Spatial Tactics and the Society of Jesus in Brazil and Ethiopia, c.1549-1640

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Statement of Originality

I, Emma Newman, confirm that the research included within this thesis is my own work or that where it has been carried out in collaboration with, or supported by others, that this is duly acknowledged below and my contribution indicated. Previously published material is also acknowledged below.

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Abstract

This thesis employs theoretical principles of the 'spatial turn' to examine how Jesuits negotiated indigenous spaces, and created and managed their own, in Brazil and Ethiopia (c.1549-1640). It also seeks to understand the implications of the Jesuits' spatial tactics for their approach towards Brazilian and Ethiopian alterity. This thesis engages with these two very different case studies in order to demonstrate firstly how considerations of 'space' – in its various iterations – were fundamental to the global outreach of the Society of Jesus, and secondly how explicitly the Society's institutional ethos spatially informed their 'ways of proceeding' in both the Old World and the New.

This thesis informs a deeper theoretical understanding of the Jesuits' perception and use of space, and finds that spatial tactics were a conscious and essential missionary strategy in both Brazil and Ethiopia. The Jesuits had an abiding aversion to spaces they perceived as liminal or ambiguous, such as Brazil's sertão or the contested and porous borders of Ethiopia's 'empire.' This led to both pragmatic developments of 'strongly-framed' spaces whereby priests could exert greater control, and rhetorical renditions of native territory based upon a binary understanding of exclusive and inclusive space. Alongside practicality, the Jesuits' use of spatial tactics was determined by a firm belief that hierarchical authority was key to achieving their desired evangelical aims. Their renditions of space were also rooted in concepts of institutional identity, namely, efforts to 'edify' the Society and contribute to the worldwide 'union of souls.'

The Jesuits' engagement with space did not allow them unfettered dominance over their relations with indigenous catechumens, however. Jesuits were often subject to processes beyond their sphere of influence and were forced to compromise in the face of unavoidable local conditions, a theme which this thesis also addresses.

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Maps and Illustrations

Introduction

'[S]pace is an integral part of the outsider problem. The way in which space is organised affects the perception of the 'other,' either as foreign and threatening or as simply different.'[1]

By 1556, just sixteen years after its foundation, the Society of Jesus numbered 1,500 personnel, with a total of 46 colleges in Europe, Brazil, and India.[2] This was a feat indicative of the order's global outlook, evident from its very beginnings. Initially comprised of mostly aristocratic men of the Iberian Peninsula and Savoy,[3] the Jesuits were prolific networkers, and almost immediately worked to ingratiate themselves with those of the highest authority, an effort which was to ensure their early success. Their reputation for religious zeal and dedication to the Catholic Reformation preceded them, and soon after offering their services to Pope Paul III in November 1538, Charles V of Spain and John III of Portugal requested the priests for their overseas colonies.[4] The steady encroachment of the Jesuits upon the royal court was greatly pronounced in Portugal, and the active interest in Jesuit educational establishments shown by Portuguese kings was greater than in any other European Catholic state.[5]

[1] David Sibley, 'Outsiders in society and space', in *Inventing Places: Studies in Cultural Geography*, ed. by Kay Anderson and Fay Gale (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1992), p.116.
[2] Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1996), pp.16-17; George E. Ganss, S.J., *St. Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1954), p.24.
[3] These men were: Ignatius of Loyola; Francis Xavier; Alfonso Salmeron; Simão Rodrigues; Diego Laínez; Nicolás Bobadilla; and Peter Faber (whose parents were not aristocrats, but peasants).
[4] Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, 'Portuguese Missionaries and Early Modern Antislavery and Proslavery Thought', in *Slavery and Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire*, ed. by Josep M. Fradera and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), p.44.
[5] Nigel Griffin, 'Italy, Portugal, and the Early Years of the Society of Jesus', in *Portuguese, Brazilian, and African Studies*, ed. by T. F. Earle and Nigel Griffin (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995), p.141. John III was an ardent supporter of the Jesuits, and expressed his passion by founding their university college in Coimbra in 1542, a mere two years after the official establishment of the Society. The benevolent attitude expressed by João III to the Jesuits would be adopted by his grandson and heir, Sebastian (r. 1557-1578), who was educated by a Jesuit tutor, Luís Gonçalves da Câmara.

The order's aim was to travel across the world, bringing the light of Christ's salvation to everyone, and thereby render 'greater service to God.'[6] The Jesuit *Constitutions*, written up by the Society's founder Ignatius of Loyola and adopted in 1553, declared that

> it is of the greatest profit to us to go beyond the ordinary obligations and bind ourselves by a special vow [to the Pope], so that whatever the present Roman Pontiff and others to come will wish to command us with regard to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, or wherever he may be pleased to send us to any regions whatsoever, we will obey at once, without subterfuge or excuse, as far as in us lies. We pledge to do this whether he sends us among the Turks or to other infidels, even to the land they call India, or to any heretics or schismatics, or to any of the faithful.[7]

The endeavour undertaken to realise this global identity meant that Jesuits – especially those launching their international careers from the Iberian peninsula – were at the forefront of exchanges of cultural encounter, and were often agents tasked with developing policy aimed at managing newly 'discovered' populations, such as the Tupi-Guarani and Gê-speaking indigenous peoples of Brazil, or with enhancing relationships with more distant yet familiar nations, such as that of Christian Ethiopia. At times Jesuits were to go overseas in obedience to the desires of the Pope and their royal sponsors, as in the case of the New World; at others, they themselves sparked interest in mission projects that they were keen to undertake. Loyola, for example, sent hundreds of letters concerning the plans for an Ethiopian mission between 1553 and 1556, the bulk of these to John III in order to persuade him to bring the matter before the Portuguese ambassador in Rome.[8]

This thesis investigates how missionaries from the Society of Jesus employed, created, and conceived of spatial organisation whilst on mission in Brazil (1549-1570) and Ethiopia (1603-1640), and examines the implications of spatial tactics for the Jesuits' negotiation of ethnic and cultural alterity. The issue of how the Jesuits were to manage space was a vital component in the priests' engagement

[6] Alain Woodrow, *The Jesuits: A Story of Power* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995), p.59.
[7] John W. Padberg, S.J, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts* (Saint Louis, MO.: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), pp.6-7.
[8] Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, *Envoys of a Human God: The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557-1632* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p.47.

with those they sought to convert to Roman Catholicism. Their perceptions of and engagement with indigenous spaces and natural environments reveal a great deal about the fundamental workings of an institution traditionally portrayed in historiography as an indomitable force with a firmly regulated and homogenous ideology. Far from possessing direct and unassailable authority over indigenous communities, individual missionaries were in fact subject to pressures which one might term 'systemic contexts.' These included colonial hierarchies of power, native agencies and processes of territorialisation, and the internal functions of the Society itself, which often limited their ability to direct their agenda within Brazil and Ethiopia. I aim to show how the influence of these systemic contexts, and the related concepts of territorialisation and spatiality evident in Jesuit correspondence, histories, and itineraries, are vital in understanding how members of the Society approached and negotiated ethnic and cultural otherness.

Luke Clossey writes that in considering the Jesuits as 'other' themselves, and as anthropologists ('in the older theological sense of the study of man's place in the process of salvation'), it emerges that 'the Jesuits had their own understanding of "other," distinct from that of modern historians – for their "other" were those to be converted, whether European or not.'[9] This is apparent from the examples of Brazil and Ethiopia. Both regions presented the Jesuits with otherness, despite Ethiopia's ruling classes being adherents to the Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church. Considerations of the Jesuits' perception of otherness, as well as a spatial history of the early-modern missions of the Jesuits, are long overdue. Accounts from this period convey a fascination with indigenous spaces, be they domestic, sacred, or territorial. Jesuits often thought it necessary to engage with these spaces and the opportunities provided to them by doing so. But they also sought to insert spaces of their own within indigenous territories by initiating various building programmes, often seeing this as just as important as other 'ways of proceeding' (*modos de proceder*) that their missionaries undertook. In his instructions to the Roman Catholic Patriarch of Ethiopia, João Nunes Barreto, Loyola wrote that 'the salvation of that nation' would be the opening of 'a large number of elementary schools there, and secondary schools

[9] Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalisation in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.8.

and colleges, for the education of young men, and even of others who may need it, in Latin and in Christian faith and morals.'[10] Similarly, Loyola claimed, it was important to set before the Ethiopians (whom he believed went to extremes in the practices of penances, particularly fasting) 'charity in word and example,' which would be realised through the establishment of hospitals, 'where pilgrims and the sick, curable and incurable, could be gathered […] and […] confraternities for the redemption of captives [Christians enslaved by Muslims] and the care of exposed children of both sexes.'[11] It was therefore expected that these buildings would become important representations and enactments of attractive tenets of Roman Catholic belief.

The Jesuits' own creation of space has too often been dismissed as a given and inevitable manifestation of their presence abroad. While missionary strategies of the Society of Jesus are coming under increased scrutiny in current historiography, spatial theory has rarely been employed to indicate how the Jesuits sought to implement their vision abroad by harnessing, manipulating, and creating spaces – yet decisions to do so were often purposeful. This thesis rectifies this by engaging theoretical principles to reveal the processes behind these attempts. It also contributes to discussions in scholarship focussing on the global and local contexts that constrained and influenced the Society while on mission, and how these translated into policy concerning the territories and spatial organisation of their indigenous catechumens.

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES: COMPARISON

This section will examine whether meaningful comparative studies can be conducted between Brazil and Ethiopia, and discuss how comparison is helpful in understanding issues of spatiality and alterity in early-modern Jesuit mission. While this thesis treats Brazil and Ethiopia separately, the overall aim is to provide readers with a comparative understanding of how the Society of Jesus negotiated the alterity of their catechumens and adapted 'ways of proceeding' specifically related to spatiality. This

[10] Ignatius of Loyola, 'Letter to João Nunes de Barreto, Patriarch of Ethiopia', in *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640*, ed. by John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), p.27.
[11] Ibid., pp.28-29.

thesis does not compare the mission fields of Brazil and Ethiopia themselves, but the strategic approaches and perceptions of the Jesuits in those regions. It demonstrates that although individual personnel reacted to local contexts in varied ways, the institutional Society of Jesus had a clear, global focus on space as a key part of their *modo de proceder*.

There were huge disparities between the local conditions of Brazil and Ethiopia, detailed further below, yet these differences are integral to the overall point made by this present work. The comparison is an institutional one, and demonstrates that Jesuits prioritised space no matter whether they found themselves in the Old World or the New. The two examples highlight the creative responses of individual priests in their negotiations of alterity, and the ways in which they were challenged in reconciling these strategies with their institutional directives. Comparing missions in differing global localities aids an understanding of the relationship and tension between the institutional and personal responses to local contexts, a key aspect of this thesis.

Soon after its inception, the Society of Jesus rapidly evolved into a global Roman Catholic order with a missionary outreach that extended to all four corners of the Earth. It therefore naturally invites global comparative study. Brazil and Ethiopia were two of the very first international mission fields of the Society of Jesus, Brazil's mission initiating in 1549, just nine years after the order's official foundation, and Ethiopia's beginning in 1558.[12] They present compelling examples from the Old and New Worlds of the creativity, dynamism, and fervour with which Jesuits negotiated indigenous spaces – and managed their own – in the early modern period. Both missions were the responsibility of the Portuguese Assistancy, the first administrative unit of the Society of Jesus, which meant that many of the Jesuits who appear in this thesis were educated at the Jesuit college at Coimbra.[13] This institutional

[12] This first mission, however, is not treated by this thesis, as the Jesuits never achieved any kind of influential presence in Ethiopia in the sixteenth century. The effort of Portuguese Jesuits Andrés de Oviedo and João Nuñes Barreto to convert the Ethiopian King Gelawdewos to Roman Catholicism met with staunch defiance, and after an unsuccessful eighteen months at the royal court, Oviedo retreated to Fremona in the northern region of Tigrê to minister to a small community of Ethio-Portuguese families. The mission was officially disbanded in 1566 by the Papacy and the Society of Jesus, although Oviedo refused to abandon Fremona. Jay Carney, 'Go Set Africa on Fire? Lessons in Evangelisation and Globalisation from Early Jesuit Missions in Ethiopia', *Journal of Religion and Society*, 16 (2018), p.8.

[13] These Jesuits include Manuel da Nóbrega; José de Anchieta; João de Azpilcueta Navarro; Fernão Cardim; Pedro Páez; Jerónimo Lobo, and Manuel da Almeida.

framework provides the basis for effective comparison, as an examination of the two missions will highlight the extent to which attempts at institutional hegemony were applied wholesale to the Jesuits' conversion strategies abroad.

A comparison of Brazil and Ethiopia will yield insights on the 'causal processes' behind the Society's negotiation of indigenous communities through the medium of spatial tactics, that is, 'the use of space as a strategy and/or technique of power and social control.'[14] My intention is to discover first how these processes functioned in practice, and second whether these processes shared similarities, and if so, why. One of the most significant frameworks of reference with which Jesuits conducted their mission strategies abroad was their relationship with the concept and manifestation of monarchy. This is well documented and has been written about by a variety of historians and political theorists, although without emphasis on spatial tactics. The Jesuits' desire to cleave themselves to the highest authorities wherever they felt called to evangelise often adopted a similar spatial identity and was a pattern witnessed time and again. By employing two disparate case studies I illustrate how the Jesuits' preoccupation with monarchy globally informed their spatial engagement and enterprise in the early modern period, and to evince that many priests from the Society still employed understandings of so-called 'perfect governance' in reacting to local conditions and events.

A comparison of Brazil and Ethiopia in this period enables a clearer understanding of exactly how Jesuits adapted an institutional framework – their intimate alignment with monarchy – to their conversion of the diverse communities they were presented with abroad, and to the spatial tactics they were to implement. It is clear that individual fathers and brothers did respond to local contexts and pressures, and importantly, that this was expressed and realised through their use (or abuse) of space. I will argue that this can be seen in both Ethiopia and Brazil, showing that whilst Jesuits from the Portuguese Assistancy brought with them a largely hegemonic attitude towards authority and hierarchy, they actively worked to develop a *modo de proceder* based on their understanding of local

[14] Setha Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, eds, *The Anthropology of Space and Place* (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), p.30.

events and indigenous cultures, and, crucially, the environments – both built and natural – that they inhabited.

By bringing together both Brazil and Ethiopia under similar spatial and institutional frameworks, more will be revealed about the emphasis the Jesuits placed upon the need to respond to diverse local conditions by appealing to institutional concepts of spatial tactics.

SPIRITUALITY AND CONVERSION IN EARLY-MODERN BRAZIL AND ETHIOPIA

The process and act of religious conversion is not strictly under examination in this thesis, but it remains important to note the inherent differences between the Jesuits' engagement of new catechumens in Brazil and Ethiopia. Conversion was different in these two regions for a number of reasons. The obvious point of departure was that 'Ethiopia,' or 'Abyssinia,' a fairly clearly defined geopolitical territory (albeit with fluctuating borders due to continual warfare), had been ruled by Christian kings and queens for over a thousand years before the Jesuits arrived. The indigenous peoples of the region named 'Brazil' by Portuguese colonisers (from the *pau-brasil,* or Brazil wood, that grew there) had no previous experience of Christianity whatsoever before their encounter with white Europeans. At the Ethiopian court, the Jesuits found the Emperor – and some of his kin – curious and ready to engage with Roman Catholic doctrine. The missionaries employed Latin rhetoric and the 'art of persuasion' in public theological debates to encourage confessional shifts to Catholicism at court, and concentrated on making their college and church at Fremona the region's main community hub – and an important centre of pilgrimage – in order to persuade locals of their importance. In Brazil, the major challenge was one of communication. Missionaries had to immerse themselves in the language of the Tupi-Guarani in order to engage them with abstract ideas of sin and salvation, and were constantly presented with logistical and cultural obstacles. The main aim for the Jesuits was to persuade them to attend church services and teach them to recite the catechism. The methods the Jesuits used to convert Ethiopians and indigenous Brazilians were completely different, something shown through their spatial tactics.

Initially, the Jesuits believed the indigenous peoples of Brazil to have no understanding of spiritual matters and to be lacking a coherent belief system, and so presented a 'blank slate' or *tabula rasa* upon which anything could be printed.[15] They soon found to their dismay, however, that the Tupinambá – a numerous people along the eastern coast which was among the first to be encountered by the Portuguese – had their own cosmology and origin stories, not to mention their own *pagés* (ordinary shamans) and *caraiba* (great shamans), who informed their beliefs and directed their behaviour. Attempted migrations to the 'Land without Evil' was a major feature of the expression of their spirituality.[16] This was a mythical place of perfection, where immortal people could feast and drink to their hearts' content and crops grew without cultivation. The Tupi-Guarani believed that although 'the souls of exceptional individuals went there after death,' *caraiba* could divine the correct path to this land, which could be reached by 'observing a stringent regime of fasting, chanting, and dancing.'[17] Although these pilgrimages often resulted in terrible privations for the Tupi-Guarani (famine and loss of life being common), they were fiercely dedicated to the cause of finding this paradise. The Jesuits did not approve of these migrations, as the earthly nature of the Land without Evil, and the migrations' associations with shamans and 'indigenous messianism' could not be reconciled with Christianity.[18]

They also believed in – and feared – demons and spirits, who featured prominently in their culture, and were said to dwell in the forests and bring devastations such as floods and diseases. There was no real equivalent to the Christian God in the Tupi belief system, but Jesuits chose to adopt Tupan, their demon of thunder, lightning, and rain, in order to help them associate the power of the natural environment with the might of God.[19] In Ethiopia, the Jesuits also wrestled with differing views about God. While the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians put their faith in God, their religion was seen by

[15] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Dr. Martin Azpilcueta Navarro, 10th August 1549', in *Monumenta Brasiliae*, vol.1, ed. by Serafim Leite, S. J. (hereafter *MB*) (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1956-1960), p.142.
[16] Eduardo Viveiro de Castro, *The Inconstancy of the Indian Soul: The Encounter of Catholics and Cannibals in 16th-Century Brazil*, trans. by Gregory Duff Morton (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2011), p.13.
[17] Judith Shapiro, 'From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianisation of Tupi-Guarani Cosmology', *American Ethnologist*, 14.1 (1987), p.131.
[18] Ibid., p.132.
[19] John Hemming, *Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p.58.

Jesuits as decaying and their doctrine as erroneous. The Orthodox view of Christology, for example, was one of the issues most hotly debated by Jesuit priests and Täwaḥədo monks. The theological intricacies behind this debate are detailed more fully in Chapter V.

In the Tupi-Guarani, the Jesuits did not see a religious system, but a set of customs, or 'bad habits' (*maus costumes*) that needed to be fixed. The Jesuits were confused by the indigenous peoples' apparent 'inconstancy' in accepting the Christian faith. Yet Viveiro de Castro writes that this inconstancy 'was the result of a deep adherence to a set of beliefs that one has every right to call "religious."'[20] Many of their cultural practices were intrinsic to the functioning of their society, such as polygamy, tribal warfare, and the widespread adherence to exo-cannibalism – consuming individuals outside one's social group – all of which were considered by Jesuits as high priority causes for concern. In Ethiopia, the Jesuits also identified 'bad practices' that they deemed necessary to eradicate, for the sake of what they saw as correct adherence to the faith. The Ethiopian practice of circumcision, for example, overshadowed much of the dialogue between the Jesuits and Orthodox Täwaḥədo Christians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Unlike the *maus costumes* of the Tupi-Guarani, however, the Jesuits firmly believed in the religious basis for circumcision, suspecting the influence of Judaism over the Ethiopians in this regard despite the latter's fierce denial of this. This again stemmed largely from ignorance – and from the general suspicion on the part of the Iberian kingdoms towards Jews and *conversos* in the early modern period.[21] The Jesuits could not – or would not – understand the unique forms of worship, cults, and festivities which had unfolded in Christian Ethiopia from the seventh century, nor the Ethiopians' belief that they were the true inheritors of the blessing God had bestowed upon Israel. All of this constituted a 'great spiritual fortress,' in the words of Taddesse Tamrat. It was a religious tradition which had been uniquely developed, and which resisted much of the widespread reform and reunification that the Jesuits attempted to instil, with little sympathy or understanding. It was largely this intransigence – along with the contentious internal

[20] Viveiro de Castro, *The Inconstancy of the Indian Soul*, p.13.
[21] Andreu Martínez D'Alòs-Moner, 'Paul and the Other: the Portuguese debate on the circumcision of the Ethiopians', in Verena Böll and others, eds, *Ethiopia and the Missions: Historical and Anthropological Insights* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), p.35.

affairs of Ethiopia – which resulted in the Jesuits' ultimate failure to convert the realm in the 1640s. Likewise, a refusal to accommodate the practices and customs of the Tupi-Guarani once they were inside the confines of the *aldeias* meant that many Jesuits saw their settlements abandoned *en masse* as their catechumens fled for the safety and freedom of the *sertão.*

Although the mission fields of Brazil and Ethiopia presented the Jesuits with wildly varying cultural practices, social behaviours, and religious beliefs, it is possible to see similar attitudes in the ways in which missionaries negotiated and engaged with their catechumens in East Africa and South America between 1549-1640. It is the role of this thesis to demonstrate how a considerable portion of this negotiation was conducted through the use of spatial tactics, and to examine the relationship between the response to local conditions, and the influence of institutional frameworks upon missionary strategies.

Chapter I will outline the spatial methodology applied to the case studies within this thesis. Chapter II examines the Jesuits' activities in Brazil's populated wilderness, the *sertão*, and exemplifies the potential of this perilous landscape to shape missionary accounts in order to glorify the Society. However, priests soon realised that for practical reasons the interior could never be fully conducive to a successful evangelisation of the indigenous peoples within. Chapter III is dedicated to the consequence of this realisation, the *aldeia* system. I analyse these radical spatial organisations within theoretical frameworks on exclusion and confinement to reconsider these sites as disciplinary compounds, places that served not just to convert their inhabitants, but to punish them for perceived misdeeds and to regulate their social behaviours. Chapter IV turns to Ethiopia, and offers a consideration of Jesuit perceptions of the native territorialisation of this land, exploring the missionaries' motivations in promoting an imperial structure for Ethiopia's political organisation. Chapter V examines how the missionary agenda in Ethiopia was given an explicitly spatial character by Jesuits in their effort to align with local power structures. All chapters determine the processes behind Jesuit efforts to create, manage, and adapt spaces in their missions abroad, and to define what an understanding of Jesuit conceptions of indigenous spatial organisation can tell historians about the process of 'othering' undertaken by the missionaries.

NOTES ON ARCHIVAL AND PRINTED SOURCES

There is an overwhelming amount of archival material for just about any period of Jesuit history, but particularly for the pioneering years of the mission in Brazil, and much of this material can be found in printed collection including letters, sermons, catechisms, and the like.[22] The collections employed in this thesis, such as *Monumenta Brasiliae* (*MB*) and *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Inediti a Saeculo XVI ad XIX* (*RASO*), have helped to narrow down the most pertinent sources for the topic under consideration. The five-volume *Monumenta Brasiliae*, part of an extensive edited collection of sources from the early Society, the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (MHSI),[23] contains transcriptions of the significant communiques regarding the Brazil mission between the years 1549-1568. Each volume holds around 75 documents, an abundance of material for so few years; as such, the collection offers historians a comprehensive image of the thoughts, actions, and emotions of the first Jesuit missionaries to Brazil. The documents are conserved in archives in Rome, Lisbon, Évora, Rio de Janeiro, and Madrid.[24]

The collections of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (ARSI) were consulted for the preliminary stages of this project.[25] The ARSI holds a great deal of original material from the years of the 'Old Society' (1540-1773).[26] Some of the original documents found in the *Monumenta Brasiliae* were

[22] Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil: 1500-1600* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), p.294.
[23] Many collections of sources in the MRSI are digitised. This collection contains mostly documents from the Society's first few decades, found in archives around the world. The full list can be found at: http://www.sjweb.info/arsi/en/publications/ihsi/monumenta/ [Accessed 10th May 2020.]
[24] In Rome: the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. In Lisbon: the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo; the Biblioteca da Ajuda, and the Biblioteca Nacional. In Évora, the Biblioteca Pública and the Arquivo Distrital de Évora. In Rio de Janeiro, the Biblioteca Nacional, and in Madrid, the Códice do antigo Colégio de Alcalá (Chamartin). Serafim Leite, ed., *MB*, vol.1, p.61.
[25] Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile calls these 'more or less the only surviving archives on the Jesuits' activities in Brazil,' although important miscellaneous documents can also be found in local archives. 'The Uses of Shamanism: Evangelising Strategies and Missionary Models in Seventeenth-Century Brazil', in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773,* ed. by John W. O'Malley and others (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), p.617.
[26] Much of this comprises letters received and sent (for example *indipetae*), and the *litterae annuae* and *quadrimestres*, but there are also formulas of final vows and Necrologies. Documents concerning the 'Old Society' comprise 291m of shelving, or 18% of the entire archive. For further information on the contents of the ARSI, see Robert Danieluk S.J., 'Michal Boym, Andrzej Rudomina and Jan Smogulecki – Three 17th-Century Missionaries in China: A Selection of Documents from the Roman Jesuit Archives,' 'Venturing into Magna Cathay', *Monumenta Serica,* 59 (2011), pp.417-424.

viewed, yet the published collection has been most useful in referring to those documents difficult to decipher. As the ARSI mainly concerns the central governance of the Society of Jesus, it is vital that any research concerning the Society's history employs material not just from its central archives but also from local ones. However, unfortunately neither time nor resources allowed for an extensive exploration of archives in Brazil, Goa, or Portugal.[27] Printed collections such as the *Monumenta Brasiliae* and *RASO* have therefore been invaluable for providing access to documents found around the world, when it has not been convenient or logistically possible to consult these archives personally. The fact that the documents employed by this thesis are found in printed primary source collections does not undermine their significance in the history of the first major religious group to evangelise Brazil.

On arriving at Rome, important letters such as the quadrimestres would be copied and redistributed throughout the Jesuit network, and as such archives are full of copies that can be found in *MB* and *RASO*. These printed collections have therefore been useful in arriving at a more selective source base.

The primary sources that concern the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia can be characterised in a far simpler manner. Leonardo Cohen has noted that as Europe neither traded with nor colonised Ethiopia during the period under examination, the major sources for Ethio-European contact (including Jesuit encounter) are narratives rather than archives,[28] although many of ARSI's Ms. Goa collection contains documents relevant to the second phase of the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia (c.1603-1640). Most of the original Jesuit documentation was gathered by Camillo Beccari and published as the fifteen-volume *RASO* at the beginning of the twentieth century; however, there is a considerable number of documents in the District Archive of Braga, a selection of which were printed some years ago, but

[27] Pertinent archives include: the Biblioteca Nacional of Rio de Janeiro, and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino; the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, and the Arquivo do Tribunal de Contas, all in Lisbon. For more information on the holdings of these and other archives in Portugal regarding Brazil's history, see Ann Pescatello, 'Relatorio from Portugal: The Archives and Libraries of Portugal and Their Significance for the Study of Brazilian History', *Latin American Research Review*, 5.2 (1970), pp.17-52.
[28] Leonardo Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia (1555-1632)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2009), p.9.

many of which remain unpublished.[29] The narrative sources regarding Ethiopia that I have chosen to use are discussed fully in Chapter IV.

EARLY COLONIAL BRAZIL: A SELECT LITERATURE REVIEW

Unlike that of Ethiopia, specific scholarship relating to issues of sixteenth-century Brazil covered by this thesis has been challenging to identify. Whereas the Jesuit presence in seventeenth-century Ethiopia is often considered by western scholars – rightly or wrongly – to define that period of the country's past, the Society's influence in Brazil is usually portrayed as just another concurrent feature of colonisation. Although the period under present consideration was a dynamic period of European encounter with Brazil's indigenous population, many English-speaking and Lusophone historians have chosen to focus their attentions on the role of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. This period saw the fascinating rise of the *bandeirante* movement from São Paulo, greater colonial settlement along the Amazon, an increase of debate over the question of indigenous slavery, and the zenith of the notable Jesuit priest António Vieira. Yet this attention has meant that few specific studies have been conducted on the Jesuits' *initial* negotiation of the alterity of the indigenous peoples they encountered. Little has been done on issues of spatial negotiation in early colonial Brazil; neither have research efforts touched greatly on the processes behind the adaptation of Jesuit missionary strategies to a very new and different culture. This is surprising, as the period 1549-1570 saw the establishment of a new and explicitly spatialised missionary strategy that was to spread throughout South America and even New France – the mission village. Records from this time also reveal much about the Jesuits' relationship with the natural environment of the *sertão*, the Brazilian backlands, and the influence of this upon their interaction with their indigenous catechumens.

The greater majority of scholarship on the Brazilian *sertão* focuses on later periods, most commonly between the start of the seventeenth century and the end of the eighteenth.[30] However, this thesis is

[29] Braga Ms. 779, *Cartas Annais das Missões da Etiopia*; Aurélio de Oliveira, ed., *Cartas de Etiópia* (Braga, 1999).

[30] See, for example, the following studies: Barbara A. Sommer, 'Colony of the Sertão: Amazonian Expeditions and the Indian Slave Trade', *The Americas*, 61.3 (2005), pp.401-428; Camila Loureiro Dias, 'Jesuit Maps and Political Discourse: The Amazon River of Father Samuel Fritz', *The Americas*, 69.1 (2012), pp.95-116; and

concerned with the Jesuits' perceptions and renditions of the *sertão* in the mid-sixteenth century.[31] It intends to ascertain how attitudes towards the natural environment influenced their characterisation of the indigenous inhabitants' alterity, and to discern the institutional nature of the Society through their correspondence concerning the *sertão* and its inhabitants. Little has been written on this subject, yet both recent scholarship in both Portuguese and English, and older, more staple texts, offer a window into the early colonial mindset as settlers turned their attentions towards the backlands.

The Afro-Brazilian intellectual Teodoro Sampaio (1855-1937) emphasised the dual characterisation of the sixteenth century *sertão* as both mysterious and alluring, and highly dangerous.[32] He examined renditions of the *sertão* in works by contemporary historians Frei Vicente do Salvador and Pero Magalhães Gândavo. Gândavo's *História da Provincia de Santa Cruz* (Lisbon, 1576) magnified the riches and opportunities within the interior, in order to encourage Portuguese emigration to Brazil. Such exhortations appear to have been successful, with many ill-fated opportunists venturing into the *sertão* to discover gold or other treasures. Sampaio indicates that much of the writing concerning the *sertão* at this time was positive, despite a palpable fear of the peoples within, who were often characterised as giants or, conversely, dwarves who engaged in terrifying behaviour, often deformed or with outlandish body decoration. Sampaio does not address the perspectives of the Jesuits on either the land or the people, who had markedly different experiences and agendas to the European colonists who entered the *sertão.* His work, however, encourages a search for possible appearances of this sixteenth-century dual characterisation in Jesuit correspondence, and prompts questions of whether the marvellous was contained in these writings alongside acknowledgements of potential dangers within the *sertão.*

Richard M. Morse, ed., *The Bandeirantes: The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).

[31] For an examination of the use of the *sertão* in modern literary accounts, see Victoria Troianowski Saramago, 'Transatlantic Sertões: The Backlands of Ruy Duarte de Carvalho and Mia Couto', *Ecozon@: European Journal of Literature, Culture and Environment,* 8.1 (2017), pp.79-97.

[32] 'O Sertão antes da conquista (século XVII),' *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro,* 5 (1899-1900), pp.79-94.

The very word '*sertão*' has been mined by historians and anthropologists who have sought to understand its impact on early-modern attitudes towards colonial development. André Heráclio do Rêgo[33] expanded upon the arguments established by Sampaio by advocating for an early-modern idea of the *sertão* as a 'marvellous vision' ('*visão maravilhosa*'), whose slow colonisation was an ever-present tension between myth and reality. Language describing the *sertão* was couched in a 'barbarous vocabulary' which focused upon the treasures to be found within, guarded by impassable mountain ranges and ferocious communities.[34] Rêgo's article largely concerns the eighteenth century, yet he claims that from the initial colonisation, the term '*sertão*' acquired 'complementary and ambiguous connotations, which reflected a certain relationship between the perception of the space and the formation of imagination concerning the unknown interior.'[35] Understanding early-modern definitions of the *sertão* has given vital context to Chapter II's examination of Jesuitical attitudes towards Brazil's natural environment, as the priests themselves contributed another layer of meaning for the *sertão,* which could be imagined as a realm of salvific opportunity. The fluid nature of renditions of the *sertão* has been emphasised by Rex P. Nielsen, who wrote that 'the *sertão* resists definition;' it is 'both region' and a 'cultural construct of the unknown.'[36] While John Hemming is content to define the *sertão* geographically as 'the "wilds," the bush or the wasteland of the interior,'[37] Nielsen argues for a historically contextual definition of the *sertão* based on Portuguese ideology. He concludes that the term was commonly characterised by its 'expansive interior space' far from the sea, and by its 'separation from cultivated lands and populated cities, especially familiar and well-known coastal zones.'[38] This notion of separation would become firmly fixed in the minds of Jesuits, who saw a binary opposition between the civilised, Christian life they offered their indigenous catechists (situated in permanent, built environments), and the nomadic life of those within the *sertão,* tainted, priests believed, by wild, immoral behaviour.

[33] 'O Sertão e a Geografia', *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros,* 63 (2016), pp.42-66.
[34] Ibid., p.43. Translations mine.
[35] Ibid., p.43.
[36] 'The Unmappable Sertão', *Portuguese Studies,* 30.1 (2014), pp.5 and 6.
[37] John Hemming, 'Indians and the Frontier', in *Colonial Brazil*, ed. by Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.145.
[38] Nielsen, 'The Unmappable Sertão', p.9.

The second chapter of this thesis will show that the malleability of the *sertão* as symbolic concept was similarly employed by the Jesuits in their efforts to construct, through their correspondence and newsletters, an edifying ideal image for the global Society. The act of writing was integral to the consolidation of the Jesuit's identity, as João Marinho dos Santos has shown.[39] Writing was a key process in the Jesuits' 'formation of a mystical (institutional) body,' which strengthened the idea of a Christian Republic and helped to unify the Society and its global cause. Whilst they were required to be edifying, letter-writers 'sought to build a narrative-descriptive discourse as close to reality as possible,' and therefore are, dos Santos argues, important historical sources.[40] This perspective is a recent development in scholarship, which previously tended to dismiss the Jesuit practice of letter-writing as an unreliable basis of information, due to its aim of edification. Shorter, unofficial letters were written by Jesuits as a way to express their homesickness and loneliness and provide insights into the mindsets of many individuals often alienated by their surroundings. By examining similar letters, Chapter II of this thesis demonstrates that it is possible to discern individual personalities of their authors, and that although the institutional Society aimed for epistolary hegemony, many used the medium for diverse purposes. In the context of mission in the *sertão*, this took on a particularly spatial flavour, as priests sought to appropriate the dangers and privation they faced in this alien environment to promote their holy work.

Renewed efforts have been made to understand the nuances of the early development of missionary strategies in Brazil, for which the installation of the *aldeia* system provided a framework. Early colonial Brazil was the birthplace of the mission village; however, much of the scholarship concerning mission in the New World belies this radical phenomenon and creates the impression that the mission village was a given, inevitable, and general process across Latin America. The example of Brazil is also regularly passed over in historiography in favour of that of Paraguay.[41] The recent work

[39] 'Writing and its Functions in Sixteenth-Century Jesuit Missions in Brazil', *História*, 34.1 (2015), pp.109-127.
[40] Ibid., p.117.
[41] The Jesuits entered Paraguay in 1587, and were employed by the Spanish authorities to 'neutralise' the Guaranis, who, although reported to be gentle in character, were not always peaceable. The Guaranis were kept apart from Spanish settlements, and reductions were begun properly in 1609. Law and order in the villages were maintained by police; inhabitants would be whipped or placed in the stocks as punishment for certain offences. Woodrow, *The Jesuits: A Story of Power*, pp.78-79.

of Takao Abé[42] is an example of how some modern historians still ignore the importance of Brazil's initial mission village model. Abé examines what he claims to be the multiple connections and similarities between the *reducciones* in seventeenth-century Paraguay and the Christian communities in Japan around the same time.

Abé searches for the prototype of the *reductions* of New France by examining the genesis of the Paraguay missions, paying little attention to the *aldeias* of Brazil, which are given only a cursory mention. He claims that the Jesuit *reducciones* in Paraguay had a 'distinctive character,' which, unlike sixteenth-century Spanish precedents, 'either lacked the goal of incorporating indigenous people into European society or gave less priority to it.'[43] Yet this was not a unique element of the Paraguay missions. The *aldeias* in Brazil were purposefully separated from the budding settlements along the coast, as Jesuits feared the corrosive influence the Portuguese would have upon the temperamental faith of their catechumens, and the colonial authorities desired to remove those they deemed troublesome from white colonial territory. Similarly, Abé claims exceptionality was found in the Jesuits' political autonomy in Paraguay, stating that colonial Europeans 'were denied access to the *reducciones* and were unable to acquire any land in them,' and as such Jesuits maintained autonomy, able to assume religious and civic duties in the missions.[44] However, Chapter III of this thesis shows how this happened in Brazil also, with Jesuits assuming positions of high responsibility as both religious and secular authorities. Colonists were also forbidden from raiding the *aldeias*, which were given protected status in law by the Crown, an act which resulted in the growth of the *bandeira* raids in the seventeenth century.

Abé ultimately claims that inspiration for the *reducciones* in Paraguay was taken almost solely from the Christian communities in Japan, citing eight 'methodological similarities' between the two global regions. However, some of these are very general (such as the example that the Jesuits required indigenous peoples in both Japan and Paraguay to build permanent churches) – and many elements

[42] *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of Earlier Jesuit Experiences* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
[43] Ibid., p.133.
[44] Ibid., p.136.

can also be seen in Brazil. Abé's argument that there were unique similarities between Jesuit mission communities in Japan and Paraguay ignores the enormous influence that Brazil surely had upon the latter's Iberian counterpart and geographical neighbour. While not within the scope of this thesis to construct an argument for this, it is important to note examples such as Abé's book in justifying the aim to examine the prototypical – and highly significant – development of the Brazilian *aldeia* system.

Alida C. Metcalf's work on the first *aldeias* of Bahia offers invaluable information for this thesis.[45] She provides an outline of the key developments in the early history of the Jesuits in Brazil which directly informed their policy concerning the *aldeia* system. Her central thesis is that the system responded to local contexts, and she aligns with other scholars who have suggested that the system 'was not imposed from Lisbon or Rome, but evolved on the ground in Brazil.'[46] This revelation aided a keener understanding of Jesuit autonomy whilst on mission abroad. Metcalf analyses the reasons for the shift in policy, from visitations in the *sertão* to the establishment of fixed indigenous settlements under Jesuit control. She emphasises the emotions and experiences of individual Jesuits in the decisions made regarding missionary strategies, highlighting in particular the personal blow dealt to Manuel da Nóbrega by the deaths of four Jesuits, including the skilled linguist João de Azpilcueta Navarro, between the years 1554-1557.[47] She claims that disillusionment came as a result of both this loss and the rise in indigenous slavery, which Nóbrega spoke out against, leading to a shift away from the idea of 'conversion by persuasion' to conversion by subjection. In prioritising the personal reactions and decisions of individual Jesuits in her examination of the *aldeias*, however, Metcalf neglects the role of the colonial authorities, who largely remain in the background for much of her analysis. This thesis attempts to shed light on the intricate relationship between the Jesuits and the authorities, as this was mutually beneficial – neither one could have successfully implemented the system without the other. This relationship also gave form to the ideology behind the *aldeias* and

[45] '"Harvesting Souls": The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias* (Mission Villages) of Bahia', in *Native Brazil: Beyond the Convert and the Cannibal, 1500-1900*, ed. by Hal Langfur (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), pp.29-61.
[46] Ibid., p.30.
[47] Ibid., p.45.

characterised the spatial tactics present in these bounded sites, and is, therefore, a necessary and illuminating aspect of any study of Jesuit missionary strategy in early Brazil.

Guillermo Wilde provides an interesting spatial analysis of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Jesuit *reducciones* in Paraguay.[48] His central thesis stresses the 'symbolic and political dimension of mission space construction,' and the importance of the periphery 'in the configuration of the social life and urban structure of missions.'[49] He argues for 'heterodox' spaces in the missions where inhabitants could appropriate the Jesuits' regulations for their own benefit, and where they could exploit disagreements between Jesuit individuals. His research highlights differences between Brazil and Paraguay where, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the mission towns' surroundings allowed a relatively free movement of people. Indigenous inhabitants of the missions 'experienced space as a permeable reality in which the inside and the outside were connected';[50] in maps used as evidence for legal disputes, indigenous individuals visually represented their villages as part of a network of interrelating places, rather than as an enclosed whole. The nature of these spaces as permeable appears to be a shift away from the reality of the *aldeias* in sixteenth-century Brazil, where the Jesuits and colonial authorities ensured that the *aldeias* were enclosed and instituted a strict policy where inhabitants had to request permission to leave the boundaries. Through a far more extensive collection of sources than that available for Brazil, Wilde paints a more faceted picture of the mission village by including discussions of how indigenous people may have perceived and experienced these spaces, although he stresses that this is still largely a topic to be addressed.[51] This article, whilst not directly influential upon research conducted for this thesis on the sixteenth-century Brazilian *aldeias*, is nonetheless prominent in historiography as it stresses the necessity for a nuanced spatial consideration of places of conversion, and grants a fascinating glimpse into later iterations of the mission village in South America.

[48] Guillermo Wilde, 'The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories in the Jesuit Mission of Paraguay (Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century),' in *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*, ed. by Giuseppe Marcocci and others (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp.175-213.
[49] Ibid., p.176.
[50] Ibid., p.206.
[51] Ibid., p.199.

There has been a recent emphasis in historiography on the development of missionary strategies in Brazil. Anne B. McGinness' article allows readers an understanding of attitudes towards indigenous reduction and the expurgation of certain customary practices through the eyes of José de Anchieta.[52] McGinness contributes to scholarship on the binary Jesuit strategies of *accommodation* versus *imposition,* a discussion also present in historiography on the Ethiopian mission. She seeks to reconcile the Jesuits' peaceful missionary strategies with their reliance upon more violent methods, in opposition to current scholarship which she says chooses to prioritise approaches which show 'the culturally hybrid and accommodating nature of Jesuit practices.'[53] McGinness argues that the missionary strategies of José de Anchieta were not contradictory, but were in fact directed by shifting socio-political and cultural contexts. She examines the literary works of Anchieta to explain how the Tupi practice of cannibalism was seen by many Jesuits as a justification for just war and the confinement of the Tupi in the *aldeias*.[54] The conflict between the Tamoios and the Tupinambá, and the prevalence of cannibalism, led Anchieta to believe that a programme of subjection was at first required,[55] supported by the laws of Portuguese governor Mem de Sá, whose ushering-in of a new social order was likened to that of Christ's new covenant in Anchieta's epic poem *De gestis Mendi de Saa* (1563).When the indigenous wars ended, the Jesuits were able to build *aldeias* for the indigenous people as part of a new Christian republic to aid evangelisation. Only after the Tupi's practice of cannibalism was forcibly driven out was Anchieta able to pursue a more accommodating missionary strategy. This is borne out by Jesuit correspondence examined in this thesis which expressed belief in the necessity of expunging cannibalism before any meaningful evangelisation could be conducted. Such research on the Jesuits' perceptions of the behaviours and cultural practices of indigenous peoples prompts questions on the possible role of discipline and punishment in the *aldeias.*

[52] 'Between Subjection and Accommodation: The Development of José de Anchieta's Missionary Project in Colonial Brazil', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), pp.227-244.
[53] Ibid., p.228.
[54] This mirrors the Aristotelian arguments put forth by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and others at the time of the Valladolid disputations on the rights of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, which took place in 1550, just a year after the Jesuits' arrival in Brazil.
[55] Anchieta and Nóbrega worked in close conjunction with each other, and were both fierce advocates of the perceived need for the confinement of indigenous populations in the *aldeias*. Thus, while each priest may have had their own motivations behind this decision, they worked towards the same aim.

Examinations of accommodation and imposition help construct an image of the creative ways in which Jesuit individuals engaged with indigenous alterity, alongside their more practical involvement with local authorities to ensure the control of native people. However, while McGinness is right in the case of Brazil to emphasise the forced settlement of indigenous societies into *aldeias* and the repression of 'the most basic aspects of native life' by Mem de Sá's laws,[56] the extent of the Jesuits' authority in South America should not be over-exaggerated. Their mission was frequently challenged, not only by personnel shortages and communication problems between missionaries and Rome,[57] but also by indigenous agency and the continued existence of their cultural practices. While McGinness allows for 'accommodation' as part of Anchieta's missionary strategy, she makes no mention of the hybridity that came as a result of years of intercultural exchange between the Jesuits and the indigenous peoples, and the compromises that each made to the other.

Ananya Chakravarti[58] examines rhetorical devices in José de Anchieta's poetry and plays to argue convincingly that the Jesuits characterised the *aldeias* as places of security and protection for the indigenous peoples. In one poem, Anchieta employed angels as 'custodians of the village' to stress how the bounded space had been brought under spiritual protection. Devices such as the angel were established as foils to the *sertão,* where demonic entities lurked to ensnare the Tupi. Chakravarti writes that the figure of the angel 'approximated the role in which the Jesuits served and saw themselves with regard to the Tupi.' The *aldeias,* she writes, meant that the Tupi no longer needed to encounter the devil in any way. The convert 'remained confined to the *aldeia,* while his spiritual "liberation" depended on the displacement of the demon by Christian holy entities.'[59] Likewise, Anchieta's play 'Na *aldeia* de Guaraparim,' written entirely in Tupi, taught that leaving the *aldeia* would cause the individual to 'enter a space of moral danger.'[60] This relates back to previous ideas in this literature view concerning the mystery and danger of the *sertão* that Portuguese colonists

[56] McGinness, 'Between Subjection and Accommodation', p.237.
[57] Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalisation,* pp.46-48.
[58] *Empire of the Apostles: Religion, Accommodatio and The Imagination of Empire in Modern Brazil and India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
[59] Ibid., p.160.
[60] Ibid., p.164.

emphasised in both writings and cartography. Attempts to flee village confines, or even to carry out traditional cultural practices outside the boundaries, were common. As the missionaries firmly believed in their God-given duty – and the *aldeias'* ability – to confer spiritual guidance and ultimately win indigenous souls for Christ, Jesuits saw preventing abandonment of the villages as imperative. Chakravarti's assessment of Jesuit literature offers a valuable insight into how the *aldeias* and the *sertão* were presented as foils to the Tupi people in order to argue, not just for their salvation, but for their safety and protection, both spiritual and earthly. This thesis goes further in demonstrating the agenda of both the Jesuits and colonial authorities in creating places not just of protection, but of discipline, enacted within strongly-framed spatial-temporal boundaries.

Crucially, Chakravarti also highlights the integral importance of the colonial authorities (and therefore Portuguese imperial power) to the success of the *aldeia* system, correctly stating that it was 'instituted as part of the pacification programme of Mem de Sá.'[61] The Brazilian scholar Nara Saletto[62] also agrees with this assessment, arguing that the *aldeias* complemented de Sá's policy of subjection. Saletto writes that the expansion of colonisation required more than the 'simple alliances' of the early years, which did not bring the security and stability that the Portuguese required, as they paved the way for the settlers' abuse of indigenous societies, and the rebellion of the latter. The mission villages, then, gave 'protection' to those indigenous people who accepted it. Those that did not would then be subject to 'just war,' which legitimised – and legalised – their slavery.[63] Chapter III of this thesis also considers the possibility that the *aldeias* were established as punishment for the Tupis' perceived crimes against nature. Chakravarti's emphasis upon the role that pacification had in establishing the *aldeias*, and the necessity for the continued support of the colonial authorities, evidences certain claims made in this thesis. Similarly, it would appear that Chakravarti's assessment of the *aldeias* as a 'social project of Jesuit custodial care' is correct, as available sources concerning their development emphasise its experimental, prototypical nature and its primary function as an instrument of social

[61] Chakravarti, *Empire of the Apostles*, p.23.
[62] *Donatarios, Colonos, Indios e Jesuítas: O Início da Colonização do Espírito Santo* (Vitória: Arquivo Público do Estado do Espírito Santo, 2011), 2nd edn.
[63] Ibid., p.125.

discipline and religious conversion. However, the Jesuits were more than just custodians or 'caretakers,' another word Chakravarti uses to describe the missionaries' role. Chapters II and III demonstrate that they had a direct hand in shaping discourse and policy surround the *aldeias* and developing the nature of discipline – by way of education – latent in the villages.

Scholars such as Stuart B. Schwartz have considered the possibility that the *aldeias* were more than a social creation. Schwartz argues that within the *aldeias* the Jesuits sought to create 'an indigenous "peasantry" by acculturation and detribalisation […] capable of becoming an agricultural proletariat.'[64] This is a claim that appears to sit well with the Jesuits' role, not just as evangelists, but agents of the Crown who had a keen interest in ensuring the financial survival of the colony. Schwartz points out that the Jesuits were silent in their correspondence with regards to the roles assumed by the indigenous inhabitants, and claimed that both planters and Jesuits believed indigenous labour necessary for the growth of the colony, although they competed for jurisdiction over this labour. However, the *aldeias* were not pure economic creations, like the Portuguese *engenhos* or the Spanish *encomiendas*; their primary function, as will be elucidated in the thesis, were to confine the Tupi peoples in settlements constructed upon a European model in order to instil Christian values and beliefs. They were not instituted primarily to produce goods or food for the colony, although this was the opinion of many of the Jesuits' most vocal critics.

The violence that many scholars see in the *aldeia* system is questioned by the recent work of Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida.[65] Almeida employs an anthropological approach as she puts forward a contrasting view of the system, which, she argues, acted 'as a space for the resocialisation of the indigenous peoples […] in which it was possible for them to recreate their identities.'[66] Almeida spurns the role that previous historians have played in presenting the indigenous societies as 'victims of a progressive acculturation that has only been detrimental to them.'[67] The *aldeias* were, she writes,

[64] 'Indian Labour and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeastern Brazil', *The American Historical Review*, 83.1 (1978), p.50.
[65] *Metamorfoses indígenas: identidade e cultura nas aldeias coloniais do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Prêmio Arquivo Nacional de Pesquisa, 2013). 2nd edn.
[66] Ibid., p.24. All translations mine.
[67] Ibid., p.155.

'much more than simple spaces for the colonists to dominate and exploit the Indians. Despite all their ills, they were, besides Portuguese and Christian, spaces for the Indians.'[68] In these villages, indigenous peoples acted with agency as they formed a new identity, 'rearticulating values and traditions' and adapting to their new way of life. Almeida argues that the Portuguese were often reliant on the alliances and goodwill of the indigenous people, and could not colonise purely through violence. The social reorganisation of the Tupinambá and other peoples along the littoral served the colonial enterprise by ultimately aiming at their incorporation into settler society. The Allied Termiminós, for example, were given the *aldeia* of São Lourenço to ensure their permanence around Rio de Janeiro and to install a military occupation of that region.[69] Almeida shows that *sesmarias*, or land grants, were not only made to the colonial authorities but to those such as the chief of the Termiminós, thus evidencing her point that these were sites *for* indigenous people. However, while this may have been the case for individual cases, the system was not instituted for this purpose, as Chapter III of this thesis will explore in greater detail. Although she does not deny that the *aldeias* were places of privation**,** Almeida's argument ignores much of the active processes of discipline and punishment instilled by Governor Mem de Sá, his militias, and the Jesuits, which are present in the extant sources; she dwells only very briefly on this issue and does not manage successfully to reconcile it with her argument. This thesis seeks to understand these processes and to put them in the context of Almeida's point about the effort to reintegrate Christianised indigenous societies into settler society.

Almeida also examines legislation concerning the *aldeias*, which offers a useful contrast between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. There was no specific legislation for the period under examination in this thesis (1549-1570); indeed, the Law of 1611 was the first piece of legislation which focussed on the functioning of the *aldeias*. This took administration away from the Jesuits and gave it to lay people (although the Jesuits remained, to all intents and purposes, the primary spiritual directors).[70] Until then, the presence of whites in the *aldeias* was prohibited by practically all laws,

[68] Almeida, *Metamorfoses indígenas*, p.136.
[69] Ibid., p.90.
[70] Ibid., p.150.

'with the exception of the brief periods in which lay people were assigned to administer them' (after the period under consideration in my thesis).[71] This was due to pressure from the Jesuits, who considered indigenous contact with white settlers to lead to all manner of evils. As the Jesuits were mainly the ones responsible for negotiating the program of the *aldeias* between 1549-1570, and were not guided by colonial legislation, it is to their correspondence and newsletters that this thesis looks in order to trace the attitudes and decisions that powered the development of spatial tactics in the *aldeias.*

The recent body of scholarship concerning the initial years of the Jesuits in Brazil denotes a new trend: the desire to illuminate the complex processes behind the development of missionary strategy. This thesis will contribute to ongoing discussions of Jesuit agency and *modos de proceder* in early colonial Brazil by introducing considerations of the priests' perception and management of spatial tactics, a key element so often overlooked in this time period.

THE JESUIT MISSION IN ETHIOPIA, C.1555-1632

The Jesuit mission in Ethiopia occupies a central place in scholarship on the Ethio-European encounter. Camillo Beccari's *RASO*, a fifteen-volume collection of mostly previously unpublished literature, has remained the *point d'appui* for scholars of Jesuit and Ethiopian history since its publication in the early twentieth century. In recent years, however, scholars such as Wendy Belcher have been employing material in Ge'ez in order to present an Ethiopian perspective.[72] The greater majority of research conducted on the mission is being carried out by English and French-language scholars, a small yet impassioned group of historians and archaeologists who have shed light on many important elements of the relationship which emerged between Ethiopians and Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

[71] Almeida, *Metamorfoses indígenas*, p.151.
[72] Belcher works particularly on biographies and hagiographies of Ethiopian noblewomen and nuns to argue for their role in the downfall of the seventeenth-century mission. 'Sisters Debating the Jesuits: The Role of African Women in Defeating Portuguese Proto-Colonialism in Seventeenth-Century Abyssinia', *Northeast African Studies*, 13.1 (2013), pp.121-166.

Modern scholars agree that the mission was a 'failure' in terms of its devastating impact on Ethiopian society and diplomatic relations. Questions concerning the origin of this apparent breakdown have resulted in critical appraisals of the roles played by various western European institutions, such as the papacy, the Portuguese Crown, and the Society of Jesus. As with Brazil, chapters of this thesis concerning Ethiopia emphasise the importance of institutional frameworks of power yet comprise a 'local' focus on the Jesuits' spatial missionary strategies and territorial perception. As such, scholarship's current emphasis on institutional agendas has provided a vital contextual understanding of the mission. Also of significance are studies relating to the Jesuits' perceived *otherness* of the Ethiopians' rich religious tradition, which this thesis shows had a profound impact on the Jesuits' negotiation of indigenous buildings and their own attempt at a comprehensive construction programme.

The Jesuit mission to Ethiopia has recently been appraised as a watershed moment in the history of Portuguese foreign policy concerning Ethiopia. Two prominent scholars in particular, Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Matteo Salvadore,[73] have sought to situate the establishment and conduct of the mission within its politico-economic framework, citing a conceited break in the diplomatic goodwill efforts that had traditionally taken place between Ethiopia and Portugal (or western Europe). Their work draws on earlier assertions in Merid Wolde Aregay's 1998 paper, a study on the attitudes of the Jesuits towards the rites and traditions of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.[74] Aregay argues that suspicion of the validity of Ethiopian faith began in Portugal with King John III's reign, as he did not prevent Portuguese clergy from attacking the Ethiopian envoy Saga Za'ab, who was 'treated as an unbeliever and an anathemised person, to the extent that he was denied the Eucharist.'[75] This suspicion even forced King Galawdewos to write a tract, *Confessio Fidei*, which explained 'that

[73] Salvadore's focus lies in international aspects of cross-cultural exchange, and he has recently produced a thorough investigation of the politico-religious and diplomatic precursors to the Jesuit mission. *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations, 1402-1555* (London: Routledge, 2017).
[74] 'The Legacy of Jesuit Missionary Activities in Ethiopia from 1555 to 1632', in *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society*, ed. by Getatchew Haile and others (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), pp.31-56.
[75] Ibid., p.35.

circumcision[76] and the food taboos were not religious in origin, and that the Ethiopian Church did not uphold anything that contradicted the Scriptures, the teachings of the apostles, or the decrees of Nicaea.'[77] D'Alòs-Moner offers a deeper investigation of the institutional agendas behind the Jesuit missions,[78] and demonstrates that such latent prejudice on the part of the Portuguese Crown and religious authorities would sour these attempts at conciliation and conversion. His focus on institutional frameworks lends credence to the present work by emphasising their significance and the consequences of the institutions' decisions for local ways of proceeding, a key focus of this thesis. His examination of the decision of the Portuguese Crown to 'send religious missionaries instead of the traditional diplomatic visits' concludes with an argument that the interests of the Crown and the Society of Jesus became closely aligned soon after the Society's inception. He examines the attitudes of the first Jesuits towards Ethiopian religious alterity by asking why the works of Francisco Álvares and Damião de Góis[79] were not mentioned in the correspondence of Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola, at a time when the Jesuit missionaries preparing to embark for Ethiopia surely required detailed information about their mission field.[80] He argues that Góis and Álvares presented 'a Christianity with its own traditions, rites and forms, but nonetheless legitimate,' which could not be

[76] From 1527, the date of Saga Za'ab's arrival at the Portuguese Court, the issue of circumcision overshadowed the unfolding dialogue between Europe and Ethiopia. European understanding of Ethiopia's adherence to this practice led some to conclude that the Ethiopian Church was liminal, neither one thing nor the other. Alessandro Valignano wrote that the Ethiopians 'nem são christãos nem judeus,' arising from the belief that they had not arrived at a clear understanding of the Gospel. Circumcision remained a prominent issue for Jesuits in Ethiopia, and once Afonso Mendes, Patriach of Ethiopia, arrived in that realm, a countrywide ban was implemented. See Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner's appraisal of the Church's fixation on Ethiopian circumcision, 'Paul and the Other', pp.31-51.

[77] Ibid., p.39.

[78] D'Alòs-Moner account of the Jesuit missions to Ethiopia contextualises the cross-confessional encounter within Portugal's economic endeavours in the Estado da Índia, Portugal's eastern empire. *Envoys of a Human God: The Jesuit Mission to Christian Ethiopia, 1557-1632* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[79] Álvares was a priest who accompanied the 1520 embassy to Ethiopia and recorded his travels in the *Verdadeira informação sobre a terra do Preste ão das Indias* (1540). The humanist Damião de Góis produced a pamphlet in 1514 detailing the visit of the Ethiopian ambassador to Manuel I, the *Legatio Magni Indorum Imperatoris Presbyteri Ioannis*, which after a meeting with Saga Za'ab in Lisbon became a longer account, the *Fides Religio, Moresque Aethopium Sub Imperio Preciosi Ioannis* (1540). Góis' wish to present Saga Za'ab's account of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith brought charges of heresy levelled by Simão Rodrigues, one of the original six Jesuit priests and, by all accounts, a radical and controversial fanatic whose religious excesses even the Society had to rein in.

[80] In his examination of three documents which set down Loyola's 'blueprint' for the sixteenth-century mission to Ethiopia, Matteo Salvadore has argued that Loyola received a book in 1553 which was likely to have been Álvares' *Verdadeira informação*, and that this did indeed inform his approach to how the Jesuits were to conduct themselves in East Africa. 'Gaining the Heart of Prester John: Loyola's Blueprint for Ethiopia in Three Key Documents', *World History Connected* 10.3 (2013), 43 pars. <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.uillinois.edu/10.3/forum_salvadore.html>. [Accessed 11th December 2018.]

accepted under the Catholic reform impetus. As such, the attack of Jesuit Simão Rodrigues upon Góis and the suppression of his works was representative of the Jesuits' collective approach to the Ethiopian issue. He argues that expurgation rather than accommodation was seen by Loyola and King Dom Henrique (1578-1580) to be the best method of engagement with Ethiopian error.

Upon reviewing current scholarship on these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century discourses of intolerance, it became necessary to return to Jesuit sources to investigate local strategies for negotiating cultural alterity. Such sources clearly exhibited a preoccupation with the issue of spatiality and territoriality, and as such it has been appropriate to reframe the debates surrounding discourses on *otherness*. Acknowledging the role of space in Jesuit mission allows us to add another dimension to the ways in which we understand strategies for indigenous negotiation.

Matteo Salvadore goes further than D'Alòs-Moner in his assertions of Jesuit culpability for broken relations with the Ethiopians. His 2010 article examines this apparent breakdown through the prism of Loyola's *Instructions* and the first Jesuit missions to Ethiopia.[81] He argues that the mission upset the delicate balance of the Ethio-European encounter by favouring the use of *impositio*, the sword, over *accomodatio*, the word.[82] Further, Salvadore claims that the Society's agents 'created Ethiopian *otherness*', although he emphasises that no racial determinism is observable yet in the mid-seventeenth century. Like D'Alòs-Moner and Aregay he investigates pre-Society Portuguese perceptions of Ethiopia, employing a brief comparison of the accounts of Francisco Álvares and Jesuit priest Manuel de Almeida, written a century apart, to argue this shift in Portuguese attitudes. Finally, Salvadore concludes his lengthy piece by asserting that the Jesuit's missionary methods 'point to the

[81] 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555-1634)', in *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination*, ed. by Allison B. Kavey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.141-172.

[82] It is vital to understand the institutional influence upon the damage caused to Ethiopian society by the Jesuits' reprisals against Orthodox tenets of faith. There was little desire to renew any form of alliance after the fiasco of the 1620s and 30s on the part of the Ethiopians. Many among the clergy and nobility remained overtly suspicious of western Europeans, and indeed, it was not until they extended the hand of friendship to the French in 1699 upon needing medical assistance that the Ethiopians felt able to trust their distant Christian counterparts again. See Theodore Natsoulas, 'A Failure of Early French Expansionism in Africa: The French-Jesuit Effort in Ethiopia at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 36.1 (2003), p.6.

adoption of strategies that could later become the staple policies of nineteenth-century empire-building,' thereby making a claim for an early demonstration of paternalism by the first Jesuits.

However, a few years later Salvadore found new information to suggest that his claims of wholesale *impositio* were unfounded. His investigation into Loyola's so-called blueprints for the first phase of the mission illustrated a recognition of the need to proceed softly, although Salvadore still emphasises the prejudice that many priests brought to Ethiopia.[83] Salvadore's 2010 argument for *impositio* being chosen over *accomodatio* on the Jesuits' behalf does not wholly allow for Ethiopian agency. Through the evidence that Salvadore himself puts forward, it can be seen that it was Emperor Susenyos I himself, after converting to Catholicism in 1624, who initiated a violent recrimination of 'Ethiopian traditions and institutions.' This was because Susenyos was eager to learn 'how religious could limit the power of the Ethiopian Church [...] and facilitate a coveted centralisation of power.'[84] This statement aligns with the much earlier assertions of Mordecai Abir, whose work discussed the socio-political context of Susenyos' ascension to the throne, and pointed to his need to reform the unstable 'feudal military-administration system' by employing the tenets of centralised authority offered up by the Roman Catholic Church.[85] Thus this confessional shift, administered in a spatial setting to renovate or create built structures, often presented exciting opportunities to those keen to retain or augment their power. Chapter V shows how Ethiopian Catholics often worked alongside Jesuit allies to impose a hard-line reform of the Täwaḥədo Orthodox Church, which involved desecrating some of the most sacred spaces of Orthodox worship.

The debate over how exactly the Jesuits negotiated the doctrine and practices of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith – whether they chose *impositio* or *accommodatio* – continues to rage in historiography concerning both Brazil and Ethiopia. The assertion from D'Alòs-Moner that expurgation was prominent in Ethiopia poses questions of how, and whether, the medium of spatiality played any role in the Jesuits' attempt at a local expurgation of this unique Christianity during the second mission

[83] Salvadore, 'Gaining the Heart of Prester John'.
[84] Salvadore, 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia', p.171.
[85] Mordecai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and the Muslim European Rivalry in the Region* (London: Frank Cass, 1980), p.181.

phase. Did the tension between accommodation and imposition feature in missionary strategies concerning pre-existing religious sites and buildings, for example? This thesis appeals to this debate by underscoring the agency of individuals involved in the mission – both Ethiopian and Jesuit – to make the claim that the Society of Jesus did not and could not operate under a homogenised framework. Sheer personality, and the need to respond to local contexts such as indigenous authority, often directed a multiplicity of decisions, attitudes, and actions, and this was especially present in spatial aspects of missionary strategy in Ethiopia.

Hervé Pennec's influential 2003 book[86] alludes to the impact of both individual agency and the collusion of Church and State in Ethiopia. He draws on written sources that contain 'precise' architectural features and dimensions of Jesuit buildings, the progression of the Jesuits' work, and the personnel engaged in the construction.[87] Pennec examines the economic factors behind the Jesuits' construction drive. Substantial funds were granted to the Jesuits by the emperor and his kin for the construction of their new churches and residences. This evidence of royal favour sits alongside previous claims made by Donald Crummey that land grants (or *gults*), traditionally awarded to the Orthodox Church to provide a living for priests, were also made to the Society by Susenyos after his confessional shift to Roman Catholicism.[88] Documents examined in Chapter V of this thesis also make a claim for the readiness of Susenyos to aid the Jesuits in their desire to build new churches, and indicates that the Jesuits could not have instituted Roman Catholicism – or began their new building projects – without the overt and tangible aid of those in authority.

Importantly for Chapter V's discussion concerning place and memory-making, Pennec also hints at Fremona's identity as an important 'place of memory' for the Jesuits, established as such by the tomb of Patriarch Andrés de Oviedo. However, Pennec omits discussion of the purposes this shrine served for the Jesuits in establishing and legitimising their presence in the significant historical location of Aksum, and the role this site of veneration played in the lives of the Orthodox Christians who resided

[86] *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation 1495-1633* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003).
[87] Ibid., p.141.
[88] *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), p.55.

in the area. Through an examination of Jesuit descriptions of supposed acts of Ethiopian reverence, this thesis supports Pennec's point by arguing that the Jesuits consciously aimed to create a Catholic community and place of pilgrimage at Fremona. Chapter V also engages with Pennec's suggestion that the Jesuits deliberately chose to establish their residences and churches upon previous Orthodox sites,[89] and argues that this was a concerted effort to entirely replace the memory of the Orthodox church and negate their function in Ethiopian society.

Scholarship on the Jesuits' appraisals of Ethiopian Orthodox rites and practices has been central to developing ideas on how and why the priests might functionally have adapted existing spaces to suit the Society's needs. One influential piece is Taddesse Tamrat's 1998 article on the contemporary conflicts between Catholic evangelicals and the Orthodox Church.[90] Here Tamrat charts the development of the unique forms of worship, cults, and festivities which unfolded in Ethiopia from the seventh century, allowing a view of the Orthodox Church from an Ethiopian, rather than a Eurocentric, perspective. Tamrat's piece highlights the dependence of the Orthodox Church upon the Old Testament, and the rise of the belief that Ethiopians were 'not simply Christians but also the inheritors of the special place that Israel had as the Chosen People of God,' the original Israelites having forfeited that hallowed position on rejecting Christ.[91] Tamrat employs Ethiopian royal chronicles to illustrate the concept of royal descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, an integral facet of the Ethiopian Christians' heritage and religious tradition.[92] Tamrat shows how the imitations of such practices, such as the observance of the Sabbath, circumcision, and rituals of cleanliness and purity, grew from the Ethiopians' belief in their Davidic inheritance. However, as Christians the influence of the New Covenant was also to be found in the emergence of the Cult of the Cross and of Saint Mary, particularly significant during the time of King Dawit (1380-1412) and Zara Ya'qob (1434-68). All of this, Tamrat argues, constituted a 'great spiritual fortress,' highly resistant to

[89] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.144
[90] 'Evangelising the Evangelised: The Root Problem Between Missions and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church', in *The Missionary Factor in Ethiopia: Papers from a Symposium on the Impact of European Missions on Ethiopian Society*, ed. by Getatchew Haile (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), pp.17-30.
[91] Ibid., pp.18 and 19.
[92] Ibid., p.19.

the attempts at reduction made by the Jesuits, who approached this particular brand of Christianity 'with very little sympathy and with virtually no understanding of the real dynamics of the local history of the Ethiopian Church'.[93] This spiritual fortress, as work by Edward Ullendorff, Marilyn E. Heldman, and John Binns have shown,[94] was built as well as imagined. These scholars have examined the architectural symbolism present within the walls of Ethiopian churches, and have displayed the prominence of their Judaic elements – the most significant of these being the *tābot*, the Ark of the Covenant which was believed by Ethiopian Christians to house God's presence. Such research on the symbolic spatiality of Ethiopian churches raises the question of how aware Jesuits were of these so-called 'Hebraic-Jewish elements', and what the consequences of this knowledge were for their negotiation of Ethiopian alterity through the medium of built space. Chapter V attempts to grapple with these questions.

While extended studies on perceptions of Ethiopian territoriality are rare, Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis have examined the functions of Ethiopian royal power and the territorial concept of 'empire.'[95] They employ Jesuit missionary sources alongside the *Chronicle of Susenyos* to argue for a political organisation based upon an itinerant form of power and, importantly, to deny that seventeenth-century Ethiopia had an imperial identity. They argue convincingly that Ethiopia has mistakenly been characterised as an empire by generations of scholars, and that the historical reality was closer to a kingdom 'organised according to distinctive methods' and ruled by 'a king in constant negotiation with different local powers.'[96] Although the authors address the 'internal contradictions' of the Jesuit lists of Ethiopia's *reynos* and *provincias*, the article does not analyse how the Jesuits shaped these territorial concepts within their major works, an issue with which Chapter IV of this thesis attempts to engage. The authors do however argue that the Jesuits sought to present Ethiopia as

[93] Tamrat, 'Evangelising the Evangelised', p.23.
[94] Edward Ullendorff, 'Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1 (1957), 216-256; Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 22.3 (1992), 222-241; and John Binns, *The Orthodox Church of Ethiopia: A History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017).
[95] Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis, 'Reflecting on the Notions of Empire and Kingdom in Seventeenth-Century Ethiopia', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 8.3-4 (2014), pp.229-258.
[96] Ibid., p.32.

an ‘ideal empire,’ emphasising the political purposes behind this characterisation, namely, to market their enterprise to western monarchies and the papacy, and to facilitate claims to spiritual ownership in the face of competition with the Dominican Order.[97] Yet Pennec and Toubkis do not mention the Jesuits’ collective disappointment at the decentralised character and lapsed state of Susenyos’ territorial control, which this thesis illustrates is prominent in the Jesuits’ longer accounts of Ethiopia’s territory, choosing instead to prioritise only the priests’ lists of geopolitical territories for the sake of their analysis. These lists should not be isolated from a wider investigation into the ways in which the Jesuits shaped their descriptions of social relations across space in later chapters of their accounts. Chapter IV of this thesis addresses the Jesuits’ obsession with Ethiopia’s ‘empire,’ and the implications for attitudes to alterity of the ways the missionaries chose to characterise the territorial space of this region.

This review has shown that, while fruitful and often thorough in illustrating the precise ways in which Jesuits attempted to denounce and eradicate particular aspects of Ethiopian faith practice they vehemently opposed, few studies have carried out a sustained spatial approach to the Ethiopian mission. Yet the Jesuits’ missionary strategy in Ethiopia displayed an explicitly spatial character, which was often consciously promoted by the individual commentators themselves as they sought to define the built environments they inhabited or hoped to inhabit. This thesis attempts to sit alongside this valuable research to give greater insight into what this negotiation of space can tell historians about the Jesuits’ approach to Ethiopian alterity.

A Note on Terminology

As this thesis is concerned with issues of race and the Jesuits’ perceptions of alterity in Brazil and Ethiopia, it is vital to address both early-modern and current terms employed to describe the peoples living in these regions, and the choices made in translating these terms.

The term ‘indigenous peoples’ is now seen by some to have associations with colonialism, and is

[97] Pennec and Toubkis, ‘Reflecting on the Notions of Empire’, p.238.

often employed by international law to refer to those peoples who have 'had ultimate control of their lands taken by later arrivals; they are subject to the domination of others.'[98] However, it is still a widely accepted choice for advocacy organisations in reference to pre-colonial inhabitants of the Americas who were subsequently dominated or marginalised by white European settlers, and will be adopted by this thesis to denote generally the peoples living in sixteenth-century Brazil. As Ethiopia was not and has never been colonised, employing the term 'indigenous peoples' to refer to the region's various peoples seems incongruous. This thesis will therefore endeavour, where possible, to refer specifically and accurately to individual ethnic and religious groups in Ethiopia. These groups will be discussed further below.

The word 'Indian' was incorrectly applied to the peoples of the Americas after Christopher Columbus mistakenly believed himself to have arrived in Asia. The Jesuits, along with countless other commentators at the time, used this word (as well as '*negros/as*'[99]) to refer generally to the indigenous peoples they encountered in Brazil, even as they used it alongside the names of specific subfamily groups. According to Survival International, 'although some consider it pejorative, it is widely used by indigenous people themselves in parts of the Americas, especially the United States and Brazil.' Indigenous Corporate Training Inc. (ICT), which aims to help people 'work effectively with indigenous peoples,' has released guidelines on terminology stating that 'Indian' can be used in direct quotations and 'in discussions of history where necessary for clarity and accuracy.'[100] The word 'Indian' – translated from the Portuguese word *indio* – will therefore remain in the translations of Jesuit sources in this thesis in order to show readers how contemporary terminology was used, but will be avoided by the present author when referring narratively to the indigenous peoples of Brazil. The word 'Indian' will also remain in quotations where it appears in secondary literature. Similarly, the word 'heathen' (*gentio*), which was used to refer to non-Christian indigenous peoples, will remain

[98] <https://www.survivalinternational.org/info/terminology> [Accessed 30/08/2019.]
[99] For a discussion of this word as applied to indigenous Brazilians, see Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (University of Illinois Press, 1993), 2nd edn., pp.65-93.
[100] <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/indigenous-peoples-terminology-guidelines-for-usage> [Accessed 30/08/2019.]

in translations of original texts, but will of course be excluded from any narrative.

Fig. 1. A map of the principal indigenous societies and their territories in sixteenth-century Brazil. From Donald W. Forsyth, 'The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology: Jesuits and Tupinamba Cannibalism', *Journal of Anthropological Research,* 39.2 (1983), p.149.

The indigenous peoples of Brazil first encountered by the Jesuits and the Portuguese settlers in the sixteenth century were largely confined to the colony's coastal regions, and belonged to the Tupi-speaking subfamily known as the Tupi-Guarani. The Jesuits often wrote the names of individual societal branches of the Tupi-Guarani in their correspondence. The Potiguara, a people of the northeast coast known as Paraíba, were allies of the French and enemies of the Portuguese. Their linguistic cousins, the Caetés, resided in the same region, and are most infamous for being those

people who killed and ate the first Bishop of Brazil, Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, after his ship was wrecked off the coast. In the period covered by this thesis, the Jesuits more commonly ministered to the populous Tupinambá people, who made the central coast around Ilheús their home. The Tupinambá and Tupiniquin, to the east, spoke similar languages but had no other apparent unifying features, and were constantly at war with one another.[101]

The Jesuits later came into contact with groups of indigenous Brazilians known generally as *Tapuia*, or 'non-Tupi people,' those belonging to the Gê (or Jê) language stock. They were found further inland, the most prominent at this time being the Aimorés, who refused to hold dialogue with the Portuguese and instead proceeded to annihilate their settlements of Porto Seguro and Ilheús in Bahia in a furious attempt to regain territory lost during the Tupi migrations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As it was not possible to communicate with the Aimorés, the Jesuits made very little progress in their conversion, and they are often pejoratively discussed in the sources. Although the Jesuits' aim was not to begin ethnographic records of the peoples they encountered in Brazil, many record the names of the indigenous societies with descriptions of their dress, physiognomy, behaviour, and other identifying characteristics. They were prevented from gaining any kind of practical knowledge of Gê languages, but many – notably João de Azpilcueta Navarro – quickly became proficient in Tupi, which was simplified to create the *lingua geral*, a common language used to communicate across linguistically diverse branches of the Tupi-Guarani subfamily.

In Ethiopia, the Jesuits' experience of residing and travelling alongside the emperor assured that they did not often encounter ethnically or linguistically varying peoples. They did, however, write frequently about the external enemies of the emperor, who were very much presented as outsiders, even though they had historically resided within the realm. The best example of this are the Oromo, a Cushitic people and the largest ethnic group in Ethiopia today. In the seventeenth century, the Oromo posed a continual and significant threat to the borders of Susenyos' realm. The relationship between Susenyos and this people had not always been one of enmity, as he had spent much of his boyhood

[101] James Hufford, *Cruzeiro do Sul: A History of Brazil's Half Millennium*, vol 1: New World Epic (Bloomington: Author House, 2005), p.70.

living peaceably among them. Yet on the ascension to the throne of Ethiopia, Susenyos found himself annually at war with the Oromo. This was an animist people frequently classified by the Jesuits as barbarians. Jerónimo Lobo described them as a warlike and 'exceedingly ferocious people,' who were 'foreigners,' as they had arrived in Ethiopia 'for its destruction' in around 542AD.[102] After Ahmad Grañ's conquest of Ethiopia in the mid-sixteenth century, the Oromo were able to migrate into the important areas of the southeast and southwest and snatch control away from the Solomonic dynasty. Over the next one hundred years or so, the assaults of the Oromo and the ensuing fightback saw the borders of the Solomonids' territory shrink and expand. Until the twentieth century they were referred to as 'Galla,' a pejorative term which will be avoided within the narrative. I have retained the term 'Galla' where it appears in the Jesuits' documents.

The other major group the Jesuits encountered, ethnically and religiously separated from the dominant Ethiopian Orthodox class, were the 'Falashas,' or Ethiopian Jews. The otherness of this group was emphasised by Manuel da Almeida, who wrote that the Amharic word Falasha meant the same as 'foreigner,' despite an acknowledgement that '[t]here were Jews in Ethiopia from the first.'[103] Steven Kaplan writes that there is no evidence that the term Falasha existed to refer to Ethiopia Jews prior to the fifteenth century, and that the term *ayhud* is more commonly found in Ethiopian sources from before 1527.[104] However, *ayhud* was almost always used generally to designate 'a despised or feared "other"' by Christian authors, and therefore it is unclear whether Ethiopian Jews are indeed the subject of these sources.[105] The term 'Falasha' is now understood to be derogatory, and as such the group's preferred term Beta Israel will be employed in the narrative. The term 'Falasha' will be retained where it appears in Jesuit sources.

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[102] Jerónimo Lobo, *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, ed. by M. G. da Costa and trans. by Donald M. Lockhart, with an introduction and notes by C. F. Beckingham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984), p.159.
[103] C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia 1593-1646: Being extracts from 'The History of High Ethiopia or Abassia' by Manoel de Almeida; together with Bahrey's 'History of the Galla'* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1954), p. 54.
[104] Kaplan, *The Beta Israel (Falasha) in Ethiopia: From Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century* (University of New York Press: New York, 1992), p.65.
[105] Ibid., p.61.

Chapter I

Methodology: A Spatial Theory Framework for the Jesuit Missions to Brazil and Ethiopia

As this thesis proposes that considerations of spatiality were of central significance to the Jesuits' negotiation of ethnic alterity in early-modern Brazil and Ethiopia, it is necessary to critically examine the theory that will underpin the present analysis and aid in informing arguments. The literature of spatiality in humanities scholarship is extensive, yet the vast majority of this is written by cultural geographers, the main proponents of the 'spatial turn.' While such discussion provides applicable principles and thought-provoking information for spatial historians, there also exists a frustrating and obfuscating body of literature that at times strays too far into the realm of the philosophers to be practically applicable for most historians, whose research would benefit from a more streamlined and appropriate reappraisal of spatial theory. Historians have only relatively recently acknowledged the opportunities – and challenges – presented by adopting a spatial perspective on issues and events in the past, and this is reflected by a lack of spatial theorising in historiography. Beat Kümin and Cornelie Usborne write that while conferences on the historical advantages of the spatial turn are plenty, the 'number of full-scale monographic treatments, in contrast, appears relatively modest, indicating perhaps that the transfer of conceptual advances into empirical application still poses considerable challenge.'[106] Certainly, theorising historical space poses considerable difficulties, and it is tempting to shirk this task altogether. The geographer David Harvey writes that '[s]pace and time are basic categories of human existence. Yet we rarely debate their meanings; we tend to take them for granted, and give them common-sense or self-evident attributions.'[107] The flurry of spatial histories being produced in recent years shows no signs of abating and highlights the excitement felt by many

[106] Beat Kumin and Cornelie Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the "Spatial Turn"', *History and Theory,* 52.3 (2013), p.305.
[107] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), p.201.

scholars for the spatial turn, yet in many cases these histories suffer from a lack of clarity regarding how and why spatial studies should be conducted. This chapter attempts to avoid this by first defining what 'spatiality' refers to, reviewing problems in historiography concerning terminology, and laying out precise definitions to be used as they relate to the spatial subjects of this thesis. It also justifies how imperative it is for historians to bring considerations of space alongside time in their research, and to demonstrate its validity for an investigation of how the creation and perception of sites, places (both indigenous and non-indigenous), territories, and natural environments informed the ways in which the Jesuits responded to and negotiated the alterity presented by those peoples they sought to convert to Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I also show how discussions of spatial theory can be extracted from the realm of the philosophers and applied practically to historical study in order to benefit the field of early-modern cultural encounter.

For brevity's sake, here I will discuss only the major spatial theories that have driven this research and given it an overall framework. Further theoretical pieces will be employed to inform a deeper understanding of the spatial realities under consideration in this thesis.

IN DEFENCE OF SPACE

'Space' is useful for historical analysis due to a variety of factors, which have largely come to light as a result of the 'spatial turn.' This emerged in history in the 1990s as a rejection of Eurocentrism and began from the basis of a significant realisation that spaces are not neutral, taking as its starting point Henri Lefebvre's seminal work *The Production of Space* (1974), which invigorated the area of spatial studies within the humanities, offering scholars outside of cultural geography – such as those in history and philosophy – the opportunity to think further about how, and to what purpose, societies produce, manage, and think about space. Lefebvre's overarching thesis, heavily influenced by Marxist theory, is that space is socially produced, and that appropriated spaces are forged and conform to the 'rhythm of daily life' of any particular society and 'its particular centres.'[108] Lefebvre encourages

[108] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p.32.

scholars from all disciplines to ask who produces space, why, how, and for whom, and reminds them that space is not controlled merely by those who create it, writing that 'in addition to being a means of production it [space] is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power, yet […] it escapes in part from those who would make use of it.'[109]

As Middell and Naumann describe it, the spatial turn is especially relevant to the field of global history, which this thesis aims to contribute to, and 'recognizes the constructed nature of space, acknowledges the simultaneity of various spatial frameworks and the centrality of both the historical actors and historians in defining spatial orders, and refuses methodological nationalism or any form of centrism.'[110] Globalisation's 'challenges to existing borders' and the 'establishment of new borders'[111] surrounding political and socio-economic activities that Middell and Naumann speak of, are inherently bound up with the ambition of 'connected history,' which is often to de-centre the Eurocentric narrative of the expansion of nations.[112] Challenges to existing borders infer the circulation of ideas, as well as people and goods. Sanjay Subrahmanyam writes that 'ideas and mental constructs […] flowed across political boundaries in [the early modern] world, and – even if they found specific local expression – enable us to see that what we are dealing with are not separate and comparable, but connected histories.'[113] In many ways, although entirely different in their local contexts, Ethiopia and Brazil are connected histories – connected through the approach of the Jesuits ('an element of circulation' themselves[114]) towards spatiality, and their implementation of the mental construct of spatial tactics in the realm of religious conversion.

Similarly, the work of Doreen Massey (who argued that 'the spatial is integral to the production of history'[115]) evinced the interconnected and relational nature of places, which could be better

[109] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.26.
[110] M. Middell and K. Naumann, 'Global History and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalisation', *Journal of Global History,* 5 (2010), p.155.
[111] Ibid., p.149.
[112] Zoltán Biedermann, *(Dis)connected Empires: Imperial Portugal, Sri Lankan Diplomacy, and the Making of a Habsburg Conquest in Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p.1.
[113] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies,* 31.3 (1997), pp.747-748.
[114] Ibid., p.748.
[115] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p.269.

understood as 'porous networks of social relations' wherein power relations and social changes manifest in timely and dynamic fashions.[116] Massey, along with David Harvey, Ed Soja, and other proponents of the spatial turn, has helped to build a strong argument that places, sites, and locations, alongside the use of natural environments, are not merely static containers wherein events take place.

The creation or development of the modern nation state is one case in point. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the act of territorialisation, for example, which has been shown by David M. Smith to be deeply political. Smith describes a 'central paradox' in the complex creation of territory, in which 'people come together in space to facilitate survival (or human betterment, even prosperity), yet may also be obliged to exclude.'[117] Smith theorises that

> [t]he occupancy of land is purposeful and societal: the private ownership of land and its resource arises in a particular social milieu […] Territoriality is, therefore, not some innate human trait but a social construct. It can take different forms in different geographical and historical circumstances, and its specific manifestations must be contextualised […] Territoriality and its various expressions must be recognised as means to some end, such as material survival, political control or xenophobia.[118]

Smith's point that territoriality's 'specific manifestations must be contextualised' is one of the key principles of the role of the spatial turn in shredding the 'container' approach to space.[119] Identifying the mechanisms behind the societal construction of territoriality is highly beneficial for studies of historical otherness, especially those that pertain to early-modern colonialism, a time of immense land appropriation and cultural encounter. Examining perceptions of indigenous territorialisation and the development of particular spaces of inclusion and exclusion over time can establish much about entrenched beliefs of the dominant group in society concerning marginal groups. This kind of study

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[116] Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, p.121.
[117] David M. Smith, 'Introduction: the sharing and dividing of geographical space', in *Shared Space / Divided Space: essays on conflict and Territorial Organisation*, ed. by Michael Chisholm and David M. Smith (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p.1.
[118] Ibid., p.3.
[119] This approach has frequently prioritised the historical study of nations as the pre-eminent political space, but as Subrahmanyam puts it '[n]ationalism has blinded us to the possibility of connection,' whereas in actual fact "cultural zones" are often far more permeable than they first appear. Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories', p.761.

has been carried out particularly deftly by David Sibley, whose work on gypsy communities and contested spaces in modern Britain has shown that the image of the gypsy straddles the line between romance and deviance, and that struggles over the control of space have both 'accentuat[ed] social division' and 'render[ed] the excluded group less visible.'[120] Both outcomes of this struggle have informed the production of popular perceptions of the gypsy, aided by the fear rhetoric and coded terms employed by the British media, as the 'polluters' of space, and the way that spaces of inclusion and exclusion have been framed by dominant British society have worked as an attempt to control the gypsy population (which has not always been successful, hence the continued contestation of space).

Sibley outlines the differences between strongly classified, or framed, space, and weakly framed space, suggesting that in the case of the former, there is a concern that clearly-defined boundaries must be maintained 'in order to keep out objects or people who do not fit the classification,' whereas in the latter, 'more numerous and fluid relationships between people and the built environment' are able to occur, producing different perceptions of marginal groups.[121] It is useful to bear in mind how spaces were framed in the past by both marginal and dominant groups, and the consequences of this for understanding the interaction between the people who used these spaces.

If spaces are not neutral – and it is hard to argue the counterpoint – this is, in itself, a clear justification for the production of spatial histories, and especially those concerned with the encounters and negotiations between people from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. If historical perceptions of ethnic alterity and constructions of racial identities are not neutral, and neither is space, which, as Foucault has argued, 'is fundamental to any exercise of power,'[122] then it surely must mean that a more specific focus upon the multiplicity of spaces conceived, contested, and constructed during the early colonial era will contribute to a deeper understanding of cultural encounter in this period.

[120] David Sibley, 'Outsiders in society and space', p.113.
[121] Ibid., p.115.
[122] Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault, and the Project of a Spatial History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), p.6.

This appears to be the perspective of certain other historians. Leif Jerram asserts that space

> offers a way of understanding relationships that opens up the particular and the peculiar, but while offering tools to link the particular to wider processes that tend to be analysed in taxonomic categories like class, race, gender, sexuality, state, expertise, or law. Space is (literally, not at all figuratively) how these taxonomic categories come into relationship with one another.[123]

Therefore, it must be of vital importance for historians to examine the spatial arenas – be they villages, sacred buildings, prisons, beaches, or markets – wherein human relationships, the historian's bread and butter, have been played out over time, and have been incontrovertibly affected by not just the natural environments people inhabit, but the built environments they conceive of, build, possess, and manage. Considerations of spatiality need not erase taxonomies, but can be viewed as contributing actively towards the ways in which they relate and have historically been conceived and constructed.

We cannot continue to study European negotiation of indigenous alterity without consideration of the places and sites that all groups interacted across, within, and around. We are products of our environment, yet we also shape our environment to suit our physical needs, cultural practices, and beliefs. Places, like bodies, could be – and frequently were – othered by European commentators in their writings. This is indicated by the few existing spatial histories of the early-modern colonies, which have yielded fascinating results. Heidi Scott's work on the forced labour of indigenous Peruvians in Spanish mines[124] employs Foucauldian principles of governmentality in her analysis of sixteenth-century sources such as Agrícola's *De re metallica*, indicating a shift in the discourse surrounding underground spaces from dangerous and sacred to exploitable, which greatly influenced the colonial government in decisions taken to augment the economic output of the colony. However, this also had consequences for the Spanish negotiations with indigenous Peruvians, who were rhetorically fought over by various colonial and religious authorities concerned 'with *where* they

[123] Leif Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', *History and Theory,* 52.3 (2013), p.402.
[124] Heidi V. Scott, 'The Contested Spaces of the Subterranean: Colonial Governmentality, Mining, and the Mita in Early Spanish Peru', *Journal of Latin American Geography,* 11 (2012), pp.7-33.

could be compelled or permitted to work, in view of the effects that particular *places* were perceived to have on their health, habits, and spiritual condition.'[125] Scott's article shows the centrality of 'space' – in this instance, underground environments and colonial sites of labour – in shaping European discourses upon indigenous inhabitants of the New World.

In justifying the need for her research, Scott writes that '[g]eographers seek to demonstrate that the art of government in any context or modality is inherently concerned with space and place,' and yet in historiography 'only limited attention is paid to examining the causal effects that governments attribute to particular kinds of spaces and environments.'[126] Her study is carefully theorised, employing pertinent sources from early-modern scientists, religious commentators, and the agendas of colonial authorities such as Viceroy Toledo alongside concepts of colonial governmentality, built upon Foucault's principles by scholars such as Margo Huxley. It indicates how 'understandings of the qualities of particular places, as well as of particular human populations, played a significant role in debates and discussions over appropriate strategies of government in colonial Peru,'[127] and shows just how insightful spatial studies can be for analyses of the mechanisms of power which manifested in the early-modern colonies. This thesis similarly hopes to demonstrate how considerations of environment and indigenous territorialisation directly influenced Jesuit missionaries' understandings of Brazilian and Ethiopian alterity, and affected the long-term conversion strategies they would employ in their negotiations with indigenous populations.

Of course, the application of any theory to research necessitates an awareness of the potential dilemmas and challenges which may arise. Those who have criticised the use of spatiality in history have pointed to the need for the historian's focus to remain on developments through time, rather than space. The privileging of space within an analysis has the danger to ignore or marginalise changes over time, but this can be easily remedied by abiding by concrete aims to chart changes throughout both time *and* space. However, the most important thing to bear in mind, in order to avoid

[125] Scott, 'The Contested Spaces of the Subterranean', p.8.
[126] Ibid., pp.11-12.
[127] Ibid., p.11.

anachronism, is the question of the extent to which the Jesuits themselves were conscious of the impositions of the places they helped to create and manage, whether they were fully cognisant of their reasons for doing so, and whether this is genuinely reflected in the sources available. Tracing Foucault's 'genealogy' of ideas and the mechanisms behind them is not impossible, but does pose a considerable challenge. As with any attempt at understanding things in the past (especially taxonomies such as race and ethnicity), it is vital to be aware of our modern sensibilities and cultural environment when evaluating how spaces functioned and were perceived in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Brazil and Ethiopia.

THE PROBLEM OF TERMINOLOGY

Establishing the precise terminology to be used in this study is vital. Many studies claiming to be spatial in their approach – even those written by cultural geographers – fall into the trap of using the terms 'space' and 'place' interchangeably without elucidating the differences between them and how they should be applied critically and with precision, and indeed, this is a challenging aspect for historians. In a recent special volume of the journal *History and Theory*, scholars came together to problematise, debate, and defend the use of spatial theory in the writing of history. In their introduction, Beat Kümin and Cornelie Usborne rightly warn scholars that, as with any 'turn,' potential dangers lie within 'inflationary use, opportunistic appropriations, semi-digested theory, and imprecise terminology.'[128] Similarly, Leif Jerram's complaint is that 'few scholars in any discipline […] have explained precisely what space is.'[129] This can unfortunately be seen in many spatial history studies. Paul Stock's recent *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History*, whilst opening up a wide range of debates and opportunities for spatial historians, nonetheless persists in employing the word 'space' to denote areas of study which at first appear specific, yet in fact only serve to perpetuate the vagueness and confusion already present in the field. Stock takes 'space' to mean 'the emplacement, distribution, and connection of entities, actions, and ideas,'[130] but the 'emplacement […] of entities'

[128] Kümin and Usborne, 'A Historical Introduction to the "Spatial Turn"', p.317.
[129] Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', p.401.
[130] Paul Stock, ed., *The Uses of Space in Early Modern History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), p.1.

could clearly refer to almost anywhere that historical actors reside. However, this does not nullify the usefulness of space as an analytical category for historians. Just as all periods of time are open to inquiry, all spaces are too – given the right source material and methodology.

Since the commencement of the spatial turn in humanities scholarship in the 1960s and 1970s, enough geographers and historians have engaged with the idea that spaces are not merely inevitable or given, but have been created with thought, meaning, and purpose, often responding to various needs driven by wider circumstances (or systemic contexts), to warrant a serious acknowledgement that spaces, places, and the values and meanings attached to them have significant consequences for any study of human behaviour and interaction. This means that a consideration of spatial aspects is of utmost importance particularly for those who would seek to uncover more about 'otherness,' race relations, or cultural encounter. The rewards and possibilities for spatial study are rich, and scholars who would wrestle with these consequences should not be dissuaded from their investigations by difficulties in terminology.

Spatial historians must, however, take a precise approach to this terminology. Constructing our own relevant terms, with recourse to current literature, and ensuring that we explain to our audience how these terms are to be used and why they are pertinent and appropriate, will aid in pinpointing not just the exact subjects of study and how they are to be considered, but why our research is necessary. On employing words such as 'space,' 'place,' 'location,' and 'site,' we need to ensure that our own definitions are elucidated with clarity and do not have an all-encompassing scope. As such, I will now attempt to lay down my definitions, to justify them, and to explain how I intend to apply them to my research.

In Brazil, the major 'space' of contention under review will be the *aldeias,* commonly referred to as mission villages. Each of these comprised a few thousand individuals, and are what Henri Lefebvre would define as 'spaces of representation', that is, those relating to lived experience. For general reference, I will use the word 'place' to refer to the *aldeias*, as they are specific settlements located in space, where inhabitants lived and worked within a framework of coded spatial meaning. I take the

word ‘place’ to mean both a site of value and meaning *and* a specific location in space. Leif Jerram proposes that spatial historians *only* use the word ‘place’ to refer to the ‘values, beliefs, codes, and practices that surround a particular location, whether that location is real or imagined.’[131] In Jerram’s hypothesis, ‘space is material, location is relational or positional, place is meaningful.’[132] However, Beat Kümin and Cornelie Usborne suggest that the word ‘place’ can be employed ‘for points where specific constellations of objects and agents constitute socially recognised sites of interaction (such as squares, churches, [and] public houses),’[133] which of course the settlements under consideration were. Interaction and meaning often comes together in a place, whether that be a school, a prison, a market square, or a domestic setting, and as such, it would not be anomalous by most standards to apply this word to the *aldeias*.

Language of greater specificity will be applied to the *aldeias*, however. These places were problematic, as their spatial organisation was not of the inhabitants’ own devising. They were amalgamations of already existing indigenous villages, yet the meanings conferred on the spatial organisation of these villages by the Tupi-Guarani were overlaid with the Jesuits’ own. Although the mission villages were places in the usual sense of the word, they were not areas which were accessible to the greater majority of the colonial settler population. Building upon David Sibley’s theories, the *aldeias* were enclosed by principles of strong spatial classification, that is, exit and entry was policed or prohibited through colonial edict and, at times, military force. The Crown had announced that the frequent raids into the *aldeias* carried out by Portuguese settlers looking for free plantation labour were illegal. Indigenous inhabitants were also bound by laws, as they were cajoled and threatened with violent recrimination by colonial military commanders if they strayed outside of the boundaries of the village or refused to comply with the Jesuits’ directives. These places can be defined more specifically as sites of exclusion, both for the Tupi-Guarani communities who lived there, and for ordinary Portuguese settlers. By being ‘reduced’ into these settlements, the former were excluded from the liberties they exercised prior to their enclosure by Mem de Sá, excluded from habitual use

[131] Jerram, ‘Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?’, p.404.
[132] Ibid., p.404.
[133] Kümin and Usborne, ‘A Historical Introduction to the “Spatial Turn”’, p.318.

their natural environment, and excluded from white colonial society. This last exclusion is key to understanding the paradox that lay at the heart of the *aldeia* system. The programme was designed to recreate the indigenous population of Brazil as subjects of the Portuguese Crown; thus, they became, in effect, an extension of the king's territory. The Jesuits aimed to transform the Tupi-Guarani into catechised Roman Catholics, and by extension, 'civilised' citizens of the burgeoning empire – yet the *aldeias* served only to sequester the native population away from this empire, not to aid them with integrating. The spatial organisation of the *aldeias* was instrumental for thinking about the ways in which indigenous bodies were controlled by the Portuguese.

The chapter discussing the perception of the *sertão* ('wilderness') in Jesuit consciousness lends itself fairly easily to being described as a natural environment; however, it is also a place in that it was clearly conceptualised as such and attributed coded meanings by the Jesuits and by ordinary Portuguese settlers as well. The way this place was imagined by the Jesuits had implications not only for their perceptions of the indigenous people who lived within the *sertão*, but also for their relationship with the colonial authorities and their subsequent adaptation of their 'way of proceeding' to suit the challenges posed by this 'wilderness.'

The first chapter of this thesis concerning Ethiopia will be discussed largely in terms of territorialisation, the act of organising a territory. Whilst on mission, the Jesuits conceived an interesting perception of the Ethiopians' native territorial organisation, frequently referring to Ethiopia as an 'empire' in their longer histories despite all evidence to the contrary. Examining early modern understandings of 'empire' and tracing the usage of this word will reveal why it was applied to Ethiopia, and what this perceived territorialisation meant for Jesuit conceptions of Ethiopian alterity. The final chapter concerns the Jesuits' approach to built environments of the Orthodox Church in the province of Tigrê, and their attempts at reforming (that is, destroying) what they perceived to be the overtly Judaic nature of the *sancta sanctorum* – the holy compartment housing the Ark of the Covenant – within the church buildings themselves. As such, architectural terms and terminology pertaining to sites of meaning will be employed. The Jesuits attempted to countermand the existence of these sacred Orthodox sites, which were accorded many coded meanings by the Jesuits and the

Ethiopian adherents to Täwaḥədo Christianity, by constructing their own residences and churches around Emperor Susenyos' stamping ground of Lake Tana, thereby aligning themselves with native frameworks of power.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SPATIAL THEORY TO STUDIES OF ALTERITY IN EARLY-MODERN ETHIOPIA AND BRAZIL

The application of questions of spatiality and alterity is not only beneficial but necessary to a study of early-modern Brazil and Ethiopia. The contestation of space in the New World and elsewhere brought about by the early colonial era engendered countless interactions with peoples previously unknown to the Spanish and Portuguese, and engendered countless more with those already known. These relations were acted out *across space* as well as *through time*, and, as discussed above, space did not merely serve as a neutral backdrop against which events played out, but was in fact a key factor in defining the ways in which power relations manifested in the colonies. This was also the case in areas which remained uncolonised yet still played a vital role in the development of the Portuguese *padroado*. The contestation, appropriation, and management of space by European colonial authorities defined not just their attempts to assert power over precious land and resources, but over the indigenous populations too. The Jesuits were instrumental tools for the Portuguese colonial directive, and as such provide effective case studies in the question of how ethnic alterity was negotiated during the early colonial period. By looking at the organisation of the places they helped construct and manage in Brazil, and their perceptions of the territory and accompanying power of the Ethiopian emperor, we gain a clearer understanding of their approach and attitude towards the indigenous populations with which they were required by their superiors, their identity as Jesuit priests, and by a belief in a God-given mandate, to negotiate. Especially in the case of Brazil, examining Jesuit perceptions of native territorialisation and the spatial constructions of the *aldeias,* as well as the creative and legislative processes behind the system, establishes much about the kind of character, abilities, sins, and deficiencies the Jesuits believed the Tupi-Guarani societies to possess, as well as offering insights into the institutional mechanisms and networks of power behind the colonial

missionary impetus.

Addressing the places, sites, environments, and territories manifest in early-modern Brazil and Ethiopia through an application of spatial theory allows us to move away from an understanding of spatial entities or spatial perspectives (and the way that they in turn affected cultural encounter) predicated on an essentialist view of space, that is to say, attributing to space inherent characteristics and a given nature. It is the *processes* which are privileged in this analysis. Scholars of the *aldeias* of Brazil have rightly pointed out that they were oppressive entities – they restricted the movement of their inhabitants and curtailed many traditional social and cultural practices – and the processes behind this oppression are interesting because they allow a deeper analysis of repressive systems. It is important to problematise this approach and acknowledge that they featured a number of interrelating mechanisms, influenced not only by individual lived experience of the missionaries in response to challenges faced 'on the ground,' but also by the wider systemic contexts approached by this thesis, and cannot in any way be considered given or inevitable sites. It is important to determine *why* these villages were created and managed in the ways they were, in order to understand the nature of the relations conducted between the Tupi-Guarani and the Jesuits.

In the case of Ethiopia, the Jesuits wrote a great deal about the varying spatial realities (sites, locations, and places) that they heard news of, travelled within and around, and inhabited during their long years in the sub-Saharan African realm. Firstly, attention should therefore be given to an examination of Jesuit perceptions of Ethiopian space for the simple reason that they themselves privileged it in their writings. They attributed great importance to spatial knowledge and awareness, even employing their own autoptic (experiential) knowledge of Ethiopia in their justifications of the presence of the Society of Jesus in that realm. Pedro Páez's *History of Ethiopia*, for example, was written largely for the purpose of refuting the Dominican Luís de Urreta's fantastical and fallacious two-volume work on the land, customs, beliefs, and people of Ethiopia, and the Dominican Order's claim to Christianisation of that land. Not only, then, did the Jesuits see it necessary to transmit what they believed to be "accurate" knowledge of the spatial realities of Ethiopia based on their personal observations and informed hearsay, they actually employed this knowledge as a way to assert their

authority – and promote a triumphal image of their order – back home in the Iberian peninsula. The 'otherness' of Ethiopia's land, therefore, became in essence a battleground between two influential religious orders.

By examining language used by Jesuits to describe the native territorialisation of Ethiopia, we learn a great deal about attitudes towards that land as well as those who governed there. By employing generous terms such as 'empire,' 'emperor,' and 'kingdom,' the Jesuits knowingly maintained a tradition stretching back at least three hundred years – that of conceptualising Ethiopia as the realm of the fabled and much-desired Prester John – despite demonstrating a conscious awareness that this figure was a myth (or at any rate, in the belief of Manuel da Almeida, one which could not be associated with Ethiopia), and that Ethiopia was a land afflicted by the incessant incursions of Muslims, Falashas (Ethiopian Jews), and the Oromo people. This begs the question as to why, despite the Emperor's greatly diminished territory from the time of his forefathers, his apparent lack of control over the borders of his territory, and the expressed belief of the Jesuits in the failings of the government, the Jesuits continued to expound the qualities, magnificence, and might of the Emperor and his 'empire.' Examining the Jesuits' perception of Ethiopian native territorialisation within a spatial history framework enables a fresh and more nuanced reading of the several proto-ethnographic accounts that emerged as a result of the seventeenth-century mission. Prioritising Jesuit attitudes towards space – with the exception of one article by Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis – has not yet been attempted by the prominent Ethiopianist scholars of the mission, and in doing so I hope to demonstrate that a much overlooked aspect of Jesuit consciousness can be of use when thinking about cultural encounter and Iberian attitudes towards alterity in early-modern Ethiopia.

Acknowledging spatial aspects of the Jesuits' negotiation of the religious traditions of Ethiopia is of great significance. The attempts of the Jesuits to contest the primacy of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church adopted an explicitly spatial 'way of proceeding,' and led not only to a flurry of construction activity but also the violent desecration of many sacred spaces within the Orthodox church buildings themselves, predicated on a belief that the perceived Judaic elements had to be physically removed, along with other practices such as circumcision and the keeping of the Sabbath. The reasons for the

miserable failure of the mission, which resulted in the execution and banishment of most of the Jesuit priests in the 1640s, have been debated by historians but the lack of tolerance for many of the features of this rich Christian tradition certainly played a large part in the subsequent suspicion felt by many Ethiopians towards Europeans, who would not be welcomed back to Ethiopia until the turn of the eighteenth century. It can be argued that the Jesuits' inability to acknowledge unique indigenous spatial overlays led partly to their intransigence and overall failure of the mission.

PROBLEMATISATION AND THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THEORY

The practical application of spatial theory to the questions of this thesis takes as its starting point certain principles set down by Michel Foucault and the subsequent work of Foucauldian scholars who employed, adapted, and critiqued these principles. Stuart Elden writes that the 'norm for Foucault is to use space not merely as another area to be analysed, but as a central part of the approach itself,'[134] and this thesis will similarly attempt to employ space as a central actor.

Foucault's spatial histories are generally considered by scholars to be successful in their aims (although not without their methodological problems), and examined how power functioned throughout both time *and* space, employing institutions to make specific points about how bodies were controlled by space. His *Discipline and Punish* serves as an effective template through which to investigate, in particular, the interrelated mechanisms which brought the Jesuit-maintained *aldeias* into existence. Foucault's discussion of the exemplary surveillance system of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon highlights 'principles and techniques' that I argue were already present in Brazil in the sixteenth century. Panopticism, as Foucault defines it, 'is the general principle of a new "political anatomy" whose object and end are not the relations of sovereignty but the relations of discipline.'[135] Although Foucault more commonly refers to surveillance as an element of control in modern, liberal societies, surveillance comprised a key method of maintaining the Jesuits' pastoral control over indigenous populations in early-modern Brazil. The Jesuits' *aldeia* system was created and employed

[134] Elden, *Mapping the Present*, p.3.
[135] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan. Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991), p.208.

variously to enforce new behaviours and beliefs, exclude indigenous communities from white colonial society, and instruct the indigenous people in their 'new' lives as catechised Christians. While the self-regulatory principles of Panopticism are a step too far in examining the *aldeia* system, as the settlements did not represent the kind of pure surveillance methods apparent in Bentham's ideal prison, elements of discipline, management, observation, and punishment can be seen in the *aldeias* and can be applied in a similar way in order to yield a useful examination of relations of power and spatiality as they pertain to cultural and ethnic alterity in early colonial Brazil.

However, as with any methodology, provisos must accompany this. In his survey of the scholarly criticism levelled at *Discipline and Punish*, Felix Driver writes how scholars have considered whether Foucault took into account 'the gap between the reformers' intentions and actual outcomes' and 'the conflicts between policy-makers, administrators, guards and the prisoners themselves.'[136] It is not my intention to provide my own critique of Foucault's work here, but to highlight an awareness of where an application of interrelated mechanisms and the genealogy of ideas to spatial history can fall apart. Leif Jerram offers problematisation in the form of some useful questions to be asked if space 'is viewed by historians as a material artefact which can steer social actions in ways not always meaningfully apprehended by actors.'[137] These questions include how this steering might happen; that is, what is the 'mechanism of action, the line of reasoning that runs from spatial cause → human effect,' and how historians might comprehend this process, if it is not always apparent to those planning or building the space.[138] In all textual analysis of the available sources, it is important to trace the relationship between theory and practice, to understand whether created spaces complied with the original objectives and principles established by colonial policy-makers and Jesuit priests, whether individuals were conscious of the effects these places would have, and – of great importance – how these places manifested relations between different groups of people. Similar questions can be asked of Ethiopia in terms of the Jesuits' conscious agenda for the construction and reform

[136] Felix Driver, 'Bodies in Space: Foucault's account of disciplinary power', in *Reassessing Foucault: Power, Medicine and the Body*, ed. by Colin Jones and Roy Porter, (London: Routledge, 1994), p.119.
[137] Jerram, 'Space: A Useless Category for Historical Analysis?', p.418.
[138] Ibid., p.418.

programme they pursued in Tigrê and around Lake Tana as part of their 'way of proceeding.' As far as it can be witnessed within the sources, this thesis will attempt to be aware of the agency of those indigenous groups who were subject to the Jesuits' efforts to control them through space.

Foucault's *governmentality* lends a framework of historical analysis through which to understand the rationalities behind the decision of European authorities (whether the Portuguese Crown, colonial governments, or the superiors of the Society of Jesus) concerning the practices of governing, managing, and guiding individuals' behaviours, power practices which directly relate to employed concepts of spatiality.[139] However, Driver writes that 'Foucault has consistently rejected the idea that the new regime of power was imposed "from the top", arguing instead that the disciplines were "invented and organized from the starting points of local conditions and particular needs". This position clearly reflects Foucault's antipathy to state-centred theories of power.'[140] However, we can see state-centred power quite clearly overlapping with local conditions in both Brazil and Ethiopia in the early-modern era. Central hierarchies of power are fundamental for understanding how places, sites, and territories were perceived, constructed, and managed whilst the Jesuits were on mission, and this thesis will attempt to understand the interrelation of these hierarchies, the relationships and ideas that were forged through such interrelation, and the implication of this for practical spatial policy.

In examining the sources for both Ethiopia and Brazil, I intend to uncover what the Jesuits privileged in their correspondence and larger works, and why, and whether it is possible to detect any similarities or differences between the different types of sources as pertains to discussions of spatial realities and imaginaries. It will also be important to employ knowledge of the inner workings of the institution of the Society of Jesus to explain the wider systemic contexts behind their choice of language and inclusion of events, places, and names.

[139] Margo Huxley, 'Space and Government: Governmentality and Geography', *Geography Compass,* 2.5 (2008), p.1641.
[140] Driver, 'Bodies in Space', p.122.

Chapter II

Early Jesuit Conceptions and Renditions of the Brazilian *Sertão*, 1549-1558

This chapter will determine how the Jesuits characterised the *sertão*, the Brazilian backlands, and ask whether their perception of this natural environment – often so hostile to Portuguese explorers and priests – had any visible influence over their negotiation, perception, and management of the indigenous peoples living within. I will argue that the Jesuits' descriptions of indigenous Brazilian alterity and the *sertão* were determined to a certain extent by the letter-writing expectations of Ignatius of Loyola and other founding members of the Society of Jesus. However, it is possible to discern the motives and agendas of individual Jesuits, who in some cases were prompted, by their own emotional reactions to the state of the mission, to convey a sense of their personalities.

An examination of the Jesuits' experiences within the *sertão* and their documented attitudes towards this natural environment, as well as those who inhabited it, forms a necessary prelude to any discussion of their later involvement in the creation and management of the *aldeia* system. It demonstrates that spatial concerns were directly factored into the Jesuits' negotiations with the indigenous Brazilians' ethnic and cultural alterity. The latter's natural environment, which gave rise to their social and cultural practices of itinerancy, tribal warfare, and exo-cannibalism (the practice of killing and eating someone from outside one's own social group), and informed the manner of construction of their domestic arrangements and community spaces, was deemed an inappropriate and unsuitable backdrop for the unfolding of the Jesuits' Catholic mission. The difficulty of converting indigenous peoples in their own impermanent villages was compounded by the interference of the Crown and the colonial governor-general, whose concern regarding territorial demarcations and the close proximity of the Spanish led them to issue prohibitions against unaccompanied *entradas* into the *sertão*. Thus we can see that the *sertão* was an 'othered' space in the minds of the Portuguese, a perception which quickly evolved into policy, requiring the Jesuits and the colonial authorities to

compromise on their agendas and create a new, unprecedented form of spatial organisation – the mission village – which would appease both parties. As we will see in the next chapter, however, these *aldeias* rarely, if ever, allowed for the wishes and cultural practices of the indigenous inhabitants. They primarily served to restrict the movement of the Tupi across their territory, to limit their presence and involvement in burgeoning white colonial society, and to institute a systematic method of discipline and punishment for behaviour deemed transgressive and unnatural.

THE TEXTS IN CONTEXT

Although this thesis is concerned primarily with the contents of Jesuit letters rather than their networks of information, it is important, as with any set of complex sources, to investigate how methods of information-gathering, compilation, and distribution influenced the written text as it is available to historians today. Jesuits often engaged in image-making on behalf of the Society, and it will be argued that this unique genre of edificatory letter-writing played a significant role in informing the ways in which perceptions of indigenous alterity and their spatial organisations were set down on paper. The style and determinants of the documents examined in this thesis cannot be separated from the Jesuits' representations of alterity – pertaining to indigenous bodies as well as their natural environments and spatial organisations – and therefore the two must be studied in conjunction with one another.

The huge early expansion of the Jesuit order both created the need for, and required the creation of, the production and distribution of large volumes of information at the local and global level. A great many types of document circulated in the Jesuits' formative period, including financial records, legal documents, papal bulls and briefs, letters, instructions, and rules.[141] Paul Nelles writes that 'the constant flow of information was essential for the Society's government, as it allowed Jesuit initiatives to develop at an extraordinary rate of cohesion and uniformity.'[142] In order to maintain such

[141] Paul Nelles, 'Cosas y Cartas: Scribal Production and Material Pathways in Jesuit Global Communication (1547-1573)', *Journal of Jesuit Studies,* 2 (2015), p.439.
[142] Paul Nelles, 'Chancillería en colegio: la producción y circulación de papales jesuitas en el siglo XVI', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anejo,* 13 (2014), p.50. Translation mine.

an efficient and coordinated system, exchanges had to be managed by the centralised communication hub, the Jesuit curia in Rome, and directives concerning the exact mode of production and circulation of missionary information were issued by Ignatius of Loyola a mere two years after the Society's foundation.

Loyola's initial guidance for Jesuit missionaries writing to their superiors in Rome already denotes a deep and conscientious preoccupation with the positive image-making latent in much of the correspondence before the Jesuits' suppression by the Portuguese Empire in 1759. The early survival of the Society was contingent on strong and visible support from many wealthy patrons in western Europe, both religious prelates and the secular nobility. This led Loyola to complain that 'there are many persons who are well disposed toward us and who want to see our letters, but […] we dare not show them because they are disorganised and full of inappropriate matter,' therefore 'we incur considerable resentment and give more disedification than edification.'[143] The issue of edification was crucial for the founding members of the Society, and essentially implied an emphasis on the more marketable deeds and agendas of the order, although it will soon become apparent that the fine line between the request for edification and the desire for accuracy could not always be trodden. Practical steps were taken to mitigate this. In order to evade the disorder and errors within early Jesuit letters, Loyola 'insisted on the need to distinguish between what he called the "carta principal" and the *hijuelas* that accompanied it.' The *carta principal* could be circulated, as it had a 'clear edifying value' which successfully illustrated different forms of ministry, such as sermons, confessions, and exercises. Matters that did not relate to spiritual ministry 'would have to be relegated to the *hijuela*, where one could address "impertinent peculiarities."'[144] These corresponded to the internal and external functions of the Society's communication.

It is the *quadrimestres* or *cartas annuas* for which the Jesuits are best known. These were newssheets with the central purpose of conveying edifying material throughout the order's global network. Each

[143] Ignatius of Loyola, 'Ignatius on Writing (1542)', in *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, ed. by John W. Padberg and others (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), p.90.
[144] Federico Palomo, 'Corregir letras para unir espiritus. Los jesuitas y las cartas edificantes en el Portugal del siglo XVI', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna. Anejos,* 2 (2005), p.65. Translation mine.

college and provincial superior was obliged to compile and distribute these at the beginning of January, May, and September, while overseas Jesuits were requested to write annually. On arriving into Rome, newssheets would be filtered for content, abridged if too long, or otherwise edited for vocabulary and style by secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco before being translated and redistributed among European colleges.[145] Jesuit houses, such as the one in Lisbon, were responsible for forwarding these to Jesuits in Asia, Africa, and Brazil. However, these instructions were ignored by the majority of provincial superiors, and the Society soon realised that secretaries at the curia were tiring of the constant production line of editing, copying, translating, and distributing. New instructions issued by the order's secretary Juan Alfonso de Polanco in 1560 declared that Rome was no longer responsible for copying or translating the *quadrimestres* as the extra workload was becoming unmanageable; this became the duty of the local colleges and provincial superiors, who were required to find qualified copyists and control the distribution of the newssheets to each province of the Society,[146] as well as to exercise discernment and ensure that news-sheets were edifying without being untruthful. The difficult balancing act expected from priests meant that many simply did not follow these instructions in their letter-writing. The frequency of correspondence expected by Rome also soon became more of a hindrance than a help; in 1564 Polanco wrote that Jesuits were being restricted in their pastoral duties by their extra administrative work. Between 1565-1773, provincial superiors now reported to Rome once a month, and Rome responded to Jesuits everywhere once every six months (although this could vary).[147]

This institutional drive towards epistolary hegemony necessarily impacted the content of the letters sent from Brazil (and other locations, both overseas and within Europe), although the frequency with which Polanco had to convey reminders and requests to Jesuit provincial superiors to omit preamble and unnecessary details, write in an edificatory manner, and abide by his instructions concerning the rate of communication with Rome, suggests that many Jesuits ignored the guidance in the Constitutions, and later the *Formula scribendi* (1560), subscribing to their own rules on style and

[145] Nelles, 'Chancillería en colegio', p.60.
[146] Ibid., p.65.
[147] Nelles, 'Cosas y Cartas', pp.431-432.

rhythm. Polanco's solution was to evoke the ubiquitous Jesuit concept of obedience in order to persuade provincial superiors overseas to write to Rome three times a year and to include relevant information in an acceptable style.[148] Although Jesuit epistolary communication was intended by the curia to be uniform, directives were rarely followed to the letter. Efforts to understand these texts purely as products of the Jesuit bureaucracy machine without taking individual personalities into account negates the worth of personal experience, agenda, and even educational background in formulating critical analysis. It is true that private letters addressed to individuals in Europe (*hijuelas*) rather than to the wider Jesuit public indicates more of the attitudes, grievances, experiences, and privations of Jesuit priests in sixteenth-century Brazil than the *cartas annuas* of the provincial superiors (Manuel da Nóbrega, 1552-1559 and Luís de Grã, 1559-1577), but even the obedient Nóbrega came under fire from Polanco for non-compliance with epistolary instructions.

It was clear that, for Loyola and Polanco, the practice of letter-writing was not simply an act of conveying news and useful information within the Jesuit network. Letters could be passed to those wealthy patrons or influential contacts who were likely to look kindly on the work of the Society, and, thus, missives had the potential to be extremely efficacious advertisements which aided in the promotion, expansion, and consolidation of the order, both financially and in terms of reputation. The external circulation of promotional material was of great importance to the fledgling order, who were already amassing not a few enemies in western Europe, but throughout the period covered by this thesis it continued to be, in the eyes of the curia, the most effective way of rendering the Society's work – and its members – indispensable to religious prelates and the secular nobility alike. This is evidenced by the later effort made to collate and publish letters in printed volumes.

However, these letters were intended to be more than propagandistic justifications for the continued existence of the Society of Jesus. Loyola expected them to contribute towards the 'spiritual progression and consolation of souls,' that is, those reading the letters.[149] Consolation was defined by Loyola in the *Spiritual Exercises* in three ways. Consolation could be 'when an interior movement is

[148] Nelles, 'Chancillería en colegio', p.57.
[149] Loyola, 'Ignatius on Writing (1542)', in *Letters and Instructions*, ed. by John W. Padberg and others, p.93.

aroused in the soul, by which it is inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord,' prompting the soul to love all creatures not on their own terms but 'in the Creator of them all.' Secondly, it is consolation 'when one sheds tears' while meditating on one's sins or on the sufferings of Christ, prompting the service and praise of God. Finally, consolation meant 'every increase of faith, hope, and love [*todo aumento de esperanza, fee, y caridad*], and all interior joy that invites and attracts to what is heavenly and to the salvation of one's soul by filling it with peace and quiet in its Creator and Lord.'[150] Correspondence, in the eyes of the founders of the order, was second only to the *Constitutions* and the *Spiritual Exercises* in conveying a sense of uniquely Jesuitical consolation and unification.[151] João Marinho Dos Santos argues that writing helped the Society 'to rejoice and draw together as a grand body that was at the same time human and mystical,'[152] and so although we see that letter-writing clearly functioned as a pragmatic exercise in positive image-making for the order, it must also be understood that the aim was to provide comfort for those far from home, and to contribute to the sense of a worldwide unity of souls, connected through spirit as well as through early-modern communication networks.

ISSUES WITH THE TEXTS

Although these sources are valuable for an understanding of the early efforts made by Jesuits in Brazil to establish their presence, both spiritually (ministering and preaching) and physically (making their mark on the colonial landscape through establishing professed houses and colleges, and even – as in the case of Nóbrega – towns like São Paulo), as well as providing evidence for their perceptions of Brazilian alterity and their management of indigenous spatial organisations, they are not without their problems and limitations.

One such issue is the contemporaneous claim to authenticity. The Jesuit historian John Correia-

[150] Louis J. Puhl, S.J, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius: Based on Studies in the Language of the Autograph* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1951), p.142; *Exercicios Spirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola: Autografo Española* (Madrid: Editorial Apostolado de la Prensa, S. A. Velázquez, 1979), 11th edn, p.175.
[151] Nelles, 'Chancillería en colegio,' p.53.
[152] João Marinho Dos Santos, 'Writing and its Functions in Sixteenth Century Jesuit Missions in Brazil', *História,* 34.1 (2015), p.116.

Afonso tells us that letters were to be straightforward. 'The superiors of the Society insisted on accuracy and fidelity to truth on the part of their chroniclers [...] Sensational effect was not what was wanted, but objectivity and reliability.'[153] Early-modern notions of trustworthiness may not strictly correspond to our modern understanding of 'objectivity and reliability,' but the superior general Mutio Vitelleschi wrote to Father Silesdon in Belgium urging him to 'communicate to us what you have ascertained to be more authentic.'[154] This often served a pragmatic purpose, as initiates in European colleges who had expected or requested to be sent to certain parts of the world anticipated accurate information about the kind of ministry which awaited them.

João Marinho Dos Santos argues that Jesuit writings from sixteenth-century Brazil are important historical sources, as Jesuits there 'sought to build a narrative-descriptive discourse as close to reality as possible.' Dos Santos argues that the truth of the Jesuits' words can be taken from the variation of the emotional invectives employed, claiming that they could strike a pessimistic tone, but were often 'hopeful or even wonderful, especially when the divine or miracles intervened.'[155] The authenticity the Jesuits were expected to uphold may have aided readers in their consolation and encouragement, as those back home could therefore be assured that the miracles and victories conveyed were indeed verified occurrences. However, instances of embellishment or fabrication – the antitheses of veracity – were fairly commonplace, particularly on the part of provincial superiors such Manuel da Nóbrega, who needed to be able to convey success in order to justify the continued existence of the mission to procurators and those at the curia. Thus, practical concerns often outweighed spiritual matters in the Jesuits' choice of style and content, lending credence to the arguments of contemporary critics that the order existed solely as a secular enterprise. Letters from junior Jesuits were more likely to be authentic in their treatment of both the realities of their ministry and their own personal experiences and emotions, especially if written to private individuals. It is often from their letters that we can glean expressions of frustration, demoralisation, hope, triumph, and weariness. The letters of Brother

[153] John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History: A Study of the Nature and Development of the Jesuit Letters from India (1542-1773)* (Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, 1955), p.7.
[154] 'Angliay Epist. Gen. 1627, June 5th', in Ibid., p.7.
[155] Dos Santos, 'Writing and its Functions', p.117.

António Blázquez are a good example of this and will be treated below.

FEAR AND DESIRE: COLONIAL AMBITIONS AND THE SERTÃO AS LIMINAL SPACE

Although in terms of Iberian colonial territoriality the Brazilian *sertão*, as far as it was known to extend, was deemed by the Treaty of Tordesillas to fall under the auspices of the Portuguese Crown, the land itself was difficult to claim in any meaningful sense by Portuguese colonisers. Their early settlements were very much restricted to the coast, which already offered land aplenty to opportunists and donatories, rendering attempts at land-grabs in the interior unnecessary.[156] This is well illustrated by the image of the *sertão* in the Atlas Miller of 1519 (see Fig. 2. on the following page).

[156] John Hemming, 'Indians and the Frontier', p.146.

Fig. 2. An image of the Brazilian *sertão* from the Atlas Miller (1519).

The coastal nature of early Brazil is summarised by the seventeenth-century Brazilian historian Frei Vicente do Salvador, who wrote in his *História* that 'I do not address the breadth of the land of Brazil which concerns the *sertão*, because until now no one has passed through it due to the negligence of the Portuguese, who, although being great conquerors of these lands, do not take advantage of them, but are satisfied with scraping along the sea like crabs.'[157] Although some settlers were reluctant to delve too far into the interior, it remained, in the words of Teodoro Sampaio, 'unknown and as if veiled by a mysterious penumbra of charms, which delighted the imagination and fed the naïve incredulity of the men on the coast.'[158] Tales of innumerable riches inspired a hardy number of prospectors and explorers to try their luck, yet early expeditions often ended in disaster. Pero Lobo and his expedition party were killed on the shores of the Paraná river in 1531, and a galley later commissioned by the first Governor-General of Brazil Tomé de Sousa (1549-1553) to explore the São Francisco River never returned.[159] Many other expeditions around that time returned simply having failed to find any evidence of the fabled treasures. Although fruitless and often fatal, such expeditions continued throughout the period under consideration – Gabriel Soares de Sousa was convinced that there were emeralds to be found in the *sertão*[160] and even returned to Castile to solicit funds from the Crown in the 1580s to make good on his claim. Entering the high plains on the upper valley of the Salitre River, he later died in an unknown location somewhere in the *sertões* of the Morro do Chapeu. It was not until the last decade of the seventeenth century that gold was found in Minas Gerais.

By mid-century the captaincies of Brazil were 'languishing' and unsuccessful, largely due to the frequent raids on settlements by indigenous communities, but also because no gold or silver mines had been found (in contrast with Spanish Mexico and Peru), and so little capital had been raised.[161] In 1549, the Crown 'decided on a major reorganisation of the Brazilian territories.'[162] This decision to

[157] Frei Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil, 1500-1627* (Bahía, 1627), p.5. Translation mine.
[158] Teodoro Sampaio, 'The *Sertão* before the Conquest', in *The Bandeirantes: The Historical Role of the Brazilian Pathfinder*, ed. by Richard M. Morse (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p.40.
[159] Ibid., p.45.
[160] João Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History 1500-1800*, trans. by Arthur Brakel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.124.
[161] Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668* (London: Routledge, 2005), p.147.
[162] Ibid., p.147.

more effectively consolidate the colonial regime coincided with the Jesuits' arrival in Brazil. Six missionaries accompanied Tomé de Sousa on the voyage across the Atlantic, demonstrating the Crown's expectation that they were to work in tandem with each other – governance, policing new territory and new indigenous subjects, as well as protecting the rights of Portuguese settlers and ensuring the development and success of the imperial enterprise, were part of the Jesuits' job description alongside their religious duties. If these responsibilities appeared nominal, vague, or grandiose at first, they would take a more decisive and practical shape as the second half of the sixteenth century ran its course**.**

With the Jesuits' arrival in Bahía in 1549, the issue of entry into the *sertão* quickly became a deeply controversial and hotly debated topic among the missionaries, the governor-general, and the King of Portugal. Father Manuel da Nóbrega, the first provincial superior of the Brazil mission (1552-1559), soon began to make known his strategy for entering the interior in the hope of establishing houses and churches and living amongst the indigenous societies within, prompting rapid responses from the colonial authorities who sought to restrict the activities of the missionaries to their existing pastoral duties along the coast. The ensuing dispute exemplifies the highly contested nature of the *sertão*, a place which, far from remaining a neutral backdrop against which historical events in the fledgling colony played out, was overlaid by conflicting agendas and came to adopt a significant role in the decisions of major actors. Due, presumably, to the loss of life suffered by many explorers upon entering the *sertão*, Tomé de Sousa was deeply reluctant to permit the Jesuit priests from striking out on missionary expeditions from the southern captaincy of São Vicente. Yet Nóbrega's stubbornness forced de Sousa to write to King John III in June 1553 with his concerns:

> They are very keen to penetrate into the interior, to build their homes in the remoter parts and to settle among the natives. I have expressly forbidden this […] I have explained to them that as Your Majesty's territory expands, then too they may advance. But, if two or three of them, along with interpreters, wanted to go to the interior and preach to the heathens and make their homes among them, then that would only seem reasonable if they were accompanied by our men. I regret this very much, especially

as they have taken my decision as a form of martyrdom.[163]

De Sousa's words were certainly prescient. For the Jesuits, the restriction placed on their movements and desired 'way of proceeding' was a frustrating setback, but it also generated a new attitude of holy defiance, and, consequently, led to a shift in the way they depicted the *sertão* in their correspondence. Two weeks after de Sousa's letter to the king, Nóbrega characterised his decision to defy the governor's order as one motivated by that perpetual spiritual struggle between God and the Devil, establishing the *sertão* as the Jesuits' spiritual battleground of choice. He wrote upon his arrival in São Vicente that 'after making many orations to Our Lord with fasting and discipline, we decided in the name of Our Lord to go into the interior [*tierra dentro*], because this Captaincy is the most convenient of all the others [for which to do so].'[164] However, this decision 'could not be hidden from Satan,' because although de Sousa believed their entry to be beneficial, 'he nevertheless impeded entry by all routes,' saying that 'wrongdoers' would shelter in the professed house the Jesuits planned to build, and that 'when the Indians did something wrong, they [the colonial authorities] would not be able to take revenge on them because of the danger in which we placed ourselves.'[165] However, Nóbrega was well aware of the colonial politics behind the governor's agenda: 'All of these reasons – and many others – seem to have some weight, but they should not be enough [to prevent our ministry]; the principal cause above all for the governor impeding our entry was that he was closing the route because of the Castilians, who, they say, are little more than a hundred leagues from this Captaincy and within the demarcation of the King of Portugal.'[166] Concerns regarding overlapping spatial pluralities around the captaincy of São Vicente are expressed in a letter to John III from Governor Tomé de Sousa, who recounted that there was a 'large Castilian settlement' named Asunción situated along the River Plate, which 'lies at [latitude] twenty-five and a quarter degrees, whereas São Vicente lies at twenty-three and three-quarters.' Thus competing claims to territory between Spain and

[163] 'A Letter from the Governor-general of Brazil, Tomé de Sousa, to King John III, with Information about the Towns and Settlement That He Had Visited on the Coast of Brazil [1st June 1553]', in *Early Brazil: A Documentary Collection to 1700,* ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.88.
[164] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara. São Vicente, 15th June 1553', in *MB*, vol.1, pp.491-492. All translations from the *Monumenta Brasiliae* are mine.
[165] Ibid., p.492.
[166] Ibid., p.492.

Portugal and ambiguity over the Treaty of Tordesillas (or at least, attempts by the Spanish to test the boundaries of the Treaty) influenced the conduct of power across the region, and in the opinions of the colonists, could have significant ramifications for Iberian claims to land elsewhere on the earth. De Sousa continues: 'We all feel that this town lies within Your Majesty's boundaries and that should Castile deny this, then it would be hard to prove that the Moluccas are theirs.'[167] This near proximity, de Sousa explains, led to the impossibility of disentangling the Portuguese from the Castilians because of a lucrative trade route, and as such, 'I have imposed heavy penalties to prevent this route being used.'[168] The official strangling of this way into the *sertão*, however, was not enough to block the Jesuits' entry. Almost exactly a year later, the King wrote to Duarte da Costa, the new governor-general, that he had been informed 'that the fathers of the Society of Jesus who reside in those parts [near São Vicente] entered the interior [*tera demtro*] with neither your licence nor an escort […] [I]t is for their own good that they should not enter the land without your licence […] [T]hey shall not run the risk to either themselves or to the people who go with them.'[169] The *sertão* then, in theory, was given a strong spatial framing by secular power structures. Although an unknown and certainly unmapped space by this point in time, it was still overlaid by decrees laid down by the highest temporal authorities, who deigned that due to perceived threats from international rivals, and dangers from the indigenous inhabitants within, the interior was off-limits to all except a select few who required express permission from the governor-general.

Yet in reality, none of these reasons convinced Nóbrega to remain in São Vicente, who ended his letter by declaring 'I want to go forward, not turn back.'[170] True to his word, a mere two months later he had entered the *sertão* with Pero Correia and was employing the services of the *mestizo* family of João Ramalho, who 'has many children and is related throughout the *sertão*, and I am bringing the eldest

[167] 'A Letter from the Governor-general of Brazil, Tomé de Sousa, to King John III, with Information about the Towns and Settlement That He Had Visited on the Coast of Brazil [1st June 1553]', in *Early Brazil*, ed. by Schwartz, p.87.
[168] Ibid., p.87.
[169] 'D. João III King of Portugal to D. Duarte da Costa Governor of Brasil, Lisbon. 23rd June 1554', *MB,* vol 2, p.73.
[170] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara. São Vicente, 15th June 1553', *MB,* vol.1, p.499.

with me throughout the interior to give more authority to our ministry.'[171] The *sertão* remained strongly spatially-framed only in theory; it was almost effortless for anyone who so desired to enter the interior (but not to survive there without detailed knowledge and experience of the environment), and the Jesuits easily found ways to manipulate the lax policing of the colony in order to initiate their agenda. Thus, colonial spatiality was highly fluid in the first fifty years of Portuguese consolidation in Brazil.

The defiance of the Jesuits on this matter appears at first to be somewhat surprising given the importance of obedience in their spiritual lives. It was widely touted by theologians and spiritual writers in the Society that 'order is a moral good, and obedience is a virtue, irrespective of whether it is the civil polity, the ecclesiastical polity, the Society of Jesus, the family, the corporation, or the city that is the ordering institution and the object of obedience.'[172] However, Harro Höpfl writes that Jesuits would experience possible conflicts of duty due to the 'fundamental Thomist doctrine that civil and ecclesiastical authorities are *independently* authorised.'[173] Beholden to both secular and religious authorities, their letters show that Jesuits abroad often found themselves working within conflicting agendas, which means that Nóbrega's disobedience of the king and the governor was not an easy decision.

In an analysis of early-modern cartography of Brazil, Nielsen argues that maps from the sixteenth century 'revealed the *sertão* as a unique cultural projection of the unknown that reflected Portugal's imperial ambitions.'[174] Following this, I argue that a similar process was at work in the letters and reports from the first generation of Jesuits in Brazil, a projection that reflected their desires for ecclesiastical development, their anticipation of the potential harvest of new souls for the Roman Catholic Church, and their ambitions for the success and growth of the colony. For Manuel da Nóbrega, these three agendas were one and the same. That he coveted the *sertão* for spiritual as well

[171] 'Letter from Father Manoel da Nóbrega to Father Luís Gonçalves da Câmara (31st August 1553)', in *Early Brazil*, ed. by Schwartz, p.141.
[172] Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.53. Original italics.
[173] Ibid., p.54.
[174] Nielsen, 'The Unmappable Sertão', p.5.

as temporal dominion and believed this necessary for the advancement of the Portuguese empire, is evident from some of his earlier correspondence from Bahía. He wrote to John III urging him to send greater numbers of Christian settlers to subjugate the *sertão* and its inhabitants (who would be 'easily conquered') and 'take advantage of the land' in order that the spiritual realm of Portugal would advance in line with that of the temporal, warning that otherwise 'the earthly realm will grow slowly.'[175] All major Jesuit works on civil society and reason of state agreed that 'religion is necessary to the preservation of the commonwealth, or state,' and that of course 'Christianity is the civil religion *par excellence.*'[176] Nóbrega's decision was thus supported by Jesuit political philosophers and theologians, whose treatises compelled priests to undertake practical steps to ensure that the Catholic faith was instituted across society, something which would, in theory, benefit the secular rulers of that realm also. This emphasis upon the subjugation of the indigenous body, however, was a damaging manifestation of Nóbrega's belief that hard power was not only beneficial but fundamental to the evangelisation agenda. A few years later, the practice of subjugation went hand-in-hand with the formation of spatial tactics in colonial Brazil – the development of the *aldeia* system. The Jesuits no longer had to defy colonial authority from 1558, as the new governor-general, Mem de Sá, aligned his governance with their agenda, and the two began to work in tandem in the mission villages as disciplinarians and punishers respectively, as will be investigated in the following chapter.

For certain practical purposes it became pertinent to minimise the significance of the dangers and alterity of this wilderness, and to emphasise positive characteristics of the indigenous societies within. Nóbrega recounts a conversation with a group of explorers who returned to the captaincy after two years spent searching for gold in the *sertão*, full of news about the 'heathen' that they found there. 'Among other things,' Nóbrega writes, 'they say that the heathen do not eat human flesh,' contrary to the behaviour of the communities along the coast, 'and if they take their enemies [in battle] […] they neither kill nor eat them.'[177] While Nóbrega may well be relating the news of the indigenous peoples

[175] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to D. João III, King of Portugal. Bahíá, June 1552', *MB,* vol.1, p.347.
[176] Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought*, p.113.
[177] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara. São Vicente, 15th June 1553', *MB,* vol. 1, p.505. Leite writes that this is a Spanish translation, copied from the original Portuguese which suggests that the letter has not been edited.

of the *sertão* authentically, his inclusion of the phrase 'among other things' suggests that he has consciously chosen to highlight to his recipient the newly-encountered peoples' apparent lack of anthropophagic practice and their peaceful attitude towards prisoners of war, a choice that becomes even more significant upon considering that the consumption of human flesh and violence in battle were two of the major obstacles to entry into the *sertão*. This forms part of a defence of Nóbrega's strategy to a recipient who had considerable influence within the Jesuit curia. Luís Gonçalves da Câmara had arrived in Rome only three weeks before as the new Procurator of the Province of Portugal, appointed by Loyola to correct the administrative wrongs of the post's predecessor, the controversial Simão Rodrigues. According to Francisco Figueira de Faria, the role of the Procurator was almost solely financial; they were required to 'assist the Provincial Superior in drawing up the periodic economic reports of the Province,' and also had to 'manage the profitable investment of the funds entrusted to them by the Colleges of the Province. The overseas Provincial Procurators also had to order goods which were unavailable locally, namely those from Europe, pay the respective customs duties and distribute them to the residences and colleges that had requested them, as well as settling the resulting accounts, with each of these centres.'[178] In writing this report to Gonçalves da Câmara, Nóbrega was hoping to persuade him (and the curia in Rome) of the expediency of continuing to send funds and resources to the mission, something which may have been challenging if Nóbrega had expressed little hope of negotiating successfully with the peoples within the *sertão*. This letter was written at the time of the provincial superior's fierce dispute with Governor Tomé de Sousa over entering, and it appears that he was not only having to justify his agenda to the colonial authorities, but also his superiors in the Society back in Lisbon and Rome. Nóbrega therefore attempts to make the indigenous societies' alterity appear more negotiable, thus conveying hope for the overall success of the mission. Contemporary attitudes towards the *sertão* and the desired continuation of the mission therefore required that Nóbrega convey certain 'acceptable' interpretations of the peoples in the interior.

[178] Francisco Figueira de Faria, 'The Functions of Procurator in the Society of Jesus. Luís de Almeida, Procurator?', *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies,* 15 (2007), pp.35-36.

Nóbrega relays another nugget of information which supports this line of interpretation: 'They have large settlements [*poblados*] and have an elder, whom all obey.'[179] This expressed interest in the gubernatorial and spatial organisation of these indigenous communities was a widespread preoccupation of the Jesuits in sixteenth-century Brazil, and this emphasis surfaces in their writings time and again, demonstrating the extent to which Jesuit missionaries believed the information vital to their 'way of proceeding.' However, in the context of this particular letter, the inclusion of this reported fact aided Nóbrega's defence of his desire to infiltrate communities within the backlands. The preferred conversion method of Ignatius of Loyola was 'top-down,' that is, it was agreed amongst Jesuits that converting the highest authority of the land was generally efficacious and would easily lead to numerous subjects of that authority to follow suit, a predilection which was immensely significant to the Jesuits' 'way of proceeding' in both Brazil and Ethiopia and will be elucidated in greater detail further on in this thesis. That this recently encountered society was beholden to a king-like figure was viewed by Nóbrega as another piece of evidence for their potential receptibility to the Gospel and the ease with which conversion might spread throughout the catechumens in these settlements.

Just one year later, it became desirable to the imperial agenda of the Crown to send men into the *sertão*, and, as Tomé de Sousa had promised the Jesuits, their spiritual mission could be advanced in line with the temporal dominion of the Portuguese empire. José de Anchieta wrote to Ignatius of Loyola that Nóbrega entered the backlands from Bahía: 'His Highness decided to send twelve men into the *sertão* to discover gold, which they say is there, and Governor Tomé de Sousa asked for a Father to go with them in the place of Christ so that they would not go unprotected.'[180] This is an interesting turn of events. Despite previously expressing concern for the Jesuits' safety, the king clearly believed in the spiritual blessings and consolation that the Jesuits would confer on the exploration party. The melding of the agendas of Church and State are evoked by Anchieta, who wrote, '[t]hey are going to search for gold, whilst [Father Nóbrega] goes to search for the treasure of

[179] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, Lisbon. São Vicente, 15th June 1553', *MB,* vol.1, p.505.
[180] *Porque no fuessen desemparados.* 'Desemparado' can also be translated as 'helpless.'

souls, which is in abundance in those parts.'[181] This is designed to be an edifying declaration of the triumph of the Society of Jesus in Brazil, shown in part by the recipient of the letter – Loyola himself – as well as in the poetic language of Anchieta, which aids in the glorification of the Jesuits' initial hard-won victory in gaining entry into the *sertão*.

As a result of their disputes with the governor-general, the *sertão* became the Jesuits' nemesis, a spiritual foe to vanquish in the name of God. However, gaining entry into this alien, hostile wilderness was only one victory, the first battle in a longer war. The priests would record even greater privations and struggles in their mission to bring the Gospel to the 'heathen' who lived within, and the *sertão* was recurrently employed as a foil against which to emphasise the Jesuits' success in restoring the 'light' of Roman Catholic civilisation to this land of perdition.

MINISTRY IN THE UNKNOWN: 1553-1558

Rex P. Nielsen writes that ever since Portuguese cartographers began their work on Brazil, 'the *sertão* served as a foil to European knowledge by signifying precisely that which stood outside of the defining influence of Europe,'[182] and similarly, the Jesuits employed the words '*sertão*' (or '*sertán*' in the Spanish copies) and variations of '*terra dentro*' when discussing the backlands, deliberately attributing characteristics denoting a kind of 'frontier of otherness' to this environment. This otherness manifested tangibly in Jesuit accounts, not least in those describing the foundation and work of their professed houses. Correspondence and reports show Nóbrega's early predilection for establishing permanent, physical edifices on the landscape which would seek to define anew the characteristics, beliefs, and behaviours of the indigenous people. Nóbrega believed this necessary to the success of the mission, writing that 'considering the character [*qualidad*] of these heathen, which is to have little perseverance in leaving behind the customs in which they were raised, we agreed to go one hundred leagues from here to build a house, and in it to collect the children of the heathen and to bring together

[181] 'José de Anchieta commissioned by Manuel da Nóbrega, to Ignatius of Loyola. Piratininga, July 1554', *MB,* vol.2, p.79.
[182] Nielsen, 'The Unmappable Sertão', p.5.

many Indians in one great city, making them conform to reason.'[183] Significantly, 'reason' is framed here by Nóbrega as something which was imparted solely by the Jesuits within walls built by their hands, and the early date of this idea – a whole five years before the establishment of the *aldeia* system – implies that for Nóbrega, the spiritual act of conversion always had a temporal, spatialised aspect, and that his preferred 'way of proceeding' always was to create, or yoke together, settlements for the realisation of the spiritual growth of the colony.

The Jesuits' struggle in the *sertão* thus became couched in inherently spatial language, the professed houses on the littoral being established as a foil to the perceived hostility and incivility of the interior. Rhetorically constructed images of the indigenous communities and their natural environment bolstered the Jesuits' eminence as God's servants on earth. Erecting professed houses, churches, and colleges was a lasting statement of the Jesuits' establishment of dominance over the region, and also enabled their superiors in Rome and Lisbon to measure their successes. Professed houses controlled and confined the raw otherness of the indigenous peoples in a fully European, and markedly Jesuit, structure. Concomitantly, the words, beliefs, and actions of the indigenous children could be manipulated by the Jesuits within these spaces into manifestations of Christian attitudes and Portuguese citizenry. Emphasis was placed on instituting a programme of singing, catechisation, and the administration of the sacraments, of which the Jesuits were extremely proud. Nóbrega wrote to Simão Rodrigues from Bahía about the professed house there, boasting that 'In this house are boys of the land [*meninos da terra*], made by our hands.'[184] This act of moulding the characters of these young boys in a distinctly Roman Catholic manner is attributed an intensely spatial framing here, no doubt done intentionally. The establishment of these holy and educational sites in Brazil was vital in their negotiations of indigenous alterity, and Jesuits placed a great deal of emphasis upon describing the adornments and beauty of these buildings. Knowing how consciously the Jesuits constructed their own glowing endorsements in their correspondence, it is hard to argue that they did not put thought into how they were describing the natural environment and the indigenous communities they had to

[183] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Luís Gonçalves da Câmara. São Vicente, 15th June 1553', *MB,* vol.1, pp.491-2.
[184] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, Lisbon. Bahía, end of July 1552', *MB,* vol.1, p.369.

deal with on a regular basis. They had strongly Jesuitical reasons for their descriptions – inspired by both institutional directives and personal desire to promote and expand the work of the Society – and chose their words with discernment. This conscious and continual rendition of space in their letters back home emphasises the necessity for historians of global Jesuit mission to engage with the consequences of this on missionary strategy and constructions of otherness.

The Jesuits were not able to build professed houses in the interior, but they could still express their dominion through the sense of a great forward march through the *sertão*. This is particularly latent within a letter from Pero Correia to Brás Lourenço, Duarte da Costa's confessor and the superior in Espírito Santo,[185] who most likely conveyed letters back to the Old World. Correia records that in the summer of 1554 he joined Manuel da Nóbrega, who was accompanied by 'one senior Brother' and 'four or five young Brothers,' and entered the *sertão* in the search for uncontacted societies. He describes that

> they took on this manner along their pilgrimage: that when they entered any place [*lugar* – indigenous settlement], one of the boys carried a small elevated cross, and they went along singing the litany in a very pleasing manner; and then the boys of the settlements joined them, and all of the people marvelled greatly at such a new thing. They were very well received wherever they went.[186]

The *sertão* is characterised here as a spiritual frontier as well as a colonial one, with the Jesuits at the vanguard, their weapons the cross and the sung litany of the catechised boys. The scene, which would have been so pleasant to Jesuit readers back in Europe, is made congenial by the apparent welcome extended by the indigenous people, perhaps not altogether an authentic reportage. Correia maintains the edifying tone of this anecdote throughout the rest of his letter, writing that:

> We now have a settlement [*lugar*] of converted Indians, ten leagues inside the interior [*por la tierra dentro*], where we have a church, and where there are always two Fathers and many Brothers. In this place we had, and even now have, many struggles with the devil. [But] [t]he people all go to church to

[185] Serafim Leite, 'Introdução Geral', in *MB,* vol.1, p.43.
[186] 'Brother Pero Correia to Father Brás Lourenço, Espírito Santo. São Vicente, 18th July 1554', *MB,* vol.2, p.67.

> hear mass, every Sunday and every holy day: they always have a sermon and the station [of the cross], as they do in any parish in Portugal. Once the station is finished, all make the offering, the catechumens leave and go to their houses, and the Christians remain to hear the mass in its entirety. They hear the doctrine twice in church every day of the week.[187]

This letter marries rhetoric surrounding the *sertão* with the physical insertion of new and decidedly European spatial organisations, the point being to convey the idea that the wildness of the *sertão* and its inhabitants were being tamed and subdued – not only by the imperialist impetus of the Portuguese, but by the labour of the hands of Jesuits. The danger and unknowability of the *sertão* is neutralised in this letter by its reports of the establishment of the settlement, and the familiarity of their daily routine – clearly so crucial for Correia – and the church and its mass, sermons, and stations of the cross, which are carried out 'as they do in any parish in Portugal.' The act of transplanting Portugal's religious culture and architectonics to Brazil revealed to Correia's superior the successful act of transforming the physical and spiritual landscape, just as the King's first orders instructed. Yet the familiarity of the church and its liturgy must also have bolstered the spirits of Correia and his companions by reminding them of home and helping them to acclimatise to this new land, despite comprehensive standardisation being obviously unattainable due to, for example, the necessity of holding mass in indigenous languages and the fact that the congregation had often been forced to attend. Correia focuses on the positive aspects here rather than the complexities of making Catholic mass happen in a foreign colony, helping to create a picture of the universal Catholic Church as well as demonstrating the advances being made in the spiritual battlefield. Despite the presence of the Jesuits in the *sertão*, the devil is characterised in this letter as defying their work, but his presence in the text only serves to enhance the glory of God and the Society of Jesus by acting as a foil to their success in baptising, catechising, and generally establishing the Christian faith in this dark and hostile environment.

Crucially for the arguments presented in the following chapter, the *sertão* was also perceived by some Jesuits as a place of disobedience. At the end of December 1556, although José de Anchieta was

[187] 'Brother Pero Correia to Father Brás Lourenço, Espírito Santo. São Vicente, 18th July 1554', *MB,* vol.2, p.69.

pleased to report that '[t]hose who come to church of their own free will are taught, [and] of the others who were brought in by force, the innocents offered up by their parents are baptised,' frustration is evident in his complaint that in recent days, some inhabitants 'have been leaving for other parts, and they have taken a good number of the boys with them, and now the better part of those who would remain have moved to another place, where it is possible to live freely.'[188] Anchieta's use of the passive voice obscures the identity of the agent employing force to bring the indigenous people to the Jesuits, but it can be none other than Duarte da Costa's colonial authorities. Da Costa's office was distinguished by violence rather than accommodation, prompted by an ongoing conflict with the French over the area of Rio de Janeiro and the uprising of the indigenous peoples against the Portuguese. The use of force to subdue the latter, recorded and apparently supported by Anchieta in 1556, set a precedent for the colonial authorities' policy regarding indigenous societies, which with the arrival of da Costa's successor Mem de Sá would adopt a more widespread and systematic use of subjection and detention of those peoples deemed threatening and unlawful. Letters such as this also show the beginnings of Jesuit support for such subjugation and the management of indigenous people closer to Portuguese settlements, where just a few years earlier a more accommodating effort was made to approach them in the *sertão*, in their own territory.

After their general failure to convert the indigenous communities of the interior, the Jesuits came to see the state of living freely in the *sertão* as not just harmful to spiritual development, but as an act of rebellion. Clearly struggling with the free will of the indigenous people, Anchieta disparages their itinerancy, writing with some bitterness that 'they walk from here to there, and not only do they not learn anything new, but they lose everything that they learnt before; but this is not a wonder, because it is almost natural for these Indians never to live in the same place.'[189] Anchieta's colleague in Piratininga, Luís de Grã, similarly despairs a few months later that as the indigenous communities are accustomed to move every three to four years – the lifespan of their houses – and that as they do not travel together, 'much that took many years to be worked within them is lost in very little time […]

[188] 'José de Anchieta [to the Provincial of Portugal?], Piratininga end of December 1556', *MB,* vol.2, p.313.
[189] Ibid., p.314.

Thus it is in this village, where there remains only one house in which there will be five or six married men.'[190] These two Jesuits imbued the *sertão* itself with inherently immoral or unsatisfactory characteristics, seeing the escape to the *sertão* – a place which enabled the continuation of an unacceptable lifestyle – as a loss to their ministry. Anchieta's reference to the people's movements allowing them to 'live freely' is telling – the Jesuits' edifices deliberately enclosed them in a material space specifically designed to confer Christian education upon them and maintain rigid discipline over their behaviour in an effort to eradicate indigenous customs deemed by the Jesuits as preventative to accepting the Gospel and the sacraments. The indigenous desire to live freely in the *sertão* is portrayed by Anchieta as an intolerable barrier to the expanding mission, rather than as a right which should be protected. Anchieta and de Grã were both writing privately to influential individuals in the Society, Loyola and the Provincial of Portugal, meaning that these letters were unlikely to be included in quadrimestres for annual circulation among the wider Jesuit network. As such, the information imparted in these letters was able to establish a more realistic and pragmatic image of the state of the mission.

Perceptions of the *sertão* and those living within differed from Jesuit to Jesuit, as is to be expected, depending on their personal experiences and again, on the recipients of their correspondence. Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro wrote a brief but dramatic account to the College in Coimbra of his one-and-a-half-year journey through the *sertão*, which he undertook with 'twelve Christian men,' presumably white settlers, 'to see if there was a nation of greater character within.' The word 'greater' could be substituted for 'better.' This is a remark which is never qualified but must surely have been made with the those living on the coast of Bahía in mind, the same people whom Brother António Blázquez observed were 'living almost in the manner of beasts […] cut-throat in their practice of eating human flesh' and 'drunk with this brutality.'[191] (Incidentally, Blázquez notes that almost all of the Brothers were in São Vicente with Nóbrega, and his hyperbolic language points to a certain bitterness that he had been left behind in Bahía to cope with a situation which seemed insurmountable

[190] 'Luís de Grã to Ignatius of Loyola, Piratininga 7th April 1557', *MB,* vol.2, p.361.
[191] 'Brother António Blázquez to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra, Baía. 8th July 1555', *MB,* vol.2, p.252.

– by 1555, the Jesuits had spent six years making very little progress with the peoples along the coast.) Jesuits at this time travelled between native villages in the interior making first contact. Navarro's narrative theatrically takes his readers in Coimbra on a journey down 'little known paths, through rugged mountain ranges […] through very humid and cold lands, caused by the many thick and very tall tree groves,' and describes his travails in vivid detail. 'It rained many times,' he lamented, 'and many nights we slept drenched through, especially in places devoid of settlement. Almost all the men in whose company we travelled nearly died from their infirmities.'[192] Yet instead of framing himself and his companions as victims of this hostile natural environment, Navarro's language takes on a tone of triumphalism. Although the situation was dire indeed, he and his men having almost no medicine with them, and forced to survive on flour mixed with water, Navarro points to the grace of God, who he asserts delivered them 'from many dangers posed by our Indian enemies, who at certain times were determined to kill us, especially in one village where there were sorcerers casting spells.'[193] This account is a good example of the edification expected of the Jesuits' epistolary communication, and expresses a purposeful and conscious decision to rhetorically render the *sertão* for a positive effect. Navarro conveys these experiences to his brothers back home as evidence that the work of God was being done despite the hostile environment. Rather than cursing the wilderness, Navarro's account embraces the privations he and his party experiences, employing them as a foil to the safety provided by God's protection and saving grace, and thus contributing to the sense of consolation and Jesuit identity which Loyola and Polanco first intended to be one of the main purposes for these missives.

Aside from encouraging those in the college of Coimbra, Navarro has a more pragmatic use for his letter. Many novices who sought to undertake mission in Brazil were taught at Coimbra; and indeed, many of the first generation of Jesuits to Brazil received their education in this royally established seat of learning. Father Francisco Pires, Afonso Brás, Vicente Rodrigues, Leonardo Nunes, and Navarro himself all entered the Society in Coimbra between the years 1546-1548 and embarked for Bahía just

[192] 'Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra. Porto Seguro 24th June 1555', *MB,* vol.2, p.245.
[193] Ibid., p.246.

two or three years later.[194] Navarro's information concerning the natural environment he was required to labour in and the inhabitants he would later help to catechise would have aided the Coimbra novices' preparation for mission by providing an autoptic understanding of what his work in Brazil demanded. With entry into the *sertão* now guaranteed, the mission was entering a very new phrase and required tough and determined Jesuits whose faith was firm and whose physical and mental health was strong.

Significantly, Navarro draws similarities between the hostility of the *sertão* and the characteristics of the people living there. He writes that his party came across 'some Indians called Tapuzas, who are a bestial and fierce race [*género*] of Indians, because they walk through the forests like herds of deer, naked, with their hair worn long like the hair of women. Their speech is very barbarous [*bárbara*].'[195] The Tapuzas, or *tapuia* ('non-Tupi people'), were later and more commonly known as the Aimorés (a Tupi word meaning 'evil person,' 'thief,' or 'killer'[196]). They were a Gê-speaking people who had been forced further into the *sertão* by the Tupis' migrations, and were described as tall and strong, with paler skin than the Tupi. In a reversal of European fashion expectations, the men let their hair grow while the women cut theirs short; both were adorned with stone discs in their lower lips and earlobes.[197] They were to become the nightmare of both colonist and Tupian, as their aggressive agenda saw the repeated destruction of Ilheús and Porto Seguro.

Antonio Blázquez's depiction of the Aimorés is framed within the context of a dramatic event from his mission on the edge of the *sertão* in Bahia. He writes with anger that an alligator destroyed their rations, starving the land, and that among these alligators lived the Aimorés, 'a savage people who do not differ from the beasts in their way of life. They sleep on the ground, they have no true home, but they walk as they fancy, wandering from one side and then to the other looking for food in the fields. They are archers to a fault, and they run through the bushes like deer because they were raised [*se*

[194] Leite, 'Introdução Geral', in *MB,* vol.1, pp.40-43.
[195] 'Father João de Azpilcueta Navarro to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra. Porto Seguro 24th June 1555', *MB,* vol.2, p.247.
[196] Hemming, *Red Gold,* p.94.
[197] Ibid., p.94.

crían] in them.'[198] The original Portuguese autograph of this letter has been lost, but the Spanish translation employs the verb 'criarse.' Assuming that the verb has been directly taken from the Portuguese 'criar-se' which, according to a Portuguese-English dictionary from 1773, can signify rearing or breeding,[199] this phrase may contain a deeper pejorative significance in the context of this sentence, as the Aimorés are already being referred to as alligators and deer, creatures of the backlands. The words 'para criar' in Portuguese mean 'to breed' in English, pointing to the possibility that the Jesuits perceived these people to be little more than sexually promiscuous, scavenging and wild beasts, forced to wander in search of a home. Through likening the Aimorés/Tapuzas to the beasts that lived within the *sertão*, Navarro and Blázquez were emphasising their cultural and societal alterity, in order to justify the presence of the Jesuits in the interior and the necessity of bringing the trappings of Portuguese civilisation to a population who were framed as subjects of the king. Their vivid descriptions also point to a visceral reaction to the otherness of the Aimorés, a people so different in language, behaviour, and appearance than the familiar Tupinambá.

Blázquez's letter is an example of the decision made by certain Jesuits to ignore the instructions of Juan de Polanco concerning the composition of letters for wider circulation. Blázquez's missive was addressed to the fathers and brothers of the College at Coimbra, and would have been read aloud in the refectory during mealtimes, and therefore should have been edifying and consolatory, full of praise for the work of fellow Jesuits and news on the current achievements of the mission. Instead, it is apparent from his frustration and hyperbole that he had little of merit to convey. The personality and emotions – particularly those of loneliness and despair – of this junior Jesuit are clearly visible. His lack of hope for the conversion and management of the behaviour of the Tupi-Guarani of the coast is palpable through his derogatory treatment of them. Instead of maintaining the focus of his narrative upon the 'way of proceeding' itself and thus contributing to the epistolary sense of a 'union of souls,' Blázquez cannot help but ruminate on the alterity of his flock, which is presented as little more than bestial, an intrinsic part of the hostile landscape it inhabits. Thus, we can gain from Blázquez's

[198] 'Brother António Blázquez to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra, Baía. 8th July 1555', *MB,* vol.2*,* p.254.
[199] Anthony Vieyra*, A Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages* (London*,* 1773).

portrayal of the *sertão* and its inhabitants a very tangible sense of his experience and personality.

However, the likelihood of arriving at conclusions regarding the visibility of Jesuit personalities in their correspondence has been questioned by certain scholars. In his 2003 article, Takao Abé maintains that owing to the trappings of the genre, the personalities of individual Jesuits cannot be discerned through analyses of their epistolary communications concerning indigenous peoples. Undertaking a comparative analysis between French and Iberian Jesuits in North America and Japan respectively, Abé focuses on how writing for different audiences shaped Jesuits' depictions of indigenous peoples across localities, reminding readers that Jesuit letters 'were of two basic kinds: private, confidential letters; and synthetic accounts that were explicitly composed for publication and circulation in Europe.'[200] In his examination of the sixteenth-century Japanese mission, Abé shows that public letters contained praiseworthy reports of the Japanese converts' staunch faith, as well as information on Japanese culture, the land, the development of the church there, and the political situation. However, personal letters highlighted a greater distrust of the Japanese, and negative attitudes towards their culture and character. In order to determine whether the discrepancy between public and private records constituted a global trend, Abé examines the public accounts of two Jesuits in Huron, Brébeuf and le Mercier. Abé posits that the carefully recorded information about the Hurons, rather than demonstrating Brébeuf and le Mercier's fondness of the native people, could be a result of the lacklustre appeal of Catholicism in the early stage of the mission and thus a conscious decision to 'focus their accounts on their observations of the people.'[201] Abé adds further that 'during the initial years, they tried to justify their local missionary activity, their religious vocations, and their choice of objectives by emphasising the positive aspects of their prospective converts.'[202] However, as we can see from Blázquez's public missive to the College at Coimbra, not all Jesuits displayed reticence when it came to expressing their more authentic misgivings about the state of the mission or the behaviours and culture of the indigenous people. Indeed, Blázquez's emotional reaction to the

[200] Takao Abé, 'What Determined the Content of Missionary Reports? The Jesuit Relations Compared with the Iberian Jesuit Accounts', *French Colonial History,* 3 (2003), p.71.
[201] Ibid., p.77.
[202] Ibid., p.77.

fringes of the *sertão* and the Aimorés who lived within shows that he adopted the edificatory genre for quite a different purpose, aiming to prompt those in Coimbra to pray for his situation in Bahía, and to reply to his letter with consolation and encouragement. Blázquez's resentment towards the Aimorés and his decision to liken them to the alligators and deer that inhabit the *sertão* cannot have any hidden motive or agenda, particularly as his recipient was not someone who could affect policy changes at the curia.

A spatial analysis of these letters by Navarro and Blázquez has shown that their perception of the natural environment which provided the backdrop for their engagement with Tupi and Gê communities shaped their construction of behavioural alterity. Perceptions of the *sertão* also directed the nature of their correspondence, both inspiring edificatory declarations of the Jesuits' holy deeds and provoking deep personal reflections on the difficulties of the mission. Awareness of space was therefore tightly bound up in both their epistolary rendering of the mission, and their emotional reactions to the peoples they had to manage – even early on in the mission.

This analysis demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the Jesuits' approach to space, as it changes the way historians understand the mission encounter. Jesuit documents from the Society's initial years in Brazil exhibit a clear preoccupation with their spatial environment, a preoccupation which often provided the point of departure for the ways they began to think and write about their indigenous catechists. These early perceptions of space would soon dramatically shape their missionary strategies and their future encounters with indigenous societies, something which was apparent in seventeenth-century Ethiopia as well as mid sixteenth-century Brazil, as the latter chapters of this thesis will reveal.

Statements on the condition of the native people such as those of Blázquez were not truly believed to have implications for attempts at conversion. There were certainly perceived obstacles to conversion and administration of the sacraments, but these concerned adherence to cultural practices and social conduct rather than the nature of the people themselves. Manuel da Nóbrega's *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio*, written in Bahía in 1556 or 1557, concluded that the indigenous people of Brazil

were indeed human beings with rational souls,[203] and thus capable of converting. However, Nóbrega further argued that it was important to create new conditions for faith, ones which were apt to facilitate conversion. These conditions were twofold: one, to increase the perfection of the evangelisers, who ought to be full of the Holy Spirit, apt to perform miracles, to have patience, and to practice charity; and two, to place the Brazilians under a 'moderate subjection.'[204] Nóbrega's recommendations for evangelism illustrates his belief that there was nothing inherent in the mind, soul, or nature of indigenous peoples that prevented them from accepting Christianity – indeed, in the early years the indigenous person was believed to be a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate upon which anything could be written, deriving from a misunderstanding that they lacked any kind of belief system or religion. Nóbrega laid any failings in evangelisation solely at the door of the Jesuit priests themselves, rather than blaming the indigenous peoples for their character.

His easy acclamation for their subjection, however (which was never 'moderate'), demonstrates a fundamental belief that they could not be trusted to govern their own natures, and required the Jesuits' education and discipline. While the Tupi-Guarani were understood to be rational and capable of accepting Christianity, missionaries had little hope in the lasting effect of this transformation. After years of observation and ministry of the coastal peoples, the Jesuits (and other secular commentators in Brazil) had decided that they were 'inconstant,' believing first in one thing and then another, without any sign they intended to remain firm.[205] This chapter has shown that the Jesuits also witnessed a similar 'inconstancy' of the Tupi-Guaranis' settlements. Within a few short years, this perception was to be tempered with the adoption of spatial tactics in a concrete effort to detain and catechise these people by way of maintaining a strict regime of space-time control. The construction

[203] The existence of such a conclusion reveals that there were contemporaneous debates questioning the nature of Brazil's indigenous population. Pope Paul III released the papal bull *Sublimis Deus* in 1537, declaring that the peoples of the New World were fully human and that rights were to be accorded to them as such. That Nóbrega's *Diálogo* addressed the issue of their humanity, however, implies that doubts still existed. Nóbrega most likely intended his work to form a more philosophical and theological basis for the arguments against indigenous slavery, which he was eager to prevent, the main one of which was that if there was a possibility those people might convert, they should not be enslaved. The Jesuits were complicit, however, in the enslavement of Africans, who were brought to Brazil to labour on the *engenhos* (sugar cane mills and plantations) and on the Jesuits' own agricultural holdings.
[204] Manuel da Nóbrega, 'Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio', in *MB,* vol.2*,* p.317.
[205] Eduardo Viveiro de Castro, *The Inconstancy of the Indian Soul.*

and management of the *aldeia* system was believed by the Jesuits as necessary for the indigenous peoples' complete and total immersion in the European model of civilisation and the transformation of their souls.

CONCLUSION

Brazil's *sertão* formed a major part of the Jesuits' justification for the mission's existence, and was perceived variously by Jesuits who attempted to convey an assortment of reasons, some pragmatic, others more emotive. The genre of edificatory letter-writing with which Jesuit correspondence was expected to comply led some Jesuits to employ the *sertão* as a rhetorical device to demonstrate their achievements and reflect the glory of God, thereby contributing to a global sense of the Society's 'union of souls,' and providing favourable reports for wealthy patrons, as well as useful information for colleagues. The debate between the governor-general and Manuel da Nóbrega over entrance into the interior provided another opportunity for the provincial superior to place the Society at the forefront of that perpetual struggle against the Devil. This rhetorical construction of the *sertão* also influenced the frameworks with which the indigenous people were categorised and approached. Nóbrega's need to justify the mission to his provincial procurator, Gonçalves da Câmara, prompted him to speak well of the reports of newly-contacted societies from within the interior; and priests such as Azpilcueta Navarro and Pero Correia aimed to edify the mission with news of miracles performed by God concerning the conversion of indigenous people, or the evasion of dangerous figures such as the tribal sorcerers (*caraibas* or *pagés*). From a study of António Blázquez's missive to the College at Coimbra, it is also possible to glean a sense of individual personalities from the rhetorical choices made when describing the *sertão* and its inhabitants.

However, although the *sertão* presented a glorious opportunity for the Jesuits in their initial years, it soon came to embody everything that was distasteful about the mission. For the Portuguese it remained an enigmatic and dangerous place, difficult to traverse and inhabit, whereas for many indigenous societies it was home, safe and familiar. If they decided to flee from the Jesuits or the threat of enslavement, they were lost forever. The Jesuits' lack of control over the untameable *sertão* –

or more precisely, over behaviours and beliefs exhibited by indigenous peoples away from the missionaries' watchful gaze – and their growing characterisation of the indigenous people as 'inconstant' and disobedient, led ultimately to the development of the *aldeia* system, corrective facilities where the Jesuits and the colonial authorities, in theory, held the reins of power. The next chapter will explore how these highly organised places suspended the freedom of a myriad societies and instituted a system of discipline and punishment for perceived crimes and misdemeanours, founded on a strict space-time regime. Although offering spiritual challenge and growth, the *sertão* could thus only represent a fetishized space for the Jesuits, who would never possess the intimate knowledge, resources, or patience to continue their ministry in such a deeply impractical environment. Their early attempts at doing so had also led to conflict with the local authorities and the defiance of Governor Tomé de Sousa's orders. The next chapter will explain that the *aldeia* system was developed by both Jesuits and colonial authorities as a safe and efficient compromise borne out of a response to challenging local contexts, a way of resolving these conflicts and contributing to the growth of His Majesty's colony.

Chapter III

The *Aldeia* System: Discipline, Meaningful Boundaries, and the Regulation of Indigenous Bodies in Brazil, c. 1549-1570

The idea to 'reduce' native populations of the Americas into Jesuit-controlled missions was repeated time and again for around two hundred years until the Portuguese suppression of the Society in 1759, most notably in Paraguay but also in Peru and New France. The *aldeia* system in Brazil was the first such system to be put into operation. Its prototypical nature alone, and its identity as a social experiment derived from the Jesuit missionaries' experiences 'on the ground' rather than a concept developed in Europe and transplanted,[206] render the unique genesis of this complex and intriguing system worthy of observation and investigation. Takao Abé's recent book on the Jesuit villages in New France evades the uniqueness of the Brazilian *aldeias* and their clear influence upon the Paraguayan *reducciones* in favour of presenting an argument emphasising what he asserts to be similarities between Japan's Christian communities and those of Paraguay.[207] The Paraguayan *reducciones* are the ones most typically discussed by historians, due partly to the scale of the operation overseen by António Ruiz de Montoya, whose account *The Spiritual Conquest* is widely known. Yet Brazil saw the genesis of this idea to compel thousands of indigenous people to live, work, worship, and learn under European moral and legal codes and social and religious conventions, all within the confines of a drastically altered environment. This chapter focuses on the initial years in order to understand the motivating factors behind the establishment of this radical system of confinement and detention.

Ultimately, this chapter will argue that the spatial organisation of the *aldeia* system can be more usefully understood as a 'mechanism of discipline,' to borrow a phrase from Michel Foucault.[208] The

[206] Alida C. Metcalf, 'The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias*', p.30.
[207] Takao Abé, *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of Earlier Jesuit Experiences* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).
[208] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p.223.

concepts of disciplinary compounds and surveillance lend themselves more easily to investigations of modern spatial arrangements and systems, and this author has not as yet encountered any early-modern studies employing this as an analytical framework through which to examine processes of spatial control. Yet this new approach aims to demonstrate that viewing the *aldeia* system through a prism of compound-discipline enhances our understanding of how Jesuits contained, controlled, and negotiated indigenous communities – and their alterity. Importantly, these places were sites of internment, which Padraic Kenney defines as the confinement of 'enemy citizens in wartime' or 'preventative confinement.'[209] The *aldeias* were enclosed sites,[210] built for the expressed purpose of removing 'troublesome' and warring indigenous societies from what colonists hoped would become Europeanised Brazilian society, and given to the Jesuits for the reform of their spiritual lives and the subduing of their errant behaviours. The missionaries aimed to establish themselves, not just as spiritual leaders, but secular authorities who worked in conjunction with the colonial powers in lieu of what they perceived to be a lack of sufficient authority figures among the indigenous peoples. However, a significant dearth of missionary personnel begs the question as to how the Jesuits were logistically able to maintain this system with so little manpower, and it is here that the theme of punishment becomes intrinsic to the survival of the *aldeias*.

This chapter hopes to give nuance to the processes behind the development of the *aldeias* as a disciplinary system. Whilst this discipline was indeed colonial, paternalistic, and repressive, athis thesis aims to enhance understanding of the functional nature of this repression and to situate it within a wider theoretical context focusing expressly on the use of spatial tactics.

THE DESIRE FOR DISCIPLINE

The previous chapter showed that one of the Tupis' major methods of spatial organisation, itinerancy, gave Jesuits like José de Anchieta great cause for complaint. The freedom which indigenous peoples

[209] *Dance in Chains: Political Imprisonment in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p.47.
[210] Ananya Chakravarti, 'Invisible Cities: Natural and Social Space in Colonial Brazil', in *Cities and the Circulation of Culture in the Atlantic World: From the Early Modern to Modernism,* ed. by Leonard von Morzé (Cambridge, Mass.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p.23.

reclaimed by fleeing into the *sertão* was perceived as a kind of disobedience, and a direct rejection of the natural law which Jesuits were so desperately trying to instil. Whilst itinerancy is a term that pertains to the movement of a people and the networks they create, it was a vital element of indigenous Brazilian territorialisation simply because it was a method of conducting social and cultural relations across territory, and assisted the population in managing existing spaces, as well as producing new space. Hayden Lorimer writes that for many indigenous communities, 'the walking act is central to existence, and a continuous means to learn and to teach place knowledge: thus, living and walking exist along the same continuum.'[211] Walking, therefore, was not just a way to create networks between places, but a deliberate act of claiming and employing land for specific ends, explicitly connecting the Tupi societies with their surroundings. Permanent, fixed settlements were of no use to those whose social customs and agrarian practices consisted of continual warfare rooted in ambush tactics and slash-and-burn agriculture. Their processes of territorialisation were fluid, mobile: using a form of celestial navigation alongside observational knowledge of their environment, each community would move to a better-resourced area once the soil was exhausted, or whenever it suited them to engage in war with nearby enemies.

Although the Jesuits closely observed those they encountered and recorded their behaviours with fascination, often being the first Europeans to do so, they were often unwilling to understand – or incapable of understanding – communities on their own terms. As the previous chapter showed, indigenous people were perceived largely through emotions of confusion and frustration, which were frequently conveyed in their correspondence to individuals and to the Society's authorities in Rome and Lisbon. Within a few years, the priests had grown weary due to their lack of progress in evangelising, catechising, and administering to the communities – largely due to the movements, *mudanças,* of the communities. Everything about their lifestyle appeared mutable to the Jesuits, causing great difficulty for the missionaries in knowing how to negotiate the territory and adapt their 'way of proceeding' to these indigenous communities. Azpilcueta Navarro deemed one of the most

[211] Hayden Lorimer, 'Walking: New Forms and Spaces for Studies of Pedestrianism', in *Geographies of Mobilities: Practices, Spaces, Subjects*, ed. by Tim Cresswell and Peter Merriman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p.21.

pressing impediments to conversion to be the absence of 'fixed houses,' and their custom to 'move themselves or their houses wherever and whenever they want.'[212] Seven years later, this was still an issue; Luís de Grã complained to Loyola in 1557 that the communities were accustomed to move every three to four years, 'and what is worse, they do not go together, and for this reason our many years of work with them is lost in very little time, as has happened to us in other parts of Brazil.' In fact, Grã declares, 'Everything in these parts is more tolerable than these changes, with which all is lost.'[213] Movement was seen as an act of disobedience and resistance, which would, in the Jesuits' eyes, be grounds for discipline: indigenous communities could easily disappear into the *sertão*, and this practice meant the Jesuits could not control, influence, or measure the progress of indigenous individuals' spiritual growth. The itinerancy of the Tupi and their fluid use of space was logistically of great inconvenience to the Jesuits, as they could not travel with them without a high level of personal risk, not to mention the overt political danger of getting entangled with the Spanish, which the Governor was reluctant to countenance.

One of the main purposes of the establishment of the *aldeias*, therefore, was to impede the itinerant movement of the people and fix them permanently at one site. This detention gave rise to unambiguous, strictly controlled places. Lauren Martin and Matthew Mitchelson have theorised that 'social practices of immobilisation are fundamentally reliant on *spatial tactics*, or the use of space to control people, objects, and their movement.'[214] The Jesuits' frustration with the nomadism of the Tupi peoples and the consequent loss of their progress in evangelisation and education led them to believe that the Tupi had to be permanently situated in order for their mission to succeed, an idea that may also have derived its ideological origin from Aristotelian notions of permanence and change – many of the Jesuits in Brazil had received their training at the college of Coimbra, a renowned centre

[212] 'João de Azpilcueta Navarro to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra, 28th March 1550', Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), *Bras. 3-1*, f. 28r.
[213] 'Luís de Grã to Ignatius of Loyola, Rome. Piratininga, 7th April 1557', *MB*, vol.2, p.361.
[214] Lauren L. Martin and Matthew L. Mitchelson, 'Geographies of Detention and Imprisonment: Interrogating Spatial Practices of Confinement, Discipline, Law, and State Power', *Geography Compass*, 3.1 (2009), p.459. Original italics.

of Aristotelian philosophy.[215] The initiation of the *aldeias* saw the rapid transformation from a complete lack of spatial control on the part of the Jesuits to a system whereby power rested (in theory, at least, if not wholly in practice) completely in the hands of the priests and the colonial authorities. Thus, through spatial tactics the Jesuits turned temporary native settlements, not likely to last more than a couple of years, into permanent colonial societies which completely immobilised their indigenous residents, stripped them of their intimate connection to their natural environment, and removed almost all social and cultural rites and customs. Logistical issues arising from the missionaries' forays into the interior met with firmly held ideologies to produce the *aldeia* system. As an organisation, the Jesuits had their orders from Rome and from the King of Portugal to convert the indigenous peoples to Catholicism and to minister to the settlers along the coast. The necessity of reaching their targets manifested in the belief that discipline had to be employed. It was a means to an end, and in no way accounted for indigenous cultural sensitivities.[216]

Discipline was believed to be necessary for a host of reasons. The political agenda of the Crown to populate the colony and ensure stability and economic growth had a significant bearing on the coercive treatment of the native peoples, who were thought to be stumbling blocks to this agenda. For the Jesuits' part, the Tupis' mode of warfare was characterised as barbaric and unnecessary. Manuel da Nóbrega wrote in his *Report on the Lands of Brazil* that the Tupinambá only waged war out of hatred for their enemy. Thus their conflicts were not believed to be necessary policy for the defence of territory (unlike the Jesuits' perception of the wars waged by the Ethiopian emperor Susenyos in the seventeenth century, as discussed in Chapter IV), or for the preservation of honour, but as a consequence of a defiance of natural law.

[215] Simon Ditchfield, 'What did Natural History have to do with Salvation? José de Acosta SJ (1540-1600) in the Americas', in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. by Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (Boydell Press, 2010), p.151.

[216] In the Jesuits' early years in Brazil, there was some effort made by missionaries to appeal to these sensitivities. Manuel da Nóbrega advocated using music and dance in religious preaching and ceremonies in order to attract and involve native peoples. However, these and other practices adopted by the Jesuits – such as the use of indigenous interpreters during confession, and the presence of animist peoples at mass, was opposed by Bishop Pero Fernandes Sardinha, who aimed to eliminate all indigenous cultural traits in order to achieve complete acculturation. Saletto, *Donatarios, Colonos, Indios e Jesuítas*, p.35.

Nowhere was this defiance manifested more prodigiously for the Jesuits than in the Tupis' continued practice of cannibalism. Henri Lefebvre posited that each society produces spaces which conform to the particular requirements of daily life and culture,[217] and the itinerant nature of the Tupinambá enabled them to wage war by tracking their enemies and navigating the *sertão* using the sun as a guide. In so doing they perpetuated the circle of anthropophagic revenge which many of the indigenous coastal peoples engaged in, partly for the preservation of personal and tribal honour. Manuel da Nóbrega briefly described the process in a letter to the University of Coimbra soon after he arrived in Brazil:

> They make war, one tribe against another, [which reside] at [a distance of] 10, 15, and 20 leagues, such that they are all divided among themselves. If by chance they capture an enemy in war, they maintain him as a prisoner for a while and give him their daughters as wives in order to take care of him and serve him, after which they kill him with great festivity and gathering together of friends and neighbours; and if he leaves children, they eat them, even though they are their nephews and brothers, and at times their own mothers […] This is the most abominable thing that exists among them. If they kill someone in war they cut him up into pieces, and they smoke him [in the fire], and afterwards they eat him with the same celebration, and all of this they do with a frank hatred that they have for one another.[218]

Exo-cannibalism was recorded as widespread among the Tupinambá and other indigenous coastal populations[219] not only by multiple Jesuits, but also by secular authors such as the German mercenary Hans Staden, who was captured and held for some months by one community, and later recorded his experience.[220] This practice greatly delayed the Jesuits in their work; Azpilcueta Navarro complained that he could not administer the sacrament of baptism to the people in his village due to their

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[217] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p.32.
[218] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Dr. Martin Azpilcueta Navarro, Coimbra, 10th August 1549', *MB,* vol.1, p.136, translated in Donald W. Forsyth, 'The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology: Jesuits and Tupinambá Cannibalism', *Journal of Anthropological Research,* 39.2 (1983), p.151.
[219] It is important to note that not all indigenous peoples practiced cannibalism. José de Anchieta reported that few among certain peoples of the Tapuias consumed human flesh, for example. Anchieta , 'Report on Brazil and its Captaincies', in *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S.J.* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização, 1933) [1584], pp. 328-30, translated in Forsyth, 'The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology', p.161.
[220] Malcolm Letts, ed., *The True History of His Captivity 1557: Hans Staden* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

propensity for consuming human flesh.[221] Certain individuals, such as Anchieta, attempted to inject proto-ethnographical observations into their reports concerning cannibalism. He wrote that the Tupi were not unnecessarily cruel to their victims, killing them swiftly with usually one or two blows to the head.[222] He also recorded the behaviour of the prisoners who would succumb to this ritual, writing that '[e]ven the prisoners feel that in this manner they are being treated in a noble and excellent manner, asking for a glorious death, as they see it, for they say that only cowards and weaklings die and are buried to hold up the weight of the earth.'[223] However, the Jesuits were unanimous in their condemnation of this practice, unwilling or simply unable to comprehend the complex socio-cultural context in which it played a significant role. Yet although they continued to preach against cannibalism, the practice was so entrenched in the Tupis' culture that merely speaking out alone could not combat it; villagers told the Jesuits that it could not be wrong as their ancestors had also eaten human flesh, and wanted to know why they were being prevented from enjoying this particular 'delicacy.'[224] The refusal of the Tupinambá to abandon this practice eventually led Mem de Sá, third governor of Brazil, to pass laws condemning it and all who engaged in it around the same time as the first *aldeias* were established. However, these laws proved difficult to police. Nóbrega wrote to the previous governor, Tomé de Sousa, with a report that while 'many obeyed' these laws – most likely an exaggeration – the Tupi chief of the isle of Corurupeba some seven or eight leagues from Bahía had defied them with 'words of great arrogance,' the reason for this being, Nóbrega believed, that 'these people have never known subjection [*sobjeição*].'[225]

The role of subjection in Nóbrega's writings needs further elucidation. Five years earlier, he had advocated for the use of 'mild subjection' in his *Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio*, and argued that if the 'heathen' failed to convert, it was due to the missionaries' shortcomings rather than their catechumens' inherent qualities (an argument which was likely put forward in order to persuade

[221] 'João de Azpilcueta Navarro to the Fathers and Brothers of Coimbra, 28th March 1550', ARSI, *Bras. 3-1,* f. 28v.
[222] Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos, e sermões,* pp.328-30.
[223] Anchieta, 'Report on Brazil and its Captaincies', translated in Donald W. Forsyth, 'The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology', p.155.
[224] ARSI, *Bras 3-1,* f. 28v.
[225] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Tomé de Sousa. Bahía 5th July 1559', *MB,* vol.3, p.91.

maximum efficiency and godly characteristics from his fellow priests). However, his correspondence indicates a different attitude. His advocacy for subjection points to a belief in the inconstancy of the indigenous peoples and their inability to govern their own thoughts and behaviours. Crucially, this perceived necessity for discipline and *sobjeição* was also believed by Jesuits to require a materially created spatial element from very early on. Metcalf has posited that Nóbrega moved away from 'conversion by persuasion' to conversion by subjection between the years 1554-1558 due to the disillusionment felt at the deaths of four of his colleagues in this period.[226] Yet the following letter shows that in 1553, years before Mem de Sá sanctioned the first Jesuit-controlled *aldeias*, Nóbrega was already advocating the creation of new places in order to advance their mission:

> […] considering the character of these heathen, which is to have little perseverance in leaving the customs in which they were raised, we agreed to go one hundred leagues from here [São Vicente] to build a house, and in it to collect the children of the heathen and to bring together many Indians in one great city, making them live according to reason […][227]

He also informs Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, Procurator of the Province of Portugal, of the current idea 'to yoke together three settlements in one, to better aid in the learning of Christian doctrine.' This was achieved in 1559.[228] Nóbrega expected an easier ministry by amassing indigenous communities in one place at a time when manpower was scarce.

Alongside more logistical issues such as the difficulty in maintaining contact with itinerant communities, the reason for the initiation of this new program was a perceived lack of any recognisable social hierarchy with which to negotiate and influence. This was just as important a factor as the troubles arising from itinerancy. In Ethiopia, the top-down method of catechism and conversion was recommended by Ignatius of Loyola and Alessandro Valignano, the Visitor of Missions in the Indies. It was a preferable 'way of proceeding' for the Jesuits, who acknowledged as legitimate the method of territorialisation exercised by the Ethiopian Emperor and his court, that of a

[226] Metcalf, 'The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias*', p.45.
[227] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Luís Goncalves da Camara, Lisbon. São Vicente, 15th June 1553', ARSI, *Bras. 3-1,* f. 96r.
[228] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres, 5th July 1559', *MB,* vol.3, p.51.

division of the empire into traditional, albeit fluctuating, kingdoms; and the constant military progress of the Emperor and his army. The Emperor presented the Jesuits with a similar figure to that of a European monarch, whom they were well accustomed to liaising with. But in Brazil, Jesuits were presented with a very different picture of social hierarchy. The Tupinambá had chiefs only in times of war, but there were elders (*principais*) in each Tupi village. The elder was described by Fernão Cardim as 'someone whom all obey,'[229] and he wrote how, in the early mornings, the elder 'lies in his net for the space of one half-hour and preaches to them, and admonishes them that they should work as their ancestors did in times past, and he distributes time between them, telling them the things that have to be done, and after getting up he goes around the entire village and continues his proclamation.'[230] Gabriel Soares de Sousa wrote that the villagers had great 'respect' for the elder, and along with deciding 'where to locate his village,' he also 'chooses his living space first.'[231] These were clearly privileged members of society but, to the Jesuits, nevertheless unlike European sovereigns or other figures of military or administrative authority. This caused the missionaries confusion as to how to proceed in their attempts at evangelisation, and was also believed to be a reason why their souls could not comprehend God. Azpilcueta Navarro argued that the Tupis' absences of king and 'fixed houses' were equally damaging to their missionary success,[232] and Pero Correia wrote to Simão Rodrigues in Lisbon, complaining that

> they have so little knowledge of God, that it seems to me that there is much work to be done with them, and one of the most significant causes of this is because they have no king, apart from an elder in each village and house. Thus, it is necessary to walk from village to village to convert them and separate them from the many heathenisms and errors in which they live […] And if there were a king, and he converted, they all would, but since there is not, it is necessary to bring many Brothers here in order to convert them, because the lands are very large and there are many lost souls in all parts – but I think it

[229] Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil*, introduction and notes by Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu, and Rodolpho Garcia (Rio de Janeiro: J. Leite & Companhia, 1925), p.169.
[230] Ibid., pp.166-67.
[231] Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 'Chapter CLI: The Location and Layout of the Tupinambá Villages and the Number of Their Leaders', from his *Tratado Descretivo do Brasil,* in *Early Brazil*, ed. by Schwartz, p.121.
[232] ARSI, *Bras 3-1,* f. 28v.

will be possible to win these by working hard for them.[233]

Correia's letter is a perfect example of the Jesuits' belief in something which could be termed 'trickle-down conversion,' which was also explicit in their attitudes towards the conversion to Catholicism of Ethiopia's populace in the seventeenth century. Because in Brazil there was no king to act as an example of Christlikeness to his people or to instil laws common to a Roman Catholic polity, Correia complained that it was necessary for the Jesuits to move from place to place to fulfil this role. This demonstrates that, for the Jesuits, secular governance (with an emphasis on Aristotelian concepts of the permanent, fixed civilisation or *polis*), discipline, and instruction were all just as instrumental in the conversion of a soul as religious or spiritual elements. Correia's complaint to Rodrigues also shows the former's understanding of conversion as not just spiritual, but a transformation reliant on the installation of a practical, persuasive system. Trappings of western civilisation were, therefore, deemed crucial for the conversion of the *gentio.*

Ivonne del Valle has written that for José de Acosta, the influential Jesuit whose ministry unfolded in Peru, civilisation and evangelisation were 'inseparable.'[234] Civilisation was necessary to achieve the conversion of indigenous peoples to Christianity; and the native peoples were in turn expected to acculturate to Western European civilisation. In his preface to *De procuranda Indorum salute*, Acosta claims that European Christian nations were the '*only truly* civilised states and therefore the only sovereign ones.'[235] For Acosta, the perfect civilisation had 'a stable form of government, legal system, fortified cities, magistrates who are obeyed and well established, prosperous commerce and what is most important, the use and knowledge of letters.'[236] Barbaric peoples were defined as such due to their supposed lack of reason and ignorance of Christianity, and were divided into three groups: those like the Aztecs who had cities, governments, and a writing system; those who lacked writing or philosophy, and finally, the 'most savage,' who had none of the above.[237] Although, as we saw in the

[233] 'From Pero Correia to Simão Rodrigues, Lisboa. São Vicente 20th June 1551', ARSI, *Bras. 3-1,* f. 24v.
[234] Ivonne del Valle, 'From José de Acosta to the Enlightenment: Barbarians, Climate Change, and (Colonial) Technology as the End of History', *The Eighteenth Century,* 54.4 (2013), p.441.
[235] Ibid., p.441.
[236] José de Acosta and G. Stewart McIntosh, trans., *De Procuranda Indorum Salute: An English Translation,* vol. 1 (Tayport: Mac Research, 1996), p.4.
[237] Ibid., pp.4-5.

previous chapter, the Jesuits believed the indigenous Brazilian peoples to be fully human and endowed with souls, their cannibalism, itinerancy, and the absence of laws, recognisable hierarchies, and systems of governance marked them as members of this latter category. For such a group, Acosta recommended 'naked and direct violence' in order to make them conform to reason and appropriate the tenets of western European society.[238] For Acosta, subjection and the installation of rational, Christian governors, crucially set within spatial organisations that resembled the European Christian *polis*, was the most appropriate, and indeed the only acceptable, programme for the reform of the indigenous character.

The Jesuits in Brazil believed themselves to be the only people fit for this task of reform. Nóbrega had already dismissed the sinful behaviour of the Portuguese settlers as detrimental to the growth of the Tupis' faith and the success of the land itself, so they could not be trusted to provide instruction or example. He claimed confidently of São Vicente that 'it is our belief, based on our experience of this territory, that we can expect the undertaking to be highly fruitful, since we know for certain that the further they are from white [lay]men, the more trust the Indians have in us.'[239] The indigenous communities initially trusted the Jesuits: anecdotes of sugar planters dressing up as Jesuit priests to lure would-be slaves into traps were common.[240] The Jesuits therefore established themselves as perfect mediators between various echelons of society and communities of people in colonial Brazil, being not just enforcers of the Portuguese Crown with the interests of the imperial enterprise at heart, but also servants and soldiers of God who understood the proliferation of the Gospel and the care of the soul to be inextricably linked to the health and wealth of the king's new colonies. The *aldeia* system enabled the Jesuits to fully realise their myriad roles as evangelists, law enforcers, disciplinarians, guardians, and educators, and to adopt – with great authority granted by the king and the governor of Brazil – the role of a Catholic monarch as they understood it. This role was not only characterised by 'right attitude' and a desire to express Christlikeness – it also necessitated the

[238] Del Valle, 'From José de Acosta to the Enlightenment', p.441.
[239] 'A Jesuit Report: A Letter from Manuel da Nóbrega S.J., in São Vicente, to the Inquisitor-General, Simão Rodrigues S.J., in Lisbon (10? March 1553)', in *Early Brazil,* ed. by Schwartz, p.142.
[240] Anne B. McGinness, 'Between Subjection and Accommodation', p.230.

creation and management of territory, with an accompanying system of discipline. The *aldeias* were a new kind of spatial organisation; Catholic republics in colonial Brazil established in order to assimilate the indigenous peoples as subjects of the Portuguese Crown and the Pope in Rome.

Part of the reason behind the *aldeia* system was a decisive shift in the concept of territorialisation for many European monarchies, from obtaining territory to policing and governing the populace.[241] King John III's instructions to the first governor-general of Brazil, Tomé de Sousa, were to maintain and ennoble the fledgling captaincies and settlements, but remind him that it was 'essential too to instil order and to effect some means by which men may more safely and effectively go over there to populate the territory.'[242] John III constantly emphasised 'the safety of the territory and its future peace', and ordered fortifications and defences to be provided for each captaincy.[243] These policies indicate the shift in style and practice of government from merely *acquiring* territory to *policing* territory. John III did not just legislate to protect his own Portuguese-born citizens, but declared that the sentence of death was to be passed for any who sought to 'trick' indigenous people into slavery or attempted to 'attack or wage war […] without due permission,' citing this as the reason for the tribal uprisings of the Tupinambá.[244] But the success of sustaining a colony was not merely contingent upon secular institutions and personnel, such as colonial administrations, military forces, settlers, and sugar planters. The manpower willingly proffered by the Society of Jesus quickly revealed itself to be an indispensable source of colonial governance for the Crown. The Jesuits' early emphasis upon pastoral care and education (specifically their interest in the growth of the individual's personal understanding of, and engagement with, Christian doctrine and the Holy Spirit in their life as a Roman Catholic) meant that they were ripe for the task of caring for not only the spiritual and bodily welfare of the Portuguese settlers and ensuring the continued expansion of John III's Catholic empire, but also exemplified their potential skill as evangelisers and civilisers. It will shortly be demonstrated that this

[241] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[242] 'Instructions Issued to the First Governor-General of Brazil, Tomé de Sousa, on 17 December 1548', in *Early Brazil,* ed. by Schwartz, p.40.
[243] Ibid., p.44.
[244] Ibid., p.40.

role rapidly evolved from one founded on a more traditional concept of the pastorate to one which became focused on a revolutionary attitude: that of the perceived necessity to stabilise, police, and govern the indigenous communities.

The responsibility of Jesuits to answer to king, God, and the Pope can be seen in Fernão Cardim's *Narrativa Epistolar de uma Viagem e Missão Jesuítica* (1583), two lengthy reports addressed to the Father Provincial in Portugal in which Cardim states his desire 'to recount all principal aims in which we have succeeded, not only during the voyage, but also throughout the time of our visit, so that Your Reverence will have the utmost knowledge of the things of this province.'[245] Cardim recounts how, before embarking, he resided in Lisbon for five months in 1582. During this time, the Father Visitor

> talked a few times with the King, who, with great generosity gave him alms of five hundred *cruzados* for the fathers residing in the Indian *aldeias* […] and because of the great benignity and zeal that he has for Christianity and the protection of the Society, he gave the father letters in his favour […] greatly entrusting them [the missionaries] and the growth of our holy faith to the father, and that with him they might handle all of the things particularly pertaining not just to the service of God, but also to the governance of the land and the conservation of his state.[246]

This royal allocation of responsibility displays the expectation placed upon the Jesuits of the Portuguese province. They were to be intimately involved in the new colonial territorialisation taking place in the latter half of the sixteenth century; they were granted money, as well as land, by the Crown to establish houses and colleges where they resided and taught the children of settlers as well as indigenous families. Being agents of both the king and Pope allowed them a great deal of temporal as well as spiritual authority; however, this did not mean that they were not beholden to other major players within the colonial administration. The notion that Jesuits – and missionaries of other religious orders of the day – were 'agents of empire' must be treated with caution. Simon Ditchfield reminds us that Jesuits in places such as India and China were often numerically insignificant, and that they often

[245] Cardim, 'Narrativa Epistolar de uma Viagem e Missão Jesuítica', in his *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil,* p.281.
[246] Ibid., p.282.

relied on indigenous children and 'the cooperation of local elites,'[247] and thus their efficacy as agents should be questioned. The enterprising efforts of early-modern empires were constantly thwarted by, or dependent on, local conditions. The chapters of this thesis highlight similar occasions in Brazil and Ethiopia where this was the case.

Nevertheless, Manuel da Nóbrega used his position of authority as first Provincial of the Society in the New World to push for new laws and policies to aid his agenda. By 1557, the fathers appeared to have lost much of their initial patience and optimism, frustrated with their lack of progress with the coastal Tupinambá and the continuation of certain social behaviours and cultural practices deemed to be offensive and intolerable. It is here that Nóbrega's belief in subjection assumed a more concrete advocacy for a change in policy. He wasted no time in communicating his displeasure to Father Miguel de Torres, a confessor to the Queen-Regent Catherine at the Portuguese court. 'First,' he begins his letter, 'the heathen must submit [*sujeitar*] and be made to live as rational creatures who keep the natural law.' As usual, the Jesuits' personal correspondence signals far more candid attitudes than those expressed in more public reports to the Society at large, and this letter clearly demonstrates Nóbrega's extreme frustration with his current task, and a bitterness, perhaps even hatred at the moment of writing, towards those whose souls he was attempting to save. He railed furiously against their cannibalistic indulgence, declaring that 'they are so cruel and bestial that they kill those who never did them harm […] [T]hese men are such butchers of human bodies that they kill and eat all people without exception, and no gain can turn them away nor make them abstain from their bad habits; rather, it appears, and can be seen from experience, that they are puffed up and made worse by care and good treatment.'[248] Crucially, this is the point at which Nóbrega begins to increase the strength of his argument for the necessity of some form of structured discipline, to the benefit of all strata of colonial society, and, significantly, the Crown's treasury. He describes to Torres how the Christian Portuguese settlers were being prevented by the violent attitudes of the indigenous

[247] Simon Ditchfield, 'The "Making" of Roman Catholicism as a "World Religion"', in *Multiple Reformations? The Many Faces and Legacies of the Reformation,* ed. by Jan Stievermann and Randall C. Zachman, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), p.193.
[248] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Father Miguel de Torres, Bahia, 8th May 1558', *MB,* vol.2, p.447.

communities from making proper use of the land, expanding, building farms, and living richly. 'If the heathen were mastered [*senhoreado*] or evicted[249] [*despejado*],' Nóbrega argues, 'they would have spiritual life, knowing their creator, their allegiance to His Highness, and their obedience to the Christians. All would live better and be wealthier, and His Highness would have greater income in these lands.'[250] This letter demonstrates how the Jesuits were evolving into an integral part of the hierarchy of power in colonial Brazil, and serves to emphasise that secular matters resided alongside more spiritual concerns in the minds of missionaries. Nóbrega was himself a political creature, determined to serve the king and to protect the Crown's overseas interests. He began to lay out policy strategies, recommending that Bahía be mastered first, and advocating the creation of the post of Protector of the Indians, which 'should be well-salaried, chosen by the Fathers, and approved by the Governor.'[251] New laws, he declared, should also be given to the Tupis, 'to make them have one woman only; to make them dress themselves […]; to remove their sorcerers; to keep them in justice among one another and with the Christians; to make them live quietly without moving to another part.'[252] Nóbrega's insistence on instilling these laws was also manifest in the disciplinary structure of the *aldeias*, and indeed, within the space-time confinement of the compound boundaries controlled by the colonial authorities and the priests, these laws became somewhat easier to enforce.

The Jesuits' problems with indigenous conversion and discipline found a solution in the arrival of the third Governor-General of Brazil, Mem de Sá, in 1557. His appearance coincided with an overall *malaise* felt by the Jesuits towards their work in the native settlements. Whereas his predecessor, Duarte da Costa (1553-1557), had pandered to the desires of the Portuguese settlers for indigenous slave labour, bringing him into conflict with the Jesuits, de Sá supported their efforts to catechise and discipline the native population. Under his governorship both the colonial authorities and the religious order formed a mutual partnership, which, although not without problems, allowed a more coherent system of negotiating the alterity presented by the indigenous peoples. By spring of 1558, de Sá had

[249] That is, evicted from their traditional homeland and made to live in the mission villages. Hemming, *Red Gold,* p.106.
[250] Manuel da Nóbrega to Father Miguel de Torres, Bahia, 8th May 1558', *MB,* vol.2, p.448.
[251] Ibid., p.450.
[252] Ibid., p.450.

already waged a series of successful wars against the indigenous peoples, largely in retaliation for the murder and consumption of the first Bishop of Brazil, Pero Fernandes Sardinha, at the hands of the Caetés peoples.[253] He ordered the subdued populations to be confined to the first four *aldeias*, established close to the city of Bahía. The first was São Paulo, a league from the city. Nóbrega writes positively about this decision, saying that '[w]hat Mem de Sá is doing seems to me to be very good […] because otherwise they [the indigenous people] cannot be indoctrinated, neither subjected, nor put in order.'[254] For the Jesuits, the creation and careful management of a new spatial reality had become not merely an option but a necessary tool in encouraging discipline and the cultivation of a new Christian identity. Chakravarti writes that the Jesuits could not institute their project of 'model missionary space' until the governor had authorised and supported it, which demonstrates the reliance of the Jesuits' project on the Portuguese imperial authorities.[255] That the Jesuits could not create new spaces – or adapt existing ones – without the knowledge and permission of the local authorities was a reality also present in the example of seventeenth-century Ethiopia, which we will see later on.

Nóbrega was not the only Jesuit at the time to advocate greater force against the indigenous peoples. José de Anchieta also displayed his frustration at their lack of success in a letter to the Provincial of Portugal dated December 1556, lamenting that the boys whom 'we almost nursed at our breast with the milk of Christian doctrine' merely returned to their parents and followed them in their way of life, despite having been 'well instructed.'[256] This letter also shows that he and presumably other Jesuits were already compelling them to come in 'by force' (*por força*), but later Anchieta would advocate use of the 'naked sword,' despite the Pope having forbidden forced conversion (but not subjection) of the native population in the papal bull *Sublimis Dei* in 1537. Although at first glance the two approaches of the missionaries – subjection and accommodation – appear to be contradictory, Anne B. McGinness has sought to reconcile the Jesuits' peaceful missionary strategies with their reliance upon more violent methods, in opposition to current scholarship which prioritises approaches

[253] José de Anchieta, *De gestis Mendi de Saa: poema épico*, ed. by Armando Cardoso (São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1986), p.187, vv.2183-2132.
[254] 'Manuel da Nóbrega to Father Miguel de Torres. Bahia, 8th May 1558', *MB*, vol.2, p.452.
[255] Chakravarti, *The Empire of Apostles*, p.92.
[256] 'José de Anchieta (to the Provincial of Portugal?). Piratininga, end of December 1556', *MB*, vol.2, p.313.

demonstrating 'the culturally hybrid and accommodating nature of Jesuit practices.'[257] McGinness argues that the missionary strategies of José de Anchieta were not contradictory but were directed by shifting socio-political and cultural contexts. Anchieta's literary works explain how cannibalism was seen by many Jesuits as a justification for just war and the confinement of the Tupi in the *aldeias*. The conflict between the Tamoios and the Tupinambá during the mid-sixteenth century and the prevalence of cannibalism led Anchieta to believe that a program of subjection was at first required, supported by the laws of Mem de Sá, whose ushering-in of a new social order was likened to that of Christ's new covenant in Anchieta's epic poem *De gestis Mendi de Saa* (1563). Only after the Tupi's practice of cannibalism was forcibly driven out, McGinness believes, was Anchieta able to pursue a more accommodating missionary strategy.

IMPRISONMENT AND DETENTION? THE BRAZILIAN *ALDEIA* AS DISCIPLINARY COMPOUND

This section examines how this notion of subjection and force rapidly translated into the physical detention of the indigenous peoples within strongly-framed, unambiguous boundaries, and investigates Jesuit descriptions of the strict space-time routines they placed their catechists under. It will demonstrate that elements of detention compounds/camps theorised by sociologists and geographers are explicitly visible in both the spatial layouts and the daily routines of the *aldeias*. What is more, it will show that the Jesuits were fully conscious of the effects their spatial tactics had upon the *aldeias*' inhabitants.

Early-modern site maps of the Brazilian *aldeias* and Paraguayan *reducciones* aid an investigation into the urban layouts created by the Jesuits for exclusive use in the 'civilisation' and education of their detainees. Extensive searches for a sixteenth-century site map of the Brazilian *aldeias,* both in primary material (including archival documents at the ARSI; *quadrimestres*; personal letters, and collections of maps of Brazil) and in secondary scholarship regarding the mission villages, have sadly

[257] McGinness, 'Between Subjection and Accommodation', p.228.

yielded nothing.[258] It may well be that the passage of time has destroyed any pre-existing sixteenth-century plans, or that they are simply missing – a frequent tragedy with centuries-old drawings. There could be another explanation, in that while our modern sensibilities place a significant emphasis on visual records of space, sixteenth-century Jesuits may not have harboured the same proclivities. These villages, after all, were simple in their initial stages of execution and could easily be described in writing, when required or desired, to colleagues back in Europe without necessitating an exact cartographical depiction. The lack of early plans does not indicate an apathy towards spatiality on the Jesuits' part. Site maps were most likely more pertinent between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to boundary disputes with settlers (and between the Portuguese and Spanish), and the frequent raids on the *aldeias* conducted by the *bandeirantes*, who were particularly active during this period.[259] Jesuit sites maps could, therefore, have acted as visual legitimations of the Society's claim on their territory at a time when it was hotly disputed.

The earliest extant site plan that this author has found is a seventeenth-century illustration of São Miguel Arcanjo (Fig. 3, below), an *aldeia* founded in 1632 by Jesuit priests Cristóbal de Mendoza and Paulo Benavides and located in Itaiacecó, in the modern state of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.[260]

[258] The *Miscellanea* in the Fondo Gesuitico was logically the most likely collection in the ARSI to contain potential maps and plans of the early *aldeias*, yet in fact it largely comprises biographical and hagiographical information about individual Jesuits. Plans for Jesuit buildings are stored in the 'Other Documents' section of ARSI, but these derive from the 19th and 20th centuries. Plans of *aldeias*, like those included in this chapter, sometimes appear in archives local to the sites of settlement, such as the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, and as such a thorough search and survey of local archive holdings for this kind of material would prove beneficial.

[259] Raids were not uncommon in the sixteenth century, but comprised of far smaller armed groups of colonists, known as *armações*. These 'expeditions' would embark to find indigenous communities to work on colonial plantations. A royal edict regulating *armações* was passed in 1570 and mandated that only royal governors were to sanction expeditions, which required the presence of two or three Jesuits priests to ensure the voluntary return of indigenous workers. Workers were also required to be paid for their services, and were not allowed to be enslaved. 'Royal Edict, 1570', in Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol.2 (Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1938), p.211. However, in the 1620s and 1630s, with the growth of São Vicente and São Paulo, and the 'reduction' of Guarani peoples into new Jesuit missions (peoples considered good agriculturalists by the planters), these expeditions evolved into fully-fledged, devastating *bandeirante* movements which often destroyed *aldeias*. Alida C. Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p.46.

[260] Vladimir Fernando Stello, 'Conservación y valorización del patrimonio misionero: Caso de São Miguel Arcanjo', *Apuntes*, 19.1 (2006), p.86.

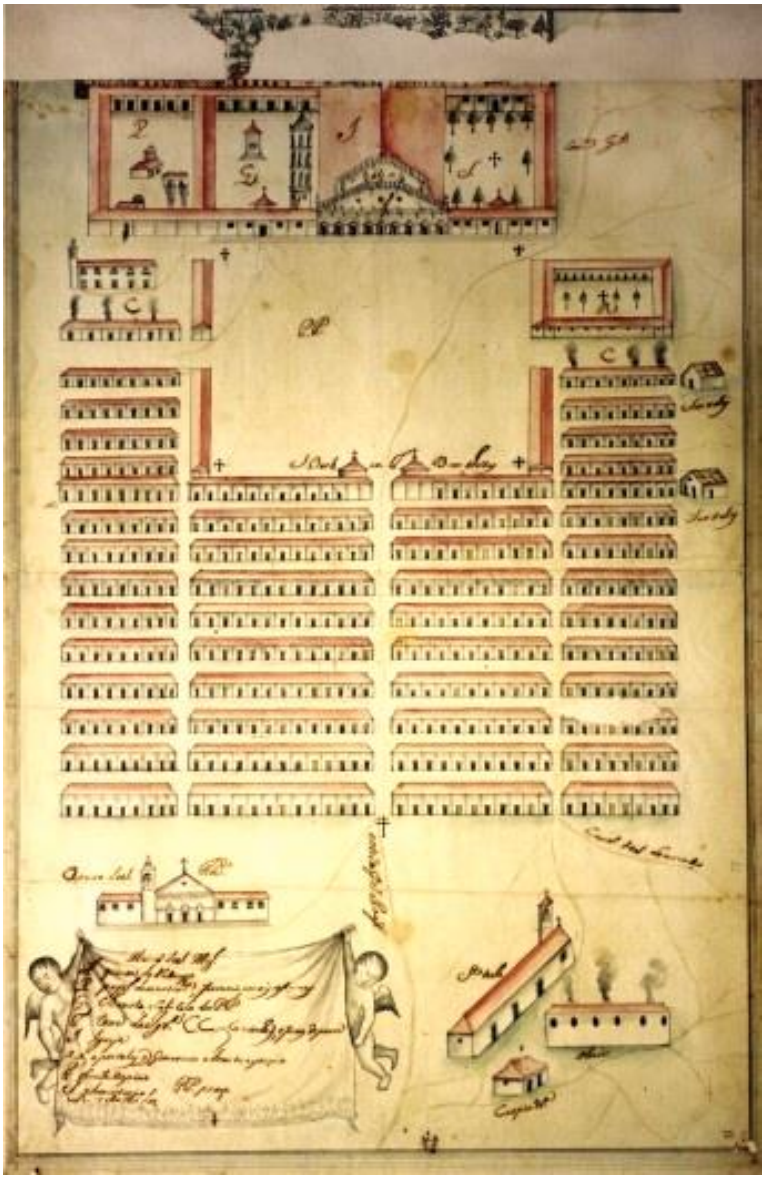

Fig. 3. Plan of the *aldeia* of São Miguel Arcanjo, 17th century. Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

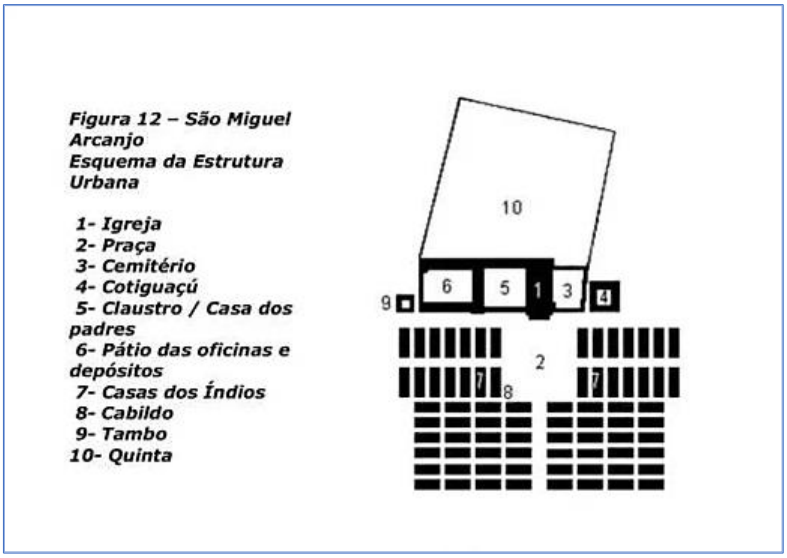

Fig. 4. Schematic plan of the urban structure of São Miguel Arcanjo.[261]

Historians have, at times, relied on later descriptions and visual depictions of mission villages in order to draw conclusions on their urban layouts. Wilde, for example, agrees that the spatial layouts were fairly homogenised throughout the mission period, with the aim of imposing 'a new conception of society, based on the principles of rationality and hierarchy,' and were centred around a 'dominant axis of ritual life' – the church, the cemetery, and the school.[262] In 1573, Phillip II of Spain revised the Laws of the Indies, setting down instructions for city planning in the New World and stipulating that mission villages must be built on grid systems, as is clear from most extant site plans. Jesuit documents from the period also stipulated that all missions were to be homogenous.[263] Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century site maps therefore remain most useful for the present discussion. While these illustrations were drawn later than the period under current consideration, the similarities between their urban layouts across time denotes the consistency in their design, which did not seem to be something the Jesuits believed worth changing.

The above schematic plan of São Miguel Arcanjo's urban structure (Fig. 4) displays the buildings of

[261] Luiz Antônio Bolcato Custódio, *A Redução de São Miguel Arcanjo: contribuição ao estudo da tipologia urbana missioneira*. Dissertação (Mestrado em Planejamento Urbano e Regional), (Faculdade de Arquitetura, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2002), p.170.
[262] Wilde, 'The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories', p.187.
[263] Júlio N. B. de Curtis, 'O espaço urbano e a arquitetura produzidos pelos Sete Povos das Missões', in *A arquitetura no Rio Grande do Sul*, ed. by Günter Weimar (Porto Alegre, Mercado Aberto, 1993), p.33; Ramón Gutierrez, *As missões jesuíticas dos Guaranis* (Rio de Janeiro, Fundação Pró-Memória/Unesco,1987), p.26.

the *aldeia* in spatial relation to each other, and particularly highlights the distinction between Jesuit and indigenous person. Upon death, for example, Jesuits would be buried in the church (*igreja*, 1), while indigenous inhabitants were buried in the graveyard (*cemitério*, 3). The *pátio das oficinas e depósitos* was an area for workshops and warehouses. Other buildings include the *cabildo*, the council of indigenous officials; and the *cotiguaçu*, which has been defined by Wilde as a jail for women, a liminal place where they would live as 'laywomen not completely subject to the family, mainly widows, orphans or singles.'[264] I have not found any mention of the *cabildo* or the *cotiguaçu* in Jesuit letters from the sixteenth century, however, and it is possible that they did not feature in the early phase of the *aldeias*. While notable or trusted inhabitants were often elected by the governor to be officers or bailiffs (*meirinhos*) in the sixteenth century, they did not form indigenous councils, a much later addition to the missions.

All extant plans of the *aldeias* show that the inhabitants' houses were placed in rows and organised around a large central plaza, the heart of the community. This plaza was a focal point for many activities, and the centre stage upon which public rituals of both pleasure and pain were enacted – celebrations and holy processions took place here, but the area also bore witness to the punishment and humiliation of the inhabitants for crimes and misdemeanours. Houses were now organised by families, as the Jesuits considered their previous longhouses, where hammocks were slung together in close proximity, an aberration.[265] An impressive church and adjacent Jesuit residence was the landmark of every *aldeia*, dominating the surrounding area.[266] Fig. 5 (below) is more crudely drawn but still depicts the central plaza, with the larger houses of the Jesuits and the *meirinhos*, indigenous officers, in primary locations around the square. The illustration of this Gê *aldeia* is also notable for its clear, thickly-drawn depiction of boundaries which marked the periphery of the settlement, and although there are various routes in and out it is explicit that this was a strongly classified place. The sixteenth-century *aldeias* were also strongly classified, enclosed places – this is demonstrated by Mem de Sá's furious declaration that he would burn the houses of all indigenous people that

[264] Wilde, 'The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories', p.188.
[265] Hemming, *Red Gold*, p.114.
[266] Ibid., pp.114-115.

continued their revelry *outside* the village boundaries, an episode which will be drawn on in more detail further on.[267]

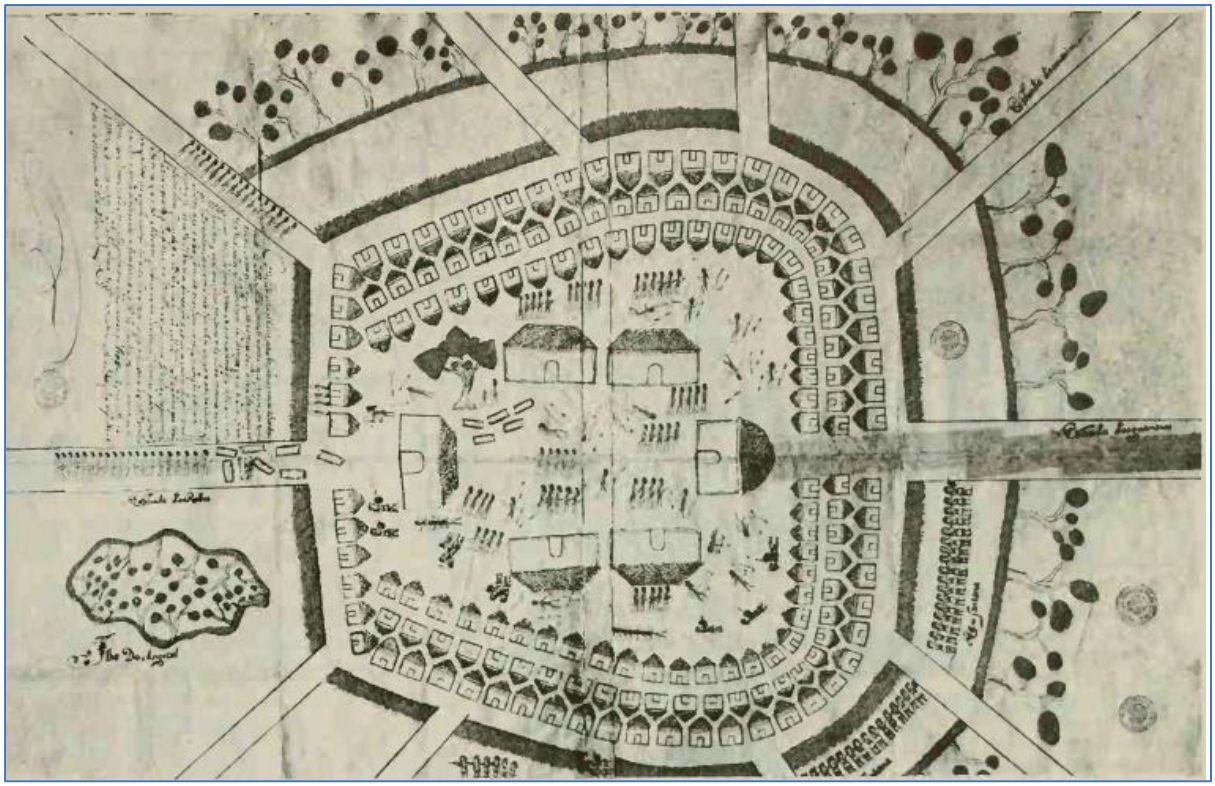

Fig. 5. A plan of an eighteenth-century *aldeia* for Gê people, found in Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, ed., *História dos Índios no Brasil*, 2nd edition (Companhia das Letras: São Paulo, 1992), p.19.

Stuart Schwartz reminds us that this arrangement was totally different to that of the traditional village organisation. Gê speakers divided their villages into clans and their longhouses into age and sex groups. To overturn this custom 'was to breach the security of the traditional universe and to disorient the Indians in the literal meaning of the word.'[268] Not only, then, were they displaced from their natural environment, but not even their new settlements resembled their own – the new spatial organisation must have been confusing and alienating. For the Jesuits of course, it was a methodical arrangement, its origins in European settlements in the Old World; and it pointed visually and architecturally to the order that both the colonial authorities and the Jesuits hoped to instil into these

[267] Hemming, *Red Gold*, p.107.
[268] Stuart B. Schwartz, 'Indian Labour and New World Plantations: European Demands and Indian Responses in Northeastern Brazil', *The American Historical Review,* 83.1 (1978), p.53.

experimental societies. For the authorities, this was an order founded on the adherence to strict rules and regulations; for the Jesuits, it was an internal order based on more abstract notions of spiritual and moral obedience to a higher power. The dual functionalities of these secular and religious systems of discipline and the use of spatial tactics to institute such rigours into Tupinambá families, especially children, is the subject of the following discussion.

Once Mem de Sá had given his blessing to the *aldeia* system around 1558, the settlements were organised quickly. The founding of São Paulo was accompanied by Espírito Santo, three leagues away on the Rio Joanne; Santiago, close to Pirajá; and São João, in the interior of the captaincy.[269] 1560 and 1561 saw two further wars against the Aimorés and the Tupiniquins in the captaincies of Porto Seguro and São Paulo respectively, and two more *aldeias* were founded to house the vanquished communities: Santa Cruz de Itaparica (administered by Fathers Antonio Pires and Luíz Rodrigues) and Bom Jesus, twelve leagues from Bahia. A further three *aldeias* were added to the number in 1562: Santo André, to the north, thirty-two leagues from Bahia; Nossa Senhora da Assumpção, in Camamú, and São Miguel, in Tinhare.[270] Each *aldeia* was home to between 2,000 and 4,000 inhabitants, with a total estimated number of 34,000 people being settled by 1561.[271]

The relative success of the colonial authorities regarding the confinement and control of the native people was short-lived. A terrible epidemic struck the north of Brazil in 1563, followed by a famine which soon spread to the south, and many inhabitants deserted the *aldeias*, apparently advised to do so by their shamans. David McCreery writes that after the settlers attempted to access the convenient supply of workers still to be found in the moribund *aldeias*, the royal authorities gave the five remaining villages to lay administrators, where the inhabitants were loaned to planters as temporary workers.[272] The *aldeia* system struggled on over the next couple of decades. By 1582, the Crown was

[269] Manuel da Nóbrega, *Cartas Avulsas, 1550-1568,* ed. by Afranio Peixoto (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca de Cultura Nacional, 1931), p.29.
[270] Ibid., pp.31-32.
[271] David McCreery, *The Sweat of Their Brow: A History of Work in Latin America* (M. E. Sharpe, London: 2000), p.49.
[272] Ibid., p.49.

still granting them an allotted stipend,[273] but by 1583, many of the original *aldeias* built at the time of Manuel da Nóbrega had been closed. Metcalf uses information provided by Fernão Cardim to show that the total population of the *aldeias* shrunk dramatically from 34,000 in 1561 to somewhere between 2,500-3,500 in 1583.[274] In the long term, they were threatened by the *bandeirante* movement in the seventeenth century, and by the 1620s the coastal settlements had almost completely disappeared. The influential Jesuit António Vieira aimed to reinstitute the system, however, ostensibly to protect Maranhão's free indigenous population, although he, too, came under fire from the colonists and entered into protracted dialogue with them through his famous sermons in order to persuade them to correct their attitudes and behaviour.[275]

The organisational nature of the *aldeia* system was designed to enable the villages to become self-sufficient communities, geographically some leagues distant from the nearest city but still under the full force of colonial law. *Sesmarias,* land grants from the Crown and the colonial authorities, helped secure land for the communities' maintenance.[276] Fig. 6 (below) depicts the spatial inclusion of basic agricultural areas, with allotments to the top left, orchards to the far right and left of the picture, and even pens of animals at the top. Despite this illustration deriving from the mid-eighteenth century, written descriptions of the initial years of the *aldeia* system also confirm the *aldeias*' agricultural integration. Tasks involving farming, hunting, and fishing were given to the men and women of the *aldeias*, but sometimes assisted by the Jesuits. One brother is recorded as growing 'a great deal of fruit and vegetables in his orchard,' and that the boys in his *aldeia* go fishing and 'ask for alms for their dinner.' However, they lacked 'wine and flour for the mass,' and the letter requests that alms be provided for this purpose,[277] suggesting that agriculture was not practiced as widely or successfully here as in some *aldeias*. We see from this as well that alms – either from official stipends provided by

[273] Cardim, 'Narrativa Epistolar de uma Viagem e Missão Jesuítica', p.281.
[274] Metcalf, 'The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias*', p.51; 'Informação dos primeiros aldeamentos na Bahia', in José de Anchieta, *Cartas, informações, fragmentos históricos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1933), pp.358-362.
[275] José Eisenberg, 'António Vieira and the Justification of Indian Slavery', *Luso-Brazilian Review,* 40.1 (2003), p.92.
[276] Schwartz, 'Indian Labour and New World Plantations', p.55.
[277] 'By commission of Brás Lourenço to Miguel de Torres, 10th June 1562', *MB,* vol.3, pp.463-465.

the Crown and the Society or from independent donors – were vital in maintaining the indigenous people in their new lives as catechised Christians. The *aldeias* often lacked the resources necessary to support such a large population, as the later arrival of famine showed.

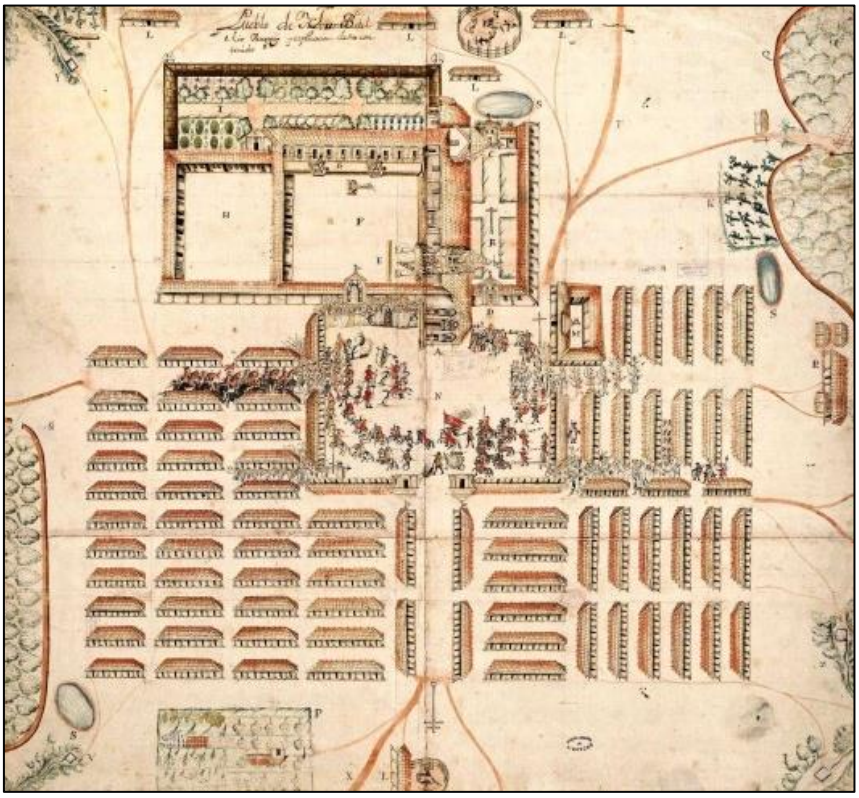

Fig. 6. Plan of the *aldeia* of São João Batista on the Uruguay River, c.1753. Ink and watercolour on paper, 118 by 105 cm. Archivo General de Simancas, Spain.

To begin with, the Jesuits were pleased with the opportunities afforded them by the *aldeias*, and they recovered much of that initial enthusiasm and energy their records demonstrated from the first few years in Brazil. António Pires wrote enthusiastically to the Provincial of Portugal that amalgamating the Tupinambás' villages was the 'first remedy' to their *maus costumes*, and better aided the fathers in their ministering, as they were able to reach large portions of the population with only a few individuals.[278] A minimum of two Jesuits oversaw the daily evangelisation and management of their inhabitants, and the provincial would visit several times a year, which precipitated important events such as mass baptisms and processions.[279] Mem de Sá was now able to enact strict recriminations for

[278] 'António Pires [to the Provincial of Portugal], Bahia 19th July 1558', *MB*, vol.2, p.463.
[279] Metcalf, 'The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias*', p.46.

the transgressions of the inhabitants; Pires recorded that the governor ordered the arrest of a father and son for the consumption of human flesh after its prohibition in a series of new laws. Pires declared triumphantly, 'all tremble for fear of the Governor […] This fear makes them able to hear the word of God; their children are taught; the innocents who die are all baptised; their customs are forgotten and are changed into better ones.' The governor's laws 'serve' the Jesuits, Pires claimed, 'until Christ is well formed within them.'[280] The principles of evangelism and civilisation that José de Acosta was to later set down in *De procuranda Indorum salute* manifested themselves in Pires' letter. He saw state reprisal as a necessary and acceptable method of achieving acculturation and mass conversion. The use of force did not appear in Jesuit correspondence as a controversial issue, but was wholeheartedly applauded. Nara Saletto argues that the *aldeias* complemented de Sá's policy of subjection. Saletto writes that the expansion of colonisation required more than the 'simple alliances' of the early years, which did not offer the security and stability that the Portuguese required, as they paved the way for the settlers' abuse of the indigenous people, and the rebellion of the latter. The mission villages, then, gave 'protection' to those who accepted it. Those that did not would then be subject to 'just war,' which legitimised – and legalised – their slavery.[281] Either way, it seemed that the indigenous peoples along the coast were fated for one kind of subjection and imprisonment or another – unless they fled into the *sertão* to resume their old lives.

Michel Foucault argued that state punishment in France and certain other Western European countries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries moved away from being characterised by deference to the absolute sovereignty of the monarch and violence committed upon the physical body, and towards an emphasis on 'disciplinary coercion' and confinement within a 'protected place of disciplinary monotony.'[282] In his research on apartheid South African cities, Jonathan Crush has posited that many techniques pertaining to disciplinary control saw their origin in the colonial

[280] 'Letter [from António Pires] to [the Provincial of Portugal]. Bahia 12th September 1558', *MB,* vol.3, p.471.
[281] Saletto, *Donatarios, Colonos, Indios e Jesuítas,* p.125.
[282] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin Books, 1991), pp.138 and 141.

environment.[283] This section will explore the possibility that the colonial system of discipline and surveillance present in Brazil's *aldeias* preceded Foucault's shift, occupying a crossover space between sovereign justice and Foucault's eighteenth-century prisons. In the medieval era, Foucault wrote, crimes and rebellion against Western European monarchs were perceived alike to declarations of war, providing the justification for torture and execution. In the colonial-controlled *aldeia* system, 'crimes' of indigenous peoples against the Portuguese settlers (and therefore, the Crown) were the impetus behind corrective discipline and punishment under the military authorities and, concomitantly, the Jesuit priests.[284] In the king's stead, the colonial authorities functioned as both a limitation upon what was perceived as the worst excesses of the indigenous people, expressing hard power, and an intermediary bureaucracy, delegating the exacting of discipline (but not punishment) over to the Society of Jesus. Ananya Chakravarti has termed the Jesuits 'caretakers' of the mission villages, yet they were more than just caretakers, a term which belies a simple philanthropic guardianship. Whilst the Jesuits did see themselves as protectors of their indigenous charges, they also imposed systems of space-time control hitherto unknown amongst the Tupinambá.

Martin and Mitchelson argue that social relationships, such as racism or sexism – alongside crime – 'produce the spatial formations of imprisonment and punishment more broadly.'[285] It is too reductivist and anachronistic to term as 'racist' the Jesuits' perception of the indigenous Brazilians. However, their views of indigenous use of the *sertão*, their logistical difficulty in navigating this space on the Tupis' terms, and their attitude towards indigenous customs and beliefs, which they perceived as unnecessarily violent, unnatural, and heathenistic, worked to produce a process of othering that engendered a more controllable and familiar use of colonial territory. As discussed in the previous chapter, the *sertão* was perceived by the Jesuits as a place where freedom resulted in malignant and

[283] Crush, 'Power and Surveillance on the South African Gold Mines', *Journal of South African Studies,* 18.4 (1992), pp.825-844.
[284] The *aldeia* system also made clear financial sense from the Crown's perspective. Malyn Newitt writes that the indigenous peoples of Brazil 'could not be conquered in the way that the Aztecs had been. They preyed on colonial settlements and made the protection of the frontier complicated and costly.' The mission reserves 'constituted a frontier policy which was cheap and made few demands on the government's resources.' Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion,* p.168.
[285] Martin and Mitchelson, 'Geographies of Detention and Imprisonment', p.462.

lascivious behaviour – they had hopes that the *aldeias*, on the other hand, might become Christian utopias where order, discipline, and godly living could be enforced. Ultimately, it was spatial perception that changed the relationship between the Jesuits and the Tupi. It established a precedent for the nature of the encounter and negotiation between Jesuits and the indigenous peoples, shifting the balance of power in favour of the priests.

The *aldeias* were places where optimal Christian behaviour could be exhibited and stipulated by the Jesuits in a setting removed from the damaging examples set by white settlers. Within the boundaries of the *aldeias* they would also be protected from illegal enslavement (that is, enslavement not carried out through just war),[286] which, Nóbrega declared, 'would mean that the plantations would produce more sugar and [therefore] more tithes for His Majesty. This land, which is the best in the world, is little favoured by Our Lord because of these and similar sins.'[287] Crucially, however, the indigenous people were also kept away from white colonial society for society's benefit. It was useful to remove them from the coast – and later to reduce them from the interior – for colonial civilisation to prosper in a way pleasing to the Crown, for the *engenhos* and plantations to expand alongside the population. The *aldeia* system was therefore a vital cog in the Portuguese imperial machine, a way to empty the land of 'abnormal individuals' for the health and wellbeing of 'regular' society. However, despite the initial progress recorded by the Jesuits in their correspondence, the *aldeias* were not stable

[286] On the question of Jesuit attitudes to indigenous Brazilian slavery, Metcalf states that Nóbrega believed the enslavement of indigenous peoples impeded their evangelisation, as settlers conspired not to spread the Gospel but to steal their property and their women. However, Dauril Alden has written that although outspoken in their criticism of the illegal enslavement of indigenous people, the Jesuits recognised their dependence on indigenous labour, as this helped sustain not just life in the *aldeias* but could also be used to produce food for colonial society. Indeed, Schwartz argues that both planters and Jesuits believed indigenous labour necessary for the growth of the colony, although they competed for jurisdiction over this labour. Schwartz argues that within the *aldeias* the Jesuits sought to create 'an indigenous "peasantry" by acculturation and detribalisation […] capable of becoming an agricultural proletariat.' This is a claim that appears to sit well with the Jesuits' role, not just as evangelists, but agents of the Crown. Schwartz points out that the Jesuits were worryingly silent in their correspondence with regards to the roles assumed by the indigenous inhabitants, most likely due to the debate among the Iberians over slavery and just war. However, the *aldeias* were not pure economic creations, like the settlers' *engenhos*, and were not instituted primarily to produce goods or food for the colony. Tarcisio Botelho writes that the pressure placed by the Jesuits upon the Crown to outlaw indigenous slavery eventually led to the Crown's decision to do so, in 1570. See Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp.475-527; Schwartz, 'Indian Labour and New World Plantations', p.50; Botelho, 'Labour Ideologies and Labour Relations in Colonial Portuguese America, 1500-1700', *International Review of Social History*, 56.19 (2011), p.287; and Metcalf, 'The *Entradas* of Bahia in the Sixteenth Century', *The Americas,* 61.3 (2005), p.377.

[287] 'A Jesuit Report: A Letter from Manuel da Nóbrega S.J., in São Vicente, to the Inquisitor-General, Simão Rodrigues S.J., in Lisbon (10? March 1553)', in *Early Brazil*, ed. by Schwartz, p.146.

organisations, and were widely contested by various parties. They could not be protected from the Portuguese settlers, who, even after the Jesuits had been awarded *sesmarias* for the *aldeias* by the Queen of Portugal in 1562, often tried to claim the land, overrun it with their cattle, or conduct raids into the *aldeias* in order to procure slaves for their sugar plantations.[288]

The main method through which the Jesuits controlled the lives of their catechumens within the compounds of the *aldeias* was to institute a strict daily routine of learning and work. The Jesuits' system of education was one form of surveillance and discipline, allowing the priests to monitor individual spiritual progress and ensure that at least whilst within the four walls of the school, catechumens would be less likely to test the limits of colonial discipline. Indoctrinating the Tupi children was an effective and favoured method of ensuring the compliance of the next generation. Rui Pereira described the routine of the *aldeia* of São Paulo – which lay one league from the city of Bahía – in a letter from 1560. Every day at dawn the unmarried girls came to learn their doctrine, often accompanied by many married young women, and when they had finished, they went with their mothers to carry out their work, which included weaving cloth 'with which to cover themselves.' The young men then came to the school to read, write, and learn their doctrine, after which they went fishing. In the afternoon, those who were 'willing' came to hear the doctrine, but Pereira stated that 'in this, we do not put pressure on them.' Their residence in an environment geared solely towards a metamorphosis of the indigenous individual into a practising Roman Catholic and colonial subject, with many of their friends and family conforming to the Jesuits' will, may have been pressure enough. Pereira claimed that the division between groups of inhabitants was made because the older inhabitants were less likely to be occupied with their work in the afternoon (as they habitually laboured until midday or one or two hours later), and because, as they were deemed to be 'ruder' [*mais rudes*], they were singled out for special treatment.[289] The act of segregating groups in a society intrinsically accustomed to residing, eating, and working together gave more power to the Jesuits. They assumed the role of the elders, which was to parcel out tasks and the time set aside for work

[288] Metcalf, 'The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias*', p.56.
[289] 'Rui Pereira to the Fathers and Brothers of Portugal, 15th September 1560', ARSI, *Goa 10-2,* ff. 94r-94v.

daily among the people; therefore the Jesuits supplanted and denied the traditional authority of these men, establishing themselves as secular authorities in the king's stead in these new Catholic republics. The *aldeias* still had chiefs, but they were no longer independent and were required to ask for permission to leave the boundaries of the mission settlements.[290]

Pereira also distinguished between those in the village who were Christian and those who were not, indicating that although descended into the *aldeias,* not every indigenous individual was instantly baptised into their new lives as catechised Christians. However, he also wrote that '[a]ll, whether they are heathen or Christians, keep the law of Christians, some because they are obliged [*por serem obrigados*] and others because they are fitted for baptism and they are under the yoke of the Lord [*se afazerem ao jugo do Senhor*]; and, so that they do not give a bad example to their children who are already Christians, they have amended their customs.'[291] It would appear that although the inhabitants of the *aldeias* were not forced to convert to Christianity, they were still made to live in a way pleasing to the Jesuits, and were subjected to the 'law of Christians' and, significantly, the law of the colonial authorities. Crucially, Pereira does not elucidate on how the inhabitants were 'obliged' to keep the law, but this innuendo infers the idea of a persuasive force, whether by punishment or incentive is not clear from this particular letter. This lack of clarity pertaining to the possible castigation of indigenous catechists is visible in other Jesuit accounts from these years, and could allude to an unwillingness on the Jesuits' part to admit to the use of force or violence. Those non-Christian parents with Christian children are described as being unwilling to set a bad moral example, but it is more likely that they 'amended their customs' under duress, as presumably their native culture would not have determined wrongdoing in the same way as the Jesuits.

Although the *aldeias* cannot be thought of strictly as prisons in any modern sense, the priests and the governor subjected generations of indigenous communities to a spatialised control centred firmly in processes of detention and confinement. Matthew Hannah writes that although there are 'variations

[290] Metcalf, 'The Society of Jesus and the First *Aldeias*', p.45.
[291] 'Rui Pereira to the Fathers and Brothers of Portugal, 15th September 1560', ARSI, *Goa 10-2,* f. 92v.

across compounds,' one key defining feature is lacking the 'freedom to enter or leave,'[292] which the Tupi did not have. Once residents, they were prevented from stepping outside the village boundaries by the captain's militias (if they were present), and by indigenous officers (*meirinhos*) who would 'police' their fellow villagers. Societies or individuals could request to come and live as residents in any *aldeia*, which some apparently did, but they could not simply enter freely. Martin and Mitchelson restrict their 'definitions of "imprisonment" and "detention" to intentional practices that (i) restrict individuals' ability to move from one place to another and (ii) impose orders of space and time so that individual mobility is highly constrained, if not eliminated.'[293] The indigenous people along the coast were certainly detained for an indefinite period in the *aldeias* as the Portuguese colonisers sought to rid the land of any impediments to their financial enterprises; we have also seen from Rui Pereira's description of the routine instilled in the *aldeia* of São Paulo that the residents were constrained by both the spatial organisation of the settlement and the limits placed on their time. However, Martin and Mitchelson are careful to emphasise that it is the act of violence which distinguishes these spatial tactics from 'everyday impediments to personal mobility,' mentioning examples of ghettos, jails, and concentration camps. This definition of confinement is not solely applicable to modern processes of spatial control, but can clearly be seen in the mission sites of the *aldeias* which, I will argue, constituted a series of disciplinary compounds which involved many elements prototypical to the modern prison system.

That the classification of compound can be feasibly attributed to the *aldeias* is evinced by the principles established by relevant studies carried out by those in fields such as geography and sociology, centred on exclusion and enclosure, disciplinary compounds, and surveillance. According to Matthew Hannah, a compound can comprise 'any space significantly bigger than a prison building, with sealable boundaries […] Compound boundaries are also meaningful; that is, they mark the border between one regime of behavioural regulation and another.'[294] This was certainly the case with

[292] Hannah, 'Space and the Structuring of Disciplinary Power', *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 79.3 (2003), p.174.
[293] Martin and Mitchelson, 'Geographies of Detention and Imprisonment', p.460.
[294] Hannah, 'Space and the Structuring of Disciplinary Power', p.173.

the *aldeias* in sixteenth-century Brazil. Boundaries were sealed off by walls, marked by strongly classified space. If one inhabitant stepped outside of the boundaries of their settlements, it was taken by the authorities as an act of trespass upon the property of the Portuguese settlers, which was not only perceived as intrusive and unlawful but also dangerous for the indigenous, who could find themselves at risk of enslavement or at the mercy of the settlers' frontier justice.[295] One of the clearest examples of the *aldeias* as acting compounds in the contemporary sources comes from one of Nóbrega's letters to Miguel de Torres in July 1559. In describing the current status of the *aldeias'* construction programme, Nóbrega writes that three churches have been built in all of the three existing *aldeias,* São Paulo, São João, and Espírito Santo, and continues: 'Two or three other Indian *aldeias* have been brought together and await Fathers to indoctrinate them [*doutrinarem*]. We visit them whenever we can in order to *detain* them thus [*por se deterem assi*] until they are saved [*socorridos*].'[296] The Jesuits, then, were clear on the reasons behind the *aldeias* – the detention of the indigenous people, ostensibly for their salvation but also, as we have already observed, for the financial and social security of the colony, was paramount. Whilst detained, the inhabitants were to behave exactly as the Jesuits and the colonial authorities stipulated – or face reprisals. Nóbrega continues his letter with praise for the indigenous official, the *meirinho,* who 'goes around the houses at dawn (as is his custom), preaching every Sunday and on all the holidays.' Nóbrega applauds the *meirinho*'s 'obedience,' describing how he ensures that the indigenous people 'do not go outside without requesting a licence,' and follows them 'to find out where they go, so that they do not commune together, or eat human flesh, or get drunk in some distant *aldeia*; and if anyone leaves [*se algum se desmanda*], he is arrested [*é presso*] and punished [*castigado*] by his officer, and the Governor does justice to them all just like any other Christian – and with greater liberty.'[297] Detention camps and compounds are often understood to be a significant aspect of modern day domestic policy concerning immigration; it is surprising and unexpected to see this unfolding in a sixteenth-century religious context. Nevertheless, the *aldeia* system appeared to be a carefully orchestrated and

[295] Hemming, *Red Gold*, pp.104-105.
[296] Manuel da Nóbrega to Miguel de Torres, 5th July 1559', *MB,* vol.3, p.51. My emphasis.
[297] Ibid., p.52.

cognisant attempt by the Jesuits to control and manage the indigenous population in a highly political manner.

The issue of 'behavioural regulation' is critical for this discussion. Outside of the *aldeias*, the authorities aimed to help colonial society flourish. The ongoing conflicts with various indigenous peoples (and the French) were major impediments to the king's overseas ambitions and the wealth and wellbeing of the Portuguese settlers. The Aimorés, whom anthropologist John Hemming describes as 'the most deadly shots of all Indian tribes' and 'cannibals who ate human flesh for nourishment rather than ritual vengeance,'[298] were a particular thorn in the side of the colonists. They were fierce and effective warriors who refused to communicate with the Portuguese (and were therefore unable to be converted as nobody knew their language), and were responsible for the steady depopulation of Ilhéus and Porto Seguro.[299] Other peoples such as the Tupiniquins[300] were subdued by Mem de Sá, then 'reduced' into the *aldeias* for management and correction; the *aldeia* of Bom Jesus was in fact established in 1561 with the expressed purpose of rehoming the Aimorés and the Tupiniquins.

This act of resettlement was an explicit attempt to define and contain the alterity of the indigenous Brazilians at a time of colonial anxiety regarding the safety of the Portuguese settlers. Nikos Papastergiadis has investigated how the refugee has been defined through the fear of the other, and how the mechanisms of detention have transformed the conditions of belonging. He theorises that

> The fantasy of the anxious self relies on *strong boundaries* and *heightened vigilance* against any sign of violation. This boundary becomes invested with the *need for security against decline and contamination*. For if the nature of the Other is composed of *animalistic appetites and malicious calculations*, then "they" will be driven to violate the boundary […] The violence against the Other is, therefore, seen not only as a necessary form of self-defence, but as a justified response towards the

[298] Hemming, *Red Gold*, p.94.
[299] Ibid., p.95.
[300] The Tupinambá and the Tupiniquins occupied the land between Paraíba in the north and São Vicente in the south. They shared a language, customs, and a common ancestry yet were mortal enemies due to their continual fighting over the same territory. Capistrano de Abreu, *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History 1500-1800*, pp.30-31.

faceless and placeless state of the Other.[301]

This statement refers to refugees, but can just as easily be applied to the Tupi-Guarani peoples kept within the confines of the *aldeias*. To all intents and purposes, the colonial authorities made refugees out of the indigenous peoples they encountered. They were displaced from their territories, descended from the *sertão*, and made to live in the 'places without a place,'[302] in the words used by Papastergiadis to describe detention complexes. The purpose of this was to exclude the indigenous peoples from the 'normal' workings of a nascent colonial society. As we have seen, the Jesuits certainly perceived the Tupis' behaviour and cultural practices – particularly their appetite for human flesh but also their desire for multiple sexual partners – as malicious and animalistic, and this was partly the reason behind (and the excuse for) the effort to confine them within the disciplinary compounds of the *aldeias.* Claudio Minca has written that camps function as political technology, designed as a necessary method of controlling mobility and life 'through coercion and direct or indirect violent means' for the purpose of improving the security of the 'social and political body of the nation.'[303] They do this by creating a 'remnant' out of that section of the population deemed dangerous or surplus to requirement, so as to 'cleanse and protect' the body of citizenry.

Despite the Jesuits' insistence that they were attempting to transform the indigenous people into subjects of the King, it must have seemed unlikely that their indigenous catechumens would truly become acculturated and ingratiated into colonial society due to the settlers' intense distrust of the Tupi and the desire for indigenous slavery. The colonial government's foremost purpose behind the foundation of the *aldeia* system was to maintain a clear segregation between those included in the colonial enterprise, and those excluded. Bülent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen have attempted to define the concept of the camp, and argue that the camp's 'structuring principles' are founded on inclusion and exclusion. They claim that camp spatialities make distinctions between those inside and those outside, and invert this distinction so that 'the included are included as excluded (as bodies to be

[301] Nikos Papastergiadis, 'The Invasion Complex: The Abject Other and Spaces of Violence', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 88.4 (2006), p.433. My emphasis.
[302] Ibid., p.434.
[303] Claudio Minca, 'Geographies of the Camp', *Political Geography*, 49 (2015), p.76.

governed) and the excluded are excluded as included (within the realm of power).'[304] Simply put, those included within the camp-like places of the *aldeias*, the indigenous catechumens, were bodies governed by these new spatial tactics and thus excluded from the rest of colonial society; and those excluded from the *aldeias*, the Portuguese settlers, were included in the daily life and territories of the colony. Minca writes that camps determine 'the actual practices of citizenship today,' but it is clear from an examination of the *aldeia* system that almost five hundred years ago, these places also fostered a definition of belonging founded on an understanding of otherness.

The settlements were, therefore, repositories – indeed, detention centres – where those deemed useless for the life and growth of the developing colony, and perceived as behaviourally inappropriate or belligerent, could be handed over to the priests, often under the watchful eye of a military officer. One Jesuit writes in praise of Captain Melchior de Azeredo, promoted by Mem de Sá and described as 'a most noble person and sufficient for this office,' as he knew how to 'subject [*sujeitar*] these Indians and to resist assaults by the French. He is very devoted to us and helps and favours us in all things touching the conversion of the heathen and in all other things that fulfil the service of Our Lord.'[305] Colonial power was therefore vital in maintaining order within the boundaries of the settlements. In their discussions of subjection, the Jesuits always deferred such matters to secular military authorities, and were reliant on their presence for their agenda of correcting the misdemeanours and vices of their catechumens.

The inhabitants were aware of the limits placed on them within these boundaries, and records exhibit many instances of feasting and drinking just outside of the village limits. On one occasion when rebellious behaviour was discovered, Mem de Sá 'ordered the Indians to desist or he would burn down their homes.'[306] This threat of recrimination worked as an important element in the system of discipline installed by the governor and the Jesuits. The act of removing certain rights and privileges

[304] Bülent Diken and Carsten Bagge Laustsen, 'The Camp', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography,* 88.4 (2006), p.443.
[305] 'By commission of Brás Lourenço to Miguel de Torres, 10th June 1562', *MB,* vol.3, p.465.
[306] Hemming, *Red Gold*, p.107. An expedition of Mem de Sá against the rebel peoples of Paraguaçu, in Bahia, did in fact burn 160 indigenous settlements (*tabas*), demonstrating that violent action had moved away from the battlefield and into the realm of non-combatants. Saletto, *Donatarios, Colonos, Indios e Jesuítas,* p.118.

attempted to ensure behavioural stability of the populace, helping the system to function more effectively under the Jesuits' tutelage, the intention being to encourage individual reflection and the flourishing into an identity as not merely catechised and baptised Christians, but those pursuing intimate relationship with God.

Records of perceived disobedience and rebellion on the part of the indigenous people in the *aldeias* pepper the Jesuits' accounts, even in those designed to be more edifying. Rui Pereira recounted one alarming episode when, after Mem de Sá's departure from the *aldeia* of São João, a group of inhabitants motivated by two or three leaders decided to escape into the *sertão* 'so secretly that Father Leonardo do Vale did not notice until nearly all of them had gone.' A few surrounded the priest with bows and arrows and it appeared for a moment as if they were about to kill him, but after telling him that 'they would miss him greatly' they disappeared, apparently fleeing 'for fear of the whites,' by which Pereira presumably meant the settlers. They were left having to simply wait for the villagers to 'return voluntarily' or upon the occasion of the governor's arrival, 'because they fear him as the sheep does the lion.'[307]

The indigenous inhabitants did not just reserve their fear for the white colonists, however. The Jesuits consciously implemented a policy of divide and conquer in order to mitigate the disorder in the *aldeias.*[308] Some converts were granted certain rights and privileges based on their 'good behaviour,' demonstrations of faith, and cooperation with the Jesuits' rehabilitation programme. Leonardo do Vale recorded that the governor had chosen one indigenous inhabitant, 'dressed him very well, and made him an officer [*meirinho*], so that all those in his district [*comarca*] would obey him […] He was very content with so much pampering [*mimos*], not least with being able to drink so much Portuguese wine.'[309] In return, these individuals aided the missionaries in their agenda, policing the area and informing on crimes that their fellow villagers committed. One bailiff, named Urupemaíba, became

[307] 'Rui Pereira to the Fathers and Brothers of Portugal, 15th September 1560', ARSI, *Goa 10-2*, f. 96r.
[308] This, incidentally, later became a hallmark strategy of many modern concentration camps, particularly those created by the Nazis in Germany, in order to exploit differences between groups and employ informers.
[309] 'Leonardo do Vale by commission of Luis da Grã to the Fathers and Brothers of São Roque, 26th June 1562', *MB,* vol.3, p.480.

good friends with António Rodrigues and decided to show his zeal for the missionaries' cause by carrying out a midnight raid on the wine stores kept by the inhabitants.[310]

These acts were seen by some individuals as betrayal, however, and led to further disruption. Leonardo do Vale recounted that one night the church in Santa Cruz da Itaparica went up in flames. The fire 'was so wild and consumed the church and house so quickly that there was no human power that could resist it […] And the fire leapt from the church to one of the Indians' houses, which also burned.'[311] He wrote that the indigenous officers 'worked most diligently to find out who had done this, and they found one sorceress [*feiticeira*] to blame.' According to Vale, she accused the villagers of believing in God but not believing in her, "because I am not a man" [*mas não sou eu homem*]. 'Adding to this injury […] she was married to a young man […] who had gone to the Father because he had wanted to be a Christian, and get married to another Christian and leave her [the sorceress].' The priest had consented to this, and so 'in burning the church she had taken revenge on the Father and on the husband who had left her to marry another […] The Indians will be most outraged at her when they see these and other more certain signs [that she is a witch] […] She is now in prison [*cadea*] and is at risk of being given some new judgement for the punishment of all sorcerers.'[312] Conscious not only of the authority that men possessed in the new Catholic republics, but furious at the growing influence of the Jesuits' belief system over her people, who had previously placed their trust in *pagés* and *feiticeiros* such as herself, this woman saw fit to destroy the symbol of this new hegemony, the church, a violent outcome of her unwillingness – or inability – to adapt and acculturate. Yet although Leonardo do Vale seemed to lament her inevitable punishment, he attributes most of the outrage at the witch's act – and hands the authority to mete out a fitting penalty – to the indigenous people themselves.

The elders in particular were given authority to exact any punishment they saw fit, including the death

[310] 'António Rodrigues to Manuel da Nóbrega (*Aldeia* of Espírito Santo, Bahia). September 1559', ARSI, *Bras. 15,* f. 58r.
[311] 'Leonardo do Vale by commission of Luis da Grã to the Fathers and Brothers of São Roque, 26th June 1562', *MB,* vol.3, p.502.
[312] Ibid., p.502.

penalty (although on occasions of this, the priests would often step in and recommend a more lenient sentence[313]). One record tells of the establishment of a kind of court (perhaps the prototype of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *cabildos*), where those deemed to have committed an offence were brought before the indigenous bailiff. On one occasion, a married man was found guilty of adultery, 'condemned to lose all his clothing […] and was placed in the pillory.' After this episode, 'others were so frightened that there was no more adultery thereafter.'[314] Attributing positions of power to highly esteemed (and outwardly ardent) members of indigenous society aided the Jesuits in policing behaviour and encouraging individuals' development as Christians, as they were far more likely to follow the examples set by their elders. It also shifted any potential blame and recrimination for acts of punishment or discipline onto the shoulders of the inhabitants' fellows, as well as delegating time-consuming surveillance tasks, leaving the Jesuits free to perform their primary functions as preachers, educators, and pastoral care givers.

Understanding the *aldeias* as detention compounds lends a deeper understanding of the political manoeuvres at play during the Jesuits' efforts to convert the native populace. The Jesuits' disdain for ambiguous space – that is, the indigenous use of the *sertão* based on networks of itinerant movement, and the consequences of escape for indigenous behaviour and salvation – inspired the development of coercive spatial tactics which allowed priests to retain indigenous subjects for their discipline, while activities of catechisation and education aimed to transform their inner selves. Yet although the Jesuits were complicit, along with colonial authorities, in creating a spatial organisation with a distinctly modern flavour, they possessed neither the technology nor the manpower to ensure the complete control and retention of their catechists – demonstrating Lefebvre's point that although space can be used as a means of control and domination, 'it escapes in part from those who would make use of it.'[315] Such a point is the subject of the following discussion.

[313] 'On behalf of Father Brás Lourenco to Miguel da Torres, 10th June 1562. Espírito Santo', *MB,* vol.3, p.467.
[314] Ibid., p.467.
[315] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* p.26.

THE EXTENT OF THE JESUITS' CONTROL

This section will examine the extent of both the Jesuits' success in the *aldeias* and their jurisdiction over these settlements. First, although the villages began with such promise, they were struck by disease and famine within a few years, causing most of their inhabitants to flee for safety in the *sertão*. This was entirely outside of the Jesuits' control, and although they tried to rebuild the *aldeias* numbers of catechumens dwindled until the seventeenth century. By 1563, the plague had reached the three *aldeias* of Nossa Senhora de Asumpção, São Miguel, and Santa Cruz de Itaparica.[316] Leonardo do Vale wrote that

> [n]o picture can be sufficiently painted of the labour that the Fathers and Brothers undertook in those three villages which the plague had occupied […] because the mortality was such that there was one house with one hundred and twenty sick […] and what is worse, the mothers, sisters, and other women fell sick, and they are the ones who do everything – sow, weed, harvest, make the flour and cook, and lacking them there was no one to look after the sick […][317]

The outbreak of plague and other diseases was calamitous for the Jesuits and their indigenous communities. Some 30,000 people died in these epidemics.[318] The *aldeia* of Santo António lost almost its entire population 'because the famine and the mortality was so great.'[319] Father Pedro da Costa recorded that the villagers of São João fled from the plague and the smell of death which lingered over their houses.[320] Da Costa wrote in this public letter that he attempted to relocate the *aldeia* after this disaster, commenting that 'the Father and Brother worked hard applying themselves to building other houses and churches in their [the villagers'] chosen place, and to bringing them together and making them live according to the order they had before.'[321] His exhaustion is apparent, however, in his following qualification:

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316 'Leonardo do Vale to Gonçalo Vas de Melo. Bahia 12th May 1563', *MB,* vol.4, p.10.
317 Ibid., p.10.
318 Leite, *Historia da Companhia do Jesus no Brasil*, vol.2, p.575.
319 'António Blásques to Diego Miron. Bahia 31st May 1564', *MB,* vol.4, p.57.
320 'Pedro da Costa to the Fathers and Brothers of Portugal. Espírito Santo (*Aldeia* de São João) 27th July 1565', *MB,* vol.4, p.269.
321 Ibid., p.269.

> Believe me, most beloved in Christ, that this work of reforming and assembling a settlement for these people is so great […] because they are a people of many castes [*castas*] and many wills […] which is why it is necessary that we serve them [*hé necessário servíremos-lhes*] in all spiritual and temporal offices, so that they may conserve the law of God and good customs.[322]

As all order had broken down in the aftermath of the epidemics, concessions had to be made to the understandably fearful indigenous community of São João if da Costa hoped to retain them. The Jesuits did not have an unassailable authority over these places; there were only two or three priests to each village and without the power and presence of the colonial military it became almost impossible to maintain a cohesive society. Persuasion and acculturation could only go so far in a place saturated in fear and grief. Da Costa also raises another significant barrier to order and homogeneity in the *aldeias* – they consisted of various peoples, all with their own culture, which heavily impeded the Jesuits in their attempts to make them conform to their program of discipline and spiritual reform.

The *aldeia* system was not always seen by the Jesuits as the perfect or optimum method for organising, disciplining, and catechising the Tupi communities. In 1566 Inácio de Azevedo wrote to Francisco da Borja, the Superior General of the Society, to describe some of the administrative problems of the *aldeias*:

> There are five *aldeias* around this city – 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9 leagues' distance – where those of Ours reside (at least two in each *aldeia* but three in some), with Indians who have been brought together from diverse parts in order to be indoctrinated and made Christians. There are some disadvantages to this method, because the Indians are agitated [*violentados*] and they do not want to be together, and […] they are not capable of being policed, nor of much improvement [*aprovechamiento*] […] And since there are few ministers of justice and they are far from the city, there is no one to defend the Indians but those of the Society who teach them. And we have tried to place some old Christians [Portuguese

[322] 'Pedro da Costa to the Fathers and Brothers of Portugal. Espírito Santo (*Aldeia* de São João) 27th July 1565', *MB*, vol.4, p.269.

> Christians] among them as captains, yet we have found the same problem in doing this as we have in other things.[323]

He lamented also that there were few Jesuits in the province who knew the language adequately enough and in whom they had confidence to remove from the professed house and place among the indigenous peoples. Many remedies appeared to have been implemented, according to Azevedo, but even the presence of Portuguese Christian captains was not enough to inspire or instruct the catechumens' transformation. However, Azevedo remarked that after consulting Luís de Grã and others in the college, they decided to continue with the *aldeias*, 'because there is no other way of improving [*aprovechar*] these Indians.'[324]

This failure to render the indigenous peoples' behaviours and beliefs into more pleasing, European renditions of law and order was partly due to the nature of the *aldeias* as compounds or camps. Hannah theorises that as compounds encompass a larger amount of territory and therefore offer inhabitants greater anonymity, the opportunity for effective surveillance lessens as authorities must spend greater time and effort identifying and monitoring individuals.[325] This in turn requires the use of patrols and informants, and the 'symbolic deterrence of abnormal behaviour.'[326] The Jesuits, lacking manpower as well as modern and more remote forms of technological surveillance, could not be certain that village inhabitants would not defy their colonial overlords, which they did regularly. Despite demonstrations of genuine faith and submission, old habits died hard. The priests and the governor therefore found it expedient to employ and promote villagers deemed trustworthy and obedient to positions of authority in the *aldeias*. This was an effective decision for the missionaries in the short term, for individual *meirinhos* or *alcaides* (mayors) passed judgement on their fellows in the Jesuits' and colonial authorities' stead, giving the impression of a self-regulatory system and allowing the Jesuits to maintain the impression of working solely in the spiritual realm. However, in the long term this served merely to rend further division among a populace who were already divided along

[323] 'Inácio de Azevedo to Francisco de Borja, 19th November 1566', ARSI, *Epp. NN. 103,* f. 74v.
[324] Ibid., f. 74v.
[325] Hannah, 'Space and the Structuring of Disciplinary Power', p.174.
[326] Ibid., p.174.

ethnic lines; and although many *meirinhos* appeared compliant, it was likely that some policed the laws purely to serve their own interests.

Overall, despite the highly organised and disciplined nature of the *aldeia* system, a form of strongly classified spatial tactics which exercised both hard and soft power over the Tupi inhabitants, the Jesuits' enterprise lacked sufficient personnel to ensure these compounds were rigidly policed. Owing to the presence of a mere two or three priests, and the infrequent visitations of captains and colonial militias, the inhabitants could disobey colonial law. The use of Tupi *meirinhos* to police their fellows, to judge cases, and to exact punishment, was an effective use of divide and conquer in the short term, yet appeared to have no apparent permanent effect over the spiritual or behavioural transformation of catechumens. Many indigenous people, according to the Jesuits' accounts, did become complicit with the demands made upon them; yet many others appear to have rejected this paternalistic imposition, continuing their practices of eating human flesh and dancing and drinking outside the boundaries of the villages, not to mention fleeing from the *aldeias* to regain their lives and territories in the *sertão.* The major catalyst for the deterioration of the villages was the arrival of the epidemics, for which the Jesuits had no remedy, nor effective enough authority to ensure successful rebuilding or the recovery of their inhabitants' trust.

CONCLUSION

Both logistically unable, and ideologically unwilling, to engage with the liminality of the *sertão*, a place replete with indigenous agency and modalities inimical to the institutional Society's 'way of proceeding,' the Jesuits aimed to create their own spatial organisations just a few years after the mission's initiation. The Jesuits and the colonial authorities exercised jurisdiction over strongly-framed and bounded areas which were purpose-built not just for the conversion and catechisation of the Tupi-Guarani and Gê inhabitants, but also for the detention and punishment of peoples who had been forcibly removed or 'compelled' from their own territories. A spatial analysis allows us to see just how ingrained spatial tactics were to the Society's 'way of proceeding' in Brazil, and has revealed nuances inherent in the power relations at work in early colonial Brazil. Whilst Guillermo Wilde has

argued for the participation of indigenous inhabitants in shaping the environment of the South American mission villages,[327] and Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida has downplayed the role of violence and oppression within these places,[328] it is clear that – in the case of the mid sixteenth-century Brazilian *aldeia* – indigenous agency was strictly controlled and policed by both Church and State.

The *aldeia* system enabled the Jesuits to fully realise their roles as not just spiritual mediators or 'caretakers,' as Chakravarti terms them, but as agents of the Portuguese Crown. While the *aldeias* comprised a unique system developed 'on the ground' as a reaction to specific environments, it is also clear that the Jesuits' attempts at spatial organisation also developed out of an institutional consideration for the rights and responsibilities awarded by the Portuguese Crown, and out of a reaction to the logistical implications of international early-modern mission and principles of Ignatian spirituality – those of discipline and obedience to those in secular and religious authority. The close partnership and mutual reliance of the Jesuits and the colonial authorities led to the production of a new spatial reality with the intention of maintaining a delicate power balance between various agencies. The preventative removal from white settler society of indigenous peoples deemed problematic aided the growth of the colony by halting warfare, and the imposition of a methodical space-time regime over those accustomed to freedom and their own labour routines aided the manifestation of western European civilisation.

An examination of Brazil's *aldeia* system through the lens of theoretical principles – both sociological and geographical – concerning the detention compound has revealed that the system represented a crossover between sovereign justice and a growing emphasis upon disciplinary correction within places of confinement, thought to be a far later feature of European society by Michel Foucault but apparent in Brazil's early colonial history. While the Jesuits were the wardens responsible for education and evangelisation, they were able to side-step their own complicity in the visceral act of corporal punishment of their catechumens by recourse to the secular colonial authorities and the

[327] Wilde, 'The Political Dimension of Space-Time Categories', p.196.
[328] Almeida, *Metamorfoses indígenas*, p.24.

policing and judgement of the inhabitants themselves. Although they were tasked by the Crown to play a role in temporal matters, there was perhaps some unease among priests as to their part in the more punitive measures that were believed necessary. Yet they found no contradiction in verbally supporting Mem de Sá's subjection of the indigenous peoples, and recommending it in writing to their superiors. Subjection was thought to be the only remedy to the 'inconstancy' and 'bad habits' of the Tupi, and the pursuance of this policy led to the creation of a strongly classified spatial organisation, the mission village, which cannot be seen as an innocent place of protection but must be couched rather in the binary discourse of inclusive and exclusive spaces.

Chapter IV

Contesting Ethiopia's 'Empire' in the Seventeenth Century

The case of mid-sixteenth century Brazil is not unique in demonstrating the Jesuits' preoccupation with the types of territorial and spatial organisations they encountered abroad. The mission field of seventeenth-century Ethiopia varied in almost every way to Brazil, and yet sources still indicate that engaging with native territory – both figuratively and practically – was a priority and a fascination for Jesuits. This chapter asks similar questions to that of Chapter II: it defines exactly how the Jesuits related to the native territorial organisation of Ethiopia, and discusses the implications of this relationship and perception for the Jesuits' institutional identity and their processes of othering. The Jesuits' institutional disdain for ambiguous space, apparent in documents from their Brazil mission, also exhibits itself during a spatial analysis of their encounter with Ethiopian territory.

The year 1603 saw the arrival of Father Pedro Páez at the Jesuit basecamp of Fremona in Tigrê, and the beginning of the second missionary phase of the Society of Jesus in Ethiopia. Whereas the first mission had collapsed in failure in the 1560s due to, in part, a lack of acceptance on behalf of the Ethiopian population and a dearth of available Jesuit personnel,[329] the Society strove tirelessly in the first third of the seventeenth century to bring about palpable and lasting success. They found themselves in a more sympathetic environment, too, as the young and pragmatic Emperor Susenyos (r.1606-1632) was eager to welcome the Jesuits to his court, excited by the possibilities that the implementation of a Roman Catholic institution could contribute to his efforts to bring the country under a more centralised authority in the midst of a febrile political situation. The Jesuits, for their part, had found their footing as a confident global order by the 1590s and were aided in their missionary programme by both the royal kinsmen of the emperor and by wealthy Portuguese patrons, not least King Philip IV, who expressed a deep and protracted interest in their objectives and whose

[329] For a good analysis of the first phase of the Society's Ethiopia mission, see Matteo Salvadore, 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555-1634) and the Death of Prester John', in *World-Building and the Early Modern Imagination*, ed. by Allison B. Kavey (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.141-171.

frequent correspondence with those intimately involved with the Ethiopia mission can be found in Camillo Beccari's *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inedita a saeculo XVI e XVII* (*RASO*), (1903-1917). The development of Portuguese commercial and political interests in the Red Sea was also given impetus by the ascension of the Spanish Habsburgs to the throne in 1581, and the newly established Jesuit residence (in Diu, Gujurat) occupied a vital strategic communication hub, allowing missionaries better ease of access to the Horn of Africa.[330]

The biographic and autobiographic records of Jesuits sent to Ethiopia express a sense of urgency – many were dispatched to Goa from Portugal before they had finished their training, with some individuals even being ordained before embarking on the perilous and often year-long journey. Ethiopia was, and had been for centuries, a deeply coveted and even fetishized land, made myth by the prophetic and glorious Christian figure of Prester John who was said to command powerful armies and reside among great wealth, treasures, and fertile lands. Although contact between Ethiopia and Portugal from the early sixteenth century had seen belief in the myth recede,[331] the memory of its might never truly faded. The papacy had desired reunification with the Coptic and Eastern Churches for over a millennium, and this desire translated into concrete attempts and diplomacy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While many of these efforts failed to result in any lasting achievements on this front, the Tridentine church had other methods to promote its authority to its so-called schismatic relatives. The newly established Society of Jesus offered the Roman Catholic Church a tireless resource of evangelising personnel abroad, and Ignatius of Loyola was particularly zealous in his desire to establish a mission in Ethiopia.

Jesuit missionaries to Ethiopia in the first third of the seventeenth century accumulated intimate knowledge of Ethiopia's political territorialisation through their travels and ministry in the region. Histories and accounts by fathers like Pedro Páez, Manuel da Almeida, and Jerónimo Lobo describe frequent incursions and devastating raids into Ethiopian kingdoms by the pagan people of the

[330] Victor M. Fernández and others, *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia (1557-1632)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p.18.
[331] Matteo Salvadore, 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555-1634)', p.143.

Oromo,[332] as well as the conquest and capture of several important harbours and notable kingdoms by the Moors and the Turks, some having been lost decades previously during the infamous invasions of the warlord and imam Ahmad Grañ in the 1540s. Contrary to the grand majesty and marvellous wonder of the medieval Prester John, these accounts illustrate a land pressed on all sides by aggressive enemies and an Emperor without wealth or the ability to muster an effective and loyal army – yet every Jesuit eyewitness persisted in maintaining the rhetorical construction of Ethiopia as an empire (*imperio*), comprising kingdoms (*reynos*) and provinces (*provincias*). Despite this common theme in the accounts of the Jesuits mentioned, confusion around exactly how to classify the lands beholden to the Emperor is evident, yet all agree that the figure of the Emperor constituted the central defining factor of Ethiopia's political territorialisation. This chapter explores the possible motivations and agenda of these Jesuit missionaries in promoting an imperial structure for Ethiopia's political organisation, and how this developed over time within Jesuit accounts, roughly between the years 1603-1640. In asking these questions, this chapter determines what an understanding of Jesuit conceptions of Ethiopian spatial organisation can tell historians about the process of 'othering' undertaken by the missionaries as they lived and worked in that realm.

There has been no major study charting the developments of Jesuit conceptions of Ethiopian political territoriality, yet this subject must be investigated in order to open a window into a little-studied aspect of early-modern European attitudes towards Ethiopian alterity. A great deal of the focus of this alterity was placed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy upon perceived confessional differences – the Ethiopian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church was viewed by the Roman curia as schismatic and heretical in their Christological doctrine, as the following chapter will explore in greater detail. In their letters and lengthier treatises, the Jesuits also introduced an attitude of 'otherness' predicated upon an understanding of the native territorialisation of Ethiopia, which has been largely neglected in historiography. The functions of Ethiopian royal power and the concept of 'empire' has been examined by Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis;[333] however, whilst employing Jesuit missionary

[332] As the early-modern term 'Galla' has deeply offensive connotations, this chapter will refer to these people as Oromo, their own name for themselves, unless quoting directly from a primary source.
[333] Pennec and Toubkis, 'Reflecting on the Notions of Empire', pp.229-258.

sources alongside the *Chronicle of Susenyos* to argue for a political organisation based upon an itinerant form of power and, importantly, to propose a move away from a classification of seventeenth-century Ethiopia as 'empire,' the article does not address how the Jesuits shaped this territorial concept within their major works. The authors do however make claims that the Jesuits sought to present Ethiopia as an 'ideal empire,' a claim with significant implications for my research, which shall be critically examined.

A Note on the Authors and their Texts

This chapter employs the major works of Pedro Páez (1564-1622), Manuel da Almeida (1580-1646), and Jerónimo Lobo (1595-1678), alongside an edited collection of *cartas annuas* and other correspondence pertaining to the second missionary phase, translated from the Latin.[334] Most of the major works written by Jesuits in the seventeenth century concerning Ethiopia, apart from Balthazar Tellez' publication in Coimbra, 1660, remained in unpublished manuscript form until the appearance of Camillo Beccari S.J's *Rerum aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inedita a saeculo XVI e XVII* (1903-1917). This chapter employs modern translated editions of the authors' main texts for ease and clarity. Where issues of terminology arise, the original Spanish and Portuguese documents of Páez and Almeida will be referred to in order to verify modern translators' choices of words and phrases, particularly those referring to descriptions of Ethiopia's spatial organisation and political territorialisation, in order to ensure the efficacy and legitimacy of any analysis undertaken.

Of the three Jesuit authors, Pedro Páez's account is the earliest, being completed shortly before his death in 1622. During his time training at Belmonte, Páez sent a request (*indipeta*) to the Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva, asking that he might go to the East Indies, and he was sent to Goa in 1588 before he had even finished his studies.[335] In 1589 he was chosen to form part of the vanguard for the renewed attempt to evangelise the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Páez's journey to the Horn of Africa with Father Antonio de Montserrat, however, was calamitous. Their boat sank off the coast

[334] Wendy Belcher, ed., and Jessica Wright and Leon Grek, trans., *The Jesuits in Ethiopia (1609-1641): Latin Letters in Translation (Aethiopistische Forschungen)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017).
[335] ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, 758, f. 84—84v.

of the Arabian Peninsula, and for seven years they were held by Turks, forced to be oarsmen in a galley on the Red Sea. Eventually they were ransomed by Portuguese authorities. After a further stay in Goa, a serious illness, and a journey to Massawa on Turkish ships disguised as an Armenian merchant, the tenacious Páez finally arrived at his original destination of Ethiopia in 1603.[336] His success in the field saw his promotion to superior, a post he occupied until his death in 1622. His *History of Ethiopia* was primarily written for the purpose of refuting the works of Dominican friar Luís de Urreta, the *História de la Sagrada Orden de predicadores, en los remotos reynos de Etiopia* (Valencia, 1610 and 1611). These volumes claimed a historic presence of Dominican friars in Ethiopia, and presented an almost entirely fictitious relation of that land. Initial refutations came from the pens of Fernão Guerreiro (*Additions to the Relations of Ethiopia*, 1611), and Nicolau Godinho (*Of Abyssinian Matters*, 1615), but neither had first-hand experience of Ethiopia, so the provincial of Goa commissioned Páez to write his book. Through his work, Páez displayed the extent of his friendship with Emperor Susenyos, and the reports received from various reputable quarters on all aspects conveyed by Urreta on Ethiopian culture, territory, religious practice and belief, and people.

According to Manuel Ramos, the *History* 'marked a decisive step in the development of sound empirical knowledge about Ethiopia,'[337] and Páez's modern editors describe its purpose 'both as historiographic material and as an ethnographic document.' It is a 'multifarious literary monument, a repository of empirical knowledge on the political geography, religion, customs, flora and fauna of Ethiopia [...] it blends features of a travel narrative and a historical-ethnographic monograph with those of a chronicle' concerning Jesuit activities.[338] Páez's favoured position at court gave his *History* an empirical edge of that of Urreta, as he was able to demonstrate the extent of his friendship with Emperor Susenyos, and include contradictory reports received from various reputable quarters on all aspects conveyed by Urreta on Ethiopian culture, territory, and religious practice and belief. Páez also

[336] For detailed bibliographic information on Páez, see *Pedro Páez's History of Ethiopia, 1622,* vol.1, ed. by Isabel Boavida and others, and trans. by Christopher J. Tribe (London: Hakluyt Society, 2011), pp.4-11.
[337] Manuel Ramos, 'The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2011: *Pedro Páez's* History of Ethiopia: *On Exploration, Refutation and Censorship*.' Delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the Hakluyt Society, 29 June 2011, p.3.
[338] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.1.

evinced his own acculturation by inserting his translations of Ethiopian literary texts.[339] However, his geographical knowledge of the region and his 'ethnographical findings' were not destined to inform wider European understandings of Ethiopia, nor were they put to use in a propaganda war by the Jesuits, as his manuscript, after initially being used by Patriarch Afonso Mendes to instruct new personnel to Ethiopia, was censored and repressed by the Society in Goa. The question as to why has been hotly contested by Ethiopianist scholars since at least Charles Beckingham. Ramos believes the most likely answer to be the attitude of the Goa province towards Páez's argumentative 'inquiring and writing method' and a fear that his work could ignite a serious conflict with the Dominican Order.[340]

Páez's book shared the fate of a similar work by Manuel da Almeida. Almeida was born around 1580 in Visceu, central Portugal, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1594, undertaking his studies in Coimbra like so many of the individuals whose works and correspondence this thesis examines. In 1602 he was sent to continue his studies at the Colégio do São Paulo and took his final vows in 1612. After an unsuccessful mission in Ceylon and assuming tenure of certain positions back in Goa, he was selected as the Visitor to the Ethiopian mission, and reached Fremona, the site of the Jesuit headquarters, in early 1624.[341] Alongside preaching and the baptism of infants, Almeida was employed to assist the superior of the mission, António Fernandes (1622-c.1640), accompany Afonso Mendes around certain regions, and serve the viceroy, who had requested the company of a Jesuit priest.[342]

Almeida's *History* was, according to the author's own preface to the SOAS MS 11966, commissioned in 1626 by Antonio Fernandes. Almeida claimed that although Páez had sought to refute the misleading information of Luis de Urreta, the latter 'did not make his history as coherent and orderly as was desirable,' nor did Páez have a skilled grasp on his native Spanish, being accustomed to working so often in other languages.[343] As explored above, this is likely to be a fallacious reasoning,

[339] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.1.
[340] Ramos, 'The Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture 2011', p.11.
[341] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, pp.xxvi-xxix.
[342] Ibid., pp.xxviii-xxix.
[343] Ibid., p.xxxiii.

as it appears that Páez's militant tone may have been behind the decision of the Goan authorities to not release the work. Almeida composed his *History*, in part a revision of Páez's earlier text, across at least fifteen years between 1628 and 1643. In his preface, Almeida stated that he 'profited greatly' from Páez's text and has contributed further historical details on Ethiopia which 'time has brought to light,' and events that unfolded from Almeida's arrival in East Africa. However, despite Almeida's best efforts, and an injunction to finish the work from Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi, it was never published by the Society of Jesus. With the secession of the Portuguese Crown from Spain in 1640, the Jesuits of the Portuguese province had no wish to provoke an argument with the Dominicans based on what might look to outsiders as an international dispute (Luís de Urreta being a Spaniard). The Jesuits were also expelled by Emperor Fasilädäs in the 1640s, and it is probable that the Society desired news of this failure to be kept to a minimum. However, scholarship remains ultimately undecided about the reasoning behind the conscious suppression of Páez and Almeida's works, and these can only be suppositions.

Jerónimo Lobo's *Itinerário* presents a rather radical departure from the histories of Ethiopia. Its style is closer to that of a travelogue, and it conveys his own experiences and perspectives more explicitly than the writings of Páez and Almeida. Lobo was still a young man when he wrote his adventures, having entered the Society in 1609 at the age of fourteen. He tells us that after Susenyos' conversion, letters arrived at Goa (where he was finishing his theological studies) requesting more Jesuit personnel. No more than eight men could be sent, however, due to the perpetual difficulties of navigating the pirates of the Red Sea and crossing the northern territories of the country under the control of the Ottoman Empire.[344] Lobo arrived at Jesuit headquarters in Fremona after Páez's death in 1622 and spent nine years in Ethiopia, during which time internal opposition to the teachings, practices, and influence of the Catholic Church grew,[345] until the exile placed upon the fathers by Emperor Fasilädäs decisively put paid to their involvement in the country's affairs. It is difficult to trace the textual history of the *Itinerário*, but its modern editor, Beckingham, places the date of its

[344] Lobo, *Itinerário*, p.48.
[345] Ibid., p.xxii.

composition between 1635 and 1640.[346] A version of his work was included and published in French by Abbé Joachim Le Grand in his *Relation historique d'Abissinie* (1728), subsequently published in English by Samuel Johnson.[347] The Portuguese original of Lobo's work, however, was long thought to be lost and as such could not be included by Camillo Beccari in his fifteen-volume collection. It was finally uncovered by a Portuguese scholar, Father Manuel Gonçalves da Costa, in the Biblioteca Pública of Braga in 1947.[348] Lobo does not appear to have been a close confidant of the Emperor and as such his work lacks the more informed observation of political matters detailed by Páez and Almeida. There is also less emphasis upon empiricism and critical analysis of his recorded information, yet Lobo's travelogue offers an individual and experiential perspective of the state of the mission, and the land and people he encountered. The audience gets an impression of moving through the land, which the *Histories* do not offer. There is far more information on the land route taken to reach Ethiopia, for example, and encounters with various petty kings and merchants, and their culture, religion, and territories, than appear in Páez and Almeida's more academic volumes.

THE JESUIT CONCEPT OF ETHIOPIAN POLITICAL TERRITORIALISATION AS 'EMPIRE'

The Jesuits were not, of course, the only commentators to be invested in producing the kind of 'textual cartography' that we encounter in their longer works (although geography and mathematics were certainly the characteristic preserves of Jesuit education). As Biedermann has put it, this was the time of 'classificatory pioneering *and* cartographic revolution after all.'[349] Franciscans and Dominicans also attempted to map out – in text form – kingdoms, provinces, and empires across lands newly explored by the Portuguese. Each author had his own agenda behind categorising and calculating native territorialisation. Sometimes there were twists to this kind of discursive strategy. Biedermann argues that in the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente,* for example, Paulo da Trindade neglected the systematisation of space in favour of intertwining history and geography – space *and*

[346] Lobo, *Itinerário,* p.xxvii.
[347] *A Voyage to Abyssinia, by Father Jerome Lobo a Portuguese Jesuit* (London, 1735).
[348] The manuscript is catalogued as Braga Bib. Pub. no. 813.
[349] Zoltán Biedermann, 'The Temporal Politics of Spiritual Conquest: History, Geography and Franciscan Orientalism in the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* of Friar Paulo da Trindade', *Culture & History Digital Journal,* 5.2 (2016), p.4. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2016.014> [Accessed 4th February 2020.]

time – in order to remind readers of the long-established presence of the Franciscans in the East; and thus this presence was rendered as an 'inalienable,' God-given right in the face of Jesuit encroachments on the spiritual territory of this area.[350] João dos Santos, a Portuguese Dominican who evangelised in Mozambique between 1586 and 1597, carried out attempts at geographic categorisation in his book *Ethiopia Oriental* (Evora, 1609). In his prologue, Dos Santos wrote that he determined 'to relate certain notable things which happened to me [in south-east Africa], and also to describe the location of these lands, their provinces, and kingdoms,' as well as the 'customs, abuses, and rites of their inhabitants.'[351] A perfect example of competition between Catholic religious orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Dos Santos' work claims the monopoly for the Dominicans over missionary activities in south-east Africa – thus his efforts to relate the provinces and kingdoms of this region are further examples of how works like this could rhetorically colonise areas not yet fully known to the Portuguese.

This section will discuss some of the discrepancies and confusions latent in the major works of Pedro Páez, Manuel da Almeida, and Jerónimo Lobo concerning understandings of spatial organisation in Ethiopia, and will highlight the common description of Ethiopia as 'empire,' despite these apparent contradictions. It is vital that historians understand these spatial concepts and acknowledge the importance of Jesuit observations of native territorialisation, as the sources make clear their fixation on the length, breadth, and categorical makeup of the Emperor's realm. Ethiopia was a 'foreign' space to the Jesuits, and as such must be understood alongside other research efforts to comprehend processes of Jesuit othering of Ethiopians.

In his *History of Ethiopia* (1622), Pedro Páez acknowledges the confusion and debate among authors regarding the names and number of the provinces and kingdoms ruled by the Emperor. By his reckoning 'there are thirty-five kingdoms and eighteen provinces,' though 'it may be that some do not deserve the name.'[352] Páez does not develop his statement here, leaving readers to wonder at the

[350] Biedermann, 'The Temporal Politics of Spiritual Conquest', p.10.
[351] João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental e Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente* (Évora, 1609). Translation mine.
[352] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.70.

characteristics a potential kingdom or province would have to exhibit in order to deserve classification as such by the missionary. Manuel da Almeida states at the beginning of his *History of High Ethiopia or Abassia* (1646) that 'provinces or states' are 'less than kingdoms,'[353] suggesting that size was the major defining feature for the Jesuit missionaries, but neither author explains how these provinces, states, and kingdoms functioned within a proper hierarchy.

Countermanding Luís de Urreta's claim that there are forty-two kingdoms, with the land of Tigrê being divided into separate kingdoms, and that the empire is '680 leagues in length and 470 in breadth,' Páez promotes his authority to speak on this topic by recounting that the 'emperor's principal secretary listed all this for me', and relates an interview with men at court who say of the empire 'that it must be thirty days' travel from one side to the other, which at eight leagues a day makes 240.'[354] Yet there were even disagreements in the Ethiopian court as to exactly how many kingdoms were subject to the Emperor. Susenyos himself 'added that even though his predecessors possessed all these kingdoms and provinces, he now had little control over some of them, since the greater part had been taken by some heathens that they call Gâla.'[355] Although Páez's list is a classificatory act, rather than an attempt to explore the spatiality of these lands, he offers the reader an insight into their official administration from his medial position at court. Susenyos' own admission of his diminished kingdom indicates a monarch aware of the limitations of his power.

[353] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.10.
[354] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.70. That the Ethiopians chose to describe the extent of their empire to Páez in terms of days spent travelling is an important indication of how they believed power ought to be exercised, namely, through the itinerancy of their Emperor and his court. For a discussion on this, see Pennec and Toubkis, 'Reflecting on Notions of Empire', pp.239-240.
[355] Ibid., p.71.

Fig. 7. Manuel da Almeida's own map of the 'Lands and Kingdoms of the Abyssinian Empire,' found in SOAS MS 11966 and reproduced in Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, opposite p.xcvii.

The above map shows the author's estimations of the positions of the kingdoms and provinces of the empire. The territories of some of the region's animist peoples are also labelled – the word 'Gafetes' can be made out near the bottom left hand corner of the map. Almeida claims that there are only seven kingdoms remaining 'subject to the Emperor today,' along with ten subject provinces, far fewer than Páez's reckoning. He lists these as: 'Tigré, Dambeâ, Begameder, Gojam, Amharâ and part of Xaoâ, Nareâ. The subject provinces are these: Mazagâ, Salemt, Ogarâ, Abargalê, Holcait, Sagadê, Cemen, Calaoâ, Olecâ, Dobâ.'[356] It would, then, appear that either Páez and Almeida defined kingdoms and provinces on different terms, or that in the six years between the completion of Páez's *History* and the beginning of Almeida's work, the Emperor had lost even more land to the Oromo. The below map shows the extents of the Christian kingdom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, displaying a huge reduction in territory due to the Oromo migrations across that period.

[356] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.13.

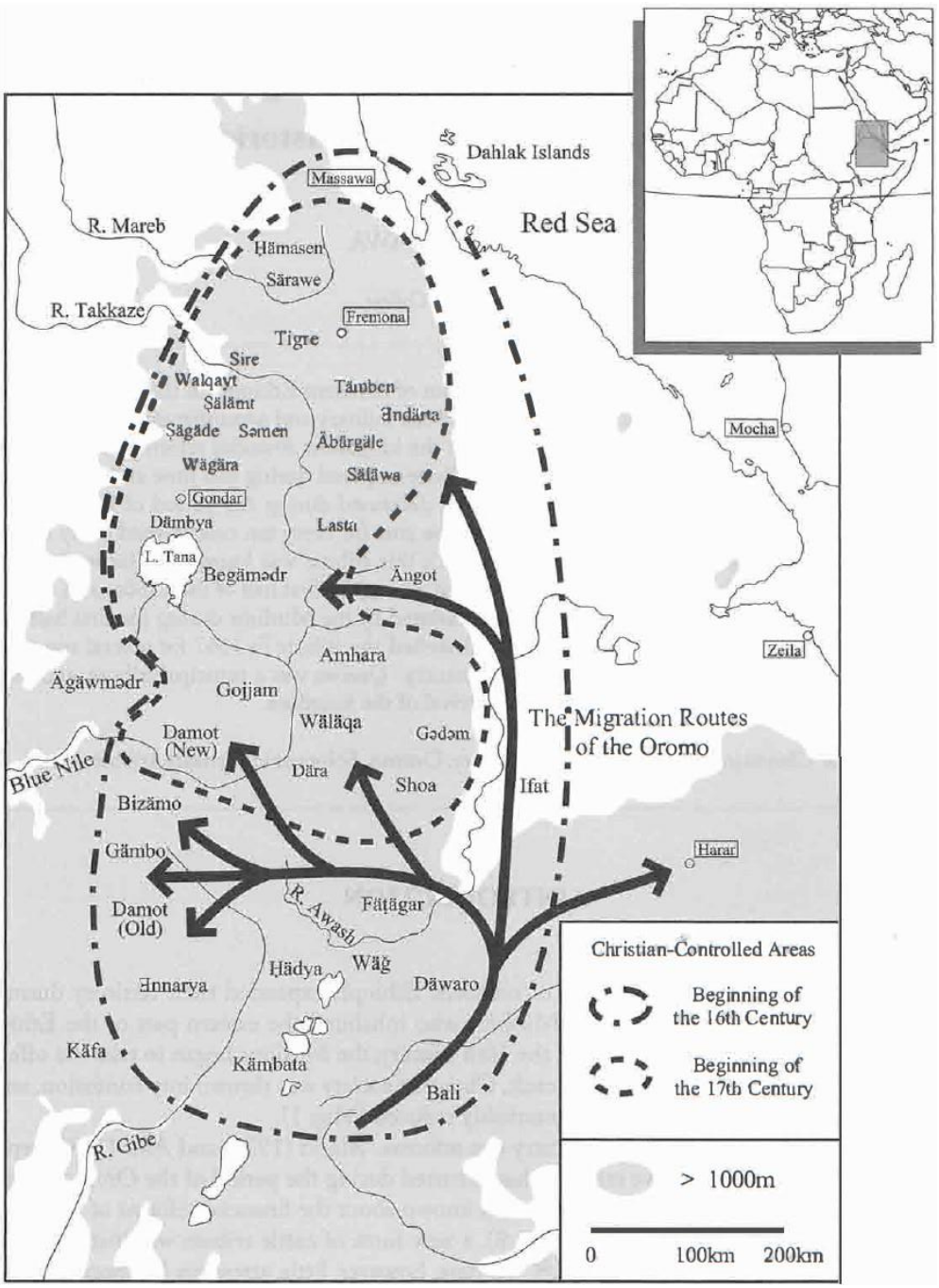

Fig. 8. Northern Ethiopia during the Oromo Migration Period. Hiroki Ishikawa, '*Quiema* Cattle Tribute in the Christian Kingdom of Northern Ethiopia, with Special Reference to Its Historical Significance', *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies,* 12 (2008), p.2.

Jerónimo Lobo's *Itinerário,* written between 1632-1640, has a completely different idea on the territories comprising the empire, which is worth quoting in full as it comprises the simplest and yet in some ways most revealing description of Ethiopia's political organisation:

The land within these borders in ancient times numbered thirty-four kingdoms and eighteen provinces[357] [...] Now, however, the number is smaller and, of what it possesses, the part remaining peacefully in its power covers an area somewhat larger than the whole of Spain and consists of five kingdoms and six provinces. From another part of its possessions, it receives tribute or some other acknowledgement of submission, not very willingly and under considerable constraint. Of the provinces and kingdoms obedient to the Empire, I know that Tigré is as long and wide as Portugal; Begamedir, if not larger, certainly is no smaller; Goiama [Gojjam] almost as large; Amara and Damote a little smaller. I mention this so that it will not appear that these are kingdoms only in name.[358]

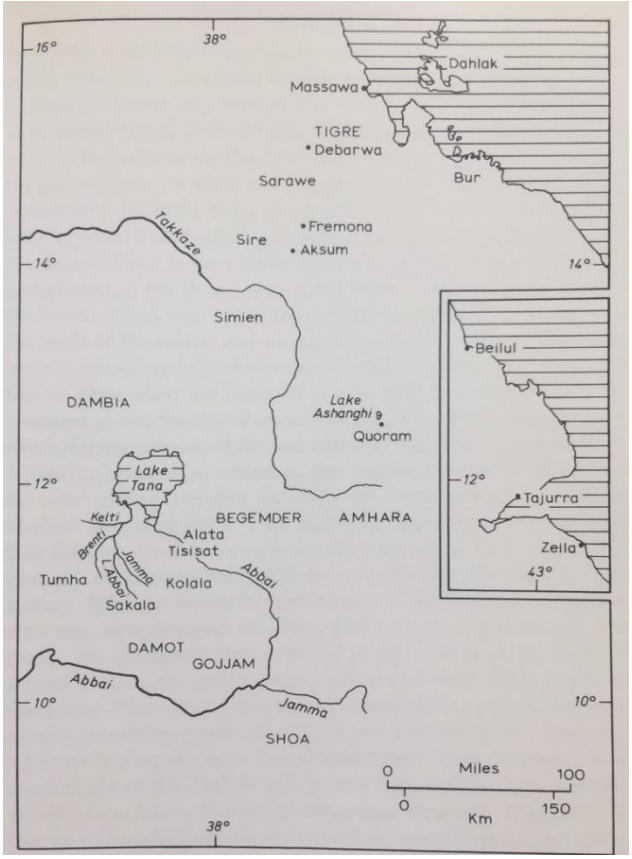

Fig. 9. A map of Ethiopia showing the position of the kingdoms listed by Jerónimo Lobo. Found in Lobo, *Itinerário,* p.110.

Size was important for Lobo – more explicitly than Almeida – when classifying the area in question

[357] Lobo has almost certainly referred to the list of kingdoms and provinces cited by Patriarch Afonso Mendes in his *Expeditionis Aethiopica,* book I, chapter I, which duplicates those listed by Pedro Páez bar one, which Mendes accidentally omits. See Footnote 1, Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, p.11.
[358] Lobo, *Itinerário,* pp.158-159.

either as a kingdom or a province (although Lobo still makes no reference to the ways in which the governance of these territories contributes to this classification). The benchmarks of Portugal and Spain, now unified, have been used, presumably to offer potential European readers of the *Itinerário* a relatable scale by which to build an image of the extent of the lands comprising Ethiopia. However, if this appeared to contemporary readers to be a worthy comparison in terms of landmass, it pales when read in the light of Lobo's opening statement on the greatness of Ethiopia's past, which declares that 'there is no doubt that it was one of the great empires of the world because of the kingdoms and provinces that it occupied; for its length and breadth covered a large part of Africa, including vast regions within its borders.' Lobo's proclivity to wax lyrical continues with his statement that Ethiopia's ancient boundaries were 'the Red Sea, which bathed the beaches of its eastern coast, and the Indian Ocean, which bathed those of its southern coast.'[359] Around ten years previously, Páez refuted any scholarly claim that the 'Prester John ever held a hand's breadth of the ocean coast from Mozambique to Cape Guardafui [a headland in modern-day Somalia] [...] nor even on the Red Sea coast does he have any port today.'[360] Lobo's temporal comparison implies a disappointment in the greatly diminished scope of Ethiopia's present territories, yet still he does not hesitate to attach the name of *imperio* to them.

Unlike Almeida, Lobo omits Xaoâ and Nareâ from his list of kingdoms and provinces subject to the Emperor. This is a curious decision, as Almeida's narrative on Nareâ would certainly seem to identify it as worthy of inclusion in Lobo's list, as it was an obedient Catholic polity. At first, Almeida has some difficulty in deciding whether to classify Nareâ as a kingdom, writing that '[s]ince he succeeds by inheritance from father to sons the ruler of Nareâ is strictly speaking a king, as indeed his predecessors were. Nevertheless, since he has been subject to the Emperor he has no longer been called king but Xumo, which means the same as governor.'[361] Thus, in Almeida's eyes, the authority of Nareâ falls to the emperor of Ethiopia, despite some confusion. He accords great respect for the 'King or Xumo,' Emana Christos, 'a young man whom I know, a very good Catholic', whose lands

[359] Lobo, *Itinerário,* p.158.
[360] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.70.
[361] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.150.

assume a heroic identity in Almeida's narrative. He relates that although the Oromo 'have conquered the country lying between Gojjam and Nareâ and placed themselves in between, they have never been able to prevail against the Nareâs,' who 'have defended themselves without help from the Emperor.'[362] Nareâ also appears to be one of the empire's most loyal territories: it pays tribute voluntarily, yet the obligation disappeared when it was cut off from the rest of the Emperor's realm.

Lobo's omission suggests that he did not believe owing tribute was a valid way through which Ethiopia's territorialisation was enacted, and that full landed ownership of the territory proper was the only legitimate demonstration of the emperor's power, even though by the time of Sarsa Dengel's reign in the 1560s, Nareâ had become a significant tributary through its prolific gold production.[363] One can conclude that as Lobo did not minister in Nareâ or have access to the authority of the Emperor's court on this matter, as Páez would have, Lobo was not aware of the history of this kingdom and as such had no reason to include it in his *Itinerário.* This example reminds the historian that Jesuits did not operate with a hive-mind. Although there was an awareness and engagement with the textual history of Ethiopia composed by their fellow brothers, each Jesuit brought his own experiences and understandings to the issue of spatial configuration, as with so much else.

Another reason for Lobo's omission may also have its origin in an awareness that Nareâ was a highly contested region, something which was first made known to Pedro Páez in 1610. The emperor refused Páez permission to travel to Nareâ, warning him that the journey was 'extremely dangerous' due to the Oromo blockading the path. Instead Páez relates that whilst visiting the imperial court, a man from Nareâ came to report that he had led a military incursion into a part of the region where the governors were described by the Oromo as 'white men who dress in rags' who were 'girded with curved blades […] and demand a tithe of children, so that it might be conjectured that they are Turks.'[364] This multi-ethnic, multi-religious overlay of the region was not familiar to the Jesuits and caused them some

[362] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, pp.150-151.
[363] Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient Times to the End of the 18th Century* (Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1997), p.153.
[364] 'Father Pedro Páez to Father Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor of the Indies [...1610]', in *Latin Letters of the Jesuits*, ed. by Wendy Belcher, p.51.

difficulty as to how to classify this territory, demonstrated by Páez's expression of desire to interview the man from Nareâ concerning his incursion into the Turkish part of the area and 'the position of the region;' however, the emperor had already dismissed him and he could not be found again.[365]

Also notable in Lobo's definition is his dismissal of those 'possessions' that pay tribute or submit in other ways. Lands governed by vassals, then, are not believed by Lobo to exist as part of the empire proper, despite detailed explications given by Páez and to a lesser extent Almeida on the integral role played by vassals in sustaining the Ethiopian hierarchy of power, not to mention the realm's infrastructure, through the payment of tribute. The Ethiopianist scholar Richard Pankhurst has argued that although early-modern Ethiopia appeared to have been made up of disparate communities and independent regions, the area comprised 'a single economic and in general also a cultural unit' which relied on a complex system of trade and social networks for its prosperity.[366] Pankhurst emphasises the interdependence of the centre and peripheral regions, arguing for the exercise of power across space largely through social relations, yet Lobo implies that only those areas under the Emperor's complete jurisdiction – and, significantly, experiencing the stability of peacetime – are worthy of the appellation of *reynos*, implying that for the priest, Ethiopian territorialisation as empire was only legitimate when it hinged on the Emperor's ability to enforce governance over lands for sustained periods of time after military conquest. This has implications for how Jesuits 'othered' native territory. By not acknowledging the wider importance of the periphery for Ethiopia's society and economy, Jesuits displayed their belief that only centralised, 'stable' areas, those explicitly governed by the Emperor, were a legitimate part of the realm.

Neither Páez nor Almeida explain whether they believe each kingdom to be comprised of the provinces listed in their narratives, neither does the Jesuits' correspondence express a clear distinction between the two; but Lobo's emphasis on the difference between the lands peacefully belonging to the Emperor and those which submit or pay tribute seems to imply that these Jesuits saw kingdoms and

[365] 'Father Pedro Páez to Father Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor of the Indies [...1610]', in *Latin Letters of the Jesuits*, ed. by Wendy Belcher, p.51.
[366] Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands*, p.xi.

provinces to be separate political entities, with provinces remaining on the margins of the Emperor's power, connected to the empire more loosely through a system of vassalage, a difficult political reality which often broke down and prompted the Emperor to redistribute lands to new governors, or to wage war on the 'rebel' areas. Indeed, the polity is characterised by constant warfare in the Jesuits' accounts. Lobo recounts that the Emperor, his governors and viceroys 'are continually in the field attacking and making war on their enemies, either domestic vassals in rebellion or foreigners living on the boundaries of the empire.'[367] The use of the words 'foreigners' and 'boundaries' here is highly characteristic of the ways in which Jesuit authors defined their understanding of Ethiopia's territorialisation and forms a significant aspect in the othering process undertaken in their correspondence and longer works, which will be elucidated in a later section of this chapter. Almeida restates time and again how much of the region had fallen into the hands of the Oromo, who 'were to be a crueller scourge [than Ahmad Grañ] and almost the total ruin of that contumacious empire.'[368] By the reign of Susenyos, the Oromo 'had made themselves masters of most and the best kingdoms of the empire,'[369] as well as ravaging the rest of the land so severely that most kingdoms could not afford to pay tribute to the Emperor.[370] Similarly, Páez, refuting Luís de Urreta's statement that no foreign master had ever conquered Ethiopia, recalls that Ahmad Grañ ruled almost all the Emperor's lands 'for twelve years, or some say fifteen, so that no more than very few lands were left, which were very insecure, because the emperor and the people from there were always fleeing from one place to another.'[371] Whilst Grañ was long gone by the seventeenth century, we see that internecine conflict and border skirmishes continued to define the political – and ethnic – character of the empire for Páez, Almeida, and Lobo, much more so in fact than the sovereignty of the Emperor, whose very mode of exercising power (year-round itinerancy) was directed solely by these wars.

Pennec and Toubkis address the confusion and 'internal contradictions' latent in the Jesuit lists of

[367] Lobo, *Itinerário*, p.160.
[368] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.135. It should be noted that the word 'contumacious' applies to the empire when ruled by the Emperor Gelawdewos, who remained resistant to the Jesuits' evangelisation.
[369] Ibid., p.135.
[370] Ibid., p.87.
[371] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.76.

Ethiopia's *reynos* and *provincias* and their number, acknowledging that the priests' description of geopolitical space did not fully comprehend the realities of Ethiopian political organisation. Páez, for example, did not explain how the thirty-five kingdoms and the eighteen provinces he listed functioned in a proper hierarchy, if at all. Luís de Azevedo wrote that the *reyno* of Gojjam was divided into twenty-nine *provincias*, yet later stated that the *imperio* as a whole comprised fourteen *provincias.* This, Pennec and Toubkis suggest, may not constitute an outright contradiction, as the accounts merely differ in how they understood the spatial organisation and definition of a 'province.' The priests also employed the word 'mando,' a generic term suggesting authority and government, yet representing a space 'independent of a territorial anchor.'[372] For all the Jesuits' attempts at conveying autoptic knowledge with authority, their confusion of terminology implies that they struggled to reconcile Ethiopian territoriality with their own understandings. This caused their works to occupy a slightly bizarre overlap between what we might call proto-ethnography, the effort to understand and relate spatial elements of the region of 'Ethiopia' as precisely as possible, and the retention of the medieval desire to frame the realm in ways which strongly related to the western European schema of political authority and territorialisation. However, as will be explored later, the later has less to do with the continuation of medieval ideas of Ethiopia, and far more to do with the Society of Jesus' identity as Catholic proselytisers.

In summary, Páez and Almeida label spaces but do not offer the reader a way of imaginatively moving through them, nor are we given a complete picture of how kingdoms and provinces relate or defer to each other on a more governmental, function level. Temporal and spatial realities are brought together in Páez's description, and although the reader does not 'experience' the empire alongside the author in a way available in Lobo's travelogue, the early-modern reader would most likely relate to the Ethiopian categorisation of the empire in terms of days spent travelling – terrain, but not mode of travel, differs here. Numbers are clearly important to the Jesuits. Cataloguing spaces in such a way allowed them to track the delineation of the empire more easily over time while dealing with a mode of spatial organisation which was complex and not immediately definable for a European. We see that

[372] Pennec and Toubkis, 'Reflecting on the Notions of Empire', p.236-237.

the numbers of kingdoms and provinces decrease over twenty years, between the time of Páez's *History of Ethiopia* and Lobo's *Itinerário*, indicating that either the Jesuits chose to define provinces and kingdoms in contrary ways, as seems likely from the example of Nareâ, or the polity of Ethiopia was contracting rapidly with the onslaught of the Oromo and other enemies of the Emperor, again, a not implausible conclusion.[373] War and ownership are two themes of fascination for the Jesuits in Ethiopia; Almeida in particular is obsessed with recording which of the lands, vassals, and kings he encountered submit to the Emperor and give him their allegiance, whilst all are concerned with the extent of the ongoing wars and their role in defining Ethiopia's territorialisation. Crucially, all Jesuit writers are resounding in their agreement to designate Ethiopia as an empire.

A spatial analysis of the Jesuits' descriptions is a necessary addition to scholarship on the Ethiopia mission, as it allows an understanding of how the Jesuits understood the territory they were to live and work within. Their preoccupation with clearly-defined, unambiguous space – something also visible in their management and perception of Brazil's indigenous communities – culminated in a strong desire to fix, at least in their own understanding, Ethiopia's boundaries, and to number the realm's kingdoms and provinces. This was not a neutral nor a pure act of categorisation. Ethiopian territory was in fact rhetorically constructed with recourse to a firmly Jesuitical worldview, something which will become more apparent as this chapter unfolds.

PRESTER JOHN AND THE JESUITS

This section will offer some answers as to why the Jesuit authors configured the territories of Ethiopia using an imperial framework. Firstly, none of the accounts examined here seeks to perpetuate the medieval legend of Prester John through their insistence upon employing *imperio* as an appellation. The name of 'Prester John' was attributed to the ruler of Ethiopia by European sources well into the eighteenth century and was used by Ignatius of Loyola himself in his instructions to the Patriarch João

[373] The multiplicity of experiences of individual Jesuit priests as they travelled, lived, and worked in the region is likely to explain in part why numbers of provinces and kingdoms and their classifications fluctuated between their writings. Over time, territories changed hands, and power structures and even appellations were understood differently among individual Jesuits.

Nunes Barreto.[374] At first glance the continued use of this title seems to suggest a persistence of the Eurocentric covetousness which characterised the medieval attitude towards the mythical realm; however, it would appear that it was used merely as a useful nomenclature, a frame of reference that almost all religious and secular elites would have been familiar with, and did not colour Jesuit engagement with Ethiopian alterity in the same way as it had previously shaped political and religious discourse around that realm.

Fig. 10. The 'Prester John Map' by Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) from his atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1573).

A brief comparison of two maps further demonstrates the lack of evidence for Jesuit belief in the Prester John myth. The above sixteenth-century Netherlandish map, depicting the lands of the

[374] John W. Padberg and others, eds, *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), p.23.

'Abyssinian Empire' of Prester John, shows a clear ideological adherence to the myth that the fabled Christian king resided in Ethiopia. Its written description (on the left hand side of the image) claims that the descent of Prester John is both a genealogical one – from the 'tribe of Judah' (*ortus ex stirpe Iuda*) – and also a spiritual one – from the apostolic succession engendered by Peter and Paul. Visually, this map marks the names of many Ethiopian regions listed by the Jesuits, such as Tigrê, Dancali (*Dangali*), Gojjam (*Goiama*), and Begemeder (*Bagamidri*), yet sets these in an enormous – and fictitious – empire stretching from Egypt all the way across central Africa and extending down to modern-day Mozambique and Namibia. This map is quite different from that sketched out by Manuel da Almeida (fig. 7), which is far more modest and realistic in its visual depiction of the Ethiopian 'empire' and makes no claim of the lordship of Susenyos over Egypt, Mozambique, or Namibia.

Each Jesuit author deconstructs the Prester John legend in his own particular style and deliberately distances his account from more fictitious narratives; although none deny that the Prester exists each man believes him to reside in Asia, not in Ethiopia. Pedro Páez wrote: 'The Prester John is not this emperor but another very different king, on the borders with the Tartars, where even now there are Christians [...] Despite this [...] I shall call him the Prester John, as he is better known in Europe by this name than by any other.'[375] It was easier for a European audience to relate to Páez's narrative if they first had a familiar point of reference for his geographic whereabouts, a reference which Páez was persuaded to concede, despite the mission statement of his prologue to discredit false information promulgated by Luís de Urreta and João Baltazar. This of course is tempered, however, by detailed observations of the office of the Ethiopian king and the etymology of his given and regnal names, demonstrating that Páez took a critical role in determining the precise contextual nature of the royal office. Almeida repeats much of the same process in examining the legend as Páez, with a special focus on dismissing Urreta's proposed etymology of 'Prester John,' a name 'bestowed on the Emperor of the Abyssinians in error.'[376] Jerónimo Lobo declares that '[t]his is the empire commonly called the empire of Prester John of the Indies, erroneously so, however, since the truth is that the ancient and

[375] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.69.
[376]Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, pp.5-7.

true Prester John and his domain have been lost to human memory.'[377] Whilst not denying the historicity of the myth entire, Lobo sets out a very plausible explanation of how Ethiopia became associated with this figure, writing that although the Portuguese could not find Prester John, when they discovered 'the Ethiopian princes with so many signs of Christianity [...] they came to believe that this was the ancient Prester John of the Indies.'[378] It is clear that while the Jesuits saw the Emperor as the key defining element in the way Ethiopia's power hierarchies functioned, they did not attribute to him the identity or power of this legendary ruler. Dispelling the mirage of the myth from Ethiopia allowed the Jesuits to promote and engage with native spatial realities more effectively, creating the space anew for early-modern Europeans as something which could be observed and rationalised quasi-scientifically.

Our Jesuit authors were not the first to begin this process, however, although Matteo Salvadore has argued that the Jesuit mission to Ethiopia was solely responsible for the 'death' of the age of optimism that 'Prester John' had ushered in, and that the intense Latinisation policy of Páez and the ensuing political calamity opened up a rift between Europe and Ethiopia which was never healed.[379] Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner has framed the demise of the European legend rather in terms of lengthy secular contact with Ethiopia, claiming that the implosion of the myth began much earlier than Salvadore suggests with the joint military venture of Emperor Gelawdewos (1540-1559) and Cristóvão da Gama in the 1540s against the aggressions of the warlord and Islamic imam Ahmad Grañ.[380] This expedition, although eventually successful in destroying Grañ and his forces, was responsible for the loss of 400 Portuguese soldiers including da Gama, a defeat sorely felt at home.[381] D'Alòs-Moner argues that the writings of Francisco Álvares and Damião de Góís in the first third of the sixteenth century contributed to 'a progressive unveiling of the mysterious figure [of Prester John] and a progressive appearance of a simple political ruler,' claiming that it was the factual description of

[377] Lobo, *Itinerário*, p.155.
[378] Ibid., p.155.
[379] Matteo Salvadore, 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555-1634)', p.143.
[380] Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, 'Christian Ethiopia: The Temptation of an African Polity', in *Studia Aethiopica: In Honour of Siegbert Uhlig on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* ed. by Verena Böll and others (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), p.166.
[381] Malyn D. D. Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion,* p.120.

the Emperor which was responsible for the success of Álvares' *Verdadeira informação.*[382] By the early seventeenth century, most serious commentators were beginning to perceive more rationally of Ethiopia based on critical evidence available, and the Jesuits continued this development.

We must understand the theoretical, as well as the pragmatic, context behind the Jesuits' writings if we are to arrive at an explanation for their decision to render Ethiopia's territorial organisation imperial. The word 'empire' has had various connotations attached to it throughout the centuries since the ancient Roman Empire, and in the early-modern period, it signified something slightly different to today's normative definition. Imperial theory during the time of the mission to Ethiopia was multifaceted, built not just upon ancient Greek and Roman ideas but also upon contemporary justifications for empire, in particular that of Spain's overseas dominion. However, 'empire' need not merely refer to the expansion of a realm's territorial control. The word in England between the late sixteenth century and the eighteenth century, for example, was often synonymous with 'state' and was simply used to signify that a state was sovereign, not subject to any other power or authority.[383] In sixteenth-century Spain, monarchy was used synonymously with empire in order 'to describe a domain composed of a number of different states in which the legislative will of a single ruler was unquestioned, one where […] the laws were the expression of the prince's will.'[384] Bearing in mind the Iberian nationality of a number of Jesuits to Ethiopia, in particular that of Pedro Páez, it is not too implausible to suggest that the Jesuits similarly employed empire and monarchy interchangeably in describing Ethiopia in order to denote Susenyos' supreme legislative will over his territories. The anonymous author of 1609's *carta annua* for the Province of Goa uses 'emperor' and 'king' interchangeably within the same letter, but also maintains a reference to Susenyos as Prester John.[385]

The Jesuits continued to present Ethiopia's native territorialisation largely within pre-existing linguistic frameworks; the designation of Ethiopia as an imperial realm had been in currency at least

[382] D'Alòs-Moner, 'Christian Ethiopia', p.167.
[383] Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c.1500—1800* (1995), p.13.
[384] Ibid., p.16.
[385] 'Excerpts from the Annual Letter of the Province of Goa, 1609', in *Latin Letters of the Jesuits*, ed. by Wendy Belcher, p.40 and 43.

since the early sixteenth century. We witness this tradition being perpetuated by generations of western European commentators such as Francisco Álvares and Damião de Góis; and certainly, there was nothing in Ethiopian tradition that contradicted this view. The nomenclature reconciles quite precisely with the Ethiopian Solomonic dynasty's use of the phrase *negusa negast,* king of kings, to refer to the supreme regnal authority in the land, the emperor, and Almeida and Páez were aware of this phrase, recording that the Ethiopic term for the emperor was indeed *negusa negast*.[386] Pennec and Toubkis have suggested that in order to avoid attaching messianic connotations to Susenyos, the Jesuits consciously chose to award him the title of emperor instead.[387] However, the Jesuits were not 'the initiators of this terminological confusion,' as Pennec and Toubkis claim.[388] Authors as various in their genres and motives for writing as Damião de Góis, Francisco Álvares, and João Bermudez were ascribing this appellation of *imperador* to the king of Ethiopia years before the foundation of the Society of Jesus, and decades before the renewed mission at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Matteo Salvadore has examined the initial imperative behind the first Jesuit mission to Ethiopia through Ignatius of Loyola's correspondence, arguing that although the book remained unnamed by Loyola, it was likely that Álvares' *Verdadeira informação* formed the basis of knowledge for the superior general. As such, this labelling was likely adopted by Loyola and subsequent Jesuits without much conscious thought. As the reality of Ethiopia's geopolitical situation became clearer, Jesuits may have preferred the term over and above other alternatives for the sake of sheer continuity and intelligibility.

IDENTITY, ALTERITY, AND SPATIALISATION

This section will illustrate how and from where the territory of Ethiopia derived its meaning for the Jesuits and will evaluate the reasons behind their attempt to delineate the boundaries of the empire. Processes of spatial understanding have been largely devoid from historiographical analyses of the mission, yet allow important insights into the Jesuits' mindsets regarding their relationship with this

[386] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.7.
[387] Pennec and Toubkis, 'Reflecting on the Notions of Empire', p.237.
[388] Ibid., p.242.

alien land. Much of their territorial categorisation was strongly influenced by their 'way of proceeding' in Ethiopia; that is, their focus on the emperor and his kin as vital recipients of their Catholic proselytising and their belief in these individuals as defenders of the Christian realm of Ethiopia. The Jesuits' identity as Catholic missionaries charged with bringing the realm under the confessional sway of the Latin Church, individuals hyper-aware of the dangers posed by groups such as the Oromo, Moors, and the Beta Israel to the integrity, unity, and identity of Ethiopia as a Christian empire, also impacted upon their description of Ethiopian territories. These groups were deemed foreign and underwent a process of othering, whereby their residency in the empire was not recognised by Jesuit commentators as legitimate and they were seen to exist outside of the limits of 'Christian' Ethiopia. In reality, boundaries were fluid and these groups not only lived among Christian communities but also comprised an integral part of the social and economic life of the region.

For the Jesuits, territorial meaning was derived from the figure of the emperor and from their own identity as Catholic priests, commissioned by God to promulgate and defend the faith wherever they were sent. This does not mean, however, that they held unrealistic views of the emperor's territorial authority. It is important to stress this point, as traditional and contemporary historiography has argued that the Jesuits characterised Susenyos' power as beholden to a European-style framework of absolutist rule. Beckingham and Huntingford suggest in their introduction to Almeida's *History* that the Jesuits were 'so impressed by the ruler's arbitrary power over the property and lives of his subjects that they did not see that in some respects his authority was far more limited than that of many contemporary European princes.'[389] Similarly, Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner focuses on the political reasoning behind the Jesuits' attitude towards the emperor and his territory. He proposes that Páez's decision to move the Prester John myth away from Ethiopia to Asia was an idea 'imbued of Jesuit pragmatism,'[390] arguing that the mythical imagination of the Prester was replaced by the Jesuits by a political one in two stages. First, the Prester's place 'was taken by two fresh products of 16th century political ideology: the absolutist ruler, i.e. the Emperor; and the nation-state, i.e. "Ethiopia".

[389] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p. xxiii.
[390] Ibid., pp.168-169.

Second, they turned this imagination into a missionary-cum-political praxis.'[391] Building on Robert Bireley's conception of Jesuit attitudes towards secular power ("intelligent political practice by its very nature, apart from any divine intervention, produced a powerful state, whereas immoral practice undermined the state's power"[392]), D'Alòs-Moner claims that the Jesuits attempted a 'census' of the emperor's kingdom through compiling their lists of kingdoms and provinces, and recording who paid tribute to the emperor, in order to be able to better advise him in 'matters of government.'[393] D'Alòs-Moner claims this as the reasoning behind

> all their efforts in evaluating [...] the power and the assets of which the Prince disposed. The already famous list of kingdoms and provinces belonging, or supposedly having once belonged, to the Ethiopian Empire would be, thus, again and again declaimed. The aim was to make Ethiopia something tangible, quantifiable, administrable, with its borders, its provinces, its people and its land resources.[394]

Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis also place emphasis on the political purposes behind the Jesuits' decision to characterise Ethiopia's spatial organisation, although their comments unfold as part of a broader argument that Ethiopia has mistakenly been configured as an empire by successive scholars and that the historical reality was closer to a kingdom 'organised according to distinctive methods' and ruled by 'a king in constant negotiation with different local powers.'[395] As such, they cannot be criticised for neglecting to examine the Jesuits' accounts for deeper discussion of their attitudes towards Ethiopian territorialisation. They do however allude concisely to a belief that the Jesuits wished 'to create an ideal model' of empire in order to market their enterprise to western monarchies and the papacy, and to facilitate claims to spiritual ownership in the face of competition with the Dominican Order.[396] Yet Pennec and Toubkis fail to mention the Jesuits' collective disappointment at the decentralised character and lapsed state of Susenyos' territorial control, choosing to prioritise only the priests' lists of geopolitical territories for the sake of their analysis. These lists should not be

[391] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, p.170.
[392] Robert Bireley, 'Antimachiavellianism, the Baroque, and Maximilian of Bavaria', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* 53 (1984), pp. 137-59, quoted in in D'Alòs-Moner, 'Christian Ethiopia', pp.172-3.
[393] D'Alòs-Moner, 'Christian Ethiopia', p.173.
[394] Ibid., p.173.
[395] Pennec and Toubkis, 'Reflections on the Notion of Empire', p.258.
[396] Ibid., p.238.

isolated from a wider investigation into the ways in which the Jesuits shaped their descriptions of social relations across space in later chapters of their accounts.

The models proposed by these scholars have largely been founded upon rather too simplistic grounds upon which to build a historical understanding of the Jesuits' perception of Susenyos' authority and their reasons for framing Ethiopia's territorialisation in the ways they did. I will demonstrate that while the Jesuits certainly chose to make the emperor and his kinsmen the focus of their missionary praxis, championed the deeds of these individuals, and conferred noble characteristics upon them, scholarship has mistakenly emphasised the missionaries' genuine belief in Susenyos' authority over a mighty empire due most likely to the Jesuits' own attention on the royal family in their correspondence and larger works. This was not the reason for their choice to delineate and describe the boundaries and limits of 'Christian' Ethiopia. The following analysis focuses on the Jesuits' commentary of Susenyos and his style of governance, yet this is intimately bound up with the issue of their perception of Ethiopian territorialisation, as will become clear.

Firstly, it should come as no surprise that the Jesuits prioritised their relationship with the royal family in their correspondence. As we have seen in the case of sixteenth-century Brazil, the Jesuits strongly believed that the most successful way to evangelise abroad was to focus their attentions on whoever they understood to hold the greatest – and most 'perfect' – political authority. This was partly the reason for their decision to create new spatial organisations in Brazil, the *aldeias*. Jesuits in Brazil attempted to identify the chief authority among the indigenous societies they encountered, yet struggled to recognise any parallel power structures and eventually decided to place themselves in this position (alongside deferring to the Crown's colonial authorities) within new spatial parameters. Likewise, the Jesuits' system back home in Europe was to 'join forces with the princes' in order to cooperate in a 'feudal relationship of obligation.'[397] Their approach in Ethiopia was no different. In a letter dated 20th February 1555 to João Nunes Barreto, European patriarch of Ethiopia, Ignatius of Loyola considered that 'the principal factor in this undertaking will be found primarily in Prester

[397] Leonardo Cohen, *The Missionary Strategies of the Jesuits in Ethiopia* (1555-1632) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), p.27.

John, king of Ethiopia, and secondarily in the people,'[398] thus promoting a top-to-bottom conversion strategy. Fifty years later, this was still considered to be the primary method of bringing the Ethiopian people away from their perceived heresies and persuading them to submit to the pope in Rome. Pedro Páez embodied this missionary strategy, ingratiating himself with the Emperor and his court and becoming a trusted confidant and adviser, eventually succeeding in bringing Susenyos across the confessional divide to Roman Catholicism after years of private theological discussion and public disputation.

Susenyos' confessional shift was one of their major triumphs, an event which allowed their hope to blossom for the conversion of the entire realm and the reunification with the Roman Catholic Church.[399] The account of Páez and the first part of Almeida's *History* were written while Susenyos was still alive and implementing Roman Catholic reform across his lands, and as such promoted favourable views of his glory in battle and qualities such as his intelligence and piety. Páez was particularly vocal on the subject of Susenyos' majesty and character, informed largely by his personal relationship with the Emperor and the long years spent travelling with his court. Similarly, members of the royal family were held in high esteem. Páez described Bela Krestos, cousin to the emperor, as 'the most learned literary man of all those whom Ethiopia has, and a prince courteous in his authority.'[400] Even Lobo, who witnessed the collapse of decades of effort and the expulsion or execution of the Society after the edict issued by Susenyos' son Fasilädäs, retained a fierce respect for Susenyos and his achievements. He wrote a wistful description of 'Emperor Seltan Segued, who, with his person, valour, zeal and piety of a true Catholic, not only sustained and propagated the Catholic faith throughout his empire but also repressed the fury and arrogance of the heretics.'[401] Accordingly, the Jesuits placed great trust in Susenyos and believed in him as one who would enhance the Catholic

[398] 'Letter of Ignatius of Loyola to João Nunes Barreto, 20th February 1555', in *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640* ed. by John Patrick Donnelly S.J. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), p. 23.
[399] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of the Province of Goa, 1622,' in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.111.
[400] 'Father Pedro Páez to Father Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor of the Indies [...1610]', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.49.
[401] Lobo, *Itinerário*, p.251.

destiny of Ethiopia.

The Jesuits deferred to the emperor on all matters of governance and essentially attributed to him the total authority of the 'empire,' however they chose to characterise that polity and in spite of their witness to its diminished stature. They were required to work within his authority, as they could not do anything apart from his permission. In 1610, for example, Páez remained at the beck and call of Susenyos, who refused Páez's request to return to the fathers' residence at Gorgora, bidding him to remain with the royal camp on its progress around the country.[402] Later, Susenyos also refused Paéz permission to travel to Nareâ, as the way was often blockaded by the Oromo and was deemed too dangerous.[403] In many ways the Jesuits were required to submit themselves to the native authority of the land, and were reliant on the favour and finances of the emperor and his kinsmen for their ministry and the construction of their residences and churches. Father de Angelis reported that Sela Krestos – brother to the emperor and governor of Gojjam[404] – wanted to fund the initial foundations of a new church, so that 'our friendship might become more perfect and secure.'[405] He also 'commanded that we alone [the Jesuits] should be free of the tribute imposed on all landowners.'[406] Under the Patriarchate of Afonso Mendes (1623-1634), lands in Dämbeya, Wägarä, and Gojjam were appropriated from the Täwaḥədo Church by Susenyos and given to the Jesuits instead.[407] This issue of land grants and the construction of Jesuit churches and residences across Ethiopia is the subject of the following chapter.

However, whilst the Jesuits acknowledged their reliance on the Ethiopian political authorities for their reputation in the realm and the success of their mission, their descriptions of Susenyos' power and his territories do not comprise an image of an 'ideal empire.' The 'imperial' figure of Susenyos was not

[402] 'Father Pedro Páez to Father Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor of the Indies [… 1610]', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.48.
[403] Ibid., p.51.
[404] Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo and the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: 1300-1700* (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), p.308.
[405] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1612', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.66.
[406] Ibid., p.67.
[407] Donald Crummey, *Land and Society*, p.69. After Fasilädäs assumed the throne, the Catholics were forcibly removed from their houses, and their property and land was given back to Orthodox believers. ARSI, Manuel da Almeida to the Superior General, April 17th, 1627, in Goa 39 II, f. 423r-v.

entirely wedded to the Jesuits' conceptualisation of Ethiopia's spatial organisation, and their characterisation of Susenyos' power fell far short of the one D'Alòs-Moner reads in their correspondence and histories.

Almeida's narrative offers several details on the methods of governance employed by the Emperor and his viceroys which intimate a certain level of dangerous lawlessness and a lack of efficacious centralised control. With regards to tribute, every farmer that owned cattle was to give the Emperor one in ten animals every three years. Captains and military men were sent to collect the tribute, but in doing so, 'they use so much violence against the peasants that they ruin and consume them.'[408] This tribute, demanded under considerable duress by the Emperor and his captains, was a mode of terror which surely intended the maintenance of submission through fear and violence, another process of territorial organisation – yet it is difficult to see a differentiation between this and the raids of the Oromo, except that one was enacted on the commands of the Emperor, the 'legitimate' authority. One is left to wonder whether Almeida would have reported these occurrences with such a neutral tone had the offenders been 'heathens,' or Moors. Despite this noticeable apathy, his inclusion of these acts of violence against the Ethiopian people renders it clear that he is in fact concerned with their safety. Another example of this is Almeida's account of the 'admirable rule of holy charity,' a social custom prevalent among communities throughout the empire. This holds that 'the inhabitants of any place are compelled to shelter and food for one night to all travellers arriving there in the evening.'[409] The difficulty of transporting provisions, and, notably, 'the lack of order and government' mean that 'inns cannot be established.' This social custom is also related in Páez; however, Almeida provides further, more troublesome details of the potential consequences of charitable obligation to the Emperor and his train. Certain soldiers, he writes, choose to occupy the houses of widows or married women whose husbands are away, 'and then by force he gets at not only her food and property but her honour. Nor do those who receive them commonly deserve much in the sight of God as they do it only under compulsion and from fear.'[410] That Almeida criticises these violent acts specifically as direct

[408] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.88.
[409] Ibid., p.80.
[410] Ibid., p.80.

consequences of the 'lack of law and government' in Ethiopia strongly suggests that whilst outspoken in his respect for Susenyos, he is aware of the limitations of his authority and the internal problems with the emperor's governance, and does in no way believe him to be the kind of absolutist ruler that D'Alòs-Moner has proposed.

As already discussed, the Emperor and his governors and viceroys were in a constant state of war against diverse enemies. Páez wrote that the Oromo 'moved into this empire so that today they control a greater part of it,'[411] therefore continuing to attribute conquered lands to the Emperor, despite the fact they were occupied by foreign invaders, and highlighting the various outsiders that reside within his own dominion in contempt of him and his laws. Almeida makes a startling admission of the Emperor's complicity with certain of the 'heathen' peoples, recording that they 'live chiefly in Gojam, being Agaûs, Gongâs and Gafates and many Gallas to whom the Emperor himself has given much land in Gojam and Dambeâ so that they should help him in his wars against other hostile Galla tribes.'[412] The Jesuits strongly disapproved of the ways Susenyos conducted his social and political relations. The preface to Almeida's *History* in SOAS MS 11966 paints a gloomy picture of the depths to which he believed Ethiopia had sunk. Receiving orders from his superiors to begin a treatise on the realm's history, customs, and traditions, Almeida admits that he avoided putting pen to paper, writing that 'when I saw how badly Ethiopia fulfilled her great promise and became a squalid ruin, I took no pleasure in writing and not merely delayed but began to forget the work.'[413] This damning statement forms part of a preface after a dedication to King John IV of Portugal and cannot have been intended by Almeida to reflect the glory of an 'ideal empire' in order to garner the king's enthusiasm and support for the mission – yet Pennec and Toubkis have argued that this was indeed the reason for conveying Ethiopia's territorial organisation.

Furthermore, whilst the secular establishment and expansion of the Portuguese *padroado* meant that

[411] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, pp.76-77.
[412] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.54.
[413] Ibid., p. xxxiv. His superiors, however, did not. In 1639, Almeida received a written order from Mutio Vitelleschi himself to finish his *History*.

Jesuits in the Asian provinces were often reliant on royal patronage,[414] it should not be assumed by historians that Jesuits needed to conceive of a grand Ethiopian empire within their writings in order to prove their success to their masters in Spain and Portugal, thus securing further financial support. As explored in the previous chapter, the Jesuits' arrangement with royal authorities was a mutually beneficial deal, as the former could often promote and protect the interests of the latter. The Habsburgs were already invested in the Ethiopian mission and levels of general curiosity about the realm in western Europe (and especially in Portugal) had remained high for at least a century. Yet Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis argue that

> the missionaries presented the territorial structure of the kingdom in this way, not only to justify their enterprise, but also to suggest the enormity of the political and religious stakes involved in converting such an "empire" to Catholicism. By recourse to a western "schema" of a centralized imperial monarchy, the Jesuits fabricated a weighty argument in favour of their evangelical enterprise. They thus received the confidence of western monarchies (Spanish and pontifical) on which they depended.[415]

This argument could be seen in statements of Páez made about the general character of the Ethiopians: 'In understanding, which is the best feature of man, they are commonly not outshone by the best of Europe, as we have often experienced with the nobles.'[416] Such a claim could indeed advertise to Jesuit colleges in Goa and in Europe how perfect the soil was for sowing the seed of conversion through reason, but in no way can the paltry extent of the empire as constantly reiterated by the accounts of Páez, Almeida, and Lobo can be seen as functioning as part of a propagandised effort by the resident missionaries in Ethiopia to justify their project there. If this were so, evident in their treatises would be rhetoric closer to the aggrandised style and sweeping narrative of Luís de Urreta's works. Instead, Páez and Almeida insist on building an image of an empire which has fallen into decay and disarray; it is sprawling and ungainly, and for Lobo difficult and dangerous to traverse, ravaged by the continual aggression of the Oromo and, as Almeida believed, even the choices made

[414] Catherine Jami, 'Tomé Pereira (1645-1708), Clockmaker, Musician and Interpreter at the Kangxi Court: Portuguese Interests and the Transmission of Science,' in *The Jesuits, The Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773)* ed. by Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami (New Jersey: World Scientific, 2008), p.195.
[415] Hervé Pennec and Dmitri Toubkis, 'Reflecting on the Notions of Empire', p.238.
[416] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.72.

by the Emperor in organising his political territory. Not only this, but the patchwork of religious identities interwoven across the empire does not correspond with the ideal schema for a western European polity. It is unlikely that the Catholic monarchs of the Iberian Peninsula – not to mention the officials of the Inquisition – would have welcomed the assertion that the Emperor had Christian descendants of Jews working for him, nor that Susenyos allied with certain peoples of the Oromo to ward off the attacks of others. We must look to other explanations as to why the Jesuits configured Ethiopia's territorial organisation in the way they did, explanations based not quite so much in the political realm as in the character of the Jesuits and their institutional identity.

It must be noted that the Jesuits' efforts at delineating the boundaries of Ethiopia's territory were conscious and concerted, something which they (or their superiors) felt was strongly necessary to convey. Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi perceived that a precise categorisation of the boundaries, names, and numbers of Ethiopia's kingdoms, provinces, and states was vital for the success of the Jesuits' ministry in Ethiopia: Almeida's dedication in SOAS MS 11966 tells us that in 1629 he was compelled by Father António Fernandes, the Superior of the Ethiopian mission, to 'describe that Christian state for the service of God and in order to make it widely known.'[417] Although there is no reason given for exactly why Fernandes and Vitelleschi believed this work necessary for the success of the mission, it is possible that they aimed to glean detailed information which would inform policy for the mission.

Other logistical concerns for the Society were likely to have a bearing on why geopolitical information was commissioned. Travel was a particularly arduous and often deadly undertaking for Jesuit missionaries journeying from the College of Diu in Goa. Not only was terrain physically difficult to traverse once they arrived on east African soil, but often Jesuits were prevented from passing through areas, not only by local communities and Muslim petty kings,[418] but even Christians and subjects of the emperor who preferred the Muslims as allies above the Portuguese. The choice

[417] Almeida, 'Dedication', quoted in Beckingham and Huntingford, 'Introduction', in *Some Records of Ethiopia*, p.xxxiv.
[418] Jerónimo Lobo in particular wrote extensively on his challenging experiences with local petty kings in east Africa. See Lobo, *Itinerário*, pp.115-136.

made by Páez, Almeida, and to a certain extent Lobo to prioritise information concerning boundaries, locations, and inhabitants of Ethiopia's various regions demonstrates a belief that knowledge had to be transmitted concerning potential contacts, allies, foes, sympathetic figures, and dangers. This held a similar purpose to that of João de Azpilcueta Navarro's descriptions of the *sertão,* with which he furnished his colleagues back in Coimbra. Almeida's *History* includes travel information on the kingdom of Tigrê, whose harbour (situated in modern-day Eritrea) was the only one possessed by the empire but was lost to the Turks in 1557. The Jesuit headquarters at Fremona was also found in Tigrê, and was the first port of call for newly arrived priests to Ethiopia. It was therefore vital that Jesuits knew how to reach Tigrê. Almeida wrote that Tigrê extended 'along the coast of the Red Sea for 10 or 12 leagues in the direction of the Straits as far as Defalô,' which was also 'a harbour in the same kingdom but as the sea has little depth there it is not frequented by boats.'[419] It is difficult to see to what purpose Almeida included such specific information if not for use as directions by the Society's personnel travelling from Goa. Parts of Book I of the *History* were, according to Beckingham and Huntingford, written at Gorgora in 1628[420] when Susenyos was still on his throne and the mission required extra priests to help consolidate its success, and it is likely that Almeida intended to furnish his brothers with informative material at the time of his writing, although of course the entire work remained unfinished for some years.

Along with this need to convey vital logistical information, the Jesuits' act of delineating boundaries and limits speaks largely to their own identity as Catholic priests of the Society of Jesus, revealing something far more ideological which can only be understood by moving away from discussions grounded in geopolitics and examining the territorial nature of their approach to alterity. Above all, their listed descriptions of kingdoms, provinces, and states propose an exclusivist concept of territory inspired by a desire to fix the meaning of place for Ethiopia as a Christian realm, despite evidence to the contrary as reported in the Jesuits' own letters and histories. By establishing the physical extent of the emperor's Ethiopia, they reinforced the importance of placing other groups outside the areas they

[419] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.14.
[420] Ibid., p.xxxi.

designated as 'safe' and legitimate modes of territoriality. Whereas in Brazil, the Jesuits' accounts alienated the *sertão* by rendering it dangerous and full of mystery (albeit the setting of a panoply of opportunities to promote the edifying ministry of the Society), in Ethiopia the Jesuits employed European spatial categories in order to bring Ethiopia's landmass *into* their own familiar world, freeing it from the otherness that they rhetorically claimed for Brazil's *sertão.* However, tension exists between this perception and the latent reality in other parts of their longer works and correspondence that Ethiopia was subject to a perpetually-dynamic use of territory, even within the Christian limits of the region, which ignored or overrode the boundaries imposed by the Jesuits in their narratives.

As Doreen Massey has shown in her discussion of spatial identities, the nature and use of any given place is constantly shifting and dynamic, with multiple meanings,[421] and this was no less true for seventeenth-century Ethiopia, a region whose relations across space characteristically did not adhere to hard borders established by centralised authorities. On the contrary, the landscape was subject to an intricate and symbiotic configuration of 'porous networks,' to borrow Massey's phrase. Once they had arrived on Ethiopian soil, the Jesuits had no choice but to become a part of these network configurations. They were reliant as much on enemies as they were on friends to ensure their safe conduct and survival in a foreign land, particularly as – unlike in Brazil – they had no recourse to the support of the Portuguese authorities, who did not reside in Ethiopia. They therefore had to make do with aligning themselves to native frameworks of power. Father António Fernandes, whilst travelling through Hadiya along his route from Ethiopia to India on behalf of Susenyos, 'obtained a very loyal member of the Oromo as his guide for the journey, who very often intervened to oppose the fury of the others.'[422] This cooperation did not mean that the Oromo were viewed any more positively; the approach of this anonymous author to the alterity of these peoples continued to be derogatory. He claimed that the Oromo 'are nourished by milk and the blood of heifers, drawn from veins with a knife, and are closer to beasts than men. Among them, there is no pledge of trust, and no place given for the civilised arts. They kill men, even those who have not hurt them, for the sake of pleasure, just

[421] Massey, *Space, Place and Gender,* p.5.
[422] 'Excerpts from the Annual Letter of the Province of Goa, 1615', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.99.

like cats.'[423] The Jesuits did not see the Beta Israel and the Oromo as groups with legitimacy to reside within the boundaries of what they designated 'Christian' Ethiopia, although they saw the power they wielded. These groups are othered within the context of their narratives by being denied residency, by being relegated to the peripheries of this empire and established as threats to its security and identity as a Christian realm. Yet Donald Crummey reminds us that in his youth, Susenyos himself lived among the Oromo and that during his reign, 'confrontation became mixed with accommodation' through the king's recruitment of Oromo soldiers and his promotion of intermarriage between significant Oromo and Christian persons.[424]

David Sibley has pointed out that the kind of dehumanising rhetoric concerning bodies and behaviours used by the Jesuits is a common element in efforts to authenticate the exclusion of groups deemed 'other.'[425] Less well-acknowledged by scholars is the important accompanying role played by dominant societies to both figuratively and practically shape landscapes to displace groups and police their behaviour. One way for dominant societies to do this, according to Sibley, is to establish what he terms 'strongly classified spaces,' that is, those places with 'clear boundaries' whose proponents actively undertake 'boundary maintenance in order to keep out objects or people who do not fit the classification.' Within these, Sibley theorises, there is 'a concern with separation and order' and there exists 'a connection between the strong classification of space and the rejection of social groups who are non-conforming.'[426] While Sibley's analysis is grounded in an examination of the treatment of traveller communities by society and the media in contemporary Britain, his theories are applicable to the attitude of our Jesuit priests towards alterity and territorialisation in seventeenth-century Ethiopia. While the Jesuits of course lacked any mandate or military or political authority to actively shape and control these borders themselves, they perpetually engaged in the rhetorical rejection of ethnic and religious groups they perceived as dangerously invasive and threatening to the identity they were labouring to create for Ethiopia, and threw their support behind the attempts of the emperor and his

[423] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1615', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.99.
[424] Donald Crummey, 'Introduction: Ethiopia in the Early Modern Period: Solomonic Monarchy and Christianity,' *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 3-4 (2004), p.200.
[425] Sibley, 'Outsiders in society and space', p.107.
[426] Ibid., p.115.

kin to remove or repel these groups from his territory.

The Jesuits' disdain for the Oromo was largely grounded in the fear that this non-conforming 'heathen' group would intrude even further into the space of Christian Ethiopia. The Portuguese Jesuits were well-versed in that frightful chapter of Ethiopian history which concerned the conquest of Ahmad Grañ, the accompanying loss of Christian territory, and the death of Cristóvão da Gama along with four hundred Portuguese troops. Accounts of this defeat pepper the Jesuits' histories, highlighting a preoccupation with the external, 'foreign' threats to Ethiopia in the past and implying a determination to avoid similar calamities in the present. They thus adopted the struggle of Emperor Susenyos against his various enemies as very much their own, concerned as they were with the territorial aspect of Catholicism's promulgation. As a result, their letters and histories display an obvious fascination with the figures of Susenyos and Sela Krestos, whose military victories were often discussed in correlation with his spiritual struggles. Before his confessional shift to Catholicism in 1612, for example, one annual letter describes in typical glorifying fashion an episode from Sela Krestos' life. Taking 'such heart' from the teaching of his Catholic priest, 'he declared that he would utterly defeat all the enemies of Ethiopia. Nor was his faith in vain, for as time passed he performed deeds greater still, and when the Oromo had been routed and put to flight, he obtained triumphal acclamation.'[427] This quasi-hagiographical description of Sela Krestos' deeds and faith is yet another example of the edification which Jesuits included in their letters to contribute to the effect of the worldwide union of souls.

The Jesuits continually placed these two men upon pedestals as the potential saviours of the realm. Goa's 1618 annual letter declares that '[t]he sceptre of this empire is held by Susenyos, who is indeed worthy of this authority, distinguished as he is in all the virtues of leadership: he has excellently combined prudence with vigour and justice with pity, he loves peace and loathes discord, he censures dissidents,' and, although facing 'treachery' from 'fourteen or fifteen tyrants' that have risen up against him, 'the most powerful hand of God has helped him on account of his ardent zeal to establish

[427] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1615', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.97.

divine law in Ethiopia.'[428] Susenyos took pains to maintain the boundaries of his power through a constant series of wars, and the Jesuits were led to believe that through this display of military might, territory was strongly classified. These two men were heralded by Jesuits as defenders of the faith, and they threw their support behind their military campaigns, often visibly displaying glee at victories and despair at losses, glorifying their triumphs through the written monuments of their correspondence. Not only, they hoped, would Susenyos and Sela Krestos crush their enemies in battle, they would also defeat the 'darkness' of schism and heresy and go forth to establish Ethiopia as a mighty Catholic realm, reunited finally with the Roman Catholic confession.

Alongside the geopolitical delineations of territory and the preoccupation with military campaigns set down in their histories, the Jesuits made concerted efforts to delineate territory of ethnic distinction and attempted to describe the racial characteristics of inhabitants from certain regions. Almeida writes that Nareâ's inhabitants 'are the best in the whole of Ethiopia […] They are well-made and not very black; their features are in no way Cafre; they have thin lips and pointed noses. They are men of their word.'[429] Despite acknowledging the lack of territorial point of contact between that and other kingdoms, Almeida still places Nareâ firmly in the empire.[430] Almeida establishes the people of Nareâ as not just religiously different from those with non-monotheistic beliefs, but racially different; his somatic description shares similarities with people from the Iberian Peninsula and is conveyed along with a description of the Nareâs' favourable characteristics, alluding to an idea of their superiority in the region. Also significant is the fact that other Jesuits acknowledge Nareâ to be the home of various groups and not just Christians or Catholics; Páez's letter to Nicholas Pimenta, mentioned earlier in this chapter, records that Turks and Oromo peoples have also taken up residency in the region. Almeida's somatic and character descriptions, however, focus solely on the Christian inhabitants of Nareâ and thus deny other groups an identity as Ethiopians, rendering them instead as outsiders.

This exclusive language is present in other records. One anonymous Jesuit commentator described the

[428] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1618', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.101.
[429] Beckingham and Huntingford, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, pp.149-150.
[430] Ibid., pps.19, 149.

Oromo as '*a* race of Ethiopians,' not, significantly, as members of the Ethiopian race.[431] The otherness of the Ethiopian Jews – the Beta Israel – is similarly stressed by Almeida, who writes that they are known in Amharic as 'Falashas,' 'which means the same as foreigners,'[432] a strange distinction, as the priest also claims that '[t]here were Jews in Ethiopia from the first.'[433] Crucially, we therefore see that in Almeida's eyes, ancient residency does not qualify this group for Ethiopian identity. Páez writes that 'the Jews who came from Jerusalem with Menilehêc [one of Solomon's sons] have never been thrown out of Ethiopia; rather, this empire has until now been full of their descendants, living freely in their Judaism.'[434] To Páez the Beta Israel were a dissident and wayward people whose traditional acceptance in Ethiopia should have been challenged. With Susenyos' ascendance to the throne, Páez's wish was granted.

This derision of groups other than Ethiopian Christians was not limited to the Beta Israel, Moors, and the Oromo. The Jesuits' orthodoxy and intolerance towards variations within Christian denomination, and their perceived need to strengthen the image and identity of Ethiopia as a Catholic realm, breaks into their narratives with greater force of expression as time goes on. During an unusual period of peace, the Jesuits recorded that Sela Krestos, 'observing that he was free from military expeditions, determined to undertake another yet more difficult campaign, that is, to wage a most savage war against those Abyssinians devoted to errors, not by the force of arms but with the spurs of reason.'[435] Firm distinction is made in 1622 between the good deeds and 'glorious victories' of the now-Catholic emperor and the 'arrogant' nature of the 'schismatics and the other barbarian nations' he has put to flight.[436] That the Orthodox Ethiopians are placed alongside the Oromo in this discussion illustrates the extent to which the Jesuits believed in the equivalent level of serious danger posed by these two othered groups to the Catholic identity and continued survival of Ethiopia's ruling Solomonic dynasty. Although, as we have seen, the Oromo resided in Ethiopia as an important and integral influence

[431] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter from […] Goa, 1612', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.71. My emphasis.
[432] Beckingham and Huntingford*, Some Records of Ethiopia,* p.55-56.
[433] Ibid., p.54.
[434] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.103.
[435] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1613', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.77.
[436] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1622', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.111.

within the region's dynamic and fluid social networks, they are also figuratively displaced from Ethiopian territory in this narrative by the author's use of the phrase 'barbarian nations,' fiercely rendering these people not only dangerous and renegade, but also as those who belong very much outside the strongly classified boundaries that the Jesuits have defined.

The Jesuits' need to shore up Ethiopia's Christian identity found its refuge in the figure of the emperor, a monarch not just Christian, but Roman Catholic. Territory derived its meaning not only from establishing the 'same' as a foil to the 'other,' but also through the medium of the Jesuits' unique and pragmatic 'way of proceeding.' Páez in particular derived a great deal of their information concerning the realm's kingdoms and provinces from the emperor's advisers and the emperor himself; accordingly, the missionaries attribute authority to him as one aware of the limits of his own kingdom. Asking the emperor about 'limits' presupposes a meaning of territory fixed in the emperor's sovereign ownership of land (but his answer is all based in distance/days travelled, which points to a concept of itinerant territorialisation, similar in some respects to the Tupi-Guarani in Brazil), and rarely allows for other understandings of territorialisation to be made known – ones based, for example, upon the itinerant exercise of power, or the acquisition of tribute through vassalage. This is demonstrated by the Jesuits' struggle to reconcile these forms of power with their fixed classification of 'kingdoms' and 'provinces.' There was, then, an inability or unwillingness on the Jesuits' behalf to acknowledge various Ethiopian forms of territoriality and the exercise of power across space. Thus, although they relied on the emperor's information concerning the boundaries of his kingdom, by choosing to define Ethiopia through a Eurocentric focus on geopolitical borders, the Jesuits paradoxically denied the authority of their beloved emperor and attempted to identify 'territory' based on their own understandings of this concept. Although they did not wholeheartedly ignore the itinerant nature of his power – and indeed, Páez and others bore witness to this first-hand as they travelled with Susenyos and his royal court – itinerancy is never latently established in their accounts as a valid or effective mode of territorialisation as in the Ethiopian *Chronicle of Susenyos*. In the words of Pennec and Toubkis, the *Chronicle* insists that 'power was mobile, not immobile,'[437] whereas the Jesuits believed

[437] Pennec and Toubkis, 'Reflections on the Notion of Empire', p.241.

in the strength and efficacy of immobile centres of authority. In particular, they understood this authority to rest in and radiate from Susenyos' camps. This is best demonstrated by the fact that Jesuit churches and residences were constructed along the itinerant route taken by the royal court, and near to the emperor's own campsites – a factor which will be discussed in the following chapter. They presented, therefore, a very different territorial picture from that of Ethiopian accounts. In practice, Susenyos' territory was not strongly classified. Ethiopian methods of territorialisation relied upon not just itinerant displays of military strength but also, more importantly, networks of political influence and socio-economic relations which permeated and transcended the regions that the Jesuits attempted to demarcate with clear boundaries. To their minds, Christian Ethiopia had to be defended and protected from all groups and individuals considered hostile to their agenda, the Catholic faith, and God's people.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that the Jesuits engaged in a conscious ideological framing of Ethiopia's native territorialisation. Just like the Brazilian *sertão*, this engagement enabled the priests to make sense (and use) of their surroundings, but it also demonstrated – and enhanced – the concept of their institutional identity and their contribution to the worldwide 'unity of souls.' Although employing different tactics for descriptions of the native territory of Brazil and Ethiopia, both renditions point to a justification for the mission and exemplify the Society's institutional identity. In Ethiopia, the Jesuits could claim that the culturally-familiar and 'Christian' territory of this otherwise enfeebled region necessitated the presence of God-fearing Roman Catholics to restore it by bringing it back into the fold of the Latin Church. Brazil, on the other hand, was a 'new' land, but it was still part of the Catholic Portuguese empire and therefore had to be subjugated not only by military force, but by spiritual domination. In both cases, the Jesuits appealed to spatial categories in order to render their missions not only justifiable, but praiseworthy – and necessary for the edification of the Society of Jesus and for the greater glory of God.

The Jesuits continued to frame Ethiopia as an empire, not because they were overawed at the extent of

the realm as some scholars have claimed, but because their knowledge of Amharic and Ge'ez provided them with an understanding of the Ethiopian title of *negusa negast*, king of kings. They most likely perceived continuity between this and the traditional nomenclature attached to Ethiopia's monarch by influential Portuguese authors such as Damião de Góis and Francisco Álvares, and employed these terms for intelligibility for those back home not intimately connected with the mission. The Jesuits consciously acknowledged some of the realities of social and political practices of Ethiopian territoriality, as their autoptic explanations show. However, this proto-ethnographic awareness is hampered by the difficulties they had in understanding and conveying this complex spatial organisation from a European perspective, shown by the confusion present among the classifications applied by the authors to their lists.

The Jesuits' conscious construction of Ethiopia's spatial organisation was strongly classified, whereas in reality borders and peripheries were more ephemeral and involved fluid social relations based not only on the payment of tribute, but on trade, war, occupation, and intermarriage. Their texts conveyed aspects of this reality, even if they were not fully cognisant of its implications. Yet their correspondence and larger works created a sense of commonality and belonging through describing sites of inclusion in relation to the boundaries of Christian Ethiopia, howsoever they may have differed from the realities of Ethiopian territoriality. Sameness and otherness were set up in opposition through the descriptions of those regions under Oromo or Beta Israel domination, for example, and even through those belonging to so-called 'usurpers' and 'schismatics.' The existence of these groups within the empire was deeply troubling to Jesuits. Their fear of the potential threats that they posed led them to attach themselves to the emperor and his vassals, and to build a sense of Ethiopian identity, tradition, and hope for the Catholic destiny of the realm around these significant figures, who presented the Jesuits with points of similarity with European political organisation. This did not mean that they styled the emperor as a quasi-European prince or an absolutist monarch, as D'Alòs-Moner has argued; rather, they were aware of the limits of his authority but aimed to counsel Susenyos and his kinsmen with a view to consolidating the Catholic destiny of this much-desired realm. All commentators were dismayed at the depths to which, in their eyes, Ethiopia had sunk. Almeida

complained that the realm had not 'fulfilled her great promise,' perhaps a reference to an idea from a bygone age when prophecy surrounded Ethiopia as the glorious domain of Prester John; yet the Jesuits' 'way of proceeding' for the mission led them to believe that their relationships with the emperor and his royal court were key to saving the entire region from the schism of their forebears and the external threats of invaders. The world which the Jesuits inhabited, and the ways they perceived their holy struggle against the 'infidel,' the dark forces of the world, and the enemies of the faith, led them to style an identity for Ethiopia as firmly Christian – and more than that, as Catholic. This identity-building had a specific and significant spatial aspect which has not always been dealt with sufficiently in scholarship, with Ethiopianists often simplifying the Jesuits' motivations and passing over their perspectives without seeking a comprehensive investigation of Ethiopia's conceptualisation in their texts.

Chapter V

Foundations of Faith: Alterity and the Spatiality of Religious Confessionalism in Ethiopia, 1603-1633

Whereas the previous chapter examined the Jesuits' approach to, and rendition of, Ethiopian native territorialisation, this chapter deals with a more 'local,' site-specific investigation of the material manifestations of the Jesuits' use of spatial tactics – that is, the Jesuits' ambitious building programme. It investigates how the Jesuits responded to and negotiated local contexts through the medium of spatiality, and how they created, appropriated, and managed spaces for their particular agenda. Issues of missionary space and native places of worship are important for historiography concerning the Jesuit presence in Ethiopia and the priests' interaction with the realm's Orthodox Christians. The doctrine, religious practices, and traditions of the Täwaḥədo Church were key aspects of the 'otherness' that the Jesuits constructed for the Ethiopians within their records and correspondence, and it was this perceived alterity that was, of course, the primer for the Jesuits' missionary objectives. They were to challenge the Orthodox views on fasting, abstinence, the Sabbath, and male circumcision, among other practices; and to dispute the theological tenets of Christology and the Holy Spirit, all with a view to persuading the 'conversion' (which will be referred to more correctly as a confessional shift) to Roman Catholicism of Emperor Susenyos and his kin, and eventually the entire realm. Many excellent studies have been written concerning the approach of the Jesuits (and the Portuguese more generally) to the practices, beliefs, and institutional personnel involved in the Ethiopian Täwaḥədo Church. However, while fruitful and often thorough in revealing the precise ways in which Jesuits attempted to denounce and eradicate particular aspects of Ethiopian faith practice they vehemently opposed, these studies lack a spatial element in their investigation of how the Catholic Church interacted with the religious alterity they believed to exist in Ethiopia. Yet the Jesuits' missionary strategy in Ethiopia displayed an explicitly spatial character, which was often consciously promoted by the individual commentators themselves as they sought to define the built environments they inhabited or hoped to inhabit.

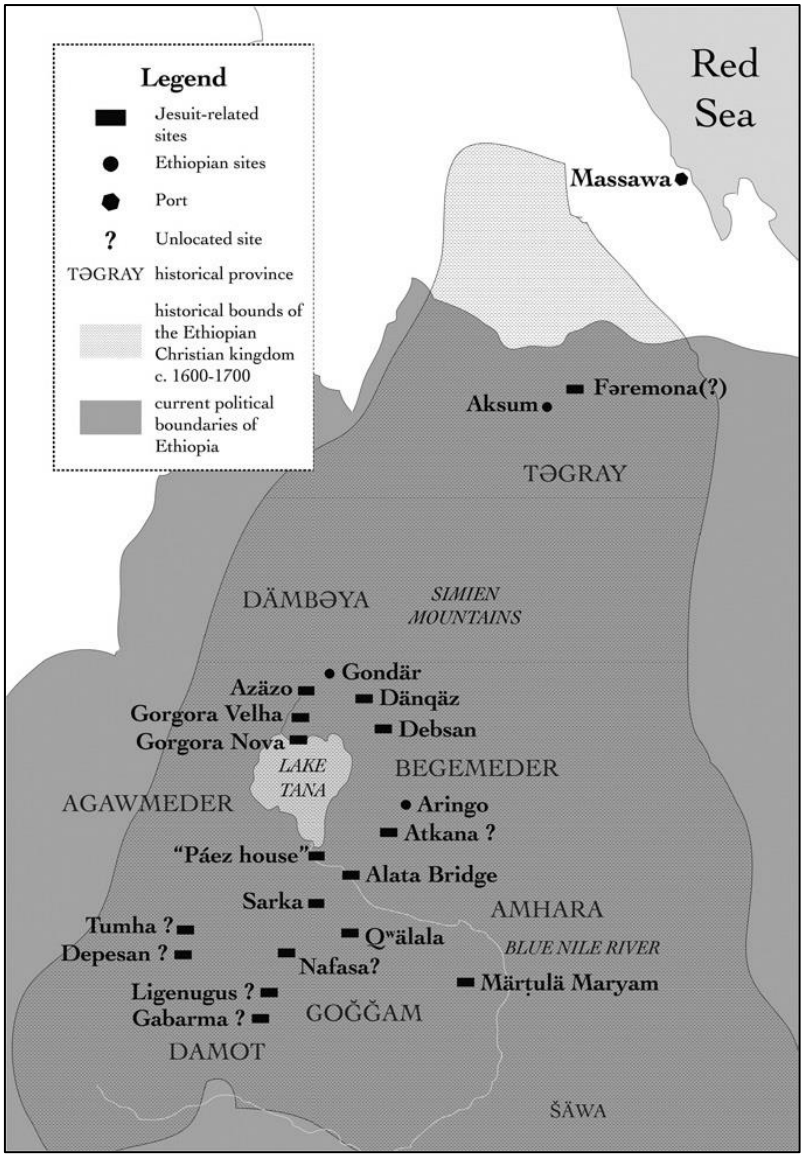

Fig. 11. 'Map of the Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia, 1557-1632.' Kristen Windmuller-Luna, 'Guerra com a lingoa: Book Culture and Biblioclasm in the Ethiopian Jesuit Mission', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 2.2 (2015), p.227.

The Jesuits constructed both residences and churches, along with secular establishments such as the royal court at Dänqäz and other houses and gardens in the 'Portuguese style' in the Gorgora Peninsula, which were commissioned by Susenyos. The base inference here is that the Jesuits asserted that they needed their own places of worship, even though the Täwaḥədo Church had (and still has) many thousands of monasteries and churches. This implies a claim on behalf of the Jesuits that their spaces were the only ones in which the Ethiopians were not wholly seen as 'other.' This pretension reveals itself even more profoundly, for example, in correspondence detailing Father Tomé Barneto's

programme of dismantling the so-called Ark of the Covenant in the Täwaḥədo churches of Aksum, which will be examined in this chapter. By referring to the Jesuits' process of constructing their own residences and places of worship, as well as their attitudes and practical approach towards existing churches, this chapter sheds light upon another important aspect of the Jesuits' perceptions of Ethiopia and their relationship with its people.

The spatial organisations featured in this chapter comprise two main points of departure: power, authority, and legitimacy; and memory and history-making. The normalisation of the Roman Catholic faith in Ethiopia was almost entirely dependent on the financial favour, goodwill, and protection of the country's elite, and as such the first section of this chapter emphasises the role that Ethiopian agendas had upon the creation and management of new Catholic built environs. The Jesuits hoped that by aligning themselves with the local powers, the truth they insisted their Roman Catholic faith to hold would be promoted to the Ethiopian people with authority. This alignment was not merely rhetorical but revealed itself in an explicitly spatialised policy, expressed through the construction program of churches and residences which dominated the landscape around Lake Tana and were built with modern techniques and architectonics in the 'Portuguese style.' Alongside this program sat the impetus of the Jesuits to intervene in the cultural memory of Ethiopia to implement their own Roman Catholic identity. The Jesuits created and promoted to their parishioners a cult of veneration of notable Catholic figures around the important early Jesuit site of Fremona; supplanted the memories of animist spaces with the Jesuits' own; and, most significantly, initiated a programme of dismantling the inner sanctuaries of the Orthodox Täwaḥədo churches in Aksum, replacing them with Roman Catholic altars. The chapter will finish with a justification that these latter acts constituted violence on the part of the Jesuits.

As this chapter focuses more specifically on the missionary context of the Jesuits' presence in Ethiopia, it will first be necessary to outline a brief synopsis of the theological disputes behind the original schism that arose between the Eastern and Roman Churches during the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and the ensuing attempts made at reunification over the next millennium and a half. The first and second phases of the Jesuit mission (across the years 1555-1634) were just the last in a long line

of efforts made by the Roman Catholic Church to bring the Eastern Church under their dominion once more. An explanation of the history and spatial organisation of the Ethiopian Täwaḥədo Orthodox churches will also be provided as necessary context to the analysis given in this chapter.

THE COPTIC CHURCH AND THE ETHIOPIAN TÄWAḤƏDO ORTHODOX CHURCH

In order to understand the initial desire of Ignatius of Loyola to 'evangelise' the Ethiopian Christians, it is necessary to examine the historical relationship between the Latin Church and the Church of Alexandria, otherwise known as the Coptic Church. This section will elucidate some of the variations in liturgy, religious practice, and tradition between the two churches, which gave Roman Catholic interlocutors and Jesuit missionaries so much cause for concern and frustration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The reluctance on the part of the Jesuits (and the Catholic hierarchy) to adapt their position and accept Ethiopia's unique brand of Christianity, strongly reinforced since the Council of Chalcedon in 451, greatly contributed to the external reasons for the total collapse of the Society's mission by the 1640s, although of course internal pressures and societal breakdown in Ethiopia also played a major part in the turmoil of the civil war period in the 1620s and 1630s.

The theology of the Ethiopian Täwaḥədo Orthodox Church was influenced significantly by that of the Church of Alexandria. One of the most hotly debated theological issues between the Jesuits and the Orthodox Ethiopians was that of Christology, that is, the understanding of how Christ's two natures, human and divine, were made manifest within his physical being. Essentially, Alexandrian Christological theology was predicated on an understanding that the two natures were simultaneously present within Christ without contradiction or confusion. This was indicated by a belief in the oneness of Christ's activity (for example, the act of raising Lazarus from the dead saw a unification of Christ's human command and his divine intervention into the natural state of death).[438] Pope Leo I (r.440-461) mistakenly believed Coptic theology to have been influenced by that of Eutyches of Constantinople, whom he condemned as a heretic, and reluctantly convened the Council of Chalcedon in 451 to settle

[438] Lois M. Farag, 'Theology: Defending Orthodoxy', in *The Coptic Christian Heritage: History, Faith, and Culture*, ed. by Lois M. Farag (Routledge: New York, 2014), p.111.

the matter of Eastern Christology. However, differences of definition for critical terms employed to discuss the Incarnation existed between Leo and the Alexandrian Church fathers, such as Athanasius and Cyril. Leo did not refer to the 'unity of natures,' a foundational idea for Cyril, but used terms like 'form,' 'substance,' and 'hypostasis' to refer to aspects of unity. Hypostasis, the Greek word for person, was particularly problematic here and sparked great confusion between the Latin and Alexandrian Churches. Leo's equation of the Copts' use of 'nature' with 'hypostasis' inferred the meaning that there were two 'concrete entities' in the one person of Christ,[439] a logical impossibility which was rejected by the Church of Alexandria, leading to the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches. Added to this, the Nicaean Creed (325) stated that no further creed was to be composed after itself, and as no amendments were permitted, the Coptic Church saw no good reason to accept or action the theological declaration of the Chalcedonian Definition, so at odds with the Biblically-based Christology set down by Athanasius and Cyril.

As Coptic theology insists on the oneness of the activity as carried out by Christ, which points towards the singular person or hypostasis of the Incarnation, this had led the Western Church to mistakenly label and condemn the Coptic Church as monophysite, that is, believing in a singular nature in Christ. This was an inaccurate portrayal of the Copts' Christology and was founded upon misinterpretation and confusion of certain pivotal terms used by Cyril and Athanasius to describe the Incarnation. This confusion persisted in the minds of Latin theologians up until and including the period examined by this thesis. Certain theologians, such as the Franciscan priest and *cosmographe du roi* André Thevet in his *Cosmographie de Levant* (1556), condemned the 'sect' adhered to by Armenians, Greeks, Nestorians, and Ethiopians, among others, who were 'blinded by, and enveloped in the darkness of, error and ignorance' and owed their origins to the heretical ideas of Eutyches of Constantinople.[440] It was these very ideas that the Jesuits – and others – believed that they were stamping out, with the aim of ending the schism and bringing the Alexandrian Church back under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Church.

[439] Farag, 'Theology: Defending Orthodoxy', p.111.
[440] Ibid., p.113.

Until the twentieth century, Ethiopia's sole bishop (or *abuna*[441]) would always be consecrated in Alexandria; thus, strong official networks developed with Alexandria and heavily influenced the practice of the faith in Ethiopia.[442] As the Ethiopian Täwaḥədo Church had fallen under the administration of the Alexandrian Church since the country's initial conversion to faith in the fourth century, it followed the Christological doctrine and certain other dogmas that had developed out of the Coptic religious tradition;[443] the nature of Ethiopia's Christianity is also said to have been initially influenced by the 'Nine Saints,' monks from Byzantium believed to have fled the persecution after Chalcedon and settled in Aksum, establishing the first network of monasteries there.[444] As the Ethiopian Church was so closely aligned – doctrinally and administratively, although there were various disputes across the years – with the Coptic Church, the Catholic hierarchy in Rome and, consecutively, the Society of Jesus, believed it necessary to attempt to topple what they viewed as Ethiopia's heresies and schisms as a way of persuading the Täwaḥədo Church to submit to the authority of Rome.

Christianity is generally believed to have arrived in Ethiopia around the year 346, when Athanasius, the Patriarch of the Church of Alexandria, consecrated the Syrian monk Frumentius Bishop of Aksum and sent him to Ethiopia, although Christianity may already have been in existence before this date through the arrival of Christian merchants from the Roman Empire.[445] Certain traditions in Ethiopian literature – also recounted by Jesuit commentators such as Jerónimo Lobo – also point to a Biblical beginning for Christianity in Ethiopia through the conversion of Queen Candace and her eunuch

[441] This Ge'ez term literally means 'our fathers' and denotes 'leading clerics, heads of monasteries, and the head of the Ethiopian Church,' but is most often used to refer to the latter category. Matteo Salvadore, 'The Ethiopian Age of Exploration: Prester John's Discovery of Europe, 1306-1458', *Journal of World History*, 21.4 (2010), p.601.
[442] Alistair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.13.
[443] Haggai Erlich, 'Identity and Church: Ethiopian-Egyptian Dialogue, 1924-59', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 32.1 (2000), p.24.
[444] Kebede Amare, 'Churches and Monasteries of Tegray: Cultural Heritage', in *Ecclesiastic Landscape of North Ethiopia: Proceedings of the International Workshop, Hamburg, July 15-16, 2011*, ed. by Denis Nosnitsin (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), pp.16-17.
[445] Eivind Heldaas Seland, 'Early Christianity in East Africa and Red Sea/Indian Ocean Commerce', *African Archaeological Review*, 31 (2014), p.640; Dale H. Moore, 'Christianity in Ethiopia', *Church History*, 5.3 (1936), pp.271-272.

official, who is found in Acts 8:26-40.[446] However, there existed alongside this adoption of Christianity a strong Hebraic-Jewish identity among Ethiopians, which was (and still is) proudly upheld by Christians. The Jesuits were intolerant of what they perceived to be Judaic elements in the Ethiopian Täwaḥədo liturgy, doctrine, and (importantly for this thesis), the built spaces of their churches, which closely resembled Solomon's temple. Practices deemed Judaic included male circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and rituals of purity and cleanliness, which according to Taddesse Tamrat owed their preservation to the dependence of the Orthodox Church upon the Old Testament and the rise of the belief that Ethiopians 'were not simply Christians but also the inheritors of the special place that Israel had as the Chosen People of God.'[447] The Ethiopian royal chronicle, *Kebra Nagast* (*The Glory of the Kings*), makes many references to the Old Testament and is, according to Edward Ullendorff, 'perhaps the truest and most genuine expression of Abyssinian Christianity.'[448] One of its most significant claims is that Menilec, the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, a native of Aksum, returned home to Ethiopia from Jerusalem taking with him the Ark of the Covenant from Solomon's temple. Christian churches in Ethiopia have always been built around this Ark, or *tābot*, which the Ethiopians – and of course the Jews – believe to be the very real presence of God. This fact forms a significant basis for understanding how and why the Jesuits approached and perceived the churches of Ethiopia in the seventeenth century, which this chapter elucidates. The Queen of Sheba tradition gave rise to the idea that the Ethiopians were 'children of Israel' and the 'lawful successors of the Jews,'[449] beliefs which, although the Jesuits acknowledged in their histories and correspondence with a certain proto-ethnographical curiosity and pride, they failed to fully appreciate in terms of how intricately and tightly interwoven they were in Ethiopian religious tradition. This intransigence, along with a dismally inadequate understanding of the local socio-economic and political character of Ethiopia and its disparate regions, led ultimately to the dramatic

[446] Sergew Haile Selassie, *The Church of Ethiopia: A Panorama of History and Spiritual Life* (Addis Ababa, 1970), p. 3; Lobo, *Itinerário*, pp.156-157.
[447] Tamrat, 'Evangelising the Evangelised', pp.18 and 19.
[448] Edward Ullendorff, 'Hebraic-Jewish Elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 1 (1957), p.232.
[449] Ibid., pp.216, 227.

failure of the mission in the 1630s, when Susenyos abdicated under pressure to make way for his Orthodox son Fasilädäs to ascend to the throne.

Ethiopian churches were (and still are) replete with references to Old Testament accounts of the Temple of Solomon, the most striking being their tripartite division which corresponds to the Temple's Most Holy Place, the Sanctuary, and the Inner Court or Vestibule, as recounted in 1 Kings 6-8 and 2 Chronicles 3-7.[450] Ullendorff relates that this division of the chambers features in all Ethiopian churches, from the largest to the smallest,[451] and describes this division thus:

> The outside ambulatory of the three concentric parts of the Abyssinian church (which is either round, octagonal or rectangular) is called *k'ane mahlet*, i.e. the place where hymns are sung and where the *däbtära* or cantors stand. This outer part corresponds to the *haser* of the Tabernacle or the *'uldm* of Solomon's Temple. The next chamber is the *k'addast* where communion is administered to the people; and the innermost part is the *mäk'däs* where the *tabot* rests and to which only priests and the King have access.[452]

The *tābot* refers both to the Ark of the Covenant and to the stone tablets which are replicas of the Ten Commandments kept within the Ark.[453] The original, Biblical Ark of the Covenant is said by the Orthodox tradition to reside in the church of Maryam Sion in Aksum, but there have been replicas of this in all Ethiopian churches.[454] The *tābot* has other important symbolic meanings, as it evokes other holy containers found within the Bible, particularly those of Noah's Ark, and the Virgin Mary who carried Christ within her; the *tābot* is therefore a feminine space.[455] The *tābot* therefore points to a rich set of beliefs and traditions, and a marked reverence for sacred Biblical spaces in Ethiopian religious culture.

[450] Marilyn E. Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism, Sacred Geography and the Ethiopian Church', *Journal of Religion in Africa,* 22.3 (1992), p.233.
[451] Ullendorff, 'Hebraic-Jewish Elements', p.236.
[452] Ibid., p.235.
[453] Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism', p.223.
[454] John Binns, *The Orthodox Church of Ethiopia: A History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017), p.80.
[455] Ibid., p.82.

The architecture of the churches in Ethiopia appears to have developed across three distinct phases: that of basilicas in the early Christian period; the cave and rock-hewn churches initiated by King Lalibela in the thirteenth century; and the circular churches which were adopted as an explicit expression of Old Testament appropriation in the fifteenth century, the most notable example of which is that of Our Lady Mary at Amba Gebsen (Guixen Amba), which was built by Emperor Na'od (r.1495-1508).[456] The circular church plan has remained an intrinsic part of Orthodox architecture from the fifteenth century until today, and it is largely these that the Jesuits encountered in their missions across Ethiopia.

POWER, AUTHORITY, AND LEGITIMACY

Once the Jesuits' integration into local contexts began to gain momentum around 1610, they turned their attention to solidifying and expanding their cause through the establishment of both religious and secular buildings, mainly around Lake Tana. The below map (fig.12) shows Jesuit residences and lands allocated to the Jesuits by the Crown.

[456] Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism', p.235.

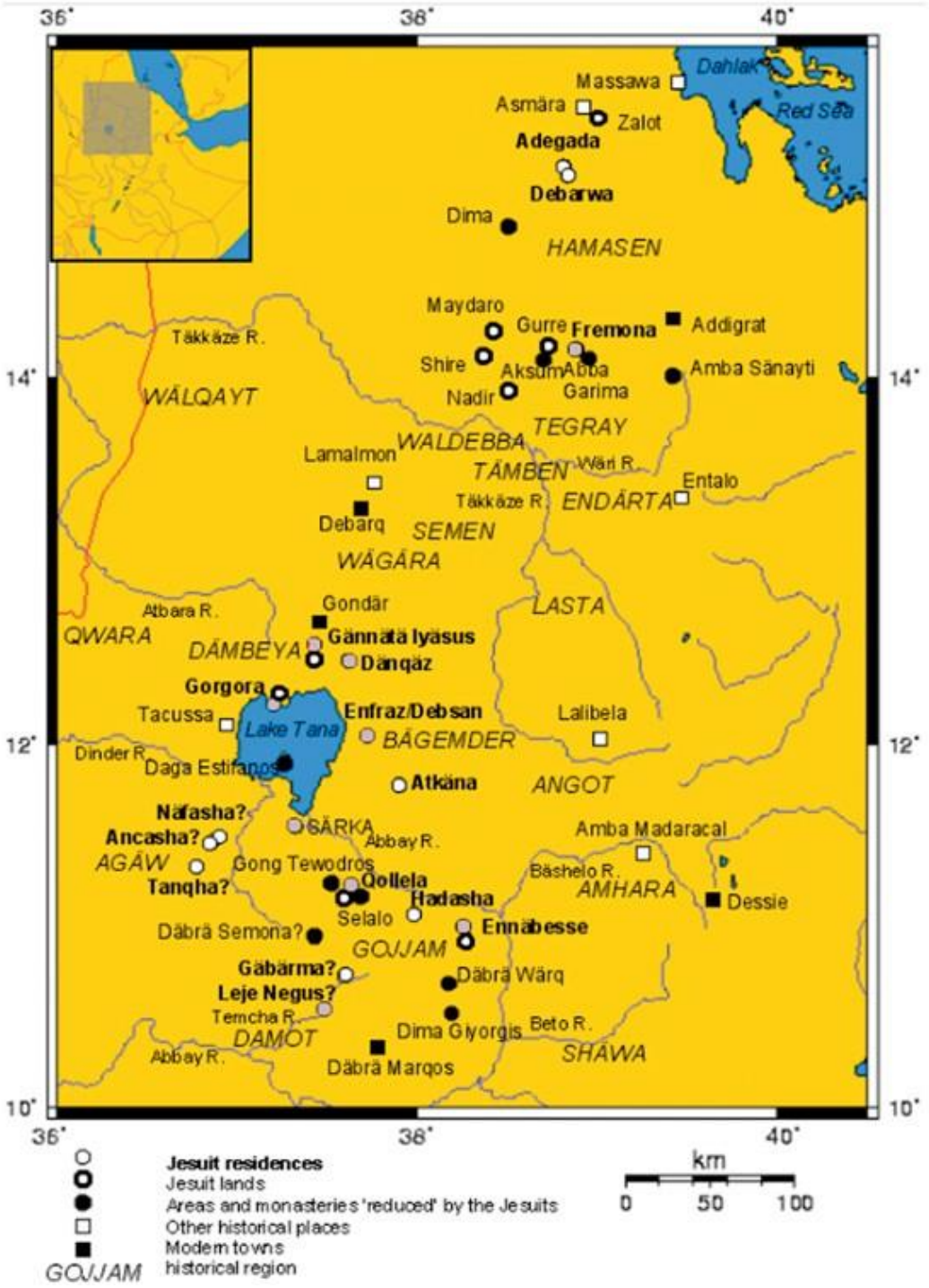

Fig. 12. A map showing areas of Jesuit territorialisation. Andreu Martínez D'Alòs-Moner, *In the Company of Iyäsus: The Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia, 1557-1632*. Published Ph.D. dissertation (Florence: European University Institute, 2008), p.75.

Hervé Pennec informs us that the regions further east (Amhara and Shoa) and south were largely untouched by the Jesuit presence, with the exception of *ad hoc* missions,[457] and that Gojjam and Dambia 'were the two "kingdoms" to have hosted the largest number of residences,' Gojjam bearing witness to the 'prolonged presence' of Sela Krestos and thus explaining this high number in comparison to other regions.[458] Similarly, Dambia was the area where Susenyos chose to establish his various camps.[459] The Jesuits' desire to cleave themselves to the highest authorities in whichever part of the world they felt called to evangelise often took on a similar spatial identity and was a pattern witnessed time and again. They were particularly adept at inserting themselves physically inside the space of their catechumens and establishing themselves as authorities who could claim influence over the daily lives and activities of the society. In Brazil, as we have seen, the Jesuits initially attempted to live among the indigenous communities, but were dissuaded from doing so by the colonial authorities, who were concerned with their proximity to the Castilian settlements. If the Jesuits did not encounter an indigenous spatial organisation which was deemed suitable to their enterprise and 'way of proceeding,' they frequently adapted or invented one (with varying success), thus creating a new or reformed method of managing indigenous space which worked for them. This was no different in the case of Ethiopia, although differing local contexts and power hierarchies both required and enabled the Jesuits to ingratiate themselves with noblemen and women, who were to be the cornerstone of the foundations of Catholic confessionalism in Ethiopia.

Originally, the spatial evangelisation programme developed by Ignatius of Loyola for Ethiopia was far more ambitious.[460] Jesuits responsible for the first phase of the mission, from 1555 to the 1590s, recommended what could be termed large-scale infrastructure, a building project which emphasised the importance of 'building hospitals where pilgrims and those ill with both curable and incurable diseases could be gathered […]; helping to house pupils; [and] building confraternities in order to

[457] Hervé Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.150.
[458] Ibid., p.149.
[459] Ibid., p.149.
[460] Ignatius of Loyola, 'Letter to João Nunes de Barreto, Patriarch of Ethiopia', in *Jesuit Writings of the Early Modern Period, 1540-1640,* ed. by John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), p.28-29.

redeem captives […].'[461] This missionary strategy ran concurrently with other instructions to priests which, for example, stipulated that 'good books' along with the 'rites […] of the Church, and decretals of the Apostolic seat and Councils' should be sent for the instruction of the Ethiopians in Catholic theology.[462] Carrying out this concept of 'imported' spaces – European-style colleges, hospitals, and universities – would, it was hoped, exert authority over the education and conversion of the population, and would touch the lives of all echelons of society – including children, the poor, the ill, and even those ransomed from captivity. Such a programme would seem to mirror the ethos of the early Society, which corresponded far more to the pastoral care for the community.[463]

However, this strategy would never become a reality. Importing European infrastructure into Ethiopia did not work the way Loyola presumably hoped when he first developed the initial *modo de proceder*. Neither resources nor manpower were available to construct new buildings and public services on such a grand scale, and transporting the required manpower from the Society in Europe was simply not logistically viable. A programme of this scope did not allow for Ethiopian territorialisation and use of space already in place.

The second phase of the mission, in the first half of the seventeenth century, therefore had to allow for such limitations. Yet the Jesuits' architectural programme during this period was still ambitious, revealed through the statement of its two objectives, which were 'first, to provide missionary residences with spaces suitable for carrying out their socio-religious reform and, second, to provide Ethiopian royalty with an architecture of power.'[464] Historians and archaeologists such as Hervé Pennec and Victor Fernandes et al. have recently demonstrated, both through excavations and investigations into the spatial arrangement and placement of Jesuit buildings, the missionaries' concentrated attempts to integrate themselves into already-existing frameworks of power, and to

[461] 'Recuerdos que podran ayudar par a la reduccion de los Reynos del Preste Juan ala union de la yglesia, y Religion catholica.' ARSI, Goa 39. I. 'Goana Hist. Aeth. 1549-1629.' f. 12.r. Translation mine.
[462] Ibid. f. 12.r.
[463] John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp.166-167.
[464] Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner, 'The Infrastructure of the Mission: Convents, Palaces, and Temples', in *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Missions in Ethiopia (1557-1632)* ed. by Victor M. Fernández, Jorge de Torres, Andreu Martínez d'Alòs-Moner and Carlos Cañete (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p.24.

promote the authority and veracity of their faith to the ordinary people. Archaeological surveys have shown that important Jesuit sites, such as Gännätä Iyasus and Dänqäz, mirrored 'the same spatial settlement model' that previous Täwaḥədo Orthodox churches had occupied; that is, the close proximity to the palaces or fortresses of the nobility. However, while Orthodox churches were built near to the royal complexes, the Jesuit missions 'were erected at the same elevation and very close to the royal compounds (at varying distances but not further than 300m).'[465] The decision to place themselves physically inside the emperor's circle therefore exemplified the Jesuits' aim to assume the role in society previously managed by the Orthodox Church, that of mediator between Church and State – and in fact, in many cases, to assume an even more intimate relationship.

The importance of Jesuit residences' proximity to the royal court regarding the life and function of these buildings is demonstrated by the example of the house built by Páez at Kund Amba, on the Gorgora Peninsula. When it was constructed around 1614, it was located in the same place that Susenyos had established his temporary camp and was, according to Almeida, an impressive sight. The building comprised two storeys and a terrace; the external and internal walls were built with finely cut white ashlars,[466] made with local stone and built by Indian masons like Manoel Magro, a convert to Catholicism whom the Jesuits had brought to Ethiopia.[467] Yet a mere two years later, the Jesuit residence was abandoned when Susenyos decided to move his camp to Dänqäz,[468] and the Jesuits saw no further use for their residences if they were not adjacent to the emperor's immediate circle (the exception to this being the already-existing Fremona, which will be discussed later). Although this building soon fell into ruin, the knowledge of its temporary usage did not prevent the Jesuits from lavishing great effort and attention upon the architectonics of this residence. The act of erecting these buildings, which were in some cases constructed with new architectural and functional

[465] Victor M. Fernández and others, 'Archaeology of the Jesuit Missions in the Lake Tana Region: Review of the Work in Progress', *Aethiopica,* 15 (2012), p.86.
[466] Camillo Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*, vol.6 (Romae: C. de Luigi, 1910) (hereafter *RASO*), p.294. All translations from these volumes are mine.
[467] At times, when manual labourers were hard to come by, the Jesuits themselves took on the role of bricklayers and builders. See Father Bruno Bruni's account of the construction of the new church at Fremona in 1629. 'Father Bruno Bruni to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Ethiopia, 30 June 1629', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.138.
[468] D'Alòs-Moner, 'The Infrastructure of the Mission', p.21.

features such as sandstone ashlar masonry (developed by Magro) and underground water circulation,[469] was edificatory in itself and intended to publicly promote not just the conjunction of the Society of Jesus and the Ethiopian nobility through displays of patronage, but the perceived cultural superiority – even cultural imperialism – of the Europeans.

When the new wave of Jesuits arrived in Ethiopia in the first years of the seventeenth century, they found small settlements comprising poor buildings which Páez's letter of 1603 described as 'round, like half an orange, and covered with straw […] such that they might rather be called huts than houses; because all are round and one-storeyed, very small, without any method of division.'[470] This statement indicates a perception that the vernacular dwellings could not even properly be deemed houses because they did not share the spatial layout and architecture of those in Europe. Churches were also branded inappropriate – functionally, because the small, dark spaces of the Orthodox churches did not share the 'telescopic' architectonics of European churches and were therefore branded unfit for what D'Alòs-Moner terms 'Tridentine religiosity;'[471] and ideologically, because the local churches housed what were, for the Jesuits, worrying tropes of Judaic religious practice and belief, a subject discussed further below. Páez wrote that like many of the houses, the church built by Emperor Na'od (r.1494-1508) on Guixen Amba was also 'round, like a half-orange,' and although he stresses some of the more pleasing architectonics of the building such as its 'beautiful white stone,' he describes that 'the whole church is roofed with straw, which makes it so dark inside that one cannot read without a candle.'[472] It was not so much the shape of these buildings that Páez objected to, as churches were constructed in a circular manner throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, with one particular example of this being the Tempietto in the courtyard of San Pietro in Montorio (built c.1502). Páez was clearly more concerned with the materials, which were impermanent and were therefore contrary to much of the agenda of the Jesuits' construction program. Building stone churches was a common part of the evangelisation process in Africa and can be seen in Cape Verde

[469] Fernández and others, *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Missions in Ethiopia,* pp.135-138.
[470] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.11, p.55.
[471] D'Alòs-Moner, 'The Infrastructure of the Mission', p.25.
[472] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.125.

and the Congo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it would appear that for the Jesuits to consider churches 'legitimate,' they had to be built using more permanent materials. The sources are clear that the Jesuits found Ethiopian buildings unimpressive and unsuitable for their activities from the beginning, and once they had received the support and indeed, the encouragement, from the local elite and the emperor, they soon attempted to revolutionise local architecture.

The Jesuits' goals were ambitious. D'Alòs-Moner writes that the shapes and colours of the Catholic churches and residences and the materials used to construct them were a deliberate departure from Ethiopian architecture, whether religious, domestic, or secular,[473] and of course, these architectural elements represented a type of European construction which was brought over with the Jesuits. They were also highly visible landmarks, placed upon hills, 'like the castles of medieval Europe.'[474] This choice of location betrayed the Jesuits' goal of subsuming the already-existing places of worship. The Ethiopians traditionally built their churches and monasteries on outcrops, particularly those in Aksum,[475] occupying important symbolic spaces. The Jesuits' built environs were less symbolic, and in their mirroring of the monasteries and places of worship they aimed at the more pragmatic functions of announcing their visible presence and indicating their authority. Their placement was also intended to aid them as fortresses against the Oromo incursions; this is particularly the case with the residence at Fremona, where, during an invasion in 1612, the village's inhabitants 'withdrew into our residence, which was built in a place overlooking the city, where the walls of our houses offered them an impregnable position.'[476] Almeida wrote that not only did the residence have 'seven or eight bastions with very high partitions in the walls,' the church also had a partition and an elevated bastion, along with 'twenty or thirty rifles' with which to defend the residents from the Oromo or any other enemies of the faith.[477] The Jesuits' buildings therefore occupied secular as well as religious spaces and took roles not traditionally associated with clergy, such as combat. Thus, these spaces not only

[473] D'Alòs-Moner, 'The Infrastructure of the Mission', p.27.
[474] Ibid., p.27.
[475] Niall Finneran, 'Hermits, Saints, and Snakes: The Archaeology of the Early Ethiopian Monastery in Wider Context', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45.2 (2012), p.260.
[476] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of the Province of Goa, 1612', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.72.
[477] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.6, p.378.

assumed a politically and spiritually authoritative position, but their architecture indicates that they were fully intended for the defence and protection of their catechumens, an ambitious and unusual role for a religious order to adopt.

The examples of Gorgora and Azäzo-Gännätä Iyasus further illustrate the ambitions of this building programme. Azäzo, according to Victor Fernández et al., was chosen for its strategic position on the plain towards the northern shore of Lake Tana, and for its abundant water supply.[478] Almeida wrote that Azäzo was a mere 'four leagues' distance from Dänqäz,'[479] meaning that neither the Jesuits nor the emperor were inconvenienced by lengthy travel between the two. The construction work was overseen by Luís de Azevedo, and the complex occupied an important function in the celebrations of the holy calendar, hosting the royal family when they visited for Easter and Christmas.[480] Almeida describes that the construction of the complex came about firstly through the curiosity of Susenyos, who 'always asked the fathers about the gardens of Italy, Spain, and Portugal,' and declared that 'he desired to see in his country the things which he heard from us.'[481] Later, 'seeing that all that had happened measured up to his desires [with the gardens], and after building a few good houses in the manner of the land, he wanted to build a church in the style of those of Portugal,' and he entrusted this work to Páez, who 'began with great enthusiasm' for the emperor and for the 'great service of Our Lord.'[482] The written and archaeological records indicate that the site evolved to further comprise a royal residence, although Susenyos' court was still held at Dänqäz.[483] The church is described as measuring sixty palms in length and twenty-two in width. The local stone which formed the church within and without was reportedly 'very beautiful and finely-cut, in a colour between white and blue. Its doorway has six columns in the Doric style,' and the stone arches in the main chapel, choir, bell

[478] Fernández and others, 'The Mission Sites', in *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia*, ed. by Fernández and others, p.62.
[479] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.6, p.387.
[480] Fernández and others, 'The Mission Sites', p.61.
[481] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.6, p.387.
[482] Ibid., p.387.
[483] Fernández and others, 'The Mission Sites', p.70.

tower, roof, and parapet were 'ornamented with pyramids which are almost all topped with stone balls; the place of six of these is instead taken by gold spheres.'[484]

The emperor came down from Dänqäz to Gännätä 'with his whole court' to lay the foundation stone of the day of Pentecost in 1623.[485] This symbolic act was a tradition of the Ethiopian monarchy usually enacted with Orthodox churches and was carried over to the dedication of the new Jesuit churches, aiding in the validation of the Catholic religion and legitimising its physical presence within the empire in front of many influential elites. A few years later, Susenyos gave his gold crown to be buried among the foundation stones of the new cathedral, built during the patriarchate of Afonso Mendes.[486] Once the church had been dedicated to Jesus by Susenyos, 'not only the church but also the place was known, not as Azäzo, but Gännätä Iyasus,' which meant 'the paradise or garden of Jesus.'[487] Fernández et al. wrote that the royal aristocracy also built their residences on the same site, and that the 'combination of imposing buildings, fresh water, and luxurious gardens aimed to create a "palace" in imitation of the royal Portuguese residences of Sintra or Almeirim.'[488] Gardens were able to be maintained in the plains of Ethiopia due to the area's pleasant, temperate climate, which was home to a wide range of flora and fauna.

Through this building programme, the Jesuits aimed not only to provide Susenyos with pleasant and pragmatic living quarters and a place of worship befitting his new confessional shift to Catholicism, but also to display their architectural skill and construction expertise, glorifying the deeds of the Society and the name of God. Evonne Levy's work on the Jesuit Baroque demonstrates that Jesuit architects and commentators believed the term 'edification,' which was used to refer to the glorification and promotion of the Society's deeds, could be aptly applied to any building programme they undertook, largely due to its derivation from one of Paul's metaphors concerning the construction of a temple in the soul (1 Corinthians 3:19, 6:19). She writes that '[s]trong, stable, and beautiful

[484] Beccari, *RASO,* vol.6, p.388.
[485] Ibid., p.388.
[486] 'Patriarch Mendes to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Dänqäz, 1st June 1629', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.134.
[487] Beccari, *RASO,* vol.6, p.388.
[488] Fernández and others, 'The Mission Sites', p.67-69.

buildings provided both the physical place and the metaphor for the improvement of the soul,' whereas weak architecture was quite literally 'disedifying' and undermined 'the Society's goal of building a community of faithful, of supporting faith, whether that of the ordinary man or woman of the congregation or the wealthy and powerful patron of the order.'[489] Building churches and residences was an important part of the Jesuits' 'way of proceeding' in Europe, with the notion of 'a brick for every soul' indicating that these buildings were not just places of worship but spiritual fortresses built to provide for communities and act as meeting-places for encounters with God and His dwelling place. This was an idea that the Jesuits carried with them across the globe. In Ethiopia, Azevedo claimed proudly that the church of Gorgora Velha 'was the material work and the spiritual edifice of the Roman faith in that empire.'[490] The church was built in stone, and so built to last. Not only were the Jesuits constructing, at a very material and pragmatic level, buildings for the new faithful to worship in, but Azevedo's words also point to an idea that the edifices were physical embodiments of the Catholic faith, dwelling-places for a new – and, Azevedo hoped – triumphal Christianity. The 'Roman faith' is put at odds here with the confessionalism professed by the greater majority of the Christian population, the implication again being that for Jesuit individuals, their own places of worship were the only legitimate ones, the only spaces shielding and declaring the 'true' – and indeed, only – faith.

This was supported, as the Jesuits wrote proudly in their accounts, by the blessing and financial support of many influential nobles. The Jesuits' built environments were both direct results of and contributions towards their rapport with the emperor and his nobles. Within just a few years, the wealthy elite of the country had granted them enough money for the start of their enterprise, and buildings quickly sprung up simultaneously in a number of locations, with other already existing sites benefiting from architectural renovation.[491] Pennec wrote that from the accounts available, it seemed that 'the Ethiopian elite were disposed to give for the establishment of a place of Catholic cult.'[492]

[489] Evonne Levy, *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p.80.
[490] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.11, p.417.
[491] D'Alòs-Moner, 'The Infrastructure of the Mission', p.24.
[492] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.168.

Pennec's table of donations for the construction of Catholic churches shows that Sela Krestos gave the Jesuits 14 *oqueas* (140 *pardaus*) for Gorgora Velha, while Susenyos gave 30 and 60 *oqueas* to Gännätä Iyasus and Ligenegus respectively, while Buco and Apta Jesus also gave generously for Ligenegus and Fremona respectively.[493] Land grants (*gult*) were also awarded to the Society. The *gult* system was 'an institution of land tenure' designed so that the farmers could support the nobles, but during the reign of Gelawdewos in the sixteenth century the system was expanded to more explicitly include the Orthodox church in order to 'provide a living for the priests and an income for the church.'[494] However, under the patriarchate of Afonso Mendes, lands in Dambia, Wägära, and Gojjam were appropriated from the Orthodox Church by Susenyos and given to the Jesuits. In fact, many of the grants historically made to the Church and other notable persons were revoked during his reign,[495] showing how serious Susenyos was in consolidating his new religious policy across his realm. This is well demonstrated by an episode from 1617 in which Pedro Páez and Sela Krestos, eager to begin construction of a new church in Gorgora, discussed the necessity of 'asking permission from the emperor before commencing work, because he [Sela Krestos] did not dare to do so after talking to those who are not affiliated with us.'[496] To settle the problem, Susenyos arrived three days later, and there followed a discussion over whose land the new site of the church belonged to. Luís de Azevedo insisted that the 'high ground' had been especially chosen as the 'desired place;' the emperor asked who owned the land. When Páez responded that it belonged to the prince – unnamed in this account but presumably Fasilädäs – the emperor replied that it was '"no matter,"' and said '"We will see if it is a good location, and if so, I will give him other land."'[497] There were other, far more violent ways in which Susenyos curtailed the primacy of the Orthodox Church. In 1614, he vowed to behead all who declared that there was only one nature in Christ, and monks were flogged for refusing to hear the pronouncements of the king. The *Life* of Wallata Piētros, an Ethiopian noblewoman, records that

[493] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.167.
[494] Donald Crummey, *Land and Society*, pp.5, 55.
[495] Ibid., pp.69, 72.
[496] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.11, p.403.
[497] Ibid., p.403.

many monks and nuns fled violent persecution, often taking refuge in the mountains of Amhara and Shoa.[498] Rebel monks would hurl themselves off mountaintops in order to avoid having to convert.[499]

We can see therefore that the Jesuits were not alone in instituting their program of conversion and reform. Matteo Salvadore, despite arguing that the Jesuits were themselves responsible for choosing a strategy of *impositio* over that of *accomodatio,* emphasises that Susenyos was eager to utilise the Society to 'facilitate a coveted centralisation of power.'[500] This is also demonstrated in that the Jesuits were the only group in Ethiopian society exempt from paying tax.[501] Political as well as social and military motives appeared to be significant elements in Susenyos' choice to engage and promote Roman Catholicism across his kingdom, the attraction of having recourse to Portuguese military personnel in the emperor's struggles against his many enemies being of particular note.[502] Mordecai Abir has examined the socio-political context of Susenyos' ascension to the throne, and has pointed to his need to reform the unstable 'feudal military-administration system,' which in the sixteenth century had transformed the kingdom into a 'confederation of feudal principalities' controlled by non-noble governors and was believed to be the downfall of his predecessor, ZäDengel.[503] Concerning the possibility that Susenyos encountered conflict with the institutional Orthodox Church, it appears from Leonardo Cohen's assessment of the Ge'ez texts that problems only arose between them after the emperor began more publicly to acknowledge Catholicism;[504] it was unlikely that the reason behind his decision to turn to the Roman confession was due to the tension he experienced with the *abuna* or other prelates of the Church. However, other religious motives of Susenyos must be considered. We cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that his confessional shift to Roman Catholicism was authentic, that is, that he sincerely believed in the doctrine, traditions, and theology presented by the Jesuits. Susenyos was introduced to Catholicism at the very beginning of his reign in 1606, yet did not make

[498] Cohen, *Missionary Strategies*, p.68.
[499] Ibid., p.69.
[500] Salvadore, 'The Jesuit Mission to Ethiopia (1555-1634)', p.171.
[501] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1612', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.67.
[502] Crummey, *Land and Society,* p.67.
[503] Mordecai Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea: The Rise and Decline of the Solomonic Dynasty and the Muslim European Rivalry in the Region* (London: Frank Cass, 1980), p.181.
[504] Cohen, *Missionary Strategies*, p.56.

any ostensible sign that he was eager to adopt it until taking Catholic communion in 1622, and it was another two years before he proclaimed his 'new' faith. That he did not rush into this confessional shift shows the careful consideration he gave it, and the Jesuits' letters record the fine details of their extensive public and private debates with the emperor and his court, further showing the amount of evidence and arguments that had to be presented before Susenyos could be won over. However, regardless of his motives, it is clear that negotiation between the Jesuits and the Ethiopians was not one-sided; the Ethiopians had multifarious reasons when exercising their own agency in deciding whether or not to adopt Catholicism and must be seen as decisive actors in enacting historical change during this period of Jesuit mission.

Although the Jesuits were prone to employing hyperbolic language in order to boast in the success of their missions and demonstrate the esteem in which they were held by indigenous authorities, it is clear that in the case of Ethiopia, the priests did indeed share an intimate friendship with Emperor Susenyos, which served to enhance the overall efficacy of their mission. Other nobles were similarly eager to invite the Jesuits to establish a more permanent presence in their regions. The 1611 Annual Letter of Goa delightedly describes Luís de Azevedo's time at the court of the *bahar negus*, or the 'king of the sea,' who was 'considered the foremost military commander of the emperor of Ethiopia […] Having been made general on that account at the frontier of the empire, he withstood an invasion of the Turks into Ethiopia.'[505] Azevedo, the letter reports, was well received by the *bahar negus*'s wife, a maternal cousin of the emperor, and 'with her permission – indeed, even with promise of funding – he planned the construction of a church.'[506] Support of this noblewoman (sadly unnamed in this account) was noteworthy for the author of this *carta annua*, as Ethiopian noblewomen actively despised the Jesuits and their ideas, largely because their faith in the Täwaḥədo Orthodox Church featured more heavily in their lives and identities than it did for their husbands, brothers, and sons, who stood to gain the most – in terms of political authority – from the Jesuits' influence. The priests had some success with the women at court in the first decade of the seventeenth century – and indeed,

[505] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1611', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.58.
[506] Ibid., p.58.

the conversion of women around the world was one of their major 'ways of proceeding' – but many significant noblewomen mocked and shunned the Catholic faith, including two of the emperor's sisters and even his mother, Ḥamälmal Wärq.[507] Wendy Belcher's research focuses on Ethiopian hagiographies and Jesuit records to argue that women were one of the primary reasons for the downfall of the Jesuits' mission.[508] The *bahar negus*'s wife's promise of funding was therefore significant, as the Jesuits relied heavily on financial contributions from local elites in order to expand their infrastructure. Here we see not merely the intertwining of Church and State, but the personal blessing and pecuniary support of a woman with great prestige whom the Jesuits no doubt hoped would advocate for their mission on their behalf.

This account of the church's foundation notes the role of yet another woman, again unnamed, in bringing the Catholic faith to this remote part of Ethiopia:

> Now, it happened that […] a Christian woman had been in the very place designated for the church and in her dreams had seemed to behold the Virgin Mother of God. Afterwards, filled equally with wonder and joy at the event, she interpreted her vision as relating to the church and shared it with everybody.[509]

The Jesuits were eager to legitimise their building projects not merely through the pragmatic examples of funding and protection from Ethiopian nobles, but also through relaying accounts of the spiritual experiences local Ethiopian Christians had at the Jesuits' chosen sites. Clearly, there are layers of interpretation when examining this kind of text. Firstly, this is a particularly vague account and its lack of detail would seem to suggest the episode's relation to 'real' events is doubtful. Jesuit authors, as we have seen time and again, would often include information that their superiors wanted to hear, or that they believed would enhance the reputation of the Society. Secondly, however, this is reportage not from one individual's correspondence, but from a *carta annua* from the Goan province, which means it was likely to have been shorn of any extraneous detail for brevity's sake. Perhaps

[507] Leonardo Cohen, 'Introduction to the Text,' in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, pp.11-12.
[508] Wendy L. Belcher, 'Sisters Debating the Jesuits: The Role of African Women in Defeating Portuguese Proto-Colonialism in Seventeenth-Century Abyssinia', *Northeast African Studies*, 12 (2013), pp.121-166.
[509] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1611', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, pp.58-59.

there were further aspects of the Ethiopian woman's dream that did not make it into this copy. However, what is probable is that emotions, dreams, and prophecies could have as concrete an effect upon the promulgation and acceptance of the Catholic faith in the empire as the Jesuits' relationships with the emperor and his kin, especially if they concerned the Virgin Mary. Although the Jesuits were not willing to incorporate many elements of Ethiopian Christian faith into their buildings or doctrine, they did not hesitate to appropriate the figure of Mary, a figure vital to Roman Catholicism but also of central importance to the faith of Orthodox Ethiopians.[510] This local woman's experience of a powerful vision, in the Jesuit author's eyes, signified a divine acclamation of the new Jesuit church, and pointed to a holy blessing upon the site upon which it was to be built. This prophetic promise was married with the secular patronage of the royal family in this account. When the *bahar negus* returned to see the work the Jesuits had performed, 'he visited the church with the foremost men of the kingdom and participated in the sacred rites […] Christians native to the city listened to the holy service according to the Roman rite, and kissed the walls of the church reverently.'[511] Accounts of public demonstrations of approval such as these are employed time and again in the Jesuits' correspondence, as an *apologia* for their presence and as a way to boast about their wealthy patrons. These public demonstrations, they hoped, would also promote Catholicism to the local people, who always gathered to witness the acts of reverence of their lords.

[510] Cohen, *Missionary Strategies,* p.147.
[511] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1611', in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.59.

Fig. 13. Triptych: Icon of the Virgin Mary, Ethiopia, late seventeenth century. Oil on olive wood panel. Detroit Institute of Arts.

Not all Ethiopian nobility condoned the establishment of the Jesuit presence. Almeida's account of the residence at Debaroa (Debarwa) confirms the internal political strain inherent in the diffusion of the institutional Jesuit network. He records that the viceroy of Tigrê, the 'distinguished Catholic Keba Christos […] understood clearly the importance of this residence, and wanted to be the author and protector of it.'[512] However, Keba Christos was called to court and the viceroyalty was given instead to Tecla Guergis, who at that time was a noted enemy of the Jesuits, and because Susenyos 'listened to the evil put in his head that this residence might greatly injure the empire,' the emperor decided that no residence would be built in Debaroa, granting the Jesuits the village of Adegada for its foundation instead, a site 'a little more than a league away from Debaroa.'[513] This episode shows the influence that the local elite had over the emperor's decisions regarding the promotion and acceptance of the Society's activities in Ethiopia.

The Jesuits' approach to evangelising in Ethiopia promoted their claim to religious authority and truth, casting the spaces of the Täwaḥədo Orthodox Church as false 'others' via the Jesuits' typical

[512] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.6, p.497.
[513] Ibid., p.497.

modo de proceder, which assumed an explicitly spatial or site-based rhetoric as they sought to construct and manage churches and residences often situated within the proximity of the nobility. All social strata were witnesses to the cleaving-together of Church and State through the consecration of these new places of worship – yet this was an entirely transformed conjunction. The Orthodox Church had been associated with the imperial structure for some centuries, yet the aim of Susenyos to bring the realm under a more tightly controlled, centralised authority saw him look to the framework of power that the Jesuits and the Catholic Church offered.[514] For the Jesuits, the support of the monarchy enabled them not only to finance their agenda, but to operate in strategic locations and make concrete marks upon the landscape not just as a way of advertising their presence, but in order to assume the roles in society previously managed by the Orthodox Church. Through this building program, the Jesuits were explicitly and literally displacing the cultural legitimacy of the already existing religious system, refuting its legitimacy to dictate the religious destiny of Ethiopia, and claiming that it was in fact their approach that should receive attention and supplant the Orthodox Church.

A spatial analysis has shown that the Jesuits believed it crucial to consolidate their authority in bricks and mortar. Finally able to carry out at least part of the original instructions of Ignatius of Loyola, they embarked upon ambitious projects which utilised new building materials and installed cutting-edge technology, seeing this – like the *aldeias* in Brazil – as contribution to the edifying deeds of the Society of Jesus, acts necessary for the continued effort to unify Jesuit souls worldwide. Unlike in Brazil, the Jesuits arrived in Ethiopia to find a recognisable authority – the Emperor. Binding themselves to this authority meant more to Jesuits like Pedro Páez than simply residing at court and spreading their influence through words alone – they believed it vital to ingratiate themselves into an already existing Church-State relationship, usurping the Orthodox Church by creating built edifices which promoted both their legitimacy and their intimate relationship with Emperor Susenyos. Spatial tactics in Ethiopia, therefore, just as in Brazil, were employed as an integral 'way of proceeding,' and

[514] Abir, *Ethiopia and the Red Sea*, p.181.

were arguably just as important to the confessional shift of that realm as the theological disputations and informal discussions that took part within them.

CULTURAL MEMORY AND MAKING HISTORY

The Jesuits' decision to intervene in Ethiopia's cultural memory, which occupied a significantly 'platial' identity (that is, relating to place), and implement their own brand of spatial identity, was strongly related to the ways in which they actively worked to exercise authority and legitimise the Catholic presence through their built environments. This process took three particular forms: creating and perpetuating a culture of memory of notable Catholic figures at important early Jesuit sites; supplanting the memories of animist spaces with the Jesuits' own; and, most significantly, initiating a programme of dismantling the inner sanctuaries of the Orthodox Täwaḥədo churches in Aksum and replacing them with Roman Catholic altars, thus removing the memory and presence of the devil.

The Jesuit settlement of Fremona in Tigrê, the northernmost kingdom of Ethiopia, had been an outlier in terms of the priests' network during the first phase of the mission, a place far from the royal court to which Patriarch Andrés de Oviedo (1518-1577) and 230 other Ethio-Portuguese, mostly descendants of Cristóvão da Gama's military expedition, had been exiled by Emperor Minas (r.1559-1563).[515] In the second phase of the mission, Fremona became an important hub of communication for labouring priests. On arriving into Ethiopia from Goa, new Jesuit personnel first checked into Fremona before being dispatched to other parts of the empire.[516] This was because of its close proximity to the Red Sea – Lobo informs us that the residence was 'approximately five days' journey' from the coast.[517] The residence was also used as a place to dispute theological tenets propounded by the Ethiopian monks, who would pass through.[518]

Alongside its practical and logistical significance, Fremona occupied a more symbolic and even reverential place in the Jesuits' accounts. Lobo claimed that as long as the Catholic faith was

[515] Fernández and others, *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia*, p.43.
[516] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.165.
[517] Lobo, *Itinerário*, p.183.
[518] 'Excerpt from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1611', in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.58.

unfavoured by the emperor, 'Fremona remained a poor, scorned, small village,' but as the faith grew, so did the site, and thus it became 'a great thing in those kingdoms, so that we can refer to it as the principal city of Ethiopia when the empire was converted to Catholicism.'[519] While Hervé Pennec has written that Fremona became an important 'place of memory' for the Jesuits, which was marked by Oviedo's tomb,[520] he has omitted detailed discussion of some of the major purposes the shrine served for the Jesuits in establishing and legitimising their presence in the significant historical location of Aksum, and the role this site of veneration played in the lives of the Orthodox Christians who resided in the area. It is clear that in order to occupy the faith practices and imagination of worshippers, the Jesuits consciously aimed to create a Catholic community at Fremona, one which derived its spiritual worth largely from the cult of veneration of Patriarch Andrés de Oviedo's shrine.

This veneration was actively encouraged by Jesuits, who held Oviedo to be a champion of the Catholic faith. Although never canonised by the papacy, Oviedo was described by Lobo as 'sainted'[521] and by Almeida as 'holy,' (*santo*)[522] and mentioned by other Jesuits using similarly reverent terms. Oviedo's cult appears to have dominated many of the sacred festivities that were held at Fremona, particularly during Holy Week. The Annual Letter of 1609 relates that 'a huge crowd flocked to adore the holy cross: the procession of supplication led next to the place where the triumphal image of Christ's labours had been erected and graced with indulgences by the Most Reverend Patriarch Andrés de Oviedo.'[523] The 'fervour and piety' of the Ethiopians' behaviour around the chapel containing the cross is also recounted in the Annual Letter of 1612, when Fremona bore witness to a public adoration of a state of the Virgin Mary.[524] Many in Fremona were said to have confessed and atoned for their sins, including a young noble girl with a 'grave illness' who had been rendered mute by a 'demon lurking within her tongue' and had to have her father make the sign of the cross over her

[519] Lobo, *Itinerário,* p.183. Once again, Lobo waxes lyrical here – there were no cities in Ethiopia, as mentioned by nearly every Jesuit commentator; neither did the whole empire convert, only the emperor and some of his kin; but again this demonstrates the expectation Jesuits placed upon the emperor to reliably pass down faith to his citizens.
[520] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean,* p.154.
[521] Lobo, *Itinerário,* p.182.
[522] Beccari, *RASO,* vol.12, p.378.
[523] 'Excerpts from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1609,' in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, p.43.
[524] 'Excerpts from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1612,' in *Latin Letters in Translation,* ed. by Belcher, pp.68-69.

mouth so that she could 'set forth her sins.'[525] The sacrament of confession is emphasised in this account, notable for the fact that confession was not practised in the Täwaḥədo Church tradition; and the act is attributed here with greater spiritual authority due to its enactment in the shadow of the cross erected by Oviedo and imbued with indulgences, the promise of forgiveness for sins in exchange for the reverence and celebration of the cross.

Other stories of miracles and healings pepper the Jesuits' accounts from Fremona. One man struggling with epilepsy 'offered frequent prayers to the Holy Virgin and to Lord Andrés de Oviedo, also venerating that man's tomb' and he 'asserted before many witnesses that he had been freed from his illness at the moment he yielded to his care and assistance. In order to demonstrate this more clearly, he made his home in the city of Fremona (having abandoned his native soil).'[526] Another man suffering with pain in his knee 'frequented the church with much heartfelt affection until, taking earth from the tomb of Lord Andrés de Oviedo and mixing it with lustral water [water used for ritual purification], he applied it to his knee and obtained the cure he desired.'[527] Again, as in Brazil, Jesuit letter-writers were keen to edify their works and transmit their major successes in the missionary field, and as such the actual importance of Fremona to the local Ethiopian community, and the impact that acts and experiences of veneration had on the lives and confessional identity of these people, has of course to be called into question. Yet what these sources do accurately impart is the Jesuit idealisation of Roman Catholic space abroad. Both the *aldeias* in Brazil and Oviedo's shrine at Fremona allowed the Jesuits to gather together native catechists in strongly-framed places where the latter's spirituality could be harnessed and directed. The Jesuits could then record the ostensible expressions of Catholic faith, howsoever these may have manifested in actual fact, for the contribution to the strength and growth of the global Catholic community. The pride that the priests had in both the *aldeias* and the community at Fremona can clearly be seen in their letters.

[525] 'Excerpts from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1609,' in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.43.
[526] 'Excerpts from the Annual Letter of […] Goa, 1613,' in *Latin Letters in Translation*, ed. by Belcher, p.90.
[527] Ibid., p.91.

Jesuit residents of Fremona aimed to create the impression of a vibrant site upon which Ethiopian Orthodox Christians could engage with a recently-implanted culture of worship and veneration at a site which the Jesuits themselves had instituted to be entirely Catholic in its identity. This site offered Jesuits the opportunity to control and assess, on a local level, the spiritual lives of their parishioners. Perpetuating not just Oviedo's memory but also actively encouraging the laity to supplicate his divine intervention in the present – and to take part in processions and the worship of the cross, just as they did in Brazil – enabled the Jesuits to establish their residence and chapel at Fremona as sites of significant worth in the lives of Ethiopians, all to persuade the confessional shift to Roman Catholicism. The Jesuits moulded this site in a way which they hoped would cement their role in Ethiopia's history and shape its spiritual identity in the present, attempting to outperform the role heavily dominated by the Orthodox Church and its Hebraic-Jewish tenets.

This effort to create a Jesuit history for Ethiopia is indicated by the very name of Fremona. Pennec writes that to his knowledge, the name was not in evidential use until Pedro Páez referred to the residence as such in the seventeenth century,[528] the phase of the mission which rejuvenated the site as a place of divine miracle, confessional encounter, and a vital communication centre for Jesuit personnel. The etymology of Fremona is described by Manuel da Almeida, who tells us that the residence 'took this name from Fremonâtos, the first bishop of Aksum, who our books […] call Frumentius.'[529] The Syrian monk Frumentius was consecrated by Athanasius in the fourth century to evangelise Ethiopia, and although Jesuits do not comment on the choice of his name for the residence, he appears to be a rather efficacious namesake as one who brought Christianity to that country before the split between the Latin and Eastern Churches caused by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The Jesuits were simultaneously embracing and promoting the memorialisation of an evangelist held in high regard by the Ethiopians, and connecting the ancient Christianity he espoused with the program of religious reform they were aiming to establish and promote in Ethiopia. Adopting the Coptic Orthodox figure of Frumentius for the Jesuits' residence was surely a public display of their

[528] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.155.
[529] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.6, p.378.

acknowledgement of Ethiopia's rich religious tradition, but crucially only the part of that tradition which presented Jesuits with an uncontroversial waypoint across the confessional divide. They created a new religious identity for Aksum, one which evaded the Judaic influences upon Ethiopian Christianity whilst employing the hallowed name of Fremonâtos to evoke a return to an orthodox past, albeit one now imbued with a strong Jesuit flavour.

As well as constructing their own churches and residences, the Jesuits believed in the necessity of building over already-existing sites, some of which were potentially Orthodox. This was a well-known tactic of the erasure of a place's memory and cultural significance, and has been carried out throughout history, with examples to be found in Spain, with the construction of Christian churches over the sites of mosques. Almeida records that Frumentius' cathedral was founded in Aksum at a place very close to the Jesuits' own site,[530] meaning that, according to those involved in the recent archaeological excavation, the priests sought to appropriate a site of religious activity that had been highly important in the religious lives of the local Christians.[531] This can also be observed at Dabsan, a significant Ewostatewan monastic site, and Martula Maryam, where the popular and pious Queen Eleni (c.1431-1522) had founded a monastery around 1500.[532] There appears to be an evidential basis for Pennec's suggestion that the Jesuits deliberately chose to found their residences and churches upon previous Orthodox sites,[533] surely a concerted effort to entirely replace the memory of the Orthodox church and undermine their function in Ethiopian society.

The Jesuits' built 'way of proceeding' continued methods first adopted by Emperor Lalibela in the thirteenth century, whose hewing of the famous rock churches aimed to eradicate, so Pedro Páez claimed, pagan places of worship still prevalent in the empire. Páez writes in his *History* that 'it was always the custom of benighted heathens to worship their false idols and offer them sacrifices on high mountains and beneath cool and shady trees.'[534] He recalls the 'heresy' and paganism of the Agous, an

[530] Beccari, *RASO,* vol.5, p.418.
[531] Fernández and others, *The Archaeology of the Jesuit Mission in Ethiopia,* p.45.
[532] Ibid., p.45.
[533] Pennec, *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Pretre Jean*, p.144
[534] Páez, *History of Ethiopia,* vol.1, p.123.

animist people of Gojjam, whose beliefs and practices were 'now dying out' through the ministering of Fathers Francisco de Angelis and Luís de Azevedo. He goes on to say:

> And they [the Jesuit fathers] have built churches in the main places where they [the animist peoples] used to practice their sorcery in order to [remove the memory of them], which is the means that the emperors also used for the same purpose, building them on the mountains where they used to offer sacrifices to their idols; they did that particularly on Guixen Amba where, because it is such a noteworthy mountain in height and strength […], the heathens formerly made great sacrifices to a famous idol that they had there […]. But to remove the memory of this accursed idol, Emperor Lalibela, who reigned in about 1210, built a church for Ethiopia the great and beautiful in the same place, and dedicated it to God the Father.[535]

Páez records that the Jesuits were consciously following the strategy of former emperors in order to eradicate not just the physical places of worship they considered subversive and idolatrous, but the memories of them as well. Memory and place were, then, for Páez in particular, closely intertwined. Overlaying a site of worship which held great meaning for animist worshippers with that of a Catholic church enabled the total eradication of not just the historical site but the significance of that site, allowing the Jesuits to become, in theory, the sole owners and directors of spiritual authority in that area. Although impossible in practical terms for the priests to completely monopolise religious identity in Ethiopia, to Páez it was plain that whoever controlled the place controlled the memory attached to that place – and cultural memory, the Jesuits had realised, exerted a significant force in the spiritual lives of Orthodox Ethiopians. Thus, this ambitious program of platial eradication became imperative for his mission strategy. Páez recognised the importance of these places in Ethiopian culture and sought to imbue them with a new religious identity; that he adopted Ethiopian tactics to do so demonstrates his acknowledgement of what he believed to be the importance and efficacy of the strategies of influential Ethiopians in asserting their faith.

[535] Páez, *History of Ethiopia*, vol.1, p.124.

There were yet more ways in which the Jesuits aimed at eradicating or manipulating the memories of elements of faith practice they regarded abhorrent. As related above, on engaging with the Christian faith of the Ethiopians, the Jesuits encountered a strong, unique religious identity which had arisen out of their long-standing isolation from the rest of Christendom, their relationship with the Coptic Church at Alexandria, and their Judaic heritage. This was manifested not only in beliefs and practices, such as their Christology, their retention of the custom of male circumcision, and their keeping of the Sabbath, but in the construction and spatial organisation of their places of worship. Crucially, this had a far-reaching impact upon the Jesuits' perception of the Ethiopians' faith.

The Jesuits' attitude towards Ethiopian places of Christian worship was not wholly pejorative; indeed, individuals showed some appreciation of their size and aesthetic beauty. Pedro Páez described 'the most celebrated churches in the kingdom (*reino*) of Tigrê,' the first being that of Our Lady in Aksum 'where the emperors come to be crowned,' which has three large naves made of various types of beautiful stone, and three spacious atriums made of brick.[536] The order of superlative evidently, according to Páez, corresponds with the material beauty of the churches themselves, as he states that the second best church in Aksum after Our Lady is that of Abba Garima, which like the first 'has three naves, but is like a hut (*palhota*), although competent enough [in its decoration], with a painted ceiling and a niched vault,' and 'can compete with Aksum [Our Lady], for the time being.'[537] However, Páez's main criticism of Abba Garima is that it 'appears more like a synagogue than a Christian church.'[538] Páez does not offer a qualification for this statement but one can reasonably assume that it derived from his understanding of the spatial arrangement of the Orthodox churches and its possession of the Ark of the Covenant. It was this belief that caused the Jesuits to undertake a violent program of physical defilement of these places of worship in Aksum.

[536] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.11, p.128.
[537] Ibid., p.128.
[538] Ibid., p.128.

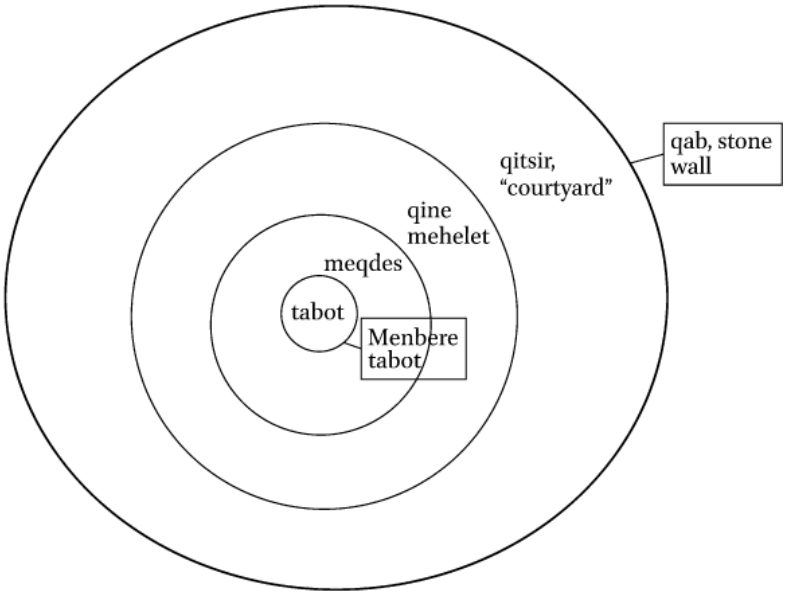

Fig. 14. Concentric diagram of the tripartite division and surroundings of a typical Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In Eliza F. Kent and Izabela Orlowska, 'Accidental Environmentalists: The Religiosity of Church Forests in Highland Ethiopia', *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture, and Ecology*, 22.2 (2018), p.129.

This defilement was particularly concentrated on the Ark of the Covenant and its surrounding partition. The Jesuits did not seem to be concerned with any other part of the churches' physical structure. As Edward Ullendorff wrote, the Ark of the Covenant, or the *tābot*, 'has formed the centrepiece of the Ethiopian church since time immemorial.'[539] Ethiopian Christians believed, and still believe, themselves to be 'God's Chosen People after the Israelites' and consider themselves to be the 'caretakers' of the Ark of the Covenant.[540] The *Kebra Nagast (The Glory of Kings)* itself declares that God Himself 'is the Maker and Fashioner' of the *tābot.*[541] This ancient Ethiopian text also describes the *tābot* as

> a heavenly thing and full of light; it is a thing of freedom and a habitation of the Godhead, Whose habitation is in heaven, and Whose place of movement is on earth, and it dwelleth with men and with the angels, a city of salvation of men, and for the Holy Spirit a habitation.[542]

[539] Ullendorff, 'Hebraic-Jewish Elements', p.233.
[540] Semere Tesfamicael Habtemariam, *Reflections on the History of the Abyssinian Orthodox Täwaḥədo Church* (Trenton: African World Press, 2017), p.78.
[541] E. A. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Kebra Nagast* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), p.1.
[542] Ibid., p.12.

It is this object alone which consecrates a church, and once it is removed for occasions such as the Feast of the Epiphany, the empty building is no longer considered holy.[543] For the Jesuits, the opposite was the case – the presence of the Ark rendered the church an unholy temple unfit for the praise of God, as is aptly demonstrated by the rhetoric and actions of one particularly zealous priest, Father Tomé Barneto. Barneto was ordered to go to Tigrê by Viceroy Tecla Guergis (the emperor's son-in-law), 'to destroy the *Sancta Sanctorum* [Holy of Holies] of the church at Aksum, which housed the Ark of the Testament, or Zion, as they call it, and to erect a Roman altar.'[544] Barneto records that he duly 'wrested this stronghold from the Devil,' and having done this he travelled to another church to repeat the process, recording that

> I quickly took down nine black veils [*veos*] that had divided the church into various partitions, until I reached the Holy of Holies [*Sancta Sanctorum*]. With my own hands I dismantled the tabernacle (as there was no one who dared to do it), in which lay the Ark of the Testament [Covenant].'[545]

On a pragmatic level, Barneto employed this episode as an edificatory advert for himself personally, and for the Society of Jesus as a corporate body. Similar to the approach of Barneto's Jesuit predecessors in the Brazilian *sertão*, the physical space of the Orthodox church is here presented as something to be conquered, with Barneto himself ostensibly the only warrior to defeat the occupying threat of the Devil. Upon entering indigenous spaces that the Jesuits found alien and uncomfortable in both Brazil and Ethiopia, they felt compelled to create their own spaces where they could direct and control spiritual behaviour and compel them to submit to Roman Catholic beliefs. Yet Jesuits still seized opportunities afford them by the perceived 'dangers' or demonic presences within a native space, despite their active disdain for liminal, ambiguous spaces. It is clear from Jesuit correspondence (particularly that of Barneto in Ethiopia and Azpilcueta Navarro in Brazil) that these episodes – of the act of entering an indigenous space – could be rendered threatening in their writings to provide edifying accounts of the brave and godly deeds of Jesuit priests worldwide. This therefore enabled them to conform to the epistolary hegemonic ideals of the institutional Society. Spatial

[543] Binns, *The Orthodox Church of Ethiopia,* p.81.
[544] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.12, p.184.
[545] Ibid., p.189.

analysis therefore sheds light on how individual Jesuits contributed to this global 'union of souls,' so important to the founding members of the Society, and also highlights how various spaces – natural (*sertão*) and built (Orthodox churches) – could be rhetorically and ideologically appropriated by Jesuits to further consolidate their institutional identity.

An expression of fear manifests itself strongly through Barneto's account, a fear which he plants onto the native people. He records that on his way to the church, he was met by some of its clergy and *gente do povo,* inhabitants of the area, who ran to greet him and tell him that 'they were greatly afraid that the Devil would bring plague to that place and its villages, for God had not yet entered the church. And with great difficulty I persuaded them to let me pass through, which they did after I promised that I would return soon.'[546] Barneto's narrative is constructed to give the impression that it was he alone who was responsible for protecting these native people by entering and reforming the space, stripping it of any lingering vestiges of what the Jesuits believed to be Judaic trappings of religious identity and practice, and thus demonic presence. He recounted an edifying tale of personal spiritual bravery against Christ's nemesis to his superiors, writing twice that no one else would dare to dismantle the tabernacle, and thus did he advertise his zeal for the Catholic cause. However, although Barneto's narrative frames this unwillingness on the part of the villagers as fear of the irreverence of the space and the potential presence of the Devil inside the Sancta Sanctorum (*qeddesta qedussan* in Ge'ez), it is more likely due to the lingering belief for Ethiopian Christians that it was in fact the holy dwelling place of God. Only mass priests were allowed to enter and approach the altar (*tābot*), for fear that ordinary people would be struck dead by the overwhelming power of God's presence. Like many of his Jesuit colleagues, Barneto believed – or at least, recounted to his superiors – the good news that many of the population were flocking to the priests for Catholic baptism and instruction, but it was highly likely that they retained and continued many of their traditional beliefs and practices.[547] It is hard not to read manifestations of paternalistic attitude on the part of Barneto within this account, the story of a European Jesuit priest harking the plea of black Ethiopians to save their community from

[546] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.12, p.184.
[547] For more information on the architectural and religious similarities between the Temple at Jerusalem and historic Ethiopian Orthodox churches, see Heldman, 'Architectural Symbolism', pp.222-241.

the plague spread by the Devil, who resided in the church because the spirit of God refused to enter such a heretical place. However, it is likely that Barneto misread the emotions of the villagers.

This story provides not just a practical description of Barneto's reformation of the Täwaḥədo church at Aksum, but an insight into how certain Jesuit priests rendered Ethiopian spaces in their correspondence. This account also indicates several significant processes behind the actions certain Jesuits took in othering the Ethiopian Christian faith. Not only did the Tabernacle find itself dismantled and removed, but Barneto also took pains to record that the veils dividing the church into partitions were also torn down. The use and position of these veils or curtains is unclear but scholarship on the spatial layout of Ethiopian Täwaḥədo churches offers some suggestions.

The *qene mahlet* (or *qine mehelet*), the third compartment in the tripartite division of the space of the church, is where the cantors (*debteras, däbtäras*) gather to sing praise to God, and this is divided in turn into three sections by curtains.[548] Twentieth-century observers of the Täwaḥədo church service have commented that the *qeddesta qedussan* is covered with paintings, often hidden by draperies, and that the small wooden door that serves as an entrance into the holy sanctuary is left open during the service, 'but even then the interior is concealed by a veil.'[549] This veil, according to Hyatt, was known at his time of writing as the *mantolaet*, which is drawn by the priest at the beginning of the communion service, with a prayer said before and after this is done.[550] These comments have been made by modern historiography, but much about the Täwaḥədo churches, their spatial layouts and services, have remained constant for centuries, and there is no reason to doubt that these uses would vary dramatically from those of the seventeenth century. While Barneto would have to first take down the veils in order to reach the Sancta Sanctorum, there is another far more pertinent symbolic inference that one can draw from Barneto's act. The Gospel of Matthew recounts that when Jesus died upon the Cross, the veil of the Temple – where God's presence was believed to reside by the Jews – was rent in two from top to bottom (Matthew 27:51), a divine sign that with Jesus' death and

[548] Sergew Haile Selassie, *The Church of Ethiopia*, p.65.
[549] Harry Middleton Hyatt, *The Church of Abyssinia* (Luzac: London, 1928), p.118.
[550] Ibid., p,141.

resurrection, God's presence was to be found and encountered anywhere in the cosmos. For Barneto, removing the veils could have been an important earthly repetition of this divine act; the implication being that it was no longer necessary for Ethiopians to venerate the Ark of the Covenant, as they were Christians and had had this necessity removed from them by grace.

This suggests that Barneto did not in any way believe that the physical spaces of the Täwaḥədo churches themselves to be representative of a thriving Christian faith, despite existing for the purpose of the worship and commemoration of the Christian God. The tearing down of the curtains and the dismantling of the physical space believed to be the dwelling house of God was a sacrilegious and even violent act, and was not confined to one Jesuit individual. Father Diogo de Matos was responsible for destroying altars, veils, and books in the churches of Daga Island, the monastery of which, Cohen writes, was considered by Jesuits to be a dissident refuge, a 'Sodom and Gomorrah.'[551]

A Jesuit priest would never knowingly be induced to carry out such an outrageous act of vandalism upon Christian holy ground, and we can therefore conclude that Barneto refused to acknowledge this church as a legitimate Christian space. It is only once this inner sanctum is dismantled and replaced by a 'Roman altar' that Barneto believes the Devil to have been banished from the building, which has now become a church fit for the praise of God. Barneto's words and actions are examples of a prevailing attitude among Jesuits in Ethiopia that additions of a Roman Catholic nature were the only ways in which an Ethiopian church could be normalised and stripped of its alterity. As it stands, Barneto presents the Orthodox churches as dangerous, due to what he defines as the presence of the Devil within the inner sanctuary, the *qeddesta qedussan*, of the church at Aksum. It would be a mistake to over-emphasise the hyperbole surrounding Barneto's – and other Jesuits' – employment of the figure of the Devil in his narrative. These inclusions, like those made by Jesuits in New France during the same period,[552] appear to be largely symbolic and do not exist to indicate that the Ethiopians were devil-worshippers in truth. However, this anecdote expresses a great deal of fear;

[551] Cohen, *Missionary Strategies,* p.69.
[552] Peter A. Goddard, 'The Devil in New France: Jesuit Demonology, 1611-50', *The Canadian Historical Review*, 78.1 (1997), pp.40-62.

both Barneto's fear that the intangible spiritual threat of the Devil resided within the very real walls of the Orthodox church, and the fear he believed the residents of the region to feel. Although this emotion is partly expressed for edificatory purposes, as suggested above, Barneto's zeal for the destructive task at hand points to a certain superstition that the Devil, and not God as the Ethiopians assert, to reside in the *qeddesta qedussan*. This demonic characterisation of a holy space conclusively denies the sanctity that for centuries the Ethiopian Täwaḥədo Church affirmed the *tābot* and the inner sanctuary to have. In Christianity, the Devil is the embodiment of the absolute 'other', and Barneto's fierce assertion that his presence inhabited the Tabernacle reveals how he sought to frame Ethiopia's Christian identity as owing nothing at all, in fact, to the Christian faith. This episode demonstrates the importance of space for the Jesuits in defining and negotiating the faith of the Ethiopians. It is significant that it is this space of the *qeddesta qedussan* which in Barneto's account holds spiritual power, being the battleground between God and the Devil as an ostensible fight for pre-eminence, with Barneto as God's warrior. It is also responsible for defining Barneto's perception of the Ethiopians' faith.

It would appear that Aksum was targeted specifically for this program of dismantling and replacement. The reason for this is not explicitly stated by the Jesuits in their letters, but the history of this region set the precedence for this decision. This city was the ancient seat of Ethiopian civilisation, a place with clear connections to the influential Judaic figures of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba – so argues Ethiopic literature such as the *Kebra Nagast*. This was a fact which the Jesuits were not only aware of, but actively celebrated within their histories and letters. Jerónimo Lobo described Aksum in his *Itinerário* as the home of many 'monuments of remarkable magnificence.'[553] Barneto wrote that for many years 'it was the metropolis and the head of the Ethiopian empire [*imperio*], and even now her ruins reveal much of her former glory.'[554] However, whilst these accounts evoke a certain pride in this Old Testament tradition, Barneto implicitly claims that these connections to Solomon, the Queen of Sheba, and their son Menilec, are the reasons behind the 'errors' and heresies

[553] Lobo, *Itinerário*, p.155.
[554] Beccari, *RASO,* vol.12, p.202.

that the Ethiopians have fallen into. Relating the story that Menilec returned to Ethiopia with the Ark of the Covenant, Barneto claimed to have interviewed many authoritative men, natives of the land, about the story. He wrote that 'the Abyssinians always mixed their idolatries with the law of the Jews, and after the law of Christ our Redeemer, they mixed them with that of the Jews and the Moors,' so that 'firstly they were neither good Jews, nor afterwards were they good Christians.'[555] Although he attributes this commentary to the reportage of the native Aksumites, it is highly unlikely that they would have framed their religious history and identity in these terms themselves. Barneto clearly puts his own spin on it by characterising it as neither one thing nor the other, something which appears in the comments of other Jesuits around this time. Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), the Visitor of Goa, claimed that the Ethiopians were 'neither Jews nor Christians,' (*'nem são Judeos nem cristãos'*)[556] displaying an interpretation of the Ethiopians' faith as liminal rather than an acknowledgement of its rich Hebraic cultural identity and influence upon their Christian practice. The Jesuits, therefore, understood the historical context for Ethiopia's religious tradition, but although treating this with some respect and even pride in their correspondence and histories, they did not, in practice, make any attempt to accommodate it. This also translated into the way they treated the holy spaces of their Orthodox churches, viewing them as neither one thing nor the other, but it was in this liminality and ambiguity that danger and subversion resided.

It was not just the spaces of the Orthodox churches the Jesuits wanted to 'reform' but the monasteries too. A letter from António Fernandes in 1628 signals this intention, phrased in typical Jesuit rhetoric which aimed to convey the extent of his devotion to the cause. He wrote 'I labour with all possible strength to give shape to all of the monasteries and churches, which are all rough wildernesses.'[557] His effort to 'mould' or 'give shape' to these Orthodox spaces denotes how they were othered by Jesuits. Fernandes deemed them unsuitable or unworthy places of worship and learning, and the practices and lifestyles of the monks within those walls are called into question. Fernandes writes that '[t]he monasteries are such in name only, because almost all who call themselves monks live in their own

[555] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.12, p.204.
[556] D'Alòs-Moner, 'Paul and the Other', p.43.
[557] Beccari, *RASO*, vol. 12, p.291.

houses with wives and children; they hold lands and have almost no obedience.'[558] This passage is notable for including a critical commentary on what Fernandes sees as the monks living out the exact opposite of the three vows of Roman Catholic religious orders, those of poverty, chastity, and obedience. By choosing to emphasise these three aspects of the monks' way of life, Fernandes establishes them as a foil to the Jesuit occupation and claims that these men are not who they first appear to be. Their identity, for Fernandes, is not rooted in their holy profession, but in aspects of their life that Fernandes claims to be wayward – and more than that, he describes them as 'rough' (*bravos*) and even 'wild' (*matos*), and hopes for the 'reform' of the monasteries.[559] The Jesuits, as we saw in Chapter II, were deeply suspicious of wildernesses. Their rhetoric surrounding the *sertão* in Brazil made clear their belief that Christianity could not find a home in such an untameable place due to the disobedient and fickle nature of its inhabitants. Despite the fact that these Ethiopian monks resided in Christian places, Fernandes attributes characteristics to them reminiscent of the Tupi-Guarani societies. Their built environments are not full of faith, learning, or holy works, but are in fact emptied by Fernandes' rhetoric – they are here seen as uncivilised wastelands, tainted by and home to 'rough' behaviour, which points to a certain ethnocentric perception of savagery. His use of the words 'wild' and 'wildernesses' to describe the monks and their monasteries shows how undisciplined Fernandes believes their behaviour to be, the implication of course being that it should conform to the central tenets of Roman Catholic monastic faith and lifestyle.

This attempt at the reform or eradication of the physical spaces of Orthodox worship sits alongside the Jesuit program to suppress Orthodox practices and religious texts. The issue of circumcision, for example, continued to be a thorn in the side of the Jesuits and remained a prominent issue of debate through the entire missionary period, finally resulting in a countrywide ban on the practice once Patriarch Afonso Mendes arrived in Ethiopia.[560] Leonardo Cohen has also shown that the period between 1603-1634 saw the destruction – or at the very least suppression – of Ethiopia's rich literary tradition, the larger aim being to realise Tridentine directives by strengthening the unity of doctrine

[558] Beccari, *RASO*, vol.12, p.291.
[559] Ibid., p.291.
[560] D'Alòs-Moner, 'Paul and the Other', pp.48-49.

and ritual, something which was enabled by António Fernandes' translation of the mass. This reform effort was supported and encouraged by Susenyos and his Catholic brother Sela Krestos, who provided Ethiopian scholars to aid the Jesuits' translations.[561] Not even the Ethiopian Holy Scriptures escaped the Jesuits' attention. Luís de Azevedo believed the Ethiopian Gospels to be full of errors, as 'they were translated from several Hebrew, Greek and Arab versions,' and he suspected that the 'heretics' had 'added or removed many words of the texts in order to justify their misinterpretation.'[562] In the Jesuits' eyes, other ostensible 'errors' and malpractice persisted not just in traditions or in literature but, as this chapter has shown, in the built structures of the Ethiopians' churches and monasteries, the most sacred areas of which the Jesuits attempted to destroy.

Dismantling the Orthodox Churches was a more insidious design to eradicate the traditional confessionalism of Ethiopia – a program of flagrantly opposing their faith in a forceful act of sacrilege, enacted in Ethiopia's spiritual heartland. However, we must discuss whether the act of building over something with significant cultural memory – the act of eradicating places where important practices and beliefs were enabled to play out – is intrinsically violent, or whether we only see it thus when it is placed in the context of cultural and ethnic encounter. There was no attempt made by the Jesuits to physically manhandle people or 'reduce' them into settlements as in Brazil; but the act of the desecration of the Tabernacle is surely one of violence, as it constituted a physical attack upon the beliefs, traditions, and sacred spaces of the Ethiopian Christian population. The sheer act of entering the *maqdas,* where ritually pure congregants would accept the sacraments,[563] approaching the *menbere tabōt,* the 'throne of the *tabōt,*' and touching the Ark of the Covenant, was forbidden to Barneto as he was neither ritually pure nor an ordained Orthodox Täwaḥədo priest. Crucially, however, this happened with the tangible support and invitation of the Ethiopian authorities on both a countrywide and local scale and does not appear to have been a policy originating with the Jesuits themselves. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Emperor Susenyos instituted capital punishment

[561] Leonardo Cohen, 'The Jesuit Missionary as Translator (1603-1632)', in Böll and others, *Ethiopia and the Missions*, pp.8-9.
[562] Ibid., p.14.
[563] Kent and Orlowska, 'Accidental Environmentalists', pp.15-16.

against any who opposed certain Catholic tenets. Both programs – of constructing and dismantling – could only be enacted with the goodwill of the local power structures – we saw that Barneto was 'ordered' to go to Aksum by the Viceroy, Tecla Guergis, to take down the Ark of the Covenant. The violence of this act is not negated because Ethiopian authorities requested the Jesuits to carry out these acts, yet the fact that they were done with permission means that cultural encounter and negotiation of alterity is therefore less cut and dried and far more problematic and complex in terms of Ethiopia than Brazil. We cannot ignore this agency when examining the Jesuits' negotiation of spatial entities in Ethiopia. That the Jesuits were wholly reliant on this agency in promulgating Catholicism in this country is demonstrated by the ultimate dramatic failure of the mission upon the ascension to the throne of Susenyos' Orthodox son, Fasilädäs, who reinstated the Orthodox identity of Ethiopia and banished or executed the Jesuit priests. The Jesuits sought to ingratiate themselves with the authorities in Ethiopia, and in many cases whilst Susenyos was on the throne, they succeeded. The Jesuits were themselves employed by Susenyos and other noblemen as conduits through which to express and certify their centralised power, and tools with which to accomplish their aims. This is not to say that Susenyos et al. were not genuinely convinced of the 'truth' of the Jesuits' theological and confessional doctrine,[564] but it is clear that the alliance between priests and emperor was mutually beneficial, with the consequence that both saw their authority and legitimacy enhanced during their time of working together.

CONCLUSION

A spatial analysis has shown the intricacies of the Jesuits' spatial tactics for evangelising in Ethiopia. As in Brazil, their building projects were ambitious and had far-reaching consequences for their

[564] The notion of 'genuine' conversion, or confessional shift, should not be undermined. Leonardo Cohen rejects the idea that 'religious transformations are engendered by political wills alone […] Catholicism has certainly played a political role in Ethiopia, but not only a political one. It also contributed to the development of new identities by redefining religious ideas and boundaries.' *Missionary Strategies,* pp.11-12. Similarly, Simon Ditchfield has argued that while attempting to undermine the idea of a triumphant 'spiritual conquest' during the 'Age of Discovery,' historians have also 'had the effect of making us underestimate the role of non-Christian rulers in the expansion of Christianity.' It was not always the case that the adoption of the Christian faith was foisted upon passive and submissive indigenous populations, as the case of King Afonso I (Mvemba Nzinga, c.1456-1542) of Kongo reveals. See Ditchfield, 'The "Making" of Roman Catholicism as a "World Religion"', pp.191-192.

engagement with the alterity of Ethiopian catechists. These were unambiguous spaces which grounded the Roman Catholic faith, newly installed and legitimated by Emperor Susenyos' public confessional shift, in a clearly-defined, permanent, and visible manifestation that proclaimed that Catholicism was here to stay.

Spatial tactics were a vital and explicit element of the Jesuits' 'way of proceeding' in seventeenth-century Ethiopia, just as in sixteenth-century Brazil. The Jesuits' approach to their own buildings and those of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christians indicates, as does scholarship focused on different elements of the missions, that the Jesuits had little to no intention of actually navigating or negotiating with the Ethiopian brand of Christianity. As their beliefs were dismantled in open forums at the emperor's court and elsewhere, so too did the Jesuits dismantle the Täwaḥədo religious spaces, desecrating the most sacred compartment, the Holy of Holies, in their active attempts to 'reform' the churches, erecting Roman Catholic altars in their place. The Jesuits strongly believed their 'way of proceeding' should be to supplant the native Ethiopian faith and its religious spaces with their own, and thought that elements of these spaces deemed subversive, heretical, or even diabolical could simply be replaced. The native faith was thus othered by the Jesuits by being dismissed as illegitimate, and in some cases, ostensibly demonic or idolatrous – no vestiges were allowed to remain or to be incorporated into Catholicism, and the Ethiopians' churches, above all, were stripped of anything connected to their rich, cultural Judeo-Christian heritage. In many cases, individual Jesuit priests were fascinated by and indeed even proud of the legendary connections between Ethiopia and the Old Testament, as is evidenced by the recording of these in so many of the Jesuits' histories and letters. Yet for the Jesuits these connections, so entrenched in the Ethiopians' approach to Christian faith and their religious practices and traditions, had to remain in the past, with no manifestations in the present. To ensure that this was the case, the Jesuits legitimised their presence and their faith by attaching themselves to the emperor and his court (much as the Jesuits' presence was given credence and financial support by the Portuguese Crown and colonial authorities in Brazil). This manifested itself physically in their buildings, particularly their residence at Gorgora Nova where the Jesuit residence sat side-by-side with the space occupied by Susenyos. Physically supplanting the Täwaḥədo

Church would have had little to no impact if they had not aligned these spaces with the secular areas inhabited by the emperor, as the Jesuits were reliant on the patronage, support, and protection of Susenyos and his kinsmen. It is important to remember that although the Jesuits' actions could be violent and sacrilegious, they did not act apart from the authorities in Ethiopia. Secular agendas often aligned with those of the priests, who had to be invited or ordered by their secular superiors before they could enact their spatial program of creation and reform.

Built spaces enabled Jesuits to navigate various forms of Ethiopian alterity by creating a new Catholic identity for the area around Lake Tana, bringing native Christian worship in line with Catholic doctrine and liturgy, effectively attempting to eradicate the memory of previously-othered spaces by establishing their own spaces. Through encouraging the veneration of Oviedo's tomb, the Jesuits offered a precise site to Ethiopian Orthodox Christians whereby they met and engaged with a very Catholic brand of faith practice and accepted a part of Ethiopian history that the Jesuits were intimately involved with. This established another significant Jesuit-infused memory, reminding Christians of the role the Society had played and continued to play in their lives and in their country's destiny. Yet the Jesuits would only ever have a limited success with this 'way of proceeding' and would be destined to overreach themselves. The Täwaḥədo churches numbered around 4,000 in Aksum alone; the Jesuits would never obtain enough funding or patronage, let alone support from the Ethiopian people, in order to supplant these spaces entirely and overturn such a rich, ingrained, and well-beloved religious heritage and cultural tradition.

General Conclusions

This thesis has shown how Jesuits from the Portuguese Assistancy of the Society of Jesus contained, controlled, and employed space whilst on mission in Brazil and Ethiopia between 1549 and 1640. A comparative investigation of Jesuit activities in two very distinct global regions has demonstrated that spatial tactics, and considerations of space – both built and natural – were fundamental to the Society's global *modo de proceder*. Jesuit correspondence, histories, and itineraries signal that there were two integrated, overlapping elements of how Jesuits employed space: pragmatically, for the control of their native catechumens and the promulgation of their evangelical Tridentine mission; and rhetorically, for the management of their public image and as an edifying contribution to the idea of worldwide Jesuit identity and brotherhood. Jesuits therefore engaged with the issue of space in a multiplicity of ways, and with a conscious, purposeful consideration. It has also been possible to discern the implications of the Jesuits' spatial tactics for their attitudes towards their native catechumens.

Although there are notable exceptions, historiography on Jesuit missionary strategy has generally ignored considerations of space, often taking the priests' negotiation or creation of spaces for granted without examining the processes behind such motivations. Yet spatial theory reminds us that space is not a container wherein things unfold, but that it often *directs and moulds* events and perceptions itself. Spatial history refuses to accept space as essentialist and inevitable, but instead frames it as politically, socially, and institutionally motivated. Approaching Jesuit history with this in mind aids investigations of how priests rendered and developed space for precise purposes as a concerted and conscious part of the conversion agenda. An application of spatial theory to the early-modern Jesuit mission fields of Brazil and Ethiopia has revealed another exciting dimension of the Society's 'way of proceeding' during a time of renewed scholarly interest in the Society's global mission activity. Spatial tactics, the use of space for control or domination, were a vital and integral part of the Jesuits' missionary strategies and should be considered as such by historians of the topic. It has allowed an examination of relations and processes which were developed across space as well as through time.

Jesuits were often the first European men to explore areas of Brazil's *sertão*. The 'wilderness' was rendered variously by Jesuit priests as dangerous yet full of opportunity, and its inhabitants mirrored this rendition in the priests' correspondence, being characterised as disordered and malignant yet promising 'blank slates,' open to the Jesuits' civilising enterprise. The *sertão* became the battleground for a war of words between Manuel da Nóbrega and the governor-general, who was determined to impede the Jesuits' entrance and thereby prevent territorial disputes with the Spanish. This denial of support was seized by Jesuits as a rallying cry to advance their mission in the face of opposition from the Devil himself. The *sertão* thus became a manipulated image in the Society's correspondence and annual reports, employed as a rhetorical device to display edifying, sometimes death-defying achievements as a way to reflect 'the greater glory of God' and contribute to a global sense of the 'union of souls.' The nature of the sources renders it difficult, however, to form satisfying conclusions concerning the Jesuits' honest opinions about the indigenous people they encountered, as the rhetorical construction of the *sertão* also influenced the frameworks with which the indigenous people were categorised and approached. The priests' desire to penetrate the *sertão* in the search for lost souls led to a more 'positive' view of the societies within being put forward to influential members of the Society back home, but generally it is to the more personal letters (such as those written by António Blázquez) that we must look for more genuine reactions. However, what is clear is that the indigenous peoples of Brazil were often rendered in a similar way to that of their natural environment, a characterisation which communicates more about the institutional identity of the Jesuits than it does about the subjects of their rendition.

The *sertão* soon became distasteful to the Jesuits. For the Portuguese it remained a dangerous place, difficult to traverse and inhabit; but for the indigenous people, it was home, a safe and familiar haven where they could easily escape to avoid the clutches of slavers or the interference of the Jesuits. It was the priests' lack of control over the ambiguous contours of the *sertão* and their growing perception of the indigenous peoples as 'inconstant' and disobedient which ultimately led to the development of the *aldeia* system. Although the Jesuits had given great consideration to the spatial entity of the *sertão* and were aware of the opportunities it afforded the Society's edification, it was only with the

completion of the first mission villages that the Jesuits truly learned how to utilise spatial tactics for their agenda. Already developing an aversion to space they saw as ambiguous or liminal, the Jesuits aimed to exert space-time control over every area of life they saw requiring change: daily routine, education, family and relationships, religious catechisation – even discipline and punishment.

This last element of the *aldeias* was not an afterthought for either the Jesuits or the colonial authorities. Believed to be in dire need of moral and behavioural correction, and characterised as a direct threat to King John III's colonial enterprise, the indigenous body was subject to a process strongly reminiscent of the modern effort to contain 'remnants' of society deemed unnecessary or malign – such as refugees – in detention camps or compounds, exclusive spaces that were strongly framed and bounded. It is difficult not to see this spatial tactic as an act of punishment for the sheer fact of existing. The creation of this type of spatial entity held deep implications for Jesuit approaches to Tupi-Guarani and Gê alterity – through developing the *aldeias,* the Jesuits and the colonial authorities exhibited a profound suspicion and mistrust of indigenous peoples. Not only were their customs, beliefs, and way of life forcibly, even violently, eradicated by the imposition of the new space-time routine, but even their freedom of movement (a form of territorialisation which shaped the very foundations of their existence) was disrespected. It is likely that the confinement of indigenous people to *aldeias* where they could not enter or leave without permission, and which forbade the presence of Portuguese settlers, reinforced the idea that indigenous Brazilians were criminal and alien, to be feared as disordered souls in need of chastisement but also the guiding hand of Christian salvation. Scholarship on later *reducciones* between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, such as that by Wilde and Almeida, has shown that Jesuits were willing to offer inhabitants a modicum of flexibility and autonomy by creating indigenous councils and allowing the flow of networks of movement; however, in the sixteenth century, departure from the *aldeias* was strictly curtailed or limited – and often feared as the downfall of all the Jesuits had strived for. Confinement was, therefore, the foundational principle of the greater majority of engagement with the societies of Brazil after 1558, and thus the spatial tactics behind this confinement must be taken seriously by scholars of the Jesuit missions.

In Ethiopia, Jesuits priests such as Páez, Almeida, and Lobo continued to demonstrate a similar institutional hatred for ambiguous space. Their conscious rendition of Ethiopia's territorial organisation ignored the importance of peripheries and ephemeral borders, whose fluid social relations were founded on trade, war, intermarriage, and the payment of tribute. Instead, their longer accounts sought to categorise the 'empire' in terms of kingdoms and provinces, bounded and unequivocal regions which had to be under the total authority of Emperor Susenyos in order to be considered a legitimate part of the geopolitical whole. This rendition yet again emphasised the Jesuits' perception of space as a binary opposition of exclusive and inclusive, howsoever any particular space functioned in reality. The existence of groups deemed schismatic, usurping, or heretical by the Jesuits, such as the Beta Israel, the Oromo, and the Orthodox Christians, led priests to fear any potential political threat to the borders of Ethiopia, and as a consequence they styled Ethiopia's territory as a Christian – even Catholic – stronghold which needed the protection of fiercely faithful and noble leaders, namely Emperor Susenyos and his royal relatives, Bela Krestos and Sela Krestos.

Finally able, thanks to the generous financial support and blessing of these noblemen, to carry out an ambitious building programme that would have made Ignatius of Loyola proud, the Jesuits deliberately targeted the areas of Tigrê and Lake Tana. This was a common-sense strategy. Tigrê was the spiritual heartland of Ethiopia's ancient Christian faith, home to many Orthodox churches, and the land around Lake Tana was the Emperor's stamping ground. The spaces of the Ethiopian Orthodox faith in Tigrê were either dismantled or replaced by the Jesuits, a violent act of desecration – yet as they demolished religious spaces, they also created secular ones, ensuring they cleaved to the emperor symbolically through the construction of royal gardens and residences such as Azäzo-Gännätä Iyasus. Supplanting the Orthodox faith in both the religious and secular realms was carried out with the explicit use of spatial tactics, a strategy which enabled Jesuits to claim authority and legitimacy, impress the emperor with grand architectonics and new technology, and adapt old Orthodox churches for Roman Catholic purposes.

A note must also be made on the spatial implications of the Church and State relationship Jesuits persistently attempted to forge. Scholars such as John W. O'Malley and Harro Höpfl have long been

aware of the Jesuits' proclivity to gravitate – both functionally and conceptually – towards hierarchical frameworks of power, yet until now consideration has not been given to how this might have shaped the spatial tactics of priests on mission during this important initial phase of the Society's development. The examination of Brazil and Ethiopia in conjunction has revealed that while resulting in radically differing outcomes, missionaries of the Portuguese Assistancy adapted their obsession with monarchy (or at least familiar hierarchies of authority) to mission fields in both the Old World and the New. That these cases were chronologically thirty years apart highlights the continued effort made by Jesuits to negotiate their mission fields with recourse to specific knowledge and experience – shared by the Society – of their relationship with, and dependence on, hierarchical systems of authority in Western Europe. At first glance, it appears that the institutional influence over missionaries in Ethiopia was far stronger than over those labouring in Brazil. While Jesuits did not view Emperor Susenyos' power as unassailable, they certainly recognised his legitimate authority and believed him to be comparable in bearing, learning, and faith to that of a European Roman Catholic monarch. This led them to place most of their conversion efforts upon Susenyos and his kinsmen and women. They also relied heavily on the financial patronage and advocacy of nobles in order to implement their missionary strategies, many of which had a clear spatial aspect. However, this institutional obsession with inveigling the nobility merely assumed a different guise in Brazil to that in Ethiopia. Despite the Tupi-Guarani peoples adhering to a patriarchal societal framework, with the elders or chiefs occupying positions of clear authority in indigenous communities, the Jesuits did not recognise these men as legitimate authorities and claimed the Tupi-Guarani to be lacking in 'subjection' and discipline, as they had no king to lead them. In lieu of a king's authority, the Jesuits could establish self-contained Christian republics in the *aldeias* which would focus on the discipline and spiritual growth of the inhabitants. However, the punitive measures taken to combat the perceived sins and crimes of the Tupi-Guarani led to enforced boundaries that marked a space more like a detention compound than a utopian republic. This harsh system demonstrated that the Jesuits could not be flexible in this relationship with hierarchy and monarchy, otherwise their relationship with the *caciques* might have been more fruitful. They adapted this preoccupation with monarchy to their spatial negotiations in various ways in Brazil and Ethiopia – but were unprepared or unwilling to

sacrifice this approach for a strategy of greater accommodation. In Ethiopia, their blinkered focus on the emperor and his noblemen and women may have actually *undermined* any opportunity to evangelise other echelons of Ethiopian society. However, it must be noted that the broader aim of the Jesuits – to bring the Ethiopian Orthodox Church back into the Latin Christian fold – may have rendered it perhaps not quite so urgent or necessary to focus on a relationship with ordinary civilians.

A comparative investigation has revealed the homogenous effort of the global Society to understand, formulate, and manage space in order to affect the conversion or confessional shift of their indigenous catechumens – however heterogenous the outcome unfolded in reality. These different examples have shown the creativity and adaptability of the Jesuits, but have also revealed the constraints placed upon their authority by local contexts, and the ways in which their efforts could be frustrated. In line with foundational principles of spatial theory set down by Henri Lefebvre, Doreen Massey, and David Sibley, this thesis has shown that places were not perceived as neutral by Jesuits, nor created to be such: all were meaningful, from the *aldeias* to the inner sanctum of the Täwaḥədo Orthodox Churches; or had meaning foisted upon them, as was the case with Jesuit renditions of the Brazilian *sertão* and Ethiopia's territorial organisation.

One clear institutional trend emerges from a comparison of the Jesuits' use of spatial tactics in Brazil and Ethiopia. The priests sought to make sense out of space they saw as ambiguous or liminal. The Jesuits perceived it vital to create and manage their own built environs, places which afforded them a modicum of control over the variables of their mission – however much of an illusion this control was in reality. They were fully preoccupied with boundaries and strongly-framed places which they either created or perceived, boundaries which were full of meaning and separated the 'other' from the 'same.' The *aldeia*, a sixteenth-century approximation of the detention compound, was the enclosed space *par excellence*, and is the clearest example this thesis has employed. However, although the clearly-defined and strictly-controlled limits of the *aldeias* displayed a very different use of spatial tactics to the written descriptions of Ethiopia's 'empire,' we see that in both examples the Jesuits believed in the necessity of boundary or border control. Either the 'other' was feared and maligned and had to be kept inside (the *aldeias*) or it was seen as a threat to the Christian security of the realm

and had to be kept outside with the military assistance of a legitimate authority (Ethiopia's borders). We must not forget however that the *aldeias* often *were* an outside space, despite being within the borders of the colony. They were removed from white settler society, ostensibly for the economic and demographic 'good' of the realm and for the moral and salvific 'good' of the indigenous people within. Both in Ethiopia and in Brazil, the Jesuits saw it necessary for the secular authorities to maintain the stability and meaning of the borders which ensured that the unwanted were kept away or apart from the wanted. In Ethiopia, the Jesuits could not understand the integral importance of networks and peripheries to the health of the realm. They witnessed the degradation of the traditional kingdom and the continual onslaughts from the Beta Israel and the Oromo, and their categorisations of the realm were an attempt to secure an identity for the remaining territory that was Christian.

Institutionally, although the Society was extraordinarily adaptive, it struggled to understand liminality or ambiguity. Acknowledging this helps historians to think more critically about Jesuit identity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to identify how groups of people were othered by Jesuits through the medium of space. The *sertão* was an ambiguous space, where priests and settlers were subject to local contexts and dangers far outside their control or jurisdiction. Ethiopian Christianity also presented the Jesuits with liminality, its adherence to Judaic practices rendering them neither one thing nor the other. Their churches, therefore, had to be made 'whole' and unambiguous by being stripped of their *tabōts* and replaced by Roman Catholic altars. Although it is certainly true that attempts at accommodation were made – more in the initial years of Brazil than in Ethiopia – in spatial terms Jesuits saw only a binary opposition between the inclusive and the exclusive. Yet although these boundaries existed for the Jesuits in both Brazil and Ethiopia, they could only be illusions, a misguided view of how space was used in reality. Although priests strove to create these strongly classified spaces, they did not always conform to the Jesuits' objective or fulfil their purpose. In the *aldeias*, for example, disease – always ignorant of man-made borders – ravaged the catechised populations, causing them to flee and the Jesuits' work to be undone. Indigenous inhabitants were also aware of what the boundaries of the villages represented, and often chose the freedom of the realm outside, where they could either permanently return to their old lives, or could temporarily flout the

decrees of the colonial authorities to drink, sing, and dance. In Ethiopia, the Jesuits' attempts at violent restoration of the Orthodox churches were often fighting a losing battle against the rich Ethiopian religious tradition, so firmly ingrained in the lives of ordinary people and those at court. The Jesuits would only have very limited and temporary success here in their evangelising efforts.

This thesis has shown that the Jesuits' use of space was meaningful and purposeful, not accidental. Although motivations behind the decision to consider built and natural environments in Brazil and Ethiopia differed somewhat between the institutional Society and the individual priests on mission, it is clear that both institution and individual engaged with spatial tactics. The extant sources make clear that from the Society's inception, Jesuits were fully cognisant of both their reasons for engaging with space, and of the purpose behind the places they created and managed. As space, and spatial tactics, were important to the Jesuits, historians of global Jesuit mission must recognise this importance. We cannot arrive at a comprehensive image of the Jesuits' missionary strategies if we do not acknowledge their renditions, creation, and management of space.

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Appendix

Dramatis Personae

(Alphabetised by first name)

In Europe

Damião de Góís (1502-1574). Portuguese humanist with a fascination for Ethiopia's culture and religious practices. Author of *Fides, religio, Moresque Aethiopum* (1540), widely circulated around humanist circles in Europe but censured in Portugal by Cardinal Henrique, Grand Inquisitor of the Portuguese Inquisition.

Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556). The founder of the Society of Jesus and its first Superior General. Author of the *Spiritual Exercises* (1548).

Luís Gonçalves da Câmara (c.1519-1575). Portuguese Jesuit priest. Procurator of the Province of Portugal and confessor to King Sebastian of Portugal.

Luís de Urreta (1570-1636). Dominican friar and Theology Professor in Valencia. Author of the largely fictitious two-volume *Historia eclesiastica, politica, natural, y moral […] de la Etiopia* (1610 and 1611).

John III (1502-1557). King of Portugal. A zealous Catholic monarch responsible for expanding Portugal's territories in Asia and Brazil, and a dedicated supporter of the humanist arts. Welcomed the Jesuits into Portugal, appointed Francis Xavier as Apostolic Nuncio in the Portuguese East Indies, and sent the first Jesuit mission to Brazil in 1549.

Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517-1576). One of the first Jesuits and the chronicler of the early history of the Society. Secretary to Loyola, and subsequently to the following two Superiors General, Diego Laínez and Francis Borgia.

Simão Rodrigues (1510-1579). One of the co-founders of the Society, appointed as the Provincial of Portugal by *Loyola*. Accused humanist *Damião de Góís* of Lutheranism before the Inquisition. His public zealotry for austere ascetic practices led to much controversy within the Society, and he was recalled to Rome, tried, and found guilty of lack of obedience.

In Brazil

António Blazquez. Spanish Jesuit who accompanied Ambrosio Pires to Porto Seguro, where he became a tutor of Latin, literature, and catechesis.

Duarte da Costa (c.1500-1560). Portuguese administrator and second Governor-General of Brazil (1553-1558). His time in office was marked by conflicts with the French, who established 'French Antarctica' in 1555, and the indigenous communities.

Fernão Cardim (1549-1625). Portuguese Jesuit priest who travelled to Brazil in 1583 as the secretary of the Society's regional Visitor of Missions. Elected Procurator of the Brazilian province in 1598. Best known for his *Tratados da Terra e da Gente do Brasil* (1580), in which he described the flora, fauna, and people of that land.

Gabriel Soares de Sousa (c.1540-1591). Explorer and entrepreneur, author of the *Tratado Descretivo do Brasil* (1587). Established himself in Bahía as a sugar planter, becoming wealthy and influential, and requested financial support and authorisation from the Court of Madrid to continue his explorations. De Sousa died along the Paraguaçu River in 1591.

João de Azpilcueta Navarro (c.1521-1557). One of the first Jesuit priests to arrive on the shores of Brazil with *Manuel da Nóbrega* in 1549. Quick to develop proficiency in the language of the Tupi-Guarani, he applied his linguistic talents to create the first indigenous catechism.

José de Anchieta (1534-1597). Spanish Jesuit priest who assisted the foundation of the cities of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (along with *Manuel da Nóbrega*). Compiled a dictionary and grammar of the

Tupi language. Negotiated peace between the Tupiniquins and the Tamoios, who had allied with the French, in Iperoig.

Luís de Grã (1523-1609). Rector of the Jesuit College in Coimbra, he accompanied *Duarte da Costa* to Brazil in 1553. A fluent Tupi speaker, he dedicated himself to the conversion and catechesis of indigenous communities and Portuguese colonists. Founded various settlements, and in 1560 was given the role of Provincial of Brazil due to *Manuel da Nóbrega*'s failing health. In 1584, he was named Rector of the Jesuit College in Pernambuco.

Manuel da Nóbrega (1517-1570). First Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Brazil. Author of the *Diálogo sobre a Conversão do Gentio* (1556). Founded cities like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Salvador. Instrumental in developing the mission villages (*aldeias*) where thousands of indigenous people were forced to live by *Mem de Sá*'s troops.

Mem de Sá (1500-1572). Third Governor-General of Brazil between the years 1558-1572. Oversaw the pacification of indigenous communities, the expulsion of the French, and the foundation of Rio de Janeiro. A staunch supporter of the Jesuits.

Pero Correia (d.1554). Portuguese Jesuit who joined the Society in 1549. Evangelised Tupi communities in their own language, and took part in the foundation of the College of São Paulo de Piratininga. Killed by Carijós peoples in the region of Cananeia whilst on mission.

Pero Fernandes Sardinha (1496-1556). First Bishop of Brazil. Railed against the initial practices of cultural accommodation adopted by the Jesuits. His short-lived career met a dramatic ending when his ship was wrecked off the coast of Brazil, and he and his companions were seized and eaten by Caetés peoples.

Tomé de Sousa (1503-1579). Portuguese soldier and politician who became the first Governor-General of Brazil in 1549. He was responsible for the success of Brazil's colonisation, and assisted the population and fortification of the city of Salvador, in Bahia.

In Ethiopia

Afonso Mendes (1579-1659). Portuguese Patriarch of Ethiopia, 1622-1634. Submitting to the commands of the Propaganda Fide, Mendes oversaw the countrywide ban on circumcision and the appropriation of lands in Dämbeya, Wägarä, and Gojjam for the Jesuits' use.

Ahmad Grañ (Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi) (1506-1543). Imam and General of the Adal Sultanate whose invasion of Ethiopia forced *Emperor Gelawdewos* to request military aid from Portugal in 1541. Defeated on the battlefield by Ethiopian and Portuguese troops in 1543.

Andrés de Oviedo (1518-1577). Second Patriarch of Ethiopia, the successor to *João Nunes Barreto*. Remained in Fremona despite the mission's failure, where he died. A shrine to his memory was later erected and became a significant site of Roman Catholic worship.

Bela Krestos. Cousin to *Susenyos I* and ally of the Jesuits. Shifted confessionalism from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism but it appears from later Jesuit sources that he returned to the former.

Cristóvão da Gama (c.1516-1542). Son of navigator Vasco da Gama. Portuguese military commander who led a campaign of four hundred troops to Ethiopia in the fight against *Ahmad Grañ.* The campaign was successful but resulted in his capture and eventual execution at the hands of his enemies.

Eleni (c.1431-1522). Empress of Ethiopia through her marriage to Zara Yaqob. Influential regent during the minority of Emperor Dawit II between 1507 and 1516.

Fasilädäs ('Alam Sagad) (1603-1667). Son of *Susenyos I* and Emperor of Ethiopia, 1632-1667. Restored Täwaḥədo Orthodoxy and exiled or executed many Jesuit priests. Responsible for the construction of the architecturally important royal palace at Gondar.

Francisco Álvares (c.1465-1536 or 1541). Portuguese missionary and explorer to Ethiopia who joined the embassy to Lebna Dengel. He stayed six years, between 1520-1526. Author of the *Verdadeira*

Informação das Terras do Preste João das Indias, a report of his experiences and perceptions of the land of Ethiopia.

Gelawdewos (1521 or 1522-1559). Emperor of Ethiopia between 1540-1559. Reign was marked by the incursions of *Ahmad Grañ*, whom he eventually defeated.

Ḥamälmal Wärq. Mother to *Emperor Susenyos I* and *Sela Krestos*. Staunch opposer of Roman Catholicisim, along with many other Ethiopian women at court.

Jerónimo Lobo (1595-1678). Jesuit missionary to Ethiopia and author of the *Itinerário* (written between 1635-1640). Arrived at Fremona after *Pedro Páez*'s death and ministered in Ethiopia for nine years, until the imposition of *Emperor Fasilädäs*' exile.

João Bermudez (d.1570). Originally a barber in the service of Portuguese ambassador to Ethiopia, Rodrigo de Lima, Bermudez was sent to Portugal for military aid during Ahmad Gran's invasion. In Rome, he claimed to have been ordained as Patriarch and managed to occupy this position until 1555, when he was exiled by *Gelawdewos*.

Manuel da Almeida (1580-1646). Portuguese Jesuit priest. After ministering in Ceylon, Almeida was nominated Visitor to the Ethiopian mission in 1622. Assistant to the mission's superior, Antonio Fernandes, and companion to Patriarch *Afonso Mendes*. Author of the *Historia de Etiopía a Alta ou Abassia* (1643).

Pedro Páez (1564-1622). Influential Jesuit missionary to Ethiopia who formed a close friendship with *Susenyos I* and was instrumental in his confessional shift to Roman Catholicism. Author of the *História de Etiópia* (1622).

Sela Krestos. Viceroy of Tigrê. Younger half-brother to *Susenyos I*, imperial adviser, and zealous Catholic, who shifted confessionalism in 1612. Lost favour with *Susenyos* in later life. Exiled by *Fasilädäs* after refusing to return to Orthodoxy.

Susenyos I (Malak Sagad) (1572-1632). Emperor of Ethiopia from 1606 until 1632. Presided over a kingdom riven by internal factional rivalries and Oromo invasions. Originally a fierce defender of his realm's Täwaḥədo Orthodox faith, his confessionalism shifted to Roman Catholicism after years of public and private theological debates with Jesuit priests, most notably *Pedro Páez.*

Tecla Guergis. Viceroy of Tigrê and two-time son-in-law to *Susenyos I*. Shifted confessionalism from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism early on but returned to the former. Led an unsuccessful rebellion against *Susenyos* in 1628. Executed for treason along with his sister Adära Maryam.

Tomé Barneto (1580-1640). Portuguese Jesuit priest who arrived in Ethiopia in 1624 after serving as rector at the Bassein College in India. Responsible for the desecration and Catholic renovation of several Täwaḥədo Orthodox churches in the province of Tigrê. Sent back to India in 1627 to address funds given to the College of Diu for Jesuits awaiting secondment to Ethiopia.

Others

Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606). Italian Jesuit appointed Visitor of Missions in the Indies in 1573. Based in Goa, his task was to visit and review mission strategies in India, China, and Japan.

João Nunes Barreto (1510?-1562). Appointed Patriarch of Ethiopia by *King John III* of Portugal in 1555, the initiation of the first Jesuit mission to the sub-Saharan realm. Upon reaching Goa, he learnt that conditions in Ethiopia were unfavourable to his ministry, and instead he continued work in Goa until his death.