

Over Holy Time and Space

THE JESUIT INTERLUDE IN ETHIOPIA

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Ethiopia has a deep and intricate history with religion. From cultural norms, to political hierarchies, religion penetrates every aspect of Ethiopian life. Faith finds itself within the consideration of many daily aspects of life in Ethiopia. The all-encompassing nature of religion came to a head during the early 1600's. Jesuit missions to Ethiopia began proselytizing Roman Catholicism to the kingdom, starting a hard-fought battle over the state religion of Ethiopia. On one side, the thus far reigning, and more regionally developed Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church on the other, the more European-recognized Roman Catholic church. While both forms of a Christianity, they each have their own stark differences in both theology and practice. In the essence of Ethiopia, this meant differences in the style, practice, and place of worship. I seek to investigate the conflict in the course of two areas; time, when worship takes place, and space, both the physical locations of worship and the rituals of worship. The study is organized into three sections, a general history of Ethiopia with a focus on the religious history, an examination of the effects of the Ethiopian Coptic Church church's history and its practices, and finally a thorough look at the conflict between the Jesuit mission and the Tewahedo-affiliated worshippers. The first section will first detail the religious and sometimes mythological origins of Ethiopia as defined by the Ethiopian Coptic church. The mythological origins of Ethiopia are heavily intertwined with the religious stories of the Bible, showing that religion in Ethiopia offers even a perspective into history. Following will the more realistic origins of Ethiopia explaining some of its political and geographical intricates that developed over its formation. The methods by which a political decision is made heavily relate to the religious essence of Ethiopia. To wrap up the first section, and brief look at the depictions of Ethiopia according to European sentiments to better establish their goals and views in their pursuit of proselytizing. The second section will largely detail the practices and nuances of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo

Church. As worship in the Tewahedo Church took up hours of the faithful's time, sometimes over the course of entire nights, the proper planning and dedication towards such becomes a pivotal part of properly embracing the time commitment that worship in the Tewahedo church demands. The physical trip to church's became a part of the worship as well, church being constructed well away from villages. Located in isolated and sometimes extremely difficult terrain, the journey demanded both a commitment of the faithful's time and brought them to a 'more spiritual place.' The architecture of the Ethiopian church played a significant role as well as designs harkened back to eras or periods of Ethiopian religious history. This compound the effect of certain practices, emphasizing points of the religious ceremony. The final section covers the actual conflict over that religious time and space as Jesuit missionaries clashed with the Coptic church. A brief history to the conflict will be given wherein the theological debates between the splitting Coptic church and Jesuit missionaries will be illuminated. After, much of the section will investigate Mother Walatta Petros's account and her efforts against the Jesuit missionaries. Her account offers a more ground-level depiction over the struggle between the two religions than the political considerations closer of the top hierarchy of Ethiopian society. The conflict over the treatment of religious space and time will be highlighted. And finally, a succinct examination over the differences in church location and style will be given between the two religions. The religious conflict of Ethiopia between the Jesuit missionaries and the Tewahedo church is one of extreme faith and commitment. Each religion commands a great deal of nuance and subtlety. Each with their own details, the conflict between the two found itself embroiled within this nuance and subtlety. At the higher levels of society, the debate over religion became one based not just in daily life, or even religious practice. It became an intricate debate over the history of Ethiopia, its relationship with Europe, and the growing European

consciousness of the world. Within the lower rungs of society, it became entangled in the practices of everyday life for the average Ethiopian. In this sense then, the conflict fought over time and space.

As according to the Tewahedo church, the origins of Ethiopia are defined within the holy scriptures of Christianity. The religious affiliation of Ethiopia began when the Ethiopian Queen of Sheba, known to the Ethiopian people as Makeda, visited the Kingdom of Solomon and brought back with her the Old Testament. This cemented the place of God amongst the Ethiopian people, who embraced their new God with open arms. The Queen romanced King Solomon bearing future emperor Menelik I, beginning the first Solomonic dynasty over Ethiopia. Upon returning from his father's kingdom he brought back the Ark of the Covenant holding it at a synagogue in Ethiopia. Soon after, Christ was born to Mary and Joseph, as Roman Client-King Herod pursued the newborn king. Fleeing, Mary and Joseph were led to Ethiopia by a pillar of light. In Ethiopia, Jesus found a people who embraced him as the son of God, as he journeyed around the young country. From town to town his popularity among the Ethiopians grew. Not long after, Ethiopia pilgrims journeying from Jerusalem back to Ethiopia brought apostle Matthew with them, who in turn brought the gospel to the Ethiopia. Soon after, a shipwrecked Syrian merchant brought the New Testament to Ethiopia. Armed with this the people of Ethiopia sent forth a faithful to Egypt, who returned with the blessing to be a bishop to the country. This is of course the Tewahedo's depiction of their religious origins.¹ It displays an impressive commitment to the role of religion within Ethiopia, tying some of the most important aspects of Christianity to the origins of the Ethiopian church. Going so far as deliberately tie some of origins of Christianity itself to the history of Ethiopia. And while these offer a religiously ideal

¹ (Bines 2017)

origin of Ethiopia, the actual history of Ethiopia is equally as intriguing. The actual history of Ethiopia starts with its geographic location. The extremely mountainous terrain Ethiopia finds itself within plays an integral part throughout its history, a defining feature.² The highlands create a dynamic of ecological effects that bring about three things to our interest; fertile lands, and extremely difficult to travel terrain. The fertile lands of Ethiopia meant an abundance of coffee beans to the Ethiopia people. In turn, it meant that Ethiopian people created elaborate coffee ceremonies that would come to play a role in their worship. The difficult terrain of Ethiopia created two effects first; isolation, second; easily defended land. The isolation of Ethiopia bore about some of particulars of its religion. Additionally, the easily defended highlands meant that it was extremely difficult for outside forces to invade and influence Ethiopia. With these geographic traits established the ancient history of Ethiopia when Semitic and Cushitic ethnic groups settled the region. The religious history of Ethiopia traces itself not soon after the establishment of these groups, with the text *Kebra Nagast*. This religious epic largely establishes the narrative held by the Tawhedo church. While the book claims to be an accurate depiction of time since the days of Adam, its date of writing suggest a more political reason for its creation³. Nevertheless, the book forms a pivotal part of religious dialogue for the Tawahedo church. In respect to this, the some of the more Judaic practices of the Tawahedo church seem to find their origins within. The *Kebra Nagast* defines some methodologies of worship that heavily mirror the Jewish faith. Hymns, eating restrictions, and even the arrangement of churches all seem to take from the Judaism. Outside of the *Kebra Nagast*'s explanations, these practices may be explained by trade along the Red Sea and Nile River⁴,

² (Bines 2017)

³ (Bines 2017)

⁴ (Isaac 2012)

bringing about a near cosmopolitan acceptance of culture given the mix of Semitic and Cushitic peoples. Another indicator of the Semetic influence over the religious history of Ethiopia is the religious script of choice Ga'ez, which has been claimed to contain some Hebrew-like characteristics⁵. African culture played a role in the development of religion as well, in more rural sections of Ethiopia faith is more defined by the physical connection to the Earth. Some believe in *buda* and *zar*, both seemingly local beliefs unaffiliated with the Tawahedo church, that have they brought about into their belief. Following the formation of the Aksumite state is where Christianity first officially came to Ethiopia. As early as 340 A.D. trading centers along the coast record Christians communities⁶. Among these communities was the bishop Frumentius, who was consecrated for Aksum. He marks the start of the Christian church in relation to the state in Ethiopia. When the Ezana, the king of Aksum, converted the state officially tied its power to the church. Frumentius's journey to Alexandria to be consecrated began a tradition of sending potential archbishops of Ethiopia to Egypt to consecration by the patriarch of Alexandria⁷. The selected became known as the 'abuna' and played a key role throughout both the religious and political history of Ethiopia. The process of selection meant that, the religious leadership of Ethiopia came under the influence of whomever controlled Alexandria. When Egypt came under the sway of Muslim rulers this lead directly to more Muslim friendly policies in Ethiopia. Even as the relationship became strained, Ethiopia held onto the tradition⁸. Within the court, the abuna's role could not be more important. His position within the king's camp, a circular formation with position to the center relating to importance to the kingdom, was among the second ring to the center. The abuna's role was mostly sacramental, focused on the coronation of

⁵ (Isaac 2012)

⁶ (Isaac 2012)

⁷ (Bines 2017)

⁸ (Bines 2017)

the king, and the ordinations of clergy⁹. The king otherwise had power and tradition well defined and inherited from the religious nature of Ethiopia¹⁰. These practices will be detailed later, but in short, the Aksumite kings found themselves heavily integrated with the religious, acting as the resolvers of religious disputes, the founder of churches, and more. All these powers were however according to will of God, which itself came through the abuna. Following this Aksumite dynasty came the Zagwe dynasty whom sponsored new styles of church building, leading to much of the content in the second section. Following the Zagwe came another Solomonic dynasty, whose greatest contributions is the spread of monastic life throughout Ethiopia. As a result, Christianity found itself rapidly spreading throughout the kingdom to the lower ends of society, penetrating deep into the countryside. The dynasty also began state sponsored churches, further integrating the importance of religion to that of the political leadership of Ethiopia. Religious conflict with the growing Islamic powers to the north of Ethiopia came after the spontaneous growth of Christianity among Ethiopians. This led to a short period of devastation among the Christian communities, before receiving relief from Portuguese sponsored troops¹¹. Following the conflict with the Islamic powers, and the assistance received from European powers, then King Galawdewos became more friendly towards European missionaries. This formed the foundation for the eventual conflict between the newly invited Jesuit missionaries and the traditional Tawahedo church. This brief history to the origins of the Tawehedo church, both real and mythical offers, some insight to the significance of religion in Ethiopia. But equally important is the role religion played in the European perspective toward Ethiopia. While there was dialogue between the king of Ethiopia and the various kings of Europe, popular interest in

⁹ (Bines 2017)

¹⁰ (Bines 2017)

¹¹ (Bines 2017)

Ethiopia was first spurred by the mythical rumor of Prester John. The kingdom of Prester John was meant to be a long-lost powerful Christian kingdom in a far-flung land¹². When envoys to the proclaimed King Prester John were sent to the king of Ethiopia, Zar'a Ya'eqob during a visit to Florence, he denied them profusely. This of course was ignored, and the Europeans had found their mythical kingdom in Ethiopia. With this myth in mind the first missionaries were sent to Ethiopia. Here ends the recount of Ethiopia's religious history. Religion played a large role in the definition, both real and mythical of Ethiopia. From political decision making, to international affairs, religion shows its all penetrating power throughout the history and state making of Ethiopia. In some sense, the very history of Ethiopia it manipulated by religion, affecting its place in historical time and space. But the effects of religion are not limited to only the highest levels of society in Ethiopia, indeed it effects even the lower rungs as we will see in the next section.

To the everyday Ethiopian religion plays as equal a role in the state as it does in their daily life. The Tawahedo church demands from its faithful large dedications of time towards mass, far greater than some other denominations. One modern account of the Tawehedo church's proceedings began at nearly 8 in the afternoon, lasting until 9 in the morning the next day. The procession incorporated drumming, chanting, prayers, and singing throughout the night often exhausting the attendees¹³. Come morning, the desperately exhausted faithful exit the church to the now gathered public. As the clergy leave the church, perhaps to enjoy a coffee ceremony to bring back their energy, the public begin their rituals of worship outside the church, including their own hymns, liturgical readings, and prayers¹⁴. This physical separation, the clergy inside as

¹² (Bines 2017)

¹³ (Bines 2017)

¹⁴ (Mary Anne Fitzgerald 2017)

the public worships is theorized as having been inspired by the worship described by the Old Testament. Another of the Tawehedo church is a Eucharist, which manages to find itself wrapped in an intense mystique. The offering of holy bread is seemingly inspired by the Old Testaments procedures, where the holy bread is concealed from the mass. This mirrors the proceeding in the Ethiopian church, where the holy bread is created, and served in secrecy. Shielded from the onlookers it is placed within three veils, unallowed to be touched by any but the few holists of men. The mass, restricted from the sight and touch of the holy bread, is instead to take communion in the faith of the priest who consumes it on their behalf¹⁵. Overall, the procedure of mass within the Tawahedo church is one that incorporates all the members of the community. From the local clergy, to the mass that gathers, everyone has their own procedures to worship that heavily integrate into one another. Even the Ethiopian calendar plays a part in worship. Within the calendar system of Ethiopia is a complex overlap of religious holidays, national celebrations, and the seasonal cycle for harvesting¹⁶. Prayers and hymns change according to the season, shifting between the harvest season, rainy season, dry season, and sowing season. In some sense, this gives worship a role in timekeeping much like our seasonal shifts in holidays signifying the start of a certain season. Within the religious calendar, years are dedicated to the evangelists, months toward saints, and days toward saints and Biblical events. Some of these holding special significance garner large masses to the church in their reverence. Even national holidays are twinned with the religious ceremony. Often churches are used as the gathering point of community and national holidays, emphasizing the role of the church among the community. Another calendar all together can be found between the acts of fasting and feasting. While modern Ethiopians observe nearly 180 fast days in the Gregorian calendar year,

¹⁵ (Bines 2017)

¹⁶ (Isaac 2012)

there can be up to 250. Between these fasts are feasts that punctuate the time between and offering a brief respite before the next fast. These fasts offer the faithful an opportunity to re-enact the events of the scripture. Sharing their lives with that of the Bible, allowing them to even closer to their religion by way of experience. Worship in Ethiopia is not singular but communal and demands sublime appreciation for the Bibles events. This is not without its intense complexity toward the faithful, who require the assistance of their local clergy to help navigate. There is another aspect of faith that is all penetrating in Ethiopian life; the location of worship. Ethiopian churches are oft built in isolated and treacherous locations. Some requiring a day's journey to reach, others a dangerous climb against sheer rock. Even so many faithful make the trip, sacrificing much of their time and effort to reach their place of worship. Some of the earliest examples of churches in Ethiopia resemble a basilica-based design, as according to the Old Testament¹⁷. This emphasized the dedication to the origins of Christianity to the congregations. The church designs following were more radical to the topic. As the king's nomadic camp moved inward to the more mountainous areas of Ethiopia, churches to the form of rock-hewn buildings¹⁸. These churches, carved into the sides of mountains acted almost as caves, displaying impressive design and craftsmanship. Sponsored by King Lalibaba, he set ought to design and develop cities into in accordance to the events of the Bible. Renaming cities and constructing rock-churches his efforts earned him a great deal of interest overseas. Internally the design grabbed popularity and throughout the highlands rock-churches were carved into the sheer-face walls of mountains. The location of these churches was often nearby local claimed spiritual spots, a calm spring claimed to have cleansing powers, or a grove of trees with a quietness. The churches then naturally integrated themselves into these community claims strengthening their

¹⁷ (Mary Anne Fitzgerald 2017)

¹⁸ (Mary Anne Fitzgerald 2017)

ties to the spiritual and natural. The next style of church came as round churches¹⁹, stylistically combining the rock-churches and basilica churches. The design also hosted a stark difference, a strongly defined separation of rooms. Divided into three sections; a priest only *maqdas* at the centre of the church, nearby the *qeddist* where communion is received, and remainder of the church. The design is intentional towards the ritual of worship. The *maqdas* contains within itself a holy object, a tabot. The tabot is claimed to be a component of the Ark of the Covenant, which as the myth goes was brought to Ethiopia and housed in the center of a synagogue.

Regardless of its origins, the tabot is shielded from vision and touch, much like the communion, within the *maqdas*. The central position of the tabot offers it a extremely significant role in the act of worship, connecting the clergy and the congregations actions to the Ark of the Covenant²⁰. This again builds and strengthens the importance of religion with community relationships. At large, the procedures of worship and location of worship play essential roles in the Tawahedo church. They offer an opportunity to grow closer to community and God in their ongoing. But the extremely complex and complicated style of worship afforded by the Tawahedo church met conflict against the Jesuit missionaries sent to proselytize Roman Catholicism to Ethiopia.

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Fresh out of conflict with their Muslim neighbors, Ethiopia found itself in a weakened position. An Oromo rebellion took advantage of the situation and began rapidly growing revolt against the king. To garner allies for the fight King Galawdewos invited Portuguese

missionaries, in hopes gaining their aid much like in the case of the Muslim invasions. This decision would culminate into a small conflict over the state religion of Ethiopia, the Jesuit Interlude. The story over Jesuit Interlude²¹ in Ethiopia focuses on two missionaries' efforts to convert the kingdom, Pero Paez and Alfonso Mendes. Pero Paez was asked by his Society to first journey eastward to preach in the Asiatic. But soon after beginning his journey from Goa eastward, he was redirected toward Ethiopia. His journey was arduous, he fell victim to slavery and had to return to Goa soon after a ransom was paid for this release. Undeterred he set off again and reached Ethiopia 1589. His efforts were not unrewarded, as his story spread among the king's court it earned him respect a prestige. Taking advantage of his position, Pero quickly allied himself with the king's successor, Susenyos and managed to covert the emperor to Catholic. When Susenyos became emperor he publicly declared his faith, a move Pero did not quite approve of for fear of reprisal from anti-Catholic members of the court and public. Regardless Pero cultivated a deep appreciation for Ethiopian culture and customs among his time as the patriarch of Ethiopia. Succeeding Pero, Alfonso Mendes found himself the patriarch of Ethiopia's catholic population. Unlike Pero Alfonso refused to embrace Ethiopian culture, going so far as the "request that the pope present him with vestments [...] to celebrate the liturgy in style among an 'uncultivated people'"²². Upon Mendes arrival to the court, he recited a near epic tale recounting the history of the Catholic church finish with a proclamation; "No priest was to celebrate mass in the country without a document issued by himself"²³. His further declarations included a requirement for clergy to be ordained catholic, the calendar to be switched to Gregorian. These requirements were clearly extreme and almost immediately stirred up anti-

²¹ (Jessica Wright 2017)

²² (Bines 2017)

²³ (Bines 2017)

Catholic resentment amongst the court, clergy and common peoples. To further aggravate matters a locust swarm arrived with Mendes, bringing about a famine. In effect, the Jesuit missionaries became affiliated with a curse. Mendes's efforts did however play into Susenyos desires to centralize control over his kingdom, the new religion offered more state control and ties to powerful outside allies. But this quickly earned both him and the missionaries the ire of the nobility. Ultimately, the hardline policies of Mendes, political intrigue of Susenyos and growing resistance of the populace led to the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries and the embracement of the Tewahedo church as the official state religion of Ethiopia. But the Jesuits are themselves the ones responsible for the formation of the Tewahedo church. When Pero Paez arrived in Ethiopia, he kickstarted an intense theological debate within the Ethiopian Coptic Church over the nature of Christ²⁴. The Catholic church found its answer in the Chanceldoren debate. It questioned if Christ was a "single divine nature, with human attributes", and rejected the idea concluding that Christ had both a human and divine nature, within one person. This council had never reached Ethiopia however, who had instead continued in their beliefs based on writings from Alexandria. The writings indicated that Christ was instead both divine and human, with no separation between the two. The differences between this two gave birth to a three-way conflict within the Ethiopian Coptic church. The belligerents; the *qebet*, *karra*, and *sagga* found themselves divided on how to approach the issue. The *qebet* saw the two natures of Christ as having been connected during birth. In this sense, Christ experienced two births, one from the Virgin Mary, the other from the Father. The *karra* or *tewahedo* claimed that Christ became holy directly after birth, with no assistance from the Father or Holy Spirit. The *sagga* explained that three births occurred, the Father, Mary, and a third when Jesus was anointed with the Holy Spirit.

²⁴ (Bines 2017)

The *karra* party would eventually become the official state view on the matter but only in the 1980's. The debate had raged on since Pero's arrival and introduction of Catholic ideas, but the three shared a common starting point. Their opposition to the Jesuit missions served as an immediate point of contention with the growing Catholics and would inspire violence against both the missionaries and their Coptic brethren throughout the debate. Due to the all penetrating nature of religion in Ethiopia, the conflict between the Ethiopian Coptic church's splinters and the Catholic missionaries became one not just over the head of the state, but over the daily lives and rituals of the Ethiopian people. For example, in the Catholic Eucharist all attendees are to receive the bread and the wine of the ritual. Juxtaposed to the Ethiopian Tewahedo proceedings in which the bread is kept more as a secret and only for the consumption of the clergy. Another example is the shift in the calendar system, to which many Ethiopian people found the rhythm of their lives attuned to. A shift as demanded by the King Susenyos would likely disrupt this rhythm to the common folk. One final example is the ideals behind the construction of churches within the Catholic doctrine. As we discussed, Ethiopian churches found themselves in isolated locations and often were difficult to reach. Catholic churches on the other hand was constructed centralized to towns and villages. This provided ease of access at the expense of what was a very important aspect of faith for Ethiopians; the trial of the journey to worship. This had the simultaneous effect of removing the 'spirituality' of the location of the church. Catholic churches could not be built at the top of a mountain, near an isolated grove and elsewhere. In short, the conflict did not just determine the religious fate of the Ethiopia, but also the daily thrum of life for the Ethiopian faithful. Accounts of the conflict recall exactly how penetrating the shift in religion became for many. Walatta Petros²⁵ served throughout the conflict as a significant figure

²⁵ (Galawdewos 2015)

of resistance against the Jesuit mission. From an early age she had a dedication towards the Coptic church, becoming a faithful nun. Her husband by way of arranged marriage and an advisor to King Susenyos supported the Catholic policies. In response she left her husband to join a monastery, prompting him to respond with a siege²⁶ of the local area. They eventually split and Walatta Petros pursued a campaign of resistance against King Susenyos's Catholic policies. She accused the King as having been corrupted by the Catholic teachings and encouraged churchgoers to refrain from mentioning him in their liturgy. King Susenyos called her to stand for her actions, narrowly escaping a sentence of death²⁷. Exiled, she continued to preach and hold her faith through several trials. Her dedication was not unrewarded and earned her the admiration of the Ethiopian populace who began to settle communities with her blessing²⁸. She would return from exile when King Susenyos's successor Fasiladas granted her a monastery. Throughout her exile she encountered, on a personal level, several Ethiopian Coptic monks, who began to practice their mass and rituals in secret. As well her popularity stood as a clear testament to the people's resistance of the Jesuit missionaries. Juxtaposed to Walatta Petros's account of the Jesuit Interlude is a series of correspondence between the mission and their administrators in Rome. These offer an account more related to the missionaries' effort and are clearly biased toward their intentions. Three passages stand out among the collection, The Annual Letter of 1615, The Annual Letter of 1618, and the Mendes Letter of 1629²⁹. The Annual Letter of 1615 recounts the punishment of a monk preaching anti-Catholic sentiments, and the abuna declaration that there are two natures to Christ. The Annual Letter of 1618 shows the growing resistance within the nobility of the kingdom. A military general revolts against King Susenyos,

²⁶ (Galawdewos 2015)

²⁷ (Galawdewos 2015)

²⁸ (Galawdewos 2015)

²⁹ (Jessica Wright 2017)

and other nobles work to obstruct the King Susenyos's conversion efforts. The Mendes Letter of 1629 displays a radical shift in the pace of conflict as it gives details on the murder of a Catholic priest at the hands of an anti-Catholic administrator. While the Jesuit correspondence remained optimistic about their efforts the underlying violence within their contents shows how widespread the resistance to the Jesuit mission was. Ultimately this resistance, nurtured by ones such as Walatta Petros would cause the downfall of the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia.

The Jesuit Interlude into Ethiopia marks a stark defeat for Roman Catholicism's efforts of conversion among the growing European nations and their consciousness of the world. But when one considers the importance of religion within Ethiopian society, it almost seems like their efforts were doomed from the start. The role of religion in Ethiopia is all-compassing, it dictates daily lives, the growth of communities, and the intense rituals confirming faith. The history of the country finds itself intensely intertwined with the stories of the Bible, taking on an almost mythical stance to their creation as a dedication to their faith. The country's historical politics integrated within the faith, tying even the nobility to the faith. Such mythical stories even penetrated foreign ideas of Ethiopia, build an image of some fabled kingdom and land. The came religions integration with the ritual and daily life of Ethiopians. Any shift in religion would be forced to contend with the entrenchment of these aspects of faith in Ethiopia. Even time, and space find themselves shifted accordingly by religion where both could become sacred by the commitment of such to the faith. Commitments to the long and complicated rituals of the Ethiopian Coptic church, for both clergy and people give each their own role in the proceedings of worship. The style and construction of churches served equally important, taking on native aspects and serving as a trial within themselves. Ultimately during the conflict Catholic resistance such as those led by Walatta served as a testament to the Ethiopian church's strength

amongst its worshippers. The missionaries seemed only to have stirred resentment for themselves among the noble populace. While the Tewahedo church's success would define Ethiopia for generations as a resistor of European influence, it is hard to say that their success is not in part due to the confrontation of doctrine that the Catholics brought. Similarly, Ethiopia seemed to have grown closer to its faith throughout the conflict, an effect that has only served to strengthen the people's dedication to their religion.

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