

evening presented it to him. It excited great admiration, particularly the workmanship of the chair, and eight little angels flying around, which I had finished highly on purpose to please him.

“Pearce had several times hinted to me his wish to stay in the country, having been invited by the Ras, who promised to provide for him, and take him under his immediate protection. I had hitherto declined any opinion on the subject, but rather advised him to the contrary, from a fear that he might be deceived in his expectations. I was, however, very unwilling absolutely to prevent his following the bent of his inclination, as the disappointment might afterwards remain in his breast a continual subject of discontent; his gratitude to Lord Valentia was unbounded, for having rescued him from Mocha, and formed the only tie that I had upon him. He had however declared, that he would make no engagement without having previously obtained my approbation. The Ras this evening asked him the question in my presence; when I took the opportunity of telling him, that I should leave him entirely to the guidance of his own wishes, as I did not conceive myself intitled to thwart him in any scheme of life that he might choose to adopt. In consequence of my advice, he had in the evening a personal conference with the Ras, who treated him with great attention. He questioned him much with regard to his capacity as a soldier, his ability in painting, and his knowledge of physic; to which Pearce very properly answered, that he was only slightly acquainted with the two latter arts, but would do his best for him; that as to the other, it had been the employment of his life. The next enquiry was, whether he could write and read English; in both of which he was a tolerably good proficient. This seemed greatly to please the Ras, who

said, that he hoped shortly to see more Englishmen; and that he would, in the mean time, provide him with every help for studying the Abyssinian language, that he might be of service in explaining their mutual wishes. He farther added, that he need be under no apprehension, as all the chiefs would treat him as a brother; that he would keep him always near his own person, and provide for him accordingly; that he should, in the first place, attend him on the expedition to Gondar, which would commence as soon as we were safely on our journey, and afterwards he should have time to study the language, and make some drawings for the churches; which being done, he would have permission to go into any part of the kingdom that he pleased, with a special protection from him, the Ras; and that whenever he became tired of his situation, should be provided with the means of returning to Massowah. To these terms Pearce assented; and in reply to the first part of the Ras's speech, told him, that being an Englishman, he never knew what fear was; with which the Ras was much gratified; and answered, that, though very old, his own feelings were the same.

"I was of opinion, that Pearce's determination to stay in the country might be of considerable importance, for the following reasons: he is quick in acquiring any language, which will very much facilitate any intercourse hereafter with the inhabitants. He writes well, and expresses himself with sufficient clearness on any subject, and possibly may be able to collect much interesting information; if engaged in the wars with the Galla, or if permitted to visit Gondar, or elsewhere, in which case, his knowledge of drawing, which is for an untaught person considerable, might be brought to good account. He is, so far as I have seen, well inclined, and a

deserving man, and will not, I think, disgrace his country by cowardice or meanness.

“ October 2.—I spent this morning in making preparations for our journey, writing instructions for Pearce, and finishing some sketches of plants. At about three, I went, with Captain Rudland, down to the Ras. We found him in the farther yard, surrounded by a small party of his chiefs. He invited us to partake of their repast, as also Mr. Carter, whose company he sent to request. We were, as usual, seated beside him, and were all much gratified with our entertainment. It being fast day we were regaled with several dishes of fish, which were excellent, and with parched wheat and peas, ~~the former unripe~~: these constitute a considerable part of the Ras's food on all fast days. There were present the two great rivals, Baharnegash Yasous, and Subagadis, seated on opposite sides of the table; but the latter was only in the second rank. It has generally been observed by us, that young men, even of the highest rank and consequence, are kept much in the back-ground when in presence of the Ras.

“ Basha Abdallah was sent for by the Ras, that we might have some conversation with him; it was entirely of a light description, not worthy of being recorded. The late Aboona's interpreter came to pay his respects to me; he seemed to be in tolerable favour at court. On our taking leave, the Ras appointed a conference with us at an early hour on the morrow.

“ October 3.—After taking coffee, about five we were informed that the Ras was ready to receive us. We entered upon the conversation, by presenting him with as many of our medicines as we thought we could spare, which, after enumerating their several uses,



were put under the care of Pearce, who was then regularly engaged in his service. A singular request was made to us, with which, however, as we found him earnestly bent upon it, we complied. This was to swear, that whatever physic we left with him, should not poison him. This both Captain Rudland and I did, by laying hold of his hand, and declaring, "that in the presence of the God whom we both worshipped, we solemnly declared that the physic we then left with him, was for his benefit, and not to injure any one." Hamed Chamie afterwards swore by Mahomed as to the justness of his interpretation. This ceremony had a great effect upon the Ras; he seemed perfectly happy in consequence, and declared that he should ever esteem the English as his best friends. From this it would appear, that great respect is paid here to the solemnity of an oath.

"After this I began upon the subject of our journey, pressing him very strongly to permit us to return by the way of Adowa, as I was extremely anxious to have another examination of the ancient ruins at Axum. It was a long time before I could obtain this point, and I should never have been able to accomplish it, if the Ras had not had a request to make in return, with which he was extremely desirous I should comply. This was, that I would make him a present of a blunderbuss, with a spring bayonet, which I had with me, belonging to Lord Valentia. I at first refused, on the plea, that this was the only thing not in my power to give away; and on his urging it a second time, I begged to defer resigning it till I arrived at Massowah. This would not satisfy him. He said, he was sure that Lord Valentia would let him have it with pleasure, when he knew how anxiously he desired it. Finding that no refusal would be taken,



I at length complied with the best grace in my power, telling him, that there was nothing in my possession belonging to Lord Valentia, which he so highly valued as this blunderbuss.

"He now expressed his intention of sending to Lord Valentia, a spear, a shield, and a knife, as specimens of the arms of the country; that he would send his own knife, and whatever spear and shield I might choose. Among several spears I selected one with two heads, as being more curious than the others. We then proceeded to settle about our mules for the road: three had been given me by Baharnegash Yasous; the Ras told me that he would also give me three, and lend me three others as far as Adowa, from which place I must ~~trust~~ to my friend Basha Abdallah. Bearers were also to be provided by the Ras as far as Adowa, where I was to hire others to Dixan. This inconvenience attending our road, was before mentioned by the Ras; but the advantage that I hoped to derive from it, was much more than equivalent. The Ras sent me in the afternoon the spear and shield.

"October 4.—I was engaged the whole of the morning in finishing some sketches, and making a few drawings of heads, and one of St. George and the Dragon, for Pearce's use. In the evening Captain Rudland and I went down to the Ras, and partook of his fast-day's repast. He expressed much pleasure on seeing us, and presented me the knife for Lord Valentia, which had been sent to have a new scabbard made for it. It is as handsome as the generality of those worn by the principal men in the country. It is however to be observed, that the Ras seems greatly to pride himself on the plainness of his dress and accoutrements. He gave me a brace of partridges, that were just brought in by his sportsmen; and a little

after the large horns of the country being fortunately introduced, he presented a very large one to Captain Rudland, and another of a finer sort to me, which was at the top nearly seven inches in diameter. All these horns are said to be brought to Tigré from Gondar; but they are chiefly manufactured, or made into cups, in Gojam. The animal which produces them is called Gusht, or wild cow, which chiefly abounds in the province of Walkayt; but they are said to be domesticated in the province of Ras-el-Feel. The horns hang back on the neck of the animal, from the skin of which shields also are made. This would lead to the supposition of its being a buffalo, were not the horns smooth, round, and very different from those of this last named animal. The use which the Abyssinians make of the entire horn, is to carry maize for them when on a journey.

“ We learned this evening from Basha Abdallah, that, in consequence of intelligence of the death of Ozoro Tuckai, at Axum, having just reached him, it would not be in his power to leave Antalow at the time we had fixed upon, he therefore hoped that we would put off our journey till Thursday, the Ras also having letters to send, which would not be ready before. With this I, of course, complied.

“ October 5.—I went down in the evening to the Ras, and finding him busily engaged with Basha Abdallah in private conference, I sat down with Captain Rudland to the chess-board; but we had not finished a game when the Ras came to us. He was in high spirits, and much pleased at finding us amusing ourselves. It was now communicated to us by Basha Abdallah, that he was desirous all our baggage should be got ready, that he might ascertain how many men would be required to carry it; he also hinted, that he wished me

to mention to the Ras, my consent to stay until Thursday, in order to go with him; with which he was much gratified. I had afterwards private information from Basha Abdallah, that the Ras was highly pleased with the thought of an intercourse with England; and for this purpose he wished much that our vessels should come to Buré, as he had found the chief of that place, who had been with him during my absence, extremely well inclined to our interests; that letters expressing these wishes would be expedited by Government, and that some of the finest cloths in the country were preparing as presents.

“October 6.—I was engaged in drawing the picture of a young Galla boy, kept at Antalow by the Ras, and thought to be the son of a chief of high rank; he was taken in war when an infant, and much respect was paid him, being allowed several attendants. I also made a drawing of Pearce in his Abyssinian dress. I paid a visit to the Ras in the evening, as usual, and found much company there, among others, Ozoro Romai, and Ozoro Esther; Basha Guebra Eyut, Barrambaras Toklu, Fit Aurari Zogo, the chief who distinguished himself so much on the day of the festival, and Ayto Selassé from Adowa. On our first entrance, we found a violent dispute going on between the latter and Barrambaras; both were pleading in strong terms their respective causes before the Ras, and confirming their assertions by giving their right hands, and swearing by one of their most sacred oaths, which is, “Wellela Selassé einot,” or “May the Ras die if it be not true.”—The Ras soon afterwards retired; and we had an opportunity of remarking in what a free and unreserved style the Abyssinians pass their time in private parties. Barrambaras was lying with his





IN HIS ABYSSINIAN DRESS. — A YOUNG GALLA OF HIGH RANK.

head in the lap of Ozoro Esther, whispering in her ear, and another chief was endeavouring to interpret between Captain Rudland and Ozoro Romai. There seemed indeed very little restraint among them; and I do not doubt that they carry their familiarity much farther, when perfectly at liberty in the houses of mutual friends. We waited till the return of the Ras, paid our compliments, and retired.

"October 7.—We were engaged as usual, in drawing and writing, and in the evening paid a visit to the Ras, who was at his old occupation, chess. He was in higher spirits than in general, and invited us to stay supper with him: many ladies of rank were present, but Ozoro Romai was distinguished above all, by being seated on the Ras's couch. I understood she was only the mistress of Tecla Georgis, who for a short time filled the throne: she was fair, and possessed some remains of beauty. The discourse was, as usual, perfectly unrestrained. The old Ras encouraged the freedom of conversation; he also himself offered Captain Rudland an Ozoro if he would stay in the country. On that gentleman's answering that he would return to him, "I fear," said the Ras, "that I shall be dead before that time." After supper, one of our Arab attendants, Seid, highly amused the Ras and his ladies, by the performance of some slight-of-hand tricks, with swords and staves, at which the Arabs are extremely expert. The Ras was indeed so much gratified, that he tried much to persuade him to stay in the country, making him many promises; to all of which he remained obdurate, saying, "where my master goes, I will go; if he does not stay, I will not, though I should receive a thousand dollars." The evening, upon the whole, was passed very pleasantly, with great glee and merriment.

" October 8.—Basha Abdallah came to me early in the morning, and accompanied Captain Rudland and myself to the Ras. Every thing was finally arranged for our journey, which was to commence on Thursday morning. Two of our mules having died, the Ras offered us two more as far as Adowa. Hadjib and Seid, our Arab servants, were sent for by the Ras to amuse him with their feats, and he again tried much to persuade them to stay in the country.

" The troops from the different districts remained encamped on the surrounding hills; the chiefs had small tents made of the common cloth of the country, and their followers occupied convenient sheds, formed with the branches of trees, covered with grass.

" In the evening we went to the Ras, and were again invited to sup with him. Many young ladies of rank were present, among whom I noticed Wellela Aram, a daughter of Belgaida Wellela Menassé, and the two fair daughters of Poolar, the chief cowkeeper to the Ras. The first of Nebrida Aram's daughters was also fair; the other, a daughter of the Ras's brother, was extremely dark, though possessing more regular features. The conversation this evening was of a more modest nature than usual; and, in their general behaviour, these girls appeared to be much more reserved and decorous than most of the women of rank we had hitherto met with. The evening was passed pleasantly, but the Ras was far from being in good spirits.

" October 9.—We had a visit this morning from our friend Baharnegash Yasous, who expressed great pleasure, both on account of the manner in which we had been received, and also at the idea of accompanying us on our return so far as Massowah. We learned



that our friend Subagadis had been put in irons by the Ras, for some hasty words spoken to Belgaida Welleta Hannes, who enjoyed great consequence at the court. We had also a visit from the keeper of the Ras's cows, who was daily in the habit of bringing us milk, in return for some physic that Captain Rudland gave him, to drive out, as he expressed it, "a devil in his inside;" which most fortunately succeeded. We were fully occupied with preparations for our departure. Guebra Welleta Selassé, at my request, obtained permission from the Ras to attend us to Massowah, and anticipated much delight from seeing the ship, the guns, the great men, &c. I used to call this fellow the Devil (at which he always laughed), for in cunning, deceitfulness, and perversity, I never have seen his equal; yet in travelling he was very useful to us, though difficult to manage. This man was originally a Mussulmaun, but has been converted to the Christian faith, and is now employed by the Ras as a messenger: for his pay he receives forty dollars and as many pieces of cloth per annum, and a mule; besides which, there is a piece of land assigned him, which yields forty gerbuttehs of grain, six of which sell on the spot for a dollar, and only four, if carried to Adowa. This, with what he gets on his mission through the country, which we are told amounts to much more (especially when he is sent to settle any dispute about tribute), enables him to keep four servants; to three of whom he gives five pieces of cloth, and to the other, two, besides their food. We had repeated solicitations from many persons, and from some of considerable consequence, to take them with us to England; and, in fact, I believe that there are few who would not be very glad to go with us. The chiefs, it is true, fare well; but as for the lower class, I believe that

they rarely get sufficient, even of the coarse teff bread of which their food almost entirely consists. The pay of the Ras's soldiers, beside their food, is only from thirteen to fifteen pieces of cloth in the year, and his head builder has but six wakeas of gold a year, and two gerbuttehs of corn per month. Money seems to be an extremely scarce article, from its being chiefly employed in the Mas-sowah commerce; and the want of small currency for common use, is a most serious inconvenience throughout the country. The carriage of a dollar's worth of salt to any distance, would scarcely be repaid by the small sum which it produces; and that this is the case, can be only owing to the cheapness of labour and provisions. The price of maize is about one penny per quart. The value of a dollar at Antalow is equal to twenty-eight pieces of salt; but the greater part of the traffick is carried on by exchange. One piece of cloth (about a dollar) will buy five gerbuttehs of grain.

“ Letters were delivered to me this morning by the Ras, from his Sovereign, for the King of England, which I was requested to convey safely to Lord Valentia. With them several complete dresses of the finest cloth, manufactured in the country, were sent as presents. These were delivered to me in great form. In the afternoon I went down with Captain Rudland to the Ras, and he invited us to partake of his fast-day's repast, consisting, as usual, of fish, Indian corn, and wheat grilled. He was kinder than ever in his attention to us, and gave me, on their being accidentally brought in, two rhinoceros's horns, and a partridge; the latter of which I sent to Mr. Carter. I, in return, as a parting gift, presented the Ras with a convex lens, having observed his great delight on seeing the effect of the sun's rays through it, which I had before repeatedly tried on gunpowder,

and the cotton clothes of some of his attendants. We afterwards took our leave with great, and, I trust, mutual regret, not knowing whether we should meet again before our departure, which we had fixed for an early hour in the morning.

“ The kind attentions which we received from the Ras during our stay at Antalow, must ever make me remember him with respect and esteem; yet I do not consider him as a man of any great ability. He gained his power by cunning, rather than by strength of character; and though not remarkably brave, maintains himself in his high station by a dexterous management of parties. But to accomplish this, he sacrifices in a great degree the importance of his command; for to conciliate a chief, he will often remit a portion of his tribute. His power, notwithstanding, is very great, and the district immediately under his rule is very extended, comprehending, the whole of that part of Abyssinia which is to the eastward of the Tacazza, and which includes the provinces of Siré, Tigré Enderta, of which Antalow is the capital, Upper and Lower Buré, and the whole of the Midré Bahar, or district bordering on the Sea.

“ After the cruel administration of Michael Suhul, the mild government of the present Ras is most grateful to the Tigrians; and from the number of matchlocks in this district, it always has held, and is still likely to keep up a superiority over the more remote provinces of the empire. I had no means of judging of the population, except from the land being cultivated wherever it admitted of it, and from the number of the troops assembled at the review, which certainly exceeded ten thousand. More than double this number I understood, could be assembled in time of war.



“During the rainy season, from May to October, the Ras resides at Antalow. I do not exactly know what induced him to make choice of this place in preference to Adowa, but it appears to me ill calculated for a capital, as water is only to be procured at a considerable distance from the dwelling houses, and there is not a single agreeable spot in the neighbourhood for a residence. It is also very difficult of access; but this objection which, in more secure states, would be a great inconvenience, is perhaps the very circumstance which gives a peculiar value to the situation, as it forms a barrier against the incursions of the Galla.

“A good deal of attention is paid to ceremony at Antalow. Most of those who come into the presence of the Ras uncover themselves to the waist; others expose only the breast, and afterwards replace their garments. Mussulmauns are permitted to appear before him with their heads covered, as also the priests, and some few of the Christian chiefs. All mechanics, or people employed in business, such as cooking, &c. wear a cloth about their heads. No one in public addresses the Ras without rising from the ground, and uncovering to the waist; but, after the first address, they are often permitted to speak sitting. This does not hold good, however, in their private parties, where they are all huddled together on the ground in a most happy equality. Equals salute each other by kissing whenever they meet, and repeat their compliments over and over again like their neighbours the Arabs. With all their freedom, they are scrupulous observers of the laws of good breeding established among themselves, and are particularly attentive to their friends, especially at meals, where they make it a point to feed each other. The Ras wears a small piece of the finest cloth upon his head, and

has always six or seven slaves in attendance, one of whom brushes the flies away with a choury made of cow's tail; the business of another is to replace his garment, when it falls down from off his shoulders, unless the minister should be present, to whom this office then devolves. All ranks appeared to stand in great awe of his authority, except a few favourite slaves, who seemed to be perfectly at their ease; among them were two blacks from Sennaar, who had the broad Negro features, and whose hair, the Ras once observed, was like black pepper.

“In the decision of causes, which ever party may be in the wrong it generally turns to the advantage of the Ras, who decides the matter. The parties begin by denying each other's statement: one then proceeds to say, that if he is found in the wrong he will forfeit to the judge a quantity of salt, a mule, slaves or gold, or whatever the other may be willing to stake upon his veracity. The other having agreed to a fixed penalty, the cause is put off until farther evidence is brought, when the party in the wrong is convicted and punished, only by the loss of what he had voluntarily pledged himself to risk: they then kiss the ground three times, and retire.

“I was informed that land descends by inheritance from father to son, and if there is no son, to the brother; but that all the children and relations have a claim to a maintenance. In default of kindred, people often make over their land to a friend to be sold; half the produce going to the poor, and half to the priests. The Ras never thinks of removing any chief, or of interfering with him, so long as the established tribute is paid. There are many of his relations, to whom he has granted land free of all rent, among whom are Barrambarras Toklu, and Basha Guebra Eyatt. I en-

quired, if there should be another Ras, whether they would be compelled to pay tribute? to which I was answered, no! they will plead not having paid it to the former.

“Great men take as many wives as they please; but it is difficult to get rid of them, owing to their connections, who always resent any affront offered to the women. Shum Woldo, in particular, had forty wives, and left behind him upwards of one hundred children. Having divorced one of his wives, her father made strong remonstrances on the subject, and repeating this too often, the haughty Shum's temper was at last so much enraged, that he made an attempt in his anger to kill the old man, by firing a matchlock at him. Marriages are very easily made up; the parties go to any friend's house, and there enter into an engagement with each other, without the presence of a priest being necessary.

“So far from enjoying a free intercourse with the males, as is asserted by Mr. Bruce, it is certain that the married women are watched with some caution by their husbands, and even occasionally secluded from male society, as in the case of Ozoro Mantwaub. So alive is the Ras to the feelings of jealousy, that he has never acknowledged his only son, a child about three years old, in consequence of a suspicion of its mother's fidelity. Mr. Bruce has been equally incorrect in stating that bastards, or the offspring of a connection between the master and a domestic servant, can inherit the father's property. They are, in fact, considered as little better than menials, except that they are not obliged to work. They are savage in their treatment of children, yet respectful towards women, whom nevertheless they, in our opinion, treat with little regard to decency in their conversation; but the gross and disgusting scenes which



Mr. Bruce describes as following a brinde feast, I firmly believe existed only in his own imagination. His account of the flesh cut out of living animals was repeatedly enquired into by our party; all to whom we spoke, denied its ever being done. Raw flesh had been observed by all travellers, before Mr. Bruce, as the common food of the Abyssinians, but Mr. Bruce makes no distinction between the two, or rather wishes to confound them together, that he may seem to have the countenance of Poncet and the Jesuits; but none of them ever mentioned the eating of flesh stripped from a living animal, though Mr. Bruce is impudent enough to say that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even priests, throughout all the country. The feast given by the Ras on the grand review of his troops, at which we were present, was a most convincing proof to the contrary.

“Calves and lambs are not eaten; but I doubt if this be not done from the prudential motive of keeping up the stock of cattle, the consumption of which is enormous. Wild-fowl is also a prohibited article, which seems to be the adoption of a Jewish custom. Hogs are not kept tame; but in opposition to the Jews, they seem to have no objection to them wild; a quarter was presented to Captain Rudland while residing with the Ras at Muccullah. With Mussulmauns they will neither eat, drink, nor smoke, but have no objection to do so with strangers, when convinced that they are Christians. They are least particular with respect to drinking, as I have repeatedly seen them drink out of the same cup. The Mussulmauns will eat of the bread and fish from the Ras's table, and even in his presence. The higher orders are extremely regular in attending to the established fast days, which take up one third of the year, but

this does not hold good with the lower class, who devour, rather than eat, whatever they can get, at all times. They are charitable in assisting the distressed; our servants often saved bread to give to beggars, which at the time that we returned from Adowa, were very numerous, sitting by the highway. Even to dogs they are humane, though they dislike them, permitting them to have free access to their houses.

“ We had several strong instances of their honesty to us, which might however have been caused by fear; for we witnessed many instances of their roguery, in attempting to convey away articles belonging to the houses we stopped at. They are also exceedingly suspicious of each other; which pretty strongly proves that the lower classes are addicted to pilfering. All are eager for presents, which they frequently rather demand than request.

“ When I found that I must give up all hopes of penetrating beyond the Tacazza, I took every occasion to make enquiries of such persons as were likely to give me any intelligence respecting the Nile. Their accounts generally agreed with each other; but it appeared to me that they spoke from what they had heard, and not from personal knowledge. Its situation near the village of Geesh; the marshiness of the plain, the elevation of the spot whence it flows above the surrounding country, its circuit from Gojam, its course being distinguishable through the lake Dembea, were points familiar to them all; but they differed considerably as to the number of fountains from which it springs, some speaking of three, others of four, and one person of five; but this, they said, depended on the seasons; for if much rain fell, the accumulation of water would force open fresh passages. Hadjee Hamed had been

half way there when sent by the Iteghé to recover Mr. Bruce's lost property when he first attempted to visit the sources of the Nile; but he confessed that he had no curiosity to go on; and like all the others whom I had spoken to on the subject, appeared to attach some degree of mystery to Yagoub's anxiety, about what appeared to them all so uninteresting.

“ Both Christians and Mussulmauns spoke in high terms of the magnificence of Gondar, and the splendour of the court when the King and Ras were together; but as the scale of their ideas was extremely different from our own, it was difficult to estimate rightly their assertions. From their flattering account of Adowa, I was completely deceived until I reached that place; and I should suspect, that a visit to Gondar would be productive of the same disappointment. The town has neither wall nor fortification. The principal building is the palace, to which are attached four churches, one at each corner. In the rest of the town it is said there are no less than forty-two. For the comparative splendour of these buildings they are indebted to the Portugueze, who erected them during the continuance of their power, and have left them as models for the artizans of the present time. The want of wood, and the difficulty of procuring stone, have rendered the little science which still glimmers in the country almost useless, for they are ignorant of the art of making brick. A few Greek artizans are generally to be found in the country, but they are little better than the native workmen. The roofing of the houses and the neatness of the thatching are most to be admired, but this is entirely done by the Falasha, or Jews.

“ The Royal family are no longer confined to the mountains of Wechné, or Way-gne; this custom having been abolished some



years ago. They are now living dependent on the chiefs of the different provinces.

“ The charming Ozoro Esther is dead, but a daughter of her's is living at Gondar. Tecla Mariam, her companion, the beautiful daughter of the secretary of that name, Ayto Aylo, Ayto Confu, and most of the other friends of Mr. Bruce, are also no more; but the families of the two last are living at the capital in considerable splendour.

“ The manufactures of Abyssinia are but of trifling importance. They have the cotton plant in many parts, particularly around Adowa; but they are unacquainted with the method of separating the cotton from the seed, and therefore import it from India, in a state fit for working up into their dresses. Coarse carpets are made in Samen, and at Gondar, from the wool and hair of the sheep and goats, which are dyed red, and light blue; the former from a tree called Haddie, the latter from a plant resembling Indigofera. They also procure a yellow dye from the Mocmoco, and a black from an earth: they have no dark blue.

“ Knives are made at Adowa, spears and razors at Antalow; the iron they procure from Sennaar and Walkayt, a district about six days journey from Adowa, and also from Berbera, between which place and Gondar a considerable trade is carried on; the Abyssinians carrying with them ivory, slaves, and horses, and bringing back iron, cotton, and India goods: the latter make their way to Ras-el-Feel, where the kafilas from Sennaar halt and make their purchases. The profit the Abyssinians receive is supposed to be one hundred per cent. on these articles, which have before been loaded to at least an equal amount either at Mocha or Aden. Kafilas

travel between Darfur, Funge, and Gondar ; but I was not able to obtain any accurate information of the different articles in which they trade.

“ The revolutions in Abyssinia have been still more frequent since the departure of Mr. Bruce, whose history is in general accurate. The following short sketch may be found not uninteresting : it was received from Ligrantur Metcha, a priest of some rank, having married Ozoro Brelhé, daughter of Sultan Hannes, and who was sent to me by the Ras, as being well acquainted with the recent changes in Abyssinia.

“ Yasous the Second reigned twenty-five years, which agrees exactly with Bruce’s account.

“ Joas succeeded him, and reigned fourteen years. The character of this prince, the events of his reign, and his assassination by Ras Michael Suhul, as related by Bruce, were all confirmed by the testimony of my informant. To Joas succeeded Hannes, who after a reign of only five months died of disease, and not of poison, as stated by Bruce.

“ Tecla Haimanout, son of Hannes, a remarkably fair and handsome man, succeeded to the throne. He was greatly attached to Ras Michael Suhul, who, during his reign, was often in a state of open hostility with Fasil of Gojam, whom he beat at the battle of Fagitta ; a short time after which, as Ligrantur Metcha remembered, Bruce came into the country. A powerful party was formed against Ras Michael, and Gusho was made Ras ; upon which the old warrior retired to his province of Tigré, to the government of which Keffa Yasous never was considered as having a title. After reigning eight years, Tecla Haimanout was driven from his throne by Wordo

Wossan (Powussen), and soon after died in retirement at Waldubba, leaving one son, Welleta Solomon. It is singular that the dethronement of this king should have happened through Powussen, in exact conformity with the remarkable prediction recorded by Bruce in his account of the black eagle.

“ Upon this vacancy, Ayto Solomon, in no way related to his predecessor, succeeded to the throne. This king was a son of Ayto Edayut, and was supported by the forces of Begemder and Gojam, headed by Powussen and Ras Ayto. The reign of this prince continued only two years, and upon his death Tecla Georgis, brother of Tecla Haimanout, was raised to the sovereign authority by Confu Adam and Ras Ayto, who then commanded the provinces of Gojam, Maitsha, the Agows, and Damot. In the second year of this reign died Ras Michael Suhul, at Adowa, in the eighty-eighth year of his age (A. D. 1780) and was succeeded in the government of Tigré by Welleta Gabriel, his son. Tecla Georgis having reigned only five years, was dethroned, and after wandering about the country for several years, at length retired to the mountain of Waldubba, where he still continues. To him succeeded Yasous the Third, who was raised to the supreme power by Ras Ayto. The new king died of the small-pox, after reigning four years, and was succeeded by Beda Marian, through the united interests of Ras Ayto and Degashie Welleta Gabriel, Governor of Tigré, the latter of whom soon after died at the age of thirty-two, being slain in battle by Ras Ally, of Begemder.

“ After a reign of two years Yasous was dethroned by Ras Ally, Governor of Begemder, supported by the Edjow Galla; upon which he retired to Samen, and still lives there under the protection of



Ras Gabriel, governor of that province. His successor was Ayto Ischias, son of the last Sultan Yasous, who after having enjoyed the sovereignty for six years, was dethroned by Ras Merrid, son of Ayto of Gojam, and obliged to fly from his capital; but (since the accession of his son) he has returned, and is now alive at Gondar. Ras Wellela Selassé, in conjunction with Merrid, raised Ayto Solomon, son of Tecla Haimanout, to the throne; he was not, however, able long to hold the situation, though supported by Tigré, for after two years he was dethroned, and fled for protection to Ras Wellela Selassé, and is now living at Axum.

“ The province of Begemder now gained the superiority, and Ras Iserat of that province placed Ayto Iunus on the throne; he had reigned however only three months, when Guxo, chief of the Edjow Galla, and son of Guanguê mentioned by Bruce, removed him, and placed Ayto Edimo, brother of Tecla Georgis, on the throne. Iunus fled to Lasta, and now lives under the protection of the governor of that province. Ayto Edimo lived but two years afterwards, and was succeeded by Ayto Gualoo, the present King, who likewise was set on the throne by Guxo, the latter having ever since maintained considerable power at Gondar.

“ The preceding narrative is probably true, as it agrees with the circumstances of the country; and the period of the several reigns, taken together, exactly coincides with the time that has elapsed since the days of Joas the First.

“ Wellela Gabriel commanded in Tigré eight years, after which Guebra Mascal was appointed by Tecla Georgis; but the latter had scarcely taken possession of his province, when he was attacked by Wellela Selassé, then commanding in Enderta, who seized his person,

and after keeping him some time in confinement, gave him a village, where he died a few months ago.

“ Welleta Selassé has ever since commanded in Tigré, and was made Ras about seven years ago, at the accession of Ayto Edeneo, whom he was principally instrumental in raising to the throne.

“ He has during his command in Tigré been engaged in several contests : an account of some of these I give, as extracted at Axum, from the chronicles of this period.

“ Fourteen years ago the present Ras marched through the province of Tigré, which was in a state of rebellion, almost to the borders of Samhar : it was at the time of harvest, and he destroyed the whole country before him ; he cut off the heads of all the chiefs in rebellion, and the inferior subjects he sold as slaves. After his return, he gave his niece in marriage to Fit Aurari Zogo, on which there were great rejoicings : he afterwards paid a visit to Axum, to make his peace with God, attended by a great assemblage of warriors. He then carried the war into the province of Sire, where a general alarm spread among the inhabitants ; and not even the strongest holds were able to resist his power, for he carried destruction before him wherever he went ; never was there such a hero known since the the time of Fogara Yasous.

“ After this he crossed the Tacazza, went into Samen, made an alliance with Ras Gabriel, and staid three days feasting in his capital. Being joined by Ras Gabriel, he attacked the provinces of Walkayt, Gojam, and Begemder, then governed by Ras Ayto and Aguldon Welled Gabriel, brother of Ras Israel. He dispossessed the chiefs of their power, and obliged them to fly from their provinces : they sought assistance from Hamed, then Nayib of Massowah, who

refused it on the plea, that "he was as much afraid of the Ras as they were." On this they went to the Ras, humbled themselves with stones on their necks, and consented to pay any tribute that he might demand. The Ras restored them to their commands; they afterwards drank out of the same cup, and were as brothers.

"Tusfarten, Baharnegash of the country lying between the Nayib's and Tigré, terrified at what was passing, came in with immense tribute, which he had long before neglected to pay. From this time presents were interchanged between Ras Gabriel of Samen and Ras Wellela Selassé, which it would seem were always in favour of the latter, for the former soon grew tired of the intercourse, and sent to Wellela Selassé, acquainting him that he might as well be subject to him, as be obliged to make presents equal to an annual tribute. On this Wellela Selassé collected his forces, crossed the Taczza, and marched against Gabriel, who had shut himself up in the strong hold of Amba-hai. There was but one pass known by which this hill was accessible; yet after a long siege the Ras overcame every difficulty, and got possession of the hill, which, to his great astonishment, he found deserted, Ras Gabriel having fled with all his people by a secret pass. The conqueror in his anger laid the whole place in ruins. Gabriel then sued for peace, and the Ras again put Amba-hai under his command, after having obliged the inhabitants to go over to Axum, and swear allegiance to his person. Before matters were settled, Gabriel had come towards Adowa with a stone on his neck, but was met on the road by Nebrida Aram, who brought him the good intelligence of the Ras's forgiveness. Presents of great value, consisting of a red tent, gold, muskets, &c. were made by Ras Gabriel on this occasion; and for some time



afterwards he never saw any of the Ras's people without treating them with great marks of respect and honour. These transactions happened in the year 1795 ; but the chiefs have been at war three times since. Every pacification, however, has been concluded in favour of Welleta Selassé, and they are at present on the best terms of friendship.

## CHAPTER V.

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### MR. SALT'S NARRATIVE CONTINUED.

Departure from Antalow.—Arrival at Axum.—Greek Inscription—Observations on it, and the Inscription preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes.—Departure from Axum.—Journey to Adowa.—Difficulties in arranging for the Journey to Massowah.—Visit to Gusmatie Ischias, Son of Ras Michael—Conversation with him respecting Bruce.—Other Communications on the same subject.—Account of the Serawé.—Arrival at Dixan.

## CHAPTER VI.

" OCTOBER 10.—WE were much astonished at not hearing any thing of the mules or baggage till nearly eight o'clock, when at last Guebra Selassé came, and there began to be something like the appearance of preparation; many difficulties were however started about the quantity of the baggage, and the number of mules required, and it was twelve before every thing could be arranged satisfactorily.

" We then went to the Ras, and paid him our compliments for all his kind attention to us; when I took this last opportunity of again recommending Pearce to his protection, as his own guest, and our countryman. This he most feelingly promised. Our parting was an unpleasant moment to us all: the Ras, himself, was much affected, and could not speak at the time he took us by the hands.

" As our road lay over the ground which we had twice passed before, there remained nothing particular to be observed; the vegetation was getting brown, the corn fast ripening, and the soil was in part turned to a fine dust, which indicated approaching heat.

" We travelled only a short distance, and stopped at the village of Fiana, commanded by Ayto Guebra, who had been sent forward by the Ras from Antalow to prepare accommodations for us. We were soon overtaken by our guide, Guebra Selassé, who had the



charge of our cattle, which formed a considerable drove; the Ras having given us nine bullocks and ten sheep, that we might be secure of provisions on the road.

"October 11.—We were detained some time in the morning by the loss of one of our mules, which had strayed away in the night, and while waiting, we took for breakfast some bread, milk, and boiled mutton, the remainder of a sheep that was presented us by the master of the village on the evening before. After passing the brook at the bottom of the hill, we turned off to the left, out of the road by which we had before gone to Muccullah, and ascending a hill, we came into the plain of Jambela, by almost imperceptible descents, and halted by the side of a clear pool of water, under a momunna\* tree, which, though scarcely in leaf, afforded a most excellent shelter. A little before us was the village of Debre, which we afterwards passed on the right, and about two miles beyond came to Neguida, where we were to rest for the night. In the course of the day we saw a profusion of the white jasmine in flower, the blossoms of which differed in the number of segments of the corolla, which varied from four to six. Though part of the corn was gathered, and the greater part of the remainder nearly ripe, yet there were but few of the inhabitants ploughing, or rather, as Captain Rudland said, disturbing the stones; for the ground was here at least in three parts out of four covered with them. Soon after our arrival we were joined by our baggage: the master of the house presented us with a bullock, and brought a small quantity of maize, and two hundred and fifty cakes of bread. Our party was at this time so large, that I was obliged to make a considerable addition to this

\* A large species of Mimosa.

allowance to my attendants, for their immediate consumption. The bullock might indeed have been enough; but as the greater part of my bearers were Christians, they would not eat what the Mussulmauns killed, nor would the rest, who were Mussulmauns, eat what the Christians had killed, which often put me to great inconvenience in providing for them both. I had, in all, about thirty in number, besides my own party. The master of the house was named Ayto Rossie; his son was the handsomest and fairest man whom we had seen in the country; he married a daughter of Fit Aurari Yasous.

“ October 12.—We left Neguida soon after sun rise, and passing through a country in great part covered with brushwood, came at length by a long though gradual descent, into a vale, through which runs the stream of Gibbé, on the banks of which we halted about a mile and a half below the Ras's deserted mansion. Our road then lay over a hill to the east of the narrow valley, which brought us in a direct line to the church of St. Michael, on the top of the hill where I before parted from Shelika Welleta Raphael. Here we found a copious spring of water flowing from the summit through a small aqueduct, constructed with little art by the inhabitants. This spot is on all sides surrounded with trees and shrubs, so as to form altogether a beautiful retreat. Hence we travelled partly over the old road to Atbara, a wretched village belonging to Basha Toclum Shum, of the district of Giralta. This chief had sent no orders from Antalow that we should be supplied with provision, we therefore got only two goats and one hundred loaves of bread, and were obliged to kill for our people one of our own bullocks.

“ October 13.—We left the Basha's residence with much satis-

faction, being happy to quit so inhospitable a village. We passed over the same ground as before, and descended the pass of Atbara. We had just before observed to the right some ruined houses, or rather caves, dug out in the perpendicular side of a high projecting rock, near the bottom of the ascent : we saw a few monkeys of the same species as those brought about the streets of Mocha ; and two Abba Gumbas, seated in state on the branch of a wide spreading tree.

“ Vegetation seems to be remarkably quick in its progress here ; for several trees, which were just blooming when we passed before, were now covered with seed nearly ripe. On entering the plain, we turned off immediately to the left, and proceeded almost a mile to the village of Maquarea, built partly on some huge masses of rock that have fallen from the mountains above, and partly under the ledges of the mountain itself. There are a few large Daroo trees immediately below, and a spring of water issuing from under one of them. The houses are all very small, and it appears upon the whole a wretched place, though built in a wild and romantic situation. It is in the district of Tembra, now under Barrambaras Tokla, who, it may be observed, is no relation to the Shum of Giralta.

“ We obtained from this village two hundred cakes of bread and two goats. In the evening I received a message from Basha Abdallah, informing me of his arrival in the neighbourhood, and that he should be glad to proceed on with us to-morrow. I sent back a proper answer, and a present of a cow.

October 14.—We left the village of Maquarea at an early hour, by which our opportunities of shooting were greatly increased, as



the birds always retire to the trees for shelter soon after sunrise. Having passed through the valley of Gullibuddah, we arrived at the river, on the bank of which we had before halted. There we found Basha Abdallah, who received us with much attention, and provided us with some hot bread and maize. Afterwards we passed over a ridge of high ground into the district of Tsai, and turning a little to the left of our old path, proceeded to the mansion of Ayto Ischias, the chief of the district. To the east of this place, and about nine miles distant, is the strong hill of Amba Harimat. On this hill Deghaie Welleta Gabriel killed, a few years ago, with his own hand, Deghaie Welleta Raphael, grandson of Belletana Gueta Toclū, of Adowa, who had occupied it as an impregnable post. Here also Debib of Negashe, Deghaie Toclū, Shum of the district of Giralta, and Ayto Rossie, resisted all the power of Welleta Selassé, after he had subdued the rest of the province (seventeen years ago), so long and successfully, that he was compelled at last to grant them their own terms. To the north are the villages of Nebitot and Toorbo, given by the Ras to Gusmatie Guebra Michael, after he had driven him from his command of the province of Tigré. He is said to have died here, much regretted, about a year ago.

“The master of the mansion being absent, we received a cow from his lady, who in the course of the day sent a message to Captain Rudland, requesting his company.

“October 15.—We set out at an early hour, and passed over a wild country, thickly covered with brushwood, till, after descending a steep pass, we entered the plain where, in my former journey, we had seen the black eagle. We took some refreshment by the side of the brook, and then wandered about in search of birds, but

met with none that were new to us, excepting a kingfisher, or a bird much resembling it.

“Hence we turned off rather more to the west than we had formerly done, leaving Ounah Samuel on our right, as also the mansion of Basha Guebra Eyut, and proceeded to the valley of Damo, in which was situated the house of a son of Gusmatie Ischias, and grandson of Ras Michael, to whom we had already been introduced by the Ras at Antalow. We found the master of the place particularly agreeable, and willing to accommodate us in every respect; he spoke with pride of his grandfather, yet owned that he did not regard the lives of his subjects. He was accompanied by his cousin, the son of Deghaie Gabriel, whom I before saw at Adowa, who was now humbled at the farther end of the room; and, after we had taken our repast, was happy to make with his body a footstool for his cousin. Gusmatie Ischias's two wives were also present, one old, and the other young, fair, and handsome. Hamed Chamie declared, at first sight, that she would bring in Arabia one hundred and fifty dollars. There were other ladies present, particularly the young and beautiful wife of Nebrid Aram: they were all in high spirits, and by their agreeable conversation made the evening pass away very pleasantly.


“October 16.—We parted from our kind host at an early hour, and proceeded on our journey. It is remarkable that the Ras permits this chief's father to keep the title of Gusmatie, or Governor, of Tigré, of which all his family are not a little proud.

“The road this day brought us into our old path near the village of Occabessa, whence we again turned off westward over the mountain of Adowa; for it seldom if ever happens, as far as I have ob-

served, that the Abyssinians travel twice over the same road, each person following the path that appears to him most convenient; all being alike good, or rather, properly speaking, bad.

“On our arrival at Adowa, we found the house in which I had before slept so filled with fleas, that no person would venture to stay in it; in consequence, we were under the necessity of adjourning to one of the haunted apartments. Provisions were soon after sent us by Basha Abdallah, who himself paid us a visit in person; as also did several of the principal men of the place. The remainder of the day we passed in a jovial way, leaving all our business for the morrow.

“October 17.—We went at an early hour in the morning, according to promise, to visit Basha Abdalla, much against the wish of our guide, who did not approve, in the least, of any Arabic conversation. The Basha treated us with great attention, having a curry and maize in readiness for us; and we gained, during our visit, much interesting intelligence, there being present an old man, at that time in the service of Yannes, who went hence with Bruce to Gondar, and several other persons well acquainted with the transactions of the last thirty-five years. They agreed in telling us, that Bruce passed four months at Adowa; that he did not speak the language of Tigré, but afterwards made himself in part acquainted with the Amharic; that he was two years at Gondar, and visited the source of the Nile, and was robbed of his books and instruments; that two of the battles of Serbraxos were fought some time (two years) before he came into the country, and that a third engagement took place afterwards at the same spot, at which, however, Bruce was not present, as he never went out to war, and





at the particular time alluded to was actually at Gondar; that the king gave him a house, but no land, command, or employ, during his stay in the country; that he was a good horseman, and used to shoot from his saddle; that he had two interpreters, Michael, and Georgis, of whom one spoke Greek, and the other wrote Arabic; and that when he was at Adowa, he resided in the house of Yannes, who sent fifteen mules for him down to Dixan.

“ I was also confirmed in a fact, that I had lately heard, but had hesitated to commit to paper, from a doubt of its truth :—After Ras Michael Suhul's disgrace at Gondar, Kefla Yasous was appointed to the province of Tigré, of which he took possession accordingly. Soon afterwards Ras Michael gained his liberty, marched directly into the province, where his party was still very strong, and with little resistance reinstated himself in his command. Kefla Yasous falling into his hands, he first made him pay five hundred wakeas of gold; and not satisfied with this, caused both his eyes to be plucked out, and his hands and feet to be cut off, and in this condition exposed him in the court yard of the house at Adowa to the sun by day, and the rain and cold by night; no one was permitted, on pain of death, to give him a mouthful of water: and yet in this horrible state he remained for a space of nearly two days before he died.

“ Gusmatie Ischias was bold enough to object to this act of cruelty in his grandfather; and this protest has since, perhaps, been the means of saving himself and the residue of his family. It is said that the present Ras was appointed to the government, as a compensation for the death of his father.

“ It is singular, that though we passed three months in the

country, we never heard the subject hinted at before we last left Antalow by any person whatever; nor could we ever learn what had become of the Ras's father. After our return from the Basha's we had a visit from the Negeda Ras's, or head-men of the town, who brought us a sheep, curry, bread, maize, boosa, and a pumpkin.

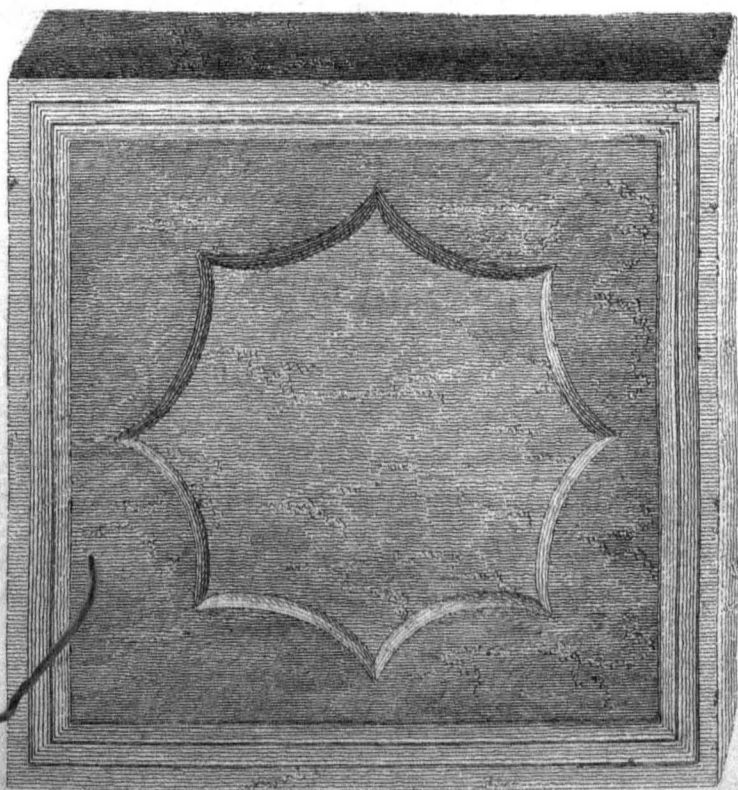
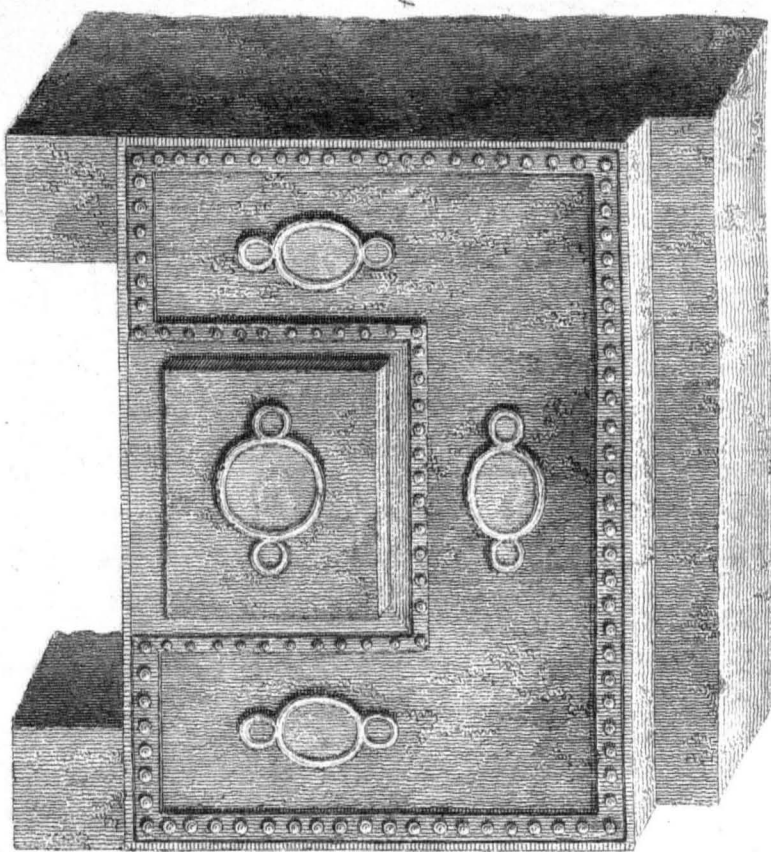
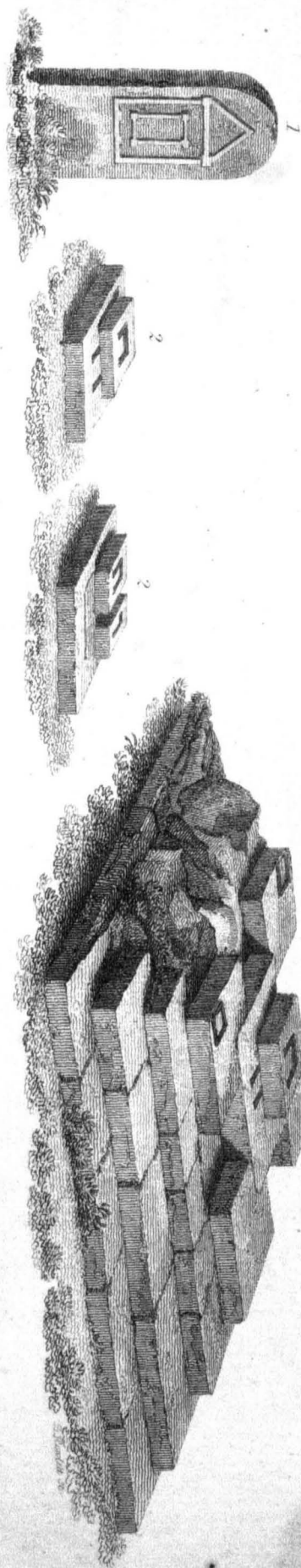
"After leaving orders with Hamed Chamie to buy mules for us, and hire more for our baggage, &c. we determined to proceed to Axum on the morrow, which, however, I could not finally arrange without having a dispute with our guide. The evening passed very pleasantly, as we were at a place where we could procure, for money, whatever the country produced.

"October 18.—We left Adowa about eight o'clock, and proceeded to Axum by the same road that we had travelled on our former return thence; the path lies through the plain, and is much incommoded with stones, as are also the cultivated lands around, the inhabitants never troubling themselves, as I have before mentioned, about removing any such incumbrances. On our arrival opposite the eastern hill of Axum we dismounted from our mules, for the purpose of examining more closely into the nature of the stone composing this hill, and also the better to survey the ancient remains in its vicinity.

"After taking a view of the obelisk that is still standing, of which a drawing has been given, we proceeded again to the church, re-examined all the pedestals, the square inclosure, and the slab, on which we found no trace of an inscription, except the short Ethiopic one before mentioned; and we were all of us satisfied that there never had been any other. The stone of the slab is of the same grey granite as all the other remains. We were then conducted to the

mansion in which we had before taken up our residence. I now made many enquiries after another stone with writing upon it, telling them that I was well informed there was a second, like the one which I had before copied. All the people present assured me that there was no other, except some boys, who said they would go and show me one. As I was determined to procure every possible information on the subject, I went out, accompanied by Captain Rudland, to a spot about three furlongs south-west of the obelisk: here we found large stones of granite regularly cut, piled two and two, and placed at regular distances (as in the plate of the ruins of Axum marked A), which evidently appear to have formed part of the foundation of some ancient edifice. About two hundred yards south of this, in an inclosure of one of the houses, we were shewn the entrance, as it appeared to me, of some subterraneous building, completely filled up; at least the upper stones are now on a level with the earth. These stones are very regularly laid (as may be seen in the drawing of them marked B, in the plate above referred to), and kept at exact intervals from each other by loose stones, at least so they appear externally; three hundred yards from these are others not so regularly laid (as C of the same plate); but on none of these did we meet with even the least appearance of any inscription, and were glad to return to our habitation, having kept fast hitherto during the day. I also made very strict enquiries among the priests on this subject, but wholly without success; all of them agreeing that they never heard of any other inscription than that which I had already copied. While our meal was preparing, we went down to the church-yard, where I took a sketch of all those pedestals and altars remaining which I had not before drawn, and corrected my former observations; in





ΑΕΙΖΑΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΕΥ(ΑΖΩ)ΜΙΤΩΝ ΚΑ  
ΟΜΗΡΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΡΑΕΙΔΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΙ Ε  
ΟΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΒΑΕΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΙΛΕΗ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ Τ.ΙΑΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΓΑΕΙΤΩΝ Κ.ΤΟ  
ΚΑΘΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΕΩΣ ΑΤΑΚΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΩΝ  
ΚΑΤΑΚΑΙΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΟΥΓΑΕΙ  
ΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΤΙΛΑΜΕΝΤΟΥΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΥΣ  
ΛΔΕΛΦΟΥΣ· (ΑΙ) ΑΖΑΝΑ Κ ΤΟΝ ΑΔΗΦΑΙ  
ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΗΣ· ΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΔΩ  
ΚΟΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΑ ΖΑΝΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ  
ΗΓΑΓΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΑΣ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΡΕ  
ΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΒΩΝΤΕΣ ΕΡΙΒ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟ  
ΒΑΤΩΝ· ΕΚΔ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΗΝΩΝ ΝΩΤΟΦΟΡΟΥ  
ΘΡΕΨΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ· ΒΟΗΣΙΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΙΤ  
ΜΩΝΝΩΝ ΠΟΤΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΖΥΤΩΤΕ  
ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΥΔΡΕΥΜΑΣΙΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΙΣΧΟΡ  
ΤΑΣΙΑΝ ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΗΣ· ΑΝΤΟΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛ  
ΚΟΙΕΣ ΣΥΝ ΤΩ ΟΧΛΩ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ ΔΥΕ  
ΝΩΝ ΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΑΡ  
ΤΟΥΣ ΣΙΤΙΝΟΥΣ· ΕΒΒ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΕΠΙΜΗΝΑ Ε  
ΥΑΧΡΕΙΣ ΟΥ ΑΓΑΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΗΜΑΣ Ι  
ΟΥΣ ΟΥΝ ΔΩΡΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΕΠΙ  
ΗΔΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΦΙΑΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΟΙΚΗΣΑΝ Ι  
ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΙΣΤΙΝΑ ΤΟ ΠΟΝΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ Χ  
ΡΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΝ ΜΑΤΙΑ ΚΕΚΕΔΕΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΑΥ  
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ΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΙΓΕΝΝΗΣ ΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΗΣ ΥΑΡ  
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΡΙΑΝΤΑ ΧΡΥΣΟΥ· ΑΚΑΡΤ  
ΡΑΙΘΝΕΝΑ Κ· ΧΑΛΚΟΥΣ Γ ΕΤΤ ΑΓΑΘΩ



which, however, I was glad to find that I had little alteration to make.

" We again searched more accurately for Bruce's inscription; but nothing like it was to be found. After dinner we proceeded to the obelisks, measuring and examining all of them, beginning with the westernmost one. There are seven large ones, as we now discovered, all ornamented nearly in the same manner as the one now standing; the smallest is thirty-six feet long, but the dimensions of the largest considerably exceed the erect one. Behind these is another small fallen one, which has almost completely buried itself, on which a shield is sculptured. It was dark by the time we returned.

" October 19.—We proceeded at day break to the inscription, and examined it letter by letter, Captain Rudland having one of my copies in his hand, and Mr. Carter another, which they corrected as I read it over. We found at the bottom of the stone several more letters than we had at first been able to trace, but not an entire line; and it now appeared that we had the whole of the inscription.

" For the purpose of elucidating the contents of this inscription, a copy of it is given, etched by myself, in which I have endeavoured, as far as was practicable, to give the precise form of each of the letters, several of which, from the effects of time, were dubious. Many errors of course occurred; but these have proceeded almost entirely from the similarity of some of the Greek characters, used in the inscription, to each other, as alpha (A) and (Λ) lambda, epsilon (E) and (Σ) sigma, gamma (Γ) and rho (P), kappa (K) and beta (B), delta (Δ) and lambda (Λ), omicron (O) and (Θ) theta. All these difficulties I have been fortunate enough, by attention to the sub-



ject, and the assistance of several friends, to clear up; and at present, Dr. Vincent, who most kindly has given me every assistance in his power, considers the whole inscription, with the exception of one passage, as perfect.

“For the following copy of the inscription in modern Greek characters, together with the notes, I am indebted to Dr. Vincent.

- 1 Αειζανας Βασιλευς Αξωμειτων και
- 2 Ομηριτων και τε Ραειδαν και Αιθι-
- 3 οπων και Σαβαιοιτων και τε Σιλην
- 4 και τε Τιμω και Βεγαειτων και τε
- 5 Κας Βασιλευς Βασιλεων υιος Θεο
- 6 ανικητε Αρεως Ατακτησαντων
- 7 κατα καιρον τε εθνες των Βεραει-
- 8 των απεσειλαμεν<sup>1</sup> τες ημετερους
- 9 αδελφες Σαιαζανα και τον Αδηφαν
- 10 τετες πολεμησαι και παραδεδω-
- 11 κωτων αυτων υποταξαντες αυτες
- 12 ηγαγον προς ημας, μετα και των θρεμ-
- 13 ματων αυτων βοωντε. \* \* \* \* και προ-
- 14 βατων \* \* \* \* και κτηνων νωτοφορων
- 15 θρεψαντες αυτες βοεσιντε<sup>2</sup> και επισιτ-
- 16 μω ανων<sup>3</sup> ποτιζοντες αυτες ζυτωτε<sup>4</sup>
- 17 και οινω και υδρευμασιν παντα<sup>5</sup> εις χορ-
- 18 τασιαν· οιτινες ησαν τον αριθμον βασιλισ
- 19 ποι εξ συν τω οχλω αυτων τον αριθμον \* \* \* \*<sup>6</sup>
- 20 νωννευομενοι<sup>7</sup> καθ εκαστην ημεραν αρ-
- 21 τες σιτινες \* \* \* \* και οινον.<sup>†</sup> επι μηναις.

Where this mark \* occurs the reader will refer to the original.

† This reading was suggested by the Dean of Litchfield.

- 22 Αχρεισ<sup>8</sup> ε αγαγυσιν αυτες προς ημας  
 23 τες<sup>9</sup> ουν δωρησασμενοι αυτοις παντα τα επ  
 24 ιτηδεα, και αμφισαντες μετοικησαν κ  
 25 κατεσθησαμεν εις τινα τοπον της ημετερης χω-  
 26 ρας καλεμενον Ματμακ. εκελευσαμεν αυ-  
 27 τες παλιν ανωννευσθαι παρασχομενοι  
 28 τοις εξ ασιν<sup>10</sup> βασιλειςκοις<sup>11</sup> \* \* \* βοας \* \* υπερδε  
 29 ευχαριστιας τε εμε γεννησαντος ανικητε Αρεως  
 30 ανεθηκε αυτω ανδριαντα χρυσεν ενα και αργυ  
 31 ραιον ενα και χαλκας \* επ' αγαθω.<sup>12</sup>

1 απεσιλομεν without the ε.

2 βοεσιντε to be Greek should be βεσιν.

3 Αννωνα is found in Meursius, but no verb from it ; it seems here contracted.

4 ζυτωτε should be ζυθω, bouza.

5 παντα agrees with nothing ; suppose we say παντα, the whole body, εις χορτασιαν, till they had abundance ; χορτασια signifies a supply of all sorts of provisions, but constantly with the idea of superabundance.

6 These and the other numerals are inexplicable.

7 ννωννευομενοι ; does νε in the preceding line belong to this word ?

I could almost think, that the engraver took the sound from the mouth of a Greek ; if so, it might be read ευ αννωννευομενοι,\* supplying them well ; but I had below interpreted αννωννευσθαι, passively ; both probably are deponent.

8 Αχρεισα may be the name of a place, or of a month.

\* ι is turned into δ in αμφισαντες infra.

- 9 τες; the first letter is imperfect in the inscription; by the context *εκεν*, *wherefore*, would be the proper sense, but the sigma seems perfect. τες with αυτοις is redundant.
- 10 ασιν is the only word I cannot make out, and the only one in which I suspect the copy of the inscription.
- 11 I read this βασιλεισκοις, the diminutive, in contemptuous opposition to βασιλευς, βασιλεων. ει is by the ear for ι.
- 12 επ' αγαθω, for the success already obtained, and in hopes of future protection. Our vulgarism, *for good luck sake*, is, I believe, precise.

The following is as correct a translation of the inscription, as I have been able to make, with the assistance of Dr. Vincent and other friends.

(We) Aeizanas sovereign of the Axomites and  
 Homerites and Rhæidan and the Æthi-  
 opians and Sabæites and of Silec  
 and of Tiamo and the Bougaetæ and To  
 Kaens king of kings son of God  
 the invincible Mars,—when the nation of the Bougaetæ  
 upon a particular occasion were in a state of insurrection  
 (We) sent our brothers  
 Saiazana and Adéphas  
 to conduct the war against them, and upon  
 their surrender, [my brothers] after subduing them  
 brought them to me, with their children and with their  
 oxen to the number of . . . . and their sheep  
 to the amount of . . and beasts bearing burthens on their backs



They maintained them with oxen  
 they supplied them with bread, they furnished  
 with beer and wine and water in abundance  
 The number of prisoners was six of royal rank  
 with the multitude that followed them to the amount of . . . .  
 the whole had prepared for them every day of wheaten bread  
 and wine for a very month\*  
 until the time that they brought the whole body to me  
 whom after supplying with all necessaries  
 and clothing, we compelled to  
 change their abode, and established them in my  
 own kingdom at a place called Mataia  
 here we ordered them to be again supplied  
 with bread, and furnished their six chiefs with . . . . oxen  
 In gratitude to him who begat me  
 I erected to him one statue of gold  
 and one of silver and three of brass, for good luck.

The commencement of the inscription completely baffled the  
 researches of the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, and several other  
 learned persons to whom it was shewn, till at length I was fortunate  
 enough to meet in Ludolf (vide his Commentaries, pages 59  
 and 232) with the Greek names of an Abyssinian king, and his  
 brother "Aizana et Sazan" which at once cleared away the difficulty,  
 and led me to the true reading, which undoubtedly ought  
 to run thus: *Αειζανα βασιλεως Αξωμιτων*, &c.. Aeizanas King of the

\* Or they brought them to me in the month Achreius; but such a month is not  
 known. Vincent.

Axomites. It will be seen, that in copying from the stone, I mistook the  $\epsilon$  for  $\kappa$ , and the  $\Lambda$  for A.

This discovery gives a particular value to the inscription, as it fixes, within a few years, the period when this monument was erected; for Aizana was king of Abyssinia, or rather of the Axomites, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantius, and there is a letter still extant in St. Athanasius (vide St. Athan. Apol. pages 693-6, Paris 1627\*) from that emperor to Aizana, at the time that he was reigning conjointly with his brother Saizana, who, it is to be observed in the ninth line of my inscription, is mentioned only as his brother and general. There is a slight variation in the spelling of both names, from that which is used by Athanasius, Aeizana being there Aizana, and Saiazana, Saizana; but this is so trifling, as to signify little, particularly as  $\epsilon$  is found redundant in other places in my inscription, as in  $\alpha\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  for  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$ , and  $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . The letter of Constantius was written in the year of our Lord 356, and the purport of it was to disgrace Frumentius, who had been appointed Bishop of Axum, and those sent out by Athanasius in the year 327.

If it were established as a fact, that the king himself, as well as the people, had at this time been converted, it would fix the date of the Axum inscription to about the year 327; for it could not have been much before, because when Frumentius left Axum for the purpose of being appointed, the king, we have reason to think, was scarcely out of his minority; and it could not be after, as had the king been a Christian, he would not have been styled Son of Mars. But this circumstance of the king's conversion is by no means

\* This letter is given in Appendix.

clearly made out; for though Baronius\* says, that Aizana and Sazana were "tunc Christianos," he had no authority for the assertion, except the single circumstance of the emperor's having addressed them as such, which is no proof of the fact; and, certainly, the very existence of this inscription, leads to great doubt on the question, as it is scarcely possible that on the king's conversion he would have permitted such a monument to remain. Besides that, if the Adulitic inscription were allowed to be erected by this king in his twenty-seventh year, which it appears to me there is good reason to suppose, it would be at once decisive against it. Therefore, though I venture to fix 330 to be about the period, it is impossible, I think, to ascertain the precise date.

The word *αξωμιτων* is conformable to what we find these people were, with little variation, styled by Greek and Latin authors,† and it is curious, that in their ancient books they called themselves Axumians, which circumstance I had from the priests at Axum.

After the first line, the inscription proceeds to enumerate Aizana's titles, *και των Ομηριτων*,‡ and of the Homerites. This is the first actual information that we have of the Abyssinians having, at so early a period, conquered any part of Arabia (*και του Ραιιδαν*),§ and of Raeidan. This was a district in Arabia, as appears from an obscure verse, extracted out of the poet Amriolkerius's works; it is quoted in a book called "Historia imperii vetutissimi Joctanidarum

\* Vide Bar. Eccle. Annales ad annum 356, n. 23.

† Vide Nonnosus, Procopius, and the Periplus.

‡ We have *Ομηριτω* in the Periplus.

§ Another instance of *ε* redundant.



in Arabia felice (published 1786 at Harderwick) of which the following Latin translation is there given.

Et Hainaha cujus opes occiderunt  
In Raidana, quum advenisset Occasus  
Is potentem reddidit incolam, et viam emunivit  
Ad Raidanam præcelsus gloria in accessus.

The Arabic word used is ريدان

Και Αιθιοπων και Σαβαιοτων και Σιλεα.

And of the Æthiopians, and the Sabeans, and of Zeyla.

Σαβαιοτων is a peculiar spelling, and is only to be found in the *Periplus*, where Σαβαιοται occurs, which had been considered as a corrupt reading. Σιλεα, I have no doubt, is Zeyla, which is an ancient (as well as modern) Arabic name of a port on the Abyssinian coast, as appears in the *Historia Joctanidarum* before quoted, page. 141, "Ad eum ("regnum Jemanæ) transfretarunt Habassii e regionibus Natza et Zeilaa," (زيلع) que litorales sunt Habassiae." This was about the fifth century. The same Zeila is in all modern charts.

Και του Τιαμω και Βεγαειτων

And of Tiamo; this I conceive to be the Tehama of Arabia; or, it may be the same place as the one mentioned by Cosmas in Tigré. The Bougaeites, I consider to be the Bogenses of Edrisi; I conceive the *g*, to have been pronounced soft like *j*; hence to be the same as the modern Beja tribe near Suakin. Τοκαει is the only name for which I have no conjecture to offer. The title of βασιλεως βασιλεων which follows, is most exactly conformable to Negus Negashi, or King of Kings, which the Abyssinians assume to this day.

"The υιος θεου ανικετα Αρεως, which winds up the title, in imitation of

the Greek Kings, is extremely curious, and, as well as the concluding dedication, will be hereafter referred to.

“Considering that this monument has been erected one thousand five hundred years, the circumstance of its being found in so very perfect a state, is somewhat remarkable; and it strongly proves the want of research and inattention among the Fathers who visited this country in the fifteenth century, or their extreme inaccuracy respecting matters of this nature, as the following account of it, given by Father Tellez, will sufficiently prove.\* “Non procul abhinc erectum est saxum tribus cubitis latum, insculptum literis partim Græcis partim Latinis, sed temporis injuriâ ferè exesis. Hoc indicium est, omnes istas structuras esse artificum Europæorum à temporibus Justinî, et aliorum Imperatorum Orientalium, qui (teste Procopio) magnam cum Regibus Æthiopix amicitiâ coluerunt. Quamvis tunc temporis mixtura fuerit linguarum Græcæ et Latinæ, quia milites unius et alterius idiomatis in iisdem castris militabant.” “Verùm imaginari mihi non possum mixtam scripturam in illis saxis reperiri, multo minus rationem istius rei valere puto. Oculatiores inspectores (aut nimium fallor) aliquando reperient scripturam merè Græcam, atque in ea literas A. B. E. Z. I. K. M. N. O. P. C. T. X. quas Latini cum Græcis communes habent, quamvis non in omnibus æqualis sint pronounciationis;” so that by this it appears, that they must either have been totally ignorant of its contents, or they must have purposely perverted the sense, in consequence of its interfering so decidedly with their account of the history of the country, since, by this monument, all claim of the Abyssinian monarchs to a descent from Solomon, and the conversion of the

\* Ludolf, p. 251.

Abyssinians to Judaism, is taken away, as it was not likely a monarch so descended, would style himself Son of the God, the invincible Mars, or erect statues to him on the high road so near to the capital.

“Tellez’s assertion, which is referred to Ptolemy, I conceive to have been taken from some knowledge of the Adulitic inscription, and a wish to confirm it.

“The same reason seems to have induced Bruce to invent his inscription at Axum, which, however, he executed in so unsatisfactory a way, as led Dr. Vincent \* to remark, even before any one after Bruce had visited Axum, “how much more authentic would a fac simile of the inscription have been, than the restoration! in which, by an error of the author, or the press, EVERFETOT is read for ETERFETOT.”

“The subject of the inscription itself is not very interesting, as it is merely a record of a successful expedition against a tribe called the Bougaeites, whom I suppose, as I have said before, to be the Bogenses of Edrisi, in whose country were the mountains of Alahahi, famous for their gold-mines. Dr. Vincent (from the letter Γ being dubious in the fourth line of the copy), conjectures them to be the inhabitants of Buré, which opinion I had also entertained, until I met with the account of the Bogenses above referred to. Still, though the general tenor of the subject is not so interesting as might have been expected, yet there are several very curious particulars interspersed in this record; such as the hospitality with which the King treated the enemies whom he had subdued, and the attention which he paid in providing them with meat, bread,

\* Second vol. p. 112.



wine, and beer; which is in exact conformity to the mode of treating strangers, so long kept up and still practised in the country, as may be seen in every page of Poncet's journal, as well as my own. But the parts which are most valuable in this inscription, are the beginning and the end, which establish the fact of Axum having been the capital of a people called the Axomites; and gives great credibility to numerous accounts handed down by several authors of that people, and of different embassies sent to them by the Romans; all of which had before been very dubious, from the want of any known fact or monument existing in Abyssinia in confirmation.

" It proves the existence of a king called Aeizana, King of the Axomites, who had a brother called Saiazana; which in the most decided way, establishes the authenticity of a letter addressed by the Emperor Constantius to these brothers, under the title of *Τυραννίδες Αξόμιτων*.<sup>\*</sup> Now, on this letter, the fact of the introduction of Christianity at that period into Abyssinia in a great measure rests. It farther establishes, that the empire of Abyssinia was even at this early period very powerful, and that their king had already, at least, assumed the sovereignty over a great part of Arabia, which makes the duration of their power in that country, and consequently in the Red Sea, much longer than had ever been before suspected.

" By being found so far in the interior, we may deduce from it, that the Greek language had become very familiar in the country; and herein it confirms the account given in the *Periplus* of the learning of Zoskales. This inscription contains, moreover, the first

<sup>\*</sup> Ludolf, p. 125.