

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

**AN ARCHETYPAL ANALYSIS OF ZEYERA AT GENETE
PILGRIMAGE CENTER**



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**An Archetypal Analysis of Zeyera at Genete
Pilgrimage Center**

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Operational Definition of Terms

Zeyera: songs which are used to praise the shrine leader Ayo Momina and other patron saints at Genete pilgrimage centre.

Archetypes: The recurrent themes, images, patterns and characters which occur in all literatures, as well as in myths and dreams.

Myth: Myths are stories, usually concerning super humans or gods which explain religious belief: they originate far back in the culture of oral societies.



Definition of Vernacular Terms

Walyi	A holly man; patron saint (its plural form is Awliyaa)
Adbar	A usually benevolent (guardian) spirit of a given surrounding area believed to be dwelling on a near- by hill, big rock or big tree.
Ayo	It is an Oromo honorary term with an equivalent meaning of “mother”.
Gifti	It is an Oromic word with a meaning equivalent to “queen.”
Kadamis	The servants at the pilgrimage center. They are mainly responsible for preparing food, boiling and serving coffee.
Karaama	Refers to some one’s spiritual power.
Pagumen	It is the thirteenth month of the Ethiopian Calendar. It is made up of only 5 days and it has six days every four year.
Kalicha	He is regarded as a holly man who is in touch with the ancient spirit that resides on the adbars. He may not be touched, not even to shake hands. He is respectful referred to as “Master of the Spirit”.
Zar	A usually malevolent spirit that possesses. When a person is possessed by a zar, it is believed that his body become a mere vehicle of the spirit. Such a person is usually referred to as a “horse” of a zar.

Abstract

This research is intended to reveal the use of the recurrent archetypes in the Zeyera, praise songs, at Genete pilgrimage center which is situated at a place called Gunna Genete, in Arsi zone, Oromia Region in Ethiopia. It was founded by a woman affectionately called Ayo Momina. The study is confined to the functions and significance of the recurrent mythical images and archetypal patterns represented in the aforementioned pieces of oral songs, Zeyera. In the song archetypes are used to glorify the miracles of the shrine founder, Ayo Momina, and they are also made to emphasize the positive features of human interactions such as brotherhood, love, honesty, etc. Data for this study are collected from the center mainly through participant observation and unstructured interviews. The method used to analyze the data is archetypal criticism. It deals with archetypes which are primordial images perceived across cultures, inherited from time immemorial, issuing from a 'collective unconscious'. An archetype is a mythic symbol, which is deeply rooted in the unconscious, more broadly based on a foundation of universal nature than an ordinary literary symbol, and is more generally expressive of the elemental in man and nature (Jung: 1959; Bodkin: 1961).

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the oral poets' use of recurrent mythical images and archetypal patterns in their efforts to communicate their visions of life. The study argues that the positive aspects of human interactions that are depicted through the recurrent mythical images and archetypal patterns of Zeyera contribute much to the existing tolerance among the diversified adherents at the center, and the founder of the shrine, Ayo Momina, plays the archetypal role of mother. Furthermore, Ayo Momina's role as goddess in the praise songs puts her in the upper ladder among the community of the worshippers, which is not commonly seen in a society where the dominant ideology has been patriarchy. This investigation familiarizes the reader with how mythical motifs and archetypes enable the poets of Zeyera, the oral praise songs, to communicate their visions of reality, which are essentially timeless.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

The Genete indigenous pilgrimage center is one of the most popular pilgrimage centers in Ethiopia. It was founded by a woman named Ayo Momina in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and it is situated at a place called Gunna Genete, in Arsi zone of the Oromia Region in Ethiopia. There are some reasons which contributed to Genete becoming a pilgrimage center in Ethiopia. Firstly, people believe in the spiritual power of Ayo Momina who had been the founder of the center and whose spirit is thought to preside over the Genete pilgrimage center. She is believed to have possessed supernatural power of healing the sick and performing various miracles. For more than a century, her Karaama(Charisma) has been worshipped by so many people throughout the country. Secondly, people also believe that taking part in ritual ceremonies at Genete pilgrimage center is one method of getting relief from these worldly problems, such as physical and psychological illnesses.

Ayo Momina died in 1929; however, her Karaama (Charisma) is believed to keep on healing the sick and doing miracle. Thus, for more than a century the worshippers of her Karaama (Charisma) have praised her through praising songs called Zeyera. Being songs of praise and oral art, Zeyera has been handed down from generation to generation through the words of mouth.

Besides Zeyera, the worshippers make use of other literary genres like oral narratives to reveal the miracles of Ayo Momina. However, the Zeyera has its own distinctive characteristics that endowed it the prominent feature of a song. When Okpewho describes the features that distinguish a song from other literary genres, he writes:

It is fashionable to draw a clear line between "poetry" and "prose"...the former is seen as a category under which songs would be discussed, while the latter considered to be the form in which oral narrative ("folktales") and public speeches come. The reason frequently given for this differentiation is that whereas songs are usually accompanied by some form of musical regulation (instruments beaten or plucked at regular intervals) or rhythmic background (such as humming or a clear division of

statements by breath groups), the other forms such as folktales are generally loosely presented in normal everyday speech.. (1992:130) .

At the Genete pilgrimage center drum (፪፪) is used to maintain the "musical regulation". Rhythmic pattern and the entire style of instrumentation and vocalization are distinctive and readily approached even by untutored strangers' ears. Thus, the Zeyera reflects the features of songs that Okpewho indicated in the quotation above

When describing the features of oral poetry, Miruka stated that "oral poetry is the verbal expression of feelings, ideas and thoughts using versified language." (1994:88). At the cult we find Zeyera either in Afan Oromo or Amharic. Besides Zeyera is existed in versified form in the two languages, some poetic devices particularly rhyme and rhythm is prominently observed in it. Miruka remarks that "although technically a word does not rhyme with itself, in oral poetry it is common to find the same word at the end of several lines in a stanza producing rhyming quality." (1994:90). Zeyera as oral poetry also reflects this feature. "Oral poems heavily draw their reference from the indigenous environment of their creation and hence abound to local imagery. Reference, for example, to a lovers teeth being as white as fresh milk attests to a pastoralist environment." (1994: 90). In Zeyera the imageries predominantly reflect the local colors.

The Zeyera at the Genete pilgrimage center reveals the tolerance that exists among some adherents of different religious, ethnic, linguistic, and political backgrounds in Ethiopia. At the center Zeyera is used not only to praise Ayo Momina but as instrument of communication. Adherents who cannot speak Amharic well can freely sing the praise songs in Amharic. And those who cannot speak Afan Oromo properly are seen singing the praise songs in Afan Oromo. Through Zeyera, people from different ethnic groups share their common feelings.

Though the Zeyera has become a deep rooted tradition in the center, it has not been studied yet. The researcher has observed that Zeyera makes worshippers cross their ethnic, religious, etc. border and join their ideal world. Hence, in this research an attempt has been made to study what sorts of realities underlie the Zeyera (praise songs) of Genete pilgrimage center. The method used for the study is An Archetypal Criticism. The reason why Archetypal Criticism has been

preferred to other forms of criticism is that it helps to deal with the recurrent images in a given literary work, dreams and mythology.

As indicated above, people from different religious, ethnic, etc., backgrounds involve in singing the praise songs, Zeyera. It seems that while singing Zeyera the worshippers get relief from painful world. As a result, they join their common ideal world where they get satisfied spiritually. The main point to be noted here is that universal human issues are reflected through Zeyera. These universal human concerns that are deep rooted in the Zeyera have strengthened the tie between the adherents and Ayo Momina (the central figure), and they also enhanced the social bond among the worshippers. The major objective of this research is to investigate the archetypal elements that underlie the praise songs, Zeyera, at Ayo Momina's shrine. The Zeyera strengthens the social bond among the communities at the sanctuary.

Humans' similar motives are believed to have been reflected through archetypal symbols. However, even if people live in different places and time they do have some common human issues that are raised time and again in their literature, myth and dream. The recurrent human motifs that signify humans' similar interests are said to be archetypes. As we will see in the following section (chapter two) of this thesis, because of the obscurity of the life history of Ayo Momina people propagate different mythic stories concerning her origin and her miracles. These complicated stories are also reflected through the praise songs, Zeyera. It is believed that in order to bring to light possible truths that underlie the mythic stories in a given literary work one should make use of a mythological approach to the work

Mythological approaches to literature attempt to identify what in a work creates deep universal responses in readers. (Meyer: 1994). Although the details of mythic stories vary from place to place, the essential patterns are often similar, because these myths attempt to explain universal experiences. People often use myths to find solutions for social and natural phenomena which could not be addressed through their scientific knowledge. Archetypal elements which bear almost similar motives make different myths consist the same theme. When elaborating this point, Guerin et.al said:

Although every people has its own distinctive mythology that may be reflected in legend, folklore and ideology – although in other words, myths take their specific shapes from the cultural environments in which they grow myth is in general sense, universal. Furthermore, similar motifs or themes may be found among many different mythologies, and certain images that recur in the myths of peoples widely separated in time and place tend to have a common meaning or, more accurately, tend to elicit comparable psychological responses and to serve similar cultural functions. Such motifs and images are called archetypes.(1992: 164).

It has already been indicated that the Zeyera at Genete pilgrimage center makes people cross their ethnic, religious, political, etc., borders to join an ideal world where they entertain spiritual cleansing. In this research an attempt has been made to analyze the archetypes that are embedded in the Zeyera to reflect common human motifs which make the adherents join their ideal world without considering their different backgrounds.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Pilgrimage sites are places where people from different religious traditions and ethnic groups interact in ritual practices. Alula Pankhurst (1994) remarks that pilgrimages cut across political, ethnic, linguistic, as well as religious boundaries. The latter, he argues, seem to be the most frequent. In the shrine of Ayo Momina ethnic as well as religious barriers are overlooked. Alula Pankhurst (1994: 941) categorizes Ayo Momina's shrine as a pilgrimage "where new cults emerge which merge elements of several religious traditions." The explanation offered for this syncretism, is the religious belonging of the founder Ayo Momina and her family, who "moved between Christianity and Islam creating their own blend" (ibid: 939).

The Genete pilgrimage center has Muslim, Christian, and Waaqefanna visitors. The researcher has learnt that the informants' understandings of Ayo Momina's religious background run parallel with their own religious traditions.

Ayo Momina's shrine, the Genete pilgrimage center, can be called an indigenous institution mainly because of its accommodating nature, its local development, and the indigenous nature of some of the rituals and healings practiced at the center. What is most fascinating about the Genete

pilgrimage center is that it is probably the only place in Ethiopia, if not in the world, where the followers of the two universalistic and often competitive religions, Islam and Christianity, blend to become one belief. Usually, Christians go to church and Muslims to the mosque, but not both attending to a church or mosque together. But in the Genete pilgrimage center Christians and Muslims worship together.

At Genete pilgrimage center adherents with different religions sing praise songs called Zeyera which strengthen the social bond among the worshippers of Ayo Momina's Karaama (Charisma). As indicated above the Genete pilgrimage center creates its own world that tolerates differences in religion. This can be seen in the performance of Zeyera at the shrine. While singing the praise songs, Zeyera, worshippers never form their own small groups on the basis of their social, cultural, religious etc., differences, but they either stand or sit together to sing the praise songs with absolute devotion.

The researcher has observed that at the center Zeyera serves as a common language through which various worshippers express their feelings. The poems/songs at the center can appeal to the emotion of people irrespective of their differences.

It is this typical characteristic of the songs that fascinated the researcher and made him decide to conduct this study. The researcher has found it necessary to critically analyze the human issues that are raised in Zeyera which promote harmony and tolerance among the followers of different, and often rivalry religious groups.

As it has been implied so far, Zeyera reflects the common interests of different religious groups for more than a century. Though Ayo Momina's shrine has so many followers throughout the country, and though their attachment to the shrine seems still strong, these days the shrine begins to face strong challenges from fundamentalists. Fundamentalists from the two religions (Islam and Christians) consider Ayo Momina's shrine as the center of witchcraft. They also strongly condemn their followers who worship at the shrine. So, if these fundamentalists succeed through time, the shrine might lose its significance as a center of worship. As a result, the Zeyewra traditions of the shrine might become extinct. This would imply that the Zeyera, which is a

cultural heritage, will be forgotten. It is the second reason that made the researcher to write this thesis.

1.3. Rationale of the Study

For more than a century the peaceful interaction among the adherents of the Genete pilgrimage center has been kept. The worshippers of Ayo Momina's Karaama (Charisma) at the center are seen strengthening their solidarity being under the guardian spirit of the shrine founder, Ayo Momina. As it has been indicated before worshippers with different religious and ethnic backgrounds venerate one belief. Furthermore, though the country has gone through some remarkable political and social changes that sometimes resulted in social conflicts among its people, the peaceful harmony at Ayo Momina's cult has never been distorted in its entire history. This positive interaction among the diversified adherents is reflected through the praise songs Zeyera. While the adherents perform Zeyera at the cult, they never form their own small groups on the basis of either their ethnic or religious backgrounds. They rather reveal their unity by singing the praise songs, Zeyera, together. Zeyera as pieces of oral literature enhances the existing unity for it creates opportunities which enable the worshippers to exercise their integration irrespective of their differences. In most circumstances the worshippers hold hand in hand while singing Zeyera. The researcher has been eager to know whether the common human concerns that reflect through Zeyera contribute something to this positive integration of the adherents in this indigenous institution. Therefore, in this thesis due attention has been given to investigate the archetypal images that underlie the praise songs, Zeyera. Scholars such as Carl Jung believe that universal human issues are reflected through the recurrent images which they often call them archetypes. Thus, the main target of this thesis is to find out whether the archetypes embedded in the Zeyera strengthen the worshippers' togetherness for they appeal to the common human concerns.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

This study primarily focuses on how the recurrent archetypal symbols are reflected through the praise songs, Zeyera of Ayo Momina's shrine at Genete pilgrimage center, and how these archetypal symbols that underlie the praise songs reveal the worshippers' attitudes, feelings, social values and general world views. The archetypes in the poems have been examined in light of Jungian archetypal criticism. The focus is mostly on earth, mother, child, hero, etc., archetypes. All the poems/songs analyzed and indexed in the study used to be and are still sung during various rituals held in the center. The study sets out with the following specific objectives:

1. To identify the recurrent themes and issues reflected through archetypal symbols that underlie Zeyera.
2. To examine how the Zeyera as pieces of literature, contribute to the existing tolerance among the diversified religious groups who worship at the shrine through the archetypes embodied in the songs/poems.
3. To examine universal moral and social issues reflected in the archetypal symbols that underlie Zeyera.
4. To investigate if the shrine founder, Ayo Momina, is an archetypal figure in the praise songs, Zeyera.

1.5. Significance of the Study

This study is significant for the following reasons.

1. It will provide a compilation of recorded Amharic oral poems/songs as they are used in the actual social context at Ayo Momina's shrine.
2. The study will serve as a springboard for researchers such as historians, sociologists who might be inspired to undertake future studies on Zeyera poetry.
3. Sporadic incidents of conflict have been witnessed among the followers of the two dominant religions, Orthodox Christian and Islam, in Ethiopia. On the other hand, at Genete pilgrimage center, adherents of the two religions peacefully worship at the shrine. Yet fundamentalists from these religions condemn the rituals practiced at the shrine. They claim that they condemn the rituals on the basis of their religious doctrines. Thus, they might discover

something valuable from this study, which could reveal how tolerance is maintained among different religious groups at the shrine.

4. Finally, the study might give clues for other researchers on oral poetry and mythical stories which be studied through theories of Archetypal Criticism.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The study is delimited to the investigation of praise songs, Zeyera, at the Genete pilgrimage center. The thesis focused on the critical analysis of archetypal symbols that underlie Zeyera sung at the center. In this study, the Zeyera are considered significant not only as pieces of poetry but also as a cultural heritage through which the social and religious values of the worshippers at the shrine are reflected. It is not a thematic analysis of the selected songs/poems but an archetypal analysis of the selected poems which reflect the social consciousness of the worshippers at the shrine of Ayo Momina.

1.7. Organization of the Study

The paper is mainly divided into five chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction of the study, statement of the problem, rationale of the study, objective of the study, significance of the study and scope of the study. Review of related literature which focus on the origin of the shrine leader, Ayo Momina, the Arsi Oromo's and the Amhara settlers' religious background and oral traditions have been discussed in chapter two. The method and the theoretical framework used in the study are discussed in chapter three. While the collected poems/songs analyzed in chapter four, chapter five deals with conclusion of the study. The paper also consist references, and appendices are attached at the back.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

In this section the origin and religious background of Ayo Momina, researches which have some relation to the present study, the oral traditions and religious background of the Arsi Oromo and the Amhara settlers are discussed.

2.1 The Shrine to the Queen of Arsi

Arsi is the land of many minor and major shrines. Among these the Genete pilgrimage center is the most historical one. It was founded by Ayo Momina, the queen of Arsi. Ayo Momina's Karaama (Charisma) has been worshipped by so many followers for more than a century.

There is no consensus on the origin of Ayo Momina. And much of her life history is obscure. The accounts given by informants are not concordant, often inconsistent. Many of the informants are not contemporary of Ayo Momina, but they are much devoted to the incredible stories which equate her with a prophetess in the Holy Scriptures. Except for the questionable evidences that informants forwarded concerning the life history of Ayo Momina, the researcher could not find tangible written documents that reveal who she was. Though Mohammed Hassen (1998) in his senior essay tried to show the origin and history of Ayo Momina, he could not come up with reliable information. This might be because that Mohammed Hassen (1998) entirely depended on the facts that he gathered from informants. On the other hand informants used for the present study has told the researcher some unique stories about Ayo Momina's origins which Mohammed Hassen (1998) has not included in his findings. When Ruth Finnegan (1984:9) describes the variability of oral literature based on her own experience, she said, "... My experience leads me to think that, in certain cases, the contents of the stories themselves are changed by oral transmission, this giving birth to numerous versions of a tale, often very different from each other and sometimes hardly recognizable."

Thus lack of unanimity among the existing oral traditions and the absence of written document made meticulous crosschecking difficult if not impossible to reconstruct the early life and career of Ayo Momina. Concerning her birth place some informants (Guyo Waryi, Sheik Kedir Tulbo, Wako Hamid, Teyebu Kemal, Zeleke Dagne) believed that Ayo Momina was not a pilgrimage

who came from other provinces. They believed that Ayo Momina was originally from Arsi. However, none of them could tell the researcher about her particular birth place in Arsi. This point is strengthened by Braukamper who writes, "Momina an Arsi woman established the famous center of Magic in Faraqasa."(1988:34)

However, most informants (Bahchirsaw Zeru, Hassen Endris, Senafekesh Taye, Guyo Beriso, Usman Hamid, Asresahegne Terefu, Haji Kemere, Girum G/Mariam, Beshah Maru, Sidelel Zemedkun, Gameda Guto and Hasso Tufa) do not believe that Ayo Momina was a woman from Arsi. These informants underlined that the birth place of Ayo Momina is Yajju which is located in Northern Wallo. They said that Ayo Momina was born to her father Yimer Woldu and to her mother Mareshet. Ayo Momina, who was born sometimes in the second half of the 19th century, was the last of the 13 children and was named Shibash. These informants explain that while she was living with her parents, she became sick, and because of an unknown reason she traveled to Harar and she became Kaddami (one who serves coffee, etc.,) to the legendary Walyi (its plural form is Awliyaa), the patron saint, Bahir Ali.

Since Ayo Momina was serving Bahir Ali heartily and much better than his own children, he blessed her and sent her to Arsi where he predicted that her Karaama (Charisma) would make her queen and where she would be worshiped by millions throughout the country and across the sea. The miraculous deeds of her Karaama reached its peak after she arrived at Arsi particularly Genete where her famous pilgrimage center is found. However, Ayo Momina had started to do some unbelievable things while she was with Bahir Ali. According to one of the informants, Usman Hamid, Ayo Momina's Karama once saved her from fire. When Usman Hamid described this miraculous (which seems mythic) story, he said:

Once up on a time when Ayo Momina lived with Bahir Ali, in Harar, the governor of the district who was called Aba Jiffar fell in love with her. Then he sent five soldiers to bring him Ayo Momina. However, the soldiers became dumb when they arrived there. They could not tell Ayo Momina Aba Jiffar's order. They came back and told the governor what happened to them when they tried to catch the then young lady, Ayo Momina. The governor became angry at the soldiers and beat them to death. And he once again sent other five soldiers for the same purpose. But her Karaama(charisma) revealed its power for the second time. Aba Jiffar ordered these soldiers to burn Ayo Momina's wooden hut while she was in. As they were commanded to do it, the soldiers

tried all their best to burn the wooden hut. But unfortunately they failed to do so. And they began to frustrate when they thought that the governor could threaten them as he did to their friends before. Sitting in the center of the wooden hut and spinning cotton, Ayo Momina looked at the hopeless soldiers and she felt piety for them. And then she told the soldiers, "Let the wooden hut catch fire." As she said it, the hut began to burn. The soldiers who enjoyed the fire stayed there until the hut turned to ash. However, surprisingly they did not get a burnt out woman's body as they expected. Ayo Momina with her cotton was not touched by the fire. She was found alive. All these made Ayo Momina a gifted woman who owed untouchable Karaama (Charisma).

According to the informant, Usman Hamid, Ayo Momina led to Arsi after she did the miracles above, and her stories started to be always in the news.

The obscurity of Ayo Momina's origin became the cause for the creation of different versions of stories. Regarding her origin Sheikh Mussa Wayu told the researcher a different story. Sheikh Mussa Wayu said that in the distant past, some eleven Awliyaa, the patron saints, were sent to the land of Habesha from abroad. But then the Habesha's land was conquered by the army of Satan. The Awliyaa could not resist the evil deeds of Satan, and most of them died accordingly. Only few Awliyaa were able to get back to their homeland. However, these Awliyaa told their people how Satan killed their friends while they were in the land of Habesha. And they agitated their people to fight against Satan once for all. They returned to the land of Habesha. But this time their number was five thousand six hundred sixty six (5666). Among them Abedul Kadir Jelani, Zulkelen Aba Jimma, Sheikh Zeleyu, Ahemed Alebedwi, Ahmed Adrusyo, Worika brought a hyena, cat, coffee, drum, incense and thunder to destroy the army of Satan. On their arrival at the land of Habesha they prepared a campfire. The animals which were then owned by Satan gathered around the campfire. Then, the Awliyaa chose some animals each colour and put them in the fire. When Satan came to save animals, the Awliyaa released the hyena. As a matter of fact the hyena began to chase Satan. Consequently, the Awliyaa threw the thunder to the army of Satan. All of a sudden, the army of Satan surrendered and the Awliyaa began to enjoy the victory. Upon celebrating the victory the Awliyaa started chewing their cat, beating their drum and singing their song. Some soldiers of Satan that survived the Awliyaa's attack were highly attracted by the interesting smell of incense which the Awliyaa put in the fire and the coffee ceremony. In the meantime the survived Satan sent mediators to the Awliyaa to settle the existing



conflict. After discussing the issue, the Awliyaa told the mediators that hereafter some soldiers of Satan could live in the oceans, and desert. Some other could also survive in the form of Zar, guardian spirit. Since then the zar-cult has become popular among the Habeshas. The burnt – offerings (the animals that the Awliyaa put into the fire) symbolize the blood which people sacrifice to their Zar, guardian spirit.

As to Sheikh Mussa Wayu, Ayo Momina was one of the descendants of those Awliyaa who came to save the land of Habesha from Satan. Then Ayo Momina's origin is somewhere across the sea. And being a tested instrument to fight Satan *chat*, drum and incense which the Awliyaa introduced to the land of Hbesha are still used at Ayo Momina's shrine.

Ayo Momina's religious background is also controversial but what is certain is that she was Muslim when she arrived at Gunna where she built the Genete pilgrimage center. The Arsi Oromo informants (Sheikh Kedir Tulbo, Wako Hamid and Guyo Beriso) claimed that she was originally Muslim and that her father's name "Yimer" was the corrupt form of the Arabic "Umar". They even believed that Ayo Momina was saint.

Informants (Bahchirsaw Zeru, Hassen Endris, Senafekesh Taye, Guyo Beriso, Usman Hamid, Asresahegne Terefu, Haji Kemere, Girum G/Mariam, Beshah Maru, Sidelel Zemedkun, Gameda Guto and Hasso Tufa) who believed that her origin was Yejjju (Wallo) and who traced her genealogical lien to the family of Negus Mika'el suggested that originally she was Muslim as her ancestors had been Muslim. But starting from the time of Negus Mika'el who was converted to Christianity, her parents were most likely Christian since in one way or another they could be the victim of Yohannes IV religious policy.

Assuming that her parents were related to the ruling class of Wollo through Mohammed Ali, it is apparent that they were Christians through conversion. Paradoxically Ayo Momina was both Muslim and Christian though not simultaneously. Thus the question is where and how Ayo Momina was converted to Islam. Most informants agreed that Ayo Momina was converted to Islam while she was serving Bahir Ali of Harar. Braukamper also attributes her conversion to the influence of this man. But informants and Braukamper did not mention the date of her conversion. However, Braukamper stated the situation as:

One important saint in 19th century was Bahir Ali. He was a member of a warra Kallu clan of Yejju Oromo . . . he died around 1890 . . . One of the remembered deeds of Bahr Ali was the conversion of a woman called Momina who stayed with him for a time as a servant. He is said to have transferred his spiritual power to her and thus enabled her to establish her famous cult in Faraqasa in the country of North – East Arsi Oromo. (1988:39)

Here the researcher finds out a controversial point in Braukamper's statements. Though Ayo Momina built the other well – known shrine at Faraqasa, she did it long after she established the Genete pilgrimage center. Of course, most informants ascertained that Bahr Ali blessed Ayo Momina to be a spiritual leader. As to informants Bahr Ali said to Ayo Momina, "Mota Ta'yi." (Mota in Afan Oromo means "head" or be prominent"). She built the Faraqasa pilgrimage center long after she built the Genete pilgrimage center. Therefore, Braukamper might have been misinformed regarding the establishment of the two principal pilgrimage centers, Genete and Faraqasa. According to informants, after receiving spiritual power from Bahr Ali and being converted to Islam Ayo Momina subsequently traveled to Guba – Qoricha (a place that is found in Harar , a few kilometers away from the boundary of Arsi in the East). There (at Guba-Qoricha), she became a ritual expert. She started working miracles and built a temporary ritual wooden hut. People also started to flock where Ayo Momina was said to have cured the blind and the lame and given her blessings. However, Ayo Momina faced strong resistance from the Orthodox Church leaders as more and more Christians began to visit her. As a result, after staying at Guba – Qoricha temporally, Ayo Momina traveled to Gunna, and built the Genete pilgrimage center. According to informants, when Ayo Momina arrived at the then Gunna, she became extremely impressed by the beauty of the place, and she called it "ጽላ ሆኔ ገዢ ነው" - this is my paradise. Since then that area has been known by the name Genete.

Different names were attributed to Ayo Momina while she was at Genete. The name Ayo Momina was given by the Arsi Ormos ("Ayo" in Afan Oromo means" my mother" and "Momina" is believed to be drawn from the Arabic word "mu'min" which means dedicated believer of Islam).

Gifti is another name given to Ayo Momina by the Arsi Oromo of Genete. It is an honorific title of a woman. Other names include Ya Honbaw Mut Ansa (the riser of the dead at Honba River) and Had'a lafa (in Afan Oromo – mother of the land) were the names given to Ayo Momina. It

was not only the Arsi Oromo but also the Amahra settlers called Ayo Momina by the name “የአርሲዋ ንግስት” (the queen of Arsi).

2.2. A Review of Related Studies

Living in the land of shrines people around Ayo Momina’s sanctuaries are known for practicing indigenous religious rituals. And almost all these religious rituals (the zar-cult, the Adbar cult, Borenticha etc.) are related with Zeyera, oral narratives and different sorts of ritual songs. However, these rich oral traditions have not been studied yet. In this section the researcher intends to establish the context of research by reviewing some previous studies related to the present research.

Ali Yesuf (1995), Mohamed Ebre (1996), Bogale Teferi (1972), Mohammed Jemal (1964) from the Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature have conducted studies on songs that Muslims perform during various ritual ceremonies. They have tried to depict the songs’ moral and spiritual significance for Muslims. The present research is different from these students’ work for two basic reasons. The first reason is that the moral and spiritual significance of the songs collected for this study is not limited to Muslim worshippers of the shrine. They are equally important for many Christians who worship Ayo Momina’s Karaama(Charisma).On the other hand non of these researchers has touched upon the archetypal elements that underlie the songs. However, the present research gives weight for the myths and the archetypal features underlie Zeyera, praise songs.

The other prominent works done on songs that Muslims use in various occasions are Assefa Mamo’s (1987) and Berehanu Gebeyehu’s (1992) M.A. Senior Essays. As the researcher has examined the data which are collected by the two researchers (Assefa Mamo and Berehanu Gebeyehu) the issues raised in the songs amplify the miracles which were done by the known Islam prophets in the Holy Koran like Prophet Muhammad. Contrary to this, in the songs that are collected from Ayo Momina’s shrine for this particular study a remarkable priority is given to indigenous figures like Ayo Momina, Seid Nur Ahmed, Beyenech, etc., The other most important point is that the poems used in Zeyera songs cannot not purely be categorized under Islamic poetry. As Assefa Mamo (1987) and Berehanu Gebeyehu (1992) have indicated, the poems that they collected are entirely performed by Muslims, and their messages bear on religious facts that

relate to Islam in one way or another. However, the Zeyera can be performed by both Muslims and Christians, and does not give special attention to issues related to Islam. In the Zeyera much space is given to indigenous religious values, the Miracles of Ayo Momina and common human concerns.

The second reason that differentiates the present research from the two researchers' (Assefa Mamo and Berehanu Gebeyehu) work is that they do not treat the myths and archetypal elements embodied in the songs. Though Berehanu Gebeyehu (1992) has made a brief and intensive investigation on the ritual songs of Muslims in five provinces of Wello, he mentioned nothing about the archetypes which underlie the intrinsic meaning of the songs. Assefa Mamo (1987), who did not analyze the songs in depth, did not discuss the archetypal features in the songs. The main goal of the present research is to analyze the archetypal symbols of songs in the Zeyera based on the myths and archetypal elements recurring in the pomes. This is what distinguishes the present study from the previous research works

So far an attempt has been made to describe the life history of Ayo Momina and the myths related to her origin. Ayo Momina whose birth date was not known and who died on 27 October 1927 is one of the prominent figures who are time and again praised through the religious song ("Zeyera") in her popular sanctuary at Genete pilgrimage center. Ayo Momina's shrine has been worshiped for more than a century. As it has been stated before many informants believed that Ayo Momina's origin is Yeju , Wello. This fact is also reflected in the following piece of Zeyera

የተሰጠው የለም እንደ እናት ምሚናት
ሚዛኑ ሲገድል ሲጠፋ ብልህት
ከራማዋ ያወጣል ከነደደ እሳት
የየጅ ቡቃያ የጉና መብራት
ባንድ ቀን እሻሩት ያን ሁሉ አመት

*No one is there as gifted as Mother Momina
When life loses its balance and tact,
Her Karaama (charisma) saves one from fire;
The sprouting grain of Yeju, the light of Gunna,
Healed many people of their disease with in a day.*

“The sprouting grain of Yeju” indicates Ayo Momina’s origin. Yeju is found in Wello which is significantly far from Arsi where Ayo Momina has built her popular shrines, Genete and Fareqasa. Mohammed Hassen who has conducted a research on the life history of Ayo Momina remarks that “Ayo Momina came to Arsi long after the introduction of Islam. As many informants confirmed long before the arrival of Ayo Momina the Arsi Oromo had been converted to Islam.”(1998:12) Here the question to be answered is that what made Arsi Oromo being familiar with Islamic doctrine worship Ayo Momina’s Karaama? Furthermore, following the expansion of King Menilek that took place in 1881-1882 the Amharas started to settle in different part of Arsi including the present Merti district where Ayo Momina’s sanctuaries, Genete and Fareqasa, found. However, the Amharas with their Orthodox Christian religious background did not challenge Ayo Momina’s shrine effectively. Mohammed Hassen claimed that “the followers of Christian religion began to go to her to get her blessings, however, priests of the orthodox church opposed Ayo Momina as more and more Christians started to visit her shrine. Unfortunately, the priests failed to convince their followers. Contrary to their effort Ayo Momina became more popular among Christians. Even these days so many Christians as their Muslim counter part, the Arsi Oromo, worship Ayo Momina’s Karaama (Charisma).”(1998:18)

As it has already been indicated, the main objective of this research is to analyze the recurrent archetypal symbols and mythical images that underlie Zeyera at Genete pilgrimage center. However, since the contribution of the Arsi Oromo and the Amhara settlers to the Zeyera at Genete pilgrimage center is high, it is believed that showing some facts related to their religious backgrounds and oral literature can create context of understanding for the present study. Thus, following this some features that reflect the religious backgrounds and oral literature of the Arsi Oromo and the Amhara settlers will be discussed.

2.3. The Amhara Settlers’ and the Arsi Oromo’s Religious Background and their Oral Literature

Zeyera (praise song) at Ayo Momina’s shrine is recited/sung by the Arsi Oromo and the Amhara settlers who are dominantly the followers of Islam and Christians respectively. As it has been indicated, the Amhara settlers with their Orthodox Christian background worship Ayo

Momina's Karaama (Charisma) just like the Muslims'. The researcher has seen so many Arsi Oromo and Amhara settlers worship at the shrine. As a result, we find the Zeyera (praise song) in two different languages: Afan Oromo and Amharic. Though, scholars who deal with the oral tradition of Oromo (it should be noted that Arsi are one of the many sub-groups of Oromo) said little about oral literature of Arsi, the researcher could not find significant written document that reveals the oral literature of the Amhara settlers. However, having grown up around Ayo Momina's shrine where there are thousands of Amhara settlers, the researcher knows that the Amhara settlers are rich in oral literature. Mohammed Hassen writes:

The Arsi Oromo and the Amhara settlers are predominately non-literate. Therefore, in all aspects of their life, orality prevails. Historical, religious, cultural, and political pieces of information go across generations and among the people mainly orally. Information is transmitted from father to son and from person to person in common sayings, folktales, tales, hymns (praise songs), proverbs, oral poetry, riddles, etc.(1998:11)

As Mohammed Hassen (1998) pointed out, historical and religious information about the Arsi Oromo and Amhara settlers has been handed down through the words of mouth. Though the Arsi Oromo are predominantly followers of Islam, they still practice the indigenous religion that had existed long before they (the Arsi Oromo) were converted to Islam. Similarly, the Amhara settlers also engage in indigenous religious practices. Thus, the religious background of the Arsi Oromo and the Amhara settlers might be more or less similar. When describing the religious background of Ethiopians in general, Hailu Araaya said:

All ethnic groups in Ethiopia have the same initial religious experiences: they were all animists. Later, when Judaism emerged as a dominant religion in the Middle East, many of the ethnic groups in the northern part of Ethiopia converted to it or lived in contact with people who practiced it. When Judaism gave way to Christianity, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church became a common denominator among the many ethnic groups. When finally Islam came in to the scene, it introduces a few doctrinal changes without seriously affecting the existing material culture and tradition. We see overlaps in the religious experiences of the Ethiopian people. (1978:2)

Ayo Momina's shrine could be taken as a practical scene where Muslim and Christians strengthen their tie with their indigenous religions. Christians and Muslims are worshipping Ayo Momina's Karaama (Charisma) irrespective of the accepted principles of their respective

2. አድባራ እንችኝ ብዬ ቆሜያለሁ ከፊትሽ
ጠብቂኝ አደራ እቅፍ ድግፍ አርገሽ

My adbar, I stand before you,
I believe in you;
Please, keep me in your embrace,
For I feel safe in it.

As indicated through the two hymns (1, 2) above, the Amhara settlers praise the attete and the adbar spirits. In addition to these songs of praise all the Amharic Zeyera (praise songs) collected from Ayo Momina's shrine for this research can show that the Amhara settlers are rich in oral literature. However, because of the absence of written documents that reveal the oral literature of the Amhara settlers in Arsi land in general and around Ayo Momina's shrine in particular, the researcher cannot say much on this issue. Contrary to this, as indicated before, some scholars have tried to show the oral literature of Arsi Oromo when they discuss the oral tradition of Oromo in general. Following this an attempt is made to discuss how the Arsi Oromo use oral literature to praise indigenous patron saints.

A large body of literature on the history and spread of Islam shows that Sufism, broadly known as Islamic mysticism, firmly established itself as a religious movement in Africa as far back as the 12th century (Sanneh, 1999). Sufism was not only the cause for the fast spread of Islam in Africa, but also for its African features (Daniel, 1969; Schidknecht, 1969).

In Africa, as in the rest of the Islamic world (Esler, 1996), Sufism is known for its elasticity and overt eclecticism. Simplicity of rituals and modesty of demands are the other characteristics of Sufism in Africa (Curtin *et al.*, 1995; Kritzeck & Lewis, 1969).

The Arsi's dominant religion at the moment is Islam. Among the neo-traditional religious practices in Arsi land, the most persistent religious practice seems to be the veneration of saints. The continuation of the cult of saints (particularly that of Sheikh Hussein and Ayo Momina), suggests that the history of Islam among the Arsi is more or less the history of saints. In Arsi land, Islam was highly influenced by indigenous creeds in the past. As a result, numerous institutions of spirit veneration survived within the dominant faith. The folk cultures survived and created a type of Islam that is typically local.

Among the Arsi and other Muslims of Ethiopia, Sheikh Hussein of Bale is still the most celebrated *waliyyi*, the patron saint. The history of Sheikh Hussein goes back to the 12th and the 13th century (Braukämper, 2002; Hassen, 1990). Over the last many centuries, quite many pilgrims in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia have revered Sheikh Hussein as their most venerated saint and gravitated towards Annajina, the place where the saint's shrine still shimmers.

In Africa each religious cult has its own kind of poetry with special techniques of recitation (Jahn, 1969). Oral arts play a significant role in symbolizing the religious as well as the secular image of each society. The Arsi Oromo praise different patron saints through hymns. Andrzejewski (1972) and Haji (1991) revealed the significance of hymns that praise Sheikh Hussein to understand his cult and to explain the nature of Islamization (or Islamic tradition) in the southeastern parts of Ethiopia in general and in Arsi in particular. The hymns sung in honor of Sheikh Hussein allude to items of factual information and legends about the saint's miraculous performance in the past (Andrzejewski, 1972). A reasonable understanding of the hymns ought to take into account the real and fictitious historical contexts within which they were framed. The reason is that the message of a hymn is located not only in the individual words it is composed of, but in the complex whole of the universe of discourse. The legends about Sheikh Hussein that are referred to in the hymns are highly and systematically condensed. The condensation of the legends aside, if listeners lack adequate knowledge of the names and situations referred to in the hymns, they may not understand the essence of the hymn. The other difficulty is that in singing, the singers inadvertently shift their addressee from one hymn to the other and even within a single hymn (Andrzejewski, 1972). To increase the musical flamboyance of their hymns, the singers make an extensive use of imageries and metaphors. The extensive use of poetic symbolism obscures the information being communicated (Andrzejewski, 1972). Amongst all colorful imagery, a listener needs to have adequate knowledge of the Oromo language and culture to grasp the meaning of the exoteric symbolism as the hymns draw much of their symbolism from the material and spiritual culture of the people.

Arsi Oromo use the hymens below when they praise Sheikh Hussien's Karaama (Charisma):

1. *Sheeka hoo yaa Sheek Hussein
Ka Rabbiin nuun qananiisee
Rasuuluu biyyoo sitti dhiisee
Baahroo yaa Nur Hussein.*

*Oh, our Sheikh, Sheikh Hussein
You whom God gave us
The prophet himself put the trust of the whole country on you
Oh, our sea, Light Hussein.*

2. *Sheeka hoo yaa Sheek Hussein
Ka Rabbiin deeme oliinii
Harama ceena waliini
Baahroo yaa Nur Hussein.*

*Oh, our Sheikh, Sheikh Hussein
He whom God ranked high
We shall go to the Haram together
Oh, our sea, Light Hussein.*

Through the two hymens (1,2) the Arsi magnify Sheikh Hussein. However, at the same time they stress that Sheikh Hussein did not get his miraculous power by himself. He was given everything by God. This in turn indicates that the Arsi Oromo believe in God, and they know that everyone even the patron saints like Sheikh Hussein cannot do anything without the will of God. The Arsi Oromo reflect the same thing when they praise another patron saint, Karroliyyoo, through the hymn below:

3. *Karroliyyoo wayyama
Rabbiituu qooda sii kennee wayi nama
Karroliyyoo, you are respected;
It is not man, who gave you the power,
But it is God who gave you the power.*

In this hymn (3) the Arsi Oromo emphasize that God's power is greater than man's power. They believe that Karroliyyoo is respected since he is chosen by God, and he received respected power from the power of powers, the almighty God.

There are many patron saints that the Arsi Oromo praise on different ritual occasions. As their counter part the Amhara settlers, the Arsi Oromo worship adbar, attete, etc. And while worshipping these animistic spirits, they use hymns. According to Abas Haji(1982) Arsi Oromo

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have practiced indigenous religion along with their dominant religion, Islam. As informants told the researcher, praising patron saints began long before the arrival of Ayo Momina. And according to the informants like Ayo Momina all the patron saints that the Arsi Oromo praise through praise songs had the power to heal patients and to do unbelievable miracles.

So far, an attempt has been made to reveal how the Amhara settlers and Arsi Oromo practice indigenous religion side by side their respective dominant religions, Christian and Islam. It was in this fertile ground that Ayo Momina of Guna appeared with her healing power and miraculous deeds. Therefore, it seems that the Arsi have accepted Ayo Momina as the successor of the earlier saints like Sheikh Hussein of Bale, Bahr Ali of Harar, etc. And as they do to other patron saints, they praise Ayo Momina through Zeyera. The Amhara settlers who also keep on practicing indigenous religion join the Arsi Oromo without significant cultural conflict. And they become the adherents of Ayo Momina's shrine. As a result, the Amharic praise song (Zeyera) which is chosen for this study gets its existence at Ayo Momina's sanctuary.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology and Theoretical Framework of the Research

3.1. Fieldwork

The researcher carried out field work for a period of six weeks (divided in two phases) among the adherents of Ayo Momia shrine at Genete pilgrimage center. For the sake of convenience the writer of this paper presents a summary description of the instant that initiated him to conduct this research and the situations he faced in the two field works. Furthermore, instruments used for the research, the process of transcription and translation and methods used to analyze the collected data would be discussed in this section. .

The researcher was born and raised in Arsi; particularly he is from Gunna Genete where he conducted this research. The researcher has known the Genete pilgrimage center ever since he was a kid. The school where he attended his primary education and his village both situated some 800 meters away from the Genete pilgrimage center. As any kid in the village, the researcher had been told time and again about the unbelievable miracles of Ayo Momina. And as any kid did in his village, he attended the October, 29 (Tiqimt Gabriel) annual anniversary many times. October, 29 (Tiqimt Gabriel) was/is celebrated to commemorate the death of Ayo Momina. As his age mates, the writer of this paper enjoyed the ritual activities that entertained different dramatic actions including the zar dance. On this exceptional day the celebration was/is held in the open air. Thus, it was easy to see every action of the worshippers. However, what made most the ceremony unforgettable was the melody of the Zeyera singers. Though then the researcher did not know (or he did not even want to know) what was implied in the Zeyera, he was highly surprised when he saw the worshippers singing the song in the mood of absolute devotion.

The researcher left his village some twenty years ago. Within these twenty years, it was only last year that he got the opportunity to attend the October, 29 (Tiqimt Gabriel) ritual ceremony. Everything happened unexpectedly. Honestly speaking the researcher did not have either interest or plan to go to the ceremony. Standing in the compound of his parents he was surprised by the number of worshippers who were continuously leading to the shrine. In the meantime some of his childhood friends came to where he stood. Since they did not need to spend time there, they asked him to go with them to the shrine. However, the researcher was not in a position to accept

their invitation. They kept on insisting that the reason that motivated them to join the ceremony was not that they worshipped Ayo Momina's Karaama(Charisma). Their interest was to entertain with the ritual activities at the shrine. Finally, the researcher accepted their request and he went to the sanctuary. Then after nearly two decades, he found himself at the Genete pilgrimage center. However, this time around he was not a common attendant; he was just a visitor (or a passer by). He did not go to the sanctuary with his kind childhood heart. The painful experience of the world, the formal education that costs him almost half of his life time, the biblical words etc., had contributed much to changing heart until he become a different person. Standing at the sanctuary, the researcher examined himself critically. He engaged totally in comparing his childhood heart and his heart at present that was filled with countless concerns. However, he did not get ample time to make such a critical comparison for he was drawn by some sound that echoed in his ears all of a sudden. It was the sound of the drum from the big tree where the adherents collected to sing the Zeyera which was immediately accompanied by the zar dance and other ritual activities. The researcher found everything as it had been twenty years ago. Usman Hamid, the famous Zeyera singer, was standing in the middle of the crowd which formed a circle to participate in the singing process. As he had done it some twenty years ago, Usman Hamid covered his ears with his hands and closed his eyes while singing the praise songs. On the left side of Usman Hamid, the researcher saw someone. When he looked at that person he did not know why but he felt something deep in his heart. He thought that he knew him somewhere. Yes, he was right; his little brother, Shawel, told him that that "someone" was the researcher's former classmate, Tibebu Eregete. The researcher soon learnt that Tibebu became one of the known Zeyera singers. He started to re-read their childhood joyful experience at the shrine. He started to imagine how life treated them differently. While life chained Tibebu with Ayo Momina's Karaama(Charisma), it threw the researcher to the world of other Karaamas. Tibebu bowed down right at the main gate of Ayo Momina's compound to salute her Karaama, and the researcher bowed down right the main gates of churches to salute the Karaamas' of St. Merry, Gabriel etc. However, the researcher felt that thinking about his and Tibebu Erget's destinies was not the thing to deal with while so many ritual activities were performed right before his eyes. Thus, he started to pay attention to the attractive Zeyera performer, Usman Hamid. He kept on singing melodiously. And as it had been before adherents from different ethnic, religious backgrounds hand in hand sang the praise

song, Zeyera. Right on the spot the researcher began to think about the integration and emotion that Zeyera created among adherents who had different religious and ethnic backgrounds.

These days it is common to see conflicts among different religious groups throughout the world. Contrary to such an existing fact, adherents at Ayo Momina's shrine sing together by ignoring their differences. Since that memorable moment the question "what is there in Zeyera that makes the worshippers stand together for a similar purpose?" has inspired the researcher to know more about it (Zeyera). And eventually he decided to conduct a study on it.

In order to facilitate his insider position during the course of the research he turned to Gunna Genete (his birth place, where the pilgrimage center is found), at the end of the first term academic year of 2009. The researcher stayed there for 25 days (from February 3-28, 2008). During his stay there at Gunna Genete, he repeatedly visited the pilgrimage center. However, before he began to pay a visit to the shrine, he met Usman Hamid and Tibebu Eregete. He told them what he planned to do. To the researcher's surprise something happened against his expectation. Right before the researcher met them, he thought that he would get a positive response from Tibebu Eregete since he (Tibebu Eregete) was his childhood friend and classmate. The researcher did not believe when Tibebu said "የናታችንን ሚስጥርን በፍጹም አላለፈልሁ ልሰጥህ አልችልም" - I never give you the secret of our mother. It was really shocking for the researcher to hear this from his own friend. Soon the researcher found that Usman Hamid shared Tibebu's idea. Then before they left the researcher asked them for their forgiveness for trying to convince them to do something that they never wanted to deal with. However, though they clearly told the researcher that they were not ready to provide him with the songs for the reason that they did not want to tell him, he did not lose hope. He rather felt something positive deep inside his heart.

Early on the next morning the researcher was told that Usman Hamid came to his parents' home. He immediately learnt that Usman Hamid came with someone whom the researcher did not know. The researcher was so eager to know if Usman Hamid had changed his mind. The researcher's father briefed him that the man who came with Usman Hamid was Ato Deneke Gizaw, who was the leader of the Genete pilgrimage center, and he introduced the researcher to Ato Deneke too. The suspicions that the researcher read in the coolest eyes of Ato Deneke Gizaw made him think that much was expected to justify why he planned to collect the praise songs, Zeyera. As the researcher expected it, Ato Deneke Gizaw asked him to explain his plan. But

attitudes required by them are an unquestioned 'matter of course' which gives them both security and assurance (1976: 108).

Since the researcher shares the social world of his informants and the community at large, it helped him to escape the likelihood of facing any significant "culture shock or disorientation" (Hockey 1993:119). For instance, being a member of the society, he could talk the language and understand the culture. The researcher knew what to ask and how to ask. He was also able to get some important and confidential information as a result of his insider position.

Though the researcher did not make remarkable recordings during his first field work, he could identify that the ritual activities that were performed on Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Sunday were given special emphasis at the sanctuary. Informally the researcher asked different adherents and the shrine leader why these days were given particular emphasis, but they could not tell him the reason. On these days, the number of worshippers increased, and the wedaja (the ceremony of praying all night long) held that was significantly accompanied by praise songs, Zeyera.

Besides identifying the main events that entertained Zeyera, the researcher confirmed that Usman Hamid would be his key informant for his second field work which was held from March 16-April 7, 2009. Through time when Usman Hamid realized that the researcher was not in a position to condemn the ritual activities at the shrine, he became more cooperative. Of course, the researcher tried his best to be free from any bias and, he made enough psychological preparation not to judge the ritual activities at the shrine based on the orientation of his own religion, Orthodox Christianity.

During his second field work stay at the shrine the researcher devoted his time to record the praise songs. Since the researcher made all the necessary arrangements in his first field work, and since he learnt the appropriate occasions either to record or to jot down the poem/songs, his second field work was less challenging than the first.

3.2. Instruments of Data Collection

The data collecting instruments used in this study include:

3.2.1. Intensive Use of Recordings

The study of oral literature is highly dependent on recording. Thus, tape recording of the praise songs, Zeyera was conducted while the different ritual activities were performed at the shrine.

During his stay at the sanctuary, the writer of this paper had a role similar to the fourth group of researchers. He was mainly focusing on either recording or jotting down the songs without involving in the situation.

3.2.4. Library Works

The researcher has also conducted library research to look for possible published sources which might help him to cross check and corroborate the sources which he got from his oral informants. Written documents that have remote relation with the present research are found mainly in the branch libraries of Addis Ababa University Ethiopian Studies, ILS and Kennedy. He has also consulted other books written on related topics that are found in the Education and Social Sciences which are the branch libraries of Jimma University.

3.3. Transcription and Translation of Data

As indicated above, intensive tape recordings were made to collect the data for this research. In order to use audio recordings for literary analysis first, they had to be converted into written medium. Therefore, the researcher decided to reproduce poems/songs in Ethiopic Alphabet which is a syllabic system of writing, much more economical than IPA transcription.

Recording a single event selectively at Genete pilgrimage center was very difficult for unexpected shifting of events were tolerable at the shrine. Thus, the researcher was forced to record events which were not relevant to the study at hand. While the praise songs were being sung, it could be interrupted any time by other events such as blessings, zar dance, the shouting of patients who were possessed by evil spirit, etc. Therefore, since adjusting the tape recorder time and again could make the researcher miss what he wanted, he preferred to record other events as far as they did not take too much time.

When the researcher came to the level of transcription, his first task was to select the songs from other unwanted events that were recorded together with the songs. Fortunately, all the transcriptions were done while the researcher was in the field work. This in turn helped the researcher transcribe the poems/songs without distorting their nature. Since terms from Arabic language could be found in the line of the Zeyera poem/song, the researcher was forced to consult people who spoke the language well. Luckily, the researcher met Sheikh Kedir Abeduro who

could speak Arabic and who had strong attachment with the Genete pilgrim center. He briefed the researcher with the Arabic terms' allusive significance and their implications in the context of the shrine.

The researcher passed to the process of translations following the completion of transcriptions. It is to be noted that all the songs collected for this research were transcribed, but only some songs that were selected to the analysis were translated from the original language, Amharic, to English. Though the researcher could not keep the natural poetic beauty of the poems/songs, he tried his best to translate them without losing their contextual meaning. And due attention was given to keeping simplicity in the process of translation for not to ended up with ambiguities.

3.4. Method of Data Analysis

For this study some 117 poems/songs were collected, out of these 27 of them were used in the study. These 27 poems/songs were mainly selected on the basis of their content relevance to the purpose of the study. Furthermore, it was too difficult for the researcher to include all the collected poems/songs within the given short period of time.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the recurrent archetypal images that underlie the praise songs, Zeyera at Genete pilgrimage center. The most appropriate approach will be to use archetypal criticism. Archetypal criticism suggests that archetypes are deeply rooted in the subconscious. Archetypal criticism shows how mythical structures, patterns and archetypes enable the author to communicate his vision of reality and how they function in a work of art. The myth critic's task is to evaluate a work of art in the light of the function of myth and mythical motifs and archetypes. His/ her task is to show how mythical motifs, archetypes and primordial images function in literary works and how they enable the people to communicate their visions of reality, which is essentially timeless

The archetypes in the songs will be examined in the light of Jungian archetypal criticism. The focus will be mostly mother, child, hero, persona, good, evil, love and friendship archetypes. But this does not mean that the study will ignore the other types of archetypes. Dealing with other existing archetypal symbols will expand the scope of the thesis.



The researcher has learnt that long before the arrival of Ayo Momina Arsi Oromo had been familiar with legends and myths related with various Awliya, patron saints. For centuries Arsi Oromo have particularly practiced praise songs that glorify the miracles of Sheikh Hussien of Bale. In order to create context that makes the findings of the thesis understandable an attempt has been made to discuss myths and legends of Sheikh Hussien and the basic features of Archetypal Criticism following this.

3.5. Theoretical Framework of the Study

3.5.1. The Arsi's Myths and Legends about Sheik Hussein of Bale

Myths are a syntagmatic chain of a series of events. Among the Arsi, mythic narratives have long been used as means of constructing events and personalities in the past. By listening to myths, the Arsi were able to make sense of the life experience of their ancestors. As Hartley (1982: 30) stated, myths enable "a society to use factual or fictional characters and events to make sense of its environment, both physical and social." In societies without written records, the continuity between past and present is often maintained through myths (Heyer, 1988). According to Campbell (1991: 266), mythic narratives enable us to come to terms with contradictions and ambiguities; that is, they help us "resolve abstract conflicts such as life and death, good and evil, tradition and change, and nature and culture." Among the Arsi, mythic accounts that are no longer considered credible once had a fascinating power of convincing minds. The Arsi's religious narratives were largely based on myths. No wonder then as even today mythology serves as one of the most powerful means of charming the mind of believers about religious events and personages in the past. The Arsi have countless oral traditions and legends about Sheikh Hussein of Bale. As is the case with other religious personages in Islamic Africa, the mythic narratives about Sheikh Hussein's *karaamaa* (Charisma), *baraakaa* (holy virtues) and *mujiizaa* (miraculous manifestations) helped perpetuate the cult.

The bulk of these myths were written in Arabic and published in three hagiographical works whose sources were exclusively oral. Andrzejewski (1972: 2) stated that among the Arsi, oral traditions concerning the life of Sheikh Hussein and his sanctuary are not only widespread, but also are the foremost source of information about him and the most instrumental means of perpetuating the saint's cultic fame. The Arsi have been composing oral and poetic narratives about Sheikh Hussein and singing them in angelic voices. Among the various tales of miracles

Sheikh's mother is said to have delivered him without any pain of childbirth. Like myths (Heyer, 1988; Lewis, 1985; Okpewho, 1979), the myths about Sheikh Hussein are artistically presented in a way that creates forceful public currency. The hymns sung in praise of Sheikh Hussein are full of mythic scenarios. The names and situations alluded to in the hymns offer power to the linguistic expressions. As praise songs sung for Sufi leaders in other parts of Africa (McLaughlin, 1997: 568), the hymns sung in praise of Sheikh Hussein emphasize his charisma and spiritual qualities, particularly his role as a spiritual guide. The researcher has learnt that the Christian Worshippers at the Genete pilgrimage center praise Sheik Hussein through hymns.

It was in this fertile ground that Ayo Momina of Guna appeared with her healing power and miraculous deeds. Therefore, it seems that the Arsi have accepted Ayo Momina as the successor of the earlier saints like Sheik Hussein of Bale, Bahr Ali of Harar, etc.

It is good to note that the major purpose of this thesis is not to find out whether the praise songs that the Arsi Oromo use to glorify the miracles of different patron saints including Sheikh Hussein has any thing similar with the Zeyera at Genete pilgrimage center. The main target of this thesis is to analyze the archetypal patterns that underlie Zeyera at the center. However, the praise songs at Ayo Momina's shrine could be related in one way or another with the praise songs that praise Sheikh Hussein and other patron saints for they are practiced within the same community. Therefore, discussing the myths and legends about Sheikh Hussein creates context of understanding for this study. Moreover, the discussion that follows shows some basic features of Archetypal Criticism and it is believed that it also can create context of understanding for the analysis in the next chapter.

3.5.2. Archetypal Criticism

The purpose of this section is to investigate what myth is, the disciplines which have figured prominently in the development of archetypal criticism, to examine the relation between myth and literature in the twentieth-century. This section will provide a theoretical background for the following chapter.

Archetypal Criticism (also frequently referred to as mythological criticisms) interprets the hopes, fears, and expectations of entire culture. (Meyer, 1994) Myth has acquired a number of meanings. There are conflicting arguments over the definition of myth. The definitions include different

attributions depending upon each person's orientation. Those who are not satisfied with these definitions try to define myth by combining all the attributes, and employing many key points. William G. Doty makes such kind of a comprehensive definition:

A mythological corpus consists of a usually complex network of myths that are culturally important, imaginal stories, conveying by means of metaphoric and symbolic diction, graphic imagery, and emotional conviction and participation in the primal, foundational accounts of aspects of the real, experienced world and humankind's roles and relative statuses within it. Mythologies may convey the political and moral values of a culture and provide systems of interpreting individual experience within a universal perspective, which may include the intervention of superhuman entities as well as aspects of the natural and cultural orders. Myths may be enacted or reflected in rituals, ceremonies, and dramas, and they may provide materials for secondary elaboration, the constituent mythemes (mythic units) having become merely images or references for a subsequent story such as folktale, historical legend, novella, prophecy. (2000:33)

There are other scholars who have given such a compressive meaning concerning myth. However, rather than discussing either comprehensive definitions like Doty's or various definitions of myths given on the basis of each person's orientation, the researcher finds it more relevant to the study at hand to discuss its(myth's) relation to literature.

According to Richard Chase's opinion: "The word myth means a story: a myth is a tale, a narrative, or a poem; myth is literature and must be considered as an aesthetic creation of the human imagination." (1969:73) Myth is a cornerstone in building up literature due to its symbolic power and metaphoric type of narration. Northrop Frye stresses the bond between myth and literature by pointing out the verbal culture of each society:

Every society has a verbal culture, which includes ballads, folk songs, folk tales, work songs, legends and the like. As it develops, a special group of stories, the stories we call myths, begins to crystallise in the centre of this verbal culture. These stories are taken with particular seriousness by their society, because they express something deep in the society's beliefs or vision of its situation and destiny. Myths, unlike other types of stories, stick together to form a mythology... Literature as we know it, as a body of writing, always develops out of the mythical framework of this kind. (qtd. in Stillman:1985: 7-8)

The relation between myth and literature helps scholars to find their way into the mythical approach to literary analysis. The archetypal critic uses a multi-dimensional perspective. The

Classics were turning in their long sleep...I had just left Cambridge when Schlieman began to dig at Troy. Among my own contemporaries was J. G. Frazer, who was soon to light the dark wood of savage superstition with a gleam from The Golden Bough. The happy title of that book – Sir James Frazer has a veritable genius for titles – made it arrest the attention of scholars. They saw in comparative anthropology a serious subject actually capable of elucidating a Greek or Latin text. Taylor had written and spoken; Robertson Smith, exiled for heresy, had seen the Star in the East; in vain...but at the mere sound of the magical words “Golden Bough” the scales fell. (qtd. in Carpentier:1998: 12)

Jane Harrison linked up Greek religion and literature, especially drama to prehistoric fertility rites. Unlike Frazer, Harrison was not interested in explaining myths by how primitives thought, but by what they did. Jane Harrison thought that the study of ancient religion must begin with ritual and traditional usage. She investigated Greek festivals and found that their true origin had to do with purification and fertility.

Although Sir James Frazer was not favored by other scholars, his monumental twelve-volume The Golden Bough has been a crucially important influence on twentieth-century literature. Frazer is the founder of the ritual school. He is part of the English anthropological tradition associated with Taylor and Lang. Literary critical analysis using references to myth and ritual patterns is the result of the literary impact of The Golden Bough. It can be asserted that literary criticism depending on mythical prototypes was started by Frazer. “Modern myth criticism or perhaps more realistically the study of the relation between myths and literature, begins with Frazer and the circle of classicists known as the Cambridge Anthropological School, who found ways of reading classical poetry and drama that have continued to inform discussion of Vernacular literatures in the 1990s” (qtd. in Doty:2000: 231)

Frazer bases many of his views on the primacy of magic. He believes that magic is a complex of associations based on analogy or contiguity. Frazer enlarged man’s understanding of the behavior of societies by laying bare the primitive concepts and modes of thought which underlie and inform so many of their intuitions. He developed the theory of a nature cult appearing in various forms but in its essentials shared by all primitive societies. The cult involved a spiritual leader, a priestly king, who was controller and regulator of fertility and vegetation. Also certain myths and rituals dealt with dying and reviving gods as embodiments of fertility. As Meletinsky stated, “Frazer profoundly influenced the scientific study of myth not only because of his emphasis on

The movement from the outer sphere to the inner world of man, from the physically oriented view to the spiritual factors emphasizing the human unconscious separate from any external force found their best expressions in the works of Freud and Jung, who are clearly the most influential figures in the development of the modern psychoanalytical myth criticism. Emotional states, dreams and fantasy brought myth to the forefront, since they are the result of imagination and analogous to myths. The interpretation of dreams and the analyses of fantasies led the leading psychoanalysts to the depths and hidden layers of the psyche.

Freud (1865-1939) applied the principles of psychoanalysis to myth in Totem and Taboo. His psychoanalytical theory concerning the individual mind and the human personality has been extremely influential in the study of myths and rituals. Freud makes distinctions between manifest and latent layers of the psyche by declaring that a second part of the psyche which is crucially important lies beneath the surface level. The latent layer, to put it another way, the personal unconscious, is the dustbin of the psyche in which all repressed and forgotten contents are stored. These unacceptable desires, repressed instincts find their best expression in dreams. Freud saw mythical stories as the "psychology projected into the external world." (1965: 258) In his view, mythological tales are the expression of repressed instinctual drives which are stored in the unconscious; and these repressed instinctual drives go back to the infantile psychological life of man. The best method of comprehending myths is to analyze the infantile fantasies which have been repressed and which display themselves in a disguised form in the dreams of individuals. As pointed out by Freud, "The dream itself was not what it appeared to be but represented some earlier trauma that had been resolved unsatisfactorily – that is the point." (qtd. in Doty:2000:162).

In Freudian psychoanalysis, the emphasis is based on unresolved sexual complexes which have been pushed into the latent level of the psyche. Freud analyses these repressed contents in myth formation, in the expression of religious ritual and also in artistic products. The concept that Freud called the "primal horde", by which he means a social group, is the first beginning of religion, of moral restrictions and of social organization. In this earlier social group, a dominant primal father banned his sons from having sexual intercourse with the family females. The sons who were frustrated killed the father and ate his body in the hope of attaining his powers. As stated by Freud, "this totem feast, which is perhaps mankind's first celebration, would be the repetition and commemoration of this memorable, criminal act with which so many things began,

social organization, moral restrictions and religion.” (1960: 183) Religion is based on this primal sin, produced by patricide – the sense of universal guilt for killing the father, who is the prototype for God. According to Freud:

All later religions prove to be attempts to solve the same problem, varying only in accordance with the stage of culture in which they are attempted and according to the paths which they take; they are all, however, reactions aiming at the same great event with which culture began and which ever since has not let mankind come to rest. (1960: 187)

The prohibition of incest and patricide is of great importance in the formation of personality. Freud concluded that “the beginnings of religion, ethics, society and art meet in the Oedipus complex.” (1960: 202) – the boy’s unconscious rivalry with his father for the love of his mother. Myth in Freudian psychoanalysis as pointed out by Meletinsky is “the obvious expression of an important psychic complex and as the satisfaction of sexual urges that can no longer be freely expressed after the formation of the family.” (1998:40). If we need to enlarge our scope, according to Freud, “myths are probably distorted vestiges of the wish fantasies of whole nations – the age long dreams of young humanity and hence we may think of myth as cultural dreams.” (qtd. in Doty:22000:164)

The second major attempt to link myth to the unconscious psyche is made by Carl Jung (1875-1961), the great psychologist, philosopher and one-time student of Freud, who broke up with the master. Unlike Freud, Jung is not interested in sexual complexes and in repression. His main area of interest is the deepest layer of the psyche, ‘the collective unconscious’, which is the key term for Jungian psychoanalysis. Jung agreed with Freud that man’s mind is like an island in the sea. The land above the water is the normal consciousness, the everyday knowing level. But just beneath the surface lie the personal unconscious, subliminal receptions, and forgotten occurrences that Freud emphasized. And beneath that level is what Jung describes as the collective unconscious, a level shared by all humanity. Freud had only worked with the personal unconscious and its role in psychoanalysis. So in developing the conception of the collective unconscious, Jung went beyond his teacher and offered his own unique contribution to psychology:

At first the concept of the unconscious was limited to denoting the state of repressed or forgotten contents. Even with Freud, who makes the unconscious – at least metaphorically – take the stage as the acting subject, it is really nothing but the gathering place of forgotten and repressed contents, and has a functional significance thanks only to these. For Freud,

accordingly, the unconscious is of an exclusively personal nature, although he was aware of its archaic and mythological thought forms. A more or less superficial layer of the unconscious is undoubtedly personal. I call it the personal unconscious. But this personal unconscious rests upon a deeper layer, which does not derive from personal experience and is not a personal acquisition but is inborn. This deeper layer I call it the collective unconscious. I have chosen the term "collective" because this part of the unconscious is not individual but universal; in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents and modes of behaviour that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals. It is, in other words, identical in all men and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature, which is present in every one of us. Psychic existence can be recognised only by the presence of contents that are capable of consciousness. We can therefore speak of an unconscious only in so far as we are able to demonstrate its contents. The contents of the personal unconscious are chiefly the feeling-toned complexes, as they are called; they constitute the personal and private side of psychic life. The contents of the collective unconscious, on the other hand are known as archetypes. (1959: 3-4)

Jung agrees with Freud that dreams and myths reveal the structure of the psyche, but he differs from Freud upon the primitive nature of these depths: "The conclusion that the mythmakers thought in much the same way as we still think in dreams is almost self-evident...But one must certainly put a large question-mark after the assertion that myths spring from the infantile psychic life of the race. They are on the contrary the most mature product of that young humanity." (Jung, 1956:24) Unlike Freudian psychology, which sees myth as the obvious expression of an important psychic complex and as the satisfaction of sexual urges, Jung regarded dreams and fantasies not only as issuing from unconscious instinctual repressions and serving as escape valves for individuals, but also as creations derived from a common store of 'primordial images' perceived across cultures, the inherited possibilities of human imagination as it was from time immemorial, to be found in every individual. Jungian psychology accepts recurring images and symbols, collective representations, as coming from the universal substrata of humankind. These primordial images, elemental symbols of a collective nature, constitute myths, and they are the cornerstones of the collective unconscious, in contrast to the personal or subjective unconscious Freud emphasized. These elemental symbols or primordial images are archetypes as defined by Jung:

The anima is the life force or vital energy. The anima is the name which is given to a man's image of a woman, the animus to a woman's image of a man. Jung gives the anima a feminine role in the male psyche and the animus a male role in the female psyche. In The Archetypes and Collective Unconscious, Jung expresses that "although it seems as if the whole of our unconscious psychic life could be ascribed to the anima, she is yet only one archetype among many. Therefore, she is not characteristic of the unconscious in its entirety. She is only one of its two aspects. This is shown by the very fact of her femininity." (1959: 27) It is a feminine design in the male psyche. Anima is the opposite side of the man's psyche, which he carries in both his personal and collective unconscious. Jung sees it as "the soul which is the living thing in man, that which lives of itself and causes life." (1959: 26) While describing the characteristics of the anima, Jung points out:

The anima is not the soul in the dogmatic sense, not an anima rationalis, which is a philosophical conception, but a natural archetype that satisfactorily sums up all the statements of the unconscious, of the primitive mind, of the history of language and religion. It is a factor in the proper sense of the word. Man cannot make it; on the contrary, it is always the a priori element in his moods, reactions, impulses and whatever else is spontaneous in psychic life. It is something that lives of itself, that makes us live; it is a life behind consciousness that cannot be completely integrated with it, but from which, on the contrary, consciousness arises. (1959: 27)

The anima and animus archetypes represent the unconscious in the opposite sex tendencies of the individual; they share our experience of the opposite sex. The anima and animus sum up the judgements of the subconscious. (Meletinsky: 1998: 46) To put it in the proper sense of the word, the human psyche is bisexual. These bisexual and unconscious characteristics of the psyche reveal themselves only in dreams and fantasies:

Every man carries within himself an eternal image of woman, not the image of this or that definite woman, but rather a definite feminine image. This image is fundamentally an unconscious, hereditary factor of primordial origin, and is engraven in the living system of man, a "type" ("archetype") of all the experiences with feminine beings in the age-long ancestry of man, a deposit, as it were, of all the impressions made by woman; in short, an inherited physical system of adaptation. Even if there were no women, it would be possible at any time to deduce from this unconscious image how a woman must be constituted physically. The same is true of the woman; that is, she also possesses an innate image of man. (Jung, 1953: 100)

With the emergence of realism in the eighteenth-century, traditional plots were left aside, which meant a movement from medieval symbolism to the imitation of nature, the desire to mirror reality faithfully, which led to demythification. The writers of the Enlightenment had a negative attitude toward myth, as a result of the equation of myth with ignorance and delusion. Myths were often reduced to serving as amusement alone.

Romanticism is closer to the traditional genres and mythological subjects. Contrary to realists, the romantics had a positive view of mythology. Myth was seen as an aesthetic and artistic creation. They made free use of characters and plots drawn from classical mythology. The romantics made conscious identification with nature, which became an important trait of nineteenth-century writers. The romantic identification with nature in the nineteenth-century led the writers to use myth symbolically in their works.

In the twentieth-century, writers look back toward the classical world with its ideal of harmonious perfection and its simple elemental aesthetic delights. They feel that somewhere along the line of man's development order has gone out of the world. As a result "Myth has spread from the confines of anthropology to the ultimate circle of the verbal universe." (Thompson, 13) Writers have begun to use the mythical method instead of the narrative method.

As indicated before investigating the myths and archetypal elements underlying the Zeyera is the vital target of this paper. Thus, in the next chapter an attempt has been made to reveal the significance of archetypal symbols that underlie in the some selected Zeyera (praise songs).

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Archetypal Patterns and Symbols in Some Selected Zeyera.

4.1. Occasions for the Recital of Zeyera (Praise Songs)

Though the main concern of this section is to analyze archetypal symbols and patterns in some selected Zeyera (Praise songs) in terms of mythological images and archetypal elements embodied in the songs (Zeyera), the researcher finds it important to mention some significant occasions which facilitate a fertile ground for the occurrence of Zeyera (Praise songs).

Ayo Momina's Sanctuary at Genete pilgrimage center is regularly visited by different individuals throughout the year. And many of the ritual activities that engage the visitors are most often accompanied by Zeyera (praise songs). Since the praise songs could create a remarkable socialization among the worshippers through the depth of common human issues they forward, they do have a strong power to impress the attendants. On various occasions, the researcher has seen the worshippers crying while singing the songs. Although the worshippers are free to sing the songs any time in the sanctuary, according to their interest, the occurrence of the songs is indispensable during four occasions during which worshippers of Ayo Momina's Karaamaa (Charimas) give special attention to. This happens on October 29 (Tiqmit 19), the breaking of Muslim fasting, December 27 (Tahsas 19) and September 5-10 (Pagwmen, intercalary month). Originally, October 29 (Tiqmit 19) is celebrated to commemorate the annual anniversary of Ayo Momina's death. Such a tradition of worshipping at the shrine of a supposed saint is common. Trimingham (1952:7) commented that "the more famous of the dead saints received from their devotees well-built tomb. .. the more famous tombs become cult centers, and pilgrimages are made to them on the anniversary of the saints birth or death." Most informants have confirmed that worshippers of the shrine who are Christians pay special attention to this anniversary since they associate it with the monthly anniversary of "Angel Gabriel" in orthodox Christian Churches.

The celebration of October 29 (Tiqmit 19) is somehow different from the other three celebrations. While all the ritual activities during the breaking of Muslims' fasting, December 27 (Tahsas 19) and September 5-10 (Pagwme, intercalary month) are inside the Mosque, the anniversary of October 29 (Tiqmit 19) is performed outside the compound of the mosque. Some twenty meters

away from the compound and right in front of the main gate, there are two big juniper trees. Standing on a plain land covered with the lush green grass, these trees make the entire surrounding graceful. It is under the shade of the two trees that people gather to sing the praise songs (Zeyera) on October 29 (Tiqmit 19). Unlike the other three stated occasions, the people who are involved in the singing process are not allowed to sit down. Rather they are expected to form a circle under the trees to sing the songs led by the well-known Zeyera singer (or Kalecha). In this group, the Kalecha leads the songs while the others respond as a chorus. The melody and open voice quality of the singer brings a reliable impact upon the participants. As a result, they club, dance and show different body movements.

In the other three cases, the ritual activities are done inside the mosque. The number of worshippers on these three occasions is significantly lower than the number of worshippers who attend the October 29 (Tiqmit 19) rite. However, the types of praise songs (Zeyera) used during all the stated occasions are similar. Though different social issues are raised through the praise songs (Zeyera), they either directly or indirectly appreciate the great deeds of Ayo Momina.

It is not the aim of this paper to deal with each and every piece of ritual activity at Genete pilgrimage center. Similarly, it is not this paper's aim to discuss the musical talent, style, etc of Zeyera singers. However, the researcher needs to underline that educators in the field of music can come up with reliable findings if they conduct a study on the singing style of the Zeyera singers. Even if the performance of various rites and all issues related to the style of the praise songs (Zeyera) are left to other researchers, the writer of this thesis once again seeks to stress that all the songs have been handed down from generation to generation through oral medium.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the archetypal elements reflected in the selected Zeyera (praise songs) in light of archetypal criticism. So, emphasis is given to the local and universal symbolic significance of the embedded archetypal elements.

4.2. An Analysis of Archetypal Elements in Some Selected Zeyera

Universal human desires are usually reflected through the recurrent images (archetypal elements) in different genres of literature. However, since the cultural background, attitude, etc., of a society could be different from place to place, some archetypal elements might be interpreted in a different way. While explaining the feature of archetypal elements, Frye said, "Any symbol at all takes its meaning primarily from its context: a dragon may be sinister in a medieval romance or

friendly in a Chinese one; an island may be Prospero's island or Circe's." (1957:156). To say that a certain symbol is "universal", it does not necessarily mean that it gives absolutely similar meaning for every society throughout the world. When Philip Wheelwright describes the extent of the universality of archetypal symbols, he said:

Archetypal symbols are those which carry the same or very similar meanings or a large portion, if not all, of mankind. It is a discoverable fact that certain symbols, such as the sky father and earth mother, light, blood, up – down, the axis of a wheel, and others, recur again and again in cultures so remote from one another in space and time that there is no likelihood of any historical influence and causal connection among them.
(qtd. in Guerin : 1992: 160)

Whether the given archetypal image signifies something local or universal is not a debatable issue. What is so important for the archetypal critic is how deep s/he goes to dig out the hidden realities of a certain society, and to what extent myths, legends, etc integrate them (the societies) with universal human affairs. The experience of the archetypal world leads to an inner form of humanization, that because it is not knowledge of consciousness but an experience of the whole man, will perhaps one day prove more reliable than the form of humanism known to us up to now, which is not grounded in depth in psychology. One of the decisive symptoms of these new aspects of humanization is the development of the psychological conscience in the individual and in the community; with out which any future development that imperils humanity seems unthinkable. (Neumann (1955), Wenegrat (1990))

The worshippers of Ayo Momina's shrine at Genete Mosque have reflected their feelings in Zeyera (praise songs) through time in hymns such as:

1. *የተሰጠው የለም እንደ እናት ሞግናት
ሚዛኑ ሲገድል ሲጠፋ ብልህት
ከራማዋ ያወጣል ከነደደ እሳት
የየጅ ቡቃያ የጉና መብራት
ባንድ ቀን እሻሩት ያን ሁሉ አመት*
*No one is there as gifted as Mother Momina
When life loses its balance and tact,
Her Karaam (Charisma) saves one from fire;
The sprouting grain of Yeju, the light of Gunna,
Healed many people of their disease within a day.*

In this piece of praise song (Zeyera) the mother figure takes a prominent place. In different circumstances, people's attachment to the "mother figure" is reflected through legendary stories, myths, etc. In an attempt to indicate the cause of humans' integrity with the "mother figure", Wenegrat said:

In order to survive the human infant must receive some modicum of motherlike care. Consequently, the fascination with creative maternal figure expressed in folklore, myths and dreams, not to speak of every day life, might seem to be a residue of early child hood experiences, not of human phylogeny. (1990: 107)

The poet has taken Ayo Momina as an archetypal woman. Being an archetypal woman Ayo Momina has played both the role of mother and goddess. On the one hand Ayo Momina is great since she is a uniquely "gifted" woman. Ayo Momina is also taken as "goddess" for she could save people from fire. As indicated in chapter two of this thesis, Ayo Momina saved herself from fire. On the basis of that story, one can guess that she is endowed with a particular strength and divine trait. Thus, through the hymen above the poet tries to restate that story and he praises her (Ayo Momina) for her unbelievable miracle. Smilingly the poet tries to justify that why s/he worships Ayo Momina and why she deserves praise through the first line of the hymen (የለም እንደ እናት ሞሚና: No one is as gifted as mother Momina (line 1)). To quote from Carl Jung:

The birth of modern individualism began with the worship of woman, which strengthened the man's soul very considerably as a psychological factor. In this heroic endeavor her image is exalted into the heavenly, mystical figure of the Mother of God – a figure that has detached itself from the object and become the personification of a purely psychological factor, or, rather of those unconscious contents whose personification I have termed The anima appears before him not in an erotic fantasy but in "divine" form, seeming to him like a goddess in heaven. The repressed erotic impression has activated that latent primordial image of the goddess, i.e., the archetypal soul-image. The erotic impression has evidently become united in the collective unconscious with archaic residues which have preserved from time immemorial the imprint of vivid impressions of the nature of woman – woman as mother and woman as desirable made. (1958:5)

a personified thought, i.e., in the shape of this sagacious and helpful old man. (qtd.. in Guerin et al : 1992: 163-164)

As a wise old man archetype, Seid Nur Ahmed is expected to see the fog around the speaker, and he should try to dissipate it by advising her/him to solve her/his problem. Therefore, Said Nur Ahmed's role in the song is that of the wise old man of the myths whose possible deep insight into people and events could help the speaker to react to her/his problem wisely. The researcher knows that people usually share their secrets with old men and women for they believe that they (old men and women) will not reveal their secrets to others. Thus by sharing their secrets with old men and women people can get internal relief for they use this opportunity to speak their mind.

3. *የተሰጠው የለም እንዳንቱ ሞግናት
የልጅ ታዬ ንግስት የልጅ ጌታሁ
እኔ ወደ እርሶ መጣሁ አትርሱኝ አደራ
እርደታ ግብልኝ በጠራዎት ለታ
ሰው የለኝምና ክፊትም ከኋላ*

*Momina, there is no one as gifted as you
You are the queen of Leji Taye,
And the queen of Leji Getahun,
I have come to you; please, remember;
And when I call upon you, help me,
For I have no one to rely on.*

4. *ሰይድ ኑር አህመድ አንቱ ምን አለብሁ
አንቱ ምን አለብሁ የምግና ሳሂብ
እኔ ላልቅስ እንጂ የሌለኝ ዘመድ*

*Seid Nur ahmed, the care free person,
You have nothing to worry about, a friend of Momina,
You have nothing to worry about ,
It is I who should cry,
For I have no one to rely on*

Through these two pieces of Zeyera (praise songs) loneliness, the common archetypal element is reflected. In the first song (3), the speaker makes it clear that s/he has no one to share her/his

problem with. Therefore, s/he has decided to join the queen, Ayo Momina, (*እኔ ወደ እርሶ መጣሁ አትርሱኝ አደራ* (line 3), *I have come to you; please, remember me* (line 4)) to escape from his painful experience, loneliness. The speaker in the second poem suffers from loneliness also. It seems that s/he wishes to live under the protection of Ayo Momina like Seid Nur Ahmed does. However, s/he does not take any measure to free her/him from the burden of loneliness. Rather s/he accepts that s/he is born to cry, and s/he washes away her/his loneliness by her/his tears. Both the speakers (3, 4) play Man's archetypal destiny, ultimate loneliness and his longing to communicate with others. The two speakers have found themselves in a meaningless world that detached them from nature, from themselves and from their environment. Though it is simple to see the two speakers suffer from alienation in their own respective worlds, they try nothing to reconcile themselves with the external world. According to Wenegrat, "Man is in imprisonment in himself, in his own cave. To unchain his heart, he should learn to face what lies in his own depth. He should make connection with his unconscious contents. Man should be aware of his spiritual emptiness, and of his nothingness." (1990:78) Furthermore, Eric and Mary Josephson define alienation as:

In modern terms, however, "alientation" has been used by philosophers, psychologists and sociologists to refer to extera- ordinary variety of psycho-social disorders, including loss of self, anxiety state, anomie, despair depersonalization, rootless ness, apathy, social disorganization, loneliness, atomization, powelessens, meaninglessness, isolation, pessimism, and loss of beliefs or values. (1963:12-13)

Being in the state of loneliness, the two speakers in the hymns above (3, 4) appeal to Ayo Momina, the mother figure. And having been rootless they are naturally forced to look for someone they can confide in. Coincidentally, they have confided in Ayo Momina's spirit, the guardian spirit. Creating attachment with the mother archetype, Ayo Momina, is a psychological shift from consciousness to unconsciousness which reveals going back to life's origin or primordial condition. They (the speakers) are full of memories of the moment of loneliness and unhappiness of a friendless life. They want to discover the joys of life under the guardian spirit of Ayo Momina, the mother archetype. Since they climb up to the last ladder of loneliness, it is time for them to begin a new life. Then they long to attain rebirth through a return to the womb of the mother figure, Ayo Momina. Jung describes this situation as: "The symbol creating process substitutes for the mother, the city . . . This substitution is due to the fact that the regression of

libido reactivates the ways and habits of child hood, and above all the relation to the mother". (1956:213)

As pointed by Jung above, the two lonely speakers try to attach with their own primordial mothers through Ayo Momina. By going back to the primeval times, they attempt to find the harmony, peace and love among people in the world of Leji Taye and Leji Getahun. (NB. Seid Nur Ahmed is the name given to Leji Taye after he became Ayo Momina's descendant by possessing her Karaama (Chrisma). Leji Taye and Leji Getahun are thought to be the grandsons of Ayo Momina. And in the Amharic version of the praise songs above, the speakers call አዮ ሞሚና "ሞሚናት" for showing her/his affection or strong attachment to her. Similarly, for the same purpose in the praise songs አዮ ሞሚና is often called ሞሚና፣ ሞሚናዬ....Furthermore, in most of the songs the title "አዮ" is dropped. Thus, the researcher has not used the title "Ayo" in the English version of the songs/poem, and for the sake of clarity in the English version he has only used the name "Momina")

5. *ከቆሳቸው በታች ጠበል የፈለቀው*
ለኛም ይሻለናል ብንተዋወቀው

Holy water has gushed out below her tomb;
It would be better for us to use it.

In this couplet, the first archetypal image that we possibly come across is the "tomb". As a matter of fact, we usually think of death, the inescapable fate of men, when we see tomb. It symbolizes the end of life.

The other prominent archetypal symbol used in this piece of Zeyera (praise song) is "water". In many societies, it is believed that "water" is the origin of life. To quote from Jung :

The maternal significance of water is one of the clearest interpretations of symbols in the whole field of mythology, so that even the ancient Greeks could say that "the sea is the symbol of generation." From water comes life . . . All living things rise, like the sun, from water, and sink into it again at evening. Born of springs, rivers, lakes, and seas, man at death comes to the water of the sxytx, and there embarks on the "the night sea journey." Those black water of death are the water of life, for death its

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*cold embrace is the maternal womb, just as the sea devours the son but
brings it forth again. (1956:218)*

Jung shows the universal symbolic significance of "water" which makes Man to trace back his origin. When the speaker talks about Ayo Momina's "holy water", it does not seem that s/he tries to relate water with the origin of life. However, s/he needs to underline the curing power of water (holy water). Of course, the healing feature of water has a long standing religious and traditional background.

As indicated before, many Christians (especially those who belong to the Orthodox religion) are among the worshipers of Ayo Momina's shrine. And undoubtedly these Christian followers would come to the sanctuary with their religious tradition. From their background, they know the significance of baptism. It is almost a day- to- day experience for Orthodox Christians to be baptized by the priest when they feel that they commit sin. By doing this, they think that they get spiritual relief and strength. It is not only Orthodox Christians but also other Christians follow different religious doctrines believe in rebirth through baptism. Related to the symbolic significance of water Guerin et al say:

*Water the mystery of creation; birth – death- resurrection; purification
and redemption; fertility and growth. Water is also the commonest
symbol of the unconscious. The sea the mother of all life; spiritual
mystery and infinity; death and rebirth; timelessness and eternity; the
unconscious, rivers: death and rebirth (baptism); the following of time
into eternity; transitional phases of the life cycle; incarnation of deities.
(1992:161).*

In this description, we find terms like "rebirth", "purification", "baptism", etc. The speaker in the song might have a Christian background (Christians' involvement at the shrine has already been mentioned). Therefore, s/he would probably be familiar with these terms and their possible signification. On other hand, according to the speaker, the one who is baptized by "holy water" of Ayo Momina could strengthen her/his psychological well-being since s/he would enjoy the golden opportunities of passing through "rebirth", 'purification', "baptism", etc. Here the other possibility is that the speaker might associate the great mother, Ato Momina, with the maternal significance of water.

comes. When man confronts the idea of death, he sees the emptiness of his preoccupations. For instance, one can see or talk about the emptiness of money if s/he internalizes the idea of death.

Ayo Momina's role in the songs is quite significant. She plays the archetypal role of God. We might learn from religious documents that Jesus raised the dead. And we might also be told that Jesus did all those unbelievable miracles for He Himself is God. Based on this simple analogy, it could be possible to imagine that in the songs Ayo Momina shared some divine qualities with Jesus.

This divine quality of Ayo Momina would have a psychological impact on the worshippers. The worshippers could suffer from the fear of death. Thus creating a strong attachment with Ayo Momina could possibly reduce their anxiety resulting from the fear of death. While describing how people avoid the fear of death, Yalom writes.

There are two patterns of adult defenses against death anxiety. The first, involvement with an "ultimate rescuer", is nothing other than the direct enactment of attachment strategies. A caretaker is sought whose powers seemingly can protect against all harm. For the believers religion provides such a rescuer; non believers must find real persons with whom they can form dependent relationships. The second pattern, a near – delusional in one's own specialness . . . not to tolerate even minor degree of dependency (qut. in Wengrat: 1990: 42).

From this description, one can learn that Ayo Momina had been considered as "a caretaker". As the caretaker, her attachment with the worshippers brings a psychological relief for their fear of death could be reduced.

9. *የቅበጠብጠኛል እንደ ግልገል በቅሉ*
የኖኑ ሞጫን ፍቅር ከልቤ ውስጥ ገብቶ

Momina, your moyherly love is great;
Your love is powerful,
It goes deep into my heart,
It makes me restless,
Like a baby mule.

10.

እንደ ማር ወተት ስሞ ይጣፍጣል
ሞሚን ውዴታዎ ልብ ውስጥ ይዘልቃል
እናት ሞሚናዬ ማን ከእርሶ ይርቃል

*Momina, your name is sweet; it is
As sweet as honey, and,
As sweet as milk;
Your love also goes deep into one's heart;
It is impossible for one to stay,
Away from you.*

Through these two pieces of Zeyera (praise songs) the archetype of “love” is emphasized. The speakers in these songs express their strong love for Ayo Momina. Her motherly love makes the speakers “restless” (in the first case), and it invades the speaker’s heart (in the second case). While discussing the archetypal role of “death”, an attempt has been made to explain death creates attachment among people. Similarly, “love” plays a remarkable role in strengthening the social bond among people

In order to overcome the fear of death, “love” is essential. The fear of death can be conquered through love. “Love” could serve as a key to open the mysteries of life. People most often do not hide their internal feeling (including their secrets) from their loved ones. Therefore, “love” as an archetypal symbol and unifying power is seen as a bridge between the outer and inner word. Without love, it seems impossible to connect the outer and inner worlds. Furthermore, achieving a connection depends largely upon love among people.

The speakers in the stated Zeyera (praise songs) are highly touched by the love of Ayo Momina. And they are talking about their internal feelings. Both of them have given their heart to the love of Ayo Momina. This in turn could make them share their truthful feelings with her which they most probably never do with others. In this case, we could say that Ayo Momina takes an intermediate position since she harmonizes the outer and inner world of the speakers. Therefore, being a universal archetype love is crucial to connect the persona and the shadow in close harmony in order for a person to become whole. The positive implication of love is written in the first epistle of John as, “he who does not love does not know God; for God is love,” and “if we love one another, God abides in us,” (qtd. in Jung: 1956:86). We make a simple analogy based on

the description of first Epistle of John. We can see Ayo Momina taking god's image. Then the universal archetype of love and God-image coexist. Loves proves to be the most powerful archetype which could bind men to each other.

11. *ያናግረኝ ባጣ የሚያጫውተኝ
ወደናቴ ጮኸኩኝ ልጅ እንዲሰጡኝ
እናቴ ትልቋ ሞሟናት ደገቱ
ይሄውልሽ እሱኝ ወንድ ልጅ ባመቱ*

*When I felt loneliness,
I prayed to Momina for a child;
My great, kind mother, Momina,
Gave me a baby boy after a year.*

In this piece of song, "child" is used as an archetypal symbol. As depicted in the song, the woman felt loneliness. In order to escape from her loneliness, she wanted to have her own child. However, her interest in a child might not only be caused by her loneliness. There could also be the question of fertility deep inside her. Therefore, the child is seen as a symbol of fertility and continuity. It serves as a bridge between the past and the present. Unless she gives birth to a child, her ancestral line will be broken. Jung describes the symbolic significance of a child as:

One of the essential features of the child motive is its futurity. The child is a potential future. The child signifies as a rule an anticipation of future developments. Many of the mythological saviors are child gods. The child paves the way for a future change of personality. It is therefore a symbol which unites the opposites. (1959:164).

The child archetype rises up as the herald of the new generation. He is a sign that heralds a better future. The child motif means the future. Its function is to compensate for or correct the present conflicts. The woman in the song wants to change her situation at present, and she also seeks to make her future bright being with her potential future, her child. It is only then that she would be healed from her psychic pain. Out of this situation, the child emerges as a symbolic content which will "unite the opposites, a mediator, bringer of healing, that is, one who makes whole" (Jung, 1959:164).

12. እባክህ ጓድዬ ጓድህን አትማ
 እባክህ ወንድሜ ወንድምክን አትማ
 ኢማንህ ይሄዳል አንተ ሳትሰማ

*You my friend, I beg you not to spoil
The reputation of your friend;
You my brother, I beg you not to spoil,
The reputation of your brother;
Unless you stop back biting,
You will lose your grace before you know it.*

The other universal archetype “brotherhood” is emphasized through this piece of Zeyera (praise song). Man is a social game player, and most of his day to day activities would involve others. Thus, as a social game player, Man needs to have a positive interaction with the people around him. In order to play the social game successfully he has to be truthful.

The theme of the song has to do with the connection of universal dimension. The speaker’s prophetic accent in this Zeyera (praise song) includes not only the personal connection. It also covers the universal brotherhood of mankind in the whole universe. In her/his prophetic accent, the speaker warns her/his friend to refrain from habit of backbiting. S/he also indicates that the habit of backbiting makes people go astray from their social values. If people lose grace in the eyes of their own friends, they have nothing to share with other people. They cannot contribute to the spice of social interaction. As a result, they will only have loose relationships with other people.

The universal archetype of friendship (or brotherhood) is closely related with the universal archetypes of love. If there is no love between men, no real friendship is formed. Love should be the source of strong relationships among people. The speaker’s fear in the song is that the habit of backbiting could affect the healthy social atmosphere that love can build.

13.

ሴጣን የተጠጋው ምቀኛ ገጠመኝ
ቤቴን አፈራርሶ በሬዬ ንም ቀማኝ
እሄድበት ሳጣ ወደ ሞሚን ጮኸኝ
ሞሚን አሳኝቶ ጥንድ በሬ ሰጠኝ
ቤቴንም ሰሩልኝ

*A person possessed by the devil, a villain,
Destroyed my house,
And robbed my ox.
As I didn't have anywhere to go,
I prayed to Momina;
The kind Momina gave me a pair of oxen,
And she built me a house.*

The envious enemy of the speaker in this piece of Zeyera (praise song) represents the universal archetype of evil (devil). Evil as a universal archetype has a prominent role in bringing about a drastic plight on human beings. Similarly, the speaker is the victim of this universal human enemy. Because of the evil deeds of the evil man, the speaker lost his house and ox. In Jungian psychology, "evil belongs to the family of figures which describe the dark, natural, lower, chthonic element. In this symbolism, the lower stands to the higher as a correspondence in reverse. The higher archetype which responds to evil is the archetype of good, the other half of the whole." (1959:234).

As depicted in the song, the speaker could not protect himself from the evil deeds of her/his enemy. Furthermore, s/he said that s/he had nowhere to go. The speaker feared that unless s/he got support from Ayo Momina, s/he could not resist her/his enemy. As a universal archetype, evil (devil) represents menace and a sinister force. It usually exceeds its normal boundary. It struggles from autochthonous beginnings into the free air, from darkness into light. Through her/his limited capacity the speaker could not resist the work of evil. So, s/he stretched his hands unto Ayo Momina. S/he confides in Ayo Momina who could defeat evil. Here Ayo Momina represents the symbol of goddess. Using her divine power she sent evil away, and made the speaker obtain what s/he had before. In the song, the destructive nature of evil is directly opposed by Ayo Momina's

saintly measure. The two extremes “evil” and “good” are linked in the song. Thus, the universal archetype of evil is linked with another universal archetype, good.

The tension between opposite archetypes, namely, good and evil, strives for a balance. Evil is one half of the archetype. To attain wholeness requires the union of opposites. Good and evil are not derived from one another, but they are always together. Jung remarks that “evil is the necessary opposite of good, without which there would be no good either.” (1959:323) Jung seemingly acknowledges that good and evil are so tightly blended in the human nature that it is impossible to handle them individually. Fortunately, in the song under study, the role of good is well played by the mother figure, Ayo Momina.

Apart from the two archetypal symbols (evil and good) other archetypes are used in the song. As depicted in the song, the ultimate goal of the speaker is to get back his home and ox. Here, the house symbolizes settlement and being able to lead individual life. As a result of the destruction of her/his house the speaker felt dejected. He could not lead a meaningful life. Consequently, his sense of belonging to the place where he formed a social link with other people would negatively be affected. According to Hans Biederman, “in Jungian psychology, the house is an important symbol . . . What happens inside it, happens within ourselves. We often are the house.” (1992:179) From the point of view of Jungian psychology, house is the reflection of our internal self. Jung also pointed out that the self “is a kind of central point within the psyche, to which everything is related, by which everything is arranged, and which is itself a source of energy.” (1959:357). Therefore, according to Jung, the house is the symbol of self that implies a state of selfhood and self realization. The Amharic saying “ቤት ገበና ሽፋኝ ነው (A house covers one’s secret)” might show the integration of “the self” with “a house”.

In most parts of Ethiopia, the image of ox symbolizes means of production. It is believed that Ethiopia bases its economy mostly on agricultural products. In Ethiopia, oxen are used to plough the farm land. Therefore, in its local context, the archetype of ox represents means of production.

14. ጐንበስ ቀና ብዬ የምዘይርሁ
የሁላችን ዋሻ ሞገን እንዴት ነሁ?

*I bow down to greet you;
Our cave, Momina, how are you?*

The archetypal image depicted in this piece of Zeyera (praise song) is "cave". The cave represents the other archetypal figure, the earth. Earth, the great mother, whose womb is represented by the cave, is a place looking forth upon the arrivals and departures of mankind. The speaker calls upon Ayo Momina saying "our cave". The great mother, earth, and the other humanly great mother, Ayo Momina, represent the existing harmony between earth and man. The speaker's saluting his divine mother, Ayo Momina, suggests renewal and continuity. S/he wants to be under the shade of the cave, Ayo Momina, illustrates identification with nature and the ancient harmony of earth and man. As Wenegrat explains, "the earth represents the continuity which exists within the external change of nature; it provides the means whereby man can perceive his connection with his connectors and with also the past as well as with his fellows." (1990:125)

The speaker might use her/his expression (የሁላችን ቅኝ), our cave, to describe the earth through Ayo Momina as salvation of mankind. The earth is the power, which creates harmony and love among people. It seems that the speaker needs to escape from his psychological and social disorder by going into the cave, Ayo Momina's shrine that takes her/him to her /his natural origin. Jung remarks that "the cave is the place of rebirth, that sacred cavity in which one is shut up in order to be incubated and renewed." (1959:135). The speaker might need that the earth – mother (who he represented by Ayo Momina) takes her/him back into her "cave", the maternal womb, that indulges her/him into her/his subconscious. This in turn indicates the representation of the union between the mother and the son.

Mythology offers many variations of the mother archetype. Seemingly, the cave in the song is associated with the mother archetype. In Jungian psychoanalysis, the cave equals the "maternal womb" (1956:423). According to Jung, it symbolizes "the grave in the mother' womb." (1956: 296) Jung also matches up the cave archetype with the unconscious, and he expresses the connection between them as:

Any one who gets into the cave, that is to say the cave that every one has in himself, or into the darkness that lies behind consciousness, will find himself involved in an – at first unconscious process of transformation. By penetrating into the unconscious he makes a connection with his unconscious contents. This may result in a momentous change of personality in the positive and negative sense. (1959:135-136)

:1992:132). Therefore, it is natural for Ayo Momina as a mother archetype to appear in their dream for she can be one of the speakers' lovely figures. It is believed that people speak about their subconscious realities and contents in their dreams. This is also true about the two speakers in the songs. They spoke about their deepest feelings in their dreams, and they told that to Ayo Momina whom they confined in. When Jung explains how people get access to their subconscious in their dreams and how the archetypal elements manifest, he indicates that "archetypes reveal themselves in the dreams of individuals. So, we might say that dreams are "personalized myths" and myths are "depersonalized dreams" "(qtd. in Guerin et al : 1992:579)

17. የበረካ ዛፍ ነች ለሁሉ የምትተርፍ፣
ከፍሬዋ በልጅ ከጥላዋ ልረፍ፣

*Momina, the tree of blessings,
Can bless everyone;
Let me eat her fruit,
And get rest in her shade.*

In this piece of Zeyera (praise song) tree is used as maternal archetype. Through figurative language, the singer equates Ayo Momina with a tree. The wood of life or tree of life is a common mother symbol. Since the tree signifies the origin in the sense of the mother, as Jung asserted, "it represents the source of life, of that magical life force whose yearly renewal was celebrated in primitive times." (1956:258) Ayo Momina as a mother archetype is considered by the speaker as a tree of life. The speaker wants to have her blessing. S/he decides to stay in the shade of the life tree, Ayo Momina. Carl Jung remarked that "the tree of life may have been, in the first instance, a fruit bearing genealogical tree, and hence a kind of tribal mother. Numerous myths say that human beings came from trees, and many of them tell how the hero was enclosed in the maternal tree trunk . . . Numerous female deities were worshipped in tree form, and this led to the cult of sacred grove and trees." (1956:219) The speaker wants Ayo Momina's fruit because s/he thinks that it is "blessed". And her/his decision to stay in the shade of the tree indicates her/his internal and sincere interest to worship Ayo Momina's shrine so as to be blessed by eating the 'blessed fruit'. The researcher has seen people in Gunna where Genet pilgrimage center is located worshipping trees in the form of Adbar cult.

18. የመዲና ንፋስ ንፊሽ ንፊሽ
የዚያን የደጉን ሰው ጠረኑን ይዘሽ

Blow, blow the wind of Medina,
Bearing the fragrance of that,
Good hearted man.

19. የዓድቃን መናሪያ ገነቱ ታምራለች
ልክ እንደ መዲና ከተማ ሆናለች
የሚያልፈውን ሁሉ በሩቅ ትጣራለች

*The' dwelling place of saints',
Genete is attractive;
It becomess a city like Medina,
And it attracts passers-by from afar.*

20. የሞሚን ከተማ ገነቱ ውቢቱ
ልክ እንደ መካ
ልክ እንደ መዲና
አየሁሽ ከሩቁ

*The beautiful Genete, Momina's city,
Like Meka and Medina,
I saw you from a distance.*

It has already been indicated that the shrine of Ayo Momina is worshipped by both Muslims and Christians. The intrinsic tone of the three speakers in these three pieces of Zeyera (praise songs) reflects that the speakers (the singers) have Islamic religious background. They allude to cities like Medina and Mecca. This could be seen as allusion to the origin of Islam. The phrase "that good-hearted man" (የዚያን የደጉን ሰው) can be an allusion to that great prophet of Islam, Mohammad. Concerning the application of allusion in poetry and their recurrent reference, Meyer writes.

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An allusion is a brief reference to a person, place, things, event, or idea in history or literature. Allusive words like connotative words are both suggestive and economical; poets use allusions to conjure up biblical authority, scenes from historic figures, wars, great love stories, and anything else that might serve to deepen and enrich their own work. (1994:457)

By comparing Ayo Momina's shrine, Genete, with the origin of Islam, Meka and Medina, the speakers tried to show the existing religious ties among these places. Through allusion, reference is made to the religion the speakers adhere to.

In order to see such historical and religious allusions, we need to point out the symbolic implication of the archetypal city. In the song, the places like Meka and Medina play an archetypal role of city. As defined in the Dictionary of Symbolism, "in the symbology of the psyche, the city stands for the regularized center of a person's life, which can often be reached only after long travels, when a high degree of emotional majority has been attained and the gate to the spiritual center of one's life can be traversed." (1992:72)

As it is possible to learn from experience, many Ethiopian Muslim pilgrims visit Meka each year. The researcher has found out that for many Muslims who worship at the Genete pilgrimage center, Meka is a dream city. In one way or another, they want to visit it. They also consider Meka as a holy city. Jung remarked:

The dream city is something very beautiful and ardently longed for a kind of heavenly Jerusalem . . . The city is a maternal symbol, a woman who harbours the inhabitants in herself like children . . . The city is identical with the woman . . . It is the longing to attain rebirth through a return to the womb . . . The symbol creating process substitutes for the mother the city, the well, the cave, the church, etc. This substitution is due to the fact that the regression of libido reactivates the ways and habits of childhood, and above all the relation to the mother. (1956:207-213)

The speakers compare Genete where Ayo Momina's sanctuary is situated with the two dream cities Meka and Medina. Ayo Momina, the mother figure bridged the two prominent places Meka and Medina on the one hand and Genete on the other hand which are naturally different in their historical implications. The speakers tried to strengthen their attachment with these three places (Meka, Medina and Genete) through the mother archetype, Ayo Momina. As Jung pointed out, "city refers to the libido that is unconsciously attached to the mother image . . . The basis of

22. አባይ ሞልቶ ዳሩን አልብሶታል
 እኛም ልንዋኝበት ከመሀል ገብተናል
 የምንደርስበትን ጌታ ብቻ ያውቃል

*As Abay [Blue Nile] over-flows,
 It covers its sides;
 We get into it to swim;
 Only God knows our destination.*

In this piece of Zeyera (praise song), Abay [Blue Nile] illustrates the role of an archetypal river. As depicted in the song (22), the speaker with her/his fellow men has begun to swim in the river. However, neither the speakers nor their fellow men know where their destination will be. According to the speakers in the poem it is only God who knows their destination. Confiding in God, they keep on swimming, and the river keeps on flowing as well. Their decision to keep on swimming along with the flowing momentum of the river could be an indication that they might see a river as life. When describing the symbolic meaning of the archetype river, Guerin et al write, "River symbolizes death and rebirth (baptism); the flowing of time into eternity; transitional phases of the life cycle: incarnation of deities." (1992:161)

Among Orthodox Christians, it is believed that Abay [Blue Nile] is the biblical Gihon which is one of the four great rivers that water the Holy Garden. In the Holy Bible, it is stated that "and the name of the second river is Gihon: which surrounds the whole land of Cush" (Genesis, 1:13-14) It has already been said that Christians worship Ayo Momina's shrine. Therefore, the speakers in the song might have such kind of religious background. If this is the case, the speakers want to emphasize the concept of life after death. Here, we can make simple analogies that reveal the speakers' motive of immortality. If Abay [Blue Nile] is considered as Gihon of the Paradise, and if Gihon waters the Garden (Paradise), we can say that the destination of the speakers and their fellow men would be the Garden (Paradise). Therefore, the speakers along with their colloquies stresses the notion of life after death, immortality. Guerin et al explain the idea of immortality as:

Immortality: another fundamental archetype, generally taking one of two basic narrative forms. Escape from time: "return to paradise," the state of perfect, timeless bliss enjoyed by man and woman before their tragic

The speaker in the song is strictly warning individuals who try to visit the shrine with the intention of deceiving Ayo Momina's Karaama (Charisma). The face that we never show to the world is said to be the persona, the mask of the actor. Guerin et al who treat the persona as "special archetype" describe it as:

The persona is the obverse of the animia in that it mediates between our ego and the external world. Speaking metaphorically, let us say that the ego is a coin. The image on one side is the anima, on the other side, the persona. The persona is the actor's mask that we show to the world – it is our social personality that is sometimes quite different from our true self (1992:182).

The speaker in the song warns those who are torn between their real internal feeling and their persona. They might come to the shrine pretending to believe in Ayo Momina's Karaama (Charisma). Besides, they might not attend the ritual activities heartily. They could rather oppose each and everything internally. Then, conflict could arise between their personas (the actors' masks) and their true selves. They could combine contradictory qualities. The combination of contrasting elements such as good and bad, weakness and power would negatively affect their psychological make up.

According to the speaker people might seem faithful to the shrine, but they may be concerned with other things. This in turn could make them people who are alienated from their true selves.

So far an attempt has been made to show the role of archetypal elements in the selected Zeyera (praise songs) of Genete pilgrimage center. Through the implication of the spiritual forces manifested in day to day activities, through the use of various symbols the existence of unconscious has been suggested. The songs are especially valuable for the insight they offer into the richness of the oral poets' creativity and imagination. The songs are particularly important as expressions of the oral poets' mythic and archetypal vision. The oral poets' use of mythic stories and their attitude to supernatural forces make the songs rich in imagery and symbolism. Jung writes.

An archetypal content expresses itself, first and for most, in metaphors. If such a content should speak of the sun and identify it with the lion, the king, the hoard of gold, guarded by the dragon, or the power that makes for the life and health of man, it is neither the one thing nor the other, but the unknown third thing that find more or less

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, an attempt was made to provide an analysis of archetypes that underlie the Amharic praise songs, Zeyera, reflecting the adherents' efforts to communicate their visions of life at Genete pilgrimage center. To achieve this end, the study begins with a consideration of the theoretical frame work provided by the critics of archetypes to the study of literary works. As indicated before, the center was founded by Ayo Momina who was/is thought to have a supernatural power.

There are different types of pilgrimages in Ethiopia. Some of them are inclusive of only one ethnic or religious entity, while others are exclusive of various ethnic and religious groups. The Genete pilgrimage center is unique. At Ayo Momina's shrine, a new cult appeared merging some aspects of Christian, Islamic, and traditional religious traditions. (Alula Pankhurst 1994)

As it has been indicated so far, Ayo Momina's shrine, the Genete pilgrimage center, is known for its unique features where people with different religious backgrounds venerate one belief. The most important thing is that though the country has passed through various social and political changes since the shrine was established, solidarity and tolerance among the adherents at the center is still maintained. The praise songs, Zeyera, have been used for years to reflect and strengthen these existing solidarity and tolerance among the diversified adherents at the center. The basic question here is "What features of Zeyera as pieces of oral songs enable it to play the stated role?" The recurrent universal archetypes that underlie the Zeyera reflect the positive aspects of human interactions such as brotherhood, love, honesty, solidarity and so on.

Perhaps the main thesis upon which Zeyera rests is the theme of connection: connection of the different segments of personality, connection of the different segments of society, and connection of different cultures. The archetypes underlying the praise songs are the means of constructing a harmonious and orchestrated wholeness of mankind. The piece of song below reveals how the center cuts boundaries among diversified adherents and how the followers of the country's two dominant religions, Christian and Islam, interact in harmony at the center:

ቃልቻው በመስከፋ ቂስ በመቅደስ
 ሴት ወንድ በቤቱ
 ሁልጊዜ ይላሉ ሞሚና ድረስ

The Kalecha in the mosque,
 The priest in his temple,
 People in their home
 All often call upon you, Momina.

As clearly stated, in Zeyera, Ayo Momina plays the archetypal role of mother. She is considered as the good mother whose kindness and usefulness knew no limits and who did not know any worldly wickedness. She represents the internal mother image in the mind of her followers. People confide in her whenever they are in trouble, and they accept her as their inward light for they believe that she could see their problem through her super natural power. Wenegrat remarks that "the archetypal information about the prototypical mother is contained in a portrait of "the great mother's" attributes. She is loving, abundant, generous and wise, forgiving, omnipresent, and responsive to any need." (1990:136) In the songs, the worshipers' psychological quest for a mother figure with the mentioned "great mother's" attributes" is reflected.

In the praise songs, Ayo Momina also plays the archetypal role of goddess. In the songs, she is praised for her unbelievable miracles. Some of the miracles such as "her survived the fire incident in which she nearly lost her life," is humanly impossible. Since the adherents of her shrine believe in her position of goddess, they appeal to her Karaama (Charisma) when they face serious problems and require divine intervention. She is considered as the goddess of fertility for she can give a child for a barren woman. And she is also taken as the goddess of protection and unity for she is "the cave of all" that safeguards everyone without any discrimination. Furthermore, for those who suffer from the painful human experience like loneliness and alienation, Ayo Momina is the myth of salvation. The people feel that they get internal relief in her presence. Thus, in the praise songs they are seen stretching their hands unto her. Wenegrat remarks that "humans in short, are a social game players, and social game players are prone to invent gods/goddesses who will then be used in social games." This also applies to the adherents of Ayo Momina's shrine. They make use of her ability in their social game.

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Ayo Momina's position in Zeyera may appeal to the interest of Feminists. In a society where women play a secondary role, Ayo Momina is treated differently. She takes the upper ladder of the social order. It might be her supernatural power that allows her to be respected among the societies where the dominant ideology is patriarchy. Being part of the community where this research is conducted, the researcher is familiar with oral arts that disgrace women's role in the society. However, Ayo Momina's case is quite different. She is considered as a great woman and the power of powers.

Ayo Momina who is the focus of attention in the Zeyera is also the source of archetypes and she is the central figure on which her worshippers concentrate. Thus, Zeyera being an oral poem helps the adherents to express their internal feelings while praising Ayo Momina, the source of archetypes. Frye stresses that "poetry in its social or archetypal aspect not only tries to illustrate the fulfillment of desire, but also to define the obstacle to it." (1957:106) The adherents use Zeyera to express their success and obstacles in life. When showing the usefulness of dealing with archetypes in poetry, Bodkin indicated that "...if we would contemplate the archetypal patterns that we have in common with men of past generations, we do study them well in the experiences communicated by ...poetry that has continued to stir emotional response from age to age." (1961:8) Similarly, the collected human experiences are reflected by the archetypes that underlie the praise songs, Zeyera, at the Genete pilgrimage center. Like Ayo Momina all the important figures such as Seid Nur Ahmed, Beyenech, etc. who are praised through Zeyera are not alive. However, their ancestral print is still shining through the archetypes that underlie Zeyera. Hence it is possible to say that Zeyera serves to connect the present generation with his ancestral past.

So far an attempt has been made to reveal the major points that have been discussed through this thesis. Apart from the different issues raised above concerning the study at hand the study reveals that Zeyera reflects the adherents' social or collective consciousness in the absence of written medium. Thus, the study suggests that before trying to bring attitudinal change among the adherents in terms of their world views in general and their faith in particular, one should take into account their internal feelings reflected through Zeyera and oral traditions at Ayo Momina's shrine.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questions and List of Informants

Interview Guide Questions

The following questions were translated to Amharic and presented to the informants. The questions were used for the purpose of triggering the informants to speak.

1. Would you tell me your name?
2. What do you know about Ayo Momina?
3. Would you tell me from where Ayo Momina was?
4. Do you believe that Ayo Momina did miracles?
5. Do you know any miracle that Ayo Momina did?
6. Have you ever participated in the performance of Zeyera?
7. Can you sing Zeyera?
8. Would you tell me any pieces of Zeyera?
9. Do you believe that Zeyera strengthen the social interaction among diversified adherents?

List of informants

1. Guyo Wari
2. Sheikh Kedir Tulbo
3. Wako Hamid
4. Teyebu Kemal
5. Zeleke Dagne
6. Banchirsaw Zeru
7. Hassen Endris
8. Senfekesh Taye
9. Guyo Beriso
10. Usman Hamid
11. Asresahegne Terefu
12. Haji Kemere
13. Girum G/Mariam
14. Beshah Maru
15. Sidelel Zemedkun
16. Gameda Guto
17. Hasso Tuffa
18. Sheikh Mussa Wayu
19. Zenebe Getahun
20. Wedajo Ageze
21. Deneke Gizaw
22. Sheikh Kedir Abeduro

*Usman Hamid has been the key informant for this study. He is the famous Zeyera singer at the shrine.

*Deneke Gizaw is the leader of the shrine.

*Hasso Tufa, Zenebe Getahun and Gameda Guto are the youngest. They are approximately b/n 25-31

*Hassen Endris, Girum G/Mariam, Beshah Maru and Wedajo Ageze are the oldest. They are above 78 years old.

*All the informants have strong attachment with the shrine.

Appendix 2- List of Collected Songs/Poems

*1.

የተሰጠው የአም እንደ እናት ሞግኖት

ሚዛት ሲገደል ሲጠፋ ብልህት

ከረማቀ ያወጣል ከነደደ እሳት

የየጅ ቡቃያ የገና መብራት

ባንድ ቀን እንኳት ያን ሁሉ አመት።

ሰይድ ነር አህመድ የኔ ሽማግሌ

ገዳድ አሰኝና እንደትመጡ ዛሬ።

3.

የተሰጠው የአም እንደት ሞግኖት

የልጅ ታዩ ንግስት የልጅ ጌታሁ

እኔ ወደ እርሶ መጣሁ አትርሱኝ አደራ

እርድታ ግብልኝ በጠራዎት ስታ

ሰው የሰንገረኝ ክፍት ም ከጎሳ።

4.

ሰይድ ነር አህመድ አንቱ ምን አላብሁ

አንቱ ምን አላብሁ የምግና ሳሂብ

እኔ ላልቀሰ እንጂ የሌለኝ ዘመድ።

5.

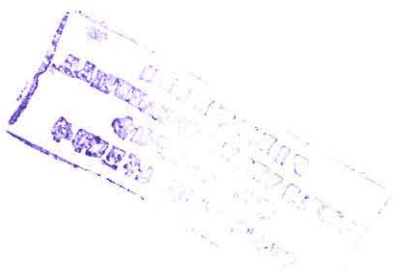
ከቀባቸው ባታች ጠበል የራሳቀው

ለኛም ይሸላናል ባንታቀወቀው።

6.

የኔ እናት የኔ መብት አንሳ

ውሳታው እንደኛት ይረሳ።



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Ayo Momina's position in Zeyera may appeal to the interest of Feminists. In a society where women play a secondary role, Ayo Momina is treated differently. She takes the upper ladder of the social order. It might be her supernatural power that allows her to be respected among the societies where the dominant ideology is patriarchy. Being part of the community where this research is conducted, the researcher is familiar with oral arts that disgrace women's role in the society. However, Ayo Momina's case is quite different. She is considered as a great woman and the power of powers.

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መሀመድ ኢብራ (1988) “ሼክ አደም ደርቃና ግጥሞቻቸው” ያልታተመ ቢኤ ቴሲስ የኢትዮጵያ ቋንቋዎችና ሰንጹሁፍ ክፍል

መሀመድ ጀማል (1984) “በወሎ ክፍለሀገር የሼህ ጫሌ የሞሊድ ግጥሞች (መንዘማዎች) ትንተና ክቅረጽና ይዘት አንጻር” ያልታተመ ቢኤ ቴሲስ የኢትዮጵያ ቋንቋዎችና ሰንጹሁፍ ክፍል

ቦጋለ ተፈሪ (1972) “ሼህ ሁሴንና ግጥሞቻቸው” ያልታተመ ቢኤ ቴሲስ የኢትዮጵያ ቋንቋዎችና ሰንጹሁፍ ክፍል

አሲ የሱፍ (1995) “የሼህ መሀመድ ነጃ የህይወት ታሪክ፣ የሀድራቸው ክዋኔ እና ግጥሞቻቸው” ያልታተመ ቢኤ ቴሲስ የኢትዮጵያ ቋንቋዎችና ሰንጹሁፍ ክፍል

Appendix 1: Interview Questions and List of Informants

Interview Guide Questions

The following questions were translated to Amharic and presented to the informants. The questions were used for the purpose of triggering the informants to speak.

1. Would you tell me your name?
2. What do you know about Ayo Momina?
3. Would you tell me from where Ayo Momina was?
4. Do you believe that Ayo Momina did miracles?
5. Do you know any miracle that Ayo Momina did?
6. Have you ever participated in the performance of Zeyera?
7. Can you sing Zeyera?
8. Would you tell me any pieces of Zeyera?
9. Do you believe that Zeyera strengthen the social interaction among diversified adherents?

List of informants

1. Guyo Wari
2. Sheikh Kedir Tulbo
3. Wako Hamid
4. Teyebu Kemal
5. Zeleke Dagne
6. Banchirsaw Zeru
7. Hassen Endris
8. Senfekesh Taye
9. Guyo Beriso
10. Usman Hamid
11. Asresahegne Terefu
12. Haji Kemere
13. Girum G/Mariam
14. Beshah Maru
15. Sidelel Zemedkun
16. Gameda Guto
17. Hasso Tuffa
18. Sheikh Mussa Wayu
19. Zenebe Getahun
20. Wedajo Ageze
21. Deneke Gizaw
22. Sheikh Kedir Abeduro

*Usman Hamid has been the key informant for this study. He is the famous Zeyera singer at the shrine.

*Deneke Gizaw is the leader of the shrine.

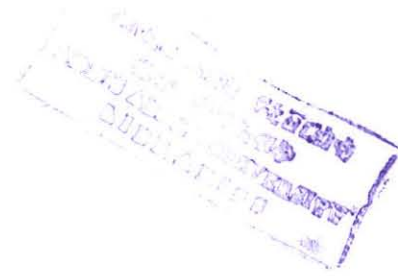
*Hasso Tufa, Zenebe Getahun and Gameda Guto are the youngest. They are approximately b/n 25-31

*Hassen Endris, Girum G/Mariam, Beshah Maru and Wedajo Ageze are the oldest. They are above 78 years old.

*All the informants have strong attachment with the shrine.

Appendix 2- List of Collected Songs/Poems

- *1. የተሰጠው የለም እንደ እናት ሞግናት
 ማዛኑ ሲገድል ሲጠፋ ብልህት
 ከራማዋ ያወጣል ከነደደ እሳት
 የየድ ቡቃያ የጉና መብራት
 ባንድ ቀን እሻሩት ያን ሁሉ አመት።
2. ሰይድ ኑር አህመድ የኔ ሽማግሌ
 ጉዳይ አለኝና እንድትመጡ ዛሬ።
3. የተሰጠው የለም እንዳንቱ ሞግናት
 የልጅ ታዬ ንግስት የልጅ ጌታሁ
 እኔ ወደ እርሶ መጣሁ አትርሱኝ አደራ
 እርደታ ግብልኝ በጠራዎት ለታ
 ሰው የለኝምና ክፍትም ከጎላ።
4. ሰይድ ኑር አህመድ አንቱ ምን አለብሁ
 አንቱ ምን አለብሁ የምግና ሳሂብ
 እኔ ላልቅስ እንጂ የሌለኝ ዘመድ።
5. ከቁባቸው በታች ጠበል የፈለቀው
 ለኛም ይሻለናል ብንተዋወቀው።
6. የኔ እናት የኔ ሙት አንሳ
 ውለታዎ እንዴት ይረሳ።



7. አካላዊ ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የሙከራው ዕቅድ አንድ ዓመት ያህል ነው፡፡

8.

አካላዊ ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

መጀመሪያው ዓመት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

ሁለተኛው ዓመት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

ሶስተኛው ዓመት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

9.

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

10.

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

11.

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

12.

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

የፍጥነት ምትረፍ ምን ያህል ነው፡፡

21. ግድግዳው ወርቅ ነው ምሳሌው ብረት
በገፋት አይወድቀም ሲነቀጥቀጥ
የሞገስ መሳሰሉ ሁሉ የሽረሽረት።
22. አባይ ሞልቶ ዳሩን አልብሶታል
አንድም ልንዋጅበት ከመሀል ገብተናል
የምንደርስበትን ጌታ ብቻ ያውቃል።
23. በሰማይ በራሪ በምድር ተሽከርካሪ
ማን ይታወቀዋል ሞገን ያገኝን ለራ?
24. ምቀድን አንድ አባብ ስላየው ነደረኝ ሞገን
መድሀኒቱ መርዘኝ ነቀሉልኝ።
25. አናቱ ሞገስ ገብቆ ሆኖ ላይ ተከሉ ባንዳራ
ከብዙ አላማ ከነጅብረል ጋራ
ከሀሀይ የማይምቅ ከሀሀይ የማይሀሀራ
መሸረጫም የላውም ከአንቱ የተጣላ
ከጠብሀ አትርፋን የደኝ አናት አደራ።
26. አስመላይ ከሆኑ ይሸላል ባይመጡ
የሞገን ከራማ ከፍ ነው ቀረጡ
ገሽላለ ይጥላል ወርቅን ከነገጡ።
- *27. ቃልቻው በመሳሰሉ ይህ ቁጥር
ሌት ወንድ በሴቱ
ሁልጊዜ ይላሉ ሞገስ ደረሱ።

.ḫz.hV ṁḥ.jwʒV .ḫlV

፡፡፫፡፱፡፯፡፩ ፡፱፡፩ ፡፩፡፱፡፩ ፡፩፡፱፡፩

የፋህሉ የሃሳብ ረገድ ትላልቅ ጽሑፍ

የኢትዮጵያ የጸሐፊ ትምህርት ማህበረሰብ

፡፡ሃፍወፍቷቸው ቀን ኢትዮጵያኒያል

ገፋገሞታ ገፋፊ ገፋ ገፋፊ

2. $\psi \in L^2(\mathbb{R}^d)$ is a function satisfying

[illegible]

፡፡ኢሆሃቀኒ ራዘጋመ ቶጊባጽመ

25. *ግንኙነት ለሀገር ጥሩ ነገር ነው*

ገር ሂገሁጃፋፋ ልወላሃ ብሁሃ

ፖሊስ ከጋራ ጋራ ሲሆን ለፖሊስ ሲሆን

የአባል ትራሃሃ ልዑዋል ልዕግጋዊ

[illegible]

Wad'el Vv'el' .l.ny d'vad'vy

W74 04 34 6074 4 60abd

። ሠጊገገ ረቀጋወ ሆኖ፡፡ ሠላሳ

[illegible]

ታህሳስ ሄሬወ ቲህ

∴ Ψ_7 ኃይሎል Ψ_6 ዝረፃብ

28. ነጽ ባለረከቡት ነጽ ባለጀባና
ጀላል ያገለግላቸው ሁሉ
በወላም በትግራም በደራው በፀረና
ያቺ ደግ እመቤት ባለ ብዙ ዝና
ካረግላቸው ቀጥሎ ያገኛል
ያገናኝላቸው ያገኛል
መቼት ወደራሳቸው ያገኛል
በነገሩ መሆኑን ቀጥሎ ያገኛል
አጠቃላይ አጠቃላይ አጠቃላይ
አጠቃላይ አጠቃላይ አጠቃላይ
29. ሽለላው፣ መጽደ
ሽለላው፣ መጽደ
ሽለላው፣ መጽደ
30. እርዳታ ግብረት የመከፈል አባት
ሽለላው፣ መጽደ
31. የግብረት ከረግ መቼት ከረግ መቼት
የግብረት ከረግ መቼት ከረግ መቼት
32. የግብረት ከረግ መቼት ከረግ መቼት
የግብረት ከረግ መቼት ከረግ መቼት
ሽለላው፣ መጽደ
ሽለላው፣ መጽደ
ሽለላው፣ መጽደ

33. በሀይረ. በሊ.ቃ. ብንላምናቸው.
 ሞላና ለመምጣት. ኹግር ያለባቸው.
 እሩህሩህ እድርጉ አላህ ፈጠራቸው።
34. የአኔ እናት. የኔ መዳህኒት.
 እንኳን ቀን ልምጣ ወይ. ሌሊት.
 አድራሹ. መካኒ እልፍኙ. መዳና
 የሚመለላለች. መካና መዳና
 አባርተው ነበር እርእያና ጉና።
35. መስከዳቸው. ለፊ. ቀጤማቸው. ለምላም
 እናቱ ድረሺ. የማይልዎ የላም።
36. አምባ ከአፋፉ. ላይ. የተጣለው. ጠጅ
 እስከዛሬ ድረስ አላለም እጅጅ።
37. ሞላናት ወልደ. የአላህ ገብር
 ዘወርዋራ. ናቸው. እንደ ቤት. ማገር።
38. መስከዳ.ም አላቸው.
 እኛም ያላቸው.
 እንዲልን እንጂ. እንፋለማቸው።
39. በገንዘብ.ም ተመከብትና
 በወገን.ም ተመከብትና
40. በግሳግም ተመከብትና
 ደረሰላት. ያቺን ቀን. ቢቲና ሞላና።

41. ከወልደቶች ቤት አቃሰሁ ብሎ ዘላ መግባት
በትልቅ ቁና እዳ መሸመት።
42. ጀበና ጉራቲ ማገገም ይጥድሻል
እንደ ደገቷ ቤት ማገገም ርሻል።
43. አርሲ መራት አለህ ቢሸላት
እናቱ ሞመኗናት ተላተሩላት
በጉቱን በሽተኞች ፊወሰብት
እንዲህ ያሉ ናቸው የበየገኙ እናት።
44. ያበሉ ነበር ለእስላም ለአማራው
ያበሉ ነበር ለጅብ ለአማራው
ሊቲና ሞመኗናት ባለደረጃው
እታዩ ነር አህመድ ባለበረካው
ይደርገውልናል ፈጥኖ ፈረጃው።
45. ደጋጌቹም ሁሉ አረፉ በቁራን ፈረሰ
ወልደቹም ሁሉ አረፉ በቁራን ፈረሰ
ካዲያቸውም ሁሉ አረፉ በቁራን ፈረሰ
አኛ ብቻ ቀረን በገልከለከበ።
46. ልቡን የተመታ በወለደች ናዳ
ባደገበት አገር ይሆናል እንግዳ
የፅቃ ቤት ይሆናል የመሸረፋ ንዳ።

47. አላሁ መሰሉ አላሁ መሀመዴ

የእኛ እናት

የሀሰሽ መብራት፡፡

48.

የመሣናት ጋሻ

አጋርም አይሻ

እርዳጋ የኛ ጌታ ነር አህመድ መሸሻ

49.

አልቀሼ አልቀሼ አይኔ መነመነ

አሁን የት ይገኛል ካንቱ የታመነ፡፡

50.

አላልቀሰም ብዬ ማላ ነበረብኝ

አልቀሰሁ እየገደልብኝ፡፡

51.

ነጋ ነጋ አያላህ ሁሉ ይሸሸል

እንኳን ለነጋና አያደር ይመሸል

አየመራረዝ ወዳጅን ያሸሸል፡፡

52.

አየመራረዝ የሚወጋው ጠፋ

የበኛም አይፈራም ጠይቀው አገፋ፡፡

53.

ምነው ባደረገኝ የኮሽምን ማዳ

እንዲረጋግጠኝ የጌታዬ እንግዳ፡፡

54. የሌት አዳሪና የአላና ባሪያ ኑሮ
ሁልጊዜ ለቅሶ ነው ሁልጊዜ እንገርገር
እንዴት አደረጉን የገና ወይም።
55. አንቱን ያመነና ጉልበቱን ያመነ
ተቋቁመው ነበር ፍርድ ለማን ሆነ።
56. እውድኝሉ ሁሉ አልወድሁ መስዩ
ከአንቱ የተጣለ ሰው ይገድለኛል ብዬ።
57. እንዴት ያለ ሰው ነው እርሶን የማጠላ
በሽታውን ሽሮ ለያገኝ መላ ገላ።
58. የመደና ነፋስ ገራሽ ገራሽ
የዛን የደገን ሰው ጠረጎን ይዘሽ።
59. እለምናለሁ አለምን መሥዩ
አፈር የተጫነው ጨፈቃ መስዩ።
60. የግሥላ ሥጋ የነብር ወተት
እንደገቡ መውጣት የሉም አንቱ ቤት።
61. የላኝም ዘመድ የላኝም ዘመድ
ያለገታዩ ያለ ኑሮ አህመድ።

62. ምን ያህል ነው ምን ያህል ቀበሌ

ደጋጋፊ ግብዝታችሁ ለጠሩ የመፃደሪያ ሰላ

አዘረሀ አዘረሀ መልሱን አገራ።

63. ከአሳት ያወጣሉ ከመገንቀላቀል

የጉናቀ ወይም የየጃ ጀገር።

64. አነሆ የመጣና ቁጥጥር አጀጅቦት።

ነበረች ይላሉ አንድ መሀን ሌት

በጽፋት ቀበሌ አዳል በረከት

ወደ አናቱ ጮከች ልጅ አንዲሠጣት

ልጅ የሰጠኝን አንድሀው አስከፊ አመት

አገባልኝ ለሀው አንድ ልቀቀት

አናም አናታችንን በመፃሰፍ ለማት

ሳይውልም ሳይደር ወንድ ልጅ ለሻት

ልጅ ስታገኝ ገዢ አረሳችሁ ሥላት

ልጅን አስተኝታ ወረደች ውሃ ለመቀዳት

አይልቅና ሀቀን የዘያ ሀት

ልጅሽ ተቃጠለ ሀሀው በነግሯት

ገሥጫላችሁ አሳት ለመግባት

ሆዎች ተሰብስበው ግራሽታ ያዟት

ልጅሽን ፈልገን አንቀበር አሳት

መፈለግ ጀመሩ በረጅም አንጪት

ሰላሳው ልቀቀት አሳት ፈጅቶት

አንድ ብቻ ቀርቶ የተሰላሰባች

ልጅን አንቀልፍ ይዟት

ላብ ለምጥ አርገውት

የለበሰው ልብሉ አሳት ወይቦት

አዘው አገኘችው አሳት ሳይነካባት

እንዲህ ያሉ ናቸው ሞገሳት የእኛ እናት
ወብቁን አደራ እንዳንሳሳት፡፡

65. ይሠግድልኝ ነበር ቀጭና ግዝ
የተነጠራልኝ የሀድራው ፍራሽ
አንቺም አትላይን እኛም አንረሳሽ
የፈረቀሳ ላይ የጉና ጥንቅሽ፡፡

66. ቁራንም ባልቀረ ያለንም ባላይ
የእማምዬ ባረያ አይደለሁም ወይ፡፡

67. ለላትህን ስገድ ሆነህ በጡሀራ
በላው ሥራ አትግባ በእስላምም በአማራ
እንድንሆን ገበሬ ለጅነት አገመራ
ክፉ ክፉ ትተን ደግ ደጉን እናውራ
እንዳህ ይመሥረኛል በወልዶች ሥፍራ፡፡

68. ስምሽን ለይተው ሀደ በዩ አሉሽ

እናቱ አደ በዩን በሆድሽ ይለዘሽ
ጌታዬ ነር አህመድ ተቀመጡብሽ
ስንቱ በሽተኛ ስንቱ ሻረብሽ
ግባጣው ሲቀና እውር በራብሽ
ስንቱ መሀን ሆኖ ስንቱ ወለደብሽ
ባይናችንም አየን ይሄው ስማንሽ
የፈረቀሳ ላይ የጉና ጥንቅሽ፡፡

69. በሰማላሂ ብዬ ቂሳ ልጅምር
ምጣዳቸው ስፊ አርሲ ባቡር

የሀይረራቸውን ምጣድ እሥራው በኑር
ከዚያን ዕለት ጀምሮ ይዟል መገር
ዘረም በልጃቸው ለይድ እህመድ ኑር
ከድሮው ደረጃ እንደ እንኳን ላይቀር
ገብረው ስጥተዋል የላኛውን በር ::

70.

አይነት የተካለ በኑር አርገገዴ
ከብልል ከብልል ይላል መሆኑም በሆዴ
እላህ እስታጥቁታል የአማኑን ጎራዴ
ልወዝወዝ የኔ ኑር እህመድ::

71.

በሀይረው በሊቃው ብንሰምናቸው
መሟናት ለመድረስ ጭንቀትም የላቸው
በእንደ ቆቆር አድሩስ ሲሰማ ጀራላቸው
እስላሙም አማራውም ተወሰሰባቸው
ተወሰሱ አልቀረም ሁሉም ሽረባቸው::

72.

በሀይረቸው ላይ ተው አትሰናልና
በድረላቸው ላይ አትከሰናልና
ስትከሰረሰና እንዳት ወሰና
ጀሮ ያህህ ስማ ስላህ አረና
መከርከህ እንጂ ወንድሜ አቆቆጣ
ወደ አንቱ የመጣ ሁሉም ነጃ ወጣ::

73.

አባያ ሲያቀኑ አሸከመው ግንድ
ከበላ ሲያወጡ ምላው ጉድጓድ
አንቱ የኔ እመቤት የጀነት ማድ
ከአንቱ የላሰመደ ከላላም አይላምድ::



74. ኦገተ-ኑር ኦበባ የኑር ኦገተ-ዳይ.

ወዝውዝው ወዝውዝው ባረዶውን ገዳይ
በመገምገሙ ሀይረ-ብቅ ኦገተ-አም ወይ።

75. ጥርሱን በኑር ቀለም የተላከው

የሠራውን ጌታ መልሶ ደካቀው

ለኛም ይሸለፍል ብንተቀውቀው

ከቀባቸው በታች ዘምዘም የፈለቀው።

76. አባይ ጣና ሞልቶ ገብቷል ዋናተኛ

የወሰደው ኦገተ-ሀይረው ሆኖ

አባይ ጣና ሞልቶ ቅንጭቡን ሲያላብሰው

ምን ጥልቅ አረገው ዋኝቶ የማይወጣ ሰው።

77. አባይ ጣና ሞልቶ ኦገተ-ይዘረዋል

ሊጠፋ ነው ኦገተ-መቼ ያጠፋዋል።

78. አባይ መላ ጣና መላ ይሸልሃል

የጉደልክ ኦገተ-ሀይረው ብህል።

79. ኑር የማይለቀቀም ሆኖ በኦገተ-ጀርባ

ግጣሙን ሞግኒ ሞግኒ ደግ ባልደረባ።

80. ስለመለከም የአሰሙ ኑር

ከአምባሁ ወርጆ ኦገተ-ልኑር።

81. መቼ ይታከታል ኦገተ-የወደደ

መቼ ይታከታል ስሞን የወደደ

አያደር ይሄዳል አየተገደደ።

ወደ አንቺ የመጣውን ደካማና አልቃሽ፡፡

ምንም አልጠግብሽም ብውልም ባመሽ

አድሩሱን አጭሽ አረብ ልብልሽ

የጥንቱን ነገር ነጋሪም አልሽ

ሺሊላ አማማ ሺባሽ

የተነጠፈልሽ የሀድራው ፍራሽ

ባለወርቅ ኩላ ባለ ሀር ሽሽ

አንቺምክትልጽን እኛም አንረላሽ

ይሠግዱልሽ ነበር ቀጭኔና ጐሽ

ሀቀነቶ ወላሂ እንደ ሀመዲን ነጋሽ

86.

የአንቺ ባርያ ሆኜ እንደትልንላታ፡፡

ፍየል ቅጠል ባልታት ወልደላሽ መንታ

85.

የገንቱ ጌታ ባላዝነው፡፡

እስቲ ልለምነው፣ ልለምነው

84.

የጉና ጨረቃ ምን አላባት ነውር፡፡

አውር ነው ጠንባራ እሷን የማይፍር

የሽረፍ ወዳጅ የዚያ የማይምር

83.

እንዲህ ይገናኛል ሞት ያልቀደመው ሰው፡፡

አላምዱሊላሂ ገለታ ይደረሰው

82.

87. እውነት የነገሩኝ እሜት ጥሩ ናቸው
 አገሪ ልሄድ ነው ብዬ ብነግራቸው
 በጣም አጎንበሰው በጣም ገረማቸው
 እናቴን አሟቸው ሆነው አልጋ ላይ?
 አንተ ወደ ሀገር መሄድህ ነው ወይ?
 የጥፋቴ ጥፋት የለውም መጨረሻ
 በልጋ የሚሉት አገር ሄድኩኝ ደግሞ ወልይ ልሻ
 በአንቱ ያገኘሁትን ገንዘብ መጨረሻ
 እግራን ተሰብሬ ወድቄ ገደል
 እናቴ ደረሱ እርቅዬ መጅን ስል
 ወዳጁን አይጥልም ሀቂቃ ገሰበር።

88. ሄዳ ዘረግታለች የራመቱን ቁና
 ተሣገንቃ ተነስታ የጁ መንና
 የተራብ አብልታ የታረዘ አልብሳ
 አርሲ ቀበሌ ነበረች በጉና
 የኑር አህመድ እናት ሙት አንሺ ሞሟና።

89. ቢስሚላሂ ብዬ ቁሳ ልጄምር
 የሁሉ መሸሻ ሲባሽ ምንቱማር
 ምጣዳቸው ሰፊ አርሲ ባቡር
 የሀድራውን ምጣድ አሲዘው በኑር
 ከዛለት ጀምሮ ይዟል መጋገር
 ዛሬም ለልጃቸው ሰይድ አህመድ ኑር
 ክፍዋን ሣልሠማ ፊዳ ልሁን እኔ
 ለሞሟናት ሀድራ አዝማሪ ነኝ እኔ።

95. ካላህ ተሳጥተው ነው አይደሉም ቡስሃት
የደካማ ወኪል የመሻረር እናት፡፡
93. መደሀኒት አደረገልን ነርገህ ወደፊት፡፡
ኸረኛ ምቀኛ አይደርስም ከደጃ
ወቅልሎ ስጥቶልህ ሁሉንም በእጅ
94. አቀጠጠና አወገደው የጅ
ነቃ በል ወንድሜ ተው ይዛ ቀን ያልፋል፡፡
93. ሀድራ የላመደ ጫት ሲቀም ያከርፋል
92. እምድር ቀላም ሆኖ ስማይ ወረቀት
ተወርቶ አያልቅም የርሶ እጃይብት፡፡
91. የአላህም መድሃኒት ታዬ ሆኖባ ነው፡፡
በያዩት አይጠገብ እኸግረው ቀባው
ይዛን የመግጠራ እዛ ብላው ነው
አንበሳ አጋፋሪ ጅብ ዘበኛ ነው
በሰራላዊ ሃይል ራረቀዋለሁ ነው
90. መርዛ እባ ገትዬ የመገመናት አጥብ
ራረቀዋለሁ ያልቀረው ዘደረሰት
ዳዳው እንከን ተናገረ ሲቆም እሱ ራት
ይዛን ሲላህም ጊዜ ያዩት ያላዩት
ያላዩትም ሃይል ይጀንህ መገደት፡፡

96. ወላላ ነው ወላላ ነው
የምዶ ለው ወላላ ነው።
97. ታምሜ ተኝቼ በገለባ ቤት
የእኛ እናት ደረሰ በኩላሊት።
98. አሠላማሊኩም ደግሞ ሽባሽ
ዛሬም ነገም አማን ወዳጉ የማሺሽ
አልበሊሽ አልቀርበውም አይሆንም ብላሽ
የወልዶቹ ወዳጅ አምዶ ሽባሽ።
99. ሽምሁ አይጠራም ያለ ብር አድሩሽ
ሽሊላው አመቤት የአውልቶቻችን ገብ።
100. ሽምሁ አይጠራም ያለ ብር አጣን
አቤት የኔ አመቤት የአውልቶቻችን ሽላጣን።
101. ልላምንሁ እንጂ እንዴት ልትውሁ
ፍቱን መድሀኒት አላህ ያረገሁ
እናቱ አመቤት ታዬ ልጅህ ነው።
102. የማሰላም ይብላ የማትውም ይተው
ሁሉም ለራሱ ነው የማይውሉት።
103. አላሁ መሆኔ አላሁ መሆመዴ
ያጉቱ ነን ማንም አይነካን

104. አንበሳ ከዘሆን እጅ የሚነሳሽ
አንቺም አትላይኝ እኛም አረሳሽ
የሁምባው ጃላሌ የገናው ሽባሽ።
የተሰጡ እመቤት ከራማ ያላቸው
ቢቀሙም ባይቀሙም ገዳይም የላቸው።
106. አረ ሱሉላሂ ነገሩ እንደት ነው
ላሊቱን በማልቀስ እንባዩ ሊያልቅ ነው
107. የቁባ ጨረቃ ከቁባ ሲመጣ
አሁን ከበላላ በረረ እንደ እንበጣ
አባክህ የእኛ እናት እንዳይካን ጣጣ።
108. ራጂረ ነጋ ሌሊቱ
ወንባ ላይ ታዬ መብራቱ።
109. ሺሊላ አደ በዩ፣ ሺሊላ አደ በዩ
ሺሊላ አደ በዩ እንዳትላዩ።
110. የመደና ንፋስ ንፋሽ በመሙ
ምነው የኛ ብቻ ሁሉም ይታመሙ።
111. አውልያ እንደ ንብ ነው
እርሱል እንደ አበባ
ከዚያ የቀሰው ይገባሉ ጠይባ
የጠይባው ሙሽራምነው ሆዴ ባባ
ከሁሉ የሚሸተው ሉባባ ሉባባ
ሥፍራ ሲጠግኝ እዛው ጠይባልግባ
ትቀበሉኝ አንደሁ እኔ ሩዛን ጀባ።

112. አህመድ ወራቁ እንደፆሉ ወዲሁ ገብቱ ረገዳ ማገናኘትሁ ለህመድ ወራቁን የገጸለ ጠር ምኑው በኋላ አይወረወርም ማሩን የሄኒ አመሌት ሞገሰት ይመርጥ።
113. ተሆምባቸው እርጉ አኝንም አጠጡ ተውደቸው ቅቤ አኝንም አባብላ የገናኖ አመሌት በቶሎ ድረሱ
114. የማይጠራሁ የላም ደህናም ሆነ እብድ አሁዱ የገቡት ሁሉን በመውደድ የደካማ ወኪል የጀነት ማዕድ ካጉቱ የላመደ ከሌላም አይለምድ።
115. አማንዬው ካብዶ አማንዬ ወደ አጉት ሸሽሁኝ ልማር ብዬ እርዳታ ግብልኝ የገናኖ አምዶ።
116. የከራማን ነገር ላቀላቀላት ላልደኝም ላከራም ሁሉም ሞላላት።
117. እንደሁ እንደላችሁ እንደሁ እንደላን እንቅፋት ላይነን ሸከም ማደወንን የሊቲን ከራማ ላመት ይበላን ለእናቱ ሞገሰት አገቱ ጠብቁን።

Appendix 3 – Amharic meanings of Arabic terms in the Songs/poems

ቃል	ትርጉም
ቃልቻ	የእስልምና ትምህርት በጥልቀት
	የተማረ
ሩህ	ነብስ
ሀቂቃ	ሀቅ
ሊቃ	መገናኛ(መሰባሰቢያ ስፍራ)
መሀባ	ውዴታ
መደድ	እርዳታ
መጀን	መከታ፥ ተገን
ረሱል	መልአክተኛ
ረሱል አላህ	የእግዚያብሄር መልአክተኛ
ረሀመት	በረከት፥ ስጦታ
ሰይድ	ጌታ፥ የተባረከ፥ የበቃ
ሳሂብ	ወዳጅ
ሸሪፍ	የተከበረ
ሸሊላ	የአክብሮትና የምልጃ ጥሪ፥ እርሶ
	እንዳሉት ይሁን
በረካ	ስጦታ
ቢስማላሂ	በእግዚያብሄር ስም
ኑር	ብረሀን
አሂራ	እለተ-ምጽዋት
አጃኢብ	አስደናቂ፥ የሚገርም ታሪክ
ከራማ	ትልቅ ዕድል፥ ታምራት የሚያሳየ
	መንፈስ

Appendix 4- Some Pictures Taken During Fieldwork



Worshippers waiting for the Blessing Ceremony



Usman Hamid (Key informant and the famous Zeyera singer) leading the Blessing Ceremony



Worshippers Performing Zeyera



Worshippers bowing down at the gate of the Shrine

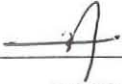
A hut where the volive gift is given



DECLARATION

I, the under signed, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university, and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: NEGUSS YILMA

Signature: _____

Date: June, 2009

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university advisor.



Ms. OLGA YAZBEC

13. ለግንደታቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
በቴን አፈረርረቢ ሲሆን ለግንደታቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
14. ግንደታቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
15. ምቀሳቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
16. ምቀሳቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
17. ምቀሳቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
18. ምቀሳቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
19. ምቀሳቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
20. ምቀሳቸው ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ
የሁላችንን ምቀሳቸውን ገጠመኝ

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