traditional Cooperatives Works	34
Chapter Four: Results and Discussions	35
4.1. The incursion of Gadaa Macca and the foundation of Odaa Naffuro	35
4.2. A Location and Symbolic Significance of Odaa Naffuro	38
4.3. Teaching Rules and Regulations of Odaa Naffuro.....	40
4.4. Proclamation of Gadaa Naffuro: As Laws and Culture	42
4.5. Activities Undertaken and Items Provided at Odaa Naffuro.....	46
4.6. Political Roles, Values and practices of Odaa Naffuro	51
4.7. Odaa Naffuro, a Place where Conflict was Resolved	52
4.8. Odaa Naffuro as a center of Worship and Ritual	56
4.9. Cultural Materials in Celebrations of Irreessaa Odaa Naffuroo.....	62
4.10. Activities Undertaken on Celebration of Irreessa Odaa Naffuro	63
4. 11. Conservation of Odaa Naffuro	66
4.12. Changes and Continuities of Odaa Naffuro	71
4.13. The Current Condition of Odaa Naffuro.....	72
Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations.....	74
5.1. Conclusion	74
5.2. Recommendations	76
Bibliography	79
List of Informants	82
Appendix 1.....	83
Appendix 2.....	85

Acknowledgments

A number of people deserve my genuine thanks for their kind cooperation during the field work and writing of this research. I owe my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Dheressa Dhebu (PhD) and Co-adviser Wondimmu Legesse (PhD) for their constructive comments, criticisms and corrections they made to the draft versions of the thesis. Their timely and scholarly contributions were very decisive in shaping this thesis. I also convey my thanks to Jimma University for sponsoring my study and financial grant. I owe many thanks also to Gamada Baldhis and all the elders who volunteered to provide the bulk of information needed for the research. Thanks due as well to my friend Amos for his support in language proof reading parts of the thesis. Colleagues also provided support in various ways. Families and parents have been helpful in several situations. Lastly, I would like to thank my spouse for all her inestimable moral support and Temesgen for his genuine cooperation.

List of Maps and Photos

- Photo 1: Map of Horo Guduru Wallagga Zone Administrative map. Adopted from Amuru District Culture and Tourism Office.
- Photo 2: Map of Amuru district. Adopted from Culture and Tourism Office of the District.
- Photo 3: Odaa Naffuro. Photo taken by the researcher.
- Photo 4: Dhakaa Qeerroo. Photo by the researcher
- Photo 5: Odaa of Gadaa Naffuro; it is an amazing creation by having three legs. Photo by the researcher.
- Photo 6: Irreecha malkaa dar'oo

Transliteration System

1. Length in vowels (*dubbachiiftuu*) results in meaning changes

Examples: Afaan Oromo	English
Short- <i>Ana</i>	Me
Long- <i>Aanaa</i>	District
Short- <i>Lafa</i>	Land
Long- <i>Laafaa</i>	Soft

2. Sequence of more than two vowels is possible only separated by glottal voiceless stop/Apostrophe/hudhaa (') as in *bu'aa* (profit), *du'a* (death), *mi'aa* (sweet) and *re'ee* (goat).

3. Most of the consonants have almost the same sounds as the English consonants, but C, Q and X have different sounds from the English consonants.

C/c': represents adjective, palatal; voiceless as in *cabbii*-ice; *culullee*-swallowed tailed kite.

Q/k': denotes adjective, velar; voiceless k as in *qarree* (river edge/single ox/unmarried girl).

X/t': represents alveolar, adjective; voiceless t as in *qixxee* (equal); *xinnaa* (little).

4. There are five paired phonemes that are formed by combining two different consonant letters: These are ch, dh, ny, ph and sh, from which, Ch and Sh have English equivalents.

Examples

Order	A/Oromo	English
Ch/č/	Bulchaa	Chairman
Sh /š/	<i>bishaan</i>	Water

The remaining three Dh, Ny and Ph have no English equivalents

Dh [ɗ] alveolar, dental, implosive; voiceless as in *dhadhaa* (butter); *dhandhama* (taste).

Ny /ɲ/; nasal, palatalized; voiceless n as in *konyaa*/district; *nyaata*/food, *sanyii* (seed).

Ph /p'/: bilabial, ejective, stop; voiceless p as in *buphaa* (egg); *kophee* (shoe).

5. Non-vocalized consonant (*irra butaa*) is not required to be followed by a vowel, but followed by dissimilar consonant as in *torba* (seven), *korma* (bull) and *ganda* (village).

Glossary

<i>Angafa</i>	First born son, senior
<i>Bokkuu</i>	Emblem of power
<i>Bullukkoo</i>	Wide, large and thick cloth made of cotton and worn to protect from Cold
<i>Caffee</i>	Oromo parliament
<i>Caccabsaa</i>	Cultural food made from <i>xaafii</i> . Its size is thin and eaten with pepper and butter
<i>Cumboo</i>	Cultural food made from red <i>xaafii</i> and usually prepared on the Occasions of Rituals, weddings and festivals. It is eaten with yogurt, <i>Qocqocaa</i> (pepper), and <i>Cororsaa</i> (butter).
<i>Daadoo</i>	Organized labor for mutual support
<i>Daboo</i>	Organized labor for reciprocal support
<i>Dhaala</i>	Inheritance/ levirate marriage
<i>Fira aantee</i>	Close relatives
<i>Fira fagoo</i>	Distant relative
<i>Fooqa</i>	Small hut constructed for the Gadaa meetings
<i>Gumii</i>	Assembly
<i>Haaloo</i>	Vengeance
<i>Haraamuu</i>	Incest, sexual relationship between relatives
<i>Irreecha</i>	Thanks giving ceremony
<i>Kakaa</i>	An oath
<i>Kallacha</i>	Symbol of ritual or political power
<i>Luba</i>	Age after Gadaa grade
<i>Naqata</i>	Betrothal, marriage arranged by families of couples
<i>Odaa</i>	Sycamore tree and Oromo political and religious center
<i>Qorii</i>	Cultural food made from barley roasted and serve with special butter
<i>Sadan Amuruu</i>	the three Amuru
<i>Seera lallabuu</i>	proclaiming the law
<i>Seera tumuu</i>	making the law
<i>Waaqa</i>	a supreme being who is omniscient, omnipresent and omniscient and believed to be a creator of all nature, God in Oromo
<i>Waaqeffannaa</i>	a belief in <i>Waaqa</i> , creator
<i>Warra</i>	Family, small group

Abstract

This study attempted to describe Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa center of the ninth sons of Amuru Oromo, in folkloric perspectives. Gadaa System had been declining in the second half of nineteenth century in many parts of Oromia, including Horro Guduruu Wallaggaa Zone. However, the Gadaa custom has been revitalized again at Odaa Naffuro. Nonetheless, the folkloric study has not been conducted in the study area since it is one of Gadaa practices as one Gadaa center. Besides, the celebration of Odaa Naffuro and its symbolism is rarely treated. So this study strives to fill this gap as much as possible by examining different methods and methodology. To realize the intended objectives, the researcher employed qualitative research methodology. Interviews, Focus group discussions(FGDs, observation and document analysis were used to generate data. The finding of this research indicate that, even though there was an interruption of the celebrations of Odaa Naffuro, there is still a practice of Gadaa under Odaa Naffuro with its folkloric element. This is because, Odaa is the centers of Gadaa where laws are made, proclaimed, conflicts are resolved and Gadaa assembly performed. As it was revealed in the study, Odaa Naffuro has many implications, values and symbols. For example, as a sign of identity, culture, ritual celebrations and the like. The study also describes the activities undertaken under and around Odaa Naffuro such as irreessa celebrations and material cultures portrayed in these celebrations. Lastly, I recommend the active participation of stake holders and the bearer of the culture would play an immense role in the sustainability of Gadaa and preservation of Odaa Naffuro for the future generation.

Organization of the paper

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter one provides the background of the study, the statement of the problem, and it introduces the objectives, research questions, significance of the research including the scope, limitation, methodology of the research, method of data collections. It also gives detailed description of the way the data were collected and processed, the technique employed to analyze the data and the procedures of their presentation. The second chapter presents related literature to the topic of the study. It attempts to review the works of other researchers, academics, and research institutions to posit the study within a larger context of scholarly literature. The third chapter focuses on elaborating the study location, major physical, socioeconomic, religious, genealogical features, Marriage practices and characteristics of the Amuru of Jawi. The fourth chapter concentrates mainly on in-depth analysis and discussions related to Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa Center of Amuru Oromo. Finally, the fifth chapter deals with the concluding remarks provided based on the outcome of the research.

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Oromo society has traditionally been structured and organized by *Gadaa System* which governs their socio-economic and political aspects of life. It is an indigenous system peculiar to Oromo (Asmarom, 2006). In this system, every member of the society has some roles to play throughout his/her life starting at birth and ending at death. These individual and group roles change every eight years. At mature age (40 up to 48 years), they hold popular assemblies of the multitude for eight years. Laws which govern them for the coming eight years are established and proclaimed and Abbaa Gadaas who preside are elected here. (Alemayehu, 2009).

Diribi (2011) attests that, beginning from the second half of the fifteenth century the Oromo rejuvenated *Gadaa* in different centers by strengthening their military capacity and fought twelve buttaa wars (1522-1608) to liberate their territories. Borana and Barentu were the two major Oromo confederacies until the historical expansion of the 16thc (Asmarom, 2006: 64 and Mohammed, 1994:18-42). The expansion of 16th century paved ways for the formation of more confederacies. The new confederacies resulted from geographical locations and clan formations. Moreover, major Oromo clans have established the centers of their *Gadaa* at several places based on their territorial settlement. The Southern Borana (Sabboo-Goonaa) and the Gabra established their *Gadaa* centers at Gumi Gayo and Arero in Borana Zone, the Guji at Me'e Bokko and Nura in Guji Zone, the Arsi at Odaa Roba in Bale Zone, the Ituu and Humbana at Odaa Bultum in West Hararghe, the Karrayu at Hora Sama in East Shoa Zone. (Hinnew, 2012).

The Northern Boorana (Tuulama-Macca) moved to central Shawan plateau and created a common central *Caffee* at *Odaa* Nabii near Dukam. After they were spread, each of them used to send their delegations every eight years to Odaa Nabee to elect *Gadaa* leaders who executed responsibilities of central *caffee* (Mohammed, 1994:18-42). Gradually, the Macca continued their movement towards the west and southwest. They formed the confederacy of the four: Hokoo, Calliyaa, Guduruu and Liiban during *Gadaa* Roobalee (1570-1578) and Sadacha (the confederacy of the three) comprising Obboo, Subaa, and Hakaakoo during Birmajii (1578-1586). After crossing Gudar River, traveling back to *Odaa* Nabii became difficult. As a result, Macca established their own *caffee* at *Odaa* Tute Bisil between the Gedo, Billoo and Gibee Rivers, nearer to Ijaajjii Town in Iluu-Galaan District of West Shawa Zone (*Ibid*).

However, the formation of Oromo monarchies or moieties especially among the MaccaaOromo together with intensification of Christianity and Islam deteriorated indigenous democratic governance system of Africa in general and Oromo in particular. Gadaa chiefly declined because of the invasion by Abyssinian and European powers as well as imposition of their Colonial rules. The Abyssinian rulers invaded the Oromo and other nationalities in the Horn of Africa and attempted to rule them in the same way to and with the help of European powers. As a result, the non-centralized *Gadaa* governance of the Oromo was destroyed in many parts. (Alemayehu, 2009). Thus, the system began to crumble gradually in the second half of nineteenth century chiefly with Minilik II's incorporation of Oromo land in to Abyssinia. (Tesemma, 2002); Zelalem, 2012).

Yet, among the recently revived *Gadaa* center was Odaa Naffuro, which was used as the *Gadaa* center for the clans of the nine sons of Amuru Jawi. Odaa Naffuro has been serving as a *Gadaa* center for the clans of Amuru Jawi for a long period of time. On the other hand, Naffuro is place name in which Odaa tree is located. Accordingly, like other Oromo peoples, Amuru Jawi, which is one among the clans of Jawi Macca have an indigenous socio-political system. Even though this Gadaa system has been suspended, it has survived. Therefore, the aim of this study is to analyze the folkloric elements in the Odaa of Gadaa Naffuro.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Several studies were conducted on Gadaa System from different perspectives. For instance, the study of Gadaa system is most extensively conducted by several scholars of different fields in social sciences from both local and foreign origin including Asmarom (1973) that hits specific focus on the study of Borana central institution, Gadaa.

Other recent studies which were under the passion of former researchers have dealt with certain traditional elements which have a close relation with the Gadaa system. (Mohammed et al, 2009). Zelalem (2012) also studied Gadaa from legal angle and briefly shows political significance of Gadaa 'indigenous institution of governance to modern institution. Asafa (2012) mentioned some points about Gadaa revival as passing remarks. He fails to make clear where, when and which Gadaa centers had been fully functioning. Dereje (2014) studied the performance of Gadaa ritual in Maccaa Oromo from ethnographic point of view. His study focused on some Eastern Macca groups by mentioning that other Macca clans were not included in his work and paved the way for further research. Among the recent

works, pertaining to Gadaa, Dejene (2017) focused on survival and amendment of Walisoo Liiban (one of the major clans of the Maccaa) Gadaa in the face of external pressures and internal changes. He attests that, The Gadaa system among the Waliso has survived both internal dynamics and external pressures over the last century. A combination of various factors has contributed to this effect. These include: secular administrative factors and religious elements. So, Dejene focuses on the survival and amendments of Waliso Gadaa however, he does not touch about the Gadaa of Amuru Jawi, one of the clans of Maccaa situated in the East of Horro Guduru Wallaggaa zone. On the other hand, the work of Lammeessa (2010) focused on exploring and narrating problems and prospects that exist in Iluu Gadaa at Odaa Doggii vis-à-vis to its renewal. And he also touched different Odaas which were existing in Illuu Abbaa boor. However, this study also does not address Odaa Naffuro, in folkloric perspectives.

Similarly, Kefyalew's paper (2010) attempts to reflect on an exhilarating initiative of revitalization of some Gadaa institutions in the West Arsi by specifically focusing on Dodola District. He indicted that, socio cultural institutions with indigenous knowledge play a pivotal role for sustainable development. The Arsi Oromo practiced the Gadaa system modified to operate at clan level until it was suspended in 1886. Subsequently, an ignominious rule with gun point was installed. Consequently, a society which is skilled enough not only to solve complex inter-clan conflicts but also to heal the hearts of the conflicting parties via gumaa and fixata was depowered to litigate in corrupted alien courts over simple cases. Here the Arsi Gadaa system was similar with that of Amuru Gadaa System. Their similarity was the Arsi Oromo practiced Gadaa at clan level until it was suspended in 1886. Where as the Amuru Oromo Practiced Gadaa at clan level until it was suspended in 1948 and then revitalized in 1998. What makes difference is that the Gadaa system of Amuru was still practiced under clan level. So, this research adds to this existing knowledge.

On the other hand Lemessa (2012) suggest that the way indigenous people view their natural environment depends on a large extent on their indigenous systems. He was done an anthropological work on the demise of the Odaa Bulluq sacred forest in Horro Guduruu. His Paper explains the role of Oromo indigenous knowledge systems in protecting natural forests. It focuses only on the Odaa Bulluq sacred forest and the associated indigenous belief systems of the Horro Guduru Oromo. Here, in his paper he does not touch the sacred heritage, Odaa Naffuro.

On the other hand, Marga (2018) investigate research entitled “*Sirna Raawwii Adeemsa Boojina Ba’uu: Godina Horro Guduru Wallagga Aanaa Amuruu*”. This study addresses the procedure of Boojina Ba’uu, indigenous way of kinship Mechanism of Amuru Oromo. Here, it does not addresses the Folkloric perspective of Odaa Naffuro. Similarly, Zerihun (2018) studied *Dhagaa Qeerroo*, one of indigenous cultural sport of Amuru Oromo. However, he doesn’t touch about Odaa Naffuro as well.

Primarily, this study was developed from my under graduate research which focuses on *Gadaa Nafuroo*. This study opened my thinking to see the issue from wider perspective. Using this study as spring board, I have generated new data from the flied to see changes and contuinities that has been undertaking in Odaa Nafuro. Odaa Nafuroo had been serving as Gadaa center for the Amuruu Jaawii Oromo. However, my undergraduate work was used by Tesfaye Toleraa (2017) in dishonest way. He plagiarised the work without pharaphrasing and acknowledging appropriately. This might confuse scholars who are interested to read and use source of evidence for futher study. Thus I want to ashure that it is entirely my own work which is substantiated with additional data and analysis. For cross cheking it is possible to see on <http://etd.aau.edu.et/handle/123456789/177>. This evidence is living testimony that I have produced the thesis with my endeavor.

Among the Horro Oromo in general and Amuru in particular, a Gadaa system modified to operate at different clan levels. For instance, it is said that the Gadaa center of nine clans of Amuru had been Odaa Naffuro until it was suspended in 1940s E.C. However, with the ignominious sacrifice paid with the bearers of the culture of the Odaa Naffuro, it was revived and re-installed in 1998 E.C. Most of the above cited works are pertaining to historical over view of the Gadaa, its problems, prospects and retrospect’s. Yet, Odaa Naffuro is the least studied one. As a result, I have interested to research this indigenous social folk custom of Amuru and fill this knowledge gap by applying ethnographic study in analyzing the Odaa Naffuro in folkloric perspective. So, to achieve its goals, this study has addressed the following research questions.

1.3. Research Questions

- What is the mythology of Odaa Naffuro?
- What Odaa Naffuro symbolize?
- What activities are performed under Odaa Naffuro?

- How does Irrecha celebration manage to exist together with Gadaa culture in Odaa Naffuro? And what are cultural materials in the celebrations of *Irreessa* Odaa Naffuro?
- What are the changes and continuities observed in the practise of in Odaa Naffuro?

1.4. Objectives

1.4.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study is to describe Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa center of Amuru Oromo and to understand the existence of Gadaa cultural element in Gadaa Naffuro.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

- To describe the mythology of Odaa Naffuro.
- To explicate the symbolic values of Odaa Nafuro for the Oromo of the study area.
- To identify ritual practices that are being undertaken by the society under Odaa Naffuro.
- To illustrate the existence of Irreecha together with Gadaa Culture and cultural materials that have been portraying in celebration of Odaa Naffuro.
- To explain and interpret changes and continuities observed in the practice of Odaa Naffuro.

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study has different importance's. The research has produced document for the upcoming researchers who are interested in conducting study on different *Gadaa* centers. Besides, this study has contribute significantly to the Amuru Jawi clan as it is about an indigenous socio-political system of the society. Furthermore, it is helpful to enhance the knowledge and understanding of ideas and concepts related to *Gadaa* practices.

It has also contribute to the Department of Oromo Folklore and Literature as a sort of reference material for both the teachers and learners in teaching and learning of the folklore courses. The department can use the research finding for class instruction during class discussion. Gadaa functions as mechanisms of socialization, conflict resolution, judicial administration and social harmony. It will also create strong link between successive generations as it gives to the member of the community a sense of identity and

continuity. Furthermore, the study can serve as stepping stone for further holistic study. The focus of this research is to analyze Odaa Naffuro in Folklore appraisal and continuity vis-à-vis its revivals, but it couldn't address every issue related with the Gadaa system. Therefore, other scholars are expected to address the other aspects by using the result of this study as input.

1.6. Delimitation of the Study

This study is delimited to Amuru Jawi Oromo. Odaa Naffuro has been serving as a Gadaa Center for long period of time. Even though the interruptions have been made, the societies of the study area have revitalized their surviving Gadaa. So this study is confined to the Amuru clan. This is because of two reasons: at first, the moieties of Amuru sons: Halelu, Bera and Soddo are largely found in this study area. Second, the concept Gadaa is complex and stand in the whole way of life. To this effect, one can deduce that the Oromo government_Gadaa holds variety of concepts and multi- functions and difficult to cover all Gadaa centers in Oromia by single research. So, the study was limited to Oromia regional state Horro Guduru Wollega Zone in Amuru district particularly, the area of Odaa Naffuro site which is 14 km away from Obora, the district town. This helps me to conduct my research by overcoming the problems that have encountered and easily conduct my research.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

In almost everything we do there are limitations. The same is true for this research project. First, the study area elders, and societies know little about Odaa Naffuro. So, because of few elders know about the Odaa Naffuro, I suffered limitation of data that hinders me to get sufficient information about Odaa Naffuro. This doesn't mean that no one don't know about Odaa Naffuro. There are knowledgeable elders who still matured with the knowledge of Gadaa and the custom of the Amuru clan. Secondly, the site of my study was geographically far from where I currently live though I was born there. In spite of all these constraints, great efforts have been made to successfully cover essential issues, facts and figures related to Odaa Naffuro. In addition to this, my knowledge of the language and culture has helped me a lot during my field study. I have attempted to present the information as offered by the informants.

1.8. Research Methodology

1.8.1. Research Design

This study employed an ethnographic method, which needs field work to get first-hand information from the informants. These informants have relevant knowledge of the issue under study. In addition to this, some historical documents were used. It is designed to provide a framework for the collections and analysis of the data. Hence, the data collected from the field using in depth interview, focus group discussion, document analysis and observation analyzed from the emic point of view. Thus, to investigate the stated problems and achieve the research objectives, descriptive research design was employed. This design was accomplished by using qualitative research methodology.

1.8.2. Sources of Data

1.8.2.1. Primary Sources

These sources are data generated from the field work. The primary sources are the informants from the local people residing in the vicinity of Odaa Naffuroo. Data generated from Abbaa Gadaas, knowledgeable persons, *Jaarsolii biyyaa* (community elders), culture and tourism experts were used as the primary sources of the research.

1.8.2.2. Secondary Sources

Data gathered on the issue under investigation by culture and tourism office of the district and other necessary documents were also consulted to support the data gathered from the field. Unpublished works on the Gadaa System in general and Odaa of Gadaa Naffuro in particular have been used. Scholarly works on Gadaa system in general and Gadaa centers in particular were also unearthed and the findings of such works were analyzed and compared with the Odaa of Gadaa Naffuro of Amuru. Such works are very important to develop scientific discussion, interpretation and analyzing the information from different perspectives.

1.8.3. Methods of Data Collections

1.8.3.1. Interview (semi-structured)

This was used considering the likely opposite interviews and their expediency. Initial interviews were prepared for five individuals who were purposely selected from the local community based on their knowledge of the local culture. The intention was to get apt direction for the in-depth data collection process to be done through views of this category of informants on local communities view about Odaa Naffuro. According to (Paul and et.al: 2007:101), Purposive informant selection is preferable for their relevance of the issue being studied. There by, to select the study area, three Gandaas: Naffuro, Warra beeraa, and *Walqixxee* were selected purposely. *Naffuro* was used as a center of the research. However, for the reason that *Amuruu* clans have been dispersed in the district, the researcher conducted field work at four *gandaas*. These are Makkanno, Madaal, Ejeree, Haroo Waloo and Agamsaa. This is aimed to check information and confirm the genuinity of the data. Thus, the community elders of the areas were used as the representative of ninth Amuruu clan.

As an empirical strategy, this interview has served in paving the appropriate way for formal interview, practical observations, and FGDs employed to generate triangulate data. Not only this but also, informants who are busy in their own attachment and who need appointment have been interviewed through semi- structured interview. In addition to this, informed persons of the society from different ages and status has interviewed until sufficient data have been generated

1.8.3.2. In-depth Interview

The diversified key informants in different *Gandas* (smallest administrative unit with nearly five hundred household) were carefully selected. Both male and female from elders, Abbaa Gadaas, wives of Abbaa Gadaas, teachers and youths in total, ten individuals who are believed to be well versed in cultural knowledge have participated in this mechanism. In-depth interview has significance in the qualitative research approach so as to collect detail information. Open ended questions were used as guiding and this enabled the researcher to get necessary data.

1.8.3.3. Observation

This field technique is crucial in ethnographic research because one can observe a lot just by watching whenever, to know what people do. As a result I have observed the Odaa Naffuro tree, under which the society sit and discuss everything about their social issues. In addition to this, I have observed the sacred forests around Odaa Naffuro and what it looks like?

1.8.3.4. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Focus Group Discussion can be used for exploratory and evaluative research serving as straightforward scene to easily identify data saturation in sophisticated interaction. This was conducted toward the end of the field work, anticipating valid data saturation point. As a result, I have formed FGD at a place called Naffuro. I have conducted one groups. In this group there were seven participants five male and two women. The FGD includes elders, Abbaa Gadaas, teachers, religious elders, knowledgeable persons in the office of the culture and tourism Offices. Point of discussions has centered on ‘why’ of folkloric element survived and exist in the Odaa Naffuroo and the how it revitalized and continues in the study area. While I was conducted FGDs, I have one moderator, one rapporteur, seven discussants and one facilitator. The FGD enabled the researcher to generate enormous range of data which included different views in relation to subject of study. In addition, the FGD made clear the issues that were not clearly indicated by other methods of data collection. FGDs are also widely used to cross check the views of the discussants and to clarify any ambiguities or views that still need further clarification. It has conducted with interactive discussions and got relevant data and took necessary data by using audio recorder, video recorder and field notes.

1.8.3.5. Document Analysis

Documents can be either published or unpublished works of institutions or individuals including resources of offices of culture and tourism, communication affairs, schools etc. By using this method I have analyzed a document which I have gotten from Culture and tourism Office of the district and some studies by students at the Department of Oromo Folklore and Literature. From Amuru Culture and Tourism Office i have gotten a written manuscript about Odaa Naffuro and its history and then I have analyzed. It helped me to provide details that informants have forgotten.

1.9. Method of Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis method was used to produce knowledge regarding Odaa Naffuro. The qualitative data that was generated from the field was transcribed from Afaan Oromo to English. The transcribed data were categorized in to themes of the research and the categorized qualitative data were interpreted and analyzed both from the emic and etic perspectives. Documents both unpublished and published were searched from different libraries and institutions and analyzed in relation to Gadaa practices in general and Gadaa Nafuro in particular. An attempt was made to triangulate the data from different perspectives. In these data generated by interview were triangulated by the data that were obtained through observation and focused Group Discussion. I tried to have data by using techniques such as note taking, taking a photo, recording, videoing.

1.10. Ethical Considerations

As much as I can, I maintained due care and diligence to ensure the information that the respondents was provided remain as confidential as possible. In this regard, the identity of the responding and organizations were protected by withholding the names of the research entities as well as all persons who were participated in the study. All data was collected solely pertaining to the key research objectives of this study and to answer all research questions mentioned above. The responding organizations and individuals also have an opportunity to access the research results once the data analysis process complete.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

This section of the thesis explores scholarly works so far conducted on the practices of Gadaa system at different places. The practice of Gadaa and how it is folklore is reviewed. The literature review is helpful in consolidating the understanding about the practice of Gadaa system in relation to folklore knowledge. The review starts with the general concept of folklore and it goes on presenting different literature that deal with either directly or indirectly related to Gadaa system in general and the symbolic significance Odaa (sycamore tree) in particular.

2.1. The Concept of Folklore

Different scholars give varied definitions for 'folklore', the constituent elements they have identified and their perceptions of it from the very moment the word is coined. The very word 'folklore' is a coinage by English scholar and pioneer of folklore study William John Thoms (1846) in his letter to Athenaeum. He defines the word in this way: the people in England specify it as "Popular Antiquities or Popular Literature (though by-the-by it is more a Lore a Literature," and he finally explained it as—'the lore of the people'). He further identifies that these issues are as old as mankind and scattered across the field from which the forefathers have collected tremendous harvest. Furthermore, he has implied the constituents of folklore as "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs etc. of the olden times----'the latter part of this enumerates constituent elements rather than directly saying what it is (Okpewho 1992:4).

Another important scholar to consider in the field of folklore is Vladimir Propp (1929, 1984), a Russian who follows the Marxist ideology in his approach to folklore. For him, folklore is an ideological discipline. He makes a distinction between the Eastern and the Western Europe. He rejects the conceptions of the Western European scholars of folklore who, he feels, follow the capitalist ideology and in that the folklore scholars in that part of Europe contradict with that of Russian in their approach to folklore. Therefore, we have to have this difference in mind in reading how he perceives the idea of folklore.

Propp separates folklore into spiritual and material culture even though he firmly believes that they are inseparable subjects. This, he says, is for the purpose of identifying the focal point of a study that encompasses the other. The folklore of the peasantry is the focus for his study and definition of folklore (1984:4): When one is dealing with the peasantry, the structure of old stoves and the rhyming of lyric

songs can allegedly be studied together. We know very well that the closest connection exists between material and spiritual culture, but we separate the material and the spiritual, just as it is done for the culture of the upper classes. By folklore we mean only spiritual production, and only verbal, poetical products. Since poetry is almost always connected with music, musical folklore forms an autonomous discipline within folklore.

Even though there is reason for Prop's connection of folklore in this way, the idea of studying only the verbal one, I do not think, makes the study full-fledged. We can also focus on the material culture to understand the spiritual culture of the society. But it seems more convincing that the taking into account of both at a time helps us to understand the society better. This calls for taking into account another conception for more convincing reason.

Similarly, Leach (1948: 398) defines folklore as, "the generic term to designate the handcrafts, customs, beliefs, traditions, tales, magical practices proverbs, songs etc., in short, the accumulated knowledge of a homogeneous unsophisticated people". As to Leach, folklore includes not only oral treasure but also other forms of cultural practices which involve not only sense of hearing and speaking but also that of seeing and touching.

The other scholar who attempts to define folklore is Aurelio N. Espinosa. For Espinosa (as cited in Boswell (1962) et. al.) folklore is accumulated store of what people have experienced, learned and practiced across the ages as popular and traditional knowledge as distinguished from scientific knowledge. Espinosa further argues that folklore is the sum of the stored knowledge and experience of mankind. In this view man's traditional verbal and material art, his belief and customs, his rituals and ceremonies are all elements of folklore. Dorson's (1972: 2-3) explanation of folklore also goes in line with Espinosa's definition of folklore. Dorson emphasizes that folklore embraces people's verbal and material arts, customs and other forms of culture. Dorson classifies the elements of folklore into four broad categories. These categories are stated as: verbal arts (oral literature) such as folktales, proverbs, riddles, myths, fairy tales, etc. material culture that may refer to traditional tools used by the people; performing folk arts that include traditional drama, song and dance, and social folk custom that embrace people's traditional belief, wearing, and other ways of life.

Similarly, Dundes (1965: 6-12) gives a broad explanation to the term folklore. According to Dundes, folklore refers to "people's manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs etc. Dundes

further states that folklore stands for the wide concept that includes "myths, legends, tales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessing, curses, deaths, insults ... teases, greetings, ...customs, folk dances, folk drama, folk art, folk beliefs, folk medicine, folk music etc".

Dundes's explanation of folklore is close to that of Dorson, for it is possible to classify Dundes's elements of folklore into four broad aspects of people's social-cultural life as: folk art, folk custom, oral tradition and performing folk art. In generalizing his idea, Dundes (p. 3) argues "these materials and the study of them are both referred to us as folklore." Allan Dundes (p. 3) presents more proficient and extended constituent elements of it in specifying the notion of folklore.

Myths, legends, folktales, jokes, proverbs, riddles, chants, charms, blessings, curses, oaths, insults, retorts, taunts, teases, toasts, tongue-twisters, and greeting and leave-taking formulas (e.g. see you later, alligator). It also includes folk costume, folk dance, folk drama (and mime), folk art, folk belief (superstition), folk medicine, folk instrumental music (e.g. fiddle tunes), folk songs (lullabies, ballads), folk speech (e.g. slang), folk similes (e.g. as blind as a bat), folk metaphor (e.g. to paint the town red), and names (e.g. nicknames and place names) and etc.

This kind of enumerating the constituent elements of folklore benefits students and researchers of folklore in clearly demarcating its elements. They can easily identify the ‘what’ and somehow the ‘how’ of the elements.

Neither the above quotations and ideas exhibit that folklore is neither defined clearly nor it is easy to do so. Enumerating the constituent elements seems the easiest way of approaching the concept. Now, I think, we have made inevitable the aspects of a society’s culture that are going to be studied and the readers can perceive what they are.

2.2. Gadaa System: An overview

According to many researchers the Gadaa system have variety of meanings, so it is impossible to give a single definition for Oromo Gadaa system. It is a very huge institution that holds critical and secret information. It is a respected administrative system historically related with the system of democracy, and deals with mainly the socio- political, cultural and a religious system of Oromo. (Dereje, 2012)

The Oromo are known for their remarkable indigenous democratic system known as the Gadaa. Different scholars who studied Gadaa tried to give different meanings, even though it is challenging to provide one well known meaning. Asmarom (1973) suggests, its complexity stating that the term Gadaa cannot be given a uni-vocal interpretation. It stands for several related ideas. It is first the entire concept

standing for the whole way of life. More specifically, however, it refers to any period of eight years during which a class stays in power. He provided a relatively comprehensive definition:

The Gadaa system is a system of classes (Luba) that succeed each other every 8 years in assuming military, economic, political, and ritual responsibilities. Each Gadaa class remains in power during a specific term which begins and ends with a formal power transfer ceremony.

The definition indicates that the Gadaa system has classes called Luba, which are often referred to as a Gadaa class. Each class controls political and ritual power for 8 years. This time is a Gadaa period, which is named after a specific Gadaa class.

As Workeneh quoted, (TonLeus 1995) the concept Gadaa has different meanings. First, it refers to the Oromo social system as a whole. Secondly, it is used to refer to the sixth grade of the system in which the elected members of the grade have ritual and political responsibilities for a period of eight years. Thirdly, it refers to a calendar period of eight years. Fourthly, it is used to refer to a person belonging to the class which occupies the grade.

Similarly, Negasso (1984:147) asserts that, “Gadaa meant ‘age’ or ‘period’ during which particular natural events took place. Gadaa means counting years.” He elaborates as Makko Bili told to their ancestors that such and events would take place during such and such a period [Gadaa]. He told them that crop failure, cattle epidemics, war and such Gadaa. Makkoo Bili thus told our people to count years[bara] and to worship Waaqa.

According to Alemayehu ((2002 & 2009:26) “It is difficult to define and easily know the meaning of Gadaa unless split it into the religious, political and cultural institutions.” “Gadaa system is a democratic egalitarian system that has its own leaders who conduct government and social, affairs of the Oromo society for a non-renewable eight year term.” He stated that the sequence of *Gadaa* social organization begins with group of individuals, clan administration, administration of fathers of a country (elders) and the kings. For example, among Tulama Oromo, Gadaa is a system of governance while Gadaa Officials were executive body and each member had significant role in different aspects. According to his argument although the Gadaa system was not based on bureaucratic functions like the modern states, for long it fully governed the Oromo.

Workineh (2001:3) also tried to define its whole component. He also addresses the period that one Gadaa has to stay in power and discuss the responsibility and activity of each person. However, according to Zelalem’s (2012, 56) argument with this regards, “The term Gadaa has no single and

unanimously accepted definition. Gadaa is more conceivable lexically than analytically. Similarly, Gadaa has guided political, economic, and social life of the Oromo since long ago. (Bassi, 1996; Hassen, 1994; Hinnant, 1977).

2.3. Gadaa System in Relation to Odaa Tree

The Oromo believed that Gadaa was a system given to them through which the people were guided and obeyed by Waaqa. On the other hand, the Oromo believed that there would be no well-being; peace (nagaa) or social development without Gadaa (Knutsson, 1967). The main purpose of Gadaa practitioners was to ensure health, and fertility of human beings and their animals. Rain is always the sign of blessing. In the Gadaa rituals at the Gadaa centers three elements; water (rain), grass and milk) were usually available and aimed at interconnecting the natural and social order. This is because water that comes from the sky promoted the growth of grass; the grass was food for cattle, which produced milk. During rituals or prayers, this cycle appears to be reversed: milk was poured over grass to pray for rain. This reveals that performing Gadaa rituals was aimed at achieving fertility, growth and prosperity (Huntingford, 1955).

The Oromo conceptualization of Gadaa was related to Odaa. The socio-political and religious matters aimed at blessing, peace and prosperity were practiced at open space under the shade of Odaa tree. According to Dejene (2012) the Oromo conceptualization of Gadaa was related Odaa and rooted in religious and symbolic dichotomies, which were associated to it. Here from this we can deduce that Odaa tree is not only used as a center of Gadaa but also great attention is paid to it as a symbolic representation of their political, religious and national identity. With this idea in action and accenting on the importance of Odaa, Asafa Jalata (1963:56 & 2011) also described that Odaa is more than a generalized symbolic representation of democratic discussion "...the Odaa has long been sacred meeting ground for the enactment of many Oromo ceremonies which reinforce political philosophy of Gadaa" (Alemayehu, 2009,79).

2.4. Odaa Tree as Oromo Socio-Economic and Political (Gadaa) Center

The way in which we understand the world may vary from society to society. The system of developing and modifying religious and political institutions are also determined based on society's interpretation of their environment. Gadaa is not only about the principle of democracy or political practice where power is transferred from one generation to the next, but it is also a religious system in which the member of

the Gadaa leaders give curse and blessing specially, Qaaluu. *Odaa* is also a place where all activities related to *Gadaa* system are performed. Regarding this Solomon (2010) states that *Odaa* is a place where Oromo undertake both religious and political activities.

Many Oromo scholars state that the socio-political and religious lives of the Oromo were mainly associated with large trees under which they used to be assembled for both religious and political purpose. According to Yilma (1967), the Oromo used to pray to *Waaqa* (the creator) under the sacred tree and around big rivers since there were no Mosques and Churches. Dereje (2012), supports this idea in his publication about *Madda Walaabu* also stated that Yilma's interpretation of *Odaa* in relation to other religions and religious centers should also be critically investigated.

Another explanation by Workineh (2001) is about the parallel practice of the Oromo traditional religion with Christianity and Islam. According to him many Oromo practice traditional religious parallel with Christianity and Islam. The Oromo religious belief is based on the view that there is only one *Waaqa* (God). The Arabic word Rabbi is also used by Oromo and other to refer to their supreme being. So Oromo no matter whether Christian or Muslim ones use *Odaa* as their special place of communication with *Waaqa*.

Odaa is a sacred tree under which *Waaqa* made reconciliation with human being. *Odaa* was the center for religious matters where communication between *Waaqa* and the society was made possible and for dealing with the social-economic and political matters. (Ibid)

Dereje (2012) states that, various explanations were given for the reason why *Odaa* became a socio-political center of *Gadaa*. *Odaa* grows where there was abundant water, which is a source of fertility and life, among other trees, according to the tradition, *Odaa* remains wet even during long period of drought. The widely told tradition claims that *Waaqa* invoked spirits of dedication to big trees, rivers and big mountains and the areas were referred to as sacred. In the Oromo worldview, *Waaqa* is believed to have communicated with people through intermediaries called *ayyaana* (spirit), which is the organizing principle. (Dereje, 2012) Hence, Dereje also elaborated as, "the sycamore tree of different kinds are regarded as an abode of spirit among the Oromo and used to provide the Oromo with ritual performances and praying site.

For fear of retaliation, every socio-political and religious issue had to be conducted calmly and peacefully as well as based on truth. Under the shade of *Odaa* is believed to have witnessed the denial or the agreement to be achieved. Due to the deep rooted traditional attachment to especially the sacred tree, even the reconciliations that were not held under and around the tree were not regarded as

binding." For instance, his explanation showed that the tradition about the beginning of the use of Gadaa centers had more of religious background. He also stated that the life of African societies of the past was dominated by religion than politics. (*Ibid*).

Moreover, we deduce from Dereje (2012) the Oromo conceptualization of Gadaa was related to Odaa and rooted in religious and symbolic dichotomies which were associated to it. The Oromo had myths as well as stories that try to explain the origin of this world, the natural disasters and social disorder, the arrival of a prophet and the beginning of Gadaa system. Besides, traditions explain that owing to the long period drought, only Odaa tree and spring water Walaabuu provided shade to human.

2.5. The Gradual Decline of Gadaa System and its Revitalization

Several researches provide for distinctive thought on the decline of Gadaa. Yet, it will be challenging to get exact understanding on the issue. Some scholars argue that, escalated expansion of Christianity and Islam causes weakened the Gadaa system. While, others noted that formation of Oromo Monarchies also results in deterioration of the Gadaa system. Yet, most scholars agree that the conquest of Oromo land by Minilik II played a major role to the decline of the Gadaa system. Among the scholars, Melbaa (1988) attests that,

The Gadaa rule around Harar was weakened by Turko-Egyptian occupation. However, in several communities, in the North, South west and west some of the Abbaa Duulaa usurped the power of the Gadaa official. these Abbaa Duulaa gradually became richer and more powerful and gained influence over the rest and named them selves ‘mootii’ (kings).

According to Gadaa Melbaa both religious expansion and formation of Oromo Monarchies or kings are major causes for the decline of Gadaa System. Tsega (2008) examined the decline of the Gadaa system in line with the formation of Oromo Monarchical states. He asserts that, *The Gadaa leaders found it difficult to exercise their power over each Oromo group and the war leaders gradually established them selves over their own territories.* Asmarom (1973) supports this idea by saying that, Gadaa system was interrupted for several reasons, in this process some provinces weakened the system and started to be governed by monarchy.

Ezkel (2008) asserts that, in scholarly and semi-scholarly studies, the pervasive view is that the Gadaa system ended when Emperor Menelik banned it after the conquest and colonization of Oromo areas. He backs the clue which uncovers Menelik consolidation of Oromo Weakened the Gadaa system. Lemmu (1994) also provides for comparable insight. After Abyssinian triumph of the Oromo, the Gadaa system might have been

prohibited and suppressed. Those new aces advocated their victory exaggerating disunity, inter clan warfare also absence of a unitary monarchical legislature among the Oromo.

Lellisa (6413 A.L.G) “presents similar idea “*sirna Gadaa balleessuu irratti koloneeffattoonni habashaa Gahee guddaa taphataniiru, garuu amantiin Kiristaanaa fi Islaamaa balleffamuu sirna Gadaa keessatti qoOdaa guddaa qabu.*” This intends *Habasha* colonizers assumed an incredible part for the decline of the Gadaa system. Yet, the christian and Islamic faith part might have been additionally the chief factors. Generally external and internal factors are contributed for the interruption of the Gadaa system. Most scholars agreed that the most devastating factor for the interruption of the system was Menelik II’s incorporation of Oromo land used firearms that borrowed from Europeans. Triulzi, (1973) also ads by saying,

Internally, in Horro-Guduru area from early nineteenth century there were various events for the decline of republican form of government. These are: the influences of wealth, personal character and brevity of good inherited name. The Gadaa officials were elected based on these criteria. Especially, the election of Abba Bokku had become almost hereditary, as the Abba Bokku had to be chosen from the descendants of the eldest son of Jaawwi, Horro. Thus the right to introduce proposals of new laws was given to the descendants of Horro...

However, as Asafa (2009), states that, despite the internal and the external challenges, the system has been the foundation and pillar with its principles remaining as the hall mark of the Oromo from whose mind it couldn’t be wiped out.

Moreover, two events happened in the history of Gadaa system: *Cinna Gadaa* and *Haaromsa Gadaa*. Milkessa (2017) suggest that, *cinna Gadaa* refers to the discontinuity of Gadaa rule from one political center or at all. It also designates the division or dismemberment of the Gadaa. During *cinna Gadaa*, the central caffee was very weak/loose and it could not enforce its order at least parallel to the Gadaa constituent units. According to some sources, the centrality of the Odaa Nabee which was the political center of pan Oromo Gadaa government since 204 A.D., was replaced by clan based assembly in 756 A.D. (Ibid). This later of this *cinna Gadaa* was the period when Shawan Muslim Sultanates emerged. (Ibid). On the other hand *haaromsa Gadaa* (renewal of the Gadaa) is the complete revitalization or refreshment reorganization of pan Oromo Gadaa system. The invasion of central Oromos by he christian Abyssinia in the North and by Muslim sultanates in the East around 13th and 14th century necessitated for the movement of *Haaromsa Gadaa*. It is understandable that interrupted Gadaa system, which is also known as *cinna Gadaa*, normally requires *Haaromsa Gadaa*, renewal or reformation. (Milkessa, 2017)

Ezkel (2008) also investigates the reviving philosophy towards Gadaa revitalization. There is a growing desire among Oromo to acknowledge the Gadaa heritage to relate each other ‘*akka Gadaati.*’ he also hits as a Gadaa system is not only a traditional political system suited only a pastoral society; it is also a democratic system

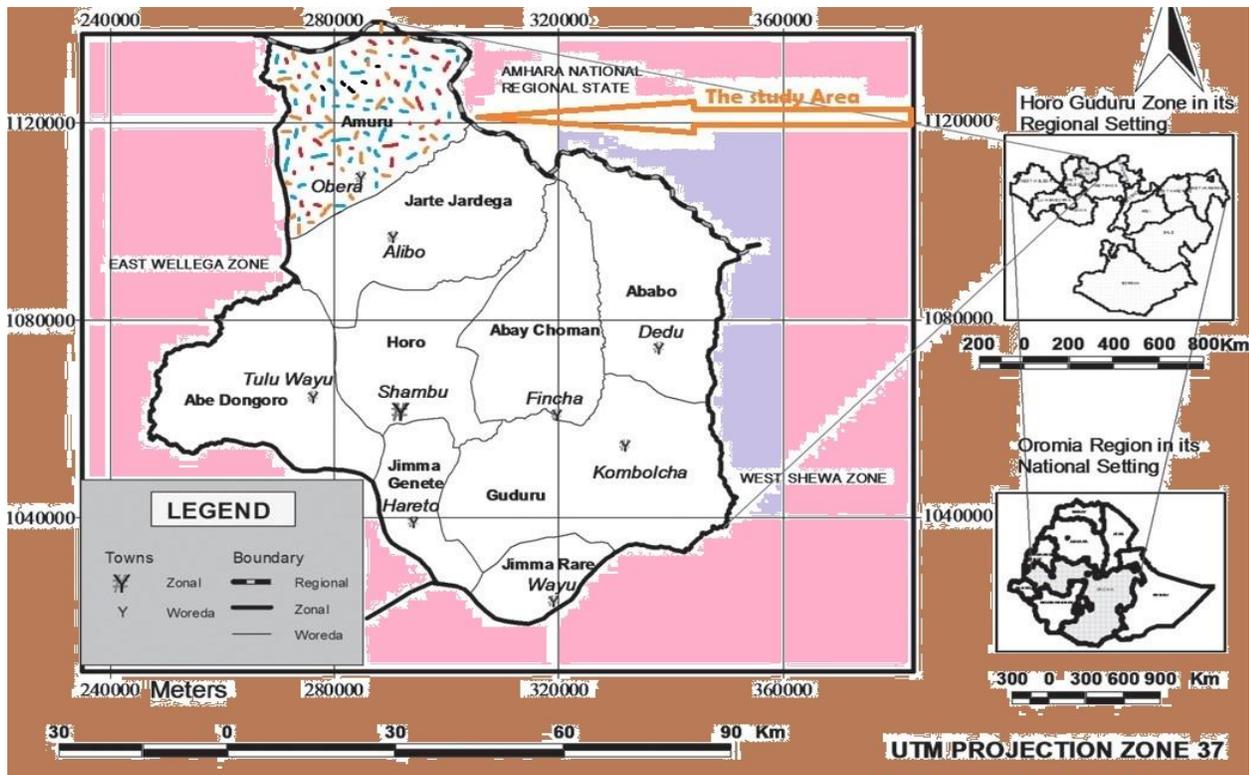
that can serve as a model of governance in modern times. Subsequently, when Dereje (2014) contended that , “to day it is the reviving in performances of Gadaa in many areas where it has long been weakened.” All these aforementioned scholars granted and appreciated that the Gadaa system which was declined in the past for many years is currently in the process of revitalizing in different parts of Oromia including Horroo Guduruu areas particularly in Amuru Oromo.

Chapter Three: Background of The Study Area

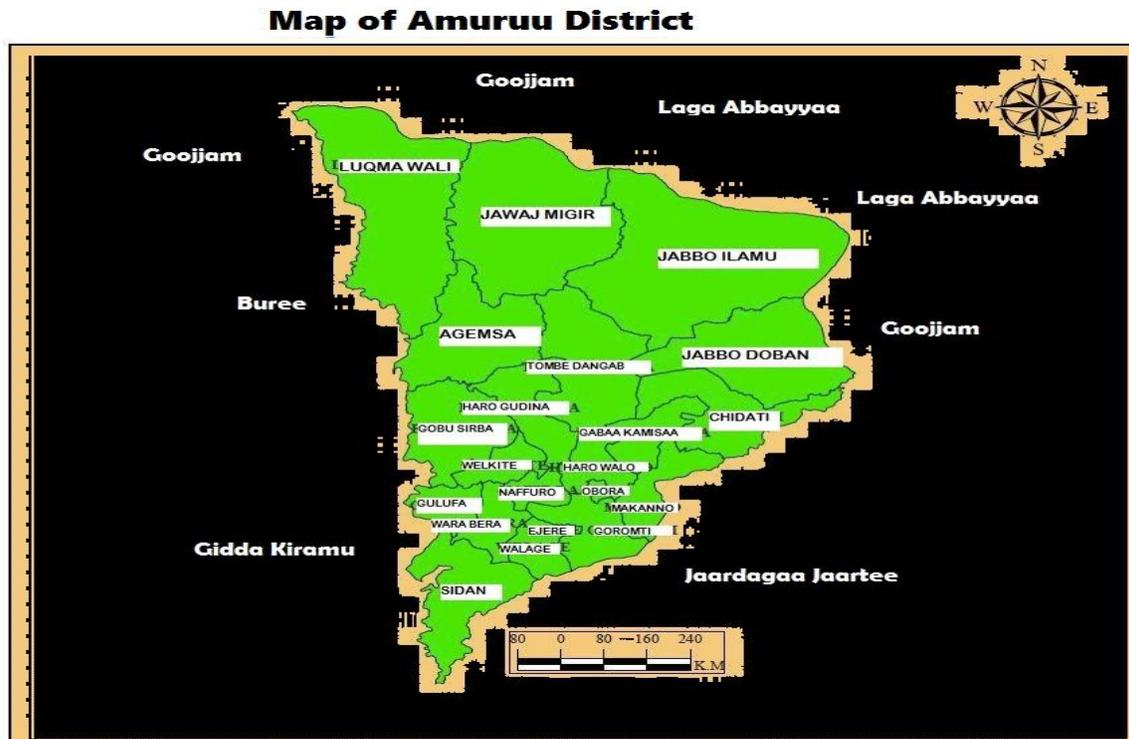
This chapter is aimed at shedding the light on the background of the study area. Better understanding the sociocultural background of the society of the Jawi Macca in general and the Amuru Oromo in particular constitutes the central part of this chapter. Information that is going to be discussed in this section plays a pivotal role in understanding the atmosphere in which the title under discussion occurs.

3.1. Physical Location of Amuru District

Amuru is one of the districts of Horro Guduru Wallagga Zone in Oromia Regional State and named as a district in 1911 E.C. Amuru District is 410 kms (four hundred ten kilo meters) far from the capital city of Ethiopia, Finfinne and 68 km far from the Zonal capital, Shambu. This district is bordered by Jaardaga Jarte in the East, Gidda Kiramu in the West, Abe Dongoro in the South and Jaardaga Jaarte & Amhara National Regional State in the North. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District).



Picture 1: Horro Guduru Wallagga Zone Administrative Map. Source: Originally adopted from Lemessa (2012) and modified and edited by the researcher.



Picture 2: Map of Amuru district. Source: Originally adopted from Telegram channel of ‘*Dhaloota Amuruu Fuliyyee*’ modified and edited by the researcher).

3.2. Agro-Ecology and Climate

According to the District Agriculture and Rural Development Office, the district has three kinds of agro ecological zones. Amongst these, *Gammoojjii* covers 15% of the area of Amuru district. It has dry weather with 400-900mm annual rainfall and 20-30°C temperature. Semi-desert valley buttons and gorges with extremely arid marginal steeply sloping area are described as Shokee, Saka and Chidhatti. *Badda – Daree-* climate zone covers 70% of Amuru district with moderate climate of mid highland or sub-tropical area. Annual rainfall in this area ranges from 600-1000mm and its relatively warm temperature ranges from 20°C-25°C

Baddaa covers 15% of the area with cold moist area. The annual amount of rainfall of this area ranges from 1200-2200mm and cold temperature ranges from 10°C-20°C. The extreme part of this area is called *diilallaa*, is sometimes covered with hailstones or ice but usually with cold moist with less than 11°C mean annual temperature and above 2200mm rainfall per year yet it is confined to small parts of the

district. Mean annual temperature ranges from 10⁰c and 30⁰c and mean annual rainfall ranges from 1000-2300mm. In the coldest months, October and December, mean temperature ranges from 5⁰c-20⁰c while in the hottest months, February to May it is 30⁰c. The rainfall in the district is weakly bi-modal with small rainy spring March-May season while season and long rainy months of June, July and August. (Source: Agricultural Development Office of the District Report of 2007).

3.3. Natural Resources

3.3.1. Drainage System

Amuru District has a lot of rivers such as Gassas, Hangar, Walage, Qaccallu, Mooyyee, Gurraatii, Dar'o, Malkaa Sadanii and Qarsaa. These rivers were used for agricultural activities and drinkings. In addition to this, they were used for recreational activities. Hangar, *Gaassas*, *Walage*, *Mooyyee* and *Qorsaa* are used for electric power. Not only this, *Hora Gonkaa* is a well-known *huraa* that the Amuru and other groups used for their cows' previously. This *huraa* was a hot water in nature and used to heal cows from different diseases. Cows that drink this vapour *huraa* become fat, beautiful and give milk very well. In addition to this, *huraa* is used as medicine for animals and humans as well. (Source: Agricultural Development Office of the District Report of 2007).

3.3.2. Soil

There are inherent reasons which farmers of the district used to classify soils based on what they see and feel. Among them, color, fertility, land type and depth are the most important ones. *Biyyee diimaa* is usually suitable for farming activities. It is suitable to grow *xaafii* (*eragrotis teff*), *garbuu* (barley), *qamadii* (wheat), *baaqelaa* (bean), *daagujjaa* (millet), *bisingaa* (sorghum), *boqqolloo* (maize). It is suitable for all crops growing in the region even without fertilizer, but *xaafii* suffers from lodging sometimes even under no fertilization indicating high level of nutrients content. It is also important to plant coffee and various the seare fruits like papaya, orange, avocado, mango and the like. This is thus, considered to be the best among the other soils. *Biyyee gurraachaa* is important to sow *xaafii*, *nuugii*, *talbaa* (linseed/flax), maize and the like. *Biyyee kooticha* (vertisoil) is found in humid area (*caffee*) and has a gray color and not preferred for farming but sometimes the people sow maize on this soil during dry time using *jallisii* (irrigation).

Biyyee suphee (clay soil) is used for making clay materials for various purposes. There are clans who have knowledge of making house material from clay. *Biyyee cirrachaa* (sandy soil) is exposed after the removal of the red soil due to high rate of erosion and extensive tillage for a long time. (Informants: Wako Akasa, Gammada Baldhis and Reggassa Akasa).

3.3.3. Forest

In Amuru District, there are many dense forests including Hangar, Gurraa Loophoo, Dommee, Mooyyee, Libano, Laga Baddeessaa, Korma Booraa, Goromti, Gurraa Garbii and Jarmammee. To the custodians of the culture, these forests have close relationship and many advantages. Specially, the economic benefits of trees like Waddeessaa, Bahaa, Doddota, Hoomii Qararoo and the like are useful as home of wild animals, sustainable environment, furniture, house *construction, fire wood, and farming tools* such as beam (*gindii*), shareholder (*hordaa*), yoke (*qanbarrii*), *dongoraa, muka gasoo, muka gottoo, muka gajamoo, muka haamtuu, muka eeboo* and others. Gaagurtee/beekeepers use large trees that have many branches such as *baddeessaa, bakkannisa, harbuu, qilxuu, somboo* and etc for hanging *gaagura*/beehives and honey extraction. So, people conserve these forests and do not recklessly cut. This does not mean that people conserve forests for their utilitarian purpose only. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District).

3. 3. 4. Wild Animals

In Amuru district, there are many wild animals like *qeerransa* (tiger), *leenca* (lion), *Gadaamsa* (greater kudu), boorxee, *Xirinyii* (civet cat), osolee (rock hyrax), karkaroo (warthog), booyyee (pig), bosonuu (reedbuck), hilleensa (rabbit), waraabessa (hyena), waango (fox), kuruphee (red duiker), weennii (colubus monkeys), jaldeessa (monkey), qamalee (ape), dhaddee (porcupine), waldiigessa (ant eater) and others. For these animals, peoples have different attitudes. For instance lion and tiger are seen as strong. Referring to this, in blessing elders say ‘Leenca leenca qabe ta’aa’, this means, be strong as a lion. In addition to this, they relate their behaviors with humans and incorporate in fables as they have massages. Some wild animals such as ant eater have bad attitude because of being diggers of the gardens and devastates crops. Many of these wild animals live in Gurraa Loophoo forest. In order not killed by peoples, protection is done for them. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District)

3.4. Tourist Attraction Sites

There are many tourist attractions like Dhagaa Walbaataa Agamsaa, Fincaa'aa Agamsaa, Gophoo Quluu, Holqa Dhugumaa Bongaasee, Holqa Eegoo, Holqa Goree, Holqa Kotomboo, Holqa Uraa and the kind. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District).

3.4.1 Odaa Naffuroo: Odaa Naffuro is one of the heritage sites of Amuru district. Thus, it is the place where Gadaa system was carried out representing Jaawi Macca clan. It was 15km from the district of the town. (Culture and Tourism Office of the District).



Picture 3: Odaa Naffuroo, Photo taken by the researcher (April 26, 2019)

3.4.2. Dhagaa Qeerroo: This is literally meant ‘youth’s stone.’ This stone has an amazing creation in nature and located in Obora town in *Ejere Goromti* village, eight kilo meter from the town of *Amuru* district to the West. On this stone only Qeerroos are allowed to climb. This is because married person which is called *suubboo* can not to climb it. This means *dhagaa qeerroo* is an exam to differentiate *suubboo* from *qeerroo*. This is the reason to be called *dhagaa qeerroo*. Based on this, in the Oral sayings of the society, “*Qeerroon takka utaaalee irra keessa bahe; suubboon gadi taa’ee saddeeqa*”

taphate.” (Qeerroo has simply jumped to the top of the stone and *suubboo* failed to jump and sat on the earth to play *saddeeqa*). Starting from the past, this stone has a place where many *Qeerroos* compete their level of strength. It is eight kilometer vertically. It is circular in shape and straight on the top. When someone wants to climb on the stone there is a hole that is used for starting point. As it approaches to the top, there is a small hole which is the last standing point. On the way to climb and to put in the earth, it has place where a thump of the leg touched, from earth it has two meter far apart from each other.

Dhagaa qeerroo is sometimes called *gooba qeerroo*. This is because it seems Ox’s *gooba*/hump which is located at the top of ox’s part. It is the same as *gooba korma* when someone looks simply. In addition to this it seems as a power. Around the surrounding of it there are many small stones that used to play *saddeeqa*. Climbing on *dhagaa qeerroo* implies the strength of the *qeerroo*. The one who climb on the stone has been valued in the society. Girls also wish to marry them. He is considered as a hero and the one who saves his power by thinking in the future. It remarks as a powerful person and indication of readiness to marry. Contrary to this the one who failed to climb *dhagaa qeerroo* has devalued in the society. He had been committed by having a sex before marriage because of this he is not loved within society there by it is taboo in the culture of the society.

The one who climbs *dhagaa qeerroo* from bottom to the top with no interruption has been rewarded. According to Amuru culture a big horse has been given as a reward for the winner of this cultural sport competition, *dhagaa qeerroo*. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District a Compiled Document in 2007, Informants: Taakkelee Bakaree and Tafarraa Amanuu).

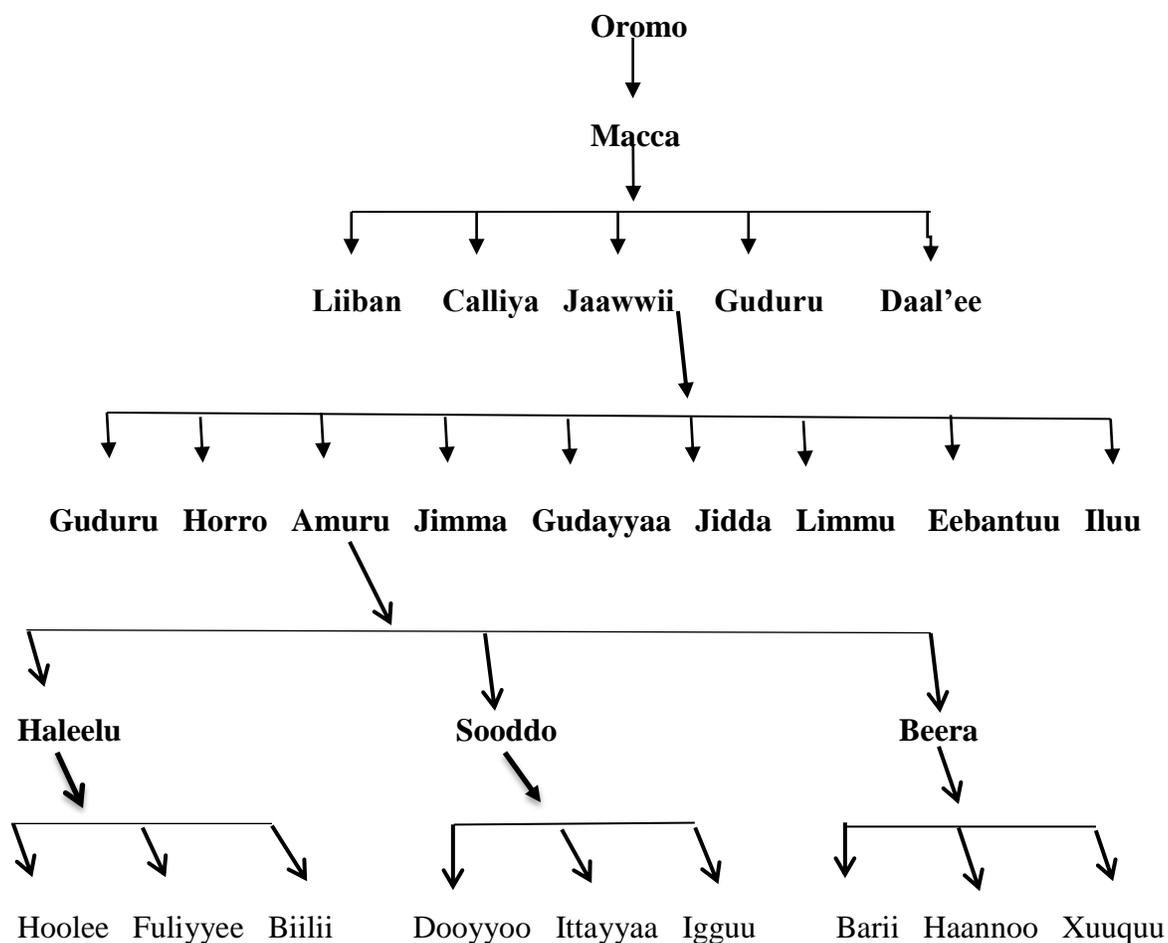


Picture

4: Dhakaa Qeerroo, Photo captured by researcher during field work. (April 30, 2019)

3.5. Genealogy and Kinship Structure of the Amuru

According to Asmarom (1973) and Knutson (1967), the Oromo describe their genealogy beginning from the largest kinship system, *gosa*, which is subdivided into moiety, sub-moiety and *qomo* (clan). One of the major sub-branches of the Maccaa Oromo is Jaawwii, who in turn begot Nine Jaawwii. Among the nine Jaawwii, Amuru Clan is one, who in-turn begot Sadan Amuru.



The genealogical sketch of the Amuruu of Jawi Macca Oromo. Source: (Culture and Tourism office of Amuru District).

The Amuruu are also further sub-divided into different clans, sub-clans and lineages. According to key informants the society uses lower kinship structures terminologies in ascending order known as *mana* (family), *maatii* (extended family), *warra* (minimal lineage), *balbala* (lineage) and *qomoo* (clan). Sometimes the term *mana* and *maatii* are interchangeably used. However, according to most informants the term *mana* refers to biological parent-children relationship mostly those living in a fence whereas *maatii* is extended family of one mother and father having their own independent *mana*/house. These extended families have strong blood ties next to *mana*. The next layer is the *warra* consists of several extended families, which could include maternal and paternal uncles.

The members consider each other as *fira aantee* (closest relatives). *Balbala* (lineage) is wider layer consists of several minimal lineages. They consider each other as *fira fagoo* (distant relatives). The final layer is the *qomoo* (clan), the largest kinship structure.

The Amuru identify their descent both from father's and mother's lines as *fira* (relative). In relation to this Tesema (1996:202) stated that the obligations of immediate patrilineal kinship are of great importance but they do not dominate all other relationships. Oromo should, and generally do, hold maternal kin and affine in equal regard with their agnates. Hirut (2000: 47) indicates that patrilineality and patrilocality defines the basic patterns of the Oromo Society. Similarly, With regard to the kinship organization, the Oromo of Amuru sort out themselves based on their blood relationship, though there is the adoption of non-kin through *guddifacha* mechanism. Like any other Oromo groups, they trace their descent through patrilineal line and are patrilocal and patriarchal. The newly married male set up his new family close to his father's homestead. In this case, the settlement patterns of the successive married boys are arranged in such a way that they share their father's land and resources among themselves.

A person has to define his/her places, roles, responsibilities and complex relationship of his/her clan with others among-st these groupings. After clearly distinguishing his/her genealogical structures and where s/he rightly belongs for everything, one adjusts his/her manners, behaviors, desires and motives, which help to easily establish the appropriate kind of lineage relationships. This identification is important for social acceptance, friendship etc. and helps to avoid one's blood relations in marriage. The nature of marriage and social interactions determine relationship. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District, a Compiled Document in 2005).

3.6. Rites of Passage

3.6.1. Shanan Ceremony

In Oromo there are different rites of passages which are celebrated on different ages throughout life. *Shanan* is rite of passage which is celebrated on the fifth day after the mother gave birth to child. *Shanan* is an Oromo term which means five because the celebration is on the fifth day. There are different celebrations called shanan because of the Oromo love to celebrate different cultural events after five. For instance, *shanan* ritual of wedding, *shanan* ritual of hunting, *shanan* ritual after *buttaa* ceremony and etc. On this ceremony there are various ritualistic activities: song, performance, blessing, food and

drinkings and also medication for mother and infant. The day is thanks giving day for God. For that ritual there are different things needed to fulfill and mandatory for the celebration. Those are prepared a day before celebration. Porridge made from crops like barley, maize, bean, wheat, xaafii and etc. Coffee, milk, butter and etc. are prepared. Accordingly, on the fifth day after the mother gave birth to child the ritual held. (Source: Culture and Tourism of the District, a Document Compiled in 2005).

3.6.2. Marriage and Family Life

The Amuru Oromo practice different kinds of marriage arrangements. The following are the main ones:

A. Kadhaa/Naqata (Betrothal): This is desirable and formal marriage arrangement type, if everything is normal, requiring a long negotiation processes. The marrying couples and their families might not know each other enough prior to the wedding. It is likely that they live far apart and the choice of the bride for the groom is made by the relatives of the groom through different means without having acquaintances between him and her. Even if they know each other prior to wedding, the occasion makes them unfamiliar to each other to create competitive atmosphere between the two families and their respective clans. There is a strong desire to create suspense to know more about the bride and the groom from the two parties. This scenario adds power and intensities to this wedding ceremony that everybody aspires to undergo, but might lack capital to withstand the demanding expense. (Informants: Takele, Jamaynesh Duguma, Desiftu Wakjira).

B. Sabbat-marii: Is arranged when urgent case occurs on the part of marrying man. He cannot undergo negotiation of kadhata being eager to marry as quickly as possible.

C. Aseennaa (Getting in): Is going of the bride to home of young man and his family without their prior knowledge. It surprises them, but the law forces them to accept her and fulfill all the requirements the marriage law dictates. These include informing and negotiating with her parents, slaughter rakoo/wedding ceremony animal to legalize the nuptial, choosing best man for her, providing clothes and other necessary items. Then, the young man becomes the groom. (Informants: Geexee Dhuguma and Desiftu Wakjira).

D. Dhaala/Bulchuu¹: Is a means through which a damaged family life due to the death of husband is tried to be healed. It helps to provide a social father for the children of one's brother, labor for the family and custodian for the property.

E. Abaabbalii (Coaxing): In this case, the man lures the girl using different means.

F. Butii (Abduction): Is forceful taking of the girl by the young man and his friends probably being denied permission of the girl's parents. It has adverse effects on the girl and her parents; they cannot be happy. It takes them long processes to come to terms with the existing situation. Even after the negotiation process is over, it is difficult for them to have positive attitudes towards the now son-in-law. Yet, once established, marriage is meant to safely last forever after. Understanding, concordance, fatefulness, opportunity, fecundity and prosperity are forecast for the future life of the couples (Source: Culture and tourism Office of the District).

G. Church Marriage: Is the recently developed form of marriage in Amuru being organized by *Jaarsa Waldaa*/church elders. If a boy or a girl fell in love, he or she may inform the *jaarsa Waldaa* to bring them together and mediate the issue. Through these processes the *Jaarsa Waldaa* arrange the marriage with the consent of *Jaarsolii Waldaa*, the parents and the couples. Thus, it takes place in the church.

3.7. Religion

In Amuruu district there are different religions. Among these Protestantism, Orthodox Christianity, Islam and Waaqeffataa Religion are some. Protestantism has dominated the lion's share of the population. Then Islam is the next. Even though these two religions dominated the overall district, there are also peoples who were still following an indigenous Oromo Religion, *Waaqeffannaa*. The Oromo believed in Waaqa Tokkicha (Monotheistic God) and 'dhugaa' (Truth, the son of Waaqa). The Amuruu belong here, too. They believe in Waaqa and recognize the roles and values of *dhugaa: dhugaa dabsuun nama balleessa* "distorting truth is destructive"; *qe'ee namaa onsa* "makes one's homestead barren". When facing problems, they gather at selected sites and worship, sacrifice animals and pray. (Source: Culture and Tourism Office of the District).

¹ *Dhaala*: Marrying wife of one's deceased brother

3.8. Economic Activities of Amuruu

Economy is essential to maintain basic traits of identities of a certain group of people. Originally, it appears that just like other Oromo groups, the Amuru had emphasized animal husbandry (*horii horsiisuu*), plowing and harvesting crops (arable farming) and started animals firmly supporting diverse activities of production and marketing. Thus, they practice mixed agriculture at present time rearing animals and tilling land.

3.8.1. Animal Husbandry (Horii Horsiiisuu)

The Amuru rear different types of domestic animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, horses and mules. Cattle are usually respected breed of animals. They give different products and help for different purposes. They are most commonly known and famed for milk and milk products. The cow gives milk that serve as food. This is basic for human life, especially for young children. The butter from the milk makes stew precious and tasty for the domestic staple food *buddeena*, a pancake made of flour (the most domestic staple cuisine in Ethiopia).

The cattle are also useful to perform different types of economic activities. The whole cattle including the young ones are important to help in different agricultural activities. Oxen help to pull plough to plow the land to grow crops etc. The oxen help in separating straw from crops. Bulls carry big tree stems and woods that help as pillars in house constructions as it becomes difficult to carry by human labor to bring to the place of building. (Source: Agricultural Development Office of the District, Report of 2007).

Further, cattle are important in maintaining the fertility of the soil to produce better crops. Cow dung is the most important and fundamental natural fertilizer of the soil. It helps to add the quantities and qualities of production. The other animals also produce similar waste products that function to fertilize the soil to enrich it. Before the coming of chemical fertilizer, it is used to be the only means to help to keep the fertility of the soil and produce crops in quality and quantity. (*Ibid*).

3.8.2 Arable Farming (Qonnaa)

The type of plowing depends on the kind of crop to be grown. The land for *xaafii* (the main domestic grain) needs serious plowing, at least three times before sowing; one of these must be digging on opposite or perpendicular to the earlier. Tilling is generally carried out from *Arfaasaa* through *Ganna* to

Birraa. But the kinds of tilling that occur throughout these three seasons are meant for different kinds of crops. During *Arfaasaa*, it is meant for growing maize and others. (Source: Agricultural Development Office of the District, Report of 2007).

The Amuruu dwell on fertile land that can produce grain crops and vegetables. It is conducive for the oxen to plow. The soil is fertile to produce grains without the use of chemical fertilizer. The lowland areas are good for the production of crops like *daagujjaa* (millets), *bisingaa* (sorghum), and others. It also produces good *jirbii* (cotton). The Amuruu manage to use diversified mechanisms to maintain the fertility of soils and maximize the use of their land. One is called *ciibsa ciibsuu* (making kraals on the plot and changing its place at regular interval). Following it, the *Amuruu* plough, as many times as it needs, clean the land off weeds and grow crops. Another alternative is crop rotations. This is growing another type after one or two years of growing one type of crop. A third option is *lafa baasuu* (fallowing) to bring its fertility back to the land. Leaving the land for cattle to graze on is a further option in fertilizing it. (Source: Agricultural Development Office of the District, Report of 2007;/Informants: Bakare Kumsaa and Waaqoo Akkasaa).

Xaafii is ground into flour or powder. The flour is made dough to be cooked to *buddeena*. This makes the most staple food item of Amuruu. Other crops also undergo similar processes and become *buddeena*. Different vegetables and root-seeds are also produced in Amuruu. Among these, *moosee/dinnicha* (potatoes), *ancootee* (root-seed), onion etc. Diversified food types can be made of these crops. Variety types of drink are also made of these grain crops. The crops can also be a variety of drinks - non-alcoholic local drinks – undergoing various processes. These are mostly made up of different types of crops, but they can also made up of similar or one type of crop. The drinks are mainly made up of *geeshoo* (sour green plant), yeast and others. (Source: Agricultural Development Office of the District, Report of 2007).

3.9. Cultural Foods, Drinks and Clothes

3.9.1. Cultural Foods and Drinks

There are many crops which are widely grown in the study area. Among these, barley, maize, sorghum, sweet potatoes, *xaafii*, and beans are largely grown and are principal form of subsistence. In addition, these crops are used to prepare cultural foods like *cumboo* (cultural food usually made from red teff)

caccabsaa (cultural food made from teff with butter), *marqaa* (porridge), *qorii* (roasted barley dubbed with butter), *cukkoo* (roasted ingredients of barley mixed with butter) and the like. In addition to these, honey, ancootee, daabboo girrisee/small bread/ also exist. Among drinks, *booka*, *farsoo* and *buqurii* are existing in relation to the above foods.

3.9.2. Cultural clothes

There are different clothes that the society wore as a cultural material. Among them:

A. Wandaboo/Dress: Is a full and complete dress worn on the body. It is complete to cover the whole body parts. It is made of cotton.

B. Sabbata: Is belt of cotton woven in similar manner to the dress. It is tied upon the dress round the waist. It can be decorated with multiple colors at both ends named *kuula* (color combination). This becomes beautiful. Mostly *sabbata* is provided for the marrying girl by her mother. Tying her waist with it strengthens her physically when she goes empty stomach. *Sabbataan mudhii hidhee* (tying my waist with *sabbata*/belt) is to mean I have strengthened myself.

C. Balee/Wayyaa: The name *balee* shows that it is single folded, light and cover up cloth worn upon qoloo/wandaboo for the purpose of ostentation and disguising unpleasant images. It is preferred for its simplicity and beauty. It is also made of cotton that has been through similar processes as of the *qoloo* and *sabbata*. The difference is that the thread for *balee* is spun thinly and carefully so that it can be durable. It is also desired to be a light and attractive cloth. *Balee* can serve the purpose of covering and disguising.

D. Gaabii/Bullukkoo: Is made from cotton and large and wide clothes worn to protect from cold. It does not need colored margins at the end like *balee*. It is worn during cold weather. It is mostly night cloth. This is spun by the bride and woven by skilled *dhooftuu* (weaver) to be given to father and mother-in-law as a gift on the marriage ceremony. (Informants: Waaqoo Akkasaa and Abdiisaa Akkasaa).

3.10. Traditional Cooperatives

The societies cooperatively share labor in plowing; sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, clearing forest for new plot, house construction etc. The most known ones are:

A. Daadoo: Is organized among able-bodied males and females on equal bases (Tesema; 1996: 206). It is mostly organized by neighborhoods that show agreeable manner to support each other or work together in rotational basis, to make an activity faster. At the initial stage, the members are expected to agree as to whom they provide services first and other subsequent members turn by turn. If they fail to agree, it is decided by lottery system. The size and types of activities to be done also determine the size but in most cases the size is small. Every body is expected to feed the group on the day of his/her turn, but not local drinks. The participants are expected to come with material and non-material things that are necessary for the activity.

B. Daboo: Is mutual help in which the head of the household requests the labor of large number of able bodied men and women in the community to work on his/her farm. Tesema (1996: 205) also explains that the *daboo* help is given according to the person's agreeable manners, love of friend and generosity and sociability. All age and sex categories of individuals except immature children, aged women and unhealthy individuals, participate. Eating and local drinks are arranged by the *abbaa daboo*. (Source: Culture and tourism office of the District).

Chapter Four: Results and Discussions

4.1. The Incursion of Jawi Maccaa and the foundation of Odaa Naffuro as a Gadaa center.

Jaawwii is one of the Maccaa clan who seem to have obeyed a common law with other Macca groups at Odaa Bisil. Many Oromo clans in Horro Guduru trace their ancestors to Jaawwii, the descendants of Macca group. Tradition in Horro Guduru tells us that Jaawwii had nine sons. These were Horro, Jiddaa, Challiya, Limmu, Amuru, Jimmaa, Ebentu, Guduru and kiramu. As a result, all regions have been called by the name of the clans who first settled in the area. Thus, the Horro clan settled in Horro making its center Odaa Bulluq² which also became (the Caffee assembly) for the nine Jaawwii descendants. Guduru settled in the east, Challiya and Jimmaa settled south of Horro Bulluq. While, Jidda, kiramu, Limmuu, Ebentu, and Amuru settled in the west and north west of Odaa Bulluq beyond Anger river.³

Odaa Bulluq was the center of traditional Gadaa assembly for the Macca Oromo of Horro- Guduruu. All the Jaawwii decendants in Horro Guduruu used to participate at the Gadaa assembly of Odaa Bulluq through their representatives. Odaa Bulluq was a socio-political center both the office of government and ritual center for so many years. It was a place where Gadaa officials made laws and proclaimed and ritual practice was carried out. Thus, the socio-political as well as economic life of the Jaawwi Oromo were based on the Gadaa assembly at Caffee Bulluq right up to the early nineteenth century, when Jaawwii clans beyond Angar river including Limmuu, Jiddaa, Ebantu, Amuru and kiramu were separated.⁴

Subsequently, these descendants of Jaawwii were establish their own center separating from Odaa Bulluq. This is due to the shortage of land owing to the increase in human population and cattle forced the Jaawwii descendants to depart. Then, Guduru at Gadaa Ejersa Qobboo, Jimmaa Gannatii at Odaa Baha Kaarraa, Dongoroo at Odaa Guutaa, Gudayyaa at Tuutii Bisil, Iluu at Gadaa Fooqa Diilloo, Eebatuu at Gadaa Tulluu Hindee, Limmuu at Gadaa Dhakaa Waaree, Giddaa at Gadaa Dirree Waajjii,

² Odaa Bulluq or Burqaa Bulluq is currently found in Sekela Village 15km from the Shambu Town, the capital city of Horro Guduru Wallaggaa Zone. It is one of the sacred sites and the place where caffee Bulluq is practiced. Odaa Bulluq is the place where Gada system was carried out representing Horro Oromo and the population of the Zone. It is a center of Gadaa for fourteen off-springs of Horro descendants

³ A written document on Gadaa Naffuro by Takele Bakare, former head of Amuru Culture and Tourism Office, 2007

⁴ (Ibid).

Jaardagaa Jaartee at Odaa Wiixaar, Amuruu at Odaa Naffuroo. (Source: Ibid) Consequently, the establishment of Odaa Naffuro as the *Gadaa* center for the area had the relation the incursion of the Maccaa branch of Jaawwii to the Giddaa region crossing the Amuru locality. Elders of *argaa dhageettii* narrates based on the local explanation and give mythical justification regarding the establishment of Odaa Naffuro as a *Gadaa* center. One of my informants has explained as follows when asked about how Odaa Naffuro was founded as a *Gadaa* center.

Once up on a time, Jawi Macca started journey from Horro to his destination of Gidda passing through Jaardaga Jarte which is today's Alibo town and Amuru. One day the sun set at a place called Naffuro while he was on the way to Gidda. Then Jawi and his families with their livestock spent their night at Naffuro. There was one big bull that could not easily sleep and wake up on time. As usual the bull slept and did not wake up early when they were ready to leave for Gidda. Though Jawi attempted much to awake the bull, he was not successful. Consequently, Jawi called up on the surrounding elders and told them to establish Gadaa center on the place where the bull slept. He further, proclaimed and blessed that area to serve the surrounding community. Following this, the Amuru came to the area and made Gadaa laws, elected Abbaa Gadaa until 1948. (Informants: Takale Bakare and Nagaraa Wayyeessaa).

In this Amuru area bull has a special place and symbolizes king in cattle compound. It goes in front of all cattle and has irreplaceable role in cattle reproduction. Sometimes, it is assumed as '*waa beekaa* wise person who have the wisdom of predicting what to happen in the future. For instances, if thief comes around cattle's compound it gives a voice (*bookkisa*) so that owners can protect them from theft. It predicts time '*bara beekaa*'. For instances, if a bull sleeps on the ground and refuses to stand, it is perceived that the coming year is prosperous. Further, the house of its owner (*Abbaa kormaa*) must be constructed on the place where it sleeps. It can be understandable from these arguments that the Amuru have attachments to a bull. In fact, they can interpret bull's action in order to realize a time and used as an alarm that inform them the surrounding situations.

Informants mention that Odaa Naffuro had been established to serve as a center of different ritual activities like thanks giving, sacrificing animals for God's mercy, help in their difficulties, for dark summer is transformed to bright autumn, and praying for the future. These religious activities continued and passed from generation to generation until 1948. Before this time, *Gadaa* practice at Odaa Naffuro had been functioned. Odaa Naffuro served as a place where rules and regulations were taught, place for conflict resolution, place where the Oromo teach culture to one another, and a place where various ritual activities took place. In addition, *Irreeffaannaa* was conducted at Dar'oo River and came to an end there. The main reason behind this was due to a power transfer from Abbaa Gadaa Kumsaa Gojeb

Guutee who lived around *Madaal*⁵ to *Bayyaan Mootii* from *Hoolee* clan to hold Gadaa power. Elders asserted that Kumsa quite his power for he wanted to move to *Agamsa* to get large farming land for his family's livelihoods. After that *Bayyaan* became Abbaa Gadaa of the Naffuro Gadaa center, but he did not fulfill criteria expected from Gadaa leader such as failure of waging of buttaa on the scheduled eight year. (Informants: Gammadaa Baldhis and Deesaa Goobanaa).

Consequently, the societies also did not actively undertake their usual social-cultural activities. Further, it seems that the power transferring at Odaa Naffuro was going by hereditary which is contradictory to values of power transferring in Oromo Gadaa system. This mechanism is said to be emerged and inherited from Odaa Bulluq, Gadaa center in which Jaawwii descendants established their centers. It was said that, from Jawi descendants Horro-Bulluq was the first place where the Jawwi Oromo settled and made Bulluq their center. It was the senior clans of Jawwi Horro who first made Bulluq their center. Thus, it came to be called Horro Bulluq. The same is true for Odaa Naffuro. This is because, the leading personalities to the new areas of Odaa Naffuro was Hoolee, the senior clan of Amuru. As a result, from the center had the right to hold 'qabiyye' (land right) and to divided the land among his descendants according to elder- younger relationship. On the grounds of the laws made at Odaa Naffuro, each clan of the Amuru occupied the land and the areas settled were given the name of the first settlers of the clans by which the areas are still known.

On the other hand, the political system of the Ethiopian central government under the *neftenya* (Amharic for "gun men") system and *Haile Sillisie* was also harsh that society could not freely use their language and undertake their cultural and religious activities. In those days Oromo people were deprived of their rights to make Gadaa laws and to practice it. Therefore, the total sum of all these have adversely affected it that the society no more continue practicing their Gadaa at Naffuro center. (Informants: Gammadaa Baldhis and Deesaa Goobanaa).

Yet, the peoples used different methods in order to preserve their indigenous culture for example, the peoples tried to practice, *Irrecha* festivity at night time by going to river bank until it was permitted and revived fully again. Moreover, People of the study area have been secretly practicing their socio cultural and religious rituals in their homes. Currently, Naffuro Gadaa center is renewed and begun to be celebrated since 1998 E.C. (Informants: Takele Bakare and Nagara Wayyeessa).

⁵ Madaal, one of the Ganda (smallest administrative unit) in Amuruu district and 15 km far from Odaa Naffuro.

4.2. A location and symbolic significance of Odaa Naffuro

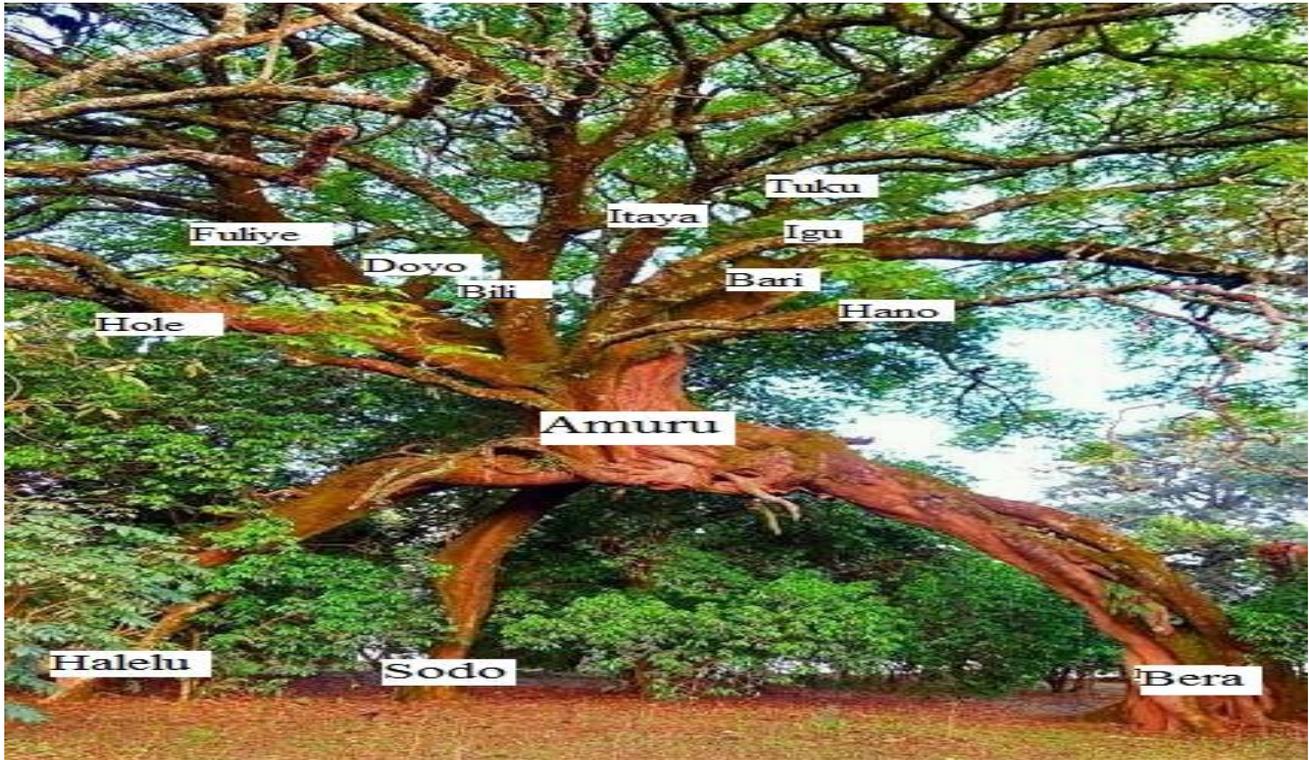
Odaa Naffuro is located in the Amuru district, Horro Guduru Wallagga Zone, Oromia region. It is 410 km far from Finfinnee, capital city of Oromia. It was 68km far from the zone town, Shambu and 3 km far from Amuru district town, Oborraa, in the Western direction. It is found in the Kebele called Naffuro named after the name of the Gadaa center. According to elders of the study area, the current Odaa (sycamore tree under which the Oromo conduct their socio cultural rituals of their Gadaa system) is not the former one. The former Odaa, under which their grand fathers and forefathers celebrated Gadaa, used to stand in one trunk/stem and broadened in its top. Elders confirmed that, as it is not as the current one, which stands in three trunks/stem and meet each other and became one on the top and then broadened to different branches. The former fell down due to its oldness. As the Oromo proverb says, *Iji baddus iddoon ijaa hin baddu* which implies though eye disappears, its place is there, though the former Odaa disappears, its place is well known and even there are some roots remaining in the ground. After a while another plant called *Gatamaa* is grown on that *Odaa* remnants. This new plant is soft in nature and usually dependent and grown on another plant. (Informants: Takele Bakaree and Gammadaa Baldhis).

As it can be observed from figure 5, there are two independently grown *Odaa* plants which finally join with the one which is grown on the former *Odaa* root united together and created one plant which is so surprising nature. The former *Odaa* Naffuro was fell down and as a result of being old, another tree called *Gatama* was grown, which leads the community to be surprised, the society of Amuruu have narrated as it has symbolism.

As per the elders, the root of the former *Odaa* was only one which symbolizes that the nine sons of *Jaawwii* are one. *Odaa Bulluq* was serving as a *Gadaa* center of *Jaawwii*'s sons. By then, the nine *Jaawwii* (*Salgan Jaawwii*) were living in a place called *Horroo*. Due to population growth and shortage of farming and herding land, they have expanded and captured the *Odaa*'s territory. So, *Jaawwii* sons who have left *Caffee Bulluq* areas have established their own *Gadaa* centers for their daily socio-economic and political life. This was also told that its structure was similar to the *Odaa Bulluq*, their former *Gadaa* center. (Informants: Qanaatee Fayisaa and Gammadaa Baldhis).

According to elders interpretations of the newly grown *Odaa* on the already fall down *Odaa* is directly associated with the history of *Jaawwii* sons. The fall down of the old *Odaa* is related to the weakening of

Gadaa system under *Odaa Bulluq* center due to *Jaawwii's* sons left area and located on the far distance. Similarly, the newly stand up and united *Odaa* with its three roots signifies that the base of *Jaawwii's* sons is from one source, *Odaa Bulluq* their former center. (Informants: Takele Bakaree and Gammadaa Baldhis).



Picture 5: *Odaa* of Naffuroo captured by the researcher during field work (April 24, 2019)

In general sense, related to the two version of *Odaa*'s there is an oral narration that elders like to tell. The newly reemerged *Odaa* is considered as a center for tourism attraction beside to its center for various Gadaa rituals. *Naffuro Odaa* has three roots which join one another and has nine different branches. The three roots are signified to the three sons of Amuru: *Haleeluu*, *Sooddo* and *Beera*. Their mother is called, *Dhibbee*. Each of these children got three children; nine children in sum. They are *Haleelu*'s sons: *Hoolee*, *Fuliyyee* and *Bilii*; *Sooddo*'s sons: *Dooyyoo*, *Ittayyaa* and *Igguu*; *Beera*'s sons: *Baarii*, *Haannoo* and *Xuuquu*. Therefore, the nine branches are associated to the genealogy of Amuru's children which is discussed under chapter three of this thesis (see page 23). As a result of this, in the oral tradition of the people it is known as *muka afaan hin qabne, garuu kan dubbatu* which implies, a tree that does not have a mouth but it speaks. It was said because it manifested and symbolized the genealogy of the society.

The nature of this *Odaa* tree is so miracle that it communicates a lot about that community. Thus, the surrounding society considered it as a sacred plant and place. Currently, it is actively serving both its tourism and *Gadaa* purposes in the Horroo Guduruu zone. (Informants: Nagaraa Wayyeessaa and Deesaa Goobanaa).

4.3. Teaching Rules and Regulations of Odaa Naffuro

According to my informants the beginning of Macca Gadaa system rules says;

As our family told us, the Oromo was stayed before '*dur*' around Mormor river. That is river is what is now called Abbayyaa. The Oromo expanded its territory from this place to the Eastern Oromiyaa. Sitting under Odaa Bisil which is found around Ambo area, they make the laws, execute the laws, negotiate the conflict, advice each other, teach other, and communicate. The whole Maccaa come together here. Maccaa means at that time not represent the today's clan called macca it means far. The major foundation for the emergence of Gadaa system of Macca tribe was court of elder's system and elders' prosecution method. In court of elder's system, the wrong doer was punished by being beaten with a whip. Since this system was not able to go with situation, time and places it became necessary to establish rule and regulation of Gadaa system. This rule and regulation was formulated by assembly which is headed by Makko Bilii a person who was considered as prophet and intellectual in Oromo society. This assembly used the five oath rules of Macca tribe as a base in formulating those rules and regulations. Five oath rules of Macca tribe were formulated and amended at Oda Bisil. (Informants: Deesaa Goobanaa, Gammadaa Baldhis and Taakkalee Bakaree).

The major foundation for the Macca Gadaa was court of elders' prosecution method, in which the wrong doers were punished by being beaten with whips. Since this was not suitable situation, it became necessary to re revise rules and regulations. These rules and regulations were reformulated by assembly headed by Makko Bili, a person who is considered as prophet and intellectual in Oromo society. This assembly used the five oath rules of Macca as a base in reformulating those rules and regulations to ensure the bases of norms and values by respecting one another. The five oath rules were reformulated at Oda Bisil. Then, the Macca Oromo established various centers of *Gadaa* on the basis of their settlement patterns. These centers include: Oda Bulluq, Oda Hullee, Bokkuu Cittuu, Bokkuu Xulee, Laaftoo Arjoo, Odaa Arjoo, Kortun Xuqur, Darabaa Bidoti, Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa Injirroo etc. It was said that, Odaa Naffuro rules and regulations were inherited from Odaa Bulluq.

Odaa Naffuro has its own oath (*kakuu*). This oath was of *Jaarsaa* (elders) *Alangee* (whip) and *Kallacha* (forehead). It stands for this Gadaa and therefore it is considered as rule. According to this rules, the decision has given by the society. In this oath/*kakuu*/ when they come to the Gadaa Naffuro, they promise to the oath by having different materials such as *Eebicha* (a kind of tree and its leaf is bitter when flavored. So that they sat on the *eebicha* tree, *Gundoo*⁶ *dulloome*, *Kallacha*⁷, materials that are permitted by various religions, charcoal (*cilee*), *qoraattii* and the like.

Here the rules that are amended in the system of Gadaa Naffuro. According to the system of Gadaa Naffuro, rules were amended when the power of Gadaa transfer ceremony was taken place. This is taken place when one Gadaa stays on power for eight years and finishes his power and transfers to the next *Abbaa Gadaa*. According to Gadaa system of Gadaa Naffuro the power transfer ceremony (*baallii wal harkaa fuudhuu*) was took place in 2005 E.C. Because of this year Gadaa power transfer ceremony was not took place, the societies were governed by the rules amended at Gadaa Naffuro in 2005 E.C. Therefore, below are the rules that were amended in the Gadaa Naffuro (Inf. Nagaraa Wayyeessaa and Balaay Dhugumaa).

The five oath rules of Odaa Naffuro focus on the following five major issues of various aspects of the people's life:

⁶*Gundoo* is a household utensil stitched up from *migira* (grass) to be used for different activities

⁷*Kallacha* is the ritual object which the Gadaa elders carried, is believed to have been made from *Bakakkaa* (lightening)"the iron dropped from heaven" i.e. from the iron of lightening.

1. Murdering (*Nama ajjeesuu*)
2. Stealing (*Hatuu*)
3. Lying (*Sobuu*)
4. Committing adultery (*Sagaagaluu*)
5. Open people's *kofa*/secret/ (*kofa ummataa saaquu*)

Data from the field through key informant interview show that, the reason that the above mentioned rules are sanctioned when such decisions were passed the society live in peace, harmony and respect. There by these laws have paramount importance for the society. These rules and regulations of Odaa Naffuro that are currently the society abide with are similar with that of the laws that had passed from their forefathers been ruled by.

As I have got from my key informants in the Gadaa Naffuro the laws were ratified by the members of Gadaa or *Gumiilee salgan Gadaa Naffuroo*. Gadaa Naffuro have its own Gumii/Assemblies/ which is so called Gumiilii Salgan Gadaa Naffuro (General assemblies of Gadaa Naffuro). These *Gumies* were selected from the sons of Amuruu clans. They prepared these laws by meeting together and discussing on the whats of the laws proclaimed and amended. They thought over them and prepared previously in written form before the celebrations of Gadaa of Odaa Naffuro. These laws were proclaimed because of the fact that not to be broken as the law of Gadaa, not to think evil things to each other, protect and preserve the sacred natural resources such as forests, hills and the like. Refusal to respect these laws was punishable by the laws of the Gadaa of Odaa Naffuro. According to Gadaa Naffuro, there were different decisions proclaimed as a laws and culture. (Informants: Deesaa Goobanaa and Olanii Gannatii)

4.4. Proclamation of Gadaa Naffuro: As Laws and Culture

According to Amuru Culture and Tourism Officer Informants, Gadaa is a system that holds the social, political, economic and religious activity of the Oromo that started before 16th century. Hence, every activity of the Oromo has been managed and guided by the Gadaa government. Besides, this Gadaa government, carried out under Odaa tree- it was the central office of the Gadaa system. This Odaa tree was selected by Oromo elders because, Odaa is by its nature unique and wet that can grow mostly near abundant water. So its coolness attracts to sit under its shade. Moreover, in Oromo culture the Gadaa officials and elders made conflict resolution and law making processes under the shade of the Odaa tree. Due to this, in Odaa Naffuro the Gadaa officials drafted new laws and revised old ones as well as

proclamations under the shade of Odaa Naffuro. (Informants: Takele Bakare and Bikila Abdata).

4.4.1. The process of Endorsing Fundamental Issues Proclaimed as Laws at Odaa Nafuro

After the establishment of Odaa Naffuro as the center of Gadaa the process of proclaiming laws and regulation for the society became its function. During proclaiming laws different cultural materials were used. These cultural materials include *bokkuu* (Scepter), *kallacha* (respected ritual object) and *halangaa* (whip). Informants explain that the due process of law is in most case related with conflict resolution and it was based on the Oromo principles of *elaaf elaamee*. The *safuu ummataa* (morality of people) plays decisive role during *arararaa* (reconciliation). (Informants: Taakkelee Bakaree, Bakaree Kumsaa and Olaanii Gannatii)

The reconciliation and *dhiifama gochuu* was under took by holding grasses in their hands. Informants relate the grass with fertility and good future. It shows that the hope that future life of the desputants would be fertile and blessing and their relation could be harmonious. They amend laws and regulations that dealt with social affairs and other related issues. The leading role is played by the *oboo* (elders) and the *Cora* follow the foot step of the *oboo* repeating what the *oboo* orders as guiding principles.

These rules and regulations are known by the society as *seera Gadaa* (*Gadaa* laws). In these laws binding rules are endorsed on what have to be done and what are forbidden in the society. For disobeying cursing words were forwarded by the Abbaa Gadaa, the leader and repeated by the gathering and this has been believed as it is heard by *Waaqa* (God) and both blessing and cursing would happen on both who respect and disobey the binding rules respectively. The *Gumii Abbotii Gadaa* which is composed of elders has the authority to decide on issues that have to be included in *Gadaa* laws. (Informants: Dhinsaa Dhugumaa, Darajjee Tuulii and Dhugumaa Gammadaa)

The *Luba* assumes power to govern the people and would assume power for eight years with respectful and acceptable way of life (*jiruu fi jirenya*) in line with what is expected by the *Gadaa* laws. The assembly always works for the harmonious relation among the societies in the Amuru area. Issues that either directly or indirectly related to the right to life and mutual relations are monitored by it. When problem happen in the society, they work for solution. Informants mention that rules and regulations are related to *safuu Waaqa fi Lafaa* and these are also related to *hoodaa*. Sacred places are recognized groves as *ardaalee jilaa* (sacred ritual places) and they are all considered as *seera*.

Yet these due processes are interrupted because of the failure of transferring power with in eight years. However, as it has been happening in different parts of Oromiya in relation to revival of Gadaa, the Gadaa practice at Odaa Naffuro started revival since 2005 E.C. Informants assert their hope that Odaa Naffuro would continue to serve as Gadaa center of Amuru people. (Informants: Dhinsaa Dhugumaa, Darajjee Tuulii and Dhugumaa Gammadaa).

The following laws were proclaimed on the past celebrations being amended by selecting among the previous Gadaa parties and together with *gumii salgan ilmaan Amuruu* (ninth general assemblies of the sons of Amuruu). When they start to proclaim the amended laws, they say ‘our law was not recorded.’ Then they tell the attendants to listen carefully what was being proclaimed. This is because to bear the laws in to their mind. Once it is proclaimed nothing was repeated. As a result of this, it needs due attention while proclaiming. If the proclaimed laws hurt the society, it can be modified by Abbaa Gadaa later. When the laws were proclaimed no one can stand except Abbaa Gadaa. The exception was because, to hear each other, it is must for the attendants to seat. Everyone sat down. Accordingly, those Abbaa Gadaas who proclaim the laws before they start their proclamations they decide to curse if one was hearing in secrete around the Odaa Naffuro by saying

Kan dhaabbatee nu dhaggeeffatu muka haa godhu	If one listens us may it be a wood
Kan deemaa nu dhaggeeffatu bubbee haa godhu	If one listens us going may it be a wind
Kan gungume gufuu haa godhu	If one murmurs may it be as impediment
Kan rafe reeffa haa godhu	If one sleeps may it be as carcass

They said and directly go to the proclaiming. This is said because of the fact that the societies who were governed under Gadaa Naffuro can give attention to it. According to Gadaa Naffuroo the societies were hearing each other in their daily routines by *elaafi elaamee* that are common in social life and it is to create awareness. These which are proclaimed as Laws (Seera) were as follows

Waaqan buluun seera.....	Believing in God is law
Gadaan buluun seera.....	Being ruled under Gadaa is the law
Gadaan Naffuroo kabaja qaba.....	Gadaa Naffuroo has respect
Idoon jila Gadaa Naffuroo kabaja qaba.....	The sacred area of Gadaa Naffuroo has respect
Gumiin ni taa’a; nimarii’ata.....	General assembly would sit and discuss
Qabeenya namaa tuqnaan adabbii qaba....	Taking someone’s property has punishment
Oromoonqomoon, amantaan wal hin qoodu.....	Oromo should not disunited each other by religion
Sagaagalummaa raawwachuun dhorkaadha.....	Adultery is prohibited
Mukkeen naannoo Odaa jilaa muruun adabbii qaba.....	Cutting sacred forests has punishment
Karaa hincufan; cufnaan adabbii qaba.....	Blocking road has punishment
Barcumaa abbaa Gadaarra teenyaan adabbii qaba.....	Sitting on Abbaa Gadaa chair has punishment
Meeshaa waraanaa qabatani galma fooqaa hin seenan...	Do not enter hall by holding war weapons
Galma fooqaa kopheen hin seenan.....	Do not enter holly hall with shoes

Sobaan namarratti dhugaa hin ba'an.....Do not commit perjury
TokkummaanOromo seeraan eegamaadha.....unity of the Oromo has been maintained by law
(Informants: Bikila Abdata, Takele Bakare and Tafara Amanu).

In order to put in to practice the above amended laws, the societies give recognition to Gadaa leaders/*Abbootii Gadaa*. Then, they say let God (*Waaqayyo*) put the laws and culture in our heart. Accordingly, they smash-up their *alangee* that symbolizes the finishing of amended laws. According to my informants from the proclaimed laws, separating each other, cutting sacred trees, destructing natural resources, doing an evil act on someone, committing perjury on someone and forceful sexual practice were against laws with due emphasis. If one do against these laws he/she can be punished. In addition to this, these laws reflect what kind of relationship between Abbaa Gadaa and societies exist.

If these proclaimed Gadaaa laws disrupted and if one was suspected of breaking these laws, he/she was to appear to the Gumii of Gadaa Naffuroo. This *Gumii* of Gadaa Naffuroo has its own oath/*kakuu*/. A person who can undertook this oath is known as Kallacha Rooroo. This name was given to him because he took the oath and out of the clan of Amuru Jawi. He is considered as artisan/*ogeesa/tumtuu* or *shammaanee* and came to the society as *Guddifacha*/adoption. When kallacha Rooroo came to the Odaa Naffuro to undertake the oath he came up with different cultural materials such as stool which was made from eebicha (*Vernonia amygdalina*) tree, old gundoo (household utensil stitched up from *migira* (grass), kallacha, cilee (charcoal), qoraatti (throne), sibiila (metal), bone and the kind (Informants: Olaanii Gannatii, Takele Bakaree and Nagaraa Wayyeessaa).

4.4.2. Fundamental Issues Proclaimed as Culture

According to Gadaa Naffuroo, what it means culture is well known by laws. The society took culture as a culture, laws as laws and direct their life span */jiruu and jireenya/*. If everybody does against this laws and culture he/she will be excluded from any social well-being. He/she is also cursed and punished. They were totally excluded from the unity of the social community. Contrary to this the ones who protected these laws and culture were acknowledged, blessed, respected and valued. Accordingly, one had enough to take responsibility of the society. The Gumii/General assembly/ of Gadaa Naffuroo which was proclaimed and amended as a culture in 2005 E.C were as follows.

Safuun aadaadha.....Norm is culture
Hangafaa fi quxisuun safuudha.....Obo and Chora are safuu

Dhalli haadhaafi abbaaf safuudha.....Children are safuu for fathers and mothers
 Xiqqaan guddaaf safuudha.....The juniors are safuu to the elders
 Gurbaafi intalli walfuudhuun aadaadha..... Marriage is a culture
 Ilmi abbaafi haadhaaf abboomamuun aadaadha.....Respecting father and mother is culture
 Amantaa ofii hordofuun aadaadha.....Following ones own religion is culture
 Nagaa Waaqa walgaafachuun aadaadha.....Greeting is culture
 Olloommiin aadaadha.....Neighborhood is a culture
 Wal gargaaruun aadaadha.....Helping each other is a culture
 Wal kabajuu aadaadha.....Respeting each other is a culture
 Quxisuun angafa kabajuun aadaadha.....The junior should respect elders
 Waan tolu/gaarii waliif yaaduun aadaadha.....Thinking good to each other is a culture
 Waliif oo'uun (birmachuun) aadaadha.....Having gorgeous to each other is culture

The above mentioned proclamations that proclaimed as culture were proclaimed by selecting from previous party/*miseensa*/ of Gadaa. Two people were selected and proclaimed them while standing in the middle of the attendants. When they were proclaiming them to the environment the existing situation could be silenced. What were proclaimed as culture showed what things were considered as *safuu* in the society, for what type of marriage the society gave emphasis and what the neighborhoods, families, societies culture looked like. In addition to this, these proclamations showed that hating, hurting and not helping each other were not the tradition of this society. (Informants: Takele Bakare and Gammadaa Baldhis).

4.5. Activities Undertaken and Items Provided at Odaa Naffuro

The societies of AmurruOromo came together to celebrate Odaa Naffuro annually in the months of November and March. There were two reasons as to why they celebrated annually. As a result of the celebration of Irreecha which was celebrated annually at the spring season, they celebrated it at the Malkaa Dar'oo. This Malkaa is located at the Naffuro Kebele. The second reason was in the season of autumn and at the end of March, they come together under Odaa Naffuroo and to begin the season of Arfaasaa, the season of tilling of land, they bless each other in order to have good fortune. In the celebration of Gadaa Naffuroo, the following activities undertaken together items provided and if power transfer time was reached, they transfer power of Gadaa to the next Gadaa.

4.5.1. Constructing Hut: According to my informants, fooqa dhaabuu means collecting different materials from river and construct a *daassii* which looks like a house. This constructed hut was not a house. It is temporary house which is used for time being and then after wards demolished. This construction was

constructed in morning of celebration day. Peoples who participate in this construction could go to the river before noon and come up with trees such as *baddeessaa* (*syzygium guineense*), *ulumaayii* (*clausena anisata*), (*clausena anisata*), *hoomii* (*prunus africana*), *meexxi* (*phoenix reclinata*), *ceekaa* (*culpurnea aurea*), *aannannoo* (syntific name is not found), *urgeessaa* (syntific name is not found), *laaftoo* (*acacia albida*), *bakkannisa* (*croton macrostachyus*), *ichilmee* (syntific name is not found) and the kind. Then they meet at Odaa Naffuroo then they started to construct a *fooqa* around Odaa Naffuroo. (Informants: Geexee Dhugumaa and Gammadaa Baldhis)

According to my informants, when the peoples constructed Fooqa the one who was first to construct the pillar was the elder of the clan (*angaftuu gosaa*). The elder of *Amuruu* clan is *Hoolee*. First, *Abbaa Gadaa* started because he is from the *Hoolee* clan. Then *Fuliyee* began to construct. Next according to the elder and youngest they continued to construct the *fooqa*. In continuing to this *Biilii* and *Sooddoo* clans constructed the *fooqa* respectively. After the constructing *fooqa* finished, the activities of celebration of the *Gadaa* continued. All the activities that were carried out for the celebration, took place under this *fooqa*. Nothing was to be done before constructing this *fooqa*. (Informants: Geexee Dhugumaa and Gammadaa Baldhis).

4.5.2. Blessing: In whatever the Oromo did, they blessed themselves. Elders blessed the young and in a certain meeting before they start to do something they blessed themselves. But they do not bless without a reason. It has a message for the peoples. It will have a good fortune. Oromo know blessings bring peace and love among the society. The societies who were governed by Odaa Naffuroo meet together at Odaa Naffuroo and bless themselves at *Malkaa Dar'oo*. This *malkaa* existed a long time ago, it had served as the libation of those *Warra Gojeb Guutee* (Of those *Gojeb Gute*). Then *Gadaa Naffuroo* had started by the *Abbaa Gadaa* of those *Hoolee*, *Kumsaa Gojeb*.

Accordingly, because of this reason they gave for the owner of the *malkaa* first. Next from the eldest clan according to their seniority they bless. When they bless they have a *coqorsaa* on their hand and they stand straight and continues to bless. In this blessing time they start by saying “*Yaa waaq! Waaqni bakka kanatti walitti nu qabe, Gadaasaatiin nu bulche: kunoo har’a hunda keenya nagaa godhe*” (Oh *Waaqa*, the *Waaqa* who cooperate us and lead us to be ruled under His *Gadaa*; He made all of us live in peace) they said and proceeded.

Amuru nagaadha	Amuru is peace
Sadan Amuruu nagaadha	Three Amuru clans are peace
Haleelu nagaadha	Halelu are peace
Sooddoon nagaadha	Soddo are Peace
Beeraan nagaadha	Bera are Peace
SalganAmuruu nagaadha	Nine Amuru clans are peace
Hoolee Haleelu nagaadha	Hole and Halelu are peace
Fuliyyee Haleelu nagaadha	Fuliyye Halelu are peace
Biilii Haleelu nagaadha	Bili Halelu are peace
Dooyyoo Sooddo nagaadha	Doyo Soddo are peace
Ittayyaa Sooddo nagaadha	Itayya Soddo are peace
Igguu Sooddo nagaadha	Iggu Soddo are peace
Barii Beeraan nagaadha	Bari Bera are peace
Hannoo Beeraan nagaadha	Hanno Bera are peace
Xuuquu Beeraan nagaadha	Tuku Bera are Peace
Amuru guutuun nagaadha	Amuru at all are peace
Jiruu Jaawwii nagaadha	Jiru Jawi are Peace
Wandiin nagaadha	Wandi is peace
Gadaan Amuruu nagaadha	Amuru Gadaa is peace
Gadaan Naffuroo nagaadha	Gadaa Naffuroo is peace

(Informants: Waaqoo Akkasaa Bakaree Kumsaa and Derejje Tuulii).

Data from the key informants show that, the message of the above blessing signifies as one person protects his cattle in the morning and evening by counting whether they are existing /nonexistent/ in the cattle barn. As he checks whether they were existing or not the Oromo of Amuruu who was ruled by Gadaa Naffuroo and met under Odaa Naffuroo, the Abbaa Gadaa checks whether the *Amuruu* sons are at peace or not. He also checks whether the nine sons of *Amuruu Jawi* were attending the celebration of Gadaa of Odaa Naffuroo. Amuruu had three sons. These were: *Haleelu*, *Sooddo* and *Beera*. These three *Amuruu* sons each had three sons. This is depicted under genealogy of *Jawi Macca* of this chapter three. Out of these nine clans of *Jawi maccaa*, others such as, *Jirruu*, *Wandii* and *Sinichoo* were living in the *Amuruu* area. (Informants: Waaqoo Akkasaa and Derejje Tuulii).

Next to this the blessing by the elder of the clan continues.

Waaq kan nagaan nubilchite nagaan nu oolchi

Oh God, as we passed night in peace the same in a day

Hamaa nurraa qabi	Avert bad things from us
Gaarii nutti qabi	bring to us good things
Dogoggora nu oolchi	Save us from wrong doings

Lafee cabuu nu oolch
 Lubbuu badu nu oolchi
 Dhiiga dhangala'u nu baraari
 Waraana hamaa nu baraari
 Kormi cirri haa ta'u
 Rimeen haphee haataatu
 Biyyi kan abbaa biyyaa haata'u
 Ilmi kan abbaa dhalchee haata'u
 Sa'ikan abbaa horee haata'u
 Maseenni haa deessu
 Deessuun haa oofkaltu
 Wallaalaan haa beeku
 Beekaan haa bulu
 Xinnaan haa guddatu
 Guddaan keenya haabulu
 Kan ijaa gurraan jibbanu nurraa qabi
 Qotiyoo qanbarriitti nuu bulchi
 Dhaltii okoleetti nuubulchi
 Farda kooraa jalatti nuubulchi
 Ilmi abbaa haa beeku
 Intalli haadha haa beektu
 Quxisuun hangafa haa beeku
 Angafti quxisuu haabeeku
 Gosti wal haa beeku
 Gadaan Gadaa quufa
 Gadaan Gadaa gabbina
 Haata`u haa haa ta'u
 Ani isin eebbise, kan kanarraa hafe
 Waaqayyo itti isiniif haa dabaluu

Save us from breaking of bone
 Save us from dying of soul
 Save us from shading of blood
 Save us from bad war
 let the mate of the bull correct
 May the conception cows be fertile
 Let the state be of the owner
 Let son be of his biological father
 Let cows be of the breeder
 Let barren be fertile
 Let pregnant women deliver in safe
 Let the unwise be knowledgeable
 May the knowledgeable live long
 May the children grow up
 May our elder live long
 May away from us who hate us (enemy)
 May you hold a bull in a yoke
 May a cow be in its okolee (milk container)
 May you keep horse save under a saddle
 May the son know his father
 May the daughter know her mother
 May the juniors know the elders
 May the elders know the juniors
 May the moieties know each other
 May Gadaa be Gadaa of abundant
 Gadaa is the Gadaa of prosperous
 May it be may it be

I bless you, may God fill remaining

(Informants: Raggaasaa Akkasaa and Bakare Kumsa).

4.5.3. Slaughtering of the Bull: In the celebration of Gadaa Naffuroo a bull is slaughtered by the Abbaa Gadaa (Abbaa Bokkuu). When they slaughtered they lay in the right direction. This is because, according to the outlooks of the Oromo, the right direction symbolizes victory and good fortune. Before the Abbaa Gadaa comes, they sing a song five times in circling to the slaughtered bull. The reason why they encircle five was according to the culture the five number has its own meaning. They symbolized with with natural phenomena and man made things. For instance, there are five Gadaa Parties, five palm fingers and various livestock that Oromo possess such as cattle, sheep, goats, horses and donkeys. This is the reason why they sang a song circling five times. When they sing they say

Hee yaa Gadaa barri tole	Oh Gadaa, it is good year
Hee yaa Gadaa barri tole	Oh Gadaa, it is good year
Yaa Gadaa Naffuroo	Oh Gadaa Naffuroo
Yaa bokkuu koo	Oh my scepter

Seerri hin oolu

law making is must

In the slaughtering of bull the nine clans of Amuruu according to their seniority catch the bull. *Hoolee* was the the senior of Amuruu. The power of Gadaa is also in the hands of Hoolee, so it is Hoolee (Abbaa Gadaa) who cut the neck of the bull first. Fuliyyee have the *dirraa* (thigh, stifle) of the bull. According to their seniority they perform the slaughtering of the bull. From the Amuruu clan Tuuquuwas the youngest and as a result he caught the tail of the bull. (Informants: Raggaasaa Akkasaa and Bakare Kumsa).

4.5.4. Foods and Drinks Provided in Celebration of Odaa Naffuro

In addition to the flesh of the bull, cultural foods and drinks such us *Cumboo*, *qorii*, (roasted barley daubed with butter), *marqaa* (porridge), caccabsaa, Coffee, bread and the kind are supplied. Likewise, drinks such as booka, farsoo are also provided. These foods and drinks were prepared in home and supplied. Foods and drinks which were provided added beauty to the celebration of Gadaa of Odaa Naffuroo. These foods were eaten by Abbootii Gadaas, participants, Gadaa Parties, Gumiilee Abbootii Gadaa (general Assembly) and invited guests of the celebration. In Addition, these cultural foods signify the blessing, identity and economy of the societies. For instance, crops from which these cultural foods were prepared such as teff, coffee, maize, barley, wheat and the kind were produced in the society. (Informants: Deesiftuu Waakjiraa and Geexee Dhugumaa).

Material cultures in which these foods and drinks provided were such us *eelee haadhoo*, *gombisaa*, waancaa (a material prepared from the horn of the cows and used to drink *booka*, *farsoo* and the kind), *maasaroo*, *jabanaa* (coffee pot), *xuwwee* (for wot), and the kind were provided.

4.6. Political Roles, Values and practice of Odaa Naffuro

With regard to Odaa Naffuroo, according to local elders, the position *Odaa Naffuroo* has among the local societies is strong and respectful among Amuru Oromo. As it could be understood about the local perception from the participants' view towards its political value, an idea of one of the *Abba Gada Nagaraa Wayyeessaa*, who is serving his leadership in the past said, "*Odaa Naffuroo* is a much respected tree out of all kinds of tree species found in our District and/or generally among the Amuru Oromo because it is where seera (law) is being proclaimed. It was also a place where *Qaalluus* used to

make the *Muudaa* ceremony for the new *Abbaa Gadaas*. A place where disputed bodies such as clans, sub – clans, and individuals come together in search of peaceful settlement of their conflict. It is a place where harmed party presents its case to the elders seeking justice, where truth can be investigated without any violation of the rules of *Waaqa*. Therefore, the political roles and values of *Odaa Naffuroo* can be discussed in terms of these political practices undertaken under its shade. Other political practices undertaken under *Odaa Naffuroo* also include the *Muda* ceremony of *Abbaa Gadaa*. It is a place where peaceful transfer of power takes place. (Informants: Nagaraa Wayyeessaa and Gammadaa Baldhis)

4.7. Odaa Naffuro, a Place Where Conflict was Resolved

4.7.1. Jaarsummaa (Negotiation)

Jaarsummaa is the process in which knowledgeable elders (*jaarsolii araaraa*) are selected from the community to resolve and solve quarrels that arose in the society (See also Dejene, 2002:71; Mamo, 2005:131). Different cases like problems arise in a family, between husband and wife, between neighborhoods, conflict which arises on border of farming land garden, homicide etc have been resolved by the Jaarsummaa.

According to Gadaa Naffuro, conflicts between peoples are resolved by Jaarsummaa. First, the neighboring elders told to the disputants to select the *Jaarsa Araaraa* of their own initiatives, based on his knowledge on how to resolve conflicts, for instance, his rhetorical ability in the search for *dhugaa* (truth), his ability to articulate and politeness and carefulness not to provoke the parties in conflict. Knowing of the norms of the society, impartiality and have a wealth of experience, honesty, oratorical skill, knowledge of customary law and ability to convince are also important. These elders who were recruited from the society are non-relatives of the disputants. Then they have an appointment and told to the selected elders. Then, the elders meet on the day of the appointment and see the cases of the disputants. They see the ideas raised from both sides and differentiate the one who has incorrect ideas and forward a balanced measure of reconciliation. (Informants: Takele Bakare, Dhinsaa Dhugumaa and Sagni Doba)

However, if the conflicts between these disputants haven't got solution *Abbaa Gadaa* has to be summoned to handle the cases. According to Gadaa Naffuro, if conflict is not handled with Jaarsummaa

it has to get a solution by Abbaa Gadaa. It does not go beyond this (Abbaa Gadaa). When it reached to the Abbaa Gadaa, it is seen by the Gadaa Naffuro conflict resolution institutions. (Informants: Takele Bakare and Sagni Doba).

4.7.2. *Kallacha* as a symbol of peace and reconciliation.

According to Odaa Naffuro, Gumaa is a conflict in which due attention is given. Gumaa institution is one of Gadaa Naffuro conflict resolution mechanisms which has to get solution. Peoples intentionally or unintentionally quarrel and slay another person. If such conflicts arise according Odaa Naffuro, there are parties who are seated to handle from the nine general assembly of Odaa Naffuro. Those peoples were selected to reconcile the Gumaa by meeting and discussing together in the issues.

Odaa Nafuro had been serving as the place where peace building process carried out. In line with peace building there is an institution known as Kallacaa that served as peace building institution. Informants mention that, Kallacha is the ritual object which the Gadaa elders carried, is believed to have been made from *Bakakkaa* (lightening)"the iron dropped from heaven" i.e. from the iron of lightening. It is said that since lightening kills people, it is also believed that kallacha can destroy life. Kallacha was a highly feared and respected ritual object. It usually covered with peace of cloth and people were not expected to see it, especially the pregnant women. This was because it was a curse object Waaqa threw lightening because of anger at human beings.

Thus kallacha which was made from lightening, iron was a curse object. If you come across Abba kallacha (a man who carried kallacha), you must take *coqorsa* (green grass) and throw at it saying "Don't harm me (ana hin miidhiin)". My informants shared me, the idea that, the iron from heaven was taken to a special black smith (*tumtuu*) and was made in to its shape kallacha had nine *mucha* (nipple), because number nine was believed to be the ninth Amuru Jawi. In addition it is believed to be full number and said in the play of children.⁸

The right to carry kallacha was given to Abbaa Kallachaa, the eldest son from the clan. Accordingly, all clans had their own kallacha. When Abba kallacha became old he would give kallacha to his eldest son by slaughtering a bull. While handing it over, the father used to say, "yaa ilmakoo, kallachi kun gosa keenyaaf waaqa irraa dhufe waan ta'eef, yeroo itti gargaaramtu: hin qotiin, hin aramiin akkasumallee

⁸ Informants: Desa, Takele and Bikila

waan kallachi siif kenne nyaadhu.” When we translate the quote, “My son this kallacha comes from heaven for ancestors as long as you carry it: do not farm, don't weed, and eat what kallacha gives you.” Then, the son washed his hands with the blood of the slaughtered bull so that all his sins he had committed were washed away. Holding kallacha the son promised by saying “I have taken kallacha from you, I will keep it as you did.” Moreover, the men who carried kallacha should be individuals who could no more perform sexual intercourse and should be in peace with other people.⁹

The use of kallacha was to make peace between the accused and accuser, among the people who quarreled on property by making an oath (kakuu) to speak truth. Permanent peace and security would be made by efforts of Abbaa Kallachaa and the conflicting party would make true mercy for each other and would never see each other with evil eyes again.¹⁰ Some of my informants told me that, killing (murder) was strictly forbidden in the Gadaa Naffuro. However, if it happened, peace should be made between the two parties in order to maintain security in the society.¹¹

Once killing had occurred the murderers was considered as the enemy of deceased lineage and had no right to live among his relatives. He had to move to far away areas. According to the *argaa dhageettii*, the murders had to cross nine rivers and pass nine mountains, away from his home. This system was known as “*sigigoo*” meaning drive out or isolate.¹²

On the other hand, if the event of killing occurred by accidentally, for instance during hunting or in an unexpected condition, peace would be made on the laws of conflict resolution in the Gadaa Naffuro by the intervention of the Abba kallacha. Abbaa Kallachaa do not intervene in to the process soon after the murder occurred when deceased party are so angry. They had to wait for some time until the deceased party would cool down from their anger and sadness made by the death of their relatives. Until that, the killer and his nearest relatives in the lineage should avoid any contact with the families of the deceased. The two parties never drank water from the same river and ate together, there cattle were never kept in the same field until peace was made. The killer should hide himself not to be killed for revenge and he

⁹ Informants: Gammada and Desa. See also, Lambert, p 142

¹⁰ Lambert, p. 142

¹¹ Informants: Takkale and Gammada

¹² *Ibid*

was guarded by members of his lineage.¹³

The Murderers relatives should accelerate the process of peace making by sending the Guulaa, *ex-gadaa* Judges and some elders who appealed for reconciliation. According to the system, these individuals were followed by a lame person, a blind, dwarf, a horse with its load and oxen with harness put on them. They stood beyond a river in front of the house of the victim group and start to request for peace shouting '*Araara Araar Jenne* ' for five times a day and continued until nine days. On the ninth day, the victim's groups should express their response either to make peace or refuse.¹⁴

Moreover, the bereaved party might continue on refusing all attempts to make reconciliation. It was at this time that the killer's party appealed to the Abba kallacha. The one who appealed should go to the Abba kallacha's house with a goat which the Abba kallacha would slaughter and touch kallacha by its blood. This was because, he was going to make peace between people who shaded blood. Abba kallacha followed by ex-Gadaa judges, Guulaa and elders, went to the bereaved family's house and continued to request for peace by explaining that the murder was happen unknowingly. They asked for forgiveness of these in the name of Uumaa (*Waaqa*). It was not only a sin for the victim's party to refuse the request of the Abba Kallacha and but also out of the norm of the society. Being influenced by these groups, the bereaved party were forced to agree to make peace. Therefore, two Guulaa were elected as intermediaries and carried out the whole process of peace making. The Guulaa soon appointed the day of negotiation and peacemaking.¹⁵

On the appointed day, the immediate families or both parties with their respective relative Guulaa would come. At this meeting, many elders from society were expected to participate. The meeting could be done under the shade of Odaa Naffuro. When the two group meet, the Guulaa stood in the eastern direction began negotiation by calling and blessing participants.

In this process, the two parts spoke to each other through the Guulaa. It was at this meeting that the blood price was decided. However, additional negotiation is needed to pay blood price for the bereaved family. There might be another meeting in which the five judges participate. Again, there would be another meeting in which the nine judges take part. However, above the nine there could be no appeal.

¹³ Informants: Nagara and Desa

¹⁴ Lambert, p. 143

¹⁵ (*Ibid*)

Usually, the blood price was decided to be paid in cattle. The Guulaa passed decision that is beyond the capacity of the murder to implement. This was made to discourage bad and immoral actions within the society. Even, the murderer was not allowed to pay blood price from his own property even if he has power to cover all expenses. The killer had to beg the money moving within the society and collect the sum that could by the cattle and pay.¹⁶

In conflict resolution, the last process of making ritual was made at the course of river. The calm and peaceful area at a river, which was a symbol of peace making, was selected. On this occasion, the Guulaas were expected to come with the two parties. Many elders also kindly requested to join the ritual to help the Guulas praying. The Guulas appeared carrying the leaves *Ulumaayee* (aromatic plant) (leaves that they were going to use to sprinkle the blood and the water over the parties at the ritual), moalt (biqila), Hiddii (Solanaceous fruit). According to the system all the nearest relative of both parties should participate in the ritual. On the other hand, all participants must be free from sexual intercourse starting from a day before a ritual at the river.¹⁷

White cloth was stretched at the river between the two approaching parties and blocked them not to see each other. The Guula began the ritual by calling each other turn by turn and blessing with phrase like : “have you come , I have come as you came let peace come...” the two Guulas put the hiddi and moalt on the two side which the parties pushed in to the water while praying. This symbolized the evil from end to end, and blood feud had gone. The praying was for the living and dead one. On the other hand, the killer was not allowed to participate on the praying but he appeared after the praying. he had to hide himself through at least he came wearing the cloth that he had put on when he killed, and with two sheep. However, still the two parties could not see each other because the stretched cloth. Thus, one of the Guula took sheep and cut its abdomen while alive two edge knife between two parties. The two parties were made to shake hands and while shaking each other they said peace, peace, let’s leave the matters in the hands of *Waaqa*. In the mean time, the other Guula sprinkled the water and the blood of the sheep to the two parties and then took the stretched cloth away.¹⁸

The killer required to wash his body in the river, shave the hair on this body including the eye brows, and put on the new cloth. His old cloth and hair was buried under a leafy tree where wild animals could not reach. Besides, the sheep, which was used to make peace, was thrown away with the knife and

¹⁶ Informants: Takele, Nagara, Gamada and Wako

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ Informants: Takele, Gamada, Bakare and Olani

finally the other sheep was slaughtered for communal feast. More over there would be invitation to the killer's house. It was in such a way that Gadaa system under Odaa Naffuro has been functioning among the Oromo of Amuru to make peace between the bereaved and killers parties. Finally some informants said, as the Gadaa system declined and the use of kallacha gradually diminished. However, the tradition of peace making does still exist in the study area.¹⁹

4.8. Odaa Naffuro as a Center of Worship and Ritual

4.8.1. Worship and Ritual

The Oromo under the Gadaa system considered the big trees, rivers and a mountains as "holy areas" and these were centers of worship ritual practices. Besides, being the center of the Gadaa "Odaa Naffuro was a sacred ritual place where the Gadaa classes preformed sacrifices every eight years for Amuru Oromo. Thus, there was a Butta ceremony (a ceremony/festival conducted during election of Abba Gadaa), every eight years with ritual practice and worship. People considered Waaqa as omnipotent and sustainer and usually expressed by praying. People believed that through prayers, offerings, libations and sacrifices, they would get ways of contact with Waaqa. The sacrifice in time of Butta ceremony and every new year which was directed to Waaqa was meant for peace, prosperity and health of the society. Thanks were also given by prayers on Butta ceremony for what Waaqa gave them after the last Gadaa (seven) years and for waaqa's sustaining them to attend the Butta ceremonies. (Informants: Dhinsaa Dhugumaa and Taakkalee Bakaree).

Consequently, all the Gadaa set which reached the Luba stage guarded by the Foollee and followed by other participants of the ceremony assembled at Odaa Naffuro. The Luba on their way to Bulluq never crossed a river. They had to find another way if there was any river between their house and the center. These members of Gadaa wore a special dress known as *Bullukko*. Five days before ritual at Odaa Naffuro the Luba were not expected to sleep in bed and have sexual inter course. On the day of the ceremony people gathered near the center and went gradually and silently to Odaa Naffuro. The participants of the ceremony were headed by the Abba Bokku and his subordinate ritual expert, the Qallu followed by the luba and other people. As all people gathered, the Abba Bokku and the Qaalluu began blessing the people and praying for peace, prosperity and health. (Informants: Biqilaa Abdataa and Olaanii Gannatii).

¹⁹ Ibid

It was on this day that sacrifice was given and people vowed for what they desired to get from Waaqa. The animal mostly a bull was presented for sacrifice by individuals as thanks giving or out of free will. This bull should be always a fattened one and should not have a broken horn, its tail, ears and eyes should be normal. Then, the Abba Bokkuu slaughtered the bull and sprinkled the blood on the dedicated area. The Luba burnt a portion of the meat as sacrifice for Waaqa. It is believed that if the smile went to Waaqa from the burnt meat Waaqa would accept people's sacrifice, hear their praying and vow.²⁰

On this ritual ceremony, following the blessing and praying of the ritual leaders, people vowed to Waaqa for what they wished to get. Though, the content was not the same it was usually aimed at prosperity usually to have many cattle, health and to get a child. For instance, a sterile woman usually vowed to get children. A sterile woman was expected to stand in the flowing water in front of the Abba Bokku who prayed with the other prayers to Waaqa. "May you make her womb wet, please Waaqa make her womb wet, a woman who is your slave is praying to you, hear her prays." The Abba Bokku sprinkled water to the woman who then vowed to Waaqa if she would get a child up to the next Gadaa in the name of the Ayyaana (sprit) of the ninth Amuru clans and the Ayyaana of Odaa Naffuro. Then the woman immediately visited *Haadha caaccuu*²¹ (mother of caaccuu) to blessed. (Informants: Raggaasaa Akkasaa and Geexee Dhugumaa)

4.8.2. Oath as a Ritual Practice

One of the important areas of life in the traditional Oromo practices was called oath (*Kakaa*). Oath (*kakaa*) aimed at ensuring truth. (See Gaddefa, 1983:20) Oath givers at Odaa Naffuro were the Kallacha Roorroo, a person who gave Oath and *Shanee* (*five councils*). The function of the Kallacha Roorroo in the Gadaa system was: intermediaries between the people and the Gadaa officials, judges, and received the offerings during thanksgiving.

²⁰ A sacrifices offers to Waaqa for the sake of religious beliefs most of the time: involves live animals like bull , sheep, goat, and hen. Valuable material cultural products, libation of milk, honey, Biqila (various kinds of locally prepared alcoholic drinks) and invoking a deity with coqorsa (fresh green grass) are also presented to the revered divinity on every occasion of religious rituals under Odaa Naffuro and sacred forests around Odaa Naffuro. These culturally set items mainly symbolize an avid desire for fertility, health, wealth, peace, and stability

²¹ *Caaccuu* was an oval leather strip cow shell, fixed firmly in nine rows of which two are suspended was a ritual object and a symbol fertility where the number nine shows fullness. It was kept by the women who had already stopped sexual intercourse. They believed that waaqa would hear mother of *caaccuu*.

Oath was given to those people who were suspected of being guilty, murdered a person or stole other people's property. The *kallacha Roorroo* did this by preparing different items such as inflated goat bladder, stone, *eebicha* tree, bended tree branches and two edged knife. These oath items in Amuru area had their own clearly recognized meanings. The oath takers from a concerned village or area first of all contributed some money to buy a goat whose bladder was involved in the oath ceremony. The oath taker while taking an oath touched the stone and said, "If I am not speaking the truth, let God (Waaqa) make me as hard as this stone which does not speak and does not grow like this stone." (Informants: Irana Dhuguma and Takele Dhuguma)

According to my informant Olaanii said, the oath taker also took an oath by kicking the inflated goat bladder and gave the oath; "if I am not speaking the truth, let God (Waaqa) puff-up me like this bladder or if I did anything wrong, committed any crime or stole anything, murder any person, let God (Waaqa) inflate me like this bladder and kill me." The oath taker also touched the bended tree branch and said, "If I did wrong things, let my way of life be full of bends and be terrible." Finally, the oath taker said, "let the Ayyana of the nine Amuru sons and the *Ayyana saglan Jawi Macca* (the spirit of ninth Jawi of Macca) kill me, let the sun beneath which I walk drive me from her face." Besides, two edged knife was involved. The oath taker touched the two edged knife and said; "If I am not speaking the truth, if I have taken, someone's property, if I did such and such things, let God (Waaqa) and the spirit of ninth Amuru clans put me to this knife." (Informants: Olaanii Gannatii and Gammadaa Baldhis).

Another Informant Irana Dhuguma told me concerning the tradition of Amuru Oromo with regard to crime and oath takers, among the concerned village it was only those who believed that they were free from such crimes who took the Oath. But, Naffuro, the people who were involved in such kind of crime or at least knew or heard about it would not take the Oath. If a crime was committed, the suspected person was to take an Oath. It was believed that the criminals or his family and his health would disappear from the face of the earth. In such a way, the people were generally afraid and never took an Oath, if they knew that they were criminals or did wrong things. Moreover, if the concerned person was to take an Oath wrongly, his relatives and his family would not allow him. Rather they helped him in paying the cost in property or *Guma* (blood feud) in cash or in kind. In this way, the truth was attested in the name of God (Waaqa) at Odaa Naffuro. (Informants: Irranaa Dhugumaa and Tafarraa Amanuu).

4.8.3. Irreessa Odaa Naffuro as Ritual Practice

Most writers of Oromo religion mention that *Irreecha* is conducted on two ritual places mountains and river basin during these two seasons. However, having problem with time indicated the explanations for the two defined places is found with a problematic judgment in Alemayoo Haile's discussion about this topic in his book, *Gadaa system, the politics of Tulama - Oromo*, Irreecha is sub-divided in two sub-categories, Irreecha of mountain and Irreecha on the side of water bodies (Irreecha malka) (Alemayehu. 2004). Nevertheless, according to information from the local informants, among the Amuru Oromos, the practice of *Irreecha* takes place under *Odaa* tree as well. Obviously, Irreecha from its meaning refers to thanks giving from which the religious ceremony is labeled. One of the female informants Desiftu Wakjira described about the time it takes place at Odaa Naffuro saying "in the season of spring (*Birraa*), *Irreecha* takes place at *Odaa Naffuroo* by all Amuru Societies coming from the whole Ganda'a's located in the district. It is conducted at this place just a day after the celebration of *Masqal*. So, this Irreeffanna is also similar to all Irreecha ceremonies such as of mountains and river basin except the difference in places and objects on which the spirit of *waaqa* is believed to have involved in".

According to my informants Gammada Baldhis and Tafarraa Amanuu, irreessa Odaa Naffuro is one of the discrete celebrations in the Oromo of Amuru area which is usually conducted annually around Odaa Naffuro at Malka Dar'oo. For the Oromo people, mountains and water bodies are considered as sacred places. This is because, Oromo go to the river bank and mountains to worship and thanks giving to God. Irreecha Malkaa Dar'oo is among irreecha Birraa which most of the time celebrated in September. So, people perform the Irreeffannaa in both places under Odaa Naffuro as well as at Malkaa. Hence, it is known by Irreessa Odaa Naffuro.

In Amuru district the largest gathering other than the Butta (Gada) celebration of every eight years was the annual festival known as Irreecha. It was held every new year on September after *Maskal* celebration. Irreessa was a special kind of grass used by the Oromo peoples for ritual purpose. It was also sometimes called '*Coqorsa*.' This grass was selected because it keeps moisture even during the dry season. It was a symbol of fertility and hope.

Irreecha is celebrated in different places, such as at other side of lakes, rivers, springs and hills all over the Oromo areas of the country. Once the spring season begins, the Oromo with Christian background first celebrate Irreecha in their respective houses. Then they go out and celebrate with their relatives under Odaa trees. Thereby, they resolve disputes, reconcile differences, eat porridge, cabbage, and bread together, and spend *Masqal* together. After *Masqal*, they go to a river where the children, the elderly,

and cattle drink, and they play together and celebrate Irreecha. (Informants: Taakkalee Bakaree and Darajjee Tuulii)

One of my informant from Naffuro area told me that, on the Irreecha celebration day in Amuru area and the surrounding town people gathered from different areas of the zone. And there by, the road is covered with people who were mostly dressed white traditional clothes decorated by the color of the flag of the Abbaa Gadaa: red at the top, black in the middle, and white at the bottom. There are many layers under this “traditional dress” that is actually a new form of “traditional dress” with different fashion colors. Others were dressed new clothes, some others are also dressed plain white or decorated traditional clothes. The people walked to the river under the Odaa Naffuro tree on foot, in large groups by carrying green grass and flowers. (Informants: *Ibid*)

Oromo use green grass, not only during the celebration of Irreecha, but also on other social occasions such as weddings, public holidays, during child birth, on agricultural fields, and at home. During the Irreecha ceremony, the Oromo carry flowers because it is a time when the field is also covered with flowers. September and October are months when flowers flourish in most parts of Ethiopia. Flowers mark the beginning of the spring season; they lead to seeds and thus productivity. The Oromo carry flowers, behind a creation of *Waaqa* in Irreecha celebrations to thank *Waaqa*. For instance, they say, “We believe in *Waaqa* who created us, and we pray carrying what he created. *Waaqa nu uumetti amannaa, uumamaan Waaqa kadhanna.*” However, carrying flowers is not compulsory and it depends on the month when the Oromo celebrate Irreecha. For instance, in May, worshipers are not expected to carry flowers because it is not the season of flowers. Worshipers can simply carry green grass. (Informants: *Waaqoo* and *Gammadaa*)

One of my informant from Amuru town, Nagara pointed out that, depend on Oromo tradition, the Amuru Oromo worshipers of Irreecha should mainly walk hand in hand while traveling to celebrate the ceremony. The first row during the march to the festival is composed of the ritual leaders, Abbaa Malkaa (father of the river), which is followed by Ayyaantuu (spiritual leader), Abbaa Gadaa, and elders. Foollee (youths) accompanied the officials and sings songs by praising *Waaqa*. On reaching the river, worshipers immerse the green grass and the flowers they have carried in the river and sprinkle themselves as well as others around them. Thus, there was blessing for the country, people, crops, cattle, rain, land and horse, In addition to the above, during the celebration there was galloping of horses, and singing of traditional songs and dancing by the Foollee (youth). (Informant: *Nagaraa Wayyeessaa*)

This Irrecha- cultural celebration was ended with speeches made by individuals from culture and tourism office speech and blessings done by elders-they praise the administrators for their support and co-operation in Irrecha festival and other cultural practices.

From economic point of view, the Amuru Oromo like in many other areas practiced mixed farming. Rain was important for both cattle breeding and crop production. During disasters mainly when rain stopped, the Oromo of this area used to pray *Waaqa* (the ultimate source of life and the greater sender of rain). They believed that if the rain clouds hang down, *Waaqa* approached them because it was through rain that *Waaqa* gave life to man his cattle and crops. When the rain clouds went away in the rainy season, the Oromo of this area gathered under Odaa Naffuro and prayed for rain.(Informants: *Ibid*)

On this occasions besides the ritual leaders, the Abba Kallacha and Haadha caaccuu (mother of beads) were present. While praying the Abba kallacha inserted one of the kallacha finger in to the water. At the end of praying, a black bull (since rain cloud is black) was slaughtered which had a white mark on its forehead, and vowed for the next Gada if waaqa brought rain. Thus the rain used to come right away."

On the other hand, according to my informant Qanaatee, after the decline of Gada system in Amuru until it was revived again recently, it was the Qaalluu who took the ritual leader ship at Odaa Naffuro and advised the people to pray for rain in their home. Praying was carried out by women who were now free from sexual practice and held *caaccuu* at Qaallu's house, five elders (who held spear), five *shanees* (five councils) five young boys and five virgin girls who held awl, after praying as usual they slaughtered a black bull. This praying is still going on by some people inhabiting the surrounding area of Odaa Naffuro. (Informants: Qanaatee Fayisaa and Raggaasaa Akkasaa)



Figure 6: Irreessa malkaa dar'oo. Photo taken from Culture and Tourism Office the District.

4.9. Cultural Materials in Celebrations of Irreessaa at Odaa Naffuroo

There are different cultural materials which are portrayed on the celebrations of Irreessa Odaa Naffuroo. These materials have symbolic significance. Among these *coqorsa* (grass), (*haaduu*), *gaadii*²², *gabatee* (traditional material in which meal is eaten), *goraadee*, *gaachana* (shield), *kallacha* (symbol of ritual or

²² Gaadii: stripe used to tie a cows back leg during milking

political power), *bokkuu* (embem of power), *eeboo* (*spear*), *dibbee* (*drum*), *guchuma* (*milk container*), *xinboo*²³ (music instrument) and the kind.

These cultural materials have their own message and significance. *Gaadii* (stripe used to tie cow) and *okolee* are used to pray God. They pray to God for their cattle and children by having these material cultures. *Gabatee* is cultural material made up of wood in which *Cumboo* is provided with. *Waancaa* is a material prepared from the horn of cattle and *farsoo* (local beer) is drunk with it. *Haaduu* (knife) and *goraadee* (sword) are used to cut something and considered as war weapon and signify heroism. *Gaachanni* (shield) is a war cultural material hold on the horse and used to defend spear from an enemy. (Informants: Takele Dhugumaa and Xajjituu Dheeressaa)

Bokkuu (scepter) and *kallacha* are cultural materials specially respected materials (meeshaalee ulfoo) and believed to be born with human beings. Therefore, if the society have *kallacha* and *bokkuu* on their hand and speak, they assume it as God is speaking. This signifies how they respect these materials. *Guchuma* is used to have a blessing and drum (*dibbee*) is a musical instrument made of woods/clay and skins. The wood is made to have a shape of a small dish that holds water. The skin closes down its opening from the outer surface and tied to it tightly and strongly being stitched with fiber round the wood. This helps the drum to have appropriate and strong sound in beating. On these occasions the girls beat it with one of their hands holding it with the other. Their beatings create a rhythmic pattern that matches with the song they are singing. Spear is a material used to fight an enemy and symbolizes heroism.

Siiqqee is a stick made from a selected wood and cut down from the forest for its straightness and beauty. The wood is named *muka qacamaa dhaltuu* (feminine gender of the *qacama* tree). Then it is torched on fire so that it can be stronger. In a nut shell, the above mentioned materials are portrayed and gave beauty on the celebration of *irreessa* Odaa Naffuro. (Informants: Deesiftuu Waaqjiraa and Olanii Gannatii).

4.10. Activities Undertaken on Celebration of Irreessa Odaa Naffuro

First of all, elders take *okolee*, *coqorsa*, *kallacha*, *bokkuu* and go to Odaa Naffuro to pray to Waaqa. They slaughter the bull and do an act of pouring a liquid as sacrifice on it. A thing which is slaughtered under Odaa Naffuroo has its own symbolism. Sheep is a symbol of reconciliation. Sheep is slaughtered

²³ Xiimboo: a traditional musical instrument which is also known as masinqio in Amharic language

to pray to Waaqa and reconcile peoples who are in conflict. So it is used for reconciliation purpose. They slaughter the sheep in order to have good fortune and pray to Waaqa by saying those who have learned may civilized, God give birth for those who may be barren, do not close the door from them. After they do the libation, according to their feelings and desires, they slaughter and do libation. Elders with their wives have materials of libation, cultural clothes and come holding the irreessa (grass). Girls come by shaving their hairs (*qarree haaddachuu*) and beautify their hair and holding drum (*dibbee*). As well boys come to the irreessa Odaa Naffuroo by beautifying their horses and their hairs holding a stick in which they play defending (*qolachoo*). Other group both males and females decorated by Oromo cultural clothes, male wear *kallacha* on head, hold *bokkuu* in hand whereas females hold *ciicoo* (milk vessel) wearing jewelry like *callee*, *Haadha Siiqqee* and some women handle *siiqqee* at hand and then move gradually forefront of celebrants by saying:

Mareewoo mareewoo, mareewoo	marewo, marewo.marewo
Mareewoo, mareewoo, mareewoo	marewo, marewo.marewo
Alaa manaa nuuf toli yaa ayyoleewoo	help us both indoor and outdoor
Mareewoo, mareewoo, mareewoo(x2)	marewo, marewo.marewo(x2)
Yaa maram maarituu	maram the healer
Gaarii jette hin gaabbituu	you don't regret promise
Mee nutti araaram ayyoleewoo,	our mother! Reconcile with us

Accordingly, after the all attendants of *irreessaa* come together and boys and girls sing a song in to two separate groups. For instance, girl's song *ishoololee* song as follows:

Ishoololee

Barbaree hin affeelanii	chills no cooked
Sirbaa hiriyyee	let you friends sing
Wal malee hin bareedanii	life without togetherness is not plenty
Ishoollee leemmileewoo	ishoolole lemilewo
Yaa Abaabiileewoo	Oh our for fathers
Sirbaakaa hiriyyee	let us sing friends
Baranaafiilleewoo.	For this year (Informants: Xajjituu Dheeressaa and Deesiftuu Waakjiraa)

The above song manifests that on the Irreessa celebration girls grouped to sing a song and initiate other boys and girls to join in to their songs. In this event they have to sing well to be caught by the eyes of the Boys. This is because; on this event boys have to see the girls who are clever. On the other part, boys have also different songs usually epiphany songs such as:

Iyyaasee

Iyyaaseen iyyoodhaa	Iyase is iyo
---------------------	--------------

Kan fooliin shittoodha	whose smell is perfumed
Si yaadeen baroOdaa	I roar as a result of affectionate of you
Iyyaasee.....laga meexxii	Iyase the river of Meti (<i>phoenix reclinate</i>)
Durbi ammaa maadha barteettii	what was the girl of this contemporary
Na dhungachuuf natti arreeddii	she runs to me to kiss me
Iyyaasee lulee si yaadaan bulee	Iyase lule I have thinking of you the night
Iyyaaseedhakaa si yaadeerakaa	it is iyase and I have thinking of you
Iyyaassee lagarrattii	Iyase on the river
Qamaleen durba dhungatti	an ape kisses a girl
Saqalaa boqqolloorrattii	on the hut of maize
Baaduu burxuuxxuu	fatty cheese
Durba guntuttuu...	a girl who is breast

Iyyooshee

Iyyooshee Gurreekoo Kololeekoo Ilmaan Amuruu
 Iyoshe gureko kololeko Sons of Amuru
 Iyyooshee kurreekoo Kololeekoo yaa konkoneekoo
 Iyoshe gureko kololeko you beautiful
 Iyyooshee kurreekoo Kololeekoo ana jabeessii
 Iyoshe gureko kololeko strengthen me
 Iyyooshee kurreekoo Kololeekoo Guutummaa Jaawwii
 Iyoshe gureko kololeko all the Jawi clan
 Iyyooshee Gurreekoo Kololeekoo Boontuu biyyakoo
 Iyoshe gureko kololeko you Bontu of my country
 Iyyooshee Gurreekoo Kololeekoo Qabda lapheekoo
 Iyoshe gureko kololeko you can hold me my chest

Iyyaaboora

Iyyaa booraa boorri booraa	oh bora it is bora
Yoonni yoonaa dhiiti dhiiti	it is time so kick kick
Bishaan baasi bishaan boollaa	extract water the water of the ground
Maal abbaakee dargaggeessaa	Aren't you youth?
Boorri booraa Odaa Naffuroo	bora is bora Odaa Naffuroo
Yaa irreessashee.	Oh what its irreessa (Informants: Deesaa Goobanaa and Raggaasaa Gammadaa).

Irreeffannaa signifies thanking God by dipping grass or flower in to water and sparkling in to their heads and various sides. It is done to show gratitude to God and supplicates for future life. They dip grass and flower in to water and sparkle here and there pray for procreation, fertility, reproduction, peace, rain and good fortune. Grass symbolizes wet, fertility and life since it remains wet throughout the year. Flowers

symbolize good fortune since it has nice smell and bright flowering in autumn season. After this the girls go to their singing and the boys go to the play of *gombisa fardaa* (horse racing).

On the other hand, according to my informants Takele Bakare and Yashi Dhaba, in this Odaa Naffuroo, boys and girls sing separately. The youths have strong stick and play self-defense (*walirraa qolachoo*). This is because if they will fight with an enemy, it is used as self-preparation. This play has required practice and strangeness. On the other part where the girls sing, there is a well-known play called *suuqqata*. This is a play in which a boy gives a gift for loved one. This symbolizes she is already dated and promised to marry him. The gift she took signifies as she betrothed. On that actual day he recognizes as she is his own.

Apart from this celebration of *Irreessa* other activities were undertaken at Odaa Naffuro, these activities were, Gadaa system that comes very eight years is celebrated. Elders reconcile peoples who were in conflict under the shade of Odaa Naffuro. Under this Odaa they make peoples to make an oath and make a discussion about their social life. Marriage ceremonies were undertaken at this Odaa Naffuro. Bride and bride groom feel excitement and took blessing at this sacred place. As well they celebrate *irreecha*. Different peoples who promised to give for Gadaa Naffuro come and give thanks to God. In addition, if something was stolen from someone, they come to swear and curse the one who stole material. (Informants: Taakkelee Bakaree and Yashi Dhaabaa).

4.11. Conservation of Odaa Naffuro

Conservation is keeping in safety or preserving the existing state of a sacred resource from destruction or change, i.e., the action taken to prevent decay and to prolong life. According to my informants, though Odaa Naffuro is an indigenous socio-political, cultural and religious system of Amuru Oromo for a long period of time. However, as tourist site place the required conservation process has not been done according to the reality. Besides, the area around Odaa Naffuro tree has been covered by man made and natural forests. Some of this forests were planted by charity youths, where as others are afforested by local elders and the area is green. However, the concerned bodies like the District and Zonal Cultural and Tourism Office has given less attention for this sacred sites. (Informants: Nagaraa Wayyeessa and Bakaree kumsaa).

Since, Odaa Naffuro had been the tree under which Waaqa reestablished His relation and revealed the laws, odaa became a sacred tree of different purposes. And so Odaa is a tree under which Waaqaa re-communicated and made reconciliation with human being with his blessing. Therefore, odaa is the most sacred of all trees. And so Odaa represent a shade where society gather together in crowd to worship their Creator (Uumaa), to make reconciliation, conduct rituals and formulate and amend seeraa (Laws). Odaa became one of the sacred sites because Odaa grows in the areas where there is abundant water as water is a source of life and fertility. Odaa remains wet even during long period of drought, and Odaa stand in harmony with its roots, trunk, Leaves and fruits. They used to convene prayer and worship rituals under the shade of such trees such as odaa (avariety of sycamore tree), birbirsaa (Podocarpus gracilior/falcatus), Qilxuu (ficus vasta), harbuu (ficus sur), somboo (ekeberigia capensi), Hoomii (pygeum africanum), Mi'eessaa (prunus Africana). There fore, Odaa Naffuro must be conserved for the future generation (Informants: Olaanii Gannatii and Qanaatee Fayisaa).

According to the informants, this can be observed that they are unable to protect the area from deforestation. In addition to this, unqualified personnel was employed and assigned as top level managers. This might be retarded and undermined probably the development of Odaa Naffuro sacred site. The other point to be raised here is that, around the sacred site of Odaa Naffuro master plan have been made to construct modern Abba Gadaa office building and other Bureaus by volunteer some Individual and the district culture and tourism office. However, its design of construction has not been yet materialized. If changes would not be happen this might be a great impact for the sustainability of this sacred site.



Picture 7: Odaa Naffuroo photo captured by the researcher during field work April 26, 2011

Another informant Irranaa Dhugumaa, told me about the current challenges of Odaa Naffuro saying that, Odaa Naffuro is one of the Amuru Oromo historical, symbolical and sacred site, even though, it was greatly challenged by previous systems, now days it has been revitalized again having its own Gadaa element and structure. Thanks to the Amuru elders, experts of Culture and Tourism Office, youth's and who initiated the Oromo peoples of Amuru for the revitalization of Gadaa system at Odaa Naffuro. So, currently Irrecha Malaka Dar'oo celebration

has been performed around Odaa Naffuro. Nevertheless, this symbolic as well as sacred site, the so called Odaa Naffuro has not been officially supported by governmental and nongovernmental organizations for its sustainability. In addition, even though, the area of the Odaa Naffuro and its boundary was demarcated, and master plan has been made, little attention has been given on behalf the concerned bodies and the local government.

Besides, different peoples don't have detail knowledge about the Gadaa culture and the ritual processes carried out under and around the Odaa Naffuro. As a result of this, there is hidden opposition especially from some religious followers like protestants and other religious sects. This opposition was mainly depending on the ritual and sacrifice carried out under the Odaa Naffuro. So, this might be a little bit an obstacle. Hence, this should be corrected by giving awareness for the people about the value of culture and the tradition of Oromo. (Informants: Irranaa Dhugumaa and Waaqoo Akkasaa).

The other informant whom I met and interviewed during my field work in Amuru district was government officer and told me about the current challenges of Odaa bulluq by starting from the definition and the meaning of Odaa saying that,

More over, Odaa has great value behind the Oromo culture i.e., it is considered as the sources of fertility and bless it is an identity of Oromo, water can originate under it, it is wet have large trunks, the shade of Odaa tree has been served as shield from strong sun light and it is the central office of Gadaa government, where Irrecha festivity and ritual ceremony carried out under it. As far as Odaa Naffuro is concerned, it is really our culture re revived again from its long absence. Now it has been reflecting the culture of Amuru Oromo since Gadaa elements are practicing now. However, there are some limitations to be improved. These are: the inability of conservation of the natural resources around the Odaa Naffuro, the lack of appointment of skilled personnel on cultural and tourism office, specially professionals such as Folklorists, Anthropologists and the like. Generally, government has to monitor and allot budget for conservation and rehabilitation of this sacred site. Because, this may help the sustainability of our culture the Gada system and strengthening of sacred sites. (Informant: Olaanii Gannatii).

Generally, the sustainability of one culture and folk custom among the society depends on the attempt made by the educated people to create awareness and solidarity of people. Besides, the desire for training each other of the people by giving the necessary attention including concerned

bodies playing pivotal role for the protection of the culture. To this end, we can say that, the motive behind preservation of Cultural sacred areas emanate from the awareness given from educated people as well as the unity and the stand the society do have to promote their culture.

In another context, conservation is on one side preserving the existing state of a cultural resources from destruction or change, on the other side repairing damaged parts with various intervention methods. Hence, depending on the suggestion of the respondents it is logical that if Odaa Naffuro is well conserved and protected, its sacredness would pass to the fourth coming generation

4. 12. Changes and Continuities in Gadaa Naffuro

The Amuru clans of Jawi Macca had exercised the Gadaa system at Odaa Naffuro for long period of time. However the social, political, cultural, and religious system of Jaawwi Maccaa Gadaa began to decline in the second half the nineteenth century as a result of internal and external pressures. For instance, internally according to oral tradition narration, the weakness of the political structure of the Gadaa system i.e., the change of republican form of government and the formation of monarchical system among the Macca clans in general and Amuruu areas in particular weaken the Gadaa system. Externally, the impact of central administration, the then governors had imposed not to exercise the socio-political, cultural, and religious system of the Oromo. i.e. Gadaa system.

According to the elders, during the time of past totalitarian governments any socio-political, cultural, religious system as well as law making process was forbidden under the Odaa tree. Even many people who had practiced Gadaa process under Odaa were arrested and other measures had been taken upon them. Oral tradition confirms that from our forefathers Gadaa system was prohibited from functioning for a long period of time. However, the people used different methods in order to preserve their indigenous culture for example tried to practice *irreecha* festivity at night by going to river bank until it was permitted and revived fully again. Informants further replied that, this was done by Amuruu because desire for sustaining their culture was very high. As a result of this there was severe persecution by central administration. This condition became especially suitable with permission of Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front government. Despite the fact that, great attempts were made to revive Gadaa Naffuro, the indigenous culture of the people, there were weaknesses from the concerned bodies. For instance, conserving and protecting Odaa Naffuro by constructing fence and conserving the natural resources specially forests surrounding around historic place Odaa Naffuro. So if these things were improved it would promote and transmit a very good culture for the future generation. Beside the great challenges, Gadaa system has been renewed by the struggle made by Oromo hero and the desire of the peoples to reestablish their Gadaa system. Accordingly, the attempts made by the Amuruu clans later helped the return of Gadaa system well. (Informants: Takele Bakare and Tafarraa Amanuu).

In addition, the existing government i.e. Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front has played pivotal role in the implementation of the written constitution for the nations and nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. According to the constitution, citizens are allowed the right to practice and develop their own language, culture, religion and history on legal manner. So, this condition helped further Amuru clan to re establish and exercise their Gadaa culture freely. Therefore, the Gadaa Naffuro was restored with its structure, after it was terminated for a long period of time until 1998 E.C. Hence, the Gadaa leaders who had been serving from the end of 1998-2005, were replaced by new Gadaa leaders on November 22, 2005. The new Gadaa leaders (officials) who assumed political power in 2005 E.C have passed some proclamations for the sustainability of Gadaa culture under Odaa Naffuro and the desire for keeping the norms and values for the society. Irrecha culture was also actively performed twice annually. (Informants: Gammadaa Baldhis and Taakkelee Bakaree).

4.13. The Current Condition and Prospects of Odaa Naffuro

The current condition ongoing at Odaa Naffuro is good. This means the Gadaa system is periodically undergoing, *Irrecha* ceremony is well preformed according to the reality. However, there are critics from some Orthodox and Protestant followers about the ritual and sacrifice undergoing under Odaa Naffuro. To this end, this opponent groups are prohibiting the people from participating in the ceremony by connecting situations with their religious doctrine. So this may not be good, as to me culture and religion are separable. If these things are not corrected I fear that, the celebrations of Odaa Naffuro may decline. Nevertheless, if we struggle and teach the society about the value of Gadaa, culture and the distinctions between culture and religion I hope we may sustain this traditional system of governance and transfer to the generation.

On the other hand, the zonal and cultural and tourism bureau experts are not qualified personnel as the cultural sector required. Rather normally they employed and assigned to people who have been qualified in dissimilar professions like accounting, biology and business management as top level hierarchy. This might retard and undermine practice of Odaa Naffuro. Besides, the desire for training each other by giving necessary attention including concerned bodies playing pivotal role for the protection of Odaa Naffuro.

Different individuals and institutions are currently contributing to study and develop Oromummaa. For instance, the Establishment of Oromo Study Association (OSA) in abroad and

coming to Finfinnee near the future and Institute of Oromo study (IOS) in Jimma University are contributing a lot to the study of Oromo. Recently, many Oromo scholars, politicians, in exile and in Oromia, online activists, and Oromo rights advocates are engaged in campaign to raise awareness about the Oromo Gadaa system. The community elders also should teach the values of Gadaa as well. To this end, we can say that, the motive behind preservation of intangible and tangible cultural practices emanate from the awareness given from educated people as well as the unity and the stand the society do have to promote their culture is essential for the future of the Gadaa Naffuro. (Informants: Taakkelee Bakaree, Nagaraa Wayyeessaa)

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusions

The Oromo of the Amuru area had been exercising the cultural practice of Gadaa ruling system having center at Odaa Nafuro. Like other areas of Oromo, Odaa received especial recognition in the life of the Oromo of Amuru. It was based on this notion that the people strives to revive their own indigenous institutions in relation to Gadaa ruling system. In the *jiruu fi jireenya* (daily life) they have custom, philosophy, culture, religion and the world view. In all these the binding rule tied with the concept of Gadaa and other related practices. Likewise the Oromo of Amuru governs their day to day, social-economic and political life with Gadaa system which has different folklore elements. This indigenous customs has been transferred from generation to generation and incorporated in the field of folklore.

The Oromo have the way to transfer the knowledge of their forefather to the next generation. In this respect the practice of Gadaa system does not disappear from the minds of the people of the area. Custom and oral literature played great role in this respect. In the oral literature elders talk to children and young people about the past performances of their people and their achievement through time. In their discussion about cultural practices of holly days and other ritual ceremonies the name of Odaa Naffuro and the notion of ‘Gadaan keenya’ (literally “our Gadaa”) are usual expressions of elders. But what is not still clear is that whether Odaa Nafuroo was a point of dispersal for the Jaawwii of Maccaa like that of the Odaa Bisil which served as point of dispersal for the *Sadachaa* and the *Afree*. As to my understanding from the oral narratives of the elders, the Odaa Naffuro served the same purpose for the Oromo of Amuru and the surrounding areas such as Kiiramu and Giddaa areas.

In folkloric concept, the center has different symbols which are in most case naturally grown features of trees and their growing aspects and directions. Elders give meaning for every aspect of Odaa Naffuro. Various proclamations and laws that are useful to the societies were also interpreted. According to Gadaa Naffuro how the conflict that existed in the society was resolved, what activities were undertaken under this Odaa Naffuro. It was gradual that the symbolic significance of Odaa Naffuro declined. The decline by its self was not total stoppage of

practicing some ritual activities under Odaa Naffuro. Either in secrete or in few number of people had been using the place as thanks giving center during the holy days. The place was also considered as sacred area which helped for the survival of the Odaa.

Even though, the system of government discouraged traditional practices, the people didn't lose hope on the survival of their tradition. That is why in recent times the practice of Gadaa system at its center of Odaa Naffuro revived again after long years of official banning. The impact of imperial conquest, as a result of the competition between two rival Abyssinian leaders, Takla Haymanot of Gojjam and Menelik of Shewa, over the resources of Gibe Valleys in the 1870s and 1880s was the most factor responsible for this banning. Valuable trade items like civet, ivory, coffee and other products were transports to Red Sea ports via Horro Guduru and its surroundings, making it an arena of devastating conflict. This conquest retards the practice of Gadaa. What is clearly understandable from the practice of Gadaa system at the Odaa Nafuro is that the societies never give up their struggle for the survival of their culture. When there is danger in public practicing of cultural performances, they change their approach to their exercise of that culture. When they were discouraged from celebrating their culture officially, they change to secrete practice from huge public gathering to small number of family size and from open environment to socially naturally closed environment.

The other mechanisms used for the preservation of this Gadaa center was that the people used as worship and sacred place by relating the feature of tree with diety of the place. This system protected the Odaa not to be cut for different purposes. Actually it is not usual to cut such growing trees according the wider world views of the Oromo. But this by its self is not enough to gate guarantee for the tree and hence they related the work of Waaqa that made this Odaa unique from other surrounding trees. This spiritualizing aspect more served conservation of nature from aggressive destruction by some people who do not obey the local custom. The narration about the sleeping of the Korma in the area also gives especial attention for the place among the people of the area. When they used to exercise the Gadaa as ruling system the concept of *angafaa* also contributed for the sustainability of the system. It was indicated that the Hoolee clan of Oromo were the *angafaa* who started Gadaa at the Odaa Nafuro. It was said that, it is inheritance from Gadaa Buluq of Horro since the Jawwii arrived from Horroo crossing Jardagaa Jaartee area.

The other issue that is strongly attached to the Gadaa system is peace and peace building process and institutions. Gadaa system by itself is indicator of peace unless there is justifiable defensive war against expansionists. Odaa Naffuro and its Gadaa practice have peace building institutions. The major one is jaarsummaa system. The conflict between individuals and groups of people has been resolved by jaarsummaa system. The *gumaa* institutions also practiced under the Odaa Naffuro where people resolve the crime through peaceful process. The process entails rules and regulations endorsed by the Gadaa system. After reconciliation the disputants never go to conflict on the issue. Generally Odaa Naffuro served for various political and ritual purposes and it survived the danger of extinction due to its significance for the people of the area.

5.2. Recommendations

Indigenous knowledge and cultural practices are markers of the civilization of societies. These knowledge are result of long years of life experiences of people. They involve socio-political and economic systems which could help for the survival of the people. In the same way the Oromo of Amurru sons of Jaawwii have developed indigenous culture, custom, religion, oral literature, philosophy and social life. They also have mechanism of transmitting the knowledge to the next generation. Nonetheless, this custom and lore of people is limited to one setting and the celebration of Odaa Naffuro lacks recognition and is declining. In addition to this, the establishment of the Odaa Naffuro as a center of Gadaa is known in the level of the community. It was identified as it is not well known as general and the structures of Gadaa were not actively participating rather than having names only.

Furthermore, it was identified that the power transfer (*baallii walharkaa fuudhuu*) of Gadaa leaders was transmitted in a limited one genealogy rather than enabling the genealogy other group of Oromo to participate in it. This means, starting from its establishment, the power is in the hands of Hoolee clan (the elder of the Amurru's clan). This contradicts with the practices of Gadaa like that of Borana and Guji Oromo. So, it would be better if either Culture or Tourism Office of the District work on it by making it similar with other Gadaa practices.

The other one is the custodians of the culture, who were ruled under Gadaa Naffuroo do not know about Gadaa Naffuro widely. Particularly, the youths are not aware and do not know about the establishment and values of this Gadaa. This does not mean that, there is no person who didn't know about Odaa Naffuro. Hence, it was neither recognized nor researched and documented by scholars for the future generation in the form of books. So for the above problems the following points are recommended and forwarded to the concerned bodies and stake holders.

- Oromia Culture and Tourism Office has to create awareness about Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa center of Amuru which was declining in limited geographical area, by organizing intellectuals from districts and zones as well as from universities for further study, document its values and teach the society to the betterment of its strength.
- Amuru Jaawwii Gadaa Center the so called Odaa Naffuro is a sacred cultural place of Amuru Oromo. As a result, the concerned bodies, local elders the zone and district culture and tourism offices have to give a remarkable careful consideration for its survival and conservation.
- Both Horroo Guduruu Wallagaa Zone Culture and Tourism Offices and Amuru Culture and Tourism Office experts will have to conduct a research in written form and documentary form. There by it will be known more in the society and serve as a reference for readers.
- In addition to its great value, for the sake of transmitting it for the coming (newly) generations, it is better if deep research was done on it and presented on different cultural stages, celebrations, festivals, international journals and written in the form of magazines, brochures and, so as to increase its value to the mass public.
- The analysis of the study attests that the government must designate the cultural and tourism bureau officers and top level managers, professionals who are qualified in Folklore and cultural studies and other related professionals like Anthropologists so as to make further research, preservation and investigation of Odaa Naffuro and its sacred areas.
- In general, Government and non-government officials including Culture and Tourism offices and custodians of the culture at large, have to work in collaboration on the practices and continuity of Odaa Naffuro, Gadaa center professionally. In addition, they have to strengthen and enhance its continuity and sustainability as indigenous socio-cultural and political system

of the Oromo. While doing so, it is possible to transfer this social folk custom and the culture in good manner to the next generation.

Bibliography

- Alemayehu Haile. (2002). *Gadaa System, The Politics of Tulema Oromo*. Addis Abeba: Oromia Culture and Tourism Center.
- Asafa Jalata. 2012. *Gadaa (Oromo Democracy): An Example of Classical African Civilization, the Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.5, no.1, March 2012
- A. Triulizi. (1975). "The Guduru Oromo and their neighbors in the two generation before the battle of Embabo," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, volXIII.
- Asmarom Legesse. (1973). *Gadaa: Three Approaches to Study African society*. New York: The Free Press published Co .Inc.
- Bartels, Lambert. (1975). *Daboo: A form of cooperation between farmers among the Mecha Galla of Ethiopia: social aspects, songs and ritual*, vol.70, Antrophas: st.Augisting.
- Bassi Marco. (1996). *Powers' ambiguity or the political significance of Gadaa in Baxter.P, Jan Hultin, and Alezandro Triulzi (1996) Being and becoming Oromo. Historical and Anthropological Enquireis. Upsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.*
- Boswell, G. (1962). *Fundamentals of folk literature*. Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications
- Dejene Gemechu. (2002). *Some Aspects of Conflict and Conflict Resolution among Waliso Oromo of Eastern Macha with Particular Emphasis on the Guma. MA Thesis in Social Anthropology. Addis Ababa University.*
- Dejene Gemetchu. (2017). "*The Survival and Amendment of Waliso Liiban Gadaa.*"In *Proceedings of the second International Oromo Studies Conference*. By Institute of Oromo Studies, (pp 282-285). Jimma University.
- Dereje Fufa. (2015). *The Performance of Gadaa among MaccaaOromo*. (PhD) Dissertation Andra University Visakhapatnam.
- Dereje Hinnaw. (2012). "Historical Significance of Some Major Gadaa Centers in Oromia."AAU: MA Thesis in History
- Dinkisa Sagni (2007). *Gadaa Naffuroo, Godina Horroo Guduruu Wallaggaa Aanaa Amuruu*. Jimma Yuniversity: BA thesis in Oromo Folklore and Literature.
- Dirribii Damassee. (2009). *Ilaalcha Oromo*. Finfinnee: Dhaabbata Interpiraayizii Maxxansaa D.G.
- Dorson, R. (1972). *Folklore and Folk life: An Introduction*. London: University of Chicago Press, Ltd.

- Dundes, A. (1965). *The Study of Folklore*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.Inc.
- Field, P.A and Morse J.M. (1985). *Nursing Research: The Application of Qualitative Approaches*. London, Champ man and Hall.
- Gadaa Melba. (1988). *Oromia: An Introduction*. Khartoum, Sudan
- Gadaafa Tolera. (1983), “The Qalluu institution Among the Horro- Guduru Oromo. A case study of butta ” (BATHesis, Addis Ababa university Department of History)
- Gemetchu Megerssa. (1993). “Identity, Knowledge Systems, and the Colonizing Structure.” Ph. D. Dissertation in Anthropology. School of Oriental and African Studies, London
- Huntingford.G.W.B. *The [Galla]of Ethiopia: The Kingdom of Kaffa and Janjero*. Ethnographic Survey of Africa. International African Institute, London.1955.
- Hirut Terefe. 2000. “*A Study of Female Genital Mutilation and Reproductive Health: The case of Arsi Oromo, Ethiopia*”. PhD Dissertation submitted to the faculty of social sciences University of Gottingen
- JohnT.Hinnant. (1977). *The Gadaa system of the Guji of southern Ethiopia*; Ph.D. Dissertation. Chicago University.
- Kefyalew Tesema. (2017). “*Revitalization of Same Gadaa Institutions in West Arsi, Oromia: The Experience from Dodola District, a historical Overview.*” In *Proceedings of the second International Oromo Studies Conference*. By Institute of Oromo Studies, (pp 282-285). Jimma University.
- Knutsson, Karl Eric. 1967. *Authority and Change: A study of the k'allu Institution Among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia*. Goteborg
- Lamessa Mergo. (2014). The Scene doesn't speak: The demise of Bdaa Bulluq sacred forest Horro Guduru Land scape north western Oromia Ethiopia; *Journal of Oromo Studies* 19:101-137
- Lamessa Wakgari. (2010). “*Problems and Prospects in Revitalization of Gadaa. The Case of Odaa Doggi.*” Unpublished MA thesis in Folklore and Cultural Studies. Jimma University.
- Leellisaa Aadaa Bantii. (6413 A.L.G). *Kudhaama Seenaa: Oromiyaa, Finfinnee*.
- Lemmu Baissa. (2004). “*The Oromo Gadaa system of Government: An Indigenous African Democracy.*” Edited by Asefa Jaleta, *State Crises, Globalization and National Movements In North East Africa*. (Newyork: Routledge, 2004), 101-102

- Lewis, Herbert. (1966). “*KUD ARFAN: A multi-function among the west Galla*”, Proceeding of the 3rd International conference of Ethiopians studies, AA: Institute of Ethiopians Studies.
- Mamo Hebo. (2005). Land disputes settlement in a plural ‘institutional’ setting: the case of Arsi Oromo of Kokossa District, Southern Ethiopia. *African Study Monographs*, Suppl. 29 pp, 125-135
- Marga Dirbaba (2018). “*Boojina Ba ’uu: Godina Horro Guduruu Wallaggaa Aanaa Amuruu.*” MA thesis submitted to Addis Ababa University.
- Marshal De salviac. (1901). An Ancient People Great African Nation (Translated From French To English By Ayalew Keno) Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press: 1994.
- Milkessa Midega. (2017). The Revitalization of Gadaa Federation in Oromia: *In Proceedings of the second International Oromo Studies Conference.* By Institute of Oromo Studies, (pp 164-168). Jimma University.
- Mohammed Hassen. (1990). *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1517-1860.* Cambridge University Press.
- Mohammed Hassen. 2005. “Pilgrimage to the Abba Muuda” In *The Journal of Oromo Studies.* 12(1&2). Pp.142-157
- Nagaso Gidada. (1984). *History of the Sayyo Oromo of South Western Wollega, Ethiopia From About 1730-1886.* Frankfurt am main. Mega Printing Enterprise.
- Okpewho Isidor. (1992). *African Oral Literature: Background, Character and Continuity.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Paul S. and et. at (2007), *The research imagination: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Methods.* Cambridge University Press
- Propp, V. (1984). *Theory and History of Folklore.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Solomon Debebe. (2017). “The Political and Religious Significance of ‘Odaa Tree’ and Odaa Nabee among Tulama Oromo in Akaki Woreda, Oromia Special Zone Surrounding Finfinne.” MA Thesis. Addis Addis Ababa University.
- Tesema Ta’a. (1996). “Traditional and Modern Cooperatives among the Oromo.” In P.T.W. Baxter, Jan Hultin and Alessandro Triulzi (eds.). *Being and Becoming Oromo: Historical and Anthropological Enquiries.* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrika Institutet. Pp.202-209
- Tesfaye Tolera (2017). “Xiinxala Sirna Gadaa Naffuroo Fookloorii Oromo Keessatti.” MA thesis submitted to Addis Ababa University
- Workineh Kelbessa. (2001). “Traditional Oromo Attitudes towards the Environmental: An Argument for Environmentally sound Development.” Social Science Research Report Series, number 19. Addis Ababa: OSSERA.

Yilma Deressa (1967). *Ye Itopiya Tarik Be Asrasedistegnaw Kifle Zemen*. Addis Ababa

Zelalem Tesfaye. (2012). “Ethiopia: When the Gadaa Democracy Rules in a Federal State Bridging Indigenous Institutions of Governance to Modern Democracy.” Ph.D.Dissertation. University of Troms.

Zerihun Alula (2018). “Qaaccessa sirna Dhakaa Qeerroo Godina Horro Guduruu Wallaggaa Aanaa Amuruu.” MA thesis submitted to Addis Ababa University

List of Informants

No	Name	Age	Sex	Date of interview	Residence place	Responsibility and job in the society
1	Bakare Kumsa	69	M	15/9/2011	Agamsa	Gadaa member
2	Balaay Dhugumaa	52	M	23/9/2011	Naffuro	Elder and Farmer
3	Bikila Abdata	42	M	20/9/2011	Amuru	Head of Culture & Tourism Office
4	Darajjee Tuulii	60	M	15/9/2011	Warra Beeraa	Elder and Farmer
5	Deesaa Goobanaa	55	M	18/8/2011	Naffuro	Gadaa official and Farmer
6	Deesiftuu Waaqjiraa	59	F	20/9/2011	Walqixxee	Community member and household
7	Dhinsaa Dhugumaa	64	M	20/9/2011	Ejere	Gadaa member and NGO worker
8	Dhugumaa Gammadaa	56	M	21/9/2011	Haroo waloo	Community Elder and Government Officer
9	Gammadaa Baldhis	70	M	18/8/2011	Naffuro	Elder and Farmer
10	Geexee Dhugumaa	40	F	19/9/2011	Gollo	Haadha Siinqee and House hold
11	Irana dhuguma	61	M	25/8/2011	walqixxe	Elder and Farmer
12	Nagaraa Wayyeessaa	53	M	18/8/2011	Amuru	Abbaa Gadaa
13	Olani Gannatii	60	M	15/8/2011	Amuru	Elder and

						Government Officer
14	Qanaatee Fayisaa	60	M	19/9/2011	Yaa'ibilii	Elder and Teacher
15	Raggaasaa Akkasaa	75	M	23/8/2011	makkanno	Elder and Farmer
16	Raggaasa Gammadaa	48	M	20/9/2011	Naffuro	Elder and Farmer
17	Sanyii Doobbaa	53	M	20/9/2011	Amuru	Elder and Teacher
18	Tafarra Amanuu	30	M	15/8/2011	Amuru	Culture & Tourism expert
29	Takele Dhuguma	30	M	19/9/2011	Amuru	Government worker
20	Takele Bakare	51	M	25/9/211	Amuru	Retired Culture & Tourism leader and knowledgeable elder
21	Waaqoo Akkasaa	70	M	23/9/2011	Makkanno	Elder and Farmer
22	Xajjituu Dheeressaa	50	M	15/8/2011	Naffuro	Household

Appendices 1

Guiding Questions in scheduled interview of key informants and group discussions.

1. Gadaan isiniif maali? Sirni Gadaawoo maali?
2. Naffuroon maali?
3. Gadaan Naffuroo maali?
4. Gadaan Naffuroo akkamitti Hundeeffame? Yoom hundeeffame? Eenyutu hundeesse?
5. Sirni kabaja Gadaa Naffuroo maaliif addaan cite ture?
6. Sirni kabaja Gadaa Naffuroo waggaa keessatti al meeqa kabajama? Maaliif?
7. Seerotni Gadaa Naffuroorratti tumaman maal maal fa`i? Enyuunis tumamuu?
8. Yeroo sirna kabaja Gadaa Naffuroo raawwileen barbaachisoota`anmaal fa`i?
9. Haalli uumama muka Odaa Naffuroo akkamitti ibsama? Hawaasa biratti hiika maaltu kennamaafii?
10. Gadaan Naffuroo kun haala kamiin ganda Naffuroo keessatti hundeeffame? Eenyuunis hundeeffame?

11. Gadaa Naffuroo keessatti waldhabdeen hawaasa keessa jiru akkamiin furamu? Wal dhabdeen xiyyeeffannaa guddaan itti kennamu immoo isaan kamidha? Akkamittis dhiyaatu?
12. Kakaan maali? Akkamitti kakatama? Maaliif kakatama? Eenyuti kakata?
13. Kabajni ayyanna Irreessaa Odaa Naffuroo kanaa haala kamiin eegala?
14. Raawwiileen bakka irreessaa kanatti raawwatamani maali?
15. Dura maaltu ta'a? Itti aansee hoo? Odaa kana jalatti maal maaltu ta'a?
16. Bakka sirbaatti maaltu ta'a? Duraa duubni saanii akkami?
17. Raawwiileen kunniin eanyuun raawwatamu?
18. Meeshaaleen aadaa bakka kanatti barbaachisan maal maali?
19. Haala kamiin irreeffatama?
20. Uffanni aadaa dhiiraa fi dubartiin uffatamu ni jiraa?
21. Kabajni ayyaana irreessaa kun jiraachuunsaa hawaasa ni fayyadaa? Yoo ni fayyada ta'e maal fayyada?
22. Meeshaaleen aadaa guyyaa kana bakkichatti barbaachisan ni jiruu?
23. Yoo jiraatani maal maali? Mallatummaan isaanii hoo?

Appendices 2



Picture of Odaa Naffuro captured by the researcher



Picture taken from Amuru Culture and Tourism Office when the elders, Gadaa members and Community discussing on the celebration of Ireessa Odaa Naffuro.





Picture showing the celebration of Irreessa Odaa Naffuro taken from Amuru Culture and Tourism Office.