Introduction: Placing Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity into a Global Context

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Christianity is without any doubt a global phenomenon. Its historiography, however, is not. The way the history of Christianity is being narrated still customarily follows the pattern that focuses on the Roman and Byzantine Empires in the course of late antiquity and spotlights Western Europe in the subsequent periods of time. The turn of Christianity into a global religion has been thus traditionally interpreted as a result of a worldwide expansion of Latin European forms of Christianity, first Roman Catholicism and then Protestantism, commenced in early modern times and culminated in the age of European imperialism and colonialism. Over the last decades scholars of Christianity have become increasingly conscious of limitations of this frame of reference and have embraced a new sensibility to those themes and contexts that so far have been underprivileged in scholarship. This has led to the rapid growth of a new field of inquiry termed “World Christianity.” Nevertheless, this discipline so far mainly focuses upon the variations of Christianity that emerged in the Global South in consequence of Western missionary endeavors and fails to integrate the multiplicity of Eastern and Oriental Christianities into its scope of interest. At the same time, academic scholarship dealing with *Oriens Christianus* developed itself into a series of highly specialized sub-disciplines (Coptic Studies, Syriac Studies, Ethiopian Studies, Armenian Studies etc.) with a strong philological emphasis. Whereas this differentiation enables them to engage in highly nuanced analysis of the sources, it also reduces their visibility and overall impact upon the larger academic community. Hence, there is a twofold problem. On the one hand, historians of Christianity tend to neglect Eastern and Oriental churches and to disregard their decisive role in the making of Christianity into a global religion centuries before the European expansion. On the other hand, researchers of the Christian East incline to concentrate on debates within the context of their sub-disciplines and hardly engage in discussion around the historiography of global Christianity.

This volume aims at narrowing the indicated gap. By doing so, it invites readers to a conversation about the ways we can arrive at a non-Eurocentric reading of the global Christian past. Instead of perpetuating the narrative that

privileges Latin European forms of Christianity, the book spotlights an African Christian formation, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and summons to look at global entanglements through the prism of its history.

Even though the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is by far the largest among the churches of Oriental Christianity, it has so far received relatively little attention in Western scholarship. The marginal position ascribed to Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity has not least to do with its alterity. This African Christian tradition differs from the rest of Christendom not only by a much broader biblical canon, but also by a multitude of religious practices which are often described as being “Jewish” (as for example circumcision or the observance of the Sabbath commandment). The alterity of the Ethiopian Church is usually explained by reference to the geographically isolated location of the Ethiopian highlands and the resulting lack of contacts with the rest of the Christian world. Generally, the idea of isolation became a dominant commonplace in descriptions of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. The further aim of this volume against this background is to explore the various trajectories of translocal and transconfessional entanglements in the history of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and by doing so to place it into a global context.

Notwithstanding the fact that the idea of the isolation of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity still remains highly influential, the last decade has witnessed a steady growth of interest in themes dealing with processes of cultural transmission and interaction between Ethiopian Christianity and other Christian churches or religions. Two fields of inquiry have proven themselves to be particularly productive. Firstly, a considerable corpus of scholarship has been produced on the establishment of relations between Ethiopia and Latin Europe, as well as the Ethiopian presence in the Italian peninsula in late medieval and early modern times.¹ And secondly, the history of the Jesuit mis-

1 Matteo Salvatore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations 1402–1555* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Verena Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); James De Lorenzi, “Red Sea Travelers in Mediterranean Lands: Ethiopian Scholars and Early Modern Orientalism, ca. 1500–1668,” in *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination*, ed. Allison B. Kavey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 173–200; Benjamin Weber, “An Incomplete Integration into the *Orbis Christianus*. Relations and Misunderstandings between the Papacy and Ethiopia (1237–1456),” *Medieval Encounters* 21, no. 2–3 (2015): 232–249; Verena Krebs, “Re-Examining Foresti’s Supplementum Chronicarum and the ‘Ethiopian’ Embassy to Europe of 1306,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 82, no. 3 (2019): 493–515, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X19000697>; Andrew Kurt, “The Search for Prester John, a Projected Crusade and the Eroding Prestige of Ethiopian Kings,” *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 3 (2013): 297–320; Delio Vania Proverbio, “Santo Stefano degli Abissini. Una breve rivisitazione,” *La parola del passato: Rivista di studi antichi* 66 (2011): 50–68; Benjamin Weber, “La bulle Cantate Domino (4 février 1442) et les enjeux éthiopiens du concile de Florence,”

sion in Ethiopia that took place in the 16th and 17th centuries has experienced a major upswing.² Other dimensions of Ethiopian Christian engagement with

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- Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen Âge* 122, no. 2 (2010): 441–449, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.686>; Benjamin Weber and Robin Seignobos, “L’Occident, la croisade et l’Éthiopie,” *Annales d’Éthiopie* 27 (2012): 15–20; Benjamin Weber, “Vrais et faux Éthiopiens au xve siècle en Occident? Du bon usage des connexions,” *Annales d’Éthiopie* 27 (2012): 107–126; Camille Rouxpetel, “Indiens, Éthiopiens et Nubiens dans les récits de pèlerinage occidentaux: entre altérité constatée et altérité construite (xii^e–xvi^e siècle),” *Annales d’Éthiopie* 27 (2012): 71–90; Benjamin Weber, “Gli Etiopi a Roma nel Quattrocento: ambasciatori politici, negoziatori religiosi o pellegrini?,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen Âge* 125, no. 1 (2013), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.1036>; Olivia Adankpo-Labadie, “Accueillir et contrôler les pèlerins éthiopiens à Rome aux xve et xvi^e siècles,” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome—Moyen Âge* 131, no. 2 (2019), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.5864>; Samantha Kelly, “Biondo Flavio on Ethiopia: Processes of Knowledge Production in the Renaissance,” in *The Routledge History of the Renaissance*, ed. William Caferro (New York: Routledge, 2017), 167–182; Samantha Kelly, “Ewostateans at the Council of Florence (1441): Diplomatic Implications between Ethiopia, Europe, Jerusalem and Cairo,” *Afriques. Débats, Méthodes et Terrains d’histoire*, June 29, 2016, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/1858>; Alessandro Bausi and Paolo Chiesa, “The Ystoria Ethyopie in the Chronica Universalis of Galvaneus de la Flamma (d. c. 1345),” *Aethiopica* 22 (2019): 7–57, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15460/aethiopica.22.0.1491>; Marco Bonechi, “Four Sistine Ethiopians? The 1481 Ethiopian Embassy and the Frescoes of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican,” *Aethiopica* 14 (2011): 121–135; Matteo Salvatore, “African Cosmopolitanism in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Diasporic Life of Yohannes, the Ethiopian Pilgrim Who Became a Counter-Reformation Bishop,” *The Journal of African History* 58, no. 1 (2017): 61–83; Samantha Kelly and Denis Nomsitsin, “The Two Yohannases of Santo Stefano Degli Abissini, Rome: Reconstructing Biography and Cross-Cultural Encounter through Manuscript Evidence,” *Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 392–426; Cates Baldrige, *Prisoners of Prester John: The Portuguese Mission to Ethiopia in Search of the Mythical King, 1520–1526* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2012); Samatha Kelly, “Medieval Ethiopian Diasporas,” in *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea*, ed. Samatha Kelly (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 425–453.
- 2 Victor Manuel Fernández et al., *The Archeology of the Jesuit Missions in Ethiopia (1557–1632)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Wendy Laura Belcher, ed., *The Jesuits in Ethiopia (1609–1641). Latin Letters in Translation*, trans. Jessica Wright and Leon Grek (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017); Andreu Martínez d’Alòs-Moner, *Envoys of a Human God. The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557–1632* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Wendy Laura Belcher and Michael Kleiner, ed., *The Life and Struggles of Our Mother Walatta Petros. A Seventeenth-Century African Biography of an Ethiopian Woman* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015); Matteo Salvatore, “Gaining the Heart of Prester John: Loyola’s Blueprint for Ethiopia in Three Key Documents,” *World History Connected* 10, no. 3 (2013), URL: https://worldhistoryconnected.press.uiuinois.edu/10.3/forum_salvadore.html (15.12.2019); Matteo Salvatore, “The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555–1634) and the Death of Prester John,” in *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination*, ed. Allison B. Kavey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 141–171; Leonardo Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (1555–1632)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009); Wendy Laura Belcher, “Sisters Debating the Jesuits: The Role of African Women in Defeating Portuguese Proto-Colonialism in Seventeenth-Century Abyssinia,” *Northeast African Studies* 13, no. 1 (2013): 121–166; Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie). Straté-*

the wider world have received significantly less attention. Further contributions appeared within the last ten years that in one way or another touch upon global entanglements of Ethiopian Christianity can be broadly classified into several clusters based upon their topic.

The most prolific cluster of studies deals with interconnections between Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and different Christian traditions. It encompasses contributions on a wide range of chronological, geographical and confessional settings. Historical ties connecting Ethiopian Christianity with other Oriental churches are of particular importance in this context. Recently, several studies have shed new light upon Aksumite contacts with Christian Nubia,³ the phenomenon of the so called “second evangelization” of Ethiopia as well as literary connections with Syriac Christianity.⁴ Furthermore, historical, religious and cultural ties connecting Ethiopia with Christian Egypt remain a highly productive field of investigation.⁵ An important subject in this context is also the history of Indian and Armenian diasporas in Ethiopia.⁶

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- gies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495–1633* (Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003); Elias Ng'etich, “Catholic Counter-Reformation: A History of the Jesuits' Mission to Ethiopia 1557–1635,” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 42, no. 2 (2016): 105–116; Leonardo Cohen, “Visions and Dreams: An Avenue for Ethiopians' Conversion to Catholicism at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 39, no. 1 (2009): 4–29; Annie Molinié-Bertrand, “Pierre Du Jarric et l'Éthiopie,” in *Contrabandista entre mundos fronterizos*, ed. Nicolas Balutet et al. (Paris: Publibook, 2010), 155–164.
- 3 George Hatke, *Aksum and Nubia: Warfare, Commerce, and Political Fictions in Ancient Northeast Africa* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); Benjamin Hendrickx, “The Letter of an Ethiopian King to King George II of Nubia in the framework of the ecclesiastic correspondence between Axum, Nubia and the Coptic Patriarchate in Egypt and of the events of the 10th Century AD,” *Pharos Journal of Theology* 99 (2018): 1–21.
 - 4 Antonella Brita, *I racconti tradizionali sulla ‘Seconda Cristianizzazione’ dell’Etiopia. Il ciclo agiografico dei Nove Santi* (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli ‘L'Orientale’, 2010); Ralph Lee, *Symbolic Interpretations in Ethiopic and Early Syriac Literature* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017).
 - 5 Alessandro Bausi and Alberto Camplani, “New Ethiopic Documents for the History of Christian Egypt,” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 17, no. 2 (2013): 215–247; Alessandro Bausi, “Ethiopia and the Christian Ecumene: Cultural Transmission, Translation, and Reception,” in *A Companion to Medieval Ethiopia and Eritrea*, ed. Samantha Kelly (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 217–251; Zeus Wellenhofer, “Die arabisch-altäthiopische Übersetzungsliteratur im historischen Kontext des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts,” in *Multidisciplinary Views on the Horn of Africa. Festschrift in Honour of Rainer Voigt's 70th Birthday*, ed. Hatem Elliesie (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2014), 467–496; Verena Krebs, “Crusading threats? Ethiopian-Egyptian relations in the 1440s,” in *Croisades en Afrique: les expéditions occidentales à destination du continent africain, XIIIe–XVIIe siècle*, ed. Benjamin Weber (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2019), 245–274; Wudu Tafete Kassu, “Religion and Cold War Politics in Ethiopia,” in *Religion and the Cold War. A Global Perspective*, ed. Philip E. Muehlenbeck (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 139–157.
 - 6 Martin Tamcke, “Indians and Christians in Ethiopia: Abraham Verghese's Constructions and

Another set of studies has been produced on the multifaceted history of relationships between Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and Protestantism.⁷ They encompass both certain aspects of mission history⁸ and issues of inter-confessional tensions between Orthodox and Protestant Christians in modern Ethiopia.⁹ Given that the history of the Roman Catholic engagement with

their Background," *The Harp, A Review of Syriac, Oriental and Ecumenical Studies* xxx (2016): 333–342; Boris Adjemian, *La fanfare du Négus: les Arméniens en Éthiopie (XIXe–XXe siècles)* (Paris: Éditions EHESS, 2013); Boris Adjemian, "Räs Tafari dans la mémoire de l'immigration arménienne en Éthiopie," *Annales d'Éthiopie* 28 (2013): 133–155; Boris Adjemian, "L'invention d'un homeland arménien en Éthiopie. Exil et sédentarité dans l'écriture d'une mémoire d'hôtes en diaspora," *Tracés. Revue de Sciences humaines* 23 (2012), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/traces.5546>; Boris Adjemian, "Les Arméniens en Éthiopie, une entorse à la 'raison diasporique'? Réflexion sur les concepts de diaspora marchande et de minorité intermédiaire," *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 28 (3) (2012): 107–126, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.6082>.

- 7 Cf. especially a programmatic proposal of writing an engangled history of Ethiopian Orthodoxy and European Protestantism: Stanislaw Paulau, *Das andere Christentum. Zur transkonfessionellen Verflechtungsgeschichte von äthiopischer Orthodoxie und europäischem Protestantismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021). An open access version is available at: <https://doi.org/10.13109/9783666336041>.
- 8 Wolbert G.C. Smidt, "A Remarkable Chapter of German Research History: The Protestant Mission and the Oromo in the Nineteenth Century," *ITYOPIS—Northeast African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* Extra Issue 1: Cultural Research in Northeastern Africa. German Histories and Stories (2015): 61–77; Wolbert G.C. Smidt, *Photos as Historical Witnesses: The First Ethiopians in Germany and the First Germans in Ethiopia, the History of a Complex Relationship* (Berlin: Lit, 2015); Stanislaw Paulau, "Encountering the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in the Pre-Ecumenical Age: Some Remarks on the First Protestant Missionaries in Ethiopia (1829–1843)," in *Movements in Ethiopia, Ethiopia in Movement*. Vol. 1, ed. Eloi Ficquet, Ahmed Hassen and Thomas Osmond (Los Angeles, CA: Tsehai Publishers, 2016), 175–184; E. Paul Balisky, *Thomas A. Lambie. Missionary Doctor and Entrepreneur* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2020); Stanislaw Paulau, "Legitimation Strategies in the Encounters between Missionary and Indigenous Christianity: Examining German Hermannsburg Mission's Narratives on the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (1924–1927)," in *Ökumenische Begegnungen—Ecumenical Encounters*, ed. Claudia Hoffmann, Florian Tuder and Irena Zeltner Pavlović (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2015), 170–179; Stanislaw Paulau, "Auf der Suche nach dem Tabot. Zu einem vergessenen Kapitel in der Geschichte der Wechselbeziehungen zwischen deutscher Wissenschaft, Mission und äthiopischem Christentum," in *Begegnungen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Beiträge dialogischer Existenz. Eine freundschaftliche Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Martin Tamcke*, ed. Claudia Rammelt, Cornelia Schlarb and Egbert Schlarb (Berlin: Lit, 2015), 286–295; Jörg Haustein, *Writing Religious History. The Historiography of Ethiopian Pentecostalism* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014); Hagos Abraha, "Christianity and Global Networks in Ethiopia during and after the First World War," in *The First World War as a Turning Point. The Impact of the Years 1914–1918 on Church and Mission (with special focus on the Hermannsburg Mission)*, ed. Frieder Ludwig (Berlin, Lit, 2020), 149–160.
- 9 Lydette S. Assefa, "Creating Identity in Opposition: Relations between the Meserete Kristos

Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity is typically being seen through the prism of the Jesuit mission in the 16th and 17th centuries, one can only welcome the fact that the impact of the later Roman Catholic missions on the Horn of Africa has recently also attracted the attention of scholars.¹⁰ The history of Ethiopia's relations with the world of Eastern Orthodoxy can be considered the least investigated area of its entanglements with other Christian traditions. However, a couple of studies lately dedicated to this subject matter indicate that this situation has begun to change.¹¹ Yet another emerging field of study is the history of the engagement of the Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Churches in the modern ecumenical movement.¹²

Further clusters of topics reflecting the overall phenomenon of global entanglements of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity are that of migration and interreligious contacts. Thus, migration of Aksumite Christians to South Arabia in late antiquity, as well as modern migration of Ethiopians to Europe and the United

Church and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, 1960–1980,” *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 83, no. 4 (2009): 539–570; Diego Maria Malara, “Exorcizing the Spirit of Protestantism: Ambiguity and Spirit Possession in an Ethiopian Orthodox Ritual,” *Ethnos* 2019, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2019.1631871>.

- 10 Mauro Forno, *Cardinal Massaja and the Catholic Mission in Ethiopia. Features of an Experience between Religion and Politics*, trans. Angela Amone (Nairobi: Paulines Publ. Africa, 2013); Valentina Fusari, “Comboni Missionary Sisters in Eritrea (1914–2014),” *Annales d'Éthiopie* 30 (2015): 45–69; Yonatan Tewelde, “The Impact of European Christian Imagery on Contemporary Orthodox Tewahedo Iconography in Eritrea,” *Northeast African Studies* 19, no. 2 (2019): 91–110; Thomas Fornet-Ponse, “Zwei Kirchen, zwei Riten—eine Gemeinschaft?: Die Ritenfrage der katholischen Kirchen Äthiopiens und die Frage nach kultureller und kirchlicher Identität,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 68, no. 1/2 (2019): 287–306.
- 11 Tobias Rupprecht, “Orthodox Internationalism: State and Church in Modern Russia and Ethiopia,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60, no. 1 (2018): 212–235, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417517000469>; Stanislau Paulau, “Beyond Words: Practical Dialogue between the Ethiopian Orthodox Tāwāḥədo Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church Family,” in *The Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches*, ed. Christine Chaillot (Volos: Volos Academy Publications, 2016), 415–422.
- 12 Stanislau Paulau, “Ecumenical Dialogue in the Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church,” in *Orthodox Handbook on Ecumenism: Resources for Theological Education*, ed. Pantelis Kalaitzidis et al. (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2014), 597–604; Stanislau Paulau, “Interconfessional Dialogue and Traditional Litigation in the Early 20th Century Eritrea: Introducing an Unpublished Manuscript,” in *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Eritrean Studies 20–22 July 2016*. Vol. 1, ed. Zemenfes Tsighe et al. (Asmara: National Higher Education and Research Institute, 2018), 143–155; Stanislau Paulau, “Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and the Global Ecumenical Movement: Forms and Dynamics of Multidirectional Interactions,” in *A History of the Desire for Christian Unity. Ecumenism in the Churches (19th–21st Century)*. Vol. 3, ed. Alberto Melloni (Leiden: Brill, 2022), forthcoming.

States, have become subjects of historical analysis.¹³ At the same time, the history of interreligious interactions in Ethiopia has emerged as a dynamic field and lead to the production of a notable set of works on Christian-Muslim as well as Christian-Jewish relations.¹⁴

This short overview of studies which appeared within the last decade reveals a growing interest towards the questions regarding the engagement of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity with the wider world. Nevertheless, since these contributions remain scattered across different disciplinary settings (often bound not only to certain thematic, but also chronological and geographical limits), they do not reach critical mass in order to initiate a broad discussion regarding the positionality of Ethiopian Christianity in a global context. This volume wishes to assume this task and invites to consider global entanglements as well as disruptions thereof not as peripheral phenomena, but rather as factors that have shaped Ethiopian Christianity in the whole course of its history. Yet, entanglements and disconnections are to be understood here not as static dichotomous variables. Rather these analytical concepts aim to emphasize the reciprocal nature of integrative and disintegrative elements that constitute a complex and dynamic relationship. At the same time, one ought to also consider Ethiopian Christianity as a force that has influenced other actors it came in contact with. The pursuit to bring both these dimensions together are at the heart of the studies presented in this book.

- 13 George Hatke, "The Aksumites in South Arabia: An African Diaspora of Late Antiquity," in *Migration Histories of the Medieval Afroeurasian Transition Zone. Aspects of Mobility between Africa, Asia and Europe, 300–1500 C.E.*, ed. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, Lucian Reinhardt, and Yannis Stouraitis (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 291–326; Joachim G. Persoon, "The Planting of the Tabot on European Soil: The Trajectory of Ethiopian Orthodox Involvement with the European Continent," *Studies in World Christianity* 16, no. 3 (2010): 320–340; Walle Engedayehu, "The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church in the Diaspora: Expansion in the Midst of Division," *African Social Science Review* 6, no. 1 (2013): 115–133.
- 14 Haggai Erlich, *Islam and Christianity in the Horn of Africa: Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010); Jon Abbink, "Religion in Public Spaces: Emerging Muslim-Christian Polemics in Ethiopia," *African Affairs* 110, no. 439 (2011): 253–274; Jürgen Klein, "Some Patterns and Trends in Christian-Muslim Relations in Ethiopia," in *Orientalische Christen und Europa. Kulturbegegnung zwischen Interferenz, Partizipation und Antizipation*, ed. Martin Tamcke (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 293–308; F. Peter Ford, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Ethiopia: Lessons from the Past, Opportunities for the Future," in *World Christianity in Muslim Encounter*, ed. Stephen R. Goodwin (London: Continuum International Publishing, 2009), 54–70; Amélie Chekroun, "Conquête(s) et conversions religieuses dans l'Éthiopie du xvie siècle," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 182 (2018): 149–166; Brigitte Proksch, "Mönchtum in Äthiopien: Einflüsse und Wechselwirkungen mit Judentum und Islam," in *Das Charisma des Ursprungs und die Religionen: Das Werden christlicher Orden im Kontext der Religionen*, ed. Petrus Bsteh and Brigitte Proksch (Berlin: Lit, 2011), 13–35.

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