



Full Length Research Paper

Arroollee Fiichee: The Symbol of Resistance and Heroism among the Karrayyuu Oromoo

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Abstract

The Karrayyuu have long been varyingly described as a confronting group, a marginalized and drought affected people, consequently what they accrued for humanities have become the subject of distortions and the dearth of research access. This paper is an exposition of the vivid images and portrayals of Arroollee Fiichee, a hero fighter and a protagonist of Oromoo patriotic, who represented the figurine of resistance and heroism among Karrayyuu. Arroollee is said to have been born in the early 1890s and died in 1976. The study was conducted by undertaking a historical methodology of analytical narrative and interpretative approaches. Findings of the study indicate that Arroollee initially started his military life in the 1920s as a lolee (common fighter) and assumed important positions in the military wing of the Gadaa system throughout his life. After being raised into a special class of warriors, Leencota Karrayyuu (the Lions of Karrayyuu), he was then promoted to qondaalaa (trophy owner) and earned the highest military title, Abbaa bitawoo in the 1950s. In his marital life career, Arroollee has served at different military offices and roles in the Karrayyuu gadaa system such as abbaa waraanaa (commander-in-chief), abbaa jajjabii (head of peace and security), warra toomaa (head of the gadaa governance center) and top counselor. Results of the study indicate Arroollee was special superman, who had engaged in several battles, scored many victories over the enemies and collected more numerous boots than his contemporaries. Subsequently, he is a renowned hero for whom a memorial kaabaa (paved graveyard) was built in honor of his bravery on Karrayyuuland at a place called Ilaala Qaraarii. He is also recalled in songs, and yet a rite of slaughtering goats dedicated to his heroism around his graveyard. The paper concludes that Arroollee was the greatest unrivalled hero who is praised as the symbol of resentment against subjugation. The researchers recommend that exposition of such heroic men like Arroollee enable us to acclaim and sing for whom, history has never yet sung.

Keywords: Arroollee, heroism, Karrayyuu, resistance

Arroollee Fiichee: Fakkeenya Faccisaafi Gootummaa Oromoo Karrayyuu

Axareeraa

Oromoon Karrayyuu yeroo dheeraaf bifa maqaa balleessaan uummata nama loluu jaalatu, warra moggeeffamefi gogiinsaan dhaanaman jechaa jallinaan waamamaafi uwwisa qorannoo hin argatiin turan. Kaayyoon qoranno kana seenaa goota, hayyuu waraanaafi calaqqee gootummaa Oromoo Karrayyuu Arroollee Fiicheerratti xiyyeeffata. Arroollee Fiichee baroota 1890moota keessaa dhalate bara 1976 du'usaatu himama. Qorannoon kunis mala qorannoo seenaa xiinxala seenessaafi ibsaa bu'uura godhachuun kan gaggeeffamedha. Argannoowwan qorannicha akka mul'isutti Arroolleen sochi waraanaa baroota 1920moota keessa loftuu humna ittisa Karrayyuu ta'uun hoggansa damee waraanaa sirna gadaa sadarkaa addaa addaatti hojjetaa ture. Kanaanis garee loltoota addaa Leencota Karrayyuu irra gara qondaalummaatti akkasumas bara 1950moota keessa gara sadarkaa waraanaa isa olaanaa kan ta'e abbaa bitawootti ol guddate. Arroolleen oolmaa jireenya loftummaafi hoggansa damee waraanaafi tikaa sirna gadaa sadarkaa addaa addaa kanneen akka abbaa waraanaa, abbaa jajjabii, warra toomaafi gorsaa waraanaa tureera. Bu'aaleen qorannoo akka mul'isanitti Arroolleen nama dandeettiifi ga'umsa isa dirree lolootaa addaa addaarratti diina injifachuufi mirgoota gootummaa hedduu of karkatti galfachuun goota yeroo sanaa kamuu caalaa leellifama olaana horateera. Sababa kanaanis, yaadannoo gootummaa isaaf kan oolu kaabaan bakka Ilaala Qaraarii jedhamutti dhaabbateef jira. Arroolleen dhaloota har'aa birattis mallattoo gootummaafi faajjii injifannoo ta'uun maqaansa bifa weedduun faarfama. Dargaggootni hujuba isaa gubbatti re'ee qaluun wareega yaadannoo gootummaasaa kabaju. Yaadni cuunfaa qorannicha akka mul'isutti Arroolleen gootota maraa ol fakkeenyaafi mallattoo didda mo'atamuu ta'uun yaadatama. Qorattootiin akka mala dhahanitti qorannoon goototaafi faajjii gootummaa kanneen uwwisa qorannoo hin arganne ifa baasuufi seenaan akka isaan faarsu ni taasisa.

Jechoota Ijoo: Arroollee, gootummaa, Karrayyuu, faccisa

1. Introduction

The Karrayyuu belong to the Bareentu/maa confederacy and they inhabit the Middle Valley of the Awash River. Geographically, Karrayyuu is bounded by the Afar in the north, the Argobba in the Northwest, the Jiille and the Arsii Oromoo in the south and southeast, and the Obo of Tuulamaa Oromoo in the west. Members of the Karrayyuu also live in Kenya, Booranaa, Baalee, Walloo and Raayyaa. This study particularly focuses on the main branch of the group who predominantly inhabit East Shawaa. The Karrayyuu divide themselves into two a spatial-territorial units known as Dullachaa and Baasoo moieties, which split into several clans, sub-clans, lineages, and patrilineal families (Assefa, 2000; Buli, 2000). The Karrayyuu moieties organized themselves under the *gadaa* system of governance forming their assembly centers at Malkaa/Taree Luugoo and Malkaa/Taree Leedii, both located on the banks of the Awash River basin at least since the second half of the 16th century (Ginbar and Amenu, 2023). They also have other major historical-cultural landscapes such as Hora Saamaa, Dagaagaa Hawaas, Jireen Kaarraa, Mootomaa Kormaa, Xuxxuuxii, Mt. Fantaallee, Gadaa/Odaa Kalaalaa (Malkaa Sadii) and others (Ginbar and Samuel, 2023). The Karrayyuu are guardians of ancient Oromoo values and thus, described as *ummata hortee ganama* (people of the origin). This is because of their adherences to *Waaqeffannaa*, *Gadaa* and Pastoralism (classical modes of subsistence and food procuring scheme), wearing white kilt (*marxoo adii*) and *Gunfura* hairstyle which mimics the *Odaa* tree.

Historically, the Karrayyuu were described first in the work of Abba Bahrey, the 16th century Orthodox Religious monk, who mentioned them several times and militarily as the most powerful and aggressive group of Oromoo (Mohammed, 2012; Getachew, 2002). His document is the earliest source of information in telling us the military strength and culture of Karrayyuu and that there is no similar description made on other groups or branches of Oromoo by the author at the time. During the century's movement the Karrayyuu had moved into North Shawaa, Lake Tana (Gojjam) in the Northwest, Begemedir (Gondar) and Tigray in the north (Beckingham and Huntingford, 1954). In this regard, the confederacy of Karrayyuu (*warra* Karrayyuu) must have covered and penetrated into wider parts of the today's northern Ethiopia. Presumably, this might have happened mainly because of their military strength and culture as described by Abba Bahrey. This idea is also supported by Ginbar and Samuel (2023) who explicit the Karrayyuu have a well-structured military culture and performance that have some elements analogues to modern states military system.

Historical documents also attest, the Karrayyuu have had a long time records of both peaceful and conflictual relations and interactions with their neighboring people since the 17th century and the Ethiopian state since their first encounter around the close of the 19th century (Ginbar and Amenu, 2023; Ginbar and Samuel. 2023). According to sources, the wars on Karrayyuu have been much complex that had involved a number of actors, intermittently persisted for long periods, reckoning several engagements (battles) and scored wide-ranging sufferings (Roba, 2023; Roba et.al, 2023; Ginbar and Samuel. 2023). The major actors included Amhara, Argoba, Afar, the Ethiopian governments and employees of the Awash Valley development companies such as Awash National Park, Matahaaraa Sugar Plantation, Abadir and Nura Hera Irrigation Farms (Ginbar and Amenu, 2023). Except the pastoralist Afar nationality, the remaining agents embarked on attacking, evicting from lands and looting their cattle, principally driven by the superseding view of agrarianism over pastoralism. The consequences on the Karrayyuu were huge loses of their humans, livestock, lands and affected their behaviors and characters aggrieved to their differing group (ibid).

Sources indicated numerous places of engagements and outsized recounts of attacks launched on them under different conditions from their adversaries (Roba, 2023; Roba, et.al, 2023; Ginbar and Samuel 2023). Their persistent resentments, unyielding military culture and determinations against subjugation, prejudices, maintaining their identity and *gadaa* system have given them stereotypic appellations as “warmongers and hostile group” (Informants: Hawaas Roobaa; Rukeessa Boruu). They were consequently subjected to the deliberate omission by stereotypical representations or hidden behind the curtain while struggling to air out their victimizations. Thus, in between what they lost to victimization and problems dragged them daily, their accumulated wisdom has been left undisclosed.

In the faces of multifaceted violent actors, having sturdy military culture and cultivating heroes for shielding the Karrayyuuland becomes a strategy to mitigate persisting challenges (Ginbar and Samuel. 2023). Several performing heroes, who determined the courses and outcomes of battles, in favor of their people survivals have apparent at different periods. The Karrayyuu tradition and oral history, among other issues, have explicit stimulating accounts on Arroollee, the protagonist heroes and a full life fighter and Oromoo patriotic. However, the Karrayyuu accounts of resistance and a hero man like Arroollee who is praised at present have not been given complementing place and coverage in in pan-Oromoo national venues and scholarship.

2. Review Literature

A work by Joanny Moulin entitled, *Introduction: Towards Biography Theory*, international literatures has carried out broader assessments and evaluations of various biographical works across the globe and among varied scholars in the disciplines of humanities. His assessment focused on samples demonstrating the vivacity of research in the field of biography and biographical literatures categorically varied from a study on a single individual life-writing to research on “corporate biography”. The author put biographical study attracted historians, literary scholars and many academic writers as their object of research in recent years. The writer suggested the need to envisage broadening the subject to include infra-and supra-human entities. He suggested the effort to produce a theory of biography is a crucial phase for the disciplinary development of the field principally in two directions that are elaboration of a meta-discourse and a diachronic study of the forms and functions of biography (Moulin, 2015). The work that displayed a broader assessment on various biographical works from varying interests, views, perspectives and study methods shows international experiences in the area.

Literatures on the Karrayyuu are generally scarce. The mainstream literatures, policy documents and the public in Ethiopia at large have widely described the Karrayyuu were conflictually driven, a marginalized group and drought affected people (Assefa, 2000). The prevailing pieces of works on Karrayyuu are methodologically varied from history to anthropology and developmental studies and relevant to the issue under discussion. The literatures accessed to include those works directly focused on the Karrayyuu and/ others which concentrated on the Middle Awash Valley in which the Karrayyuu situate and one of the areas mentioned as conflict hotspots. Middle Awash Valley is a converging place of different actors from varied historical, ethnic, and development practices (Ayalew, 2001).

The Bulk of the works in different disciplines focusing on Karrayyuu have concentrated on conflict associating with scarcity of resources, aridity of their ecology and the associated environmental factors (Markakis, 1994; Ayalew, 2001; Alemmaya, 2008; Asnake, 2011; Buli, 2006; Assefa, 1997). The authors largely discussed the state's negligent policy and evictions of pastoralists from their land since the 1960s without providing sufficient pasture for their major production system which aggravated the conditions. The valley land is increasingly known for pastoralists' violent conflicts embedded within other forms of social interactions and mainly manifests themselves in cattle raiding or homicide (Alemmaya, 2008). The literatures consulted commonly pertain to some limitations that they lacked to treat the Karrayyuu as a separate subject of study. They have largely preferably treated them allied either with their neighboring people or the state and its actors in the valley land. The general weakness obliterated readers, among other things, from seeing the Karrayyuu's accumulated endogenous wisdom and local dynamics in their own rights. Hence, the study on Arroollee is an attempt made to treat the Karrayyuu in their ways and through their hero man in historical trajectories.

The prevailing dominant anthropological works contributed by Assefa (1997); Assefa (2000); Buli (2006) and Ayalew (2001) and peace and conflicts, and development related works by Alemmaya (2008); Asnake (2011) and Ayele (2008). The authors have agreed on evictions of Karrayyuu from their lands in the Awash Valley, their marginalization and grievances that escalated conflicts and clashes with the state and neighboring people since the 1960s at a varied length. Particularly, the conflict works portray the Karrayyuu as people wandering to confront others and who lived in conflict hotspots and were sympathetic to military violence (Alemmaya, 2008; Asnake, 2011; Ayele, 2008). Conflict study authors have largely suffered from data duplication, mainly regarding the causes, scales, and effects on a peaceful co-existence. They have also preferably committed themselves to proven the extent to which the Karrayyuu's aggrieved character cost a peaceful co-existence and subsquently put the blame on

Karrayyuu. Their overemphasis must have overrun and undermined to study the other side of the river (i.e. non-conflict issues). But, the Karrayyuu maintained their views that the conflict in the valley land largely emanated from the Karrayyuu's opposition against repressive multilayered actors who are assaulting them, confiscating their lands, and raiding their livestock (Informants: Hawaas Boruu; Hawaas Matoolee; Ginbar and Samuel, 2023). In this regard, this article approaches the topic from the marginalized people point of view that has differed itself from the trends and perspectives drawn by previous authors.

The prevailing literatures on conflicts are also divided on the prevalence, factors, causes and impacts of conflicts in the Middle Awash Valley, either attributing to the nature of pastoralism or the state land eviction policy and its subsequent impacts on the local people's livelihoods. In this regard, Ayalew (2001); Buli (2006); Mulugeta (2016) clearly stated the Ethiopian state valley land development policy had caused severer negative impacts on Karrayyuu. However, responses and reactions of Karrayyuu, who were historically designated as a belligerent group, against the measure devastated their livelihoods, are not disclosed in their works. Who performed what against such devastations in the presence of performing heroes, like Arroollee, who lived at the time and heroically changed the courses of many battles did not appear in their work. Against this background, the informants (Bilisuu Bosaa; Hawaas Fantaallee) asserted the Karrayyuu had demonstrated their oppositions against marginalization through military confrontations. This idea is further substantiated with the following expressions that the Karrayyuu "are never akin to bowl before their adversaries so that they rejected evictions and confronted their enemies at various places in Fantaallee". This piece of article thus brings some important discussions regarding the invincible roles and rationale for cultivating hero in a midst of conflict ridden environments.

Particularly, prevailing literatures are also divergent on the nature of the fighting between those works which attributed conflict to pastoralists' inherent characters (Asnake, 2011; Ayele, 2008) and others which largely put the blame on external triggers (Ayalew, 2001; Buli, 2006). According to the first group of authors, the feuds in the Awash Valley are linked to the inherent nature and attributes of pastoralists and pastoralism. The latter group informed us on the causes that mainly comprised the state marginalization, out-in perceptions to each other among their surrounding peoples and misunderstanding to the different production systems between land cultivating and livestock herding societies. Along the views of the later authors, Ginbar and Amenu (2023) put that, until the recent, the agrarian-driven Ethiopian state mainstream view, its policy documents and the public at large wrongly perceived the Karrayyuu's self-defense indulgence for standing firm, resilient and persisting in life as the characters of "warmongers, who are sympathetic to confront others and do not identify between enemies and friends". Therefore, to understand the subject better there shall see matters from the victimized point of view and trajectories in their history.

A very recent insightful scholarly works on the Karrayyuu are contributed by Roba (2023); Roba et.al (2023). Roba has contributed his PhD dissertation and an article on the area paying attentions to Karrayyuu's peaceful and conflictual relations with their neighboring people and the processes of peacemaking. His discussions have focused on the one of the recent conflicts between the Karrayyuu and the Ituu Oromoo and their endogenous peacemaking institutions embedded in the *gadaa* system. Different from other conflict works, Roba illuminated the processes that led the people into a conflict and the manners how possibly disagreements could be resolved through their culture of peacemaking. In this regard, he approached the subject differently detailing on the peacemaking, as opposed to Ginbar and Samuel (2023), who picked the Karrayyuu's military culture as underpinning strategy for

maintaining resilience. In this regard, the authors have embarked on the different strategies adopted and practiced by Karrayyuu. However, the places and roles of performing heroes in the survival of the people are not given much attention in his works.

Literatures on the Karrayyuu are not only scarce and tightened in their focus largely concentrating on the developments in the Awash Valley since the 1960s and relationships after the period. They are predominantly works of non-historians and largely covered Karrayyuu after the 1960s. Subsequently, the Karrayyuu's past historical trajectories are almost non-prevalent. Boshera's work on Awash National Park and Regassa's study on Labor Migration) are the two important MA thesis in history contributed on the developments in Upper/Middle Awash Valley, which was historically inhabited by the native Karrayyuu Oromoo. Like those of non-historical literatures, these two history pieces are also limited in their time coverage and focus that only picked the Karrayyuu in their relationships with the development agencies. As a result, their work clearly showed gaps in broadcasting the pre-1960s accounts. To this end, a book contributed recently by Ginbar and Amenu (2023) on the Karrayyuu *Gadaa* System is much valuable in depicting the past and addressing some of the gaps uncovered so far. In this regard, this study is much benefited from this document and fills some prevailed gaps historicizing the topic and treating the Karrayyuu as a separate subject of study.

Frejacques's (2013) PhD work is the other important document that made a good insight into the volatile human and natural ecologies which brought survivors succumbing to their *gadaa* system. The factors must have deemed to devise mechanisms in mitigating the circumstances, fitting in the context and structuring oneself to that capacity. The author embarked on the issues of ethnic identity related with the change in Ethiopia's political landscape since the 1991. As such military action is a strategy for self-defense against aggression the Karrayyuu have relied on their heroes to build self-confidence and to survive through volatile circumstances. Frejacques's (2013) work on the Karrayyuu identity has made a passing mention on their military strategy. The work has suffered from the problems of properly understanding of the language and culture. Since the study covers on issues after the 1991, it only broadly touches the historical issues as a background alone.

A work by Ginbar and Amenu (2023) on the ethnographic history of the Karrayyuu *Gadaa* System and Ginbar's and Samuel's (2023) article on the Karrayyuu military organization are two recent literatures approached to historicizes the Karrayyuu's pre-1960s and as a separate subject of study. According to these documents the imperial government since its first arrival in the valley land in the 1890s exercised different measures including military actions in guise of power consolidation and pacification. In its history, the Ethiopian state perceived the predominant pastoralist Karrayyuu Oromoo as dissidents and nonconformists to its agricultural missions and centralized polity. As explicit in both documents, the Karrayyuu have persisted on their values and used a deliberate delay of tribute submission as a strategy for countering against discrimination. Their incompatible relationships thus precluded the Karrayyuu beyond modern administration governmental services until 1950s and its ancillary institution of the Orthodox Christianity church which arrived in Matahaaraa town in 1970 (Buli, 2006; Boshera, 2003). The works provided better clues regarding the Karrayyuu military organization under the *gadaa* system and the place of Arroollee in their resistance accounts. However, the military life career of Arroollee and his unbeatable achievements at the hearts of the people's day-to-day life is not covered. In this regard, oral sources have played incomparable roles in filling and bringing the study complete.

It must be the work of Ginbar and Samuel (2023) which passingly touched on Arroollee in the faces of repressive multilayered actors and their extended interests persistently overrun Karrayyuu. Frejacques

(2013) stated fighting can never be separate from fighters' ability, determination, leadership roles, military skills, performances, and technologies that determine the course and outcome of the warfare. According to the author, individual's performances play a significant role in manipulating weapons, training, and shaping the courses of fighting. Weaknesses for studying Karrayyuu heroes must have emanated from the problems of research advocacy and an erroneous dreading of their praise would be stirring conflict.

As put by some writers on Oromoo heroes such personalities were born and experienced under varied conditions (Daraaraa and Mohammed (eds), 2008; Shallama, (2015). Since very recently, as illuminated in these works, some Oromoo heroes of the pre- and post-conquest (both before and after Menelik's control of Oromiyaa) generations across Oromiyaa have made their ways to public venues and praises attributed to them through the available platforms such as literatures, songs, arts, public speeches, etc. The available venues on accounts (biographies) of Oromoo patriots, however, do not mention heroes from Karrayyuu (ibid). As opposed of Karrayyuu's extended records of resistance against prejudices heroes who sacrificed for their people cause are beyond the purviews of public and academic sights. Thus, the question of who achieved what and contributed to the survival of the group amidst a tedious and long protracted conflict needs a thorough assessment.

3. Methodology

This study was conducted by undertaking historical methodology. The research, like most studies in social sciences, has dealt with a culture that involved claims of values, and it is inclined towards employing a qualitative research approach of analytical narrative and descriptive protocols. The data were largely generated from primary, secondary, and oral sources, mainly through instruments such as interviews, document analysis, observation and internet browsing.

Reconstructing the history of one of the least studied themes demands a diligent and systematic collection and analysis of the available data. The approaches to getting sources depended on systematic empirical data collection. The data collected from all sources were cross-checked to overcome and reduce possible mistakes of interpretation. The data on the topics under study were also tested and analyzed in light of the qualitative research approach. Attempts were made to catch the changes and continuities in synchronic (occurring at the same time) and diachronic (change over time) approaches. These particular approaches helped to exploit ample information from elders and informants among the Karrayyuu who are very sympathetic to narrate themes and construct ideas within their *Gadaa* timetable.

The Karrayyuu Oromoo are only slightly covered in studies including Oromoo historiography. As a result, the literature on the Karrayyuu is very scanty, so the dominant sources for the present study are oral accounts and traditions collected from key informants. Ample data were generated through interviews and focus group discussions from the oral tradition and oral history of Karrayyuu. The Karrayyuu have a high level of attachment, dedication, compliance, and relationship of the Karrayyuu elders to the *Gadaa* system. Their memory regarding past encounters with the state actor and neighborhood people are still fresh. The Karrayyuu elders and informants are good at telling encounters and happenstances counting along the *gadaa* timetable. The Karrayyuu establish accounts of their experiences within revolving five *tuutas* (parties) of the *gadaa*. They like to narrate issues fixed in 8 years reigning time for every five *tuutas* and the living witness of their history. The informants were consulted at Olancitii, Adaamaa, Finfinnee, and Matahaaraa. 13 informants for interviews were held with Warra Bokkuu, Qaalluu, Qondaalaa, women and lubaa (retired class). The historical study approach of

thematic narration of oral information must overcome the problem of scarcity of written sources on the Karrayyuu and their *Gadaa* system.

Data were also obtained from research works/books by various national (Addis Ababa University and Institute of Ethiopian Studies) and international scholars and from electronic records on various websites. Written documents from books, journal articles, graduate theses and dissertations, and other sources browsed from the internet were used for this particular study.

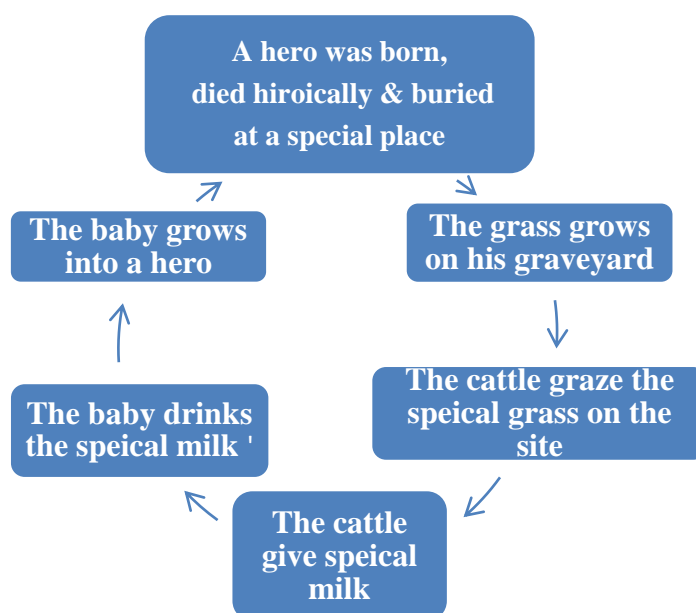
The observation was also used to derive meanings and cross check information obtained through other tools on the past scenarios. This technique was used to cover the roles of gadaa officeholders on peace and security issues, *qondaalaas* military spectacles, the general historical-cultural landscape, etc. Data collected from these sources were identified, organized, examined, and corroborated for analysis. The analyzed data were presented in descriptive and analytical styles.

4. Discussion and Result

4.1. Conceptualizing Hero: *Qondaalaa*

Heroes are selfless people who sacrificed their lives for their people against aggression and transcending hardships. A hero of such kind exist in all societies and at varied times in history.(Frejacqes, 2013). As indicated, heroism is an elevated value and character every Karrayyuu youngster aspires to attain in life. Karrayyuu elders often say "We were born into a life of war and lived in capricious conditions"(Informants: Hawaas Boruu; Gadaa Hawaas). For those like them, who have held in recurring conflict, the question of having heroes was a necessity than a matter of choice. The Karrayyuu concept of a hero explains that he is one who was born and heroically dies. When the hero man dies he is also buried at a special place and particular burial site which could grow grass and their cattle graze and give milk. The milk is being drunk and that it gives another hero of his kind. Hence, hero is presented in inheritance form as follows.

Figure. 1. Heroes Re/cyclical: Clockwise Cycle



Source: Own interpretation

Hero is someone of a male class who is known as a good fighter and fighting is symbolized with male and masculinity. In Karrayyuu, hero is named as *qondaalaa* and heroism denotes *qondaalummaa*. The term *qondaalaa* has the meaning of a strong young man full of energy and a well-built soldier. *Qondaalummaa* is a status that stands for men of highest class of symbolic warrior and who scored human and material trophies against enemy (Waday, 2015). The historic term and role of *qondaalaa* were first mentioned by Abba Bahrey, in the 16th century, as a daring class of warriors and fighters (Mohammed, 2012; Getachew, 2002). In the conventional *gadaa* age grade, *qondaalaa* represents the fourth class (age range of 24-32 years) of age sets which Astme himself agreed (Bairu, 1987). It has also analogously manifested in the age grade of the Tuulamaa *gadaa* system.

According to Abba Bahrey the *qondaalaa* grade made strong engagement in warfare (Mohammed, 2012; Getachew, 2002). Astme has also made a vivid description of the Oromoo sons' socio-biological development as a small child as *mucaa*, the young boy as *gurbaa* and the third was *qondaalaa*, who used to be engaged in fighting. *Qondaalaa* were the young men who were not yet circumcised, unmarried, and dressed their hair like soldiers (Bairu, 1987). He expressed that when they killed a man, an elephant, a lion, a rhinoceros, or a buffalo, they shave their heads leaving a patch of hair on the top. The class was different from those who have killed neither man nor animal and do not shave their heads in the same way (Mohammed, 2012; Getachew, 2002). Historically, before the Karrayyuuland dried with wild animal resources (i.e. since the 1970s), one who killed strong beasts such as lion, buffalo, giraffe, etc. gets a right to be named a *qondaalaa* (Frejacques, 2013). But the status of a *qondaalaa* for lion and buffalo was higher than the latter. The other means for this nomination was killing an enemy. If one kills an enemy and cut the genital organ of the dead he gets a better status in the group of *qondaalaa*. Being a fighter and warrior alone can never grant the title unless the person has rightly killed and brought the enemy's weapons back home as evidence (*mirgaa*) (Ginbar and Samuel, 2023).

According to Waaqoo Roobaa who is *qondaalaa* by himself, what distinguishes the Karrayyuu *qondaalaa* is his *qondaalummaa* (bravery) as *abbaa mirgaa* (possessing a trophy). This is expressed as '*kan ajjeese irra ga'eefi meeshaa irraa hiikkatetu qondaalaa jedhama.*' (Informants: Rukeessaa Boruu Hawaas Fantaallee; Ginbar and Amenu, 2023). Literally it means only the one who killed and seized the enemy's spear or guns could become *qondaalaa*. But, with the establishment of Awash National Park since the 1970s, hunting of dangerous wildlife for booty (*mirgaa*) was prohibited. The Karrayyuu source of heroism after all could be achieved by someone who killed a conspicuous enemy at fighting and took his spears or guns. This Karrayyuu tradition exclusively designate conspicuous enemy to those who were able fighting male that the females and children as well as the aged men are prohibited from any violence (Roba, 2023; Ginbar and Samuel, 2023). Besides, someone who is not recognized as a member of the feuding group could never be targeted. Opposed to the heroes' men is *dabeessa*, a man who ran away from the enemy and was ridiculously recalled for his cowardice (ibid).

Elders say that every male dreams to become a renowned fighter that was as much rewarding achievement. Heroism brings the doer with materials such as livestock, moral, social and ethical rewards. The men and women publicly praise good fighters in their songs and prayers. Above all, when a man returns from a fight after having killed an enemy the woman of his clan would put butter on his head and the warrior's friends' clan members and in-laws will give him animals (cattle or camels) as a reward. He was allowed to enjoy some major rewards and prerogatives as distinguishing features of his achievement. The Karrayyuu culture thus always offers every male to become fearless, virile, and dominant hero to grab high social class respect (Informants: Hawaas Roobaa, Hawaas Matoolee).

Every family socialized boys to heroism and the role that men-as-men play. The significance of preparing young males to be fierce and aggressive risking their lives is to fight for their people. From a Karrayyuu point of view, in everyday life, social interaction and ideological constructs are closely associated with the waging of war. This principle is along which the definition of what it means to be a man (in contradiction to a woman) is socially constructed. The physical and spiritual characteristics make a man a warrior whether he engaged in combat or not (Frejacqes, 2013).

As far as Karrayyuu oral accounts are concerned, several remarkable heroes have thus emerged yielding by the contexts and demonstrating their heroic deeds, skills, and performances. A few of them by their extraordinary achievements have reached their context zenith of bravery, assumed the highest titles (*abbaa* bitawoo-wearing bracelet), and were venerated as superheroes. One of such protagonist heroes in Karrayyuu is Arroollee Fiichee (who is known popularly by his horse name *Abbaa Reebuu* (Informant: Waaqoo Roobaa).

A look into the following picture provides a general outline on the Karrayyuu's military resistant character and a culture of defiance.

Figure, 2. The Karrayyuu Symbolic Warrior



Source: Robaa Bulgaa

According to Robaa Bulgaa, the son of Karrayyuu (*ilma* Karrayyuu) and a scholar who captured the photo, the man depicts aggrieved characters which typically portrayed a brave fighter. As he stated, these portending characters are to be his adamant physical-facial appearance, his big spear, his *gunfura* hairstyle and attire which are mainly worn by performing heroes and his emotional gesture immersed him in nostalgia. He has also tied a white cord that was prepared from dhaddachaa (acacia tree) on his head and got his forehead touched with fresh blood of slaughtered animal (*biluu*) which typically characterized masculinity, resilience and resistance. These characters are believed to have embodied typical personalities which any Karrayyuu warrior develops as a principle of life living under a persistent attacks and protracted assaults. The picture is believed to have provided an opening stare to look into Karrayyuu heroes.

4.2. Distinctiveness of Karrayyuu's Hero and Heroism

The Karrayyuu call a man who has confronted his enemy a *lolee* (fighter). The *lolee/ltuus* have no distinctions but they might contain individuals of superheroes (Frejacqes, 2013; Alemmaya, 2008). According to informants (Hawaas Roobaa, Gadaa Hawaas) the Karrayyuu best classes of heroes are hierarchically put as *Leenca/oota* Karrayyuu, *qondaalaa/oota* and *abbaa* bitawoo. Heroism and hero are semantically represented by *qondaalaa*. The top two superheroes in their military ladder are the

qondaalaa and *abbaa* bitawoo (the owner of a bracelet known as bitawoo) who constitute the highest rank and strata assumed through one's bravery performances. *Abbaa* bitawoo is distinguished by his bracelet which could be deserved when the hero counted more than ten trophies. *Abbaa* bitawoo is the last title above *qondaalaa* in Karrayyuu's military ladder and he is considered as the superhero of all fighters. The rank of *abbaa* bitawoo could only be rarely achieved; he is always senior to all heroes and much respected by the people as the symbol of resistance and resilience. Persons of such highest titles have dress codes that distinguish them from other members specially males among the people. *Qondaalaa* and *abbaa* bitawoo are identified from all males of the fighting classes through their wearing of military decorations, fighting technologies, attributed social respect, praise songs, a special type of food, drinking, and other nascent treatments and prerogatives.

The Karrayyuu have also special classes of warriors and braves named *leenca/oota* Karrayyuu (the lion/s of Karrayyuu). They are young warriors whose stamina and bravery tested powerful and the lions that have always made surprise attacks on enemy camps without the necessities and presence of the common fighting class. The name of "the Karrayyuu lion" is mentioned in the work of Atsme as "Negasi being appointed by Atse Iyasu [r.1687-1706] cut the lion of Karrayyuu into two: half of them to the north and the other to the south" (Bairu, 1987). On the other hand, Ayalew mentioned *Leencota* Karrayyuu constituted scouting men and special fighting forces, which opened up the present historical pastoral landscape of Mt. Fantaallee following the 16th-century Oromoo population movement (Ayalew, 2001). The *Leencaa* designates brevity, fearlessness, and the power to make an easy attack, subdue and kill one's contender. The Karrayyuu expressed in the analogy of the lions that they are always 'thirsty for their enemies' blood' and kept them always in fear, tension, and dread. They are almost analogs to modern state commando (Ginbar and Samuel, 2023).

4.2.1. Military Decorations

Military decorations are a core component of military and heroism in the Karrayyuu. According to tradition, the *qondaalaas* are the most admired, respected, and beloved sons of the Karrayyuu identified by their costumes. The type of cloth, decoration, wearing style, and costumes of the brave include shields, spears, guns, and cloths as proof evidence of one's hero after the battle. The war costumes include *bobeessitu* (red cloth tied on the forehead), *jaanoo* (woman skirt), *bircaa* (white bracelets), *baallii guchii* (wing of ostrich), shields on the back, and *dhibaayyuu* (stick) at their hands. *Bobeessituu* is a red cloth tied on the forehead as identification of the purposes (my observation and informant: Hawaas Roobaa; Hawaas Matoolee). The red color symbolizes blood, and flesh and is celebratory for the active youth class. As for the white bracelet epitomize victory and peace, the ostrich feather worn as part of the hairstyle, is the symbol of power, courage, and bravery (Mulugeta, 2016). They put a cultural item of spherical shape made of bronze substance named *birca* on their hands. In Karrayyuu, *birca* is only worn by this class. The *qondaalaa*'s costumes are not conventional clothes worn by every male and they have rather dressed with feminine attires namely *jaanoo*, *abeentaa*, *callee* (beads) and jewelry.

The decorations added to the knife sheath after the weapon has been used to kill an enemy are also of a particular kind. On the tip of the sheath, a metal coil is twisted around and leather strings ending with beads are hung from different parts of the knife belt. If the knife is inherited by a man who has not yet killed an enemy the metal coil has to be removed. According to the informants, one or two generations' age men used to wear *arboora* bracelets (made of ivory) as a sign of being good fighters. Nowadays, the bracelets are called *bircaa* (made of metal) and these together with *lootii* (earrings) can only be worn after having killed a man. These decorations are worn for two full moons after the fight and then they are removed (informants: Hawaas Roobaa; Hawaas Matoolee). Later on during special ceremonies like

wedding or at times of *gadaa* ceremony *geerarsa* (praising military feats) is intoned, and they will be worn again. When the owner of the decoration dies the clan reclaims them and then hands them over to another deserving member who kills an enemy (Informants: Bilisuu Bosaa; Boosat Baqqalaa; Frejacques, 2013).

Not only are decorations worn to be publicly praised the value they hold for the warriors themselves. It also serves as a personal reminder of his worth simultaneously reinforcing the rightfulness of his participation on the battlefield. In addition, military decorations help men especially officers identify themselves to each other as belonging to the same class which cross-cuts national army membership (as in the gentleman officer) and from which civilians are automatically excluded (informants: Hawaas Roobaa; Hawaas Matoolee). Hence, prestige and privilege attracted and invited young boys to attain class status in life.

4.2.2 Fighting Technologies

The fighting costumes of the brave are shields, spears, guns, and cloths as proof evidence of one's hero after the battle. The entire Karrayyuu fighting men have culturally worn weapons and technologies such as shields, spears, knife, long blade (*gillee*) and horses (Informants: Roobaa Daadhii; Hawaas Fantaallee). According to Nesbitt (1935) since the 1920s the Karrayyuu began to use firearms but as of the 1990s the automatic machine gun (Kalashnikov) entirely substituted their traditional weapons for fighting. Hence, fighting technology was transformed over time into guns and machine guns. The new weapons have brought new symbolism of manhood and bravery and lately integrated into the Karrayyuu cultural expression. According to Frejacques (2013) the Italian administration had brought many firearms and bullets to the Fantaallee area. The Karrayyuu also used cavalry for fighting before the 1970s. Their evictions from Awash Valley terminated their ownership and use of a horse for fighting. Particularly, the Jillee Oromoo were raising horses chosen for fighting from whom the Karrayyuu themselves got through an exchange in cattle (Ayalew, 2001). Nowadays, the *qondaalaa* wear the traditional fighting technology during the various military spectacles only valuing their cultural roles since the actual fighting armaments are guns.

4.2.3 Hero's Eminent Rewards

The *Qondaalaa* earned material rewards and a social reputation which boosts his morale. Famous warriors were held in their honor and receive rewards in animals. The number of animals granted depended on the military exploit and the stocks of the clan. Their names always praised in the *geerarsa* songs and whenever they participate in public celebrations such as weddings and *gadaa* rituals and even after their deaths. They were also endured in the memory of all Karrayyuu. Young girls especially sing to their glory and that of their descendants (Informants: Fantaallee Boruu; Hawaas Daddachoo).

When there are events and grand feasts special meat eating and milk drinking are allocated for heroes. Every *qondaalaa* has got much respect and cares that he is given the best-chosen foods. He only eats the best foods in the Karrayyuu standard which includes milk, yogurt, butter, honey, and meat. The feasts are accompanied by dances, love songs, and above all boasting war songs that intoxicated the joyous participants. A song describes a joyous welcome to a valiant warrior after his return from a successful raid. During *gadaa* ceremony, grand feast, and ritual days the successful hero recites his achievements, emotionally moved young and old with tears of joy. The praising (*faarsa*) songs set aflame with pride in the eloquent heroes. The powerful songs reincarnated the dead heroes and elevated the living heroes of the nation to a higher plane. The high virtue of bravery was almost worshipped as a religion. The stirring (*geerarsa*) of individual warriors won their lover's hearts and the respect and admiration of the

participants. The meat feast and the emotionally charged war songs prepare the ground for an immediate offensive (Informants: Hawaas Roobaa, Gadaa Hawaas; Frejacques (2013).

4.2.5 Military Spectacles

During *gadaa* public events and celebrations, the *qondaalaa* have spectacted before the gatherings and around the settlement in groups as a military show. They made military and heroic show-up by walking and moving in front of the public making row lines. If they are married their wives followed them. The heroes we observed have carried both spears and guns. They told us that today everybody fights with guns and spear is no longer in use for fighting. But, they held a spear for its symbolic values, inheritance from their fathers, and continuity to the present. As it is seen from the next images, the *qondaalaa* wears a female attire to a means to beautifying their distinctive heroic deeds from every others and common fighters. During such major events, they used to depict their distinctiveness by wearing and adorning themselves with female attire. In this regard, the military performance that traditionally characterizes masculinity and male section of the society is complementing to femininity.

Fig.2. *Qondaalaas* in military spectacle at Tarree Leedii (picture 1) and Xuxxuuxii (picture 2)



Source: Researchers, 2018 and 2019

4.2.6. Source of Prides

Heroes and heroism are sources of pride for their people. According to the informants (Rukeessa Boruu; Hawaas Roobaa; Gadaa Hawaas) achieving the reputation of *qondaalaa* emits general fear in the enemy to afraid them. Faith, being a good warrior fuses fear and left a psychological impact on the enemy camp. From the Karrayyuu point of view, a nation that has good defenders can strongly withstand an enemy attack. So that they think the more they set up strong defense the better they could protect themselves. Maintaining the reputation of being fearsome warriors is especially important to be considered and respected as defendable. In addition, ruthless or delinquent behavior can be seen in part as a strategy for coping with the general situation by terrifying the enemy. Having many strong heroes clearly communicates the states of having strong defense to secure themselves against the enemy. In a way, it offers its sort of protection through the kind of reputation it created (Waday, 2015; Frejacques, 2013).

5. Arroollee Fiichee and His Heroism: A Brief Account

5.1. Arroollee's Early Life Career

Arroollee belonged to one of the two Karrayyuu moieties, the Dullachaa moiety which is divided into Shanan Dayyuu (the five Dayyuus) and Booxa Sadeen (the three Booxaas). Arroollee belonged to the Galaan clan which is a member of Booxa Sadeen (the three Booxaas) which comprised Galaan, Gurraachoo, and Abaadhoo and that have constituted the Qalluu family. No data shows the exact date and year of his birth but depending on the Karrayyuu's *gadaa* timetable told by the informants (Hawaas Matoole; Waaqo Roobaa), Arroollee is said to have been born around 1890s. According to the available

information, he was born during the late Melbaa party (2011-2018) grandfather's (*akaakayyuu's*) *gadaa* tenure. This is meant that one *gadaa* generation counts 40 years' time gap for each between grandfather, son, and grandson which gives 120 years and when deduced from 2011-2018, it happens between 1891-1898. This also meant that he was born while his father's party of Michillee class had been waiting to assume full power from Melbaa. The informants also added his father's Michillee party had already received half power (*goobaa*) from their immediate preceding incumbent Melbaa in the 6 years of its tenure which means in around 1896.

Arroollee was born in a war situation and he had also lost his father because of the incident. It is also told that since his father's and grandfather's time, the Karrayyuu have fought against the Amhara and Afar. His father died while fighting against the Amharas who raided the Karrayyuu and their cattle. His birth time is said to have occurred immediately after Menelik's conquest of Karrayyuu in 1887/88 (the period is made based on oral informants and history of the Karrayyuu) and just while the Karrayyuu fall under the attack of *Ras Mengesha Atikem* which they call it *bara duula* Mangashaa (during the invasion by Mengesha). *Ras Mengesha Atikem* was the governor of their neighborhood Amhara provinces and he is said to have continuously raided the Karrayyuu for about five years after their encapsulation and just before he marched to the battle of Adwa (1896) (informants: Hawaas Roobaa; Waaqoo Roobaa).

Arroollee grew up drinking milk like any Karrayyuu son. As a child, he used to play with his friends all the time. It was unfortunate for him when his father died in fighting leaving him an infant and living with his mother alone. After a while Arroollee's mother also died and he was taken to his relatives at Abaadir. During his childhood he used to look after goats, sheep, cattle and camel. Arroollee used to grow up making sharpened sticks as arrows and practiced on how to hit and escape enemy in the 1910s. He also grew to have developed a stout military capacity, personality, and skill during the period. In the 1920s he seemed to have become a hunter by killing lion, giraffe, and elephant. As he reached young age, he got married and bore children. Many of his children died while still others survived so that the family grew through time (Informants: Hawaas Matoolee; Waaqoo Roobaa).

Arroollee seemed to have begun a warrior life since around the 1920s while his village men at Abaadiir had no more than 3 guns. At that time Arroollee was much familiar to fight on horseback and was talented in raiding cattle from his enemies, particularly the Afar/Adal. He was already known to have possessed such capacity and safely returned home several times with many cattle. In response to his war booty he was also adorned by his relatives' *geerarsa* songs. Arroollee also deserved the reputation of *manjoollee* (a heroic name given to an enemy cattle raider). Cattle raiding were practiced as a test of manhood, for retaliation and ridiculing the opposite side. Depending on the Karrayyuu *gadaa* timetable, one of the earliest fighting in which Arroollee first came to have involved was when the Karrayyuu fought with the Afar in the late 1920s at Lola (the battle of) Mogolbuusaa. In the battle, the Karrayyuu warriors killed several Afar men and ravaged their villages. In the 1920s, the other fighting he involved in was named as *lola* Turroo Bantii (ibid; Ginbar and Samuel, 2023). At *lola* Bantii the Afar warriors invaded the Karrayyuuland and occupied their land up to Lake Basaqaa. At the time, the Karrayyuu are said to have been assisted by the Ituu Oromoo, who came from Carcar highland in defending Karrayyuu from the Afar.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s there had been also intensive conflicts between Karrayyuu and Afar. They fought each other in 1927, 1929, 1930, and 1931 (Ahmed, 2002) and Arroollee is said to have been involved and demonstrated his bravery. The informants (Hawaas Roobaa; Fantaallee Boruu) call battles of those days as *lola* Haallam, Gaalaa, Dhimbiibbaa, and Galchaa. Arroollee won the affection of his

relatives and people at the time because of his good performance during these fightings. One of the incidents where he proved his military capacity was when some groups of Karrayyuu men including him attacked the Afar at night. At that time, he was not more than around 30 years and he was involved in the war with his best friend named Dheeraa Jiloo (another renowned Karrayyuu hero), who is said to have been shot on his right arm at the time. At the time, Arroollee took him back home spending some two days hidden in the forest. The Karrayyuu took retaliation at this time for the reason that Afar had attacked them one year before, wounding two Karrayyuu men and taking 10 milking cows.

5.2. Arroollee in the Offices of the Gadaa System

Arroollee grew up and lived in the *gadaa* system similar to the sons of Karrayyuu. He brought up himself by observing the required *gadaa* rites, rules, regulations, and ethos through all age grades (*dabballee*, *rubboo*, and *raabaa*), active power (*doorii*), and retired grade (*lubaa*). Arroollee also experienced life within the norms and customs of Karrayyuu and shouldered with several duties, and responsibilities for his people both individually and with his age peers and seniors. For instance, since his Michillee party is a *qadadduu* (alliance) for Roobalee party, he became a member and head of *Jajjabii* (maintaining peace and security this is just a modern day police) for the service of Roobalee party that was in power from 1923-1930.

According to informants (Hawaas Matoolee, Hawaas Roobaa), Arroollee joined his active *gadaa* class (i.e. 40-48 years of age) member of his Michillee party two generations (2x40) from now and during the *abbaa bokkuu* Boruu Bulgaa (1939-1946). The present Dullachaa Michillee party (which was in office from 2019-2026) is his son's *gadaa* tenure (*Gadaa ilmaanii*). Based on this information his party had been in office during the Italian administration in Ethiopia. During his active *gadaa* class (1939-1946), he became *Abbaa waraanaa* (commander-in-chief) for the Michillee party. The war commander is recruited by the *abbaa bokkuu* among the braves based on fighting experience, bravery, and leadership quality. It is told that towards end of the 1930s or beginning of 1940s when the Imperial army of Haile Selassie launched a war of attack on the Ituu Oromo the Karrayyuu fighters led by Arroollee is said to have confronted the state army at the battle of Waddeessa to save their Ituu brothers (ibid; Roba, 2023). Arroollee had also served in the *gadaa* office moving beyond his party tenure and recruited to the post of *warra toomaa* for Halchiisaa which governed from 1947-1954. The position of *warra toomaa* could only be assumed by presenting oneself and one's heroes for contentions before the public and *gadaa* assembly. Arroollee won the office among other nominees and he is said to have been among the few gallants who served in *gadaa* office beyond his class tenure.

On the other hand, after he finished his active *gadaa* office (i.e. after 1954 and for his whole lifespan and his death around 1976), Arroollee is also told to have served as best senior advisor on military and security matters. In the Karrayyuu *gadaa* system, the retired *gadaa* class played the roles of counseling the party in power, maintaining *gadaa* laws, rules, and rites practices, and the rights to call the *abbaa bokkuu* for accountability if he and his party members violated the *gadaa* rules, laws, and practices.

5.3. Arroollee's Military Career

Arroollee initially started his military life in the 1920s as a *lolee* (common warrior), having been raised to the best class of warriors, *Leencota* Karrayyuu (the Lions of Karrayyuu), and then promoted to *qondaalaa* (trophy owner) in the 1930s and earning the highest military title, *abbaa bitawoo* in the 1950s.

In his military career Arroollee was the equivalent of prominent *Leencotaas* of Karrayyuu renowned in their history such as Dheeraa Jiloo (best fighter, and his best friend and his contemporaries), Fantaallee Bukurii (who is said to have downed 4 enemies in one battle), Ittisa Waaqoo (another famous hero), Hawas Jigidda (who is said to have killed imperial Ethiopia army leader named Baqala Basha at a place named Bommisa in 1936 and subdued his machine gun *matireesi*. Baqala Basha is said to have organized 7 regiments of armies (700 armies) which the Karrayyuu call “*waraana buttaa abba torba*” and launched a full-scale attack on the Karrayyuu for about a month time. Traditionally, the Karrayyuu have organized their fighting units into the following arrangements such as *gaadduu* (1-3 spying men), *saglii* (9 warriors/solders), *gurmuu* (30 fighters), *buttaa* (100 warriors) regiments. Arroollee was one of the influential Karrayyuu warriors in *lola* Bommisa (Informant: Hawaas Roobaa; Ginbar and Amenu, 2023).

Arroollee is said to be very sociable and friendly to others and he extraordinarily led the Karrayyuu fighters on several emergency confrontations. He was also frequently chosen among his peers, friends, and clans for surprise attacks. Arroollee is recalled to have involved in more than 14 major battles of 20 combats mentioned by the informants. Elders mention the battles by names commencing from Menelik’s period to the end of the *Darg* regime as Booodaa(1920), Handoodee, Hallam(1927), Dhimbiibaa(1931), Muka Baddannoo, Moggaa Sa’aa, Qanxallaa (1950s), Galchaa, Turroo (1940s), Tarree Luugoo (1947), Bantii, Bommisaa (1936), Qobboo (1976), Handoodee, Gaalaa (1930), Saafii (1976), Booodaa Lammaffaa (1975) and Fuul-xinnoo(1977). The battles were conducted between the Karrayyuu and the government agents and between Karrayyuu and the neighboring peoples allying with the state, mainly the Amhara (Minjar) and Afar. But, fighting does not always bring victory and was not achieved without costing him dangers, risks, and harm that he was being stabbed or wounded 9 times but cured successfully. For instance, during one surprise attack on an enemy camp with his best friend, Dheeraa Jiloo both were severely wounded and returned after spending three days in the forest. Thus, he lived with 9 conspicuous body scars (ibid).

The Karrayyuu are said to have witnessed several prominent braves who are recalled and renowned having varied heroic contributions and achievements on the battlefields. They were/are placed at different military and social hierarchies. Braves like Arroollee received many widespread reputations and earned the highest military title and reward named bitawoo (a bracelet and whose owner is mentioned as *abbaa* bitawoo-the father of bitawoo) in the 1950s (ibid). As Thesiger (1935:35) described among the pastoralists in the Awash Valley, "Ten killings are celebrated by the wearing of an iron bracelet". Arroollee had collected 11 trophies in life. Elders say there are no heroes in Karrayyuu who have so far collected such amount of boots (informant: Waaqoo Roobaa).

Arroollee is also said to have been involved in the incident called *lola* Muka Baddannoo that was when the imperial army of Haile Selassie attempted to force out the Karrayyuu from their grazing, wildlife hunting, and spring mineral water point(informant: Waaqoo Roobaa). The emperor is said to have ordered a site located on the foot of Mt. Fantaallee from the pastoralist access and reserved for the royal family as hunting game and the spring mineral water for their recreation since the beginning of the 1950s (Boshera, 2003).

Arroollee is said to be always chosen for his relentless bravery, military tactics, determination, quality to organize fighters and manipulation of horses. He fought on his horse named Reebuu and was called *abbaa* reebuu (literally it means beating, and smashing men). Reebuu was a black coat horse and often went back home with the enemy booty. Among Karrayyuu, his horse is recalled to have “conquered a

horse". In Karrayyuu tradition man, horse, and camel are counted as triumphs victory and mentioned as *sadan mataa jaganoo* (the three feats) (Informants: Gadaa Hawaas, Fantaallee Roobaa). Harris described a feuding event during his visit to the Karrayyuuland as "The scouts ran in breathless, with intelligence that a large body of cavalry occupied a rising ground" (Harris, 1844:355). Ayalew (2001) mentions the Karrayyuu fought on horseback until the valley was transformed due to anthropogenic pressure since the 1970s. The Oromoo had also a name for their horse besides their actual name (Huntingford, 1969). Arroollee is particularly remembered for his deeds on two events which were on the day of Lola Galchaa and the enchantment contest at Tarree Luugoo.

According to the same informants the following song recalls Arroollee's military career and achievement since his young hood to his old age as follows:-

Afaan Oromo	Gloss
Dilboo <i>mootii lubaa</i>	Dilboo the kings of all <i>lubas</i>
Michillee <i>tuuta wardaadha</i>	he is the guardians of Michillee party
Karrayyuu <i>dhagahaadha</i>	The Karrayyuu listen to him
<i>xiqqumaan kaasee majajiidhaa</i>	He was much stronger and braver from childhood
Michille <i>farduma, fardaan reebbee kutee</i>	He is the bravest of Michillee who beats on horse back

5.4. Arroollee At Lola Galchaa)

According to elders Arroollee's outstanding feat fighter is remembered on the day of *lola* Galchaa. It was on the day while the Karrayyuu fighters returned from combat (*ori'aa*), they confronted an enemy (*duttuu*) ambushed under a tree, and all men heisted to approach him. By then, around 1931, it was only *Abbaa* Reebuu who dared to have challenged the enemy (*duttuu*). He chased that enemy seating on a horseback and dragged him down from his horseback, stabbed him with a spear and knife, and killed the men. During this event, Arroollee returned with the fighting horse of that enemy as war booty. The story is told by informant Roobaa Hawaas as follows:-

"Galcha kana *ori'aa oolee otuu galuu duttuun tokko hirkatee ta'a.*
Namni itti ya'ee dadhabe. Arroollee garuu dhufee biyyoo kana koree
itti utaalee ajjeese. Inni ejjechuu hinbeeku, qabuu malee'.

Roughly translated as

One day while he came from Galchaa he found an infuriated enemy seating on his way. When many Karrayyuus afraid of him Arroollee jumped onto and attacked that enemy. Arroollee is fearless.

This reveals that Arroollee was a magnificent fearless hero who jumps onto his enemy. Arroollee's feat is recalled in song as follows:-

Afaan Oromoo

Galchaan daarii lafaa ka araddaa ona sumaalee
Iciqii Fiichee, Fardarraa fardatti ykn biyyoorra itti
utaalee (informant: Hawaas Matoolee)

English translation

Galchaa in the frontier land that bounded the Somale,
 Arroollee Fiichee hurdled onto enemy's horse from the
 dust/ground

The Karrayyuu men and women like to intone songs celebrating fighting heroes. When there are celebrations or special occasions people will come together and sing as a group. The elders

usually sing to their elder dependents. Youth are encouraged to listen to the heroic chores and are continuously taught about the deeds of celebrated warriors like that of Arroollee Fiichee. Arroollee is still recalled in songs as follows:-

Afaan Oromoo	English
Barruu daarii lafaa, raada loonii kittee farda fardaan qaba Arroollee Fiichee	Barruu in the frontier land, Arroollee captures a horse with horse

Barruu is also the name of a place where he engaged in the fighting, took a surprise attack, surrendered the enemy, and collected boots.

5.5. During His Active Gadaa Power (around 1939)

In Karrayyuu tradition, during the *Gadaa* festivity, the heroes usually make a war enchantment. Accordingly, in 1936 heroes from all over the Baasoo and Dullachaa moieties conducted war enchantments at Tarree Luugoo. According to Waaqoo Roobaa the enchantment is recalled as follows”-

*namni goota ta'e gaafa gadaa isaa goototni itti ya'anii dhaadatu. Arroolleenis
gaafa gadaa isaa goototni itti yaa'anii yoo dhaadatan innis "farda fardaan
qabdeeree? Fardikee fardaan galeeree? Jedhee gaafate. Baasoofi Dullachaa
keessa itti furamanii namni itti gitu dhibe jenneen guutuun gale. Hanga yoonaa
namni kana dalage isaa malee hinjiru.*

This is roughly translated as follows:

When every hero reaches his *gadaa* tenure, he makes war enchantment. As such during his active *gadaa* tenure, Arroollee met heroes all over Baasoo and Dullachaa who were contending him. He queried them saying 'have you conquered horse by horse?. 'Has your horse triumphed over the enemy's horse? There was nobody who dared to have challenged and compared him and so that, he became matchless. Nobody has still staged at him.

The quotation reveals that Arroollee is heroically unrivalled.

The informants recounted that Arroollee died during the current Melbaa party father's *gadaa* class and in the early period of the *Darg*. He died around 1976 from natural death, nearly at the age of 80 years (based on the Karrayyuu *Gadaa* timetable). Both his birth and death occurred during Melbaa party and the Karrayyuu tradition associates the passing away of prominent persons, spiritual leaders, and change of regimes in Ethiopia with this party's *gadaa* tenure.

Arroollee is said to have been very dissident, vigilant and resistant that he did not easily make himself available for an outsider. His relatives told us that he has no photo that was taken during his life time and they left back for a record. He is said to have preferred to wear a long spear, as indicated in figure 2, which is symbolic to the Karrayyuu's resistance tender.

In all assessments, Arroollee is a superhero the Karrayyuu Oromo rarely witnessed in their history and for whom a memorial monument was erected for his exceptional roles. The monument was erected for him to memorize his deeds and his feasts at *ganda/kebele* Arroollee from which his name derived. The place is particularly named Ilaalaa Qararii and the monument was built immediately after his death. People sometimes go to see the place where he was buried and slaughter bulls in his name for the

tenacities set in figure 1. Especially, a young male who wants to be a good fighter sacrifice a goat or sheep there. Besides the monument, on the left and right sides are six rectangular-shaped stones to count and mark his triumphs. According to Hawaas Matoolee (Arroollee's grandson), the tombstone was erected in an open space and a plain land where it can be seen by everybody including non-Karrayyuu travelers.

Fig. 3. The Monument of Arroollee and His feats at Ilaala Qaraarii



Source: the researchers, 2018

The site served the purposes figure 1 stands for. Youth class slaughters goats around his graveyard in honor of their hero and to celebrate his heroism so that his *ayyaanaa* (spirit) will bless and get them with a *gotummaa* (bravery). As indicated in figure 1, heroism is believed to be inherently deserved and would pass on to a performer by dedicating sacrificial,

Elders say there is no hero in history the Karrayyuu have so far erected such a grandeur monument and this put Arroollee in the first line of a matchless hero. The following song recalls his passing away and monument:-

Afaan Oromo

Iciqii Fiichee, goonni maqaa lafatti dhiisee
ori'a Booddallee kaabii isaa daawwatee ciisee
itti ejjetee marsee, baaburainaa domofterinnaan kaabiitti

English

Icciqii, the son of Fiichee, the magnificent fighter at the battle of Booodaa now rests down he fought at the day an enemy was mobilized by train vehicle and encircled the Karrayyuu fighters

The term *baaburaa domofterinnaan* is the Karrayyuu word for rail vehicle and it is when the *Darg* during one of its early periods mobilized the government army against the Karrayyuu.

6. Conclusion and Recommendation

In their longtime resistance accounts against the agrarian-centered tyrannical regimes and their marginalization policy in Ethiopia, the pastoralist predominant Karrayyuu Oromo have witnessed several selfless heroes, who advanced their people's collective interests and sacrificed their life for common

causes. Subsequently, many of them have earned high reputations and unforgettable memory that passed over several generations. In his lifetime, he had served at different military hierarchic service careers in Karrayyuu *gadaa* system. He is militarily recalled as extraordinary full life fighter, leader and best trainer of military veterans still unrivalled in Karrayyuu history.

The study presented the Karrayyuu through their heroes. It is vivid that historical dynamics evolved the Karrayyuu, who had long been described as the most powerful and aggressive groups of Oromo before their enemy into one of the most inflicted whose endeavors silenced. As the Karrayyuu's military strength and unity were known to be unyielding, they were deliberately targeted to bring their stamina eroded and their endurances flagging through time.

Accounts of the Oromoo heroes in several branches of Oromoo or parts of Oromiyaa are recalled and venerated at varied height both across the nation and local levels. However, the Karrayyuu heroes have not so far presented in pan-Oromoo venues. This piece of research will enable to bring and integrate this hero man into the Oromoo scholarship, literature, arts, and work of music. It will also contribute for what his accounts signify in Oromo nationalism and against the prejudices which alleged the Karrayyuu as nonconformists and volatile group.

In several traditional practices, fighting and feuding is the exclusive role of males and that is symbolized by the idioms of masculinity. In the Oromoo tradition female is also prohibited to hold or shoulder military weapons such as spears, knives, shields, guns, etc., and engage in any fighting. Similarly, males do not wear female attires. But, contrary to these customs, the *qondaalaas* wear women's dresses, decorations, and beads such as *jaanoo*, *abeentaa*, *darbata*, *callee* (beads), and jewelry) crossing gender boundaries. The wife of *Qondaalaa* shares the prestige with her husband and named *jaarti/niiti qondaalaa* (the wife of *qondaalaa*) by owing equal respect to him in the society de facto.

Arroollee is the only hero for whom the Karrayyuu have so far built a memorial monument in 1976. His monument could also be the first memorial effigy stood for Oromoo heroes as we have witnessed a few of such tribute initiated in various parts of Oromiyaa after the 1991. However, the monument stands in an open space has not been fenced for a protection from damage. Hence, such precious heritage could be easily affected or demolished by human or non-human actions. Fantaallee District Culture and Tourism Bureau need to establish a protection strategy for conserving the commemorative sculpture. In general, the study is not an exhaustive work so that his biographic turn requires in-depth effort.

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List of Oral Informants

Sn	Name	Age	Sex	Place of interview	Remark
1	Hawaas Roobaa	48	M	Abba Kulaa	Outgoing Abbaa Bokkuu, 2018
2	Waaqoo Sanbatoo	45	M	Arroollee	Raabaa gadaa class
3	Bilisuu Bosaa	62	M	Qaraarii	Ex-gadaa & senior elder
4	Hawaas Matoolee	56	M	Tarree Leedii	The grandson of Arroollee
5	Dimaa Boruu	40	M	„	Qondaalaa
6	Rooba Daadhi	45	M	„	Qondaalaa
7	Roobee Dhadachoo	45	F	„	Wife of Qondaalaa
8	Boosat Baqqalaa	43	M	Xuxxuxxii and Finfinnee	Qondaalaa
9	Waaqoo Roobaa			Matahaaraa	Ex-gadaa
10	Hawaas Fantaallee	36	M	Adaamaa	
11	Rukeessa Boruu	40	M		Through telephone and social medias(WhatsApp and messenger)
12	Gadaa Hawaas	42	M	Xuxxuuxii	Incoming Abbaa Bokkuu, 2018
13	Roobaa Bulgaa	40	M		Through telephone and social medias(WhatsApp & messenger)
14	Fantaallee Boruu	55	M	Tarree Leedii	Ex-gadaa and close relative of Arroollee
15	Hawaas Dhaddachoo	62	M	„	Ex-gadaa