

# Xossa (God) in the Traditional Belief of Wolaitta

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## Article Info

Volume 82

Page Number: 7249 - 7257

Publication Issue:

January-February 2020

## Abstract:

This study seeks to investigate the history of the traditional religion of medieval Wolaitta. Its principal aim is to illuminate the value and place of Xosso within the umbrella of the traditional religion of Wolaitta. To this end, the study employed qualitative methodology. Accordingly, data were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Books, articles and other published and unpublished materials were utilized and to substantiate oral sources are also consulted. Based on the data analyzed, the study came up with findings that like other primitive religion of Africa, Xosso is a core or focal point of their worship. Among the Wolaittans, Xosso have had special place and no representation of an image as the Judaic tradition did. He is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent and the creator of universe including man. More interestingly, their traditional conception of God corresponding to the universal religions of today (Christianity and Islam). Therefore, the research concluded that, for the Wolaitta's the concept of God is "beyond their depiction" as He is the origin (ubabwu pulitto), explanation of everything (ubabwu birshetta) and the first principle (woggawu kochchoruwa). Besides, the traditional religion of Wolaitta had influenced the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the people. After the advent of Orthodox Christianity and Protestantism, however, the Wolaitta primal religion was greatly influenced and gradually its followers reduced. In spite of this, the traditional religion of Wolaitta survived retaining some of its basic features.

## Article History

Article Received: 18 May 2019

Revised: 14 July 2019

Accepted: 22 December 2019

Publication: 03 February 2020

**Keywords:** Xosso, traditional religion, Judaic tradition and Christianity

## 1. Introduction

The Wolaitta people are one of the indigenous peoples of Ethiopia who have their own culture, tradition, political legacy and Kingdom. Indeed, the name Wolaitta stands for the people, the land and also the language of the area.<sup>i</sup> Administratively, up to 1987, Wolaitta was one of the six *awrajas* of the Sidamo administrative region. When the Derg redraw the map of Ethiopia in 1987, Wolaitta *awraja* in Sidamo province became included in North Omo administrative area, together with Dawro, Gamo and Gofa. According to the current administrative arrangement, it is one of the sixteenth zones of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region with its administrative seat at Soddo town, which is about 385 km far from Addis Ababa (country's

capital and seat of AU) through Shashemene or 329 km through Sodo - Hossan and 290 km Sodo- Alaba, Buttajira road.<sup>ii</sup>

The Wolaitta Zone is bordered by Sidamo in the east, Gamo Gofa in the south, Dawro in the west, and Hadya and Kambata in the north. Wolaitta is also bounded by natural boundaries i.e. like Lake Abbaya in the south, and Rivers Dame in the south west (between Qucha and Wolaitta), Omo (*Umma*) in the west and Bilate in the east.<sup>iii</sup>

As long as its past concerned, the people of Wolaitta reached the stage of state formation through the processes of immigration and integration, between 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century. Until 1894, thus, the Kingdom of Wolaitta was ruled by three successive dynasties: Wolaitta malla Dynasty reigning first and

interrupted by the Arujji dynasty. Then it was replaced by the second Wolaittamalla rule (mid of 13<sup>th</sup> century to 16<sup>th</sup> century) and finally it was followed by that of Tigre Dynasty beginning from the mid of 16<sup>th</sup> century to the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>iv</sup> But after its incorporation into the greater Ethiopia, the Socio-economic, political and cultural ties with the rest people of the country were highly strengthened.

So long as its religious practice is concerned, both Christianity and Islam had introduced at a certain time. But, as it had been in every traditional society, the Wolaitta people have been practiced the traditional religion before the outset of Christianity and Islam. In other words, Humankind often faced tragedy and death, hoped for good and shunned evil, fought boredom and despair and had desire to stand up to catastrophe, to ward off disease and destruction; in brief all this led humankind to practice whatever type of religion, i.e. traditional religion. Similarly, some scholars suggest that the genesis of traditional religion was emanated from the people's need for protection, safety, peace and prosperity. In this regard, human beings have been struggled to control nature and the natural or man-made calamities.<sup>v</sup> Hence, these factors forced the earlier societies "to seek for and believe in and worship visible or invisible objects as savior, protectors, guardians or destroyers of their life and environment."<sup>vi</sup>

Moreover, Deresse argues that the present day international religions like Islam and Christianity were evolved from the traditional religion of our forefathers. But gradually it was affected by the newly introduced religions, Islam and Christianity. Likewise, the early religion of Wolaitta people passed through a number of stages; its traditional religion, similar to other Omotic family of Southern Ethiopia, was affected by the introduction of Islam and Christianity. Sources indicate that, in pre-13<sup>th</sup> century Wolaitta had practiced a traditional religion but after Saint Takla Haymanot evangelized around 13<sup>th</sup> century, Orthodox Christianity introduced into the area. Thus, in the period between 13<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>

centuries, introduction of Orthodox Christianity influenced the primeval religion of Wolaitta. War of Imam Ahmad and the Oromo population movement greatly endangered the mightiest medieval kingdom of Wollaitta Damot that ruled up to Bulga in Shewa and separated part of its northern kingdom, and as a result the majorities of the Wolaitta had returned to their previous traditional practices, while few of them continued practicing Christianity mixing it with traditional religion.<sup>vii</sup>

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the traditional religion of Wolaitta came under the influence of both Islam and Christianity. Above all, the introduction of Protestantism, around 1920s, highly influenced the tradition religion of Wolaitta as it attracted many people. In spite of this, some of the basic features of Wolaitta's primal religion were able to survive.<sup>viii</sup> If it is so, the traditional religion of Wolaitta had generally three features; the belief in intermediary spirits or deities, worship of one's father or ancestral god and belief in diviners or fortunetellers. Traditional gods were also ranked as major or minor but *Salo Xossa* (sky God) was a Supreme Being of all gods. Indeed, the people of Wolaitta give high value for *Xossa* till now.<sup>ix</sup>

In this study, therefore, we have tried to analyze the value that *Xossa* had in the traditional religion of Wolaitta and the subsequent influence of the name even after the introduction of modern religion to the area. It also tries to highlight general features of traditional religion of Wolaitta to indicate the dynamics of *Xossa* on it. To this end, we have analyzed both the published and unpublished sources which deal with the subject. An attempt was also made to include oral information.

Generally, the paper has four parts including an introduction. The second part deals with the major elements of traditional religion of Wolaitta. The third part of the paper discusses the main theme of this work, the value of *Xosso* among the Wolaitta and its consequence. And the last part is conclusion which winds up the article.

## 2. Elements in Traditional Religion of Wolaitta

The first major element in traditional religion of Wolaitta was belief in intermediary spirits or *Ayana*. Although the society believed that these spirits were subordinate to *Xossa* (but above human beings), they believe in the existence of intermediary spirits and made offerings hoping that through the *Ayanas*, God heard their prayer. These spirits were believed to dwell on trees (*mitta*), rift valleys, mountains (*deriyaa*), wide fields (*dembba*), pillars (*tussaa*), rivers etc.<sup>x</sup> Thus, different kinds of sacrifices (*yarshuwa*) were made either to enjoy the benefit or to escape the harm that this spirits brought to them.

The practitioners believe that all of these spirits had different responsibilities and ability or power. Some of the *Ayanas* were believed to have had the ability to anoint a worshiper with power and authority after a worshiper offer a sacrifice. When this occurred, the person is said to have been possessed by the *Ayana*.<sup>xi</sup> Hence, this person worked as a religious functionary in the society.

Indeed, the word *Ayana* is a commonly held belief among the people of southern Ethiopia. They consider that these spirits were transmitted paternally from father to eldest son or eldest members of the clan.<sup>xii</sup> In traditional Wolaitta, it was believed that there were either beneficial or harmful spirits. Sometimes the good spirits were worshiped by the clan who had no spirit of their own.<sup>xiii</sup> Some of these were:

- Awa Ayana* (father's spirit) or *Moytiliya*
- Gomashera* (the spirit of power)
- Nago Ayana* (guardian Spirit or Savior)
- Micho Ayana* (the spirit of joy and pleasure)
- Kuchuruwa* (familiar spirit)
- Sawuna* (the spirit of justice or law)
- Wombo* (the spirit of rain)

*AwaAyana* (father's spirit) was worshiped by every household in Wolaitta. It was believed that everyone had his own *Moytiliya*, which was responsible for the well-beings of respective family. *Dufuwa* (grave) was believed to be the living place of the spirit and sacrifice was offered at the grave yard (*Makanna*). It was prohibited to cut and use the tree or grasses

which grew on the *Makanna* as it was the dwellings of *moytiliyas*. The eldest member of the family carried out the worship. As a sacrifice, the head of the family offer *Gurduwa*, a cultural food made of barely and butter, as well as a bull or sheep slaughtered in one's father honor.<sup>xiv</sup> The cattle which the Wolaitta used to reserve, mainly for sacrifices, were known as *baqa patiliya* (ritual cattle).

*Gomashera* (the spirit of power) was another good spirit in the traditional religion of Wolaitta. It was believed to be the strongest of all spirits and source of power, and thus worshiped whenever the society needs power, particularly at the time of war as *Gomashera* controlled a servant spirit called *Gaydaza* (the spirit of war). Hence, they make sacrifice to it through the intermediary of *Gaydaza*.<sup>xv</sup> According to sources, this spirit was strongly worshiped during the period of king (*kawo*) Motolomi, the most powerful Wolaittamalla ruler and *kawo* Gobbe (notable and affluent Tigre ruler) who engaged in aggressive war of conquest and expansion of the territories of Wolaitta.<sup>xvi</sup>

*Nago* (guardian Spirit or Savior), also considered as good spirit, was represented by a sheep and said to be a savior or god of security. In other words, It is the *ayana* of *naguwa* (protection). Each family designated one sheep as possessor of *nago* and worshiped it for the sake of safety and well-being of the family.<sup>xvii</sup> On the other hand, *Micho* (goat spirit) was said to be the guardian spirit of goat and accepted as the possessor of a spirit called *Micho* (make laugh or joy). In short, it was considered by the people as *Uffaysiya ayana* (literally mean, the spirit of happiness). The goat was selected and feed in isolation for the *Micho* ritual. The family worshiped this spirit whenever problem or difficulty faced and at the time when joy or pleasure needed. The head of the family worshiped the *Micho* spirit by kneeling down under the goat.<sup>xviii</sup>

*Kuchuruwa* was another benevolent spirit which the society of Wolaitta considered as if it was the nearest to human beings and help in the emergency case. This spirit was pleased at the time when women deliver a child (*yeluwa*) and at the time

of serious illness (*gashiya*). The head of the family would offer a sacrifice beneath the pillar of the house since it was accepted as a place where the spirit of *Kuchuruwa* dwells. Indeed, *tussaa* (the pole of the house or pillar) was considered as the protector of the family. Some of offerings made by the family to the deity of *Kuchurwa* were the slaughter of a bull, *guruwa,essa* (honey), and *oyssa* (butter).<sup>xix</sup>

Similarly, *Sawuna* (spirit of justice) was accepted as a deity of arbitration. Elders would take oath by the name of *Sawuna* so as to find truth or justice. A person would also leave the case to *Sawuna* if he was unable to get a correct justice, as it could deal over it justly.<sup>xx</sup> Being another good spirit in traditional belief of Wolaitta, *Wombo* (rain spirit) was worshiped when there was shortage or/and excess of rain, since it was recognized to have had the power of bringing or stopping rain. *Zumma deriya* (great mountains) were believed to be the place where the deity of *Wombo* abode. As a result, sacrifice was offered under/near the big mountains. Besides this, the people of Marqos (the neighboring Hadya people) were regarded as lord of rain (rain-maker) by the people of Wolaitta and thus the latter approached to the former when there was too much or too little rain.<sup>xxi</sup>

In contrary to the above discussed spirits, there were also deities which were generally identified as bad or evil and considered by the society that they dwells on the trees and waters. These were malicious spirits had to be worshiped much as they intervened in the day to day activities of individuals.<sup>xxii</sup> Some of these harmful spirits were *Talahiya* (Satan, devil or demons), *Gome* (the spirit of Prohibition), etc.

*Talahiya* (Satan, devil or demons) in the Wolaitta society was highly feared and regarded as the spirit of Omo River. Thus, it was worshiped in order to escape from evils like drought, illness, crop failure, and so on which the *Talahiya* supposed to bring; a goat was slaughtered near *shaffa* (river) as a sacrifice. After the introduction of Christianity the people began to call this spirit as *shatana*, interchangeably with the name *Talahiya*.<sup>xxiii</sup> Deresse

argues that traditional Wolaitta strongly feared and respected *Talahe* owing that it would bring harm or evil on man's life unless it was pleased or appeased; thus served as one of the factors behind the expansion of Protestantism in Wolaitta.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Another malevolent spirit was *Gome* (the spirit of Prohibition). It was believed that the society must have to obey or observe some customary socio-cultural and religious values and rules, otherwise followed by *gome* which would bring any kind of misfortune or suffering. In traditional Wolaitta, it is believed that curses or grief might cause threatening if the curser has truth. This deity was invoked through the intermediary of *Chima* (elders).<sup>xxv</sup> Put in other word, violating truth will result in *gome*. In order to protect them from the negative effect that *gome* would bring, an amulet worn around the neck or a piece of goat's hair in the pocket.<sup>xxvi</sup> In addition to this, there was also the influence of *gormottiya* (witch crafts) and *higisha* (evil-eyes). *Goromote taliya* (medicine) kept at the neck to escape witch crafts.<sup>xxvii</sup> In short, all these spirits elaborated in the above were invoked by those who did not have their own clan spirits.

On the other hand, majority of the Wolaitta clans had possessed their own clan spirits. They did not believe in and made sacrifice to the above spirits, rather offer to their own clan spirits. These spirits differed from clan to clan but each had its own ancestral spirits (*Wuqabe*).<sup>xxviii</sup>

In this regard, each clan deity represented by different natural phenomena. For instances, 1) clan spirits associated with animals were Buffalo (*Mentta*) for Hiziya, Hyena (*Goddariya*) for Daradara, Cow (*Mizziyo*) for Martoqa and Mugereta, and Dog (*Kanna*) for Mayla clan. 2) clan deities in relation with heavenly bodies such as sun (*Awa*) or moon (*Aginna*) for Boshasha and Boyna Tigre, lightening (*Dada*) for Adda, thunder (*Daydantta*) for Agarshuwa and Gada, rainbow (*Zulliyaa*) for Gonduluwaa, rain giver (*Woriqqa*) for Hambolossa. 3) clan spirit in line with water bodies and landscapes like plain (*Dembba*) for Wajuwa and Awureetaa, Ajjora waterfall for Qesiga, Abba (lake)

for Gawuraruwa. 4) clan deities in link with snake and bird categories were *Hombobo* (hawk sparrow) for Hiraytuwa, *Samanuwa* (spider) for Kominaya, *Awulachuwa* (crocodile) for Hergara and Golla. The annual ritual ceremony was carried out at a holy place called *Mitta* (big trees). However, the type of tree will vary from clan to clan. For instance, *Sholla* (*Wolla*) for Bubula and Gezo malla, *Zigba* (*Ziga*) for Gamo malla and Zatuwa, *Bisana* (*Anka*) for Boroda and Zirgo malla, big tree for Maka and Fancha chilya and from other plant groups *Utta* (*Ensette*) for Gudarettaa. My informants add that these trees were highly respected, and thus cannot be cut and used for any purpose.<sup>xxxix</sup> In the ceremony of this, the people gathered around the big tree, and then they provided the first fruit of crops, specially cooked meal, and slaughters.

In this respect, the influence of Orthodox Christianity and Islam was observed in the traditional religion of Wolaitta, for instance, some of the clans worshiped the name of the saints as their clan deity like *Gorgissa* (Saint George) for Agowa and Fategaraa, *Maramme* (Saint Mary), *Kitosa* (Christ) for Ayfarsuwa as well as *Misimilahimia* (*Admosa*) for Qalicha. The other major clans of ancient and medieval Wolaitta had worshiped spirits like *mulugusha*, *qaydara*, *hambazza*, *hawuzulla*, *inegelalla*, *yafero*, *wolilla*, *boshasha*, *alijjanuwa*, *aborda*, *bodosa* and so on.

### 3. Wolaitta Traditional Religious Ritual Practitioners

Another element in the traditional religion of Wolaitta was the belief in practitioners. These include *Sharechuwa* and *Qalicha*, which have a long history in Wolaitta. Their fundamental role was to retain peace and stability within the society, and to protect the negative effect of *gome*.<sup>xxx</sup> In order to achieve such objectives, they taught and lead the people in their religious life. They both had interactive function and sometimes it is difficult to differentiate their specific roles.

The *Sharechuwa* (the magician or Sorcerer) lived in a complete isolation from other peoples. He

does not cut or shave his hair. He wears leather clothing and a conical hat made from the skin of white and black monkey (*Wonnuwa*). The *Sharechuwa* did not farm lands and lived by the offering of his customers. He received the visitors and heard their case through his assistance called *Maga*. So as to get solution the client brought a sacrifice or gifts to the magician. He would interfere in the daily life of the people.<sup>xxxix</sup> According to my informant, *Sharechuwa* was recalled as *Maro* among the neighboring Omotic peoples.<sup>31</sup> As Abesha Shirko Lambebo and Ratnakar Mohapatra indicated *Sharechuwas* can be distinguished owing to their practices, such as *Bordiyaga*, *MarachiyaTeliyageta* and *shucha qoriyaga*.<sup>32</sup>

When a special spirit comes, a magician speaks in a strange language and encountered by a means of dance. Then, the *sharechuwa* is said to be *borodesi* or *Bordiyaga*. Here, the magician speaks prophetic words against an individual or explained his sin and forecasted the immediate punishment.<sup>xxxii</sup> *MarachiyaTeliyageta* is a specialist in reading the intestine of animal or birds and able to predict the future of an individual. In this case, the worshiper ordered to bring any kind of entrails. Hence, reading the intestine the magician told the assumed solution.<sup>xxxiii</sup> *Shucha qoriyaga* is a person who skilled in interpreting the internal dynamics within a family. By counting a stone he is able to predict the future and discover the cause of misfortune. He first order his customers to bring a pieces of stone and then he took from them and put it in pair on the ground. After hearing the case, pick up the pieces by repeatedly saying ‘shari, maki, tunni, diqqi’, etc.<sup>xxxiv</sup> According to some sources, these words have no meaning in the Wolaitta language.<sup>xxxv</sup> However, my informants claim that these words represent the name of the stones. In this regard, *Shari* means ‘tunna paxxa’ (confess your sin) where as *tunni* means “tunabba ayi ottadi?” (what kind of sin you have did or committed?).<sup>xxxvi</sup> The sins are adultery, participating in burial ceremony, cutting grasses or trees from a cemetery and alike.

*Qalicha* (the diviner), on the other hand said to have emerge from the *Qalicha* clan who possessed their own spirit called *Admosa*. They live with society and participated in trade or farming activities. The *Qalicha* deity was stronger than other clans' spirits. It is believed that the *Qalicha* spirit is capable of doing everything like causing misfortune, predicting the future, and also they are considered to be doctors in times of sickness, hero in battle and capable of solving any problems. The *Qalicha* called up on the daily life of the society; because of this, the members of *Qalicha* clans were highly respected. The ritual sacrifice to the *Qalicha* *ayana* was given by the head of the clan. The *Qalicha* built a small house in front of his home called *Eqa Ketta* (ritual house), where he received his clients, and hear their problem and then told solution to them. If the cases solved, the customer return with *Gallatta* (thanksgiving).<sup>xxxvii</sup>

One of my informants told me that during the ritual ceremony the diviner says that *Qalicha* *giyaagee gaxana* (*guxxa*) means one that says wizard be lessened or downed, and *Goda giyaagee Godatta yagees* which means one that says lord be a lord.<sup>xxxviii</sup> The intention of the first statement is not to call the name of the wizard because the spirit is not pleasant to the people. Most of the time in *Wolaitta*, the practioneries were selected from *Adda*, *Maraquwa*, *Aggarishuwa*, *Qalicha* and so on.

#### 4. The Value of *Xosso* among the *Wolaitta*

The name *Xossa* represents the supreme God of *Wolaitta*. Among the traditional *Wolaitta*, *Xosso* was/is regarded as a Supreme Being. It is believed that *Xosso* was/is above all and the sky is his abode or he dwells on the heaven. Thus, they sometimes call him as *bolla Xossa* or *Saluwa Xossa* (the sky god). He was/is highly feared and respected by the people of *Wolaitta*. His name was only invoked during the time of pray, oath, cursing or blessing, attesting the truth and alike. It was/is strictly prohibited to call the name of *Xosso* with simple matters. According to the tradition, he is worshiped

for his power (*woliqqa*), authority(*matta*) and ability (*abbiyaa* or *akka*) to rule the universe.<sup>xxxix</sup>

Among the *Wolaitta*, *Xosso* does not represented by any image or symbol. He is not the object of offerings, since he lives far away in his home (*Saluwa*). Nevertheless, he did not mention with the 'Crypt of Sky'. The people believed him as a source of all life, power and governor (*ayssiyagga/harriyagga*) or/and creator of the nature/ universe as well as everything in the universe including man. As a result they sometimes called him *medhaga*, creator. The people seek and call on *Xossa* in every aspects of life.<sup>xl</sup> Indeed, the name *Xossa* used by the surrounding *Ometo* groups like *Gamo-Gofa*, *Dawro*, *Qucca*, and *Konta*.<sup>xli</sup>

Various sources illustrated some of the basic features of *Xosso* as follows: Omnipotent (*Ubbadanddayesi*) – It was believed that *Xossa* is almighty. He is considered as the creator of the universe and everything within it [man (*asa*), sun, moon, sky (*saluwa*), earth (*sa'aa* or *bitta*), and etc]. He also called as *Medha Xossa* (creator),<sup>xlii</sup> Omniscient (*ubbaeressi*). In the traditional belief of *Wolaitta* *Xosso* is regarded also as all-knowing. *Xosso* knows everything; he hears and sees all things in the universe. If a man felt unfairness of justice dispensed, he simply says "*Hanno Xossai be'o*" means "I leave my case to God to let him give me a right decision". Then he left his matter or appeal to *Xossa* and he will deal justly or not forget the punishment.<sup>xliii</sup> Furthermore, *Xossa* is believed as Omnipresent (*ubbasan de'ees*), just, good and righteous.<sup>xliv</sup> Thus, it is safe to conclude that, for the *Wolaitta's* the concept of God is beyond their depiction as he is the origin (*ubbawu pulitto*), explanation of everything (*ubbabwu birshetta*) and the first principle (*woggawu kochchoruwa*).

The name *Xossa* is often followed by *Bolla Xossa* (High God or Above all), *Salo Xossa* (Sky God) and *Medha Xossa* (the creator God). Thus, this fact shows the power, authority and generosity (*Kehatetta*) of *Xossa*. When an individual wanted to carry out a certain task in the future he says *XossigikohannoYattana* (if God so willed, I will do

such and such).<sup>xlv</sup> If the society needs safety, security, healthy, good harvesting and seasonal rain, they gather at a place called *Guttara or Dubusha* (open field) and then confess their sins and make reconciliation with *Xossa* at a ritual ceremony called *sigetta*. *Xossa* did good thing all the time.<sup>xlvi</sup> In short, the Wolaitta society considered *Xossa* as their God, the creator and governor of the universe as well as provided a high respect and value even though they worshiped intermediary spirits and practitioners. Indeed, such kinds of contradictions were main features and/or existed in traditional religion of every society.

In general, the traditional religion of Wolaitta has had a socio-economic and cultural impact on the society.<sup>xlvii</sup> It had played a significant role in maintaining the moral values and rules of the society, strengthened the spirit of cooperation or living together (*issipetetta*), preserving the forest (*Kashsha*), prohibiting adultery (*tunniyoga*), murder (*woriyogga*), a false witness (*wordduwaa markatiyoga*) and *gomiya*(violating truth).

### 5. Conclusion

The concept of *Xossa* is a cornerstone to the traditional religion of Wolaitta culture. Like many of the Omotic societies, *Xossa* seized a central spot in their primal veneration system. *Xosso* valued as a Supreme Being, the creator and governor of the universe. As a result, *Xosso* is revered, desired and called in all matters of societal life. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that, for the Wolaittan's the concept of *Xossa* is placed as the origin (*ubbawu pulitto*), explanation of everything (*ubbawu birshetta*) and the first principle (*woggawu kochchoruwa*). Besides, the primordial belief addressed issues like peace, security, justice, protection of the nature, human identities and strengthened social cohesion. It had influenced the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the people. In contrary, the society pleased *Xossa* through the intermediary spirits and practitioners. After the advent of Christianity and Islam, the original belief

adherents were highly reduced, but, the religion survived retaining some of its basic features.

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18. Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", p.9; Informants: Ato Danna, Ato Daniel Daricha.
19. Haileyesus, p. 84; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", p.8.
20. Ernesta Cerulli, Peoples of South West Ethiopia and its Border land, London: International African Institutes, 1956, p.113; Haileyesus, pp.84-85; Informants: Ato Danna and Ato Anjulo.
21. Balisky, pp.90-92; Deresse, pp.35-39.
22. Remo, p.73; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", p.8; Informants: Ato Anjulo.
23. Deresse, pp.37-38.
24. Haileyesus, p.92; Informants: Ato Daka Dana.
25. Ibid, pp.92-93; Informants: Ato Danna, Ato Anjulo and Ato Daka.
26. Remo, pp.78-79 and 95-97.
27. Wana, p. 65; Deresse, pp.40-44; Informants: Ato Daka and Ato Anjulo .
28. Haileyesus, pp.86-87.; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior...", p.10; Informants: Ato Assela.
29. For further information see Abesha Shirko and R. Mohapatra, "Primal Religion of Wolaitta in African Context," 2019, pp.71-76; Eike Haberland, "The Influence of Christian Ethiopian Empire on Southern Ethiopia," Journal of Semetic Studies, Vol. 9, No 1 (1964), p. 238; Balisky, pp.94-95.
30. Remo, pp. 78 and 87-90; Deresse, pp.48-50.
31. Ibid, pp.78-79 and 83-88; A.S. Lambebo and R.Mohapatra, p.74; Deresse, pp.50-51; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", pp.11-12.
32. Abesha Shirko Lambebo. and R. Mohapatra, p.74; Informants: Ato Daka and Ato Anjulo.
33. Abesha Shirko Lambebo. and R. Mohapatra, p.74, Balisky, p.97; Informant: Ato Zabdehos Chema.
34. Abesha Shirko Lambebo. and R. Mohapatra, p.74; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", p.8; Deresse, p.52; Informants: Ato Daka.
35. Abesha Shirko Lambebo. and R. Mohapatra, p.74; Deresse, pp.51-52; Balisky, p.97.
36. Ibid; Informants: Ato Daka.
37. Informants: Ato Daka and Ato Anjulo.
38. Balisky, pp.98-99; Haileyesus, pp.87-89.
39. Ernesta, p.113; Balisky, pp.3-4 and 87; Deresse, pp.28-29; Informants: Ato Danna and Ato Anjulo.
40. Abesha Shirko Lambebo and R. Mohapatra, pp.72,75; Chaitti pp.70-72; Balisky, p.87; Deresse, pp.28-30.
41. Informants: Ato Assela, Ato Daka, and Ato Zabdehos.
42. For details see Marc Abeles, "Religious, Traditional Beliefs: Interaction and Changes in a Southern Ethiopian Society and Ochollo (Gamo-Gofa)," in Donald Donham (ed.), Working Papers on Society and history in Imperial Ethiopia, Cambridge, 1980,p.189; Diakon Chollo, "The History of Zala (in Gamo Gofa Province) up to 1941," (B.A. Thesis, Department of History, 1996) , pp. 5 and 44.
43. Remo, pp.72-73; Balisky, pp.87-89; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", p.5; Informants: Ato Daka, Ato Anjulo, and Ato Danna
44. Ibid; Informants: Ato Assela, and Ato Zabdehos.

45. See particularly Deresse, pp.28-29; Haileyesus, p.83; Informans: Ato Danna.
  46. Ibid, p.29; Informans: Ato Daka, and Ato Zabdewos.
  47. Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", " pp.5-12; Remo, pp.70-103.; Balisky, pp.87-98.; Deresse, pp.28-42.
  48. Haileyesus, pp.92-93; Remo, pp.95-97; Deresse, p.31; Informans: Ato Danna and Ato Anjulo .
  49. Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", p.4; Idem, Yá Samén Omo Hez..., p. 10; Tsehai,pp. 29-30.
  50. For more information consult Abbayneh, pp. 26-27; Balisky, pp.87-98; Remo, pp.70-104; Deresse, pp.23-27 and 28-42; Elias Awato, "Sudan Interior Mission...", pp.5-12.
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