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THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA

The National Church in the Making

by

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AS MARA
Publisher « IL POLIGRAFICO »
1972

1. ETHIOPIA REGAINS ITS POLITICAL UNITY

Ethiopia is the only African country which can claim to have always been independent. Its three-thousand year old civilization has been able to resist Moslem pressures as well as the cupidity of the colonial powers.

In fact, the Italian occupation is considered only a suspension and not the termination of an independent government, since that government continued its functions in exile, be it only in a limited way, in the person of its Sovereign.

Those who are acquainted with the history of Ethiopia, however, are well aware that periods of regionalism have alternated with periods where the central government has been dominant. In reality, at most times in Ethiopia, there has existed a kind of feudalism marked by somewhat different characteristics from those of European medieval feudalism.

While western feudalism emerged principally as a consequence of the weakening of the central authority which caused an increase of power in the various feudatories, in Ethiopia feudalism was rather the «limited conservation of pre-existing autonomies underneath an affirmed central power». (1)

To explain the causes of this characteristic fundamental

(1) E. CERULLI, «Punti di vista sulla storia dell'Etiopia», in *Atti del convegno internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1960, p. 8.

system, which has persisted through the centuries until the recent and substantial changes which have taken place in modern Ethiopia, it is necessary to consider the way in which the Semitic immigrations took place.

Ethiopia is close to the Arabian peninsula, and the Ethiopian port of Adulis, half way down the Red Sea, was an obligatory landing place for merchants travelling from the Mediterranean and Egypt towards India. Hence, many centuries before Christ, large numbers of Sabeans, seeking new markets for their products, emigrated to Ethiopia.

Further, it is to be noted that these immigrations did not all take place at the same time and that many different tribes were involved. In view of these factors, it does not seem difficult to explain the rise of traditional Ethiopian feudalism, aggravated also by the difficulties in communication between the different parts of the highlands.

As has already been mentioned above, Ethiopian regionalism alternated through the centuries with periods of dominance on the part of the central government. The nineteenth century was greatly characterized by these internal struggles in which the various «Rasses» (chiefs) of the regions fought for supremacy of power. In these struggles the northern provinces outweighed those of the South, without, however, succeeding in conquering them.

In the meantime emperors were elected and deposed in Gondar, following the whims of the palace mayors or the ambition of a prince (ras) who succeeded in asserting himself over the other candidates to the throne. Such a state of things, however, was not destined to last long and very soon the unity of the Empire was reconstituted, thanks to the tenacity of an ex-

ceptional man.

This man, Kassa Hailu, was of humble origin. He fulfilled a prophecy which foretold that Emperor Theodore II would unify Ethiopia, thus marking the beginning of a new epoch.

With the weakening of Gondar and the estrangement from Europe after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Ethiopia in the seventeenth century, Ethiopia passed through a critical period with regard to its national unity, which had already been rendered tenuous owing to the variety of peoples, languages and religions.

At times, when nations are disintegrating, the appeal to traditions and prophecies — often not free from superstition — is a powerful means of awakening those forces which are necessary for the attainment of national unity.

Kassa Hailu was born in Cherguie, Quara, in 1820, and was later put by his mother in a monastery near Lake Tana, which he was to have left with the title of «debtera» (a learned and wise man).

When he reached the age of 24, however, the convent was sacked by Dedjazmatch Maru and Kassa, who was a soldier rather than a priest, took advantage of the situation and escaped, taking refuge with his uncle, Ato Rufael, chief of Quara. (2) Thus started his political career which led him to the throne of Ethiopia in a short time.

In contrast to the oligarchy which dominated Ethiopia at that time, Kassa presented himself as the defender of the territorial integrity of the country and he succeeded in gaining for

(2) J. B. COULBEAUX, «Histoire Politique et Religieuse d'Abysinie», Tome II, Paris, 1929, pages 407 and following.

himself very soon the favour of the population. Having defeated the imperial forces of Empress Menen of Gondar, he dedicated himself to limiting the ambitions of the «rasses» who held the country firmly in their own grip.

After a century of dismemberment, Ethiopia was unified by Theodore II, the name which he assumed during the ceremony of consecration - 7th February, 1855 - as «Negusse Neguest», to draw profit from the prophecy mentioned above. However, before he attained this aim, he decided to unify the religious faith and, in agreement with Abuna Salama who, at that time was the Egyptian head of the Ethiopian church, he issued a decree in which he declared that all Abyssinians, under penalty of death, had to accept the principle of the sect called «Woldkeb» and obliged all the Moslems, the Jews and the pagans of the Empire, under penalty of death, to embrace the Christian faith. No one dared revolt or refuse: thus religious unity was achieved. (3)

From then on Kassa did everything in his power to complete the conquest of Ethiopia. Having become Emperor Theodore, he revealed his great ability as a ruler by trying to impose order and discipline in all aspects of life of his country.

However, as with all things human, his glory started to decline shortly afterwards, following the excesses to which he abandoned himself in his private life as well as in his functions as emperor.

His defeat at Magdala on 13th April, 1868, following the expedition of Lord Napier and the battle which Theodore had himself provoked by having all British subjects then in Ethiopia, and the British Consul himself, imprisoned, is well known. As

(3) CORRADO ZOLI, «Cronache etiopiche», Roma, 1930, p. 144.

Corrado Zoli reports (4) «he shot out his brains and buried himself under the smoking ruins of Magdala.» He died at the age of 48, after having ruled for thirteen years.

In spite of the negative aspects of his character, especially in the last years in which he committed acts of cruelty and had fits of passion, Theodore was a glorious ruler for Ethiopia. His outstanding personality has given rise to a series of legends, one of which says: «In the fortress of Magdala one hears a lot of weeping. It is not known how many women died. It is known that only one man died.» (5)

Recently, in Ethiopian circles, his personality has been re-examined. About two decades ago a historical drama entitled «Tewodros» was published. The author, Dedjazmatch Ghirmachew Tekle Hawariat, expresses in the introduction to the book the motives for which he decided to write it and he says that His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie has encouraged the authors to write such books which would show the human character of Theodore in a better light. The author hopes that his drama will help every Ethiopian to increase his love for his country and to appreciate the importance and value of its unity.

2. THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS WHICH UNITED ETHIOPIA HAS TO FACE.

At the death of Theodore II, Ethiopia suffered greatly from the struggles between the rasses who aspired to the Imperial

(4) CORRADO ZOLI, «Cronache etiopiche», Roma, 1930, p. 154.

(5) J. B. COULBEAUX, «Histoire Politique et Religieuse d'Abyssinie», Tome II, Paris, 1929, p. 456.

Throne. Among these, the most important was Menelik, King of Shoa. He had decided to withdraw for the time being to the Southern part of the country until times would become more favourable. Then, there was Dedjazmatch Kassa Merritcha, chief of the Tigrai and later Yohannes IV. Finally, there was Wagshum Gobezie who soon won over the Ras of Gondar, Tassew Gobezie.

After Wagshum Gobezie had ruled for three years, during which he was called Negus Tekleguorguis, Kassa Merritcha succeeded in defeating him near Adua and, without waiting to take complete possession of the whole country, he was consecrated Negusse Neguest at Axum with the name Yohannes IV on the 13th of January, 1879, at the hands of Abuna Athanassios.

This emperor had to face various and multiple problems during his reign (1872-1889). However, before relating how he was able to solve them, it seems appropriate to present a picture of the most important and characteristic traits of his personality. Corrado Zoli describes him as follows: (6) «His manners were simple and austere. Friend of civilization and progress, he decidedly opened again the gates of Ethiopia to the Europeans, thus putting an end to that policy of diffidence and of hatred which, two centuries before, had been inaugurated by Emperor Fasil... The Abyssinian nationalists have, naturally, reproached him for not belonging to the Solomonic Dynasty and have considered him as a usurper; but his true fault was his exaggerated mysticism which, in the last years of his reign and of his life, degenerated into religious fanaticism.»

This portrait of Negus Yohannes renders obvious his involvement in the religious questions of Ethiopia. Moreover, in the last

(6) CORRADO ZOLI, *Cronache etiopiche*, p. 168.

years of his life it seems he would have become a monk, had the clergy not asked him to abandon such a wish. On the death of his wife, Yohannes made a vow not to marry again and from that time on he lived like a monk.

Among the first problems which united Ethiopia had to face during the reign of Yohannes IV, were those created by the invasion of the country by Egyptian troops. It is well known that Egypt has been, for many centuries, fearful of a possible diversion of the Nile waters by the Ethiopians. In the event of this taking place, the very existence of the Egyptian people would be endangered. It is, therefore, a natural consequence that Egypt, which had already pushed its frontiers towards the sources of the White Nile and along the Red Sea, was now trying to take possession of Ethiopia so as to dominate the sources of the Blue Nile also.

Furthermore, Munzinger, (7) a Swiss citizen married to a Tigrean woman, was in favour of this project, exerting his influence on the Khedive Ismail of Egypt and well aware of the internal struggles which Yohannes had to face. Werner Munzinger, a strange combination of scientist, traveller and adventurer, gives an account of his travels in his interesting book, «Ostafrikanische Studien», published in 1864. Since the age of 20 he had established himself in Alexandria, Egypt, dreaming of becoming the founder of a great African empire.

As Luca dei Sabelli writes, «The whole activity of Munzinger was addressed from then on to preparing the war against Ethiopia. The facility with which he saw, under his very eyes, the success of the British expedition, led him to under-estimate

(7) LUCA DEI SABELLI, «Storia di Abissinia», Vol. III.

the gravity of the enterprise. He thought that the situation would justify and facilitate rule over that country by a civilized power. Thus, Munzinger became the forerunner of an imperial policy in Ethiopia.»

In spite of these brilliant plans, Yohannes IV succeeded, in his first three victories over the Egyptians, in crushing those designs. He was then able to pass to the offensive, but even though at that time he was emperor in name, Yohannes was not so in fact, since Menelik was waiting for the first opportunity to take his place on the throne of Ethiopia. Thus, Yohannes was not able to exploit the victories he had achieved.

Some years later, Emperor Yohannes was able to subjugate Menelik, granting him the title of Negus. The unification of the country was complete.

Apart from his activities in the religious field, which will be explicitly described when the religious problem is discussed later in this book, Yohannes distinguished himself also in the open attitude he assumed with regard to Europe.

On the occasion of the visit of French Consul Serzec to Massawa, Yohannes told him: «My empire needs to be re-organized; frequently my people cannot distinguish their friends from their enemies, the words of whom are deceitful. I am working at present to unify my country; I need peace within and without. They should help me instead of hindering me, and when I have secured tranquillity in my provinces, then I shall address myself to France and I shall ask her to send me cultured men who shall come to spread their civilization in our midst.» (8)

(8) J. B. COULBEAUX, pages 472-73.

Unluckily, Yohannes did not live to see these days. In the meantime he turned his attention to Italy which was starting to make itself heard of in Ethiopia.

It was Father Giuseppe Sapeto, a Lazarist, who opened the road to Italy in Ethiopia, through purchasing the Port of Assab on 15th November, 1869, on behalf of the Rubattino Navigation Company. After various missions to Ethiopia, in agreement with England, Italy occupied Massawa. In 1885 a treaty was signed between the Negus and Italy by which Italy acquired liberty of commerce, without submitting to the payment of entry and exit fees in the port of Massawa. Soon the Egyptians withdrew and Italy enlarged its possessions in Abyssinia, after the troops of Yohannes retired in the face of the Italian troops.

In 1889 Emperor Yohannes IV lost his life at Metemma, in fighting against the Mahdists who had invaded Ethiopia. On the death of Yohannes, Ethiopia had again to face the problem of the succession. Again there was the danger that the country would fall into the hands of an oligarchy. Therefore, the need was felt for a man capable of completely dominating those rebel lords who, at times, disturbed the peace of the country. This man proved to be Menelik II, King of Shoa. He had known how to wait patiently and he had the support of the whole population. The people who had just lost a king felt that they had found in him a master and father.

The only other claimant to the Imperial Throne now was Ras Menguesha, second son of Yohannes and lord over almost the whole of the Tigray.

If Theodore and Yohannes had inaugurated a united Ethiopia after many years of discord, it was Menelik II, of the Solomonic Dynasty, who sealed this unity. He succeeded in re-

moving from the families of the rasses, the government of the provinces which had been passed on from father to son and was always a danger to the power of the central government. Instead, he himself nominated the governors of the provinces.

It was Menelik who took his country out of that state of isolation from the western powers, which had persisted since the expulsion of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, thus completing the initiative of Yohannes IV.

To determine with exactitude the relations between Ethiopia and Italy, on the 2nd of May, 1889, Menelik II and Count Antonelli signed the Treaty of Ucciali which was denounced by the same Negus on the 11th of May, 1892. This led to a conflict with the Italians and finally, on 1st March, 1896, to the famous battle of Adua. This victory is rightly considered as the first stemming of colonialist expansion in Africa and is to be compared in importance to the battle of Thermopylae in 480 B.C. by which ancient Greece arrested the Persian invasion of Europe.

Menelik's diplomatic relations extended also to other European powers, especially to France and Britain.

During his reign Ethiopia had to face the important problem of preparing the new generation for the task which was to be assigned to it in the new Ethiopia. Consequently, the necessity for new schools, suited to the exigencies of the new times, arose.

Before the time of Menelik, education was exclusively in the hands of the priests. A certain class of church-men was known as «debtera», ecclesiastical chanters who knew Ge'ez, liturgical language of the church, essential for reading and interpreting the sacred books. Alberto Pollera says in his book (9) «The debtera

(9) ALBERTO POLLERA, «L'Abissinia di ieri», osservazioni e ricordi, Roma 1940, p. 143.

are undoubtedly the most cultured element, but their knowledge is limited to the Bible, the Gospel, the Psalms of David and the liturgical chanting, since no one ever cared for wordly knowledge. They too live off the revenues of the lands assigned to them in benefice but, in contrast to the priests, they benefit a lot, together with the head of each church, a layman, from the redistribution of all the revenues of the church, ordinary and extraordinary, including the «rights of stole»; while the priests who really should get it, remain excluded.»

This education system reached only a small part of the population. Hence the necessity for inaugurating a new system. Emperor Menelik showed, therefore, an open policy towards the European missionaries. The sons of major Ethiopian families who were educated in the mission schools, especially those who knew the principal European languages, soon found employment in the administration of new Ethiopia.

The first modern school was inaugurated by Menelik himself in Addis Ababa, in 1908. Progress towards the modernization of Ethiopia had now started.

On the death of Menelik II, Negus Tafari Makonnen who ruled over Ethiopia as Regent with Empress Zewditu, became the principal figure behind the birth of modern Ethiopia. His interest in the welfare of his country caused him to take to heart all the problems facing Ethiopia in the educational, social and international fields. Resuming the enterprise of Menelik in education, his first initiative was to found in 1929 the important «Tafari Makonnen» School, followed by numerous other schools in all the provinces and, later, two universities. Recently, a third University was founded by His Majesty the Emperor in Gondar.

But perhaps one of the most important achievements of the

man who, now is Emperor Haile Sellassie I of Ethiopia, has been the effort addressed to the happy solution of the difficult religious problem which had been faced for several centuries by various kings and emperors. This problem had reached its culminating point in the first decades of this century for Ethiopia, having by now become conscious of its identity, was aspiring to the setting up of a national church.

3. THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM.

The Ethiopians like to consider as their first apostle the deacon Philip who, around 70 A.D. baptised a noble Ethiopian, eunuch of Queen Candace who, being a Jew, had gone to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. It is universally known, however, that the real evangelist of Ethiopia is Saint Frumentius, as is also mentioned in the «*Historia Ecclesiastica*» of Father Tirannio Rufino. known with the name of Rufino d'Aquileia. The latter lived in the last part of the IVth century and there is no doubt that he had contacts with Aedesius, brother of Saint Frumentius, when Aedesius was already an old man. (10)

Saint Frumentius, with his brother Aedesius, was a nephew of Meropeos, the philosopher, a merchant of Tyre, who used frequently to travel in the Red Sea. Meropeos liked to take with him, during his travels, Frumentius and Aedesius, when they were young boys, to enable them to enrich their culture. During one of these voyages the ship was obliged to land in the neighbourhood of Adulis and the whole of the ship's crew was mas-

(10) A. H. M. JONES & ELIZABETH MONROE, «*A History of Ethiopia*,» Oxford, University Press, 1960, p. 27.

sacred by the coastal population. The two youngsters escaped the massacre but were captured and brought to the Imperial Court in Axum where, very soon, they won the trust and sympathy of all the nobility. They used this opportunity to spread, together with their civilization, their Christian belief.

King Abraha and King Atzbeha were not indifferent to these new ideas and were well disposed, together with their court, towards the new religious doctrine. Frumentius then succeeded in convincing them to ask the Holy See of Saint Mark, i.e. the Patriarchate of Alexandria in Egypt — which was the nearest Christian centre — to nominate a Bishop for the new Church of Ethiopia.

Frumentius himself was sent as an ambassador to Alexandria to present this request. Saint Athanassius, then Patriarch of Alexandria, judged him to be the most suitable person to fulfil such a task at that time for, apart from having a profound Christian faith, he had a vast knowledge of the traditions, of the customs and also of the language of Ethiopia. It is generally accepted that he returned to Ethiopia in 327 A.D. (11).

Frumentius, with his wise and illuminated preaching and the strong support of King Abraha and King Atzbeha, caused the court of Axum and, gradually greater areas of Ethiopia, to abandon polytheism and to recognise Christianity as the official religion.

As trustworthy documents of the evangelization of Ethiopia, are some expressions in inscriptions of the fourth century which were found at Axum, in which the Axumite King Ezana professes

(11) SYLVIA PANKHURST, «*Ethiopia, A Cultural History*,» London 1939, p. 56.

to adore the God of the sky.

Since the second century, the Church of Alexandria had been the centre of religious disputes which soon put it into disagreement with the Church of Constantinople. For reasons which were not only religious, but also political, the Alexandrians disagreed with Byzantium thus giving birth to the Monophysite doctrine.

When in 451 the Council of Chalcedon condemned Monophysitism, many Alexandrians refused to submit. They even reached the point of organizing a dissident hierarchy and formed the Coptic Monophysite Church. It seems very possible that they professed the so-called «apparent» Monophysitism, i.e. that Monophysite doctrine which, while it would not accept the Council of Chalcedon, refused the opinions of the true Monophysites, followers of Eutyches, who affirmed that the human nature of the incarnate Word was different from that of other men.

Later, in the V and VI centuries the famous «Nine Saints» came to Ethiopia. They were of Syrian origin and had probably left the Byzantine Empire to escape the persecutions which were taking place there against the followers of the new doctrine.

The «Nine Saints» contributed largely to the extension of the work of evangelization initiated by Frumentius, by diffusing their faith, founding monasteries and providing the first translation of the Bible into the Ge'ez language.

The primitive Ge'ez literature which started in that period, was exclusively ecclesiastical in character. In addition to the books which were indispensable for the diffusion of Christianity in Ethiopia, other books like the famous «Querillos» were translated into Ge'ez. This book became fundamental for Ethiopian theology.

Over the course of the centuries, the relations between the two churches of Ethiopia and of Alexandria, took shape following a series of habits and customs which were tacitly accepted.

In the middle of the ninth century, the Egyptian Abuna was charged by the Patriarch to undertake a complete reform which would make the uses and traditions of the Ethiopian church identical to those of the Egyptian church.

The most important tradition which affirmed itself was that the new Ethiopian church should be headed by an Egyptian archbishop. Each time an Egyptian archbishop died, the Church of Ethiopia, had to ask the Patriarch of Alexandria for the nomination of a new Egyptian archbishop, compensating it with generous donations and gifts.

At that time the Patriarchate of Alexandria attached so much importance to the dependence of the Ethiopian church on it that it provided an expressly prepared apocryphal mention of it in the Acts of the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.), which had taken place when the evangelization of Ethiopia had not yet begun.

However, over the centuries, it was inevitable that the bonds between the Church of Alexandria and that of Ethiopia were not always very close. (12) The relations were submitted to modifications at various times. Thus, towards the end of the tenth century, as a result of disagreements which arose between the Patriarchate in Alexandria and the Church in Ethiopia, the Patriarch refused to send a new Abuna to Ethiopia, after the ill-treatment given to the Egyptian Abuna Petros. This refusal was

(12) A. H. M. JONES & ELIZABETH MONROE, «A History of Ethiopia», Oxford, 1965, p. 47.

maintained by his four successors. Only towards the twelfth century did a resumption of the relations between the Church of Alexandria and that of Ethiopia take place.

With the administrative equilibrium which had been reached in the great, new Islamic empire, it became possible again to resume close relations between the Patriarch of Alexandria and the Ethiopian Church, which was then in a flourishing phase of expansion under the Zague Dynasty. At that time the problem of the insufficiency in the number of the bishops responsible for the religious guidance of a whole people, started.

Thus, Emperor Haile of that dynasty presented the request for the nomination of ten bishops who would assist in the apostolic work of Abba Mikael, Egyptian Archbishop of Ethiopia. It was his secret aspiration that in this way, at the death of the Abuna, the Ethiopians could consequently nominate one of themselves as the new abuna.

Abuna Gabriel, 70th Patriarch of Alexandria, considered this request to be justified. However, some Egyptians who were residing at the Ethiopian imperial court came to know about the negotiations under way. They soon reported this to the Sultan in Egypt and the latter interfered in the matter and prevented the nomination of the Ethiopian bishops.

In this matter, political aspects overshadowed the religious ones. The Moslems, who were then ruling Egypt, were thus interested in maintaining the Church of Ethiopia under subjection to that of Egypt. Among other considerations not least was that, on the nomination of the abuna for Ethiopia by the Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Sultan also had a right to particular tributes.

The Ethiopians manifested their disappointment over the refusal of their request to the Patriarch of Alexandria. The latter,

reproaching such an attitude, ordered the registration in the Ethiopian Church Registers, on the date of Miazia 10th, 1177, (E.C.), that «God had punished the people of the land of Ethiopia with draught and other catastrophies because of their indiscipline.»

«To spare his people all these calamities, the Emperor humbly asked the Patriarch for forgiveness. The Patriarch, touched by this demonstration of filial obedience, sent God's blessings to the people of Ethiopia, and it is said that all became normal consequently.» (13)

Another period of difficulties between the two Churches occurred during the Crusades. It thus happened that during the reign of Yekuno Amlak (1270-1285), there was no archbishop because, after the death of Abuna Mattewos, it was not possible to send another archbishop from Egypt.

In the meantime a flourishing monastic tradition developed in Ethiopia. It boasted two important and flourishing religious orders: Debre Libanos and Haike Istifanos. From the Monastery of Debre Libanos in Shoa Province, on that occasion, emerged the great Saint Teklehaimanot who, already abbot of the convent, became the first Ethiopian to head the Church of Ethiopia, as there was no Abuna at that time. When, later, the Patriarch of Alexandria was able to send Abuna Yohannes to Ethiopia, as 69th archbishop, Teklehaimanot withdrew with utmost humility and the relations between the two churches were resumed in the traditional way.

(13) CHURCH REGISTER (SENKESAR) of the Cathedral of «Debre Zion Queddest Mariam» — Asmara.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, at the time of the Council of Florence, the Pope did everything possible to come into contact with the Ethiopians through the community of the Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem. Communication with the Negus through Egypt was impossible at that time. The fact is that the representatives of the Ethiopian king, expected in Rome, as it appears from the Papal Bull of 24th February, 1443, which announced the transfer of the Council from Florence to Rome, never reached Rome, but arrived in Jerusalem. On the other hand, for well known reasons, the union between the two Churches, the Eastern Orthodox and the Western, concluded at the Council of Florence, did not last for more than fifteen years, until the time that the Turks came into possession of Constantinople.

A more important break in the relations between the two Churches is to be found between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In this period, the kings of Ethiopia who were harrassed by the danger of being overrun by the expansion of the Islam, sought contacts with the powerful Christian kingdoms of Europe and, in this way, some of them ended up by separating from the Church of their fathers, followed very unwillingly by their subjects.

The Portuguese were the first to establish direct contacts between Europe and the mysterious Christian kingdom of the legendary Prester John. Thus they assumed great merit in Ethiopia for their action in helping to save the Christian rule from the Moslem assault, culminating at the time of Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim Al-Ghazi, called «Grag», the lefthanded in the Amharic language.

The mission of Father Paez, the Portuguese Jesuit, who came to Ethiopia in the very first years of the seventeenth

century, was very important with regard to the Church of Ethiopia. With much tact, patience and intelligence he succeeded in imposing his personality so as to gain the trust of the court and to convert first the Emperor Za Denguel, and then Emperor Sussinios to Catholicism. However, Father Paez died in 1622, shortly after Emperor Sussinios had made a solemn public declaration of his new faith, exposing the truth about the Chalcedonian doctrine and denouncing the vices and the corruption of the Coptic abunas.

The successor of Father Paez was the Portuguese Jesuit, Alfonso Mendez. He was a man of a quite different personality. He completely lacked the tact and cautiousness of his predecessor, thus compromising the whole work which had already been achieved; he alienated the population with acts of intolerance and absurd impositions, dictated by narrow views.

His behaviour provoked an inevitable explosion of discontent in the heart of the population which was still faithfully clinging to its traditional beliefs and led to the election of Emperor Fasilides and, finally, in 1632-33, to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Ethiopia.

Thus, the greatest and most important break in the religious life of Ethiopian Christianity ended. It had seemed to threaten irremediably to lead to the definitive separation of the two Churches, the Ethiopian and the Egyptian, with the conversion to Catholicism of the whole Ethiopian nation.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Ethiopia passed through a period of almost three centuries of relative isolation until its first, unlucky contacts with the European colonial powers.

During this period the life of the Church developed principally in subtle discussions on the questions which arose from the

Council of Chalcedon. Addressed to the solution of those problems, the Ethiopians left aside their aspirations to improve the relations with the Alexandria Patriarchate.

One has to reach the epoch of Emperor Yohannes IV (1872-1889), to find one who faces again the difficult task of solving the problem of the links between the two Churches.

The Ethiopians, becoming conscious of their national unity, became aware that an independent State could not accept a Church, dependent, albeit only administratively, on a centre which, now no more possessed the characteristics of splendour which had distinguished it during the past centuries.



H. M. Emperor Haile Selassie I, On the Day of His Coronation.

CHAPTER II

**The Request to the Coptic Church of
Alexandria for an Ethiopian Archbishop**

1. THE REQUEST OF EMPEROR YOHANNES IV AND THE SENDING OF NEW BISHOPS.

In the first chapter of this book it is seen how the consecration of Saint Frumentius, at the hand of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria in the fourth century put the Ethiopian Church in a situation of dependence on the Egyptian Church. From that time on, when the seat of the Abuna became vacant, the Ethiopians had to ask for nomination of a new Egyptian archbishop by the Patriarch in Alexandria. In accordance with these rules, on the death of the 108th Archbishop of Ethiopia - Abuna Athanasius - Emperor Yohannes asked the Patriarch to nominate a new archbishop for his country. But, he added to his request the demand for three more Egyptian bishops who would assist the Abuna in his mission in Ethiopia.

Emperor Yohannes took a real interest in the well being of the Ethiopian Church, not only in his country, but also in Jerusalem where, since the medieval period there has existed a community of Ethiopian monks. It was through this community that the first contacts between the European States and Ethiopia were made in the Middle Ages.

Emperor Yohannes was mystical by temperament. It has already been said that he would have wished to become a monk, and that after the death of his wife he lived as such. Not being in a position to dedicate himself to a life of contemplation because of the opposition of the clergy itself, following the narration of the Abyssinian chronicle, he restored the tradition of the Solomonic dynasty and tried to rekindle the flame of the Christian faith and to reorganize the Church. Besides, the struggle which Ethiopia had sustained against the Egyptians, had

helped to unify the people and strengthen their patriotic feelings. In his book «Storia di Abissinia», Luca dei Sabelli says: «The Negus understood that no soil was more fertile than the religious one, on which to base his policy and he made of the clergy his safest ally in his policy of dominion and cohesion.»

Even if he did not succeed in imposing his opinions on the Patriarch, because of the difficulties existing between the Copts and the Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem, he built there the beautiful church of Debre Ghennet, or Mountain of Paradise which, as J.B. Coulbeaux puts it in his «Histoire Politique et Religieuse d'Abyssinie», 'shall immortalize King John more than his Palace in Makalle and all the other monuments which he built in Ethiopia'.

Yohannes brought up again the centuries-old problem of the dependence on the Church of Alexandria which, certainly was not conducive to the welfare of the Ethiopian Church.

Yohannes thought that that dependence on the Mother Church of Alexandria had been justified but that it had become anachronistic, since the Ethiopian Church had now become numerically much more important than that of Alexandria. Moreover, the limitation of the number and the jurisdiction of the bishops, as well as the interruption occurring in the succession of the Abunas, constituted a serious obstacle to the normal development and to the welfare of the people of Ethiopia from the religious point of view. But, over all, as Nicholas, Archbishop of Axum says in his «Church's Revival — Emancipation from 1600 years Guardianship», «the spiritual vitality of the Church of Alexandria had revealed, very naturally, fluctuations during a partnership of many centuries.»

In view of all this, Yohannes decided to increase the num-

ber of bishops and to reorganise the Church. The memory of Abuna Salama who had left the Ethiopian Church in poor condition, was still alive.

It also seems certain that Yohannes felt inclined to turn to other Eastern Churches in the event of refusal of his request on the part of the Patriarch of Alexandria but, unfortunately, this thesis cannot be proved for lack of necessary documentation.

The seat of St. Mark in Alexandria was then occupied by Patriarch Kyrillos V. Having received the petition, he convoked the Synod on the 8th of July, 1881, during which it was decided to nominate one archbishop for Ethiopia and to send three other bishops, all, naturally, of Egyptian nationality.

In the year 1883, the four arrived at the Ethiopian court. They were: Petros, Mattewos, Lukas and Markos.

Of these, Abba Petros was nominated Metropolitan and he remained in the Tigrai. Abba Mattewos and Abba Lukas were sent respectively to Shoa and Gojjam. Abba Markos died soon after his arrival.

The aim of this initiative of Emperor Yohannes was to remove from the Abuna the prerogative of being the only person entitled to admit persons to holy orders which rendered the ordination of priests difficult. The Abunas were frequently obliged to undertake long and perilous journeys. With the creation of more bishops, his monopoly was removed.

Moreover, Yohannes intended to improve the moral condition of the people and to encourage the spread of the Gospel in the country. But it is also possible that by this move, Yohannes who had become wary owing to the imperialistic policy of the Egyptians, intended to loosen the links of dependence on the autho-

rity of the Patriarch of Alexandria and to lay the foundation for a national Church of Ethiopia. His policy of working for the independence of the Ethiopian church was later resumed by the present Emperor.

During the reign of Menelik, Abba Mattevos, the only survivor of the four Egyptian bishops, became the Abuna of the Ethiopians. Aware of his mission and honest to its aims, he succeeded in building up the prestige which he enjoyed with the population in the troubles caused later by the unruly behaviour of the young Negusse Neguest, Lij Yasu. From an extract of the message he addressed to the princes, to the whole army and to the people of Harar on 29th September, 1916:

«... But what has exasperated the Great and the army of Shoa more than anything, has been the fact that he called near to him in Harar the most noble personalities, so as to be in a better position to become cruel to them when he would return to the Capital. They were completely convinced of this when they learnt that this young man had denied the testament of the Emperor, that he was a perjured person, indifferent to the excommunication of their Bishop, and had abjured the Christian faith. They thus understood the imminent damage which threatened the existence of the Country and the tranquillity and the interests of their families.

Thus it was that, compelled by the inevitable force of circumstances, they hastily went to the Palace of the Emperor, then to the residence of Lij Yasu and, having brought out the artillery and the machine-guns, gathered with their arms in hand, they addressed me with these words: «Liberate us from our oath of faithfulness, for we do not wish to be submitted to Islam and we cannot abandon the country

to the foreigner, for the one reason of the wickedness of Lij Yasu, who is leading our empire to ruin: we shall never consent that the Negus who has abjured his faith governs us. Finally, we shall never consent to change religion.»

Then all the Princes, the whole army and all the population added in one voice: «Let Zewditu, daughter of Emperor Menelik, be our Empress and let Ras Tafari be the Heir to the Throne». And We, pleased to give our consent to this decision, have elected and constituted Woizero Zewditu as Empress of Ethiopia, and Ras Tafari Heir to the Throne.

We ask all to make it their duty to submit to them. Be equally faithful to our religion . . . »

For many years close to Emperor Menelik II, sincerely faithful to his mission, Abuna Mattevos remained in charge until his death on December 4, 1926.

He was solemnly buried in the Church of Mekane Sellassie in Addis Ababa, accompanied by a huge crowd of mourners who felt they had lost a kind father and a wise guide.

On his death the problem of the Ethiopian Church, dependent on the Patriarchate in Alexandria, arose more serious than ever.

2. THE DEATH OF ABUNA MATTEWOS, THE NEW REQUEST OF TAFARI MAKONNEN AND THE EGYPTIAN SYNOD OF 1928.

The whole history of Ethiopia in this century has centred around the person of Emperor Haile Sellassie, still happily ruling. Endowed with exceptional gifts of intelligence and of character,

since his youth he imposed his personality and as Regent governed with Empress Zewditu the destiny of Ethiopia. He has a most exceptional facility of understanding through which he quickly establishes a strong current of sympathy with the persons with whom he intends to collaborate: he selects them, on the basis of an extraordinary force of intuition rather than on long study. Endowed with profound culture and a great practical sense, he is able to utilise any situation to the benefit of the Country. An untiring worker, each aspect of the life of the Country is an object of his study and of his action.

Leaving aside the developments which have occurred in Ethiopia during his reign, he will always be considered as the principal contributor to the emancipation of the Ethiopian Church, after 1600 years of dependence.

On the death of Abuna Mattewos in December, 1926, the then Regent Tafari Makonnen, faced with determination, but also with much wisdom and prudence, the question of the dependence of the Church of Ethiopia on that of Alexandria.

He addressed himself directly to the Patriarch, Abuna Kyrollos V in Egypt, requesting the consecration of an Ethiopian archbishop, but the negotiations had no result because of the sudden death of the Patriarch of Alexandria in 1927, at the venerable age of 105 years. The latter had been a person who was particularly mourned also in Ethiopia itself. In Addis Ababa three days of mourning were observed and a seven-gun salute resounded as a sign of respect and veneration.

For the time being, however, it was not possible to examine the problem of the links between the two Churches because it was necessary to wait for the election and the consecration of the

The Request to the Coptic Church

new Patriarch.

The 113th Patriarch to sit on the Throne of Saint Mark was consecrated on 16th December, 1928. He was Yohannes XI who had been the secretary of Kyrollos.

After his election, a telegram was sent from Addis Ababa with the request to send to Ethiopia an Egyptian bishop who would choose from among the abbots of the convents of Ethiopia the person to be consecrated as archbishop. But even this request was followed by a new refusal. For his part, Yohannes XIX proposed the nomination of an archbishop and of two bishops - Egyptians - consenting, however, to the consecration by the Egyptian archbishop, of the Ethiopian Etcheguie as bishop. This was the first time that the rank of bishop was to be conferred on the person of the Etcheguie.

In Ethiopia the Etcheguie is the foremost administrative authority among the Ethiopian clergy and he has a great influence and prestige as successor of the famous Saint Teklehaiman who lived in the thirteenth century. (See page 17) His functions are very important since he has the task of advising the Negus. He is, moreover, also Abbot of the convent of Debre Libanos.

The first victory for the Ethiopian people was the result of the current of reform in the Church, opposed by the conservative elements. The reform movement, basing itself on the existence of a Christian Ethiopia with a population of over 12,000,000 inhabitants, aspired to have an Ethiopian Primate in the person of an Ethiopian.

It was not necessary that the Ethiopian Church should be administered by a single head, of foreign nationality and, therefore, ignorant of the language and the habits of the people, as

result of which the people lacked that spiritual contact which should exist between the believers and the spiritual head of the Church.

On the other hand there was the current of the opposition, represented by the conservative forces of the country. Their thesis was founded principally on the apocryphal canon of the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.), composed, perhaps, towards the end of the seventh century or in the first years of the eighth century by some Syro-Coptic-Jacobite Synod.

The canon says, as it is reported in «Church's Revival» by Nicholas, Archbishop of Axum:

«The Ethiopians cannot create, nor elect a patriarch; moreover their bishop shall be submitted to the Patriarch of the seat of Alexandria. In spite of this, that bishop shall be considered Patriarch and shall be called Catholicos. Therefore, he shall not have the right, like the other Patriarchs, to consecrate Archbishops, having neither the honours nor the powers of a true Patriarch. If a council should take place in the territory of Rum (Greek-Byzantine), and that the Patriarch of Antioch should be present, he shall have to keep the seventh place after the Primate of Seleucia; and if he should be authorized to elect an Archbishop in his province, never an Ethiopian could be elevated to this rank».

The consequences of this rule were various. First of all, the Ethiopian Church was condemned to a perpetual dependence on the Church of Alexandria, a fact which, though justifiable in the first years of its existence, was no more acceptable now, that the Ethiopian Church had become superior in size and in number

to that in Egypt. Besides, following this canon, an Ethiopian could never reach the dignity of Archbishop. It was an evident result that the «Catholicos» of Ethiopia, in contrast to the other Eastern Patriarchs, had only the right to the title, but he did not possess the prerogative to consecrate other Archbishops.

The Emperor succeeded in neutralizing the current of the opposition.

Since the reply given by the Egyptians was not satisfactory to the Ethiopians, the necessity to discuss the problem in order to reach an acceptable bilateral agreement, was felt. On 31st May, 1929, after many discussions, the Holy Synod of Egypt was assembled. A delegation was sent from Addis Ababa, headed by H.E. Blattengueta Sahle Tzedalu.

The most important decisions laid down during this Synod were:

1. The consecration of Ethiopian bishops was permitted in order to assist the Archbishop in his mission, who as delegate of the Patriarch and the Head of the Church of Ethiopia, must not go beyond his powers which must remain within their traditional limits. These rights of the Archbishop are:
 - a) To guarantee the continuation of the unity of the Coptic-Orthodox faith and the observance to the sacred duties towards the Church of Saint Mark, the Mother Church.
 - b) To be perpetually in submission to the patriarchal Seat of Saint Mark of Alexandria, to recognize its supremacy and that of the Patriarch, Father of the Church, as his predecessors have done.
 - c) To ordain priests and consecrate the Churches and the

sacred objects of the Church within the limits of the powers of his Seat, as had been granted to his predecessors. If he does not keep within the sense of this agreement and if he opposes the religious teachings of the Church of Saint Mark, or if he refuses to obey; if he acts with a view to becoming autonomous and able to have an absolute, personal authority, or if he consecrates bishops of his own choice for the Ethiopian sees, apart from those who have received episcopal consecration at the hands of the Patriarch in the great cathedral of Saint Mark, he is acting contrary to the decrees of Nicea and the regulations of the Church of Saint Mark which have been in force from the nomination of the first Archbishop for Ethiopia to the present. Thus he is liable to be deprived of his ecclesiastical functions and excommunicated from the Holy Church.

2. The duties of the Ethiopian Bishops nominated together with the Archbishop, were also established by this Synod.
 - a) They must be united to the Archbishop in the orthodox faith, in the ambit of the Coptic-Orthodox Church.
 - b) They must subject to his authority in such a way that their ecclesiastical acts assist the person of the Archbishop in the ambit of his spiritual functions.
 - c) Neither one bishop nor all the bishops together have the general power to consecrate. The consecration of the Archbishop or of Bishops is the right of the Patriarch of Alexandria alone.
 - d) They do not have the right to detach themselves from the Coptic-Orthodox Church. If anyone does not keep to the

teaching and the rules of the Church of Saint Mark, he disobeys the Archbishop or if he acts against the thodox Emperor and the Empress of Ethiopia, or if imparts the royal anointing to anyone, if he participa in the consecration of an Archbishop or of a Bishop, if he unites himself to a governor or a prince in rev against the authority of the central power, or if with o word he contravenes the agreement made by t Patriarch, he will find himself deprived of his ecl iastical title and of his powers and he will be exco municated from the Holy Church. This applies equally the person to whom the Bishops may have conferred t unction.

3. Finally, the ecclesiastical heads, the archbishops, bishops a priests, in Ethiopia, the political governors and princes, t leaders of any order, religious, cultural, military or othe were prohibited from altering the principles of the decree such a way as to contravene the sense of the letter; whoev would act in this way would be excommunicated from t Church of Saint Mark.

This Synod decreed the nomination of an Egyptian Arc bishop and of five Ethiopian bishops. Abuna Kyrollos, who w a monk of the Convent of Qusquam in Egypt, was nominat Archbishop of Ethiopia.

Following these decisions, H.E. Bejirond Zeleke Aguede Minister of Finance, sent four eminent members of the Ethi pian Clergy to Cairo with an accompanying letter from Empr Zewditu and the Regent Tafari Makonnen. They were consecr ed in the Church of Saint Mark on 2nd June, 1929, by Patriar Yohannes XIX.

- Abuna Petros was nominated Bishop of Wollo and Lasta
- Abuna Abraham for Gojjam and Gondar
- Abuna Ishaak for Tigré and Semien
- Abuna Mikael for Eastern Ethiopia.

The four Ethiopian Bishops, with Abuna Kyrillos the Egyptian, 110th Archbishop of Ethiopia, were accompanied by the Patriarch of Alexandria himself and reached Addis Ababa on 3rd January, 1930, and were received with solemn national celebrations.

On the 1st of February, 1930, in the Church of Baeta Mariam, in Addis Ababa, the Etcheguie Guebre Menfes Queddu, was consecrated Bishop with the name of Sawiros. While he had already been chosen to become bishop since the year before, he had not been able to leave for Cairo to be elected with the other Ethiopian bishops, for reasons of health.

As soon as the ceremonies were over, the Patriarch returned to Cairo.

There followed a period of great achievement for the Church, since every bishop, in his own see, worked actively at diffusing the Gospel.

3. THE LAST EGYPTIAN ARCHBISHOP SENT TO ETHIOPIA BY THE EGYPTIAN CHURCH: ABUNA KYROLLOS.

Abuna Kyrillos, last Egyptian Archbishop in Ethiopia, was born in Bahqourah, Upper Egypt, in 1880. The date is approximate since at the time the Civil Registry was not in use as it is today.

After having attended elementary school he entered the Convent of «Deir Al-Baramous» when he was still very young.

In 1929 an Ethiopian delegation went to Cairo to visit Patriarch Yohannes XIX. On 31st May of the same year a Holy Synod was called as described above, during which the decision was taken to nominate an Egyptian Archbishop and five Ethiopian Bishops. The Ethiopian delegation asked the Patriarch of Alexandria to nominate Father Sidaros Al-Antoni — the future Abuna Kyrillos — as Archbishop of Ethiopia.

On 2nd June 1929, all the most important ecclesiastical and civilian personalities were officially invited to attend the consecration of Abuna Sidaros Al-Antoni as Archbishop of Ethiopia.

On 2nd November, 1930, Archbishop Kyrillos took possession of his Ethiopian Seat. He then led the ceremony of Coronation of the then Negus Tafari Makonnen as Emperor of Ethiopia with the name of Haile Sellassie I in the Church of Saint George in Addis Ababa. Abuna Kyrillos remained six years in Ethiopia, having his Seat in the compound of the Church of Saint Mary in Addis Ababa.

After the entry of the Italian forces in the capital, he was invited to go to Italy to discuss the situation of the Ethiopian Church with Mussolini.

On his way back from Italy, Archbishop Kyrillos decided to stop in Egypt, where he remained until 1942 when at the request of Emperor Haile Sellassie who had expressly sent an Ethiopian mission to Cairo, he returned to Ethiopia.

In 1942 when he returned to Ethiopia he was deprived of all his authority over the properties of the Church. His only

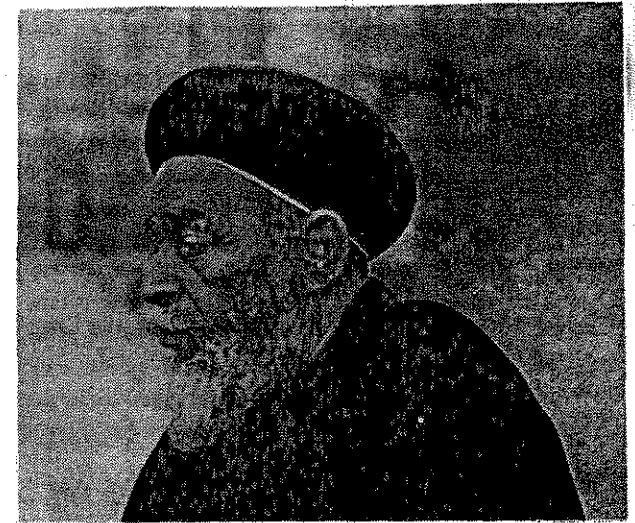
prerogative was his power to consecrate priests. Thus, the position of Abuna Kyrillos had altered a great deal.

During this time he received a salary equal to that of a minister, i.e. one thousand Ethiopian dollars a month.

In 1947 Abuna Kyrillos left Ethiopia and retired to his convent in Egypt, where he died on 22nd October, 1950.

All those who had an opportunity of knowing him consider him a holy man. In Egypt he is commonly called Saint Kyrillos, the God-blessed monk.

In the following chapter the way in which he unfolded his personality during the period of the Italian occupation in Ethiopia, which indirectly helped prepare the way to the independence of the Church of Ethiopia, will be shown.



H. B. Anba Kyrillos 110th, Last Egyptian Archbishop to Ethiopia.

CHAPTER III

**The Italian Occupation
and the Religious Problem**

1. THE ATTITUDE OF ITALY TO THE COPTIC CHURCH.

Very soon the situation of favourable equilibrium which had been created between the two Coptic Churches started to change owing to the Italian occupation, during which the Ethiopian Church had to face many and serious difficulties.

Already before the occupation of Ethiopia, the Italian religious policy in Eritrea had tended towards the exclusion of this colony from the jurisdiction of the Ethiopian Coptic Church, replacing Ethiopian jurisdiction by that of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

When the Holy Synod of 1929 decreed — as has already been related in the preceding chapter — the nomination of an Egyptian Archbishop and of five Ethiopian Bishops, in Eritrea the need was felt to determine the situation of the Eritrean Copts who represented about half of the population of the colony.

With this aim in mind, negotiations took place between the Royal Legation of Italy in Cairo and Patriarch Yohannes of Alexandria which led to the agreement of 7th June, 1929, signed in Cairo and about which the «Giornale d'Oriente», published these words on 12th June, 1929:

«The negotiations between His Holiness Patriarch Yohannes and the Minister of Italy, Hon. Cantalupo, to devise a solution which would, at the same time, be in accordance with the prestige of the Coptic Patriarch, the reasonable

interests of the Power occupying Eritrea and the peace of the consciences of the Orthodox populations of the Colony, have taken place and ended recently.

«The agreement reached between the two parties has been completed by an exchange of notes between the Coptic Patriarch and the Legation of Italy, which took place at 11 a.m. on the 7th of this month in the Patriarchate, where the Minister of Italy went together with the Colonial Adviser of the Legation, the first interpreter and Mr. Andraos Bey Bishara, Italian Consul in Luxor. In the note of the Minister of Italy, underlining the fact that the Italian Government recognizes the religious jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria over the Eritrean Orthodox population, it is asked that the spiritual care of the latter should be maintained under the sole and direct authority of the Coptic Patriarchate of Egypt and, also, that the young Orthodox Eritreans aspiring to priesthood, should be received at the Patriarchate to be ordained.

«Patriarch Yohannes has delivered to the Minister of Italy his reply in which, after having affirmed his decision to take the Eritrean Orthodox under his sole spiritual authority, and having thanked the Italian Government for its favourable disposition towards the Head of the Church of Saint Mark, he declared himself ready to receive the young Eritreans aspiring to priesthood, for ordination. In the Patriarch's letter the formalities for the ordination of priests, already accepted by the two contracting parts, are clarified.

«The importance of the agreement reached cannot be overlooked since it shall eliminate an uncertain and equivocal situation, with regard to the religious dependence of

our Eritrean subjects, which has been going on for over thirty years'»

However, this situation was only considered to be «satisfactory» for Italy. The problem of the convenience or not of the nomination of a Coptic Abuna for Eritrea, remained open.

Certainly, considering the secular Coptic tradition which reigned in the hearts of each Eritrean and the very scarce number of Catholics who represented only 3% of the total population, the orientation of the Eritrean Copts towards the Ethiopian Bishop due to come and establish himself in the Tigrai, was more than foreseeable. Consequently, this could render the political balance of the Italians in Eritrea difficult. Therefore, the solution reached on 7th June, 1929, did not seem to be definitive and integral; «it would become such only with the nomination of a Coptic Abuna for Eritrea, residing in Asmara and spiritually, directly responsible to the Patriarchate of Alexandria.» (14)

With the Italian occupation of Ethiopia the religious problem became more acute; it did not involve only the position of a small part of Ethiopians, but the majority of the whole population of the Country.

When the Emperor had been defeated, he returned from the front to Addis Ababa, and before entering his palace, he went to visit Archbishop Kyrollos. Crying bitterly he embraced him and asked him to remain in the capital so as to encourage the morale of the people; in fact, the prestige of the Archbishop with the Emperor and the population was well known.

When Marshal Badoglio marched into Addis Ababa with

(14) CORRADO ZOLI, «Cronache Etiopiche» — Roma 1930, p. 290.

his generals, he paid an official visit to Kyrollos and promised to safeguard the Ethiopian Church and not to interfere in its affairs. The visit was paid back by the Archbishop on 7th May, 1936.

Thus, the relations between the Ethiopian Church and the Italian Government were cordial at the beginning, but soon divergencies were to start.

Relations became tense following the incident of the bombs launched against Marshal Graziani, successor of General Badoglio, by two young Ethiopians from Eritrea, Mogos Asguedom and Abraha Debotch on Yekatit 12, 1929 E.C. (19th February, 1937), during which Graziani and Archbishop Kyrollos himself were wounded, apart from the General of the Airforce and several other high government officials who were present.

After this incident it was proposed that Kyrollos should go personally to Rome to solve with Mussolini himself the delicate situation in which the Ethiopian Church had found itself as a consequence of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

In the words of Mgr. Nicholas of Axum: «As in the Dodecanese, where Italian policy did not tolerate the dependence of the Greek-Orthodox Church on the Eucumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and consequently, encouraged the Dodecanese episcopate to create an 'autocephalous' Church, thus also in Ethiopia this policy had even more reason not to tolerate the dependence of the Ethiopian Church on that of the Copts in Egypt... The Italian government knew about the heart's desire of the Ethiopians. The Ethiopian People were in love with liberty; they needed it in the State; they need it even in the Church.»

On the other hand, the declarations made by Archbishop

Kyrollos himself in the report written by him and presented to the Patriarchate of Alexandria are interesting. He narrates of his negotiations with Graziani: (15)

«After a short time Marshal Badoglio left Addis Ababa and he was succeeded by Marshal Graziani who called me at various times. He asked me to issue a declaration to the population, signed by me, to calm the situation and reassure the Ethiopian population with regard to its future and to make peace with the Italian Government. I asked that they should give me official assurances, on behalf of the Government, of the independence of the Church, promised by Marshal Badoglio, so as to avoid struggles in the future and to prevent political interference in the spiritual affairs of the Church. He did not honour his promise and afterwards, he continued to insist repeatedly that I should publish the declaration which he had asked me to do previously, but I refused.

He continued to make the same request and I continued to give the same reply until he withdrew his demand. He then addressed his attention to another point, i.e. to separate the Ethiopian Church from the Egyptian Church and justified this with many reasons and said: «Egypt has nothing to do with Ethiopia now, since it is governed by the British and the British are our most implacable enemies. We do not want contacts between a country dominated by the British and a country which we have conquered with the British»

(15) AMBA KYROLLOS, «Head of the Bishops of the Church of Ethiopia», biography edited in Arabic by «The Library of the Sunday School of the Clerical College of Mahmasha (Egypt)», 1951, pages 68, 69, 70.

shed by our sons and I assure you that it is much easier for us to leave Rome than Addis Ababa. Therefore, please separate completely from Egypt and you shall have the power of Head of the Church, without any other head above you. You will have the power to consecrate bishops, priests and monks and we shall help you in this with all our might and we shall give you all that you will ask for. The Government shall be at your disposal for any question, minor or major.»

My reply was: «This is impossible and I shall never accept it. I cannot betray the trust which has been put in me and which has been maintained intact by all the bishops before me. I assure you that I can resist anything, pressures, imprisonment, hunger, etc. . . . and that I cannot accept this.»

He answered: «And we can absolutely not accept your connections with Egypt.»

Considering the impossibility of reaching an agreement, after the bomb incident. Kyrollos accepted the proposal to go to Italy to negotiate the problem personally with Mussolini. On reaching Suez, his secretary disembarked to inform the Patriarch personally of the developments over the question of the Ethiopian Church.

In Ethiopia, Abuna Abraham, Ethiopian Bishop of Gondar and of Gojjam, remained to substitute for Abuna Kyrollos.

2. THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE ITALIAN RELIGIOUS POLICY ON THE CLERGY AND THE COPTIC PEOPLE.

A lot of information about the trip to Rome of Abuna Ky-

rollos is contained in the biography, edited in Arabic on his death, by the Sunday Schools of the Clerical College of Mahmasha in Egypt.

Abuna Kyrollos's trip to Rome was differently interpreted by the various parties, giving rise to hopes and fears. In some circles in Addis Ababa and in Cairo there were those who thought that Abuna Kyrollos had gone to Rome to attempt to re-establish peace and tranquillity in the Church of Ethiopia. Others suspected that Abuna Kyrollos wished to be nominated as Etcheguié himself in order to gain administrative power over the Church of Ethiopia, over and above the spiritual power he already had. A further suggestion as to the reasons for his trip to Rome is reported by Dr. Edward Farag in the above-mentioned biography of the Abuna. This is that he had been called because it was hoped he could become an instrument of union between the Church of Ethiopia and that of Rome. This suggestion appeared to be borne out by the news that Abuna Kyrollos would not return to Ethiopia.

However, those who have known Abuna Kyrollos intimately, cannot accept these contradictory opinions. He was essentially a profoundly religious man, without any worldly ambitions and he had no desire for supremacy in Ethiopia. His secret wish was to go back to his homeland and his convent. The facts themselves support this statement. When Abuna Kyrollos came back from Rome, he called in at Port-Said in Egypt. He asked to stop to greet the Patriarch of Alexandria. Once he reached Cairo, he affirmed decisively that he wanted to remain in Egypt and he did not wish to go back to Addis Ababa.

To justify his decision to remain in Egypt, Abuna Kyrollos declared that the Church of Ethiopia could now support itself and that the election of a new Abuna could take place regularly

in Ethiopia, since an organised clergy with its bishops existed there. Thus, the Abuna showed the Ethiopians the way to follow.

Detailed accounts appear in a collection of documents edited by the Ethiopian Government Printing Press in Amharic (16) which facilitate the reconstruction of the vicissitudes of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia during the period of the Italian administration.

After the departure of Abuna Kyrollos, only two Bishops remained in Ethiopia: Abuna Abraham and Abuna Ishaak, because the others had died in the meantime. In November-December, 1937, the abbots of the convents, the doctors of the church and the learned men gathered in Addis Ababa to discuss the situation of the Church of Ethiopia.

The Archbishop, Abuna Kyrollos, had returned to Egypt and it was not possible to have relations with the Church in Egypt, owing to the prevailing political situation. It was necessary for a new archbishop to take over the leadership of the Church of Ethiopia so as not to expose the traditional Coptic religion to weakening and to decay. As Abuna Kyrollos had left his chair to Abuna Abraham, when he went to Rome, those taking part in this meeting thought that it was possible to nominate Abuna Abraham to become the Archbishop of Ethiopia, so that he could, in his turn, nominate and consecrate other Ethiopian bishops.

Thus, on 21st Hedar, 1930 E.C. (30th November, 1937), in an imposing religious ceremony in Addis Ababa, after the ritual prayers, Abuna Abraham was nominated Archbishop of Ethiopia.

(16) «The First Patriarch of Ethiopia», Berhanenna Selam Printing Press (1956 E.C.) — Addis Ababa 1964.

On that same day, he nominated five Ethiopian Bishops and one Episcopos. These were:

- 1) Abuna Yohannes: Etcheguie and Bishop of Shoa
- 2) Abuna Markos: Bishop of Eritrea
- 3) Abuna Salama: Bishop of Harar
- 4) Abuna Mattewos: Bishop of Wollo
- 5) Abuna Gabriel: Bishop of Gondar
- 6) Abuna Lukas: Episcopos of Wollega

When the news of these events reached Egypt, the Egyptian Coptic Synod met on 28th December, 1937, and pronounced itself in opposition to the action of the Church of Ethiopia and after a prolonged discussion it decided to excommunicate Abuna Abraham.

According to the Ethiopian scholars, as a result of the particular international political conditions of that time, the news of the decisions of the Egyptian Coptic Synod did not reach Ethiopia and thus, when on 14th Hamle, 1931, E.C. (21st July, 1938), Archbishop Abraham of Ethiopia died, Abuna Yohannes was nominated as the new Archbishop. He was consecrated on the 1st of Meskerem, 1932 E.C., (11th September, 1938).

On the same day, the new Archbishop, Abuna Yohannes consecrated four bishops and one episcopos, as follows:

- 1) Abuna Filippus: Episcopos, Secretary of Archbishop Abuna Yohannes
- 2) Abuna Gorgorios: Bishop of Wollo
- 3) Abuna Mattias: Bishop of Shoa
- 4) Abuna Atnatewos: Bishop of Gojjam
- 5) Abuna Kyrollos: Bishop of Eritrea

Five months later, Abuna Yohannes consecrated Abuna Zaccarias, Episcopos of Jerusalem.

In the Ethiopian ecclesiastical hierarchy the «Episcopos» is under the bishop with a position analogous to that of the Auxiliary Bishop in the West, with the difference that the consecration of the episcopos in Ethiopia does not involve the full bishop's consecration, while in the West the Auxiliary bishop has the same consecration as the bishop.

In this period, the number of Ethiopian bishops, including Abuna Ishaak, reached ten and that of the episcopos reached three.

The importance of the consecrations became clear when, after the return of Emperor Haile Sellassie to Ethiopia, negotiations were resumed with the Coptic Church of Egypt.

3. ABUNA KYROLLOS IN ITALY.

It was shown, previously, how it had been suggested to Abuna Kyrollos that he should go to Italy to negotiate directly with Mussolini, in order to solve the problem of the Church in Ethiopia which — though occupied by the Italians — had to depend, following the centuries-old tradition, on the Patriarchate of Alexandria in Egypt. It was generally thought that he alone could solve that thorny problem. During his voyage to Italy, in the Suez Canal, not having been allowed to disembark in Egypt, the Archbishop of Ethiopia received a delegation sent to him by His Beatitude the Patriarch of Alexandria.

On his arrival at Naples, he was received by a delegation sent by the Italian Government which, seeing that he was very delicate in health, arranged for him to be visited by a doctor in the hotel where he was staying. Two days later the order came

for him to resume the trip to Rome. There he was again visited by a doctor who said that the hotel could not favour his health and he was asked to move to a hospital in the country. The Archbishop refused and remained in Rome.

He then met Mussolini. In the words of the Abuna he received him: «rudely, showing authority. I remained calm.»

Mussolini, who was accompanied by the Minister of Colonies, asked him for the reason for his visit. Kyrollos replied that he had been invited by the Italian Government to discuss the situation of the Ethiopian Church with him, since no one else could deal with the problem.

The Duce told him that in this meeting they had only the opportunity to meet each other and he left the discussion of the business to another meeting to be held soon.

Then Mussolini sent delegates to negotiate with Abuna Kyrollos about the separation of the Ethiopian Church from its mother church, the Coptic Church of Egypt. The Abuna replied that this was impossible and that he could not consent to such a proposal. Subsequently, the Fascist Grand Council invited the Abuna to a reception where he was received cordially; speeches were made and he was welcomed to Italy. Abuna Kyrollos describes the occasion in these words:

«After having delivered a couple of speeches during which photographs were taken, they insisted that I should speak as my conscience would dictate. I said: 'I have come here because I have been invited by the Italian Government to solve the problems which exist at present in the Ethiopian Church. I have the promise of the Delegate of the King to solve this problem and I hope that the Italian Government will protect the religious interest of the Ethio-

pian Church and that it shall give liberty to decide on religious matters, since the Church has nothing to do with politics and politics must not be involved in the spiritual affairs of the Church.

On the other hand I cannot agree to the separation of the Ethiopian Church from that of Egypt, since their connection goes back to ancient times. I repeat now what I have said to the Delegate of the King and to the Ministry of Colonies in Addis Ababa, that I shall not betray the trust placed in me by he who accepted to become the Head of the Coptic Church, and I shall maintain this strong union which has existed since the remotest times.»

As soon as the Archbishop had said these words, the assembly was dissolved.

Later, Kyrollos was invited to visit the Pope in Rome. He did not accept because of the fact that during his voyage to Italy he had not been allowed to visit the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, Head of his Church.

Kyrollos also met the King of Italy privately who received him cordially. After having visited St. Peter's Basilica and other important churches, owing to his very precarious health, the Abuna limited himself to the absolutely indispensable. However, as he affirms himself: «they put means to facilitate transportation at my disposal.»

Finally, they told him that he could return to Egypt or remain in Italy if he so wished.

Archbishop Kyrollos decided to return to Egypt, where he remained until after the return of His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie to Ethiopia and the resumption of the negotiations.

CHAPTER IV

The Return of H. M. Emperor Haile Sellassie I to Ethiopia and the Resumption of Negotiations with the Coptic Church in Egypt

1. THE ETHIOPIAN MISSION TO EGYPT.

After the Italian occupation which lasted five years, His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I re-entered his capital, Addis Ababa, on the 5th of May, 1941.

His first activities were concerned with the reorganization of the Empire, and the religious problem was not the least of the problems he had to deal with. He, therefore, resumed relations with the Church of Egypt in the hope of reaching a friendly understanding. The same Coptic Synod which had excommunicated the Archbishop of Ethiopia, Abuna Abraham, showed itself tolerant for the time being for it allowed the Etcheguié Guebreguorguis to be responsible for the temporary leadership of the Church in Ethiopia. However, on the other hand, the Coptic Synod expressed its reproaches and its authority by suspending any activity of the Bishops of Ethiopia who had been nominated without its approval.

The negotiations started in the month of May, 1942, when the Emperor sent a delegate to the Coptic Patriarchate to ask for the return of Archbishop Kyrollos, who had remained in Egypt after his period of stay in Italy. The Ethiopian delegate explained to the Patriarch the Emperor's wish to see the Ethiopian Archbishop invested with the authority to consecrate bishops.

The Patriarch replied that he was ready to consecrate

Ethiopian bishops in Cairo, in conformity with the rules laid down previously since, in accordance with the laws of the Church, a bishop could not consecrate another bishop, this right being reserved for the Patriarch. Finally, it was decided that Archbishop Kyrollos would return to Ethiopia and that he be accompanied by a Coptic delegation. He returned on 21st May, 1942. The three delegates were:

- 1) Sadek Pasha Wahba
- 2) Merrit Boutros Bey Ghali
- 3) Farag Mikhail Bey Mussa

In this year the Ethiopian Church had nine bishops and Archbishop Yohannes. Although the opinions of the population with regard to the religious policy of the Italians were divergent, as noted in the previous chapter, the ideology of a certain party was starting to be felt and to prevail. Among other motives, in consequence of the fact that before the Italian occupation the Catholics in Ethiopia were 4,000 while after it their number had risen to 40,000, this group favoured the move towards an independent Ethiopian Church as an expression of long-felt national feeling, and as a means to stopping the growth of Catholicism. The writer and poet Kidane Kefle wrote some poetry on this theme and he became the spokesman of those who sought a free and independent Ethiopian Church. The young generation in Ethiopia at that time thought that the nomination of an Ethiopian archbishop would certainly be a most important element in the re-birth and the development of the country.

This was the atmosphere in Ethiopia when the Egyptian delegates arrived in Addis Ababa in the first days of June, 1942. In a series of meetings with the Emperor and with high officials of Ethiopia, the most important points concerning the bringing of the two Churches closer together were discussed. On

the Ethiopian side it was asked, first of all, that the Coptic Synod should annul the excommunication which weighed on the Country, allowing the Ethiopians who had been consecrated illegally to resume the functions which they had assumed before the excommunication had been pronounced. Also, it was asked that the validity of the sacraments administered during that period be recognized and that, at the death of the Egyptian Coptic Archbishop an Ethiopian Archbishop be nominated.

When the delegates decided to return to Egypt, Abuna Kyrollos left them to remain in Ethiopia in his position as Archbishop. Thus, he took up again the post which had been occupied by Abuna Abraham and Abuna Yohannes of Ethiopia during his absence.

On 20th June, 1942, Patriarch Yohannes died in Egypt and his chair was occupied temporarily by Abuna Yussab, Archbishop of Guirga. The Egyptian mission returned to Cairo on the day after the Patriarch's death.

Under the presidency of Abuna Yussab, on 26th June, 1942, a Synod of the Church of Egypt met and made the following decree:

DECREE OF THE HOLY SYNOD OF 26TH JUNE 1942
WITH REGARD TO THE LIFTING OF THE EXCOMMUNICATION.

1. The excommunication which weighs on the Ethiopian people, by virtue of the decree of the Synod, emitted December, 1937, has been lifted.
2. By virtue of the previous decree, the excom-

lifted for the so-called archbishops, bishops and others who have accepted various ecclesiastical functions, with the return of each one of them to the post they were occupying previously.

3. The blessings given to the faithful who have been linked, in good faith, to the so-called archbishops and bishops, are rendered valid, and their religious acts are considered valid, as if they had been accomplished by a legal ecclesiastical authority.
4. If one of these archbishops or bishops exercises any ecclesiastical function, without having been legally designated by the religious authorities which have the power to attribute them by virtue of rules of the Coptic-Orthodox Church, and by virtue of its traditions, he is considered to be excommunicated, and excluded from the Church, equally, any person from among the Christian population who recognizes its powers, is also considered as such.
5. Any act, past or future, of anyone who is not in agreement with the rules and traditions of the Church, in the relations of the Church of Ethiopia with the Coptic mother Church, and in the submission of the former to the Church of Saint Mark, is invalid.

However, this decree which annulled the excommunication, was not published in Ethiopia as the nomination of an Ethiopian archbishop had not yet been granted. The question, then, was held back until the nomination of the new Patriarch, Abuna Makarios, who was finally elected after 19 months, on 4th February, 1944.

Abuna Makarios was the 114th Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark. Under him the negotiations with the Church of Ethiopia

were resumed and he sent a letter to Ethiopia about this dated 1st April, 1944.

On the resumption of the negotiations, the good will of the two parties was very clear, and a delegation was sent from Cairo to Addis Ababa. Its members were:

- 1) Ghindy Bey Abdelmalek
- 2) Iskander Bey Qassabki
- 3) Assaad Bey Morkos

It was headed by Archbishop Timotawos. The Ethiopian delegation was composed of members who had been chosen by the Emperor himself; among them was Etcheguie Guebreghiorguis, together with five experts in theology.

The two delegations met from the 16th to the 28th of June, 1944, and discussed the controversial points. When the discussions ended, the Egyptian delegates returned to Cairo, carrying a letter containing the proposals of the Church of Ethiopia. The letter was addressed to Abuna Makarios, Patriarch of Egypt, and it was dated 21 Senie, 1936 E.C. (June 28th, 1944).

The letter requested:

1. That His Holiness should choose a worthy man from among the members of the Ethiopian clergy to become archbishop.
2. The creation of an Ethiopian Synod which would have the right to choose the bishops who would be consecrated by the archbishop nominated by the Patriarch.
3. That the Holy Synod of the Coptic Church would receive the representatives of the Ethiopian Church and allow them to participate in the election of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

4. That the Ethiopian Church should have a permanent seat in the Holy Synod of Alexandria and the representatives of the Ethiopian Church should be invited to all the meetings of the Synod.
5. The annulment of the excommunications inflicted on the bishops whom the Ethiopian Church had been obliged to choose at the time of the Italian occupation, to safeguard its faith, as it had been impossible to communicate with the Church of Alexandria.
6. The foundation of a theological college in Addis Ababa under the authority of the Patriarch himself, and the exchange of missions between Egypt and Ethiopia.

On 1st March, 1945, a letter written by Abuna Makarios, addressed to the Church of Ethiopia, arrived in Addis Ababa. In it some points were still being debated, and accordingly a new letter with new proposals was sent by the Church of Ethiopia to the Patriarch of Alexandria, dated 18th Megabit, 1937 E.C. (27th March, 1945).

In June, 1945, an Egyptian Synod gathered again and it approved the conclusions presented by the Committee charged to study the demands of the Ethiopian Church.

The most important points approved by this Holy Synod were:

1. Absolute refusal to allow the Church of Ethiopia the right to consecrate bishops.
2. Absolute refusal to nominate an Ethiopian Archbishop.
3. The Ethiopian Church was allowed to participate in the election of the Patriarch of Alexandria. It would be

represented by the Coptic Archbishop, by the Etcheguie, by the Council of Ministers and the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies and by the twelve Rasses of the Empire of Ethiopia.

4. Equally, the Committee did not oppose the representation of the Ethiopian Church by the Archbishop and by the Etcheguie in the gatherings of the Holy Synod.
5. The annulment of the excommunication of the archbishop, the bishops and the other members of the Ethiopian clergy was reconfirmed, as well as the return of each one of them to the post he occupied prior to the excommunication.
6. The exchange of missions and the creation of a theological college in Ethiopia was approved.

On 1st September, 1945, Abuna Makarios died. The whole question was delayed till the nomination of the «locum tenens» of the Patriarch.

In November, 1945, the representatives of the Ethiopian Church met in Addis Ababa. One of the decisions taken was to send a delegation to Cairo to discuss the proposals. The deliberations of the Congress were published in Addis Ababa, in Amharic, in the first two numbers of the review of the news regarding the Ethiopian Church, dated 19th November, 1945, and 8th January, 1946, respectively. It was declared that the Ethiopian Church would be obliged to separate itself from the Coptic Church if its demands were not satisfied.

On 9th January, 1946, the Emperor sent a letter addressed to Abuna Athanassios, «locum tenens» of the Patriarch of Alexandria, with an Ethiopian Delegation consisting of H.E.

Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos and H.E. Fitawrari Tafesse Habtemikael.

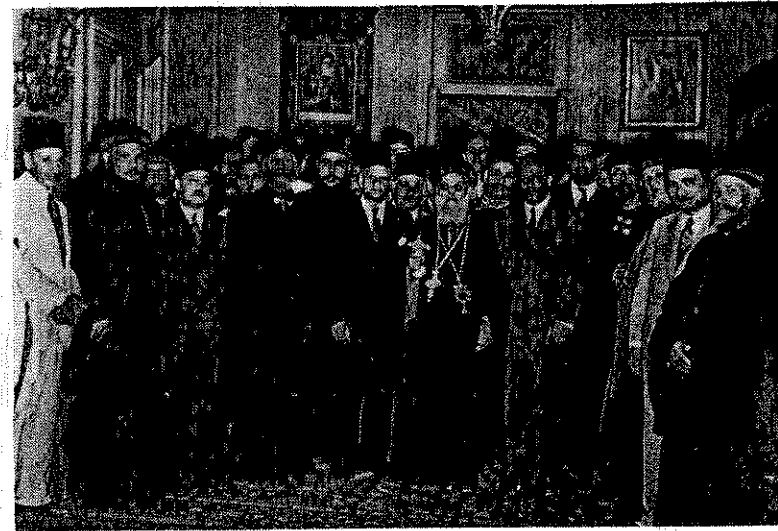
The Emperor's letter, written in French, the language in which he prefers to express himself when he has to use a foreign language, is reported in full in Appendix N° 1. The early part of the negotiations between the two Churches took place in French. Later, the English language was used officially.

In this letter the Emperor underlines that with the intention of maintaining the union between the Church of Ethiopia and that of Alexandria, the priests ordained during the Italian occupation had not been allowed to exercise their functions. Then he gives evidence how, for four years, since the arrival of the delegation headed by Abuna Timotewos, discussions had taken place to obtain the reply of the Synod in Alexandria, after which an assembly of all the delegates of the Ethiopian provincial Churches had been called, which took place from 9th to 17th Hedar, 1938 E.C., (18th and 26th November, 1945), and which had declared itself unable to accept the decisions of the Egyptian Synod.

It was made clear that if the Ethiopian Church did not succeed in obtaining the rights which it claimed, a division of the two Churches might be brought about, even though this was against the wishes of the Ethiopian Church.

He invited, therefore, Abuna Athanassios to consider the question carefully and showed him how he hoped to see his delegates, Fitawrari Tafesse Habtemikael and Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos, return with a satisfactory reply.

The Ethiopian delegation which brought this letter met Abuna Kyrollos in Cairo. The questions were negotiated with the «locum tenens», Abuna Athanassios. The Holy Synod of the Coptic Church met under his presidency on 31st January, 1946.



H. H. Anba Yussab II, Patriarch of the See of St. Mark, H. B. Abuna Basilios to his left, surrounded by members of the two delegations, at the Patriarchate in Cairo.



H. H. Anba Yussab II, Egyptian Patriarch, receiving a high Ethiopian Decoration at the hands of H. E. Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos and H. E. Fitawrari Tafesse Habtemikael.

As a result, the Ethiopian Church was granted the right to have an Ethiopian Archbishop after the death of Kyrillos, the Egyptian Archbishop.

Besides, Abuna Athanassios told the Ethiopian delegates that, on the occasion of the nomination of the new Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark, five Ethiopian monks would be consecrated as bishops. With this news, the delegates returned to Addis Ababa on 21st March, 1946.

Following the results of the negotiations in Cairo, a list was prepared in Addis Ababa of five Ethiopian monks chosen to be proposed for nomination as Bishops. These were:

- 1) H. B. Eicheguie Guebreorguis Wolde Tsadik
- 2) Memher Guerima Woldekidan
- 3) Like Seltanat Melektu Woldemariam
- 4) Memher Zeffere Berhan Guebre Tsadik
- 5) Memher Guetahun Woldehawariat

These monks went to Cairo with the above-mentioned delegates to take part in the election of the Patriarch. On 16th May, 1946, Abuna Yussab was nominated 115th Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark.

While preparations were underway for the consecration of the five Ethiopian Bishops, it was requested by the Patriarchate in Alexandria that they should engage themselves not to consecrate any Patriarch, nor Archbishop nor any Bishop. The Ethiopians refused to sign this engagement which would have precluded the right of the Ethiopian Archbishop to consecrate bishops.

A very animated discussion arose and it was not possible

to come to any agreement. On 30th June, 1946, H. H. Ras Kassa Hailu, a man of particular prestige, belonging to the Imperial Family itself and respected for his profound religious feelings, proposed his mediation to put an end to the conflict, asking the Coptic Church in Cairo to send a mission to Addis Ababa. But this initiative had no success either.

Thus, the Ethiopian mission left Cairo on 23rd July, and arrived in Addis Ababa on 3rd August, 1946. For some time, the relationship between the two Churches, which had become gradually more and more tense, was openly broken.

2. THE EXAMINATION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO CHURCHES.

In consequence of the demands formulated by the Ethiopian Church in the negotiations which preceded the first decisive step towards the formation of a National Church, the Holy Synod of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt, gathering on 31st January, 1946, published a document in which it replied in detail to each of the demands received, and as a result of which it had taken the decisions already reported on pages 57-58.

The practical consequences which arose from this document, which is reported in its complete version in Appendix N° 2, were as follows:

- 1) For the first time in the history of the Coptic Church after having taken in consideration the involvement of His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I (by means of the Ethiopian delegation sent to Cairo), and trusting in

«His constant zeal to ensure the continuity of the relations between the two Churches», the Holy Synod of the Coptic Orthodox Church decided that the successor of Archbishop Kyrollos would be an Ethiopian monk who would have all the attributes necessary to this post, appointed by the Apostolic Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark. (17)

In fact, this was the first decisive victory of the Ethiopian Church. After 1600 years the Ethiopians had the right to become archbishops of their own Church. In effect, this first concession was the basis for the further negotiations which were to lead the Church of Ethiopia to complete independence.

- 2) The Synod declared itself opposed to the request of the Ethiopian Church that the Archbishop of the country should have the right to consecrate bishops, on the grounds that it had no right at all to introduce any modification in the Canon Law.

This decision did not favour the interests of the Ethiopian Church. Although the first point was of basic importance for the future of the Church, the second point limited in a considerable way that concession, since in practice the Ethiopian Archbishop would continue to depend on Alexandria for the fulfilment of his ecclesiastical functions.

- 3) The third decision complied with the demand of the Ethiopian Church, for the number of bishops was in-

(17) MURAD KAMIL, «La Dernière Phase des Relations Historiques entre l'Eglise Copte d'Egypte et celle d'Ethiopie». (Jusqu'en 1952) (Extrait du Bulletin de La Société d'Archéologie Copte, T. XIV.) — Le Caire, pages 14-18.

creased from five to seven. However, two of the bishops still had to be Egyptians, with the proviso that they should know the Amharic language perfectly.

- 4) Points four and five conferred on the Ethiopian Church the right to participate in the elections of the Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark as well as in meetings of the Holy Synod which would take place in Cairo.

This right of the Ethiopian Church to participate in the election of the Patriarch was, some years later, to become the object of controversy and disunity, as will be seen in the last chapter.

- 5) The Egyptian Holy Synod gave its approval to the sixth and seventh demands with regard to the exchange of missions between the priests of the two Churches and the establishment of a theological seminary in Addis Ababa.

It is to be noted that the last demand especially represented a great step forward towards the autonomy of the Ethiopian Church, allowing for the preparation of those who would have responsibility for ecclesiastical affairs.

- 6) Finally, the last decision of the Synod with regard to the first part of the eighth demand concerning the right of the Ethiopian Church to hold a special Holy Synod in Addis Ababa, did not at all satisfy the aspirations of the latter. In fact, the Ethiopian Church was granted the right to gather in a regional Congress under the presidency of the Bishop, to examine local internal questions; but for all matters concerning dogma, rites and canon law, it had to address itself to the Holy See in Alexandria.

The second part of the eighth demand requested the annulment of the excommunication of the Bishops consecrated during the period of the Italian occupation. The Egyptian Synod granted this, confirming the decision taken previously, but imposed these conditions:

- a) Those bishops had to go to Cairo to be consecrated in conformity with the ecclesiastical laws.
- b) Their number should not exceed five.

Taken as a whole, this document represented some progress towards autonomy of the Ethiopian Church, but it succeeded in bringing together the two interested parties only temporarily.

However, as recounted above, at the time when the five Ethiopian monks were supposed to be consecrated in Cairo, having refused to sign the declaration which precluded the Archbishop from consecrating bishops, a discussion arose which hindered the continuation of the negotiations for a period of about one year.

Nevertheless little by little, the desire for agreement was renewed, and in June, 1947, the Emperor informed the Patriarch of his wish to put an end to the conflict existing between the two Churches, particularly over the question of the right of the Archbishop to consecrate bishops.

The Patriarch then nominated a committee whose aim was to study the question. The Committee presented a report, which was approved by the Holy Synod on 24th July, 1947. The most important points of this report were:

1. The Ethiopian Archbishop should be granted the right to consecrate Ethiopian Bishops to meet the needs of the Ethiopian Church, on condition, however, that each decision of the Ethiopian Synod with regard to the

consecration of Bishops and the selection of priests for the episcopacy would be sent to the Patriarch in Cairo, with the list of the names of the proposed priests, an indication of their attitudes and the name of the dioceses which they would occupy. It was intended that the Patriarch should delegate to the Ethiopian Archbishop, by means of a decree, the right of consecration, in agreement with the Bishops of the Ethiopian Synod.

2. One of the most eminent Egyptian Coptic Bishops should be appointed Delegate of the Patriarch for African spiritual questions, with official residence in Addis Ababa. He would also be the envoy of the Patriarch and the protector of the decree relating to the consecration of one or more Bishops.

Consequent to this decree, on 1st March, 1948, the Synod of the Church of Ethiopia issued the following document which, in consideration of its importance, is quoted hereunder in its original:

SAINT-SYNODE DE L'EGLISE MONOPHYSITE ORTHODOXE D'ETHIOPIE

Addis Abéba, le 1er Mars 1948.

Au nom du Père, du Fils et du Saint-Esprit,
un seul Dieu, amen! Béni soit le Père qui
nous a accordé toutes Ses grâces en Notre
Seigneur Jésus-Christ!

Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie a examiné la copie de la décision du Saint-Synode de l'Eglise Copte datée du 17 Hamlé 1939 (calendrier éthiopien), 17 Abih 1663 (calendrier copte) et 24 Juillet 1947 (calendrier grégorien). Il a été pris note du

chapitre se rapportant à «l'amitié existante entre les Eglises Copte et Ethiopienne» et à celle des peuples éthiopien et égyptien et de sa continuation. En réponse, le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie communique ce qui suit:

1. Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie a donné toute son attention au fait que, lorsque le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise Copte a prit sa décision, il avait en vue d'aplanir les différends qui avaient pu exister jusque-là entre les deux Eglises, et aussi de prendre sans hésitation les mesures nécessaires pour assurer à l'Eglise éthiopienne paix et progrès.
2. Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie offre des prières à Dieu pour que soient préservés les liens créés depuis plus de 1600 ans entre les deux Eglises par leur attachement au Siège de Saint Marc; liens qui unissent les deux peuples dans la foi en un amour fraternel.
3. Se basant sur les négociations qui eurent lieu entre les délégués éthiopiens et le Patriarcat durant la période où Amba Athanasius assumait les fonctions de 'locum tenens', le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie exprime le désir que les différends existants entre les deux Eglises soient réglés amicalement de la façon suivante:
 - a) Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie convient que les futurs évêques qui, selon les circonstances et les nécessités, et tenant compte de leur capacité, expérience et valeur morale, et après l'approbation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Ethiopie, seront choisis parmi les moines des couvents, des monastères, ou bien parmi ceux qui sont affectés au service du culte, ou bien parmi les évêques, soient sacrés par Sa Sainteté

le Patriarche d'Alexandrie, héritier du Siège de Saint Marc. Il reste entendu que le premier archevêque ne sera consacré qu'après la mort de Sa Béatitude l'Archevêque Kyrillos.

b) Sa Sainteté le Patriarche d'Alexandrie sacrera l'Archevêque éthiopien élu par le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie et porteur de Lettres de Créance de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Ethiopie et lui donnera sa bénédiction apostolique.

4. La décision du Saint-Synode de l'Eglise Copte d'accorder à l'Archevêque éthiopien le pouvoir de sacrer les évêques (oskofs), en nombre déterminé par les besoins spirituels du pays, a été bien accueillie par le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie. De même, le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie enregistre avec plaisir la reconnaissance par Sa Sainteté le Patriarche et par le Saint-Synode de son autorité pour continuer de régir les affaires de l'Eglise selon les nécessités des temps.

Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie déclare avec plaisir qu'il est prêt à se mettre d'accord sur les points suivants:

a) Les moines qui seront proposés à la dignité d'évêques seront choisis par les fidèles, sous la direction du Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie, soit dans les monastères ou les églises, soit parmi ceux qui sont au service du culte, en raison de leurs capacités, expérience et haute valeur morale, suivant les prescriptions des canons de l'Eglise.

b) Après approbation de leur nomination, par Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Ethiopie ces premiers évêques se ren-

dront en Egypte pour être sacrés: ils seront oints par Sa Sainteté le Patriarche d'Alexandrie. Cependant, à l'avenir, la consécration d'évêques pour l'Ethiopie se fera par Sa Béatitude l'Archevêque Ethiopien.

c) Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie est d'accord pour que Sa Béatitude l'Archevêque éthiopien communique directement à notre Père dans la foi, Sa Sainteté le Patriarche d'Alexandrie, les noms des évêques consacrés selon les rites de l'Eglise, et leur siège.

5. Vu que les deux Eglises, éthiopienne et copte, sont attachées au même Siège de Saint-Marc et sont unies par les mêmes liens religieux, le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie ne voit pas de raison d'accepter un autre délégué supplémentaire. Le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie est d'accord pour que le modèle d'engagement ci-joint, signé par les évêques qui seront consacrés maintenant ou à l'avenir, soit envoyé à Sa Sainteté le Patriarche d'Alexandrie qui leur transmettra sa bénédiction par Sa Béatitude l'Archevêque éthiopien.

6. Ainsi qu'il a été établi ci-dessus à l'article 5, le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie ne peut accepter l'envoi, en plus de l'Archevêque éthiopien, d'un représentant ou d'un délégué spécial auprès du gouvernement Impérial d'Ethiopie, dont la tâche serait de participer au nom de Sa Sainteté le Patriarche à la nomination des évêques. Au cas où le Patriarcat voudrait suivre l'exemple du Vatican, Etat temporel, qui, à ce titre, a des représentations diplomatiques

auprès des autres gouvernements, la question n'étant pas du ressort de l'Eglise éthiopienne, elle doit être référée au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères par la voie diplomatique. En conséquence, le Saint-Synode de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie n'est pas en mesure de donner son consentement à l'envoi d'un délégué spécial égyptien en résidence permanente à Addis Abéba.

Addis Abéba, 22 Yekatit 1940 C.E., (1er Mars, 1948).
(Seal of the Holy-Synod of the Church of Ethiopia)

follow the signatures of:

- H.B. Abuna Ishaak
- Neibur'ed Guebre Maskal, Nibure'ed of Tigré Axum-Tsion
- Like Seltanat Melektu, Church of the Holy Trinity, Addis Ababa
- Tsebathe Tiumma Lisan, Delegate of the Churches in Addis Ababa
- Memher Ras Worq, Delegate of the Churches of Shoa
- Aleka Tammene Aggidaw, Delegate of the Churches of Wollo
- Melake Berhan Admasu, Delegate of the Churches in Gojjam
- Aleka Mersha, Delegate of the Churches of Beguemder
- Aleka Markos Tewolde Medhen, Delegate of the Churches of Tigré
- Aleka Desta Negaw, Delegate of the Churches of Harar
- Memher Zeffere Berhan, Memher of Zuquala
- Guebre Menfes Queddus, Delegate of the Monastery of Shoa
- Memher Guebre Mariam, Memher of the Monastery of Dima Guiorguis, Gojjam
- Memher Philateos, Memher of the Monastery of Mirtula Mariam, Gojjam.

Through this decree, the Holy Synod of Ethiopia accepted all the decisions of the Synod in Alexandria, dated 24th July, 1947, except the one which referred to the Delegate of the Patriarch with official residence in Addis Ababa.

1. The consecration of the Ethiopian Archbishop chosen by the Holy Synod of the Church of Ethiopia, at the hands of His Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria.
2. The decision of the Holy Synod of the Coptic Church to grant the Ethiopian Archbishop the power to consecrate bishops in accordance with the spiritual needs of the Country.

Moreover, the Synod of the Church of Ethiopia declared itself ready to come to an agreement on the following points:

1. The monks proposed for the rank of bishop shall be chosen by the faithful under the leadership of the Holy Synod of the Church of Ethiopia.
2. After approval of their nomination by the Emperor of Ethiopia, these first bishops shall go to Egypt to be consecrated by His Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria. However, in the future, the new bishops shall receive their consecration at the hands of His Beatitude the Archbishop of Ethiopia.
3. The Ethiopian Holy Synod accepts that H.B. the Archbishop communicates to His Holiness the Patriarch of Alexandria the names and the seats of the Bishops consecrated following the rites of the Church.

The point which met an absolute refusal on the part of the Ethiopian Church was, as has been stated above, the question of the delegate of the Patriarch in Addis Ababa. Basing themselves

on the community of the Patriarchal Seat of the two Churches, and on the unity of the religious links, the Ethiopians saw no reason to justify the permanent residence of a special delegate in Addis Ababa.

Besides, the Synod of the Ethiopian Church made it clear that, if the Patriarch of Alexandria should want to follow the example of the Vatican which, as a temporal State, has diplomatic representatives assigned to other governments, he would have to address himself to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through diplomatic channels and the Synod could not exercise jurisdiction in this field.

On the 29th of the same month, the Patriarch of Alexandria sanctioned the approval which the Ethiopian Synod had given to the decrees of the Egyptian Synod, except for that relating to its delegate. In July, 1948, new Ethiopian delegates were sent to Cairo.

CHAPTER V

The Solution of the Problem

1. THE NOMINATION OF THE FIRST ETHIOPIAN ARCHBISHOP (18)

Subsequent to the negotiations analyzed in the previous chapter, on 13th July, 1948, an agreement was made in Cairo, by which the Ethiopian Church was granted the right to have an Ethiopian Archbishop. Since the year 327 A.D., when Ethiopia was converted to Christianity, such a step had never been recorded.

The document was countersigned on the Ethiopian side on the 24th July, 1948. In view of its decisive importance it is thought useful to quote the full text of this agreement below:

«LE PATRIARCAT COPTE ORTHODOXE

Le Caire, le 13 Juillet, 1948

Au nom du Père, du Fils et du
Saint Esprit,

Un seul Dieu, Ainsi soit-il

Vu les décisions précédemment prises par le Saint Synode

(18) The documentation of the negotiations reported in this chapter is to be found partly in:

MURAD KAMIL, *La Dernière Phase des Relations Historique entre l'Eglise Copte d'Egypte et celle d'Ethiopie* (jusqu'en 1952); *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* T. XIV, Le Caire, 1958; and partly in:

THE FIRST PATRIARCH OF ETHIOPIA, Berhanenna Selam Printing Press — (1956 E.C.) — Addis Ababa 1964.

concernant la définition des relations entre l'Eglise Copte Orthodoxe d'Alexandrie et l'Eglise d'Ethiopie, les conversations qui ont ensuite eu lieu et déférant au désir formulé par l'Eglise d'Ethiopie, le Saint Synode Copte Orthodoxe a adopté les dispositions ci-dessous, régissant les relations entre l'Eglise d'Ethiopie et l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, et surtout en ce qui concerne le choix et la consécration des Archevêques et Evêques Ethiopiens.

Il est entendu qu'aucun archevêque Ethiopien ne sera consacré qu'après le décès de Sa Grandeur l'Archevêque Kyrollos.

2) La consécration et la bénédiction Apostolique de l'Archevêque d'Ethiopie, élu par l'Eglise d'Ethiopie et porteur de Lettres de Créance de Sa Majesté l'Empereur sera du ressort exclusif et la prérogative de Sa Sainteté le Pape et Patriarche d'Alexandrie, héritier du Siège de Saint Marc.

3) Les préposés à la dignité d'Episcopat seront choisis parmi les moines des monastères et des Eglises suivant les prescriptions des canons de l'Eglise. L'élu doit être connu par ses capacités, expérience et haute morale.

4) L'Archevêque d'Ethiopie sera autorisé à consacrer les Evêques Ethiopiens suivant le besoin de l'Eglise pour la direction spirituelle du peuple. Toutes les fois que l'Eglise d'Ethiopie se propose de consacrer des évêques et choisit les moines remplissant les qualités requises, cette proposition sera soumise au Pape d'Alexandrie, Patriarche du Siège de Saint Marc; accompagnée d'une liste contenant les noms et les aptitudes des moines proposés pour l'épiscopat, ainsi que l'évêché qui sera confié à chacun d'eux, et l'approbation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Ethiopie.

Le Pape et Patriarche rendra une ordonnance Patriarcale autorisant l'Archevêque Ethiopien à procéder avec le concours des Evêques et déléguant l'Archevêque pour leur donner la bénédiction Apostolique et ce, après qu'ils auraient signé l'engagement suivant:

«Nous nous engageons à rester fidèles à notre foi religieuse Copte-Orthodoxe Tewahedo de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie, Siège de l'Evangeliste Saint Marc; Nous nous engageons à respecter les canons et les traditions de notre Eglise qui nous furent transmis par les Apôtres, les Trois cent-dix-huit du Concile de Nicée et les pères de l'Eglise.

Nous respectons et considérons le Pape et Patriarche d'Alexandrie, successeur de l'Evangeliste Saint Marc, comme notre Patriarche et Pape. Nous nous engageons à ne pas nommer un Patriarche ou un Métropolitain d'Ethiopie (Likepapasat) sans l'assentiment de Sa Sainteté le Pape et Patriarche d'Alexandrie.

Nous nous engageons à respecter le présent serment.»

Jusqu'à la consécration de l'Archevêque Ethiopien, la consécration des évêques Ethiopiens, auxquels Sa Majesté l'Empereur aura donné son approbation pour leur nomination sera effectuée par le Pape et Patriarche d'Alexandrie et cela après leur signature de l'Engagement ci-dessus stipulé.

5) Un ecclésiastique de la part du Pape et Patriarche d'Alexandrie assumera la liaison entre l'Eglise d'Alexandrie et celle d'Ethiopie. De par ses attributions, il communiquera à l'Archevêque Ethiopien l'ordonnance patriarcale lui autorisant la consécration de nouveaux évêques et trans-

mettra au Pape et Patriarche d'Alexandrie l'engagement ci-haut mentionné donné par les évêques et le procès-verbal de leur consécration.

6) Les Dignitaires compétents de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie et de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution des présentes décisions.

Fait au Patriarcat Copte
Au nom de l'Eglise d'Ethiopie
et selon autorisation de
S. M. l'Empereur

signé: Gabre Gheorghis
Etchéghié d'Ethiopie

Vu à la Légation Impériale d'Ethiopie au Caire pour certifier la conformité de la traduction amharique au texte français et pour authentifier la signature des Evêques Ethiopiens.

signé: Taffassa Habte-Mikael
Ministre d'Ethiopie

In this agreement reference is made to the decisions already taken by the Holy Synod to define the nature of the links between the Church of Ethiopia and that of Egypt.

The method of selection and the consecration of the Ethiopian Archbishops and Bishops is made clear. The necessity for respecting the regulations with regard to nominations, the duty to observe the canons of the Church, as well as the duty to keep in mind the capacity, the experience and the moral worth of the future elect, is repeated. Furthermore, the approval of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia is required. The consecration of an Archbishop of Ethiopia is held back until after the death

of Archbishop Kyrollos.

The Patriarch of Alexandria, successor of St. Mark, reserves for himself the consecration of each Archbishop, while allowing that each one be approved by His Majesty the Emperor. Moreover, the right of the Church of Ethiopia to meet its own spiritual needs through consecration, by the Archbishop of Ethiopia, of all the Bishops necessary to ensure the spiritual guidance of the faithful of Ethiopia, is recognised.

Thus, no division is created between the two Churches, because that of Ethiopia must always retain its dependence on that of Egypt to which it has to submit each new nomination, accompanied by the approval of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia. The limits and the competence of the Archbishop of Ethiopia in the religious guidance of his Church and his loyalty to the Patriarchate of Saint Mark, are thus fixed. The inclusion in the agreement of a specific declaration of faith and the promise to remain loyal to the Coptic religion is important.

Finally, it was decided to institute the nomination of an ecclesiastic, whose duty would be to keep the links between the two Churches alive so that the agreement would not be violated. The two parties engaged themselves to honour the conditions agreed to. It is to be noted that there was no reference in this document to the fact that Addis Ababa should be the official residence of the delegate of the Patriarch, which, for the Ethiopians, would have had political significance.

In conformity with this agreement, five Ethiopian monks were consecrated on July 25th, 1948. They had already been proposed in 1946 and they were destined for the dioceses indicated:

- 1) Abuna Basilios (Etcheguie Guebre Guiorguis) for Shoa
- 2) Abuna Mikael (M.G. Woldekidan) for Gondar

- 3) Abuna Tewoflos (L.S.M. Woldemariam) for Harar
- 4) Abuna Yakob (M.Q. Berhan G. Tzadik) Lequemt
- 5) Abuna Timotewos (M.G. Woldehawariat) Yirga Alem

Finally, the attempts at understanding, which had been going on over the centuries, were crowned with success. Ethiopia could hope to have, in the near future, an Archbishop born in Ethiopia. These hopes were manifested when, after the death in Cairo of Abuna Kyrollos, 110th Egyptian Archbishop of Ethiopia, on 22nd October, 1950, Abuna Basilios, previously Eteheguie and at that time Bishop of Shoa, was nominated Archbishop of Ethiopia. After approval by the Emperor, he was elevated to the dignity of Metropolitan of Ethiopia by Anba Yussab II, Patriarch of Alexandria, on 13th January, 1951, in Cairo.

For the first time in the history of the Church, an Ethiopian permanently occupied this supreme ecclesiastical position. The Ethiopians greeted the event with jubilation and celebrated it with solemn ceremonies.

On his return from Cairo the new Archbishop, Abuna Basilios, received a warm welcome during his short stay at Asmara airport. One of those who welcomed him was Kashi Melakeselam Dimetros, a prominent leader of the clergy and founder of «Mahber Hawariat» which means «Association of the Apostles». This association has founded schools and is actively occupied with the preaching of the Gospel, with the principal aim of expanding and consolidating the prestige of the Ethiopian Coptic Church. In a long speech, Kashi Melakeselam Dimetros underlined the importance of the event as witnessing the greatness of the Church of Ethiopia and as a sign of the benevolence of the Lord.

In Addis Ababa the new Archbishop was received with military honours and the population sung songs of joy in the

streets. The ceremony of the investiture was held in the Palace. Their Imperial Majesties received the new Primate of Ethiopia, standing. Apart from the members of the Imperial Family, high State officials, Ministers, representatives of diplomatic missions to Ethiopia and the representative of the Greek Orthodox Church, Mgr. Nicholas, Archbishop of Axum, were present. On that historic day, the 19th of January, 1951, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Ethiopia, Abuna Basilios, delivered a speech addressed to His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia. The speech is reported in full in the Appendix N° 3 in its English version.

In this speech, Abuna Basilios, the Ethiopian Archbishop, recalled the glorious past of his Country and the contribution of the Rulers to the consolidation of the Ethiopian Coptic Church. He praised the patient and constant efforts of His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I, which crowned the most profound aspirations in the hearts of the Ethiopian population, to acquire the right to have an Ethiopian Archbishop as head of their Church. The Abuna recalled also the words of the Emperor on 22nd July, 1948, after the agreement established between the two Churches: «It is necessary that the greatness of Ethiopia and its civil progress walk side to side with its spiritual wealth.»

Finally, the Archbishop underlined the good relations existing between the Egyptian and the Ethiopian Churches, with special reference to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Yussab II. He implored God's blessing on the Emperor and on Ethiopia.

On the same day, other speeches were delivered by H.E. the Prime Minister, Bitwedded Makonnen Endalkatchew (see Appendix N° 4) and, finally, to crown the ceremony, by H.M. the Emperor of Ethiopia. (see Appendix N° 5)

On 2nd September, 1951, with the approval of the Patriarch

of Alexandria, Abuna Basilios consecrated five Bishops and assigned them to the administration of the following dioceses:

- 1) Abuna Tedawos (Memher Zeffere Berhan) Goré
- 2) Abuna Gabriel (Tsebate Tekle Guiorguis) Wollo
- 3) Abuna Filippos (Like Likawunt Guebreat) Jerusalem
- 4) Abuna Markos — Eritrea
- 5) Abuna Gorgorios (Memher Guebre Guiorguis) Jimma

The Church of Ethiopia could now begin its history as an independent church. It was able to enlarge the field of its activities and it had already five Ethiopian bishops ordained by the Archbishop of Ethiopia. The Emperor himself underlined the importance of this in his speech from the Throne delivered on 3rd November, 1951.

New bishops could be consecrated whenever necessary. In the month of May, 1953, Abuna Basilios consecrated three further bishops: Abuna Sawiros, Abuna Markos and Abuna Lukas.

2. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ETHIOPIA AND THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA OVER THE ELECTION OF THE 116TH PATRIARCH OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT MARK.

As a result of the nomination of the first Ethiopian Archbishop, effected solemnly in the year 1951, the Ethiopian Church soon attained great prestige, not least in its relationship with its Mother Church of Alexandria. Ethiopian participation in the life of the whole Coptic Church was becoming more complete and decisive.

The Church of Ethiopia felt keenly the importance of its newly acquired position. In 1956, serious internal discords arose in the Patriarchate of Alexandria itself, which led to Ethiopian mediation. In that year, as Mr. Melek, the private secretary of the Patriarch was charged with serious administrative irregularities, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Anba Yussab, was obliged to leave the seat of the Patriarchate to retire to the convent from which he came, after intervention on the part of the Egyptian Government which had been asked to intervene by a strong delegation of Egyptian Copts who were discontent and decided to act by force.

From the Convent of «Al Muharraq», to which he had retired, the Patriarch asked for the mediation of the Church of Ethiopia, which had participated in his election, in a letter addressed to His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I. Consequently, in June 1956, a delegation left for Cairo. It was formed of the following Ethiopian Bishops:

- 1) Abuna Tewoflos — Bishop of Harar
- 2) Abuna Markos — Bishop of Gojjam
- 3) Abuna Yakob — Bishop of Lekemt
- 4) Abuna Timotewos — Bishop of Yirga Alem
- 5) Abuna Luquas — Bishop of Assela
- 6) Abuna Gorgorios — Bishop of Kaffa
- 7) Abuna Filippos — Bishop of Jerusalem.

These Bishops went to the convent of Debre Qusquam in Egypt, and after meeting the Patriarch of Alexandria, they decided that he should be restored to his patriarchal seat. However, at the time he was due to return to his residence, other difficulties and complications arose as a result of which he retired to the Coptic Hospital in Cairo and the Ethiopian Bishops decided to

return to Ethiopia. The Patriarch, Abuna Yussab, remained in hospital for about five months. He died on 13th November, 1956, at the age of 82 and was buried in the Church of Saint Mark.

On the death of Patriarch Yussab II the problem of the election of his successor to the See of Saint Mark arose again. After one year, on 3rd November, 1957, a law was issued in Cairo concerning the formalities for the election of the Patriarch.

Among the 20 articles of this law there was one, the 14th, which stated that the Ethiopians who participated in the election of the Patriarch had to be very limited in number. This regulation soon led to disagreement between the Egyptians and the Ethiopians, since the Ethiopians had not been informed of it. Then, on 16th November, 1957, Abuna Athanassios, «locum tenens» of the Patriarch, wrote a letter to the Ethiopians, sending them a copy of the law through Abuna Yohannes, who delivered it to the Archbishop of Ethiopia. After having studied that letter, the Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Church, gathering on 24th November, 1957, decided not to participate in the election of the new Patriarch, since the decisions taken did not respect the Ethiopian rights which had already been recognized by the late Patriarch. Furthermore, it was not clear what part the Ethiopian Church would have in such an election.

This, in general terms, was the situation existing between the two Churches in the years which followed the nomination of the first Ethiopian Archbishop. The Ethiopian Church gradually became more conscious of its rights and aimed at reaching more than a simple autonomy. Its wish was full independence from the Egyptian Church. However, it did not wish to break the centuries-old bonds which tied it to the See of Saint Mark and it tried hard to preserve them.



From right to left: H. E. Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos; H. E. Dedjazmatch Makonnen Desta; H. H. Dedjazmatch Asrate Kassa, President of the Ethiopian Delegation; H. B. Abuna Tewoflos; H. B. Abuna Luqas (all from the Ethiopian Delegation); sitting at the far end of the table is H. E. Merrit Boutros Bey Ghali, from the Egyptian Delegation.

On the Egyptian Coptic side, however, in these same years, there was reluctance to acknowledge the development of the autonomy of the daughter church in such short time. However, the first concession of 1948, had already shown the path which the Ethiopian Church was to follow. Thus, in the letters which will be examined later, it will be noted that there also arose some very critical moments in the relations between the two Churches which were gradually overcome, thanks to the good will and efforts of both sides and the great patience and the delicate tact of the Emperor of Ethiopia.

At the beginning, the Ethiopian Church decided to send delegates to Egypt to discuss the problem of Ethiopian participation in the choice of the Patriarch with the interested parties. For this reason various letters were exchanged between the two Churches.

Meanwhile, in March 1958, the Egyptians nominated the five members of the committee which would supervise the election, and their names were published in the press. The election was to take place in April of that year, but in view of the absence of the Ethiopian delegates, the Committee decided, on 28th April, 1958, to postpone the date of the election of the Patriarch by one month.

On 5th May, Abuna Athanassios wrote a letter to Emperor Haile Sellassie I, asking him to send the names of the delegates who were to participate in the election of the Patriarch, adding that the Egyptian Synod had decided to do nothing without the participation of the Church of Ethiopia and its Emperor.

His Majesty then decided to send an Ethiopian delegation consisting of the following persons, under the leadership of H. H. Dedjazmatch Asrate Kassa.

- 1) H. B. Abuna Tewoflos
- 2) H. B. Abuna Luquas
- 3) H. E. Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos
- 4) H. E. Dedjazmatch Makonnen Desta.

The delegates left on 24th May, 1958, and from May 29th to July 13th they held fourteen meetings with the Egyptians. The most important points which they discussed were:

- a) – On the Ethiopian side the right of votes for the Ethiopians in proportion to the number of Christians.
 - The non discrimination among candidates for the Patriarchate of Alexandria, be they Egyptians or Ethiopians.
 - The assignment of responsibility for the election and for religious affairs only and entirely to the Holy Synod.
- b) – On the part of the Egyptians, the principle of limiting the number of Ethiopians in the election.
 - The fact that the Patriarch of Alexandria should always be Egyptian.

After much discussion, a protocol was signed on 21st July, 1958. In spite of this there was still no agreement among the members of the two Churches, for the selection of the patriarchal candidates had been made following the old law which was now considered replaced by the new regulations of the new protocol.

One of the members of the commission present proposed that, as Ethiopia had equal rights to those of Egypt in the election and the candidates had been nominated only by the Egyptians, they had to be re-elected. If this proposal was not accepted, the

opportunity should be given to the Ethiopians to nominate their own candidates themselves.

The various proposals were examined in Addis Ababa and, for fear of a separation between the two Churches, the proposal of the Egyptian majority was accepted.

After having asked the Egyptians to promulgate the electoral law, a meeting of the Committee was called for the first days of September. This date was later postponed to the 3rd of October, 1958, so as to receive a reply from the Ethiopians.

The Ethiopians had prepared a list of 18 persons. But since the candidates had already been nominated, it was thought sufficient to send only three delegates: H. B. Abuna Luquas, H. E. Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos and Like Likawunt Mahari Terfe, who went to Cairo on 28th September, 1958. The other two members of the Ethiopian Committee, Abba Teklemariam and Lt. Col. Tamrat Tesemma were already in Cairo. On the following day they consigned to Abuna Athanassios a letter sent by the Archbishop and by the Emperor of Ethiopia.

On October 9th of the same year, during the second meeting, Abuna Athanassios announced the suspension of the negotiations until the electoral law was promulgated and he asked the Ethiopian delegates to be so kind as to have patience and wait a bit more. But after having waited for a month, the Ethiopians announced that they were returning to Addis Ababa. Thus they left on 31st October, 1958, carrying a letter from Abuna Athanassios who, very sorry for this delay, wrote a letter of apology to the Emperor on 23rd October, 1958.

On 25th December, 1958, Abuna Athanassios, Archbishop of Beni Suef and Bahnasa, «locum tenens» of the Patriarch, sent a further letter to the Ethiopian Archbishop, Abuna Basilios.

(See Appendix N° 6). In this letter, the «locum tenens» of the Patriarch of Alexandria notified the decision taken by the Coptic Church to proceed with the election of the Patriarch in conformity with the old electoral law, adding that now the time was ripe to nominate a Patriarch, in consideration of the time which had elapsed since the death of Abuna Yussab.

Certainly, this letter could not satisfy the wishes of the Ethiopian Church which had determined to manifest its right to equality with the Copts in the election of the Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark.

Following this letter, on 24th Yekatit, 1951, E. C. (3rd March, 1959), (See Appendix N° 7), Abuna Basilius sent his reply to the Coptic Abuna, announcing that as long as the rights of the Ethiopian Church were not respected, the Ethiopian Church would act independently from the Church of Alexandria.

The terms were clear: if its rights were not respected, the Ethiopian Church would not participate in the election of the new Patriarch and, moreover, it could not recognize him as its Supreme Spiritual Father. In spite of this decision, Abuna Basilius of Ethiopia affirmed in the same letter the unity of faith and the brotherly love towards Abuna Athanassios and implored the blessing and the guidance of the Almighty on the two Churches.

Between the 17th and the 19th of April, 1959, the Egyptians, without the participation of the Ethiopians, elected as Patriarch one of the three monks who had the highest number of votes, Abba Mina, abbot of the Monastery of St. Minas. The consecration of the Patriarch was due to take place on 26th April of that year, but since the Egyptians wished that the Emperor of Ethiopia would send a representative, the date of the ceremony was postponed to May 10th of the same year.

In the meantime, Abuna Athanassios wrote a letter to the Emperor on 20th April, 1959, (see Appendix N° 8), inviting His Majesty to the ceremony of consecration, well aware, after having received the letter of the Ethiopians of 24 Yekatit, 1951, E. C. (3rd March 1959), which was reported above, that he would not come.

In this letter, the Egyptian Abuna notified the Emperor of the result of the elections, affirming that on 17th and 19th April, from among the three candidates who had the major number of votes, «God had chosen Al-Kommos Mina Al-Baramoussi, Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the Church of St. Mark». The ceremony of consecration was to take place on 10th May, 1959, in the Cathedral of St. Mark in Cairo.

Ato Ketema Yifru, Private Secretary to the Emperor had, however, already sent a letter (see Appendix N° 9), on 22nd April, 1959, to Athanassios, Archbishop of Beni-Suef and Bahnasa, «locum tenens» of the Patriarch, in which the decision of the Church of Ethiopia and that of the Imperial Government to abstain from participating in the ceremony of the election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria was decisively confirmed.

Thus, the relations between the Church of Ethiopia and that of Alexandria, which had lasted for 1600 years, were in danger of being broken.

3. THE NOMINATION OF ABUNA BASILIOS AS FIRST PATRIARCH OF ETHIOPIA.

The election of the new Patriarch, Abuna Mina, was the

start of a new phase in the relationship between the Coptic Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia.

The modest and balanced personality of the new Patriarch helped towards a reconciliation between the two Churches and the final solution of the problem. On 7th May, 1959, he wrote a long letter to the Emperor which, in view of the Sovereign's magnanimous spirit, was bound to be received sympathetically. The Abuna starts the letter, quoting, after invoking the Holy Trinity, a verse from Psalm 133 and the epistle to the Ephesians (4; 1-6), in which the beauty of brotherhood, in the unity of faith and of baptism, under one God and Father of all, is underlined. (See Appendix N° 10).

In his letter, the Patriarch explains to the Emperor of Ethiopia his concern for the salvation of the souls and the mission entrusted to him by Jesus Christ, founded on the true principles of love, loyalty and peace. He expresses, moreover, his wish to take an interest, along with the Holy Synod, in the well-being and the needs of the beloved Ethiopian Church as soon as possible and again he begs the Emperor graciously to send an Ethiopian delegation to the historic ceremony of his consecration, which was to be held on the 10th of May, 1959.

As arranged, the new Patriarch was consecrated on the first Sunday after Easter, in the Church of Saint Mark, assuming the name of Kyrollos VI, 116th Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark.

The new Patriarch, Abuna Mina Al-Motawahed Al-Baramoussi, was born in Damanhour, Egypt, on the 8th of August, 1902. After he had finished his secondary school studies, he entered the monastery of Baramous at Wadi Al-Natroun in July, 1927. In 1931 he was ordained priest; he felt a vocation for solitary life. Then he specialized in the ascetic works of Mar

Ishaak the Syrian, making of them his ideal. After he had studied at the Theological School of the monks in Helwan, near Cairo, he withdrew in 1931 to a life of solitude, living in a cave near the Monastery of Baramous in Wadi Al-Natroun.

In 1936, continuing his solitary life, he moved to an ancient wind-mill situated on the top of the Moqatam Hill near Old Cairo, where he consecrated an altar at which he could carry out the liturgical functions daily. It was then that many people, especially the sick and spiritually needy, started to climb up the hill to implore his prayers and blessings. In his free time he dedicated himself to copying biblical verses of holy monks, putting them at the disposal of the visitors for meditation.

In 1942 he was nominated Abbot of the Monastery of St. Samuel Al-Kalamoun. He gave new life to the monastery and he had some churches built. In 1947 he built the church of St. Mina in Old Cairo and he erected a hostel for Christian university students. As stated above, on 19th April, 1959, he was elected Patriarch and he was consecrated on 10th May, 1959.

All these biographical data show, in general terms, his personality and his interest in the welfare of the Church. It was in this spirit that on 16th May, 1959, as Patriarch, he wrote once again to His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie (see Appendix N° 11).

The importance of this letter lies in the announcement made by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Kyrollos VI, of the elevation of the rank of the Ethiopian Archbishop. With this aim and with the intention of redefining the position of the Ethiopian Church, the Patriarch delegated Bishops Amba Lukas of Manfalout, Amba Yohannes of Khartoum and Amba Benjamin of Menoufia, together with Messrs. Farid Mangarious, Emil Doss,

Amin Fakhry Abdel Nour, Murad Kamil and Kamal Fahmy Hanna, to confirm his good-will towards the Ethiopian Church and to invite, at the same time, a delegation from Ethiopia to join the Egyptians in Cairo in studying the new organizational plans under his personal guidance for the mission of the Church and for the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

On 1st June, 1959, the delegates of the Patriarch arrived in Addis Ababa and after having met the Emperor and an Ethiopian commission, and discussed the problems of the Ethiopian Church, they returned to Cairo on the 6th of the same month.

On his part, the Emperor accepted the proposal to send an Ethiopian delegation to Cairo. Thus, on 11th June, 1959, H.H. Dedjazmatch Asrate Kassa, President of the Delegation, with H.B. Abuna Tewoflos and with H.E. Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos, left for Cairo, where they were received by ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries.

On the following day the Ethiopian delegates delivered a letter from His Majesty the Emperor to Patriarch Kyrillos VI, in which the names of the Ethiopian delegates in Cairo were given. The Patriarch replied promptly to Haile Sellassie, naming the persons forming the Egyptian commission which would meet with the Ethiopian delegation to study the question of the elevation of the Archbishop of Ethiopia to the rank of Patriarch. (See Appendix N° 12).

On 13th June, 1959, the representatives of the two Churches started work and after five days of meetings, they prepared a document, (Protocol), on 18th June, 1959, which caused a lot of discussion. However, finally, it was approved and signed by the representatives of the two Churches on 25th June, 1959. As

this was the fundamental document through which the Ethiopian Archbishop acquired the rank of Patriarch, it is reported here in its official English text:

P R O T O C O L

The highest aim of all the sons of the See of Saint Mark being to organise the affairs of the See, and strengthen the traditional bonds between its regions, it has proved necessary to take all possible measures to this end, beginning with the most important, that of adjusting the relations between the Church of Egypt and of Ethiopia, of the See of Saint Mark.

The following agreement has been reached between:

- a) The Ethiopian delegation composed of representatives of His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia and Representatives of the Church of Ethiopia.
- b) The Coptic Delegation appointed by His Holiness the Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark, and submitted to the sanction of His Holiness.
 1. The Pope of Alexandria, Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark, successor to the Evangelist Saint Mark, is the highest spiritual Father of the Church of Ethiopia and must always be an Egyptian Copt of Egyptian parentage; his permanent seat is the seat of Alexandria, in the region of Egypt; his authority is inviolate and his person above criticism.

The name of the Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark shall be mentioned in all

religious services in Ethiopia.

The visit of His Holiness the Pope of Alexandria to Ethiopia, will be welcomed with all the honours and dignity due to his high rank, as first in the Church.

2. Representatives of the Ethiopians, in limited number, will participate with the Egyptian electors, in the election of the successor to the See of Saint Mark. Their number will be determined by His Holiness the Pope.
3. The «Locum Tenens» of the See of Saint Mark, must always be an Egyptian Copt of Egyptian parentage.
4. The rank of the metropolitane of the «established Orthodox Church of Ethiopia» (Liqa Papasat) successor to Saint Tekle Haimanot, is raised to the rank of Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat).

He should be chosen according to the laws and traditions of the See of Saint Mark of Alexandria, from among Ethiopian Monks, not above the rank of Komos. This principle also applies to the Holy See of Saint Mark.

5. When the Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of the Ethiopian Church has been elected in accordance with Canonical Law of the Church and when his election has been approved and confirmed by His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia, His consecration and investiture shall be performed in accordance with the law of the Church by the Pope and Patriarch who occupies the Chair of Saint Mark of Alexandria.
6. The Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of Ethiopia

is authorised to consecrate Archbishops and Bishops in such places as may be requisite for the Church of Ethiopia; it being fundamental that before their consecration the elected Archbishops and Bishops take the written pledge herewith annexed.

This signed oath will be sent to the Pope of Alexandria, Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark immediately after their election has been approved by His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia.

7. The Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of Ethiopia, in order to effect their official registration by the Pope, shall send together with the signed oath, particulars and biography of Archbishops and Bishops and their respective dioceses.

The Pope shall cause to be sent to all regions of the See, biographies of all Archbishops and Bishops of the See of Saint Mark, with indication of their dioceses.

8. Whenever the Pope desires to hold a convention to deal with matters of doctrine or matters affecting the general See of Saint Mark, he will inform the Patriarch of Ethiopia (Reesa Liqana Papasat) and constitute a general Holy Synod, from among the Archbishops and Bishops of the regional Holy Synods of the See of Saint Mark, to decide on these questions.

Likewise, decision upon any matter that affects the Pope of Alexandria Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark or asperses to His Sanctity, shall be made by this Holy Synod.

9. The Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of Ethiopia, in the life time of the Pope of Alexandria Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark, shall always occupy the second position in standing after the Pope. In the event of the death of the Pope of Alexandria the Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of Ethiopia shall occupy the second position in standing after the «Locum Tenens» of the See of Saint Mark.
10. In order to make permanent the spiritual connections existing between the Church of Egypt, and the Church of Ethiopia, exchange of teachers and students in the sphere of religious education, and similarly in respect of Monastic Life exchange of Monks, will be effected.
11. The following will be subject to future consultations between His Holiness the Pope, and the Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of Ethiopia:
 - A) To determine the creation of new Dioceses for the See of Saint Mark outside the present existing regions, which are for their occupants, and the consecration of Archbishops and Bishops by the Patriarch of Ethiopia (Reesa Liqana Papasat) for these new Dioceses, whenever the question is raised by the Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat) of Ethiopia.
 - B) To determine the setting up of special committees to study matters of spiritual development and of religious studies, and of organizing Missions.
12. Any stipulations contained in the decisions of the Holy Synod, namely those of July 1948, which would

not be in accordance with the present agreement, are annulled: Cairo, June 25th 1959, Baouna 18th, 1675; Sene 18th, 1951.

ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION

His Highness Dedjazmatch Asrate Kassa, Vice-President of Ethiopian Senate, Chairman of the Delegation,
His Grace Abuna Theophilos, Bishop of Harar,
His Excellency Blatta Marsie Hazan W. K. Senator.

COPTIC DELEGATION

His Grace Anba Lukas, Archbishop of Manfalout, Chairman
Anba Youanes, Archbishop of Khartoum and Uganda
Anba Basilios, Archbishop of Jerusalem and the Near East;
Mr. Youssef Saad, former Minister, and Vice-President of the Maglis Milli;
Mtre. Adly Andraos, former Ambassador in Paris;
Dr. Mourad Kamel, Professor at Cairo University;
Rev. Father Makary El-Souriani.

In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God. I undertake to remain faithful to my Coptic Orthodox Creed and Faith, the faith of the Church of Alexandria, the See of the Evangelist Saint Mark. I undertake to respect the laws and traditions of our Church, transmitted to us from the Apostles, and their successors the 318 Saints of the Council of Nicea and the Fathers of the Church, to revere the Pope of Alexandria, Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark, Successor of the Evangelist Saint Mark to consider Him our Pope.

I pledge myself not to participate in the consecration of the Patriarch for Ethiopia or any other Patriarch without the consent and approval of His Holiness the Pope of Alexandria, Patriarch of the See of Saint Mark.

I promise to abide by this oath before God and the Church.

Before this document was approved, various articles in it were the object of discussion. In Article No. 1 the Egyptian Copts proposed that the Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria be designated «Supreme Head» of the Church of Ethiopia. The Ethiopians did not accept this proposal, and after long discussion they agreed to designate the Patriarch as «Supreme Spiritual Father» of the Church of Ethiopia. In the same article it was established that the Patriarch of Alexandria should always be an Egyptian. Controversy arose with regard to this also since the Ethiopian representatives were not disposed to accept. At the end, however, the Ethiopians gave in to the arguments of the Egyptians and the clause remained in the document.

Article No. 2 established that the Ethiopians would participate in the election of the Pope of Alexandria, but in limited number. This was the solution reached after a «symbolic» participation was accepted, to which the Ethiopians adhered. To avoid the weakening of the relations between the two Churches which would occur if Ethiopians would refuse to accept that article, it was decided to replace the expression «symbolic» by «in limited number», the number to be determined by the Pope himself.

In Article No. 4 there were divergencies between the re-

presentatives of the two Churches, since the Egyptian Copts sought to distinguish between the Patriarchs of Ethiopia and of Alexandria, reserving for the former the title of Catholicos, as it appeared in the «Fetha Neghest», and for the latter the title of «Like Papasat» or Metropolitan. The Ethiopians affirmed that in the text in Ghe'ez of the Fetha Neghest, the word «Catholicos» of the Arabic text was not mentioned, and thus it was decided to give the Ethiopian Patriarch the title of «Reesa Liqana Papasat» and this title remains in the Amharic and English languages; but the Egyptian Copts said that in Arabic the terms had to remain «Patriarch, Catholicos.»

Also with regard to the languages to be used, after various arguments for and against the use of Arabic and Amharic, it was decided that English would be the official language and the name given to the Ethiopian Patriarch was «Patriarch, Reesa Liqana Papasat».

With regard to Article No. 6, the Egyptian Copts said that to avoid a consecration among the bishops themselves, as occurred during the Italian administration, it was necessary that bishops would sign a declaration of faithfulness to the See of Saint Mark before their consecration. Although this proposal found some resistance at the beginning, later, however, it was accepted by the Ethiopian representatives.

Other important articles were No. 9, in virtue of which the Patriarch of Ethiopia was entitled to the second place in rank, after the Pope of Alexandria; and article No. 12 which annulled the provisions contained in the agreement of July 1948, (See pp. No. 75-78) and which were in contrast to the spirit of the present dispositions.

The supplement which the bishops had to sign before being

consecrated was an oath of loyalty to the Coptic Orthodox Creed, at the Seat of Alexandria, and of respect towards its laws and traditions.

On the same day, 25th June, 1959, Patriarch Kyrillos VI wrote a letter to the Emperor of Ethiopia, sending the Protocol, expressing his joy at the happy outcome of the negotiations, and exalting the love of the Lord Who had removed the difficulties (See Appendix No. 13).

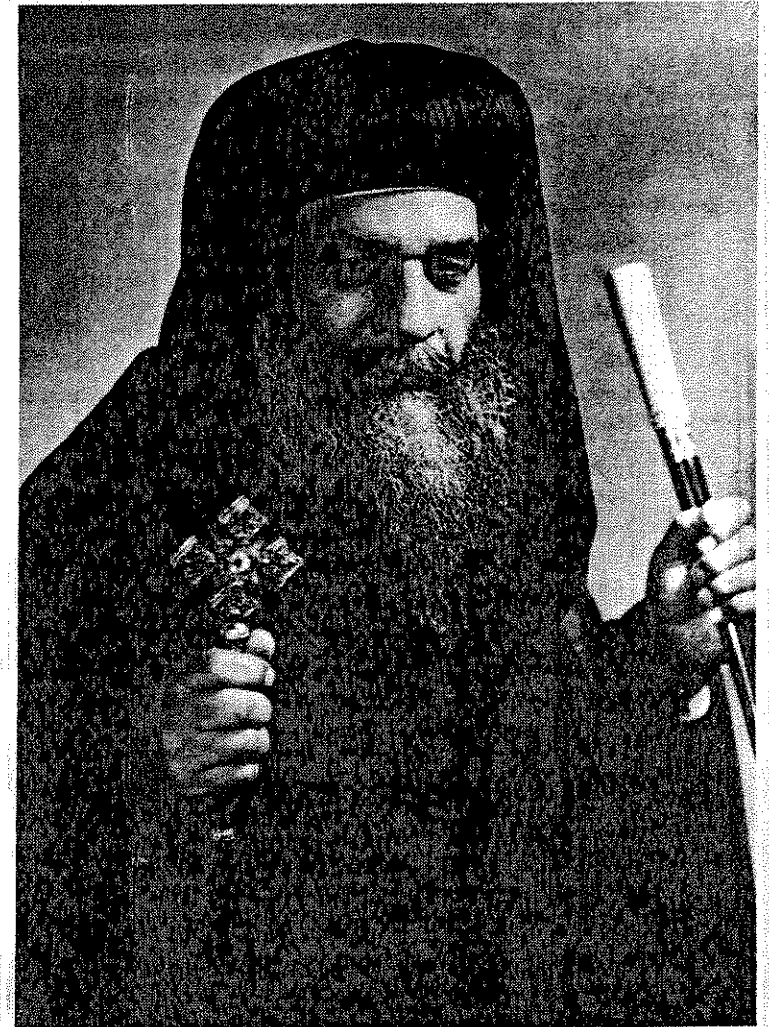
The following day, 26th June, 1959, Emperor Haile Sellassie I thanked Abuna Kyrillos for his understanding and his good will and he informed him that Abuna Basilios, Archbishop of Ethiopia, had been chosen to be First Patriarch of Ethiopia. The text of the letter is reported in the English version. (See Appendix No. 14).

On 26th June, 1959, Abuna Basilios undertook the trip to Cairo where it was decided that the ceremony of his consecration would take place on Sunday, 28th June, 1959.

On 27th June, Abuna Basilios went to the Church of St. Mark where he was solemnly received by the priests and deacons, singing hymns of joy. After having spoken for half an hour with the Pope of Alexandria, Abuna Basilios returned to the Kubbeh Palace.

H.H. Dedjazmatch Asrate Kassa presented the Pope, in the name of His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I, the ritual gifts: a golden Cross for the Church, and a Patriarch's vestments for Abuna Basilios.

On Sunday, 28th June, 1959, the day of the ceremony, the Emperor of Ethiopia arrived at the residence of the Pope at 08.30 a.m.. The Pope of Alexandria, Abuna Basilios and other



H. H. Anba Kyrillos VI, 116th Patriarch of the Holy See of St. Mark.

dignitaries were waiting for His Majesty there. Then they all went to the Cathedral of Saint Mark. During the mass, at the moment of the reading of the Gospel, the Patriarch of Alexandria put a crown on the head of Abuna Basilios and consecrated him Patriarch.

The Bishops present at the ceremony were:

- 1) Abuna Lukas, Egyptian, Bishop of Manfalout
- 2) Abuna Luquas, Ethiopian, Bishop of Assella
- 3) Abuna Matteos, Egyptian
- 4) Abuna Sawiros, Egyptian, Bishop of Mina
- 5) Abuna Karlos, Egyptian, Bishop of Belyana
- 6) Abuna Karlos, Egyptian, Bishop of Kena
- 7) Abuna Basilios, Egyptian, Bishop of Jerusalem
- 8) Abuna Biniamin, Egyptian, Bishop of Menoufia
- 9) Abuna Petros, Egyptian, Bishop of Akmin
- 10) Abuna Tewoflos, Ethiopian, Bishop of Harar
- 11) Abuna Tewoflos, Egyptian, Episkopos of Deir Surya
- 12) Abuna Abraham, Egyptian, Bishop of Luxor
- 13) Abuna Athanassios, Egyptian, Bishop of Beni-Suef
- 14) Abuna Antonios, Egyptian, Bishop of Suhag
- 15) Abuna Yohannes, Egyptian, Bishop of Guiza
- 16) Abuna Yohannes, Egyptian, Bishop of Khartoum
- 17) Abuna Gorgorios, Ethiopian, Bishop of Kaffa
- 18) Abuna Filippas, Ethiopian, Bishop of Jerusalem.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the new Patriarch of Ethiopia, Liqana Papasat Abuna Basilios, went to the Kubbeh Palace where he took an oath of loyalty in front of His Majesty the Emperor. After the oath he thanked God, first of all, for the happy event, and then he addressed himself to the Emperor, underlining all the work carried out by him

in the last 31 years. Finally, he thanked the Patriarch who, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit of God, had been able to bring about a solution of the problem. In reply to the speech of Abuna Basilius, H.M. the Emperor delivered a speech in which he thanked God for all His blessings and then the Pope of Alexandria who had tried with so much good will to meet the century-old aspirations of the Ethiopians and he invoked the blessing of God on the first Ethiopian Patriarch.

Thus ended a historic ceremony in which the Church of Ethiopia achieved its rightful aim of having its own Patriarch, after 1600 years of dependence on the Seat of Saint Mark. Special praise is due to Patriarch, Abuna Kyrollos VI who, inspired by the sincere humility of his profound Christian faith, finally brought about this peaceful solution.

In honor of the first Patriarch of Ethiopia, H.M. the Emperor donated the sum of 2,000 Egyptian Pounds to various monasteries and ecclesiastic institutions in Egypt.

On his part, Abuna Basilius, first Patriarch of Ethiopia, donated on that occasion 500 Egyptian Pounds, three great crosses of gilded silver for the Church in which he had been consecrated, and fourteen further small hand crosses of the same metal for fourteen Bishops.

On July 10th, 1959, H.H. the Patriarch, Reesa Liqana Papat, accompanied by the Head and by the other Members of the Ethiopian Delegation, returned to Ethiopia.

In his Country, the exultation for the new Patriarch was immense and was manifested with the magnificence of oriental tradition.

The plane landed first in Asmara and at the moment that the Patriarch came out of the plane, the National Anthem of

Ethiopia was played. The Patriarch gave his blessing to all those present, while the clergy, wearing all their most colourful vestments sang sacred songs accompanied by the sound of drums. The Bishop of Tigré, H.B. Abuna Yohannes, had come from Axum to receive the new Prelate. After a stay of 45 minutes at the airport, the Patriarch blessed the people and left for Addis Ababa.

At the airport in Addis Ababa a great tent had been set up in which Her Majesty, Empress Etegue Menen, H.I.H. Mered Azmatch Asfaw Wossen, the Crown Prince of Ethiopia, H.I.H. Princess Tenagne Worq (daughter of Emperor Haile Sellassie), the Ministers and many other dignitaries were waiting for the Patriarch's arrival.

When the plane landed, the Patriarch appeared in the most solemn patriarchal vestments, with the gold crown on his head. The solemnity of the moment was rendered even more memorable by a 21-gun salute and by the festive sounds of the bells of all the Churches.

The Empress and the Heir to the Throne kissed the cross of the Patriarch, after which the Crown Prince and the Patriarch stood on a specially prepared dais, while the military band played the Ethiopian National Anthem.

The Emperor was absent on that occasion, being in Russia for a State visit.

The Patriarch's blessing of all the people present with his cross was most impressive. Soon after it the Princes and the other personalities entered the tent and kissed the cross of the Patriarch, one after the other.

At a quarter past one, the ceremony of welcome ended and

the Patriarch was escorted by car by the Heir to the Throne and by all the Ministers, to Guennet Leul Palace, where Her Majesty the Empress and the highest dignitaries of the Court received him.

In the presence of Her Majesty Empress Menen, the Patriarch delivered the following speech:

«In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit. One God only, Amen!

Grace and honour be rendered to God for having granted a Patriarch to Ethiopia, conferring to her this high dignity, and also to have allowed this memorable event to take place during the Reign of Our Emperor, His Majesty Haile Sellassie I, who is profoundly religious.

This event which is the result of the untiring activity and the diligence of His Majesty the Emperor and the goodness of God, shall have profound repercussions in our Church and its memory shall be transmitted to the future generations.

The Church of Ethiopia was founded 330 years after the birth of Christ, during the reign of its saints, Kings Abraha and Atzbeha.

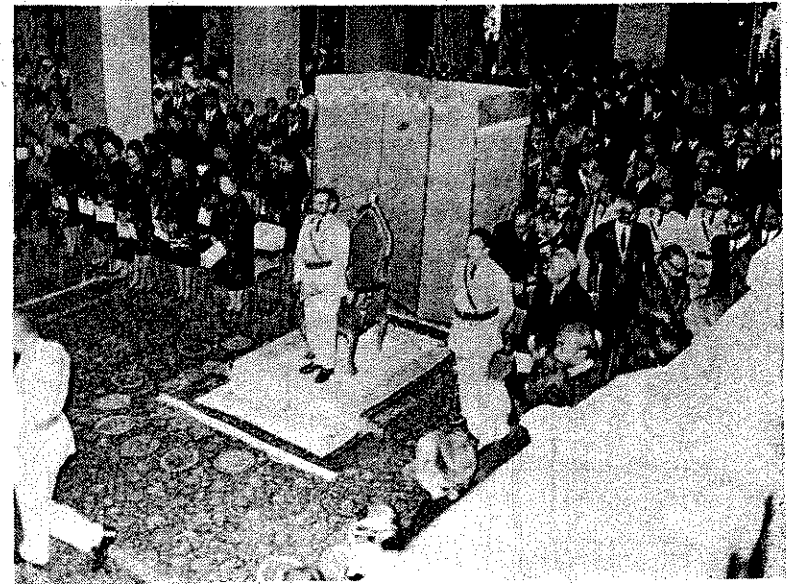
They, as its heads, and Frumentius as its teacher and preacher, laid its foundations.

Today, after 1621 years, under the guidance of its enlightened monarch, the King of Kings, it has reached the longed for aim of the establishment of the Patriarchate, an aim which all its kings, may they now enjoy eternal glory, tried to achieve.

They had tried to obtain an Archbishop. Today, His



The Body of H. H. Abuna Basillos, First Patriarch of Ethiopia, Lying in State in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Addis Ababa.



H. I. M. Haile Sellassie I, Members of the Imperial Family, Ministers and High Government Officials Attending the Funeral Rites of the Late Patriarch Basillos, at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Addis Ababa.

Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, has given Ethiopia a Patriarch, realizing a wish much superior to any expectancy, and this by means of a pacific move and spiritual agreements. It was also the will of God that my weak person should become the instrument of this high dignity.

On this historical day, I cannot omit to mention some of the undertakings of the great and pious Abuna Tekle Haimanot. He was born at Tselalish Etissa and received the name of «New Apostle of Ethiopia» following his preachings, his teachings, prayers and other virtues.

Furthermore, during the period in which the relations between Ethiopia and Egypt were interrupted and the Ethiopians could not obtain Bishops from that country, he was elected Bishop, by the will of God, to serve his Church.

Certainly, it was the pious Abuna Tekle Haimanot who was able to ennoble and elevate the bishop's dignity.

Since His Majesty Haile Sellassie I, with his farsightedness knows how to interpret and to understand the lines of history and follow the work initiated by his predecessors, on a solid base, he caused the charge of Patriarch to be linked to the seat of Abuna Tekle Haimanot and that said Seat should have a successor assuming the title of «Etcheguie».

Apart from this, beyond the expectations of all, His Imperial Majesty could be present in the hour in which the good Lord wanted the Church of Ethiopia to have the spiritual dignity of a Patriarchate.

His presence at the arrival of the Patriarch has been a motive for joy which shall not be ignored by history. May God be thanked and honoured for having permitted to the King of

Kings to accomplish such an enterprise by the greatness of his heart.

May God grant peace to the whole world. May He grant the people of Ethiopia love and unity, prosperity and comfort, always and in all things.

May God protect His Majesty the Emperor, the Heir to the Throne and the Imperial Family for many months and many years, granting them a long life.

May the Ethiopian people be blessed and sanctified and may Ethiopia live in peace for ever.»

At the termination of the Patriarch's speech, champagne was served, after which Abuna Basilios and the Crown Prince drove to the residence of the Patriarch for another toast. Thus, the trip of the Patriarch and of his delegates ended in serenity and joy.

The Seat of the Patriarchate in Ethiopia was occupied by a son of the land of Ethiopia.

4. IMPORTANCE OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF ETHIOPIA.

The election of the Ethiopian Patriarch and his triumphal entry in Addis Ababa had crowned the aspirations of the Church of Ethiopia to have a Patriarch of its own, with powers to consecrate other bishops. Thus it had achieved that administrative independence which it needed to carry out, without hindrance, its mission of spiritual guidance of the Country. Faith and doctrine remained the same, without alteration, thus permitting

the spiritual union with the Mother Church of Saint Mark to continue, but at the same time allowing the Church of Ethiopia to serve the spiritual needs of all Ethiopians. A nation was thus really created which became, in the aspirations of many, an example to the people of other parts of Africa who were still engaged in the struggle for independence.

This religious autonomy gave Ethiopia a new position, especially among the Christian populations of Africa, not only on account of the number of the faithful, but also because of the role which the new Church was assuming in the task of leading the new generation. A Theological College was set up in Addis Ababa near Haile Sellassie I University; theologians from Syria and Greece were called in; seminarists and priests were sent abroad for courses of comparative theology. The Church became involved in the new problems and in closer contacts with the other Christian Churches.

The conference of the Eastern Orthodox Churches which took place in Addis Ababa in January, 1965, is the result of the path followed by the new, although traditional Church of Ethiopia. This conference, only six years after the consecration of the Patriarch of Ethiopia, marked an important step in the religious history of Ethiopia, showing the vitality which animates it and revealing the renewal of activity in the Church of a profoundly religious people.

CHAPTER VI

Death of the First Patriarch of Ethiopia

1. HIS HOLINESS ABUNA BASILIOS DIES AFTER A LONG ILLNESS.

On Monday, afternoon, the 12th of October, 1970, a wave of deep mourning and sorrow swept over the whole of the Empire. The National Radio and Television programmes were suddenly interrupted by the announcement that His Holiness Abuna Basilios, Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, had died after a long illness at his residence near St. Mary's Church in Addis Ababa. He was 79 years old.

Instead of the regular programmes, mourning tunes were played. All the newspapers in Amharic and English languages reported the sad event.

On the same evening, at 8 o'clock, his body was moved from the Patriarchate to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. Special services were held throughout the night. His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, accompanied by Members of the Imperial Family, Archbishops, Bishops, Cabinet Ministers and other high ranking Officials escorted the dead Prelate from the Patriarchate to the Cathedral.

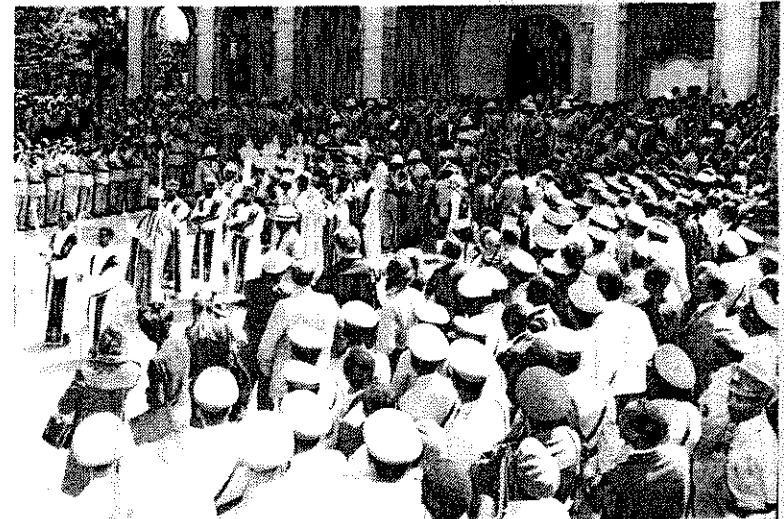
A twelve-day official period of mourning beginning on Wednesday, October 14th, was announced in honour of the late Patriarch. Flags were flown at half-mast for three days on all public buildings. Government offices, schools and shops remained closed on Wednesday, the day of the burial of Abuna Basilios.

Hundreds of thousands of people of all ranks from Addis Ababa and the surrounding provinces went to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, to pay their last respects to the late Patriarch.

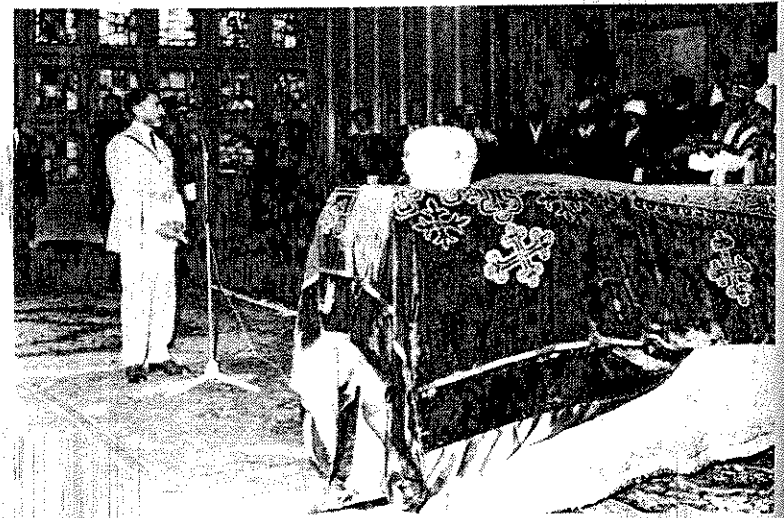
The mourners filed past the remains of the dead Patriarch of the Ethiopian National Church. The coffin lay in state in that part of the Cathedral known as «the holy portion»; it was covered with rich velvet draperies of blue, red and green. A huge photograph of the late Patriarch Basilios was placed in front of the coffin. The official robes and decorations that had once belonged to Abuna Basilios were placed around the coffin. The Patriarch's crown was placed just above the head of the coffin. Two deacons holding huge lighted candles stood on either side of the body, while the long chain of mourners passed by in single file, many sobbing and wailing with grief.

On the morning of Wednesday, 14th October, 1970, at 9 o'clock, special services were held at the Cathedral of the Trinity in the presence of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Members of the Imperial Family and high Officials. Later the Members of the Diplomatic Corps in the Capital also paid their last respects to the dead Patriarch at the Cathedral.

His Holiness Kyrillos VI, 116th Patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox Church of St. Mark in Egypt, who had consecrated Abuna Basilios Patriarch, sent a delegation headed by His Grace Abuna Estiphanos, Archbishop of Omdurman in the Sudan, to attend the funeral rites of the late Patriarch Basilios, and to convey his condolences to His Imperial Majesty and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church for the great loss. The Patriarch of the Church of St. Mark in Egypt would have attended the funeral services personally, had he not been very ill himself at that time. In fact, on Tuesday 9th March, 1971, Abuna Kyrillos, 116th Patriarch of the See of St. Mark, died in Cairo.



The Body of Patriarch Basilios Borne in a Cortège from the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity to Miazia 27 Square (5th of May Square).



H. I. M. Haile Selassie I Paying the Last Respects to Patriarch Basilios, at the Monastery of Debre Libanos.

The Delegation sent by the Egyptian Patriarch on this occasion was composed of Abuna Gregorios, Archbishop and Head of the Scientific Research Section of the Egyptian Church, and Father Makari Abdullah.

At 11 o'clock the body of Abuna Basilios was borne in a cortège from the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity to the Victory Monument in Miazia 27 Square (5th of May — date of entry of His Imperial Majesty in Addis Ababa). His Majesty, followed by the Members of the Imperial Family, Cabinet Ministers and other dignitaries, escorted the body on foot to the Monument. Students and thousands of people lined the road.

At the Victory Monument the body of the Prelate was transferred to a special hearse for its last journey to Debre Libanos. The funeral procession left then for Debre Libanos, almost 100 kilometers northwest of the capital.

Towards 1 o'clock in the afternoon the cortège reached the Monastery of Debre Libanos. As it was carried into the Monastery, the body of the late Patriarch was saluted by a Guard of Honour. Services were then held at the Monastery.

Wreaths were laid on the grave of the late Patriarch by His Imperial Majesty, Ministers and leaders of the Clergy.

His Grace Abuna Tewoflos, Acting Patriarch of the Ethiopian Church and Archbishop of Hararguie, read a eulogy after which a 21-gun salute brought to an end the funeral services of the first Ethiopian Patriarch.

2. A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF ABUNA BASILIOS.

His Holiness Abuna Basilios was born on 23rd April, 1891,

in Meda Mikael, a village in the district of Merhabete in Shoa Province. Woldetzadik Solomon, his father, was an ecclesiastical official.

In his home town he received elementary church education and then he entered the Monastery of Debre Libanos where he received advanced religious education. He took the oath of celibacy and became a monk at the age of 21. For 12 years thereafter he served in the same Monastery.

At the beginning of the year 1933 he was nominated Head of the Ethiopian Churches and Monasteries in Jerusalem. He had already given distinguished service in various capacities, for several years, in important monasteries and churches in Ethiopia.

He remained in Jerusalem for two years. During that time he continued to experience that profound satisfaction which comes through prayer and which is given only to the elect and the pure in heart. While in Jerusalem, he used to visit reverently those places where Christ had lived in poverty and humility, where He had preached to the crowds, where He had given back health and hope to the sick and resurrection to the dead, where He had shown the way of that truth which leads to eternal life.

Abuna Basilios thus consolidated his theological knowledge which, once he came back to his fatherland, enabled him to fulfil the duties of Etchequie of the Ethiopian Church, which was at that time the highest title in the Ethiopian Church open to an Ethiopian.

He became known as Etchequie Guebre Guiorguis. During the Fascist invasion in 1935 he accompanied His Imperial Majesty and the Ethiopian troops to the battle of Maichew where

he gave moral support to all.

During the five years of the foreign occupation, he lived in exile in Jerusalem. In those difficult and troubled days for Ethiopia, he remained constantly in touch with the resistance fighters and through them he sent words of encouragement to the population of Ethiopia.

Abuna Basilios was consecrated Archbishop in July 1948 during a ceremony held at the Patriarchate of St. Mark in Egypt. In 1950, on the death in Cairo of Abuna Kyrollos, 110th and last Egyptian Archbishop of Ethiopia, he became Head of the Church of Ethiopia, with authority to nominate Bishops and Archbishops. Later, in the year 1959, during a solemn ceremony at which His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I was present, he was consecrated first Ethiopian Patriarch of the National Church of Ethiopia.

CHAPTER VII

Election of the New Patriarch

1. PROCEDURE OF THE ELECTIONS OF THE NEW PATRIARCH.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church was now faced again with the task of selecting and nominating a new Patriarch. The procedure is that the Election Committee chooses the new Patriarch from among candidates who are archbishops of the Ethiopian Church.

The Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Church thus gathered in a closed meeting on Thursday, the 25th of March, 1971, (Megabit 16th, 1963 E.C.) to discuss the standing rules of the Church on this occasion.

The full text of the formalities for the elections of the new Patriarch, issued by the Ethiopian Patriarchate is as follows:

«At this time when the election of the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is due, the following rules have been emitted:

According to the Rules of Election of 1963 E.C., for the election of the Patriarch of Ethiopia, the list of the names of the candidates has to be submitted eight days before the election.

Thereafter, the Holy Synod holds a closed meeting. They choose from among the Ethiopian Archbishops those who are suitable candidates to fill the high spiritual position of a Patriarch. Then the list of the names of the candidates is placed in the Church of the Most Holy St. Mary and during three days special prayers and services take place in the Church for God's blessing and help for the right choice.

After the three days' prayers are over the names of the candidates are submitted to the Executive Election Committee. A small number of clergymen and religious elders is called then to choose the Patriarch to be, from among these candidates.

These clergymen and religious elders are selected from among the following seven groups:

- Members of the Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
- Members of the Council of the Crown
- Members of the Council of Ministers
- Members of the Senate
- Members of the Chamber of Deputies
- Members of the Administrative Board of the National Church
- Abbots and Heads of Provincial Dioceses and Abbeys and Monasteries in Addis Ababa.

In addition to these a further seven members chosen from among the bishops and lay elders are appointed by the Holy Synod. The work of this committee consists in preparing the «cards» on which the voters will put their votes. They have also to verify the credentials of the members of the Electoral College. Moreover, it is their duty to publish the names of the candidates and supervise the elections.

The elections then take place at the seat of the Patriarchate in Addis Ababa. The elections take place in front of the members of the Electoral Executive Committee, by secret ballot.

Voters have to go personally to the place of elections, on the appointed day. It is not admissible to send the vote by letter or through a representative.

The Electoral Executive Committee writes the names of the candidates on a blackboard. Voters can only choose from among



H. H. Abuna Tewoflos, Crowned Second Patriarch of Ethiopia.

the names of the candidates which are on the blackboard and only one can be chosen at a time. In case voters write a name which is not on the blackboard or if they write two names from the blackboard, the vote will be considered null and void.

After the election formalities have been completed, the Electoral Executive Committee signs the report showing the name of the candidate who has won most of the votes. They then submit the name to His Imperial Majesty for approval.

After His Imperial Majesty approves the election, the date of Investiture is fixed by the Holy Synod.

2. ABUNA TEWOFLOS NEW PATRIARCH OF ETHIOPIA

Thus, in accordance with the regulations and formalities of the election of the new Patriarch, the elections took place on Tuesday, 6th April, 1971, at the Patriarchate inside the compound of the Church of Saint Mary in the capital.

In the hall of the Patriarchate, big photographs of the three candidates who had been designated the week before by the Holy Synod, were prominently exposed. The three candidates were:

- 1) H.B. Abuna Tewoflos
«Locum Tenens» of the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and Archbishop of Hararguie
- 2) H. B. Abuna Yakob
Archbishop of Wellega
- 3) H. B. Abuna Timotewos
Archbishop of Sidamo

Their names had been submitted on Monday, 5th April,

1971, to the Electoral College, composed of 156 members representing the Clergy and the faithful.

The Committee of the seven members charged with the control and supervision of the elections, also designated by the Holy Synod, was composed of:

- 1) H. B. Abuna Merkorios, Archbishop of Balé
- 2) H. B. Abuna Kyrollos, Archbishop of Illubabor
- 3) H. B. Abuna Selama, Archbishop of Guemu Gofa
- 4) H. E. Dedjazmatch Kefle Dadi, Counsellor of the Crown
- 5) Nebure'd Dimetros Guebremariam, General Administrator of the Ethiopian Church with the rank of Minister
- 6) H. E. Blatta Mersie Hazen Wolde Kirkos, Advisor to the National Antiquities Administration
- 7) H. E. Dedjazmatch Wolde Kirkos Guebre Meskel, Vice President of the Senate.

The number of members of the ecclesiastical electoral college was set at 156. However, during Tuesday's elections only 144 voted.

The results of the elections were:

- 1) 123 votes for H. B. Abuna Tewoflos, «Locum Tenens» of the Ethiopian Patriarch and Archbishop of Hararguie
- 2) 13 votes for H. B. Abuna Timotewos, Archbishop of Sidamo
- 3) 8 votes for H. B. Abuna Yakob, Archbishop of Wellega.

After the votes were known, the next day the Holy Synod submitted the name of Abuna Tewoflos to His Imperial Majesty

Haile Sellassie I, who graciously approved the election of Abuna Tewoflos as Patriarch of Ethiopia.

The solemn ceremony of consecration was set to be held at the Holy Trinity Cathedral in Addis Ababa on Sunday, May 9th, 1971, (Guenbot 1, 1963 E.C.), in the presence of His Imperial Majesty. A 17-gun salute would be fired in honour of the occasion.

On Guenbot 1st, 1963 E.C. (9th May, 1971), the investiture ceremony started early in the morning. The Patriarch-elect drove to the Theological College escorted by a motorcade.

At 8 o'clock His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellassie I arrived at the Trinity Cathedral accompanied by the Crown Prince, by Members of the Imperial Family, and important members of the Ethiopian Government, to attend the ceremony.

Meanwhile the new Patriarch left the Theological College at the head of a long procession of Archbishops, Bishops and clergymen, all in rich and colourful ceremonial robes for the consecration ceremony.

At the Cathedral, the Patriarch-elect was met by the Dean, surrounded by priests and deacons who presented the new Head of the National Church of Ethiopia with the gold-bound Bible of the Cathedral.

As His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos entered the Church, His Holiness the Locum Tenens of the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, Anba Antonios, Archbishop of Sohag in Egypt, who had come to Ethiopia for this occasion, began the special investiture prayer service.

Patriarchs and Archbishops from Oriental Orthodox Churches, as well as Archbishops and Bishops of the Ethiopian Orthodox

Church took part in the service which included the chanting of ceremonial hymns.

After all the prayers were over, three Archbishops advanced in front of His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos, who was facing the congregation, and they announced his elevation to Patriarch, presenting him with the Patriarchal robe. H.B. Abuna Antonios crowned him with the Patriarchal Crown and three other Archbishops presented the Patriarch with a mitre and sceptre. At this moment a 17-gun salute was fired.

His Imperial Majesty then decorated the newly elected Patriarch with the Grand Cordon of the Order of Solomon, one of the highest Ethiopian decorations.

Subsequently, His Holiness Patriarch Tewoflos made a Statement of Faith (See Appendix N. 15). He then read a portion from the Gospel of St. John and brought the service to an end. After delivering a sermon, the new Patriarch blessed the whole congregation. Thus, Abuna Tewoflos became the Second Ethiopian Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

3. A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF ABUNA TEWOFLOS

His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos was born on 24th April, 1910, in the vicinity of Debre Elias, a famous monastery in Gojjam. He comes from a deeply religious family. His father was Ato Wolde Mariam Wube and his mother Woizero Zertehun Adellahu.

During his early childhood, he learned reading and chanting from Memher Merigueta Redahegn and Guira Gueta Sahlu, in

the place in which he was born. Later he became interested in the study of «Kenie», refined poetry, and the interpretation of the Bible at Debre Elias Monastery. He came then under the tutorship of Memher Guebre Sellassie, and he qualified as «Memher» (master or teacher) and an outstanding scholar.

Abuna Tewoflos came to Addis Ababa in 1920 E.C. and there he studied the interpretation of both the New Testament and the «Fetha Negest» (Law of Kings), expertly guided by Memher Tekle, who later became Nebure-Ed Tekle Haimanot and who was some time later well known as His Beatitude Abuna Yohannes.

During all those years Abuna Tewoflos showed himself to be deeply interested in all religious problems. He has a vast knowledge of religious matters and is an assiduous reader of books concerning these problems.

In 1930 E.C. His Holiness entered the Monastery of Tekle Haimanot in Debre Libanos where he dedicated his life to the Order of Monks.

When His Imperial Majesty returned to Ethiopia in 1941, after having liberated his country from the Fascist occupation, one of his first concerns was that the Clergy should be well trained in traditional church matters, basing themselves on modern religious thought. At that time His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos was among the twenty Church scholars chosen to receive a modern religious education, in the precincts of the palace.

His Holiness was appointed in 1935 E.C. Administrator of the Trinity Church - which later became the Trinity Cathedral - by the gracious command and consent of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I. The new Trinity Cathe-

dral was inaugurated in 1936 E. C. and subsequently the remains of Princess Zenebe Worq and Princess Tzehai - two daughters of His Imperial Majesty - as well as all those of the fallen patriots, were moved into the new Cathedral. His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos became then the Administrator of both the new and the old Churches, after being decorated by His Imperial Majesty. In 1938 E.C. His Holiness was named Like Siltanat of the Trinity Cathedral, when that title was first created for its Administrator.

Later through the efforts of Emperor Haile Sellassie I, as has already been extensively reported in this book, an agreement was reached between the See of Alexandria and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, under which, for the first time in the history of the Church of Ethiopia, Ethiopian bishops were to be consecrated. As has already been reported, Abuna Tewoflos was one of the five Ethiopian church leaders elected then to be consecrated for the episcopacy and he therefore left for Egypt on April 19th, 1946. However, as will be recalled, because of delays created by internal difficulties which arose at that time in the Egyptian Church, it was not until July 25th, 1948, that His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos was consecrated Bishop of Hararguie with the other Church leaders. The consecration took place at the hands of the then Patriarch of Alexandria, His Holiness the late Abuna Yussab II.

On the 18th of February, 1950, the Holy Synod of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church appointed him Deputy Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The appointment was confirmed by His Holiness the late Abuna Basilios. In accordance with an agreement between Ethiopia and Egypt, when His Holiness the late Abuna Basilios was consecrated Patriarch of Ethiopia, His Grace Abuna Tewoflos became the representative of His

Holiness Abuna Yussab in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Thus His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos has served the Church of Ethiopia for a total of 28 years: three as Memher (Master), two as Like Siltanat, twelve as Bishop and eleven as Archbishop.

As shown above, His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos was finally elected Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church on April 7th, 1971, by a large majority of votes, at the age of 61.

4. SOME PROMINENT ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIS HOLINESS ABUNA TEWOFLOS.

Ever since Abuna Tewoflos dedicated his life to the service of the Church of Christ in Ethiopia, he has become known both inside and outside his country for his active role under God's guidance. As a religious teacher, His Holiness has built for himself an outstanding place by winning the affection, love and confidence of the faithful.

As administrator and leader of the Theological College, which was founded through the special interest of His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, Abuna Tewoflos displayed great spiritual qualities in advancing the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. His Holiness has greatly contributed towards the development of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in his position of Like Siltanat of the Trinity Cathedral. His Holiness played an outstanding part during the negotiations between the Ethiopian Government and the Church in Egypt which enabled the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to nominate and consecrate its own senior Bishops.

In his country he converted many thousands of people to

Christianity at the time of the evangelical mission which he undertook personally. In 1958 E. C. Abuna Tewoflos established the Evangelical Mission of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. As spiritual leader of the Ethiopian people he soon paid visits to various places and Christian institutions in Addis Ababa and in the provinces. He established branch offices of the Evangelical Mission with the aim of spreading the Christian faith in Ethiopia and bringing the people closer to the church. Moreover, His Holiness established the headquarters of the Youth Branch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church at the Patriarchate to co-operate with various churches in the country and he thus opened the way to the young to strengthen their spirit by following the religious traditions of their forefathers. His Holiness never lost view of the important fact that the Ethiopian Church needed to step forward and to adapt itself to the needs of modern times. He, therefore, initiated the establishment of a training centre for priests and deacons and he also became the promoter of a scheme to send young people abroad for modern religious studies so that they would be in a more favourable position to render fruitful services to the Ethiopian Church and people.

His Holiness Patriarch Tewoflos was the founder of a religious association known as «Kessatie Berhan» (Revelation of Light) which is still very active in Harar and which extends valuable spiritual services to the whole Province.

With the consent of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, His Holiness established two schools in the city of Harar and Kulubi which render great temporal and spiritual services to youth. A Teachers' Training School for Theologians was established in Harar more than fifteen years ago by His Holiness. Several of the teachers trained at that school have distinguished themselves by their invaluable spiritual services to the country.

His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos has represented the Ethiopian Orthodox Church at various international religious conferences in the advancement of the cause of ecumenical movement. When the first Council of Churches met in Amsterdam in 1948, His Holiness presided over the delegation of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to the conference. He also attended assemblies of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, U.S.A., in 1956; in New Delhi, India, in 1961 and in Uppsala, Sweden, in 1967.

The All-African Conference of Churches elected Abuna Tewoflos twice in succession to serve as one of its three Presidents and His Holiness still holds that office of honour.

In 1945 the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was represented by His Holiness at the meeting of the International Conference of Sunday Schools in Birmingham, Great Britain.

He further attended the Central Committee meeting of the World Council of Churches in Chichester, Great Britain, in 1955. In 1958 E.C. when the 1900th anniversary of the visit of St. Paul to Greece was observed with great solemnity, His Holiness left for Greece to represent the Ethiopian Orthodox Church at the ceremony which took place. He was the guest of the Greek Orthodox Church.

An important event took place in 1965 when the Meeting of the Oriental Orthodox Churches was held in Addis Ababa. His Holiness represented the Ethiopian Orthodox Church at the Meeting. He also presided over the Second General Assembly of the All-African Conference of Churches held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in September, 1969, and at a highly successful Central Committee Meeting of the World Council of Churches held at Africa Hall in Addis Ababa from 10th to 21st January, 1971.

A most important achievement among all the promoting

activities of His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos is his strong sponsoring of the spreading of the faith of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church by establishing places of worship in the United States, Tobago, Trinidad and in Guyana.

All these expanding activities in the life of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church are a witness of the active role of the Church in Ethiopia after its autonomy. The Church is no more only a static symbol of traditional Christianity, but it is becoming a living spiritual institution, in which more and more of the young people today are taking active part and interest.

After his consecration as Patriarch, His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos has been seen frequently and untiringly among the young students, encouraging them on the way of sound progress and helping them with fatherly advice in their temporal and spiritual needs. Under the enlightened and modern religious leadership of His Holiness Abuna Tewoflos, Second Patriarch of Ethiopia, much renewal is expected in the Church of Ethiopia, enabling it to adapt itself to the needs of modern times, in the field of the spiritual advancement of the population as a whole, and of the younger generations in particular.

Appendix N. 1

LION VAINQUEUR DE LA TRIBU DE JUDA
HAILE SELASSIÉ IER
ELU DU SEIGNEUR — ROI DES ROIS D'ETHIOPIE.

à
SA BEATITUDE AMBA ATHANASSIUS
LOCUM TENENS DU PATRIARCAT D'ALEXANDRIE.

Nous présentons Nos salutations à votre Béatitude et nous exprimons notre désir que votre Sainte Prière et votre Assistance soient avec Nous. Dans le but de maintenir l'union entre l'Eglise éthiopienne et l'Eglise d'Alexandrie les prêtres qui, pendant l'invasion ennemie, furent ordonnés pour sauvegarder les intérêts de leur Eglise, ont été, jusqu'à ce jour, suspendus de leurs fonctions. C'est dans l'espoir que les différends entre l'Eglise éthiopienne et l'Eglise d'Alexandrie seraient réglés sans difficultés et sans intervention extérieure que cette mesure a été prise.

En raison de l'alliance de l'Eglise et de l'Etat éthiopien, et en vue de régler amicalement la question des relations des deux Eglises à l'arrivée de Sa Béatitude Amba Timothéos et de sa suite, des dispositions avaient été prises pour que Notre personnel ecclésiastique ainsi que des personnalités de Notre gouvernement

discutent la question. Cependant, après avoir attendu pendant quatre années que l'accord se fasse entre les deux parties ecclésiastiques, Nous avons eu connaissance de la décision que le Synode communiquait en réponse à la Réunion Spirituelle éthiopienne du 9 Baouana, an 1661 de l'Ere des Martyrs, 9 Senié de l'an de grâce 1937.

Après quoi, tous les délégués des Eglises provinciales éthiopiennes, à l'issue d'une assemblée réunie du 9 au 17 Hédar de la présente année en l'Eglise de la Sainte Trinité à Addis Abéba, et après avoir exprimé la décision définitive communiquée par le Synode d'Alexandrie au sujet du Patriarche éthiopien Nous ont fait savoir que la Sainte grande Réunion Spirituelle Ethiopienne ne pouvait accepter cette décision.

A présent, le fait que l'Eglise éthiopienne ne puisse obtenir les droits qu'elle réclame Nous laisse à penser que les deux Eglises peuvent en arriver à se séparer, bien que ce ne soit pas là le désir de l'Eglise éthiopienne.

En conséquence, afin d'exposer à Votre Béatitude l'importance de la question et de vous demander d'y bien réfléchir pour pouvoir trouver une solution satisfaisante, Nous avons délégué auprès de Votre Béatitude les enfants de Notre Eglise Orthodoxe, Nos fidèles serviteurs Fitawrari Tafesse Habte Mikael assisté de Blatta Mersié Hazen que nous espérons voir revenir avec une réponse satisfaisante pour notre Etat et Notre Eglise.

Addis Abéba, le Premier Ter Mille Neuf Cent Trente Huit (9 Janvier 1946).

Appendix N. 2

DECISION DU SAINT-SYNODE DE L'EGLISE COPTE-ORTHODOXE

En sa réunion du jeudi 23 Touba 1662 de l'Ere des Martyrs (31 janvier 1946) pour l'examen des huit demandes de l'Eglise Ethiopienne).

Première Demande

L'Eglise éthiopienne sollicite la nomination d'un Evêque éthiopien pour succéder à Sa Béatitude l'Amba Kyrollos, Archevêque actuel d'Ethiopie.

Décision du Saint-Synode

Considérant que le Saint-Synode avait examiné ladite demande en sa réunion du mois de Baouana 1661 (juin 1945) et avait décidé de ne pas agréer la demande de l'Eglise Ethiopienne, pour les motifs historiques sur lesquels Elle s'est appuyée dans Sa décision.

Mais vu que Sa Majesté Bénie l'Empereur Hailé Sélassié Ier, a envoyé une délégation sous la Présidence de Son Excellence

Fitawrari Taffessa, ministre des Travaux Publics, portant un message adressé par Sa Majesté à Sa Béatitude le Locum Tenens du Patriarcat, où Elle demande au Saint-Synode de réexaminer la première décision.

Considérant que l'Eglise Copte apprécie hautement la médiation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, et confiant dans Son zèle constant pour assurer la continuité des relations entre les deux Eglises et dans Sa vigilance à en resserrer les liens; l'Eglise Copte, d'autre part, fortement soucieuse de réaliser tous les moyens qui peuvent aider à l'essor de l'Eglise Ethiopienne, se fait une joie d'en favoriser l'épanouissement.

Pour tous les motifs qui précèdent, le Saint-Synode a décidé de donner suite à la demande de l'Eglise Ethiopienne et est heureux que cet événement ait lieu sous Ses Auspices — événement qui est le premier dans son genre dans l'Histoire de l'Eglise Copte où, pendant seize siècles consécutifs, tous les Archevêques d'Ethiopie ont été nommés parmi le Clergé Egyptien.

Aussi, le Saint-Synode a-t-il décidé que l'Evêque de l'Empire Ethiopien qui succédera à l'Archevêque actuel, Sa Béatitude l'Amba Kyrollos, sera un religieux éthiopien qui sera élevé à cette haute dignité par le Patriarche Apostolique de Saint Marc, lequel lui accordera toutes les attributions de l'Evêque Egyptien.

Deuxième Demande

L'Eglise Ethiopienne demande qu'il soit accordé à l'Archevêque d'Ethiopie le droit de sacrer les évêques.

Décision.

Vu que cette demande a été précédemment examinée par le dit Saint-Synode qui en a décidé le rejet pour les motifs qui ont justifié Sa Décision.

Considérant que le Saint-Synode estime, comme la première fois, que le droit conféré à l'Archevêque de sacrer les évêques, n'est nullement reconnu par le Saint Droit Canon adopté par l'Eglise Copte ni par les autres Eglises Chrétiennes Traditionnalistes, pour le motif que le sacre des évêques appartient aux Patriarches, en collaboration avec les Evêques de l'Eglise,

Attendu que, pour ce motif, le Saint-Synode ne possède pas de droit d'introduire une modification au dit droit canon, et se voit contraint d'entériner sa précédente décision en cette matière,

Il est au grand regret de ne pouvoir donner suite à cette demande, à savoir que l'Archevêque soit investi du droit de sacrer les évêques, et il proclame que ce droit appartient exclusivement au Patriarche.

Troisième Demande.

L'Eglise Ethiopienne sollicite l'augmentation du nombre des évêques pour l'Empire éthiopien.

Décision

Vu que le Saint-Synode a examiné cette demande en sa précédente réunion et approuvé le sacre de quatre évêques autres que l'Evêque actuel, Sa Béatitude l'Amba Isaac,

Considérant que le Saint-Synode est heureux d'agréer la demande de l'Eglise éthiopienne d'augmenter le nombre des évêques pour resserrer les liens spirituels entre les habitants d'Ethiopie,

Pour ces motifs, le Saint-Synode décide de porter le nombre des évêques de cinq à sept, dont deux seront sacrés parmi le clergé égyptien et devront savoir parfaitement la langue amharique.

Quatrième Demande.

L'Eglise éthiopienne demande que ses délégués participent à l'élection des Patriarches du Siège de Saint-Marc.

Décision.

Vu que le Saint-Synode a déjà agréé cette demande par sa précédente décision, sur la base du fait que l'Empire éthiopien constitue l'un des diocèses du Siège de Saint Marc d'Alexandrie, et en confirmation de ce qui précède.

Le Saint-Synode décide que l'Empire éthiopien et Sa Sainte Eglise soient représentés à l'élection du Patriarche par les délégués suivants:

- 1) Sa Béatitude l'Archevêque, les évêques et l'Etchégié,

- 2) Le délégué de Sa Majesté l'Empereur,
- 3) Leurs Excellences les Ministres,

Et en outre douze notables à désigner par Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

Cinquième Demande.

L'Eglise éthiopienne demande à être représentée dans les réunions du Saint-Synode au Siège du Patriarcat.

Décision.

Attendu que le Saint-Synode a précédemment approuvé cette demande et qu'il estime toujours qu'elle constitue un des droits de l'Eglise éthiopienne comme faisant partie du Siège Apostolique d'Alexandrie.

Pour ce motif, il confirme sa précédente décision, à savoir l'invitation adressée à Sa Béatitude l'Archevêque d'Ethiopie et à ses évêques à assister aux réunions du Saint-Synode qui auront lieu au Caire.

Sixième Demande.

L'Eglise éthiopienne sollicite l'échange de missions entre religieux des deux Eglises.

Décision.

Etant donné que le Saint-Synode a précédemment agréé cette demande, il décide l'échange de missions entre religieux des deux Eglises et confie au délégué du Patriarcat le soin de choisir, en collaboration avec les supérieurs des Couvents, la première mission de religieux égyptiens pour l'Ethiopie. En même temps, il souhaite la Bienvenue à toute mission de religieux qui sera envoyée ici par l'Eglise éthiopienne.

Septième Demande

L'Eglise éthiopienne sollicite l'institution d'un séminaire à Addis Abéba.

Décision.

Vu que cette demande a été précédemment soumise à l'examen

du Saint-Synode, étant donné qu'il a été porté à la connaissance du Saint-Synode que Sa Majesté l'Empereur estime urgent la création d'une école et l'a instituée de fait, et que l'instruction y est assurée par un corps enseignant égyptien.

Pour tous ces motifs, le Saint-Synode adresse Ses remerciements à Sa Majesté l'Empereur pour le soin vigilant apporté par Elle à mettre en exécution ledit projet, à condition de mettre cette école sous la protection permanente de Sa Sainteté le Patriarche, d'aider à élever cette école au rang de Grand Séminaire de théologie et de favoriser la création de petits séminaires dans les provinces éthiopiennes.

Huitième Demande

L'Eglise éthiopienne demande qu'il lui soit accordé d'avoir un Saint-Synode spécial à Addis Abéba et demande aussi la levée de l'excommunication portée contre les évêques éthiopiens qui ont accepté leurs dignités des mains de ceux qui n'avaient pas le droit de les leur conférer.

Décision

Vu que l'Eglise éthiopienne formant avec l'Eglise Copte d'Egypte une seule Eglise, il lui est impossible de posséder un autre Saint-Synode que celui du Patriarcat d'Alexandrie au Caire.

Considérant que le Saint-Synode a précédemment décidé, au sujet de la cinquième demande, que l'Eglise éthiopienne serait représentée au sein du Saint-Synode d'Alexandrie, dans ses réunions au Caire,

Vu que le droit canon de l'Eglise Copte autorise la formation de Congrégations régionales sous la présidence de l'Evêque,

Pour ces motifs, le Saint-Synode proclame le droit de l'Eglise éthiopienne de se réunir en Congrégation régionale sous la présidence de l'Evêque pour examiner les questions intérieures locales: elle en réfèrera au Saint-Synode d'Alexandrie pour toutes les questions concernant le dogme, les rites et le droit canon.

En ce qui concerne la levée de l'excommunication, le Saint-Synode l'a précédemment décidée, à condition que ceux qui en sont l'objet retournent à leurs anciennes dignités.

Le Saint-Synode confirme la décision précédente, sous réserve que les susdits évêques soient envoyés au Caire pour recevoir leur investiture suivant les lois ecclésiastiques, et à condition que leur nombre ne dépasse pas cinq.

Telles sont les décisions du Saint-Synode.

Le Secrétaire du Saint-Synode.

Sceau: Thomas, Evêque de Béhéra et de Gharbieh

Le Président du Saint-Synode.

Sceau: Athanasius, Evêque de Béni-Souef.

Appendix N. 3

SPEECH DELIVERED
BY THE FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF ETHIOPIA
ON 19TH JANUARY, 1951.

Your Imperial Majesty,

First of all, it is my privilege to exalt Almighty God for choosing me to be the first Ethiopian Archbishop, following the successful achievement of authority for the Ethiopian Church.

Ethiopia, which enjoys the reputation of being one of the first nations to be christianised, has reached this exalted status through the agencies of her combined material and spiritual wealth. As moral strength reinforces bodily frailty, so are the spiritual and material forces complementary to each other.

Ethiopia has a record of continued faith in God, from the time of the Old Testament to the New. This devotion to God has found favourable reception from the Church as well as the Government.

During the reign of the pious Kings, Abraha and Atsbaha, the torch of light of Christ was held aloft by St. Frumentius. As a result of this, Frumentius, a pioneer of the movement, was

known as the «torch-bearer». Thus, Frumentius is an apostle who found the Ethiopian people eminently prepared to assimilate the teachings of the Gospel.

Likewise, Abraha and Atsbaha's names were also associated with «light», since the light of Gospel penetrated into the country during their reign.

Once, Histewa Lehindekie, a traveller to Jerusalem, believed in Christ, according to the prophetic saying, although he had never seen the latter. So has Ethiopia been a firm believer, according to the saying: 'Blessed are they who believe in me, without needing to see me to believe.'

Since the adoption by Ethiopia of the New Testament in succession to the Old Testament, the Government repeatedly demanded the right of having an Ethiopian Archbishop and Bishops.

However, since the time was not ripe, the Ethiopian Church waited under the traditional administration. For some time, when unfortunate circumstances crept in, it continued its work through divinely appointed Ethiopian Bishops. For example, the Great Apostle, Abuna Teklehaimanot, was an Ethiopian chosen by God for the post.

When I recall the life history of Abuna Teklehaimanot, I am reminded of the contribution made towards the progress of the Ethiopian church by Your Imperial Majesty's ancestor, Atse Yikuno Amlak. Besides this, the Ethiopian church will never forget the kind turns rendered to it by the Ethiopian Rulers.

Comparing Your Imperial Majesty's work with that of Your ancestors, David and Solomon, Your service to the Ethiopian church emerges out to be of paramount importance. It is a tribute to Your Imperial Majesty's patient and persistent efforts that the Ethiopian church has secured its right without disconnecting the existing ties in the spiritual realm.

St. Paul has said: «... and let us run with patience the race that has exercised admirable patience in Your present achievement.»

As God said to Abraham: «I am your shield, and your reward shall be very great, so God has fulfilled your am-

bition because of your magnanimity. The Ethiopian Church therefore, always prays for the longevity of Your Imperial Majesty.

On this occasion we remember the Ethiopian spiritual Martyrs Abuna Petros and Abuna Mikael who sacrificed their lives during the enemy occupation of the country, with an equanimity of mind making no distinction between life and death, sweetness and bitterness, heaviness and lightness remembering Your Imperial Majesty's service to the Ethiopian church and conscious of the reward of sacrifice, they discharged their duty.

We remember calling at the Imperial Palace on July 22, 1948, following the consecration of Ethiopian bishops. Your Imperial Majesty then said: «It is necessary that the greatness of Ethiopia and her civilizational development must go side by side with her spiritual greatness.» This spiritual growth is now seen having obtained this great spiritual right.

The agreement reached between the Ethiopian and the Egyptian Orthodox churches, without any friction in the existing spiritual bonds, has prompted the great happiness we entertain now. In this connection, I would recall, in the presence of Your Imperial Majesty, the reception accorded to me by His Grace Yosab II in Egypt as a mark of sharing our mutual joy.

Your Imperial Majesty has accomplished a memorable task in the spiritual realm of this country. We are aware that, in proportion to the growth of the church, the responsibilities become heavier.

May God bring to fruition the effort which has been expended in this task. May God bless Your Imperial Majesty and Your lineage. May God's mercy and protection be with Ethiopia, our country. Amen!

Appendix N. 4

HIS EXCELLENCY
BITWEDDED MAKONNEN ENDALCATCHEOU
THE PRIME MINISTER SPEAKS
ON 19TH JANUARY, 1951

Your Imperial Majesty,

Permit me, Your Imperial Majesty, to express my profound felicity upon having the honour of delivering this speech on the occasion of a great historical achievement.

To-day the long cherished desire and aim of the Ethiopian Church has been crowned with success. She has obtained the happiness and honor worthy of her antiquity.

Following the example of Ethiopian Kings who devoted particular care toward the Church from its infancy, Your Imperial Majesty always has supported the Ethiopian Church on an unshakeable altar of honor. It is possible, therefore, to say that His Imperial Majesty has been as fortunate as were Abraha and Atsbaha.

Realizing the necessity of an autonomous church for an independent country, Your Imperial Majesty laid the foundation

for achieving this aim twenty years ago. This aim has now achieved that independence which is appropriate to the world-renowned name of the Ethiopian Church.

In planning any kind of war, there are two things which must be considered. These are: the beginning and the end. But these things are natural gifts of Your Imperial Majesty. Therefore, no important task begun has been left unfinished during Your reign.

Your Imperial Majesty,

In order to enable Your people to share the fruits of modern civilization without destroying their traditional practices, and knowing that the only means of bringing to Your people a high standard of life is education, Your Imperial Majesty has devoted most of Your precious time to this cause. And the fruits of this effort may be seen in the fact that already educated young men are to-day participating directly in the big task of modernizing Ethiopia.

By impressing upon the minds of children that any kind of education and knowledge is useful only when practiced in the fear of God, Your Imperial Majesty has given such advice on many occasions in the past. This counsel of witness of conscience is leading youngsters in the proper direction.

As Your Imperial Majesty has said, Man's civilization can only be permanent and constructive if it is sustained by a deep faith in the Creator, a civilization lacking in faith and duty can only prove to be a destructive one. Examples have repeatedly occurred in history. Man, through the instrumentality of his education and wisdom, has become able to know and make profound scientific researches and to master his environment. But it is only through spiritual faith and creative work that man can come to know himself.

The present international situation presents evidence that if man avoids and neglects the doing of benevolent deeds all his education, wisdom and wealth cannot save him from trials and distress.

Your Imperial Majesty sees clearly two parallel courses in Your people's advancement. The other is the people's spiritual

advancement. And as Your Imperial Majesty always thinks, also of the country's freedom, honor and life. He has found the way of securing autonomy for the Ethiopian Church during our brief historical epoch, thereby achieving and opening a new era in the spiritual history of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Church and the Ethiopian people.

Moreover, this great goal has been achieved, through the wisdom and patience of Your Imperial Majesty, without disrupting the age-old spiritual ties between the Ethiopian and Alexandrine Churches. Inasmuch as the right demanded by the Ethiopian Church has been granted through mutual consent, this will serve to strengthen still further the existing amity.

Your Imperial Majesty,

Your submission of Your achievements to God Almighty, and contemplating the worthiness of Your efforts, sided by the strong belief that everything can be done through the will of God, contributes much to the greatness of Your life's history.

Inasmuch happiness brought through effort and work is of everlasting value, so Your Imperial Majesty's work will forever be recognized by this quality. As it has been said, 'Anyone who begins any work with the help of God, will accomplish his work by the help of God.'

Long live Your Imperial Majesty!

Long live Her Imperial Majesty!

Long live the Imperial Family!

Long live Ethiopia!

Appendix N. 5

HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR
CROWNS THE CEREMONY BY HIS SPEECH
ON 19TH JANUARY, 1951

We are thankful to God at the nomination of an Ethiopian to be the Archbishop of Ethiopia, which accomplishment We consider to be of the highest importance of all that We have done during Our reign, for the benefit of the Ethiopian church.

The effort undertaken several years ago, and the path We have had to travel since, for the gradual attainment of complete authority for the Ethiopian Church, have been too arduous to be forgotten.

At last, the work willed by God has been accomplished, and He has given Our independent nation a church, endowed with authority, which ranks among the free churches of the world. This accomplishment, which has taken place during Our reign, constitutes a matter of pride for Us as well as for Our people. The monarchs of Our ancestry earnestly desired witness this event, and God has enabled Us to see realized the hope, strengthened by faith.

Our congratulations go to Your Grace that you are the first

Ethiopian to be entrusted with such a high and sacred duty during Our reign. An era of increasing mutual respect and cordiality has opened between the Ethiopian and Egyptian Orthodox churches.

Our thanks are due to His Holiness Yosab II, of the Holy Seat of St. Mark, who consented to bring this matter to a settlement, in the light of God's inspiration. We are happy to remark that this ecclesiastical evolution, effected in Our age, points to our common good luck.

Spiritual power is the eternal guide, in this life and the life after, for man who ranks supreme among all creatures. Led forward by spiritual power, man can reach the summit destined for him by the great Creator.

In Your Grace is vested the responsibility for the contribution of the Ethiopian church, for its part, towards giving the remedy for and the spiritual comfort to the wounds caused by the evil in the world. Moreover, in particular the duty is yours for giving guidance to the Ethiopian people for their benefit in their terrestrial as well as celestial lives.

We earnestly hope that God grant you strength and His Grace to help you discharge the heavy duties that you shoulder.

Appendix N. 6

16 Kiakh 1675
(25 December 1958)

ATHANASSIOS, ARCHBISHOP OF BENI-SUEF AND BAHNASA
LOCUM TENENS OF THE PATRIARCH,
TO OUR BELOVED SPIRITUAL BROTHER,
HIS EMINENCE ANBA BASILIOS,
ARCHBISHOP OF THE EMPIRE OF ETHIOPIA.

We send Your Eminence our apostolic embrace and brotherly greetings and we hope Your Eminence is well.

Following our letter of October 27th 1958, we regret to inform Your Eminence that it has not proved possible to effect the modification of the electoral law for the election of the Pope and Patriarch. This being the case, and considering the urgent necessity of discharging the Patriarchal function and its spiritual and administrative responsibilities, the Church cannot suffer that the Patriarchal See should continue to remain vacant, nor can it endure to be exposed to the danger of remaining without a head any longer than the period of over two years which has elapsed since the vacancy. We have therefore come to the conclusion

the election must be now expedited; the only way to this is to proceed with the electoral procedure according to the present law without modification, between the five candidates already selected and approved.

Your Eminence will appreciate that the Holy Synod have shown the utmost good-will during the recent talks between the Ethiopian and the Coptic Delegations. They have been and are most anxious to fulfil the desires of the Ethiopian Church, but circumstances prevent the execution of those relating to the modification of the electoral law regarding the participation of the Ethiopian Church in the election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch. Naturally this has no influence on the decisions taken by the Holy Synod, and the conditions attached thereto, for after the election of the Pope and Patriarch.

We are confident Your Eminence and the Ethiopian Church will realize the present situation, so that there should be no doubt that close spiritual and practical co-operation governs the relations of the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches.

We pray God Almighty to guide us for the good of His Church. May His blessing and grace come upon us all.

ATHANASSIOS

Archbishop of Beni-Suef and Bahnasa
Locum Tenens of Patriarch

Appendix N. 7

Yekkatit 24, 1951 E.C.
(3rd March 1959)

HIS EMINENCE ANBA ATHANASSIOS
ARCHBISHOP OF BENI-SUEF AND BAHNASA
LOCUM TENENS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN PATRIARCH

We send Your Eminence our brotherly greetings.

We acknowledge the receipt of the letter of December 25th 1958 from Your Eminence, communicating to us that, in electing the 116th Pope and Patriarch, recourse will not be had to the amended Electoral Law agreed upon between the Ethiopian and Coptic Delegations at the negotiations held at Cairo in July 1958, where the two Delegations were of one accord to submit the said amended Electoral Law to the sole appropriate competent authority of the Church, namely, the Holy Synod.

When the Ethiopian representatives that we appointed in September of last year to serve on the Selecting Committee returned, after one month of sojourn in Cairo, without attaining agreement on the election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch, the letter which they brought from Your Eminence caused us great sorrow. Nevertheless, we were left with the belief that the election was

postponed «sine die», but did not expect to be confronted with the state of affairs set forth in the letter of Your Eminence of December 25th 1958.

Your Eminence will appreciate that the Protocol and the Electoral Law are intended not only to serve in the pending election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch, but also to be the basis of relations between our two Churches. Hence, it is incumbent upon both parties to fully respect the terms of these two agreements; for, in our view, as no distinction can be made between the Protocol and the amended Electoral Law, the two must stand or fall together.

As regards the execution of the Protocol, we wish to recall to Your Eminence that we had reposed our great trust on the Locum Tenens and the Holy Synod of the Coptic Church of Egypt. The statement in the letter from Your Eminence means that the amended Electoral Law will not be applied in the election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch, and that the Ethiopians shall not participate in the election as equals.

Therefore we, on our part, consider the decision as being a unilateral abrogation of the Protocol agreed upon at Cairo in 1958. Such a unilateral abrogation of the Protocol will not do justice to the historical relations that have existed between our two Churches during the past sixteen hundred years.

Under these circumstances and until the Coptic Church favourably responds to the demands of the Ethiopian Church, and duly respects her rights, the Ethiopian Church will be compelled neither to participate in the election of the Patriarch nor to accord him recognition as her Supreme Spiritual Father: hence forward he will continue to assume for herself, on her own right and responsibility, the discharge of her spiritual functions.

We wish to convey to Your Eminence that, despite all this, the filial duty we owe to St. Mark, the unity of our faith and the brotherly love that we cherish one for another will all remain undiminished.

We pray Almighty God that He will continue to guide and bless our two Churches.

Your brother in Christ
BASILIOS
 LIKE PAPASAT OF ETHIOPIA

Appendix N. 8

12 Barmouda, 1675
 20th April 1959

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
 THE CONQUERING LION OF JUDA
 HAILE SELASSIE IST
 ELECT OF GOD EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA

Blessing of the Holy Trinity and peace of our Fathers the Apostles be upon Your August Person and on the blessed Orthodox Daughter Her Imperial Majesty Empress Menen and His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince and the Members of the Imperial Family as well as all the Clergy and People of beloved Ethiopia.

We have pleasure to convey to Your Imperial Majesty that the elections from amongst the five candidates to the Patriarchal Chair were carried out with the blessing of God on Friday the 17th Day of April 1959. The three candidates who received the highest number of votes were presented to the Holy Ballot which took place at Saint Mark Cathedral in the morning of Sunday the 11th Day of Barmouda 1675 (April 19th 1959); of whom God chose El-Kommos Mina El-Baramoussi, Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of the Church of Saint Mark.

We have also pleasure in conveying to Your Imperial Majesty, with the Will of God and the Help of His Holy spirit, the ceremony of anointing His Grace the Pope and Patriarch will take place in the morning of Sunday the 2nd Day of Bashans (May 10th 1959) in Saint Mark Cathedral in Cairo. It is the great hope of the Church, Clergy and Laity, that You honour us with Your presence in this eminent religious ceremony.

We pray to God to guard Your Imperial Majesty as the pride of the Orthodox Church and to preserve You in excellent health and strength together with Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress and Your blessed sons, the Princes.

ATHANASSIOS

**Archbishop of Beni-Suef and Bahnasa
Locum Tenens of the Patriarch**

Appendix N. 9

Miazia 14, 1951
(April 22, 1959)

**ATHANASSIOS,
ARCHBISHOP OF BENI-SUEF AND BAHNASA,
LOCUM TENENS OF THE PATRIARCH**

Your Grace,

Your letter of 20th April 1959, addressed to His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, my August Sovereign has been received and considered.

It is desired to bring to the attention of Your Eminence the fact that the position in which the Ethiopian Church finds herself in respect of the election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch has been explained in the letter addressed to Your Grace by His Grace Aba Basilios dated 3rd March 1959.

By command of His Majesty the Emperor, my August Sovereign I have the honour to inform Your Grace, that it is for the reasons set out in that letter that neither the Ethiopian Church nor a Delegation of the Imperial Ethiopian Government will take part in the inaugural ceremony of the election of the 116th Pope and Patriarch.

I have the honour to convey to Your Grace the expression of my most respectful greetings.

**KETEMA YIFRU
Private Secretary**

Appendix N. 10

7th May, 1959

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit One God Amen.

«Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity» (Psalm 133).

«I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called... endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace... There is one body, and one spirit even as ye are called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all who is above all, and through all and in you all (Ephesians 4: 1-6).

HIS IMPERIAL BLESSED ORTHODOX MAJESTY
THE EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I
ELECT FROM GOD KING OF KINGS OF ETHIOPIA
THE LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDA.

Grace and Peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our Saviour and Redeemer and the Holy Spirit our Guide and Consoler.

I extend this message to Your Majesty following the choice of the grace of God to my weak person to this great position,

«No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is of God as was Aaron.» (Hebrews 5:4).

As I feel God's call and the great responsibilities which the ministry of souls requires I believe that He who called me is able of assisting me to lead the boat of His Church to the harbor of Safety».

It concerns me over anything else that this ministry of souls leadership should be founded on the real Christian principles of love, loyalty and peace.

It gives me great pleasure to express to Your Imperial Majesty the deep feeling in my heart of the love and esteem to the beloved Ethiopian Nation and to the Church of Saint Mark your blessed Country.

No doubt, when the spirit of real Christian love, and mutual appreciation and understanding prevails, then it shall be possible to overcome all difficulties and reach satisfactory solutions and start a new era which will reinforce the holy tie between us that has been protected, strengthened and cared for by Your Imperial Majesty all Your life.

Our only aim is to fulfil the mission of our Lord Jesus Christ His Church and the saving of souls and the glory of the Church. In achieving this aim, love can overcome all difficulties and settle all matters peacefully.

The needs of the beloved Ethiopian Church shall be one of the very first subjects that will be taken up by the Holy Synod if God willing — soon after the consecration serve, with the utmost consideration and care. I feel sure that my brothers the Metropolitan and Bishops in Egypt do appreciate with me the Ethiopian needs and we shall endeavour by the Grace of God to meet them by the same spirit of love for the strengthening of the Church of St. Mark.

It will give me greater pleasure to have my brothers the Metropolitan and Bishops of Ethiopia to join in the laying of hands on the head of the Pope of Alexandria at the consecration service, for the first time in the history of our Church, which will increase my feeling of the strength and depth of the holy tie between us.

It will make me happier if Your Imperial Majesty would send a personal delegation as well as the Lika Papasat and Bishops of Ethiopia to join in this historical occasion on Sunday May 10th, 1959.

I am looking forward with joy to that day when I can see Your Imperial Majesty in Beloved Ethiopia as well as in Egypt, to complete our spiritual joy in the Lord.

In conclusion I pray to Almighty God to bless Your Imperial Majesty's life and the life of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress, the beloved Princes, clergy and all the people and to keep and prosper Your beloved Empire and promote peace in its land.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be upon us all. Praise for His Glory for ever. Amen.

Kommos Mina El-Baramoussi
Pope elect of Alexandria

Appendix N. 11

8th Bashans 1675
16th May, 1959

Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit One God,
Amen.

«If there be therefore any fellowship of the spirit... fulfil ye
my joy, that ye be likeminded having the same love, being of one
accord of one mind.» (Philippians 2: 1,2)

His Imperial Blessed Orthodox Majesty
The Conquering Lion of Juda
HAILE SELASSIE I, Elect of God
King of Kings of Ethiopia.

Grace and peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our
Saviour and Redeemer and the Holy Spirit our Guide and Con-
soler.

We are sending our second message to Your Imperial Majesty
after the Grace of God has bestowed on our weakness the gifts
of the Holy Spirit by the laying of the apostolic hands to continue
the succession of the mission started by Saint Mark the Apostle

father and teacher.

We are deeply touched by the feeling of unhappiness Your Imperial Majesty experienced as expressed in the verbal message for not taking part in the consecration service.

We pray to God to bestow the Grace of the Holy Spirit to ensure to the Church its peace and security through the spirit of love and tolerance which we expressed in our first message «forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth to those things which are before». (Philippians 3:13).

We pray also that this spirit of love and tolerance may prevail on the Church and the world for promotion of peace and prosperity.

We greatly appreciate and are thankful for the noble feelings Your Imperial Majesty towards our weak person. With this we shall cooperate for the fulfilment of the Holy will of Christ in our lives.

The ever increasing spiritual and social needs of the Lord's people these days, and the responsibilities of the Church towards these needs requires the careful organization of the pastoral and administrative work of the Church to enable her to fulfil its mission and responsibilities in a way to satisfy our conscience in front of God «In this abundance which is administered by us» (1 Cor. 8-20).

This organization will include by God's Grace all regions of the Saint Mark Church in which God's work is spreading very widely.

In view of our feeling of the increasing responsibilities of the Church of Saint Mark in Ethiopia is its modern revival due to the backing and encouragement of Your Imperial Majesty, it will please us very much to make the raising of the position of the head of the Church of Saint Mark in Ethiopia and accordingly the readjustment of his powers of ordination, the subject of our special care and consideration according to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. We feel sure that God's will and guidance shall be for the good of all, as per His promise «for where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.» (Math. 18-20).

It therefore gives us pleasure to delegate my brothers the metropolitans Anba Lokas of Manfalout, Anba Yuanis of Khartoum and Anba Beniamin of Menoufia together with our Sons Messrs. Farid Mangarious, Emile Doss, Amin Fakhry Abdel Nour, Murad Kamel and Kamal Fahmy Hanna to confirm our previously expressed feelings and to invite a delegation from Your Imperial Majesty and the Church to join us here for the study of this organisation and the planning of its responsibilities and limitations, under our personal guidance, for the achievement of the mission of the Church for the Glory of God and the Salvation of Souls.

We were very pleased to hear of Your Imperial Majesty's near visit to Egypt which gave great joy to all our people, in view of the longing to Your beloved personality and the Ethiopian people.

We pray to Almighty God to bless Your Imperial Majesty's life and the life of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress, the beloved Princes, Clergy and all the people and to keep and prosper Your beloved Empire and promote peace in its land.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be upon us all.
Praise for His Glory for ever, Amen.

of the Preaching of St. Mark
KYRILLOS VI
By the Grace of God
Pope of Alexandria & Patriarch

Appendix N. 12

Cairo, 12th June, 1959

The Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate

«For where two or three are gathered
in my name, there am I in the midst
of them.» (Math.18-20)

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit One God,
Amen.

KYRILLOS VI
BY THE GRACE OF GOD
POPE OF ALEXANDRIA AND PATRIARCH OF
THE PREACHING OF ST. MARK

to
HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
THE CONQUERING LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH
HAILE SELASSIE I
ELECT OF GOD, EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA

Grace and peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our
Saviour and Redeemer and the Holy Spirit our Guide and Con-
soler.

We have duly received from the hands of His Highness

Edjazmatch Asrate Kassa Your Majesty's letter dated 5th June 1959, including the names of the delegation which Your Majesty has chosen to come to Cairo according to our invitation to join in the study of the Church organizations which would strengthen further the permanent bonds between the regions of the See of St. Mark especially dear Ethiopia.

We have from our side chosen the following persons to meet Your Majesty's delegation for the same purpose:

My brothers the metropolitans Anba Lukas of Manfalout and Anba Youssef for the region of Egypt, Anba Yuanis of Khartoum and Anba Youssef for the region of the Sudan and Uganda, and Anba Basilios of Jerusalem and the Near East for the regions of Jerusalem and the near East, and our sons: Engineer Youssef Saad the ex-minister and the vice-president of the Meglis Milly — Mr. Youssef Andrawos the ex-ambassador — Mr. Dimitry Rizk the ex-ambassador — Dr. Murad Kamil the professor at Cairo University and Father Makary El Souriany.

We are sure that the grace of God will act in these meetings to reach by the guidance of the Holy Spirit good results for the benefit of the Church and its sons in all the regions of Preaching of St. Mark.

We pray to Almighty God to bless Your Imperial Majesty's life and the life of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress, the beloved Princes, Clergy and all the people and to keep and prosper Your beloved Empire and promote peace in its land.

The Grace of God be upon You,

Praise for His Glory for ever, Amen.

(Seal)

KYRILLOS VI

Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch
of the Preaching of St. Mark

Appendix N. 13

June 25th, 1959
Baouna 18, 1675

«Blessed are the peacemakers
for they shall be called the
children of God.» (Math. 5:9)

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit One God,
Amen.

KYRILLOS VI
BY THE GRACE OF GOD
POPE OF ALEXANDRIA AND PATRIARCH OF
THE PREACHING OF ST. MARK

to
HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY
THE CONQUERING LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH
HAILE SELASSIE I
ELECT OF GOD, EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA

Grace and peace from God our Father and Jesus Christ our
Savior and Redeemer and the Holy Spirit our Guide and Consoler.

It is a comfort to our Fatherly heart to send Your Imperial Majesty the protocol which has been reached under our guidance on the 25th June 1959 (18 Baouana 1675 — 18 Sene 1951) between the Ethiopian Delegation and the Delegation we appointed with the object of adjusting the relation of the Church of Egypt and Ethiopia, of the See of Saint Mark. Our Lord in His great love to the Church removed all the difficulties from their way.

We have, with the Grace of God, sanctioned this Protocol and granted its contents, which will be effective from today.

We pray to Almighty God to bless Your Imperial Majesty's life and the life of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress, the beloved Princes, Clergy and all the people and to keep and prosper Your beloved Empire and promote peace in its land.

The Grace of God be upon You.

Praise for His Glory for ever, Amen.

KYRILLOS VI

Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch
of the Preaching of St. Mark

Appendix N. 14

CONQUERING LION OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH

HAILE SELASSIE I

ELECT OF GOD, EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA

to

HIS HOLINESS ANBA KYRILLOS VI
POPE OF ALEXANDRIA AND PATRIARCH OF
THE SEE OF SAINT MARK
BATRAKHANA, CAIRO

Asking for your blessings and prayers we send our greetings

We are in due receipt of Your Holiness's letter of June 25, 1959, together with the attached Protocol signed on June 25, 1959, between our Delegation and the Delegation which was directed and guided by Your Holiness; the purpose of which is to strengthen and improve the spiritual connection between the Churches of Ethiopia and Egypt of the See of Saint Mark. We would like to offer our thanks to Your Holiness for the blessings that Your Holiness has expressed in this letter for our people, ourselves and our family.

The good will and farsighted understanding of Your Holiness has been the force to attain this agreement. This Protocol is an

ment to strengthen the spiritual connection of the two
Churches.

It has pleased us profoundly to see this conclusion for which
we had all endeavored.

To occupy the Seat of the Patriarch (Reesa Liqana Papasat)
of the Church of Ethiopia for this first time we have chosen and
appointed His Beatitude Anba Basilius as successor to Saint Tekle
Gerranot, whose present diocese will remain under him, we have
chosen him to be invested as Patriarch by the hand of Your Holiness.
It is our fervent desire for the Almighty God to strengthen
the bond of His Churches and bless Your Holiness's era with
peace, health and prosperity.

**Done on this 26th day of June 1959
on the 29th year of Our Reign
Halle Selassie I
Emperor of Ethiopia**

Appendix N. 15

**STATEMENT OF FAITH MADE BY HIS HOLINESS PATRIARCH
TEWOFLOS AFTER THE CEREMONY OF HIS INVESTITURE
ON 9TH MAY, 1971.**

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
Spirit, the one God, to Whom be glory and upon us grace and
mercy, for ever and ever, Amen.

This indeed is a moment when I feel the need for divine
strength and guidance much more than at any other time in the
past, and I commit myself into God's all-powerful hands which
have supported our fathers and which lead us, at the present time.

First of all, I thank God, the Holy and Blessed Trinity, Who
in His great mercy has called me to the service of His divine
mysteries. By His inestimable love and grace He has now chosen
me to serve the holy Church of Ethiopia, which He has founded
and guided till this day as its Patriarch. I know, brethren, that
this is a call to a position of immense responsibility. I pray God
Almighty that He may go before me and direct me, and I beseech
you all that you may hold me up regularly and constantly in your
prayer before the Throne of Grace, that I may be enabled to ful-
fill the duties vested in me to the best of my ability and in ac-

cordance with the will of God, for the building up of His Holy Church.

In committing myself to your prayers, I deem it a pleasant privilege to set forth the faith which I hold, which I believe is common to you and me, and which by the grace of God I shall seek to conserve and propagate in the Church of God.

Borne witness to in the New Testament against the background of the Old Testament, the Faith of the Church is affirmed in the Creeds — the Creed of the Apostles and the Creed of the Fathers of the Council of Nicea in 325. Intended to exclude the heresy which declared the Son a creature, the latter Creed was ratified by the Council of Constantinople in 381, which also affirmed the full divinity of the Holy Spirit, it was again confirmed by the Council of Ephesus in 431 which decided against the teaching of those who divided the one Christ into two centres of being and activity.

In the glorious tradition of the divinely inspired fathers of those Councils and of all those who followed in their footsteps to our times, I confess my faith in God, the Holy Trinity. God is one: He is Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Father is perfect God; the Son is perfect God; the Holy Spirit is perfect God. They are not three Gods; for each of them is the same God.

God is one, because Godhead is one; He is one in essence, will and activity. We worship and glorify Him in three Persons, by distinguishing properties. For in reality the Father is Father; the Son is Son; and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Holiness. God is unity in Trinity and Trinity in unity. The three have each of them the same Godhead in perfection; they are distinguished one from another only in properties. The Father is Father not either the Son or the Holy Spirit. The Son is Son, and is neither the Father nor the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Holiness, and is neither the Father nor the Son.

The unity of Godhead means also that in everything which the Father does the Son and the Holy Spirit are there with Him; in all that the Son does the Father and the Holy Spirit are there with Him; and in all that the Holy Spirit does the Father and the Son are there with Him. The Father for instance creates the

world through the Son and perfects it in the Holy Spirit. Again, the Father redeems the world through the Son and brings the redemption to its completion in the Holy Spirit.

I confess again, that one of the Holy Trinity, namely God the Son through Whom everything has been brought into being, for us and for our salvation, came down from heaven and became incarnate and was made man really and perfectly from Mary the Virgin, Mother of God. He united to Himself body taken from the Virgin Mother through the operation of the Holy Spirit. Thus He Who is eternally God the Son, consubstantial with God the Father and God the Holy Spirit, became perfect man, consubstantial with us, unchangeably and inseparably, unconfusedly and indivisibly. God the Son united to Himself hypostatically manhood, taken from the Holy Virgin, which was endowed with a rational soul. The two natures of Godhead and manhood became so united in Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son, that they with their respective properties, continue dynamically in Him. The one Lord Jesus Christ is thus perfect God, the Same being also perfect man, with the single exception that He is absolutely sinless.

Jesus Christ is one and only Son, being composed of the two natures which continue in Him without reduction or division. He is one Hypostasis, one Prosopon, and one Nature incarnate of God the Son. The «one» here refers to the unity, not to any reduction, as is sometimes erroneously construed. Jesus Christ is the Same, at once perfect God and perfect man. All the divine properties on the one hand, and the human properties on the other, are in Him, without confusion or division. Therefore, all the words He spoke and all the deeds He performed, were expressions of His one Person formed of a union of Godhead and manhood. In Him Godhead and manhood came to their ultimate union, and in this union He lives eternally with the Father and the Holy Spirit as the Mediator between God and man.

God became man, Says St. Athanasius, in order that man may become divine. Through His dispensation Jesus Christ has accomplished the salvation of the world once and for all. The salvation consists, in a word, in bringing man to an unbroken relation with God, whereby man is enabled to realize divine sonship and live a life of confidence, peace and love here and now, as well

as in hope of eternal life in the world to come. Born of a human mother, Jesus Christ passed through all levels of human existence, always maintaining His unbroken Sonship with God the Father; He died on the cross facing the forces of evil; but He rose again from the dead, triumphant over evil, suffering and death. This victory has been won by him for our human race, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

The crucified and risen Christ founded the Church in order that the redemption which He accomplished may be realised in human history. Christ is present in the Church, and the Holy Spirit guides it in its life and activities. The Church is universal and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is part of the world-wide Church of Jesus Christ. The Church of Ethiopia, however, has its historic links with the Coptic Orthodox Church, which I shall maintain with great care and solemnity. In addition, I shall also keep to the sisterly ties which our Church has with the other Oriental Orthodox Churches, namely the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch and all the East, the Armenian Orthodox Church, and the Syrian Orthodox Church of India.

As Patriarch of Ethiopia, I shall by the grace of God maintain the orthodox faith of our Church. In the presence of God, calling Whom to my witness, I make a solemn pledge before you, my brothers, that I will keep the faith till the end of my life and proclaim it for the guidance and salvation of others as long as there lies strength in me. I will exert all my ability for the discarding of every teaching and movement that may battle against the Orthodox Church in our times. I will abide by the Laws of the Church that are in vogue and help the evolution of Laws and regulations which are required for the better maintenance of the Church's Orthodox faith, discipline, worship and morale.

I further undertake to keep close to the episcopate, the clergy and laity of the Church and do all I can to strengthen the fellowship of the Church all over Ethiopia and beyond. I will promote the communion in the Spirit which our Church has with the Coptic Orthodox Church and the other member bodies of the Oriental Orthodox family of Churches. Keeping to the spiritual ties of kinship with them, I shall do all I can for the promotion of unity and cooperation between these Churches on the one hand, and the Eastern Orthodox family of Churches as well as

all other Churches in the world, including the member Churches of the World Council of Churches, on the other, in accordance with the decision of the Heads of the Oriental Orthodox Churches made in their conference held in Addis Ababa in January 1965.

We live at a time in the history of mankind when the Christian faith is being challenged by secular forces of various kinds. Supported by your prayers and cooperation, I shall join hands with the universal brotherhood of Christians to meet these challenges in a way that befits the Church of Jesus Christ. I shall also exert myself, insofar as I can, for the establishment of peace in the world, for the eradication of evil, and for the abolition of all discrimination between man and man, race and race, and nation and nation. May God help me in these endeavours, for which I dedicate myself.

We in Ethiopia are filled with gratitude to Almighty God for giving us an Emperor who is devoted to the cause of the Church as well as to the welfare of the people. The help and support which the Church of Ethiopia receives from His Imperial Majesty is indeed manifold. On this occasion I commit our beloved Emperor, the Imperial Family, the Prime Minister, the Ministers all those who have a share in the government of this country and indeed all the people of Ethiopia — both individually and collectively — to the care and protection of God, and I pray that our heavenly Father will grant them peace and tranquillity, in order that they may administer justice and offer security and wellbeing to Ethiopia, her Church, and all her people.

In conclusion, I commit myself once again to your continued prayers and unstinting cooperation. May God, the Holy Trinity, bless you and guide you, and may His blessings and mercy be upon me through the prayers of Mary the Virgin; the angels and archangels; the prophets, apostles, martyrs and all the saints, now and for ever. Amen.

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Feb 7, 1994

Ejigu Ratta

Palazzo

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by

YOLANDE MARA



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Publisher «IL POLIGRAFICO»
1972