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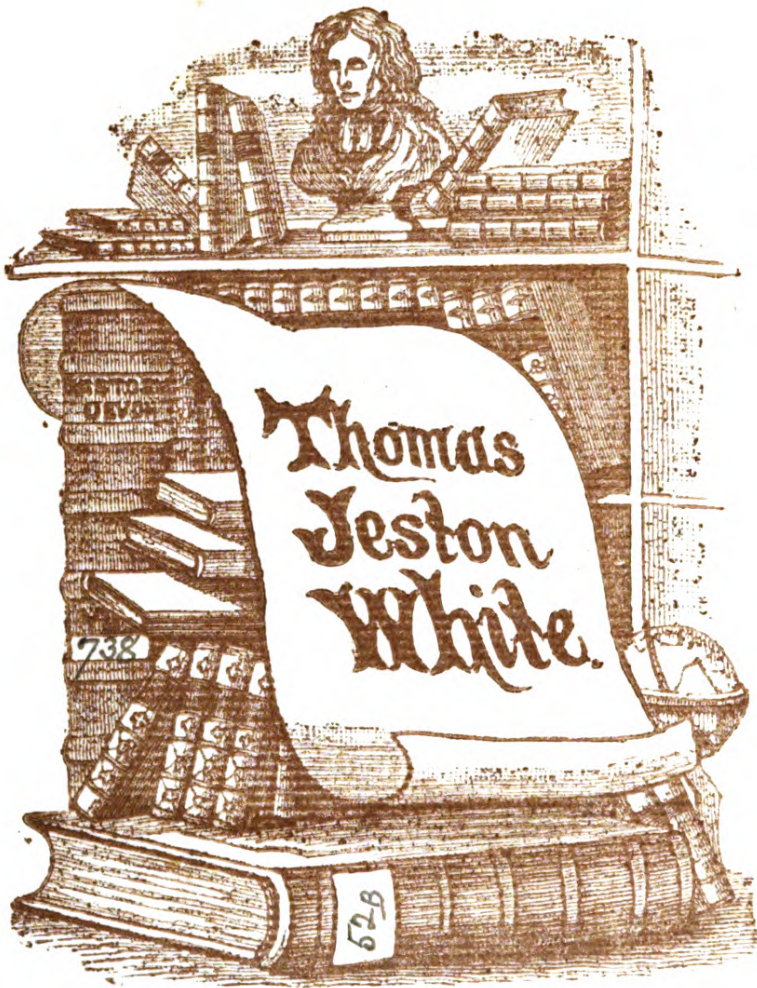
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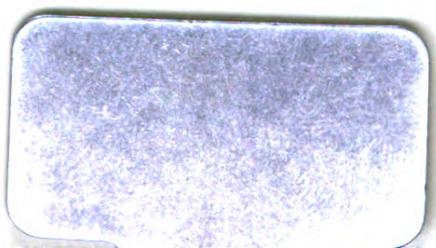


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JAMES BRUCE ESQ<sup>R</sup>

A N  
INTERESTING NARRATIVE

OF THE

T R A V E L S

OF

J A M E S B R U C E, E s q.

I N T O

*A B Y S S I N I A,*

TO DISCOVER THE

S O U R C E O F T H E N I L E.

ABRIDGED FROM THE ORIGINAL WORK.

THE SECOND EDITION.

---

By SAMUEL SHAW, Esq.

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L O N D O N :

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## P R E F A C E.

**T**HESSE celebrated Travels, which were performed in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, abound with events so wonderful and extraordinary, that were not the character of Mr. Bruce indisputably established, a common reader would be induced to look upon this work as the fabrication of a romantic brain. Wherever we attend Mr. Bruce through travels accomplished with such astonishing perseverance and intrepidity, whether we follow him through barren and burning sandy deserts, or view him surrounded by tribes of treacherous and bloodthirsty savages, in every situation, the protecting hand of that over-ruling power whose particular providence some sceptics have been hardy enough to dispute, appears eminently striking and apparent.

The science of Geography has received material improvements from the Discoveries of Mr. Bruce: the latitude and longitude, the customs and manners, laws and commerce, of many nations, unvisited before by any European, are here brought forth to the inspection of the curious.

Notwithstanding the utility and pleasure that may be derived from Mr. Bruce's Travels, yet  
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that work, occupying five large volumes in quarto, and being sold for five guineas, but few individuals can afford to purchase it. In order, therefore, that the generality of readers might not be debarred from the perusal of a work, fraught with so much entertaining and interesting information, I have been induced to write the following Narrative, extracted from those celebrated travels; and I flatter myself, that on a fair and candid perusal, I shall appear to have brought into the compass of a single volume, every thing worthy the reader's attention that is to be met with in the original work.

S. S.

## Preface to the Third Edition.

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**T**HE very flattering Success which has attended the first and second Editions of this Abridgment, irresistably calls for the warmest acknowledgments of the Editor: and, to shew how much he is impressed with gratitude, has now added Six capital Engravings, five of which are taken from the most interesting Passages in the Work; the other is a Head of the indefatigable Traveller, from an accurate Likeness, which has been carefully preserved.

Notwithstanding these profuse embellishments, which has considerably increased the expence, the Editor has rejected every pecuniary motive, by affixing *One Shilling* only to the original Price: and having now united *elegance* with *information*, he fearlessly throws himself once more on the candour of the Public.

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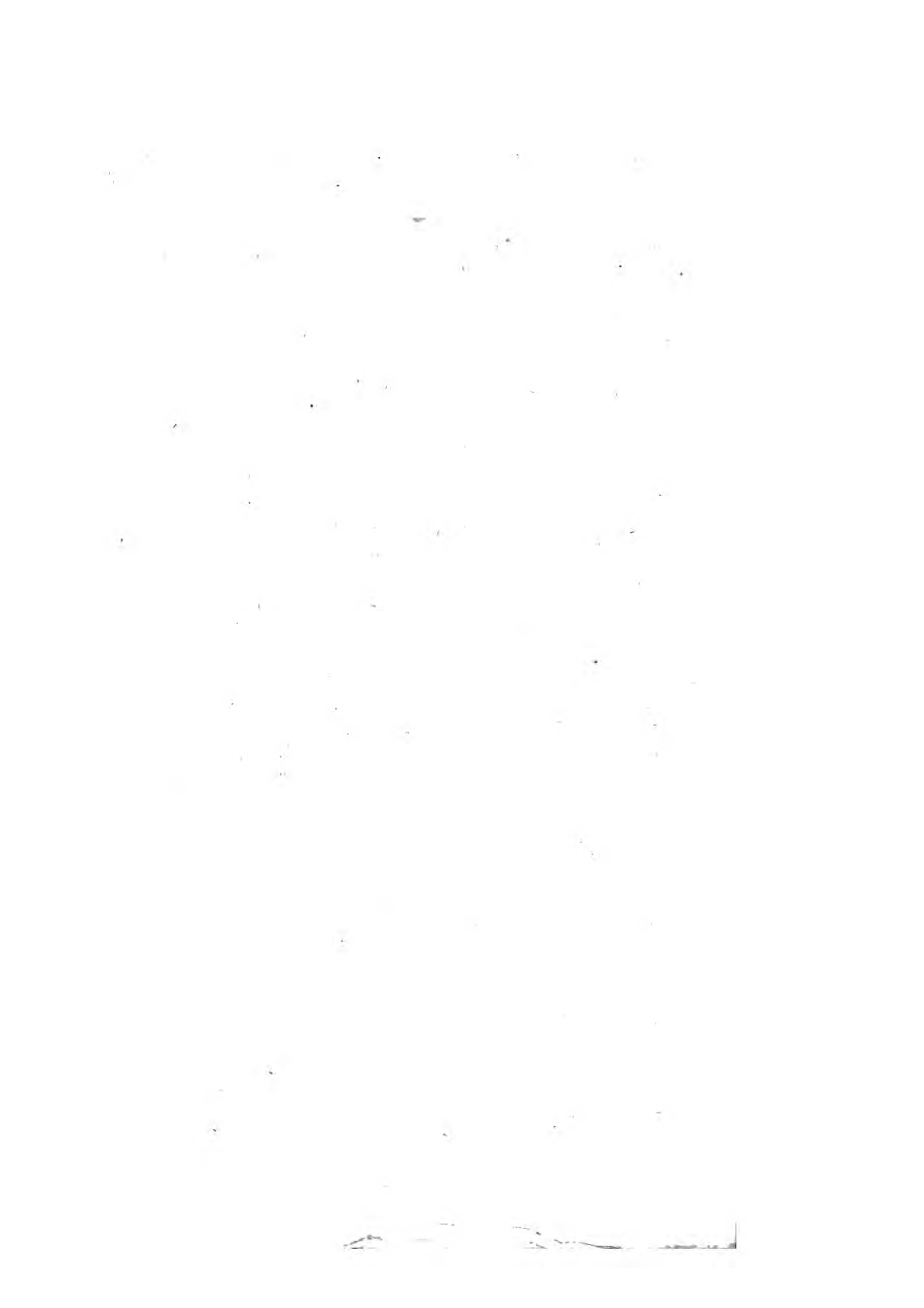
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## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE discovery of the Source of the Nile was a subject of frequent conversation between Mr. Bruce and his friends; but it was always mentioned to him with a kind of diffidence, as if to be expected from a more experienced traveller. Whether this was but another way of exciting him to the attempt, he does not presume to say; but his heart in that instant did him the justice to suggest, that this too, was either to be atchieved by him, or to remain, as it had done for these last two thousand years, a defiance to all travellers, and an opprobrium to geography.

Fortune seemed apparently to favour this scheme. For at the very instant, Mr. Aspinwall, very cruelly and ignominiously treated by the Dey of Algiers, had resigned his consulship, and Mr. Ford, a merchant, formerly the Dey's acquaintance, was named in his place. Mr. Ford was appointed, and dying a few days after, the consulship became vacant. Lord Halifax pressed Mr. Bruce to accept of this, as containing all sort of conveniencies for making the proposed expedition.

He had all his life applied unweariedly to drawing, the practice of mathematics, and especially that part necessary to astronomy. The transit of Venus was at hand. It was certainly known that it would be visible once at Algiers, and there was great reason to expect it might be twice. He furnished himself with a large apparatus of instruments, the completest of their kind for the observation. It was a pleasure to Mr. Bruce to know, that it was not from a solitary desert, but from his own house at Algiers, he could deliberately take measures to place himself in the list of men of science

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of

of all nations, who were then preparing for the same scientific purpose.

Thus prepared, he set out for Italy, through France; and on his arrival at Rome, he received orders to proceed to Naples, there to wait his majesty's further commands. Having stopped a short time there, he received orders to proceed to take possession of his consulship. He returned without loss of time to Rome, and thence to Leghorn, where, having embarked on board the Montreal man of war, he arrived at Algiers.

While he was providing himself with instruments at London, he thought of one, which, though in a very small form and imperfect state, had been of great entertainment and use to him in former travels; this is called a Camera Obscura, the idea of which he had first taken from the Spectacle de la Nature of the Abbé Vertot. But the present one was constructed upon his own principles. Its body was an hexagon of six feet diameter, with a conical top; in this, as in a summer-house, the draughtsman sat unseen, and performed his drawing.

After Mr. Bruce had spent a year at Algiers, constant conversation with the natives whilst abroad, and with his manuscripts within doors, had qualified him to appear in any part of the continent without the help of an interpreter.

Business of a private nature having at this time obliged Mr. Bruce to take a voyage to Mahon, he sailed from Algiers, after having taken leave of the Dey, who furnished him with the necessary passports, and also gave him recommendatory letters to the Bey of Tunis and Tripoli. Being disappointed in his views at Mahon, he sailed in a small vessel from that port, and, having a fair wind, in a short time made the coast of Africa, and landed at Bona, a considerable town. It stands on a large plain, part of which seems to have been once overflowed by the sea. Its trade consists now in the exportation of wheat, when, in plentiful years, that trade is permitted by the government of Algiers. The island is famous for a coral fishery, and along the coast are immense forests of large beautiful oaks, more than sufficient to supply the necessities of all the maritime powers.

powers in the Levant, if the quality of the wood be but equal to the size and beauty of the tree.

After a favourable voyage, he arrived at Tunis, which is a large and flourishing city. The people are more civilized than in Algiers, and the government milder, but the climate is very far from being so good. Tunis is low, hot, and damp, and destitute of good water, with which Algiers is supplied from a thousand springs.

Having delivered his letters from the Bey, and obtained permission to visit the country in whatever direction he should please, he set out on his inland journey through the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. He found at Dugga a large scene of ruins, among which one building was easily distinguishable. It was a large temple of the Corinthian order, all of Parian marble, the columns fluted, the cornice highly ornamented in the very best style of sculpture. In the tympanum is an eagle flying to heaven, with a human figure upon his back, which, by the many inscriptions that are still remaining, seems to be intended for that of Trajan, and the apotheosis of that emperor to be the subject, the temple having been erected by Adrian to that prince, his benefactor and predecessor.

From Dugga he continued the upper road to Keff, through the pleasant plains inhabited by the Welled Yagoube. He then proceeded to Hydra, a frontier place between the two kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, as Keff is also. It is inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, whose chief is a marabout, or saint; these Arabs are immensely rich, paying no tribute either to Tunis or Algiers. The pretence for this exemption is a very singular one. By the institution of their founder, they are obliged to live upon lions flesh for their daily food, as far as they can procure it; with this they strictly comply, and, in consideration of the utility of this their vow, they are not taxed, like the other Arabs, with payments to the state. The consequence of this life is, that they are excellent and well-armed horsemen, exceedingly bold and undaunted hunters. It is generally imagined, indeed, that these considerations, and that of their situation on the frontier, have as much influence in procuring them exemption from taxes, as the utility of their vow.

From Hydra he passed to the ancient Tipasa, another Roman colony, going by the same name to this day. Here is a more extensive scene of ruins. There is a large temple, and a four-faced triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, in the very best taste; both of which are now in the collection of the king.

From hence he continued his journey in a straight line nearly S. E. and arrived at Medrassem, a superb pile of building, the sepulchre of Syphax, and the other kings of Numidia, and where, as the Arabs believe, were also deposited the treasures of those kings. Advancing still to the S. E. through broken ground and some very barren vallies, which produced nothing but game, he came to Jibbel Aurez, the Aurafius Mons of the middle age. This is not one mountain, but an assemblage of many of the most craggy steeps in Africa.

Having proceeded to the north-east as far as Tubersoke, he returned to Dugga, and from thence to Tunis. His next journey through Tunis, was by Zowan, a high mountain, where is a large aqueduct which formerly carried its water to Carthage.

Having continued his journey along the coast to Sufa, through a fine country planted with olive trees, he came again to Tunis, not only without disagreeable accident, but without any interruption from sickness or other cause. He then took leave of the Bey, and, with the acknowledgments usual on such occasions, again set out from Tunis, on a very serious journey indeed, over the desert to Tripoli, the first part of which was to Gabs, and from thence to the island of Gerba.

About four days journey from Tripoli, Mr. Bruce met the Emir Hadje conducting the caravan of pilgrims from Fez and Sus in Morocco, all across Africa to Mecca, that is, from the Western Ocean to the western banks of the Red Sea, in the kingdom of Sennaar. He was a middle-aged man, uncle to the present emperor, of a very uncomely, stupid kind of countenance. His caravan consisted of about 3000 men, and, as his people said, from 12,000 to 14,000 camels, part loaded with merchandize, part with skins of water, flour and other kinds of food; they were a scurvy, disorderly, unarmed pack, and when our traveller's horsemen, though but fifteen in number, came up with them in  
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the grey of the morning, they shewed great signs of trepidation, and were already flying in confusion. When informed who they were, their fears ceased, and, after the usual manner of cowards, they became extremely insolent.

Being arrived at Tripoli, he sent an English servant from thence to Smyrna with his books, drawings, and supernumerary instruments, retaining only extracts from such authors as might be necessary for him in the Pentapolis, or other parts of the Cyrenaicum. He then crossed the Gulf of Sydra, formerly known by the name of the Syrtis Major, and arrived at Bengazi, the ancient Berenice, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The brother of the Bey of Tripoli, who commanded here, was a young man, as weak in understanding as he was in health. All the province was in extreme confusion. Two tribes of Arabs, occupying the territory to the west of the town, who in ordinary years, and in time of peace, were the sources of its wealth and plenty, had, by the mismanagement of the Bey, entered into a violent quarrel. The tribe that lived most to the westward, and which was reputed the weakest, had beat the most numerous that was nearest the town, and driven them within its walls. The inhabitants of Bengaz had for a year before been labouring under a severe famine, and by this accident about four thousand persons, of all ages and sexes, were forced in upon them, when perfectly destitute of every necessary. Ten or twelve people were found dead every night in the streets, and life was said in many to be supported by food that human nature shudders at the thoughts of. Impatient to fly from these scenes, Mr. Bruce prevailed on the Bey to send him out some distance to the southward, among the Arabs, where famine did not rage with such violence.

He encompassed a great part of the Pentapolis, visited the ruins of Arfinoe, and received neither insult nor injury. Finding nothing at Arfinoe nor Barca, he continued his journey to Ras Sem, the petrified city, concerning which so many ridiculous tales were told by the Tripoline ambassador, Cassem Aga, at the beginning of this century, and all believed in England, though they carried falsehood upon the very face of them.



Now approaching the sea coast, he came to Ptolometa, where he met a Greek junk belonging to Lampodosa, a little island near Crete, which had been unloading corn, and was now ready to sail. At the same time the Arabs of Ptolometa told him, that the Welled Ali, a powerful tribe that occupy the whole country between that place and Alexandria, were at war among themselves, and had plundered the caravan of Morocco, and that the pilgrims composing it had mostly perished, having been scattered in the desert without water; that a great famine had been at Derna, the neighbouring town, to which Mr. Bruce intended to go; that a plague had followed, and the town, which is divided into upper and lower, was engaged in a civil war. This torrent of ill news was irresistible, and was of a kind he did not propose to struggle with; besides, there was nothing, as far as he knew, that merited the risk. He resolved, therefore, to fly from this inhospitable coast, and save to the public, at least, that knowledge and entertainment he had acquired for them.

He embarked on board the Greek vessel, very ill accoutred, as he afterwards found, and, though it had plenty of sail, it had not an ounce of ballast. A number of people, men, women and children, flying from the calamities which attend famine, crowded in unknown to him; but the passage was short, the vessel light, and the master, as was supposed, well accustomed to those seas. The contrary of this, however, was the truth, as he learned afterwards, when too late, for he was an absolute landman; proprietor indeed of the vessel, but this had been his first voyage. They sailed at dawn of day in very favourable and pleasant weather. It was the beginning of September, and a light and steady breeze, though not properly fair, promised a short and agreeable voyage; but it was not long before it turned fresh and cold; a violent shower of hail came on, and the clouds were gathering as if for thunder. Mr. Bruce observed that they gained no offing, and hoped, if the weather turned bad, to persuade the captain to put into Bengazi, for one inconvenience he presently discovered, that they had not provision on board for one day.

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The wind, however, became contrary, and blew a violent storm. The vessel being in her trim with large latine sails, fell violently to leeward, and they scarce had weathered the cape that makes the entrance into the harbour of Bengazi, which is a very bad one, when all at once it struck upon a sunken rock, and seemed to be set down upon it. The wind at that instant seemed providentially to calm; but our traveller no sooner observed the ship had struck, than he began to think of his own situation. They were not far from shore, but there was an exceeding great swell at sea. Two boats were still towed astern of them, and had not been hoisted in. Roger M'Cormack, Mr. Bruce's Irish servant, had been a sailor on board the Monarch before he deserted to the Spanish service. He and the other, who had likewise been a sailor, presently unlashd the largest boat, and all three got down into her, followed by a multitude of people whom they could not hinder, and there was, indeed, something that bordered on cruelty, in preventing poor people from using the same means that they had done for preserving their lives. The most that could be done was, to get loose from the ship as soon as possible, and two oars were prepared to row the boat ashore. Our traveller had stripped himself to a short under-waistcoat and linen drawers; a silk sash, or girdle, was wrapt round him; a pencil, small pocket-book, and watch, were in the breast-pocket of his waistcoat; two Moorish and two English servants followed him; the rest more wise remained on board.

They were not twice the length of the boat from the vessel, before a wave very nearly filled the boat. A howl of despair from those that were in her shewed their helpless state, and that they were conscious of a danger they could not shun. Mr. Bruce saw the fate of all was to be decided by the very next wave that was rolling in; and apprehensive that some woman, child, or helpless man would lay hold of him, and entangle his arms or legs, and weigh him down, he cried to his servants, both in Arabic and English, "We are all lost; if you can swim, follow me:" he then let himself down in the face of the wave. Whether that, or the next, filled the boat, he knows not, as he went to leeward to

make his distance as great as possible. He was a good, strong, and practised swimmer, in the flower of life, full of health, trained to exercise and fatigue of every kind. All this, however, which might have availed much in deep water, was not sufficient when he came to the surf. He received a violent blow upon his breast from the eddy wave and reflux, which seemed as given him by a large branch of a tree, thick cord, or some elastic weapon. It threw him upon his back, made him swallow a considerable quantity of water, and had then almost suffocated him.

Our traveller avoided the next wave, by dipping his head, and letting it pass over, but found himself breathless, exceedingly weary and exhausted. The land, however, was before him, and close at hand. A large wave floated him up. He had the prospect of escape still nearer, and endeavoured to prevent himself from going back into the surf. His heart was strong, but strength was apparently failing, by being involuntarily twisted about, and struck on the face and breast by the violence of the ebbing wave: it now seemed as if nothing remained but to give up the struggle, and resign to his destiny. Before he did this, he sunk to sound if he could touch the ground, and found that he reached the sand with his feet, though the water was still rather deeper than his mouth. The success of this experiment infused into him the strength of ten men, and he strove manfully, taking advantage of floating only with the influx of the wave, and preserving his strength for the struggle against the ebb, which, by sinking and touching the ground, he now made more easy. At last, finding his hands and knees upon the sands, he fixed his nails into it, and obstinately resisted being carried back at all, crawling a few feet when the sea had retired. He had perfectly lost his recollection and understanding, and after creeping so far as to be out of the reach of the sea, he supposes he fainted, for from that time he was totally insensible of every surrounding object.

In this critical situation, the Arabs, who live two short miles from the shore, came down in crowds to plunder the vessel. One of the boats was thrown ashore, there was one yet with the wreck, which scarcely appeared

peared with its gunnel above water, and every moment seemed ready to sink. All the people were now taken on shore, and those only lost who perished in the boat. What first awakened Mr. Bruce from this semblance of death, was a blow with the butt-end of a lance, shod with iron, upon the juncture of the neck with the backbone. This produced a violent sensation of pain; but it was a mere accident the blow was not with the point, for the small, short waistcoat, which had been made at Algiers, the sash and drawers, all in the Turkish fashion, made the Arabs believe that he was a Turk; and after many blows, kicks, and curses, they stript him of the little cloathing he had, and left him naked. They used the rest in the same manner, and then went to their boats to look for the drowned bodies.

After having received this discipline, he had walked, or crawled up among some white, sandy hillocks, where he sat down and concealed himself as much as possible. The weather was then warm, but the evening promised to be cooler, and it was fast drawing on; there was great danger to be apprehended if he approached the tents where the women were while he was naked, for in this case it was very probable he would receive another bastinado something worse than the first. Still he was so confused that he had not recollected he could speak to them in their own language, and it now only came into his mind, that by the gibberish, in imitation of Turkish, which the Arab had uttered to him while he was beating and stripping him, he took him for a Turk, and to this mistake he probably owed his ill treatment.

An elderly looking man, and a number of young Arabs, came up to him where he was sitting. He gave them the salute *Salam Alicum!* which was only returned by one young man, in a tone as if he wondered at his impudence. The old man then asked him, whether he was a Turk, and what he had to do there? He replied he was no Turk, but a poor Christian physician, a Dervish that went about the world seeking to do good for God's sake, was then flying from famine, and going to Greece to get bread. He then asked him if he was a Cretan? He said, he had never been in Crete, but came

from Tunis, and was returning to that town, having lost every thing he had in the shipwreck of that vessel. He said this in so despairing a tone, that there was no doubt left with the Arab that the fact was true. A ragged, dirty baracan was immediately thrown over him, and he was ordered up to a tent, in the end of which stood a long spear thrust through it, the Arabian mark of sovereign distinction.

The Shekh of the tribe, who being in peace with the Bey of Bengazi, and also with the Shekh of Ptolemeta, after many questions, ordered our traveller a plentiful supper, of which all his servants partook, none of them having perished. A multitude of consultations followed on their complaints; of which he freed himself in the best manner he could, alledging the loss of all his medicines.

After staying two days among them, the Shekh restored to them all that had been taken from them, and mounting them upon camels, and giving them a conductor, he forwarded them to Bengazi, where they arrived the second day in the evening. From thence he sent a compliment to the Shekh, and with it a man from the Bey, intreating that he would use all possible means to fish up some of his cases, for which he assured him he should not miss a handsome reward. Promises and thanks were returned, but Mr. Bruce never heard further of his instruments; all he recovered was a silver watch of Ellicot, the work of which had been taken out and broken, some pencils and a small port-folio, in which were sketches of Ptolemeta; his pocket-book too was found, but his pencil was lost, being in a common silver case, and with them all the astronomical observations which he had made in Barbary. He there lost a sextant, a parallaxic instrument, a time-piece, a reflecting telescope, an achromatic one, with many drawings, a copy of M. de la Caille's ephemerides down to the year 1775, much to be regretted, as being full of manuscript marginal notes; a small camera obscura, some guns, pistols, a blunderbuss, and several other articles of less value.

At Bengazi Mr. Bruce found a small French sloop, the master of which had been often at Algiers when he  
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was consul there. He had even, as the master remembered, done him some little service, for which, contrary to the custom of that sort of people, he was very grateful. He had come there laden with corn, and was going up the Archipelago, or towards the Morea, for more. The cargo he had brought was but a mite compared to the necessities of the place; it only relieved the soldiers for a time, and many people of all ages and sexes were still dying every day.

The harbour of Bengazi being full of fish, Mr. Bruce's company caught a great quantity with a small net; they likewise procured a multitude with the line, enough to have maintained a larger number of persons than the family consisted of; they got vinegar, pepper, and a quantity of onions; they had little bread it is true, but still their industry kept them very far from starving. They endeavoured to instruct these wretches, gave them packthread and some coarse hooks, by which they might have subsisted with the smallest attention and trouble; but they would rather starve in multitudes, striving to pick up single grains of corn, that were scattered upon the beach by the bursting of the sacks, or the inattention of the mariners, than take the pains to watch one hour at the flowing of the tide for excellent fish, where, after taking one, they were sure of being masters of multitudes till it was flood tide.

The captain of this little vessel lost no time. He had done his business well, and though he was returning for another cargo, yet he cheerfully offered Mr. Bruce what part of his money he should want. They then sailed with a fair wind, and in four or five days easy weather landed at Canea, a considerable fortified place at the west end of the island of Crete. Here our traveller was taken dangerously ill, occasioned by the bathing and extraordinary exertions in the sea of Ptolometa, nor was he in the least the better from the beating he had received, of which he very long afterwards bore the marks.

From Canea he sailed for Rhodes, and there met with his books; he then proceeded to Castellrosso, on the coast of Caramania, and was there credibly informed that there were very magnificent remains of ancient buildings, a short way from the shore, on the opposite conti-

ment. Caramania is a part of Asia Minor yet unexplored. But his illness encreasing, it was impossible to execute, or take any measures to secure protection, or do the business safely; so he was forced to relinquish this discovery to some more fortunate traveller.

Mr. Bruce, during his stay at Canea, wrote by way of France, and again while at Rhodes by way of Smyrna, to particular friends both in London and France, informing them of his disastrous situation, and desiring them to send him a moveable quadrant or sextant, as near as possible to two feet radius, more or less, a time-keeper, stop-watch, a reflecting telescope, and one of Dolland's achromatic ones, as near as possible to three feet reflectors, with several other articles of which he was then in much want.

Our traveller received from Paris and London much about the same time, and as if it had been dictated by the same person, nearly the same answer, which was this, that every body was employed in making instruments for Danish, Swedish, and other foreign astronomers; that all those which were completed had been bought up, and without waiting a considerable, indefinite time, nothing could be had that could be depended upon.

Mr. Bruce, finding himself much hurt by false reports that had been raised against him in Europe, and seeing himself so treated in return for so complete a journey as he had then actually terminated, thought it below him to sacrifice the best years of his life to daily pain and danger, when the impression it made in the breasts of his countrymen seemed to be so weak, so infinitely unworthy of them or him. One thing only detained him from returning home; it was his desire of fulfilling his promise to his sovereign, and of adding the ruins of Palmyra to those of Africa, already secured and out of danger.

In the first glow of his resentments, he renounced all thoughts of the attempt to discover the sources of the Nile, and he repeated his orders no more for either quadrant, telescope, or time-keeper. He had pencils and paper; and luckily his large camera obscura, which had escaped the catastrophe of Ptolometa, was  
arrived

arrived from Smyrna. He therefore began to look about for the means of obtaining feasible and safe methods of repeating the famous journey to Palmyra.

From Smyrna, Mr. Bruce went to Tripoli in Syria, and thence to Haffia. From thence he would have gone southward to Balbec, but it was then besieged by Emir Yousef prince of the Druses, a Pagan nation, living upon mount Libanus. Upon that he returned to Tripoli, in Syria, and after some time set out for Aleppo, travelling northward along the plain of Jeune, betwixt mount Lebanon and the sea. He visited the ancient Byblus, and bathed with pleasure in the river Adonis. All here is classic ground. He saw several considerable ruins of Grecian architecture all very much defaced.

He passed Latikea, and then came to Antioch, and afterwards to Aleppo. The fever and ague, which he had first caught in his cold bath at Bengazi, had returned upon him with great violence, after passing one night encamped in the mulberry gardens behind Sidon. It had returned in very slight paroxysms several times, but laid hold of him with more than ordinary violence on his arrival at Aleppo, where he came just in time to the house of Mr. Belville, a French merchant, to whom he was addressed for his credit. Had it not been for the kind attention and skilful advice he here met with, it is probable his travels would have ended at Aleppo.

Mr. Bruce, having perfectly recovered his health, began to think of his journey to Palmyra. He set out at a time appointed for Hamath, where he found his conductor, and proceeded to Haffia. The river which passes through the plains where they cultivate their best tobacco, is the Orontes; it was so swollen with rain, which had fallen in the mountains, that the ford was no longer visible. Stopping at two miserable huts inhabited by a base set called Turcomans, our traveller asked the master of one of them to shew him the ford, which he very readily undertook to do, and Mr. Bruce went, for the length of some yards, on rough, but very hard and solid ground. The current before him was, however, so violent, that he had more  
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than once a desire to turn back, but, not suspecting any thing, he continued, when on a sudden both he and his horse fell out of their depth into the river.

Our traveller had a rifle gun slung across his shoulder, with a buff belt and swivel. As long as that held, it so embarrassed his hands and legs that he could not swim, and must have sunk; but luckily the swivel gave way, the gun fell to the bottom of the river, and was picked up in dry weather by order of the basha, at the desire of the French merchants, who kept it for a relic. He and his horse swam separately ashore; at a small distance from thence was a caphar, or turnpike, to which, when he came to dry himself, the man told him, that the place where he had crossed was the remains of a stone bridge now entirely carried away; where he had first entered was one of the wings of the bridge, from which he had fallen into the space the first arch occupied, one of the deepest parts of the river; that the people who had misguided him were an infamous set of banditti, and that he might be thankful, on many accounts, that he had made such an escape from them, and was now on the opposite side. He then prevailed on the caphar man to shew his servants the right ford.

From Hailia they proceeded with their conductor to Cariateen, where, an old man on horseback, one from the Mowalli, and another from the Anney tribe, accompanied them to Palmyra: the tribes gave them camels for more commodious travelling, and they passed the desert between Cariateen and Palmyra in a day and two nights, going constantly without sleeping.

Just before they came in sight of the ruins, they ascended a hill of white gritty stone, in a very narrow, winding road, such as is called a pafs, and, when arrived at the top, there opened before them the most astonishing, stupendous sight that perhaps ever appeared to mortal eyes. The whole plain below, which was very extensive, was covered so thick with magnificent buildings as that the one seemed to touch the other, all of fine proportions, all of agreeable forms, all composed of white stones, which at that distance appeared like  
marble.

marble. At the end of it stood the palace of the fun, a building worthy to close so magnificent a scene.

Mr. Bruce had no intention to publish any thing concerning Palmyra, as Mr. Wood had already done something of that kind; besides, he thought it would have been a violation of his first principle, not to interfere with the labours of others; and if this was a rule he inviolably observed as to strangers, every sentiment of reason and gratitude obliged him to pay the same respect to the labours of his friend Mr. Wood.

Before their departure from Palmyra, he observed its latitude with a Hadley's quadrant from reflection. The instrument had probably warped in carriage, as the index went unpleasantly, and as it were by starts, so that he does not pretend to give this for an exact observation; yet, after all the care he could take, he only apprehended that  $33^{\circ} 58'$  for the latitude of Palmyra, would be nearer the truth than any other. Again, that the distance from the coast in a straight line being 160 miles, and that remarkable mountainous cape on the coast of Syria, between Byblus and Tripoli, known by the name of Theoprosopon, being nearly due west, or under the same parallel with Palmyra, he conceived the longitude of that city to be nearly  $37^{\circ} 9'$  from the observatory of Greenwich.

Mr. Bruce proceeded from Palmyra to Balbec, distant about 130 miles, and arrived the same day that Emir Yousef had reduced the town and settled the government, and was decamping from it on his return home. This was the luckiest moment possible for our traveller, as he was the Emir's friend, and had obtained liberty to do there what he pleased; and to this indulgence was added the great convenience of the Emir's absence, so that he was not troubled by the observance of any court-ceremony or attendance, or teased with impertinent questions.

Balbec is pleasantly situated in a plain on the west of Anti Libanus, is finely watered, and abounds in gardens. It is about fifty miles from Haffia, and about thirty from the nearest sea-coast, which is the situation of the ancient Byblus. The interior of the great temple  
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of Balbec, supposed to be that of the sun, surpasses any thing at Palmyra.

Passing by Tyre, from curiosity only, Mr. Bruce came to be a mournful witness of the truth of that prophecy, that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishers to dry their nets on. Two wretched fishermen, with miserable nets, having just given over their occupation with very little success, he engaged them, at the expence of their nets, to drag in those places where they said shell-fish might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous purple-fish. He did not succeed, but in this he supposes he was as lucky as the old fishers had ever been. The purple-fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal, as, had they depended upon the fish for their dye, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year. Much fatigued, but satisfied beyond measure with what he had seen, our traveller arrives at Sidon in good health.

We have now accompanied Mr. Bruce to Sidon, from whence he set out on his discovery of the Source of the Nile, and which forms the subject of the following sheets.

TRAVELS

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# T R A V E L S

TO DISCOVER

The SOURCE of the NILE.

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## BOOK I.

*The Author's Travels in Egypt—Voyage in the Red Sea,  
till his Arrival at Masuab.*

MR. BRUCE sailed from Sidon, on the 15th of June, 1768, bound for the Island of Cyprus, the wind being favourable, and the weather clear and hot.

On the 16th, at dawn of day, our traveller saw a high hill, which from its particular form, described by Strabo, he took for Mount Olympus. It is very singular, that Cyprus should be so long undiscovered; ships had been used in the Mediterranean 1700 years before Christ; yet, though only a day's sailing from the Continent of Asia on the north and east, and little more from that of Africa on the south, it was not known at the building of Tyre, a little before the Trojan war, that is, 500 years after ships had been passing to and fro in the surrounding seas.

A great many medals, though very few of them good, are dug up in Cyprus; silver ones, of very excellent workmanship, are found near Paphos, of very little value in the eyes of antiquarians, being chiefly of towns, of the size of those found at Crete and Rhodes, and all the islands of the Archipelago. Intaglios there are some  
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few, part in very excellent Greek style, and generally upon better stones than usual in the islands.

On the 17th of June they left Lernica, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and on the 18th, a little before twelve o'clock, a very fresh and favourable breeze came from the N. W. and they pointed their prow directly, as they thought, upon Alexandria.

The 20th of June, early in the morning, our traveller had a distant prospect of Alexandria rising from the sea. On the first view of the city, the mixture of old monuments, such as the Column of Pompey, with the high moorish towers and steeples, raise our expectations of the consequence of the ruins we are to find; but the moment we are in port, the illusion ends, and we distinguish the immense Herculean works of ancient times, now few in number, from the ill-imagined, ill-constructed, and imperfect buildings, of the several barbarous masters of Alexandria in later ages. There are two ports, the Old and the New, which are by no means safe, as many vessels are frequently lost while riding at anchor.

Alexandria has been often taken since the time of Cæsar. It was at last destroyed by the Venetians and Cypriots, upon, or rather after the release of St. Lewis. The building of the present gates and walls, which some have thought to be antique, does not seem earlier than the last restoration in the 13th century. Some parts of the gates and walls may be of older date; (and probably were those of the last Caliphs before Salidan) but, except these, and the pieces of columns which lie horizontally in different parts of the wall, every thing else is apparently of very late times, and the work has been huddled together in great haste. There is nothing beautiful or pleasant in the present Alexandria, but a handsome street of modern houses, where a very active and intelligent number of merchants live upon the miserable remnants of that trade, which made its glory in the first times. It is thinly inhabited, and there is a tradition among the natives, that, more than once, it has been in agitation to abandon it altogether, and retire to Rosetto, or Cairo, but that they have been withheld by the opinion of divers saints from Arabia, who have assured them, that Mecca being destroyed,

(as it must be as they think by the Russians) Alexandria is then to become *the holy place*, and that Mahomet's body is to be transported thither.

On Mr. Bruce's arrival at Alexandria, he found that the plague had raged in that city and neighbourhood from the beginning of March, and that two days only before their arrival, people had begun to open their houses and communicate with each other; but it was no matter, St. John's day was *past*, the miraculous *nuçta*, or dew, had fallen, and every body went about their ordinary business in safety, and without fear. Here Mr. Bruce received his instruments, and found them in good condition.

Our traveller being now prepared for any enterprise, he left with eagerness the thread-bare enquiries into the meagre remains of this once-famous capital of Egypt. The journey to Rosetto is always performed by land, as the mouth of the branch of the Nile leading to Rosetto, called the Bogaz, is very shallow and dangerous to pass, and often tedious; besides, nobody wishes to be a partner for any time in a voyage with Egyptian sailors, if he can possibly avoid it. The journey by land is also reputed dangerous, and people travel burdened with arms, which they are determined never to use.

All Egypt is full of deep dust and sand, from the beginning of March to the first of the inundation. It is this fine powder and sand, raised and loosened by the heat of the sun, and want of dew, and not being tied fast, as it were, by any root or vegetation, which the Nile carries off with it, and buries in the sea, and which many ignorantly suppose comes from Abyssinia, where every river runs in a bed of rock. When you leave the sea, you strike off nearly at right angles, and pursue your journey to the eastward. Here heaps of stone and trunks of pillars are set up to guide you in your road, through moving sands, which stand in hillocks, in proper directions, and which conduct you safely to Rosetto, surrounded on one side by these hills of sand, which seem ready to cover it.

Rosetto is upon that branch of the Nile which was called the Bolbuttic Branch, and is about four miles from the sea. It is a large, clean, neat town, or village,  
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upon the eastern side of the Nile. It is about three miles long, much frequented by studious and religious Mahometans; among these too are a considerable number of merchants, it being the entrepot between Cairo and Alexandria, and *vice versa*; here too the merchants have their factors, who superintend and watch over the merchandize which passes the Bogaz to and from Cairo. There are many gardens, and much verdure, about Rosetto; the ground is low, and retains long the moisture it imbibes from the overflowing of the Nile. Here also are many curious plants and flowers brought from different countries.

On the 30th of June, Mr. Bruce embarked for Cairo. There are wonderful tales told at Alexandria as well as at Cairo, of the danger of passing over the desert to Rosetto. After you embark on the Nile in your way to Cairo, you hear of pilots, and masters of vessels, who land you among robbers to share your plunder, and twenty such like stories, all of them of old date, and which perhaps happened long ago, or never happened at all. But provided the government of Cairo is settled, and you do not land at villages in strife with each other, (in which circumstances no person of any nation is safe) you must be very unfortunate indeed if any great accident befall you between Alexandria and Cairo.

They arrived at Cairo in the beginning of July, recommended to the very hospitable house of Julian and Bertran, to whom Mr. Bruce imparted his resolution of pursuing his journey to Abyssinia. The wildness of the intention seemed to strike them greatly, on which account they endeavoured all they could to persuade him against it, but, seeing him resolved, they offered kindly their most effectual services.

That part of Cairo, in which the French are settled, is exceedingly commodious, and fit for retirement. It consists of one long street, where all the merchants of that nation live together. It is shut at one end, by large gates, where there is a guard, and these are kept constantly close in the time of the plague. At the other end is a large garden tolerably kept, in which there are several pleasant walks and seats; all the enjoyment that Christians can hope for, among this vile people, reduces itself

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to peace, and quiet; nobody seeks for more. There are, however, wicked emissaries who are constantly employed by threats, lies, and extravagant demands, to torment them, and keep them from enjoying that repose, which would content them instead of freedom, and more solid happiness, in their own country.

There are perhaps four hundred inhabitants in Cairo, who have absolute power, and administer what they call justice, in their own way, and according to their own views. But fortunately, in Mr. Bruce's time, this many-headed monster was no more; there was but one Ali Bey, and there was neither inferior nor superior jurisdiction exercised, but by his officers only. This happy state did not last long. In order to be a Bey, the person must have been a slave, and bought for money at a market. Every Bey has a great number of servants, slaves to him, as he was to others before; these are his guards, and these he promotes to places in his household, according as they are qualified.

It is very extraordinary, to find a race of men in power, all agree to leave their succession to strangers, in preference to their own children, for a number of ages; and that no one should ever have attempted to make his son succeed him, either in dignity or estate, in preference to a slave, whom he has bought for money like a beast.

The instant that Mr. Bruce arrived at Cairo, was perhaps the only one in which he ever could have been allowed, single and unprotected as he was, to have made his intended journey. Ali Bey, lately known in Europe by various narratives of the last transactions of his life, after having undergone many changes of fortune, and been banished by his rivals from his capital, at last had enjoyed the satisfaction of a return, and of making himself absolute in Cairo.

After a variety of circumstances of little consequence to the reader, Mr. Bruce was admitted to an audience of the Bey. He was a much younger man than he had conceived him to be; he was sitting upon a large sofa, covered with crimson cloth of gold; his turban, his girdle, and the head of his dagger, all thick covered with fine brilliants; one in his turban, that served to support  
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a sprig of brilliants also, was among the largest Mr. Bruce had ever seen. The Bey entered into discourse with him concerning the Russian and Turkish war, and conversed some time with him on that subject.

Two or three nights afterwards the Bey sent for him again. It was near eleven o'clock before he got admittance to him. He met the janissary Aga going out from him, and a number of soldiers at the door. As Mr. Bruce did not know him, he passed him without ceremony, which is not usual for any person to do. Whenever he mounts on horseback, as he was then just going to do, he has absolute power of life and death, without appeal, all over Cairo and its neighbourhood.

He stopt our traveller just at the threshold, and asked one of the Bey's people who he was? and was answered, "It is Hakim Englese," the English philosopher or physician. He asked Mr. Bruce in Turkish, in a very polite manner, if he would come and see him, for he was not well? He answered him in Arabic "Yes, whenever he pleased, but could not then stay, as he had received a message that the Bey was waiting." He replied in Arabic, "no, no; go, for God's sake go; any time will do for me."

The Bey was sitting, leaning forward, with a wax taper in one hand, and reading a small slip of paper, which he held close to his face. He seemed to have little light, or weak eyes; nobody was near him: his people had been all dismissed, or were following the janissary Aga out.

He did not seem to observe Mr. Bruce till he was close upon him, and started when he said "*Salam.*" He told him he came upon his message. He said "I thank you, did I send for you?" and without giving him leave to reply, went on, "O true, I did so," and fell to reading his paper again. After this was over, he complained that he had been ill, that he vomited immediately after dinner, though he eat moderately; that his stomach was not yet settled, and was afraid something had been given him to do him mischief.

Our traveller felt his pulse, which was low and weak; but very little feverish. He desired he would order his people to look if his meat was dressed in copper properly tinned;

stunned; he assured him he was in no danger, and insinuated that he thought he had been guilty of some excess before dinner; at which he smiled, and said to one who was standing by, "Afrite! Afrite!" he is a devil! he is a devil! Mr. Bruce said, If your stomach is really uneasy from what you have ate, warm some water, and if you please, put a little green tea into it, and drink it till it makes you vomit gently, and that will give you ease; after which you may take a dish of strong coffee, and go to bed, or a glass of spirits, if you have any that are good.

As Mr. Bruce's favour with the Bey was now established by frequent interviews, he thought of leaving his solitary mansion at the convent. He desired Mr. Risk, the Bey's secretary, to procure his peremptory letters of recommendation to Shekh Haman, to the governor of Syene, Ibrim, and Deir, in Upper Egypt. He procured also the same from the janissaries, to these three last places, as their garrisons are from that body at Cairo, which they call their Port. He had also letters from Ali Bey, to the Bey of Suez, to the Sherriffe of Mecca, to the Naybe (so they call the Sovereign) of Masuah, and to the King of Sennaar, and his minister for the time being.

Having obtained all his letters and dispatches, as well from the patriarch as from the Bey, he set about preparing for his journey.

On the other side of the Nile, from Cairo, is Geeza; and about eleven miles beyond this are the pyramids, called the Pyramids of Geeza, the description of which is in every body's hands. Engravings of them had been published in England, with plans of them upon a large scale, two years before Mr. Bruce came into Egypt, and were shewn him by Mr. Davidson, consul of Nice, whose drawings they were. He it was too that discovered the small chamber above the landing-place, after you ascend through the long-gallery of the great Pyramid on your left-hand, and he left the ladder by which he ascended, for the satisfaction of other travellers. But there is nothing in the chamber further worthy of notice, than its having escaped discovery so many ages.

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It is very singular, that for such a time as these Pyramids have been known, travellers were content rather to follow the report of the ancients, than to make use of their own eyes; yet it has been a constant belief, that the stones composing these Pyramids have been brought from the Libyan mountains, though any one who will take the pains to remove the sand on the south side, will find the solid rock there hewn into steps. In the roof of the large chamber, where the Sarcophagus stands, as also in the top of the roof of the gallery, as you go up into that chamber, you see large fragments of the rock, affording an unanswerable proof, that those Pyramids were once huge rocks, standing where they now are; that some of them, the most proper for their form, were chosen for the body of the Pyramid, and the others hewn into steps, to serve for their superstructure, and the exterior parts of them.

Mr. Bruce having now provided every thing necessary, and taken rather a melancholy leave of his very indulgent friends; who had great apprehensions that he and his companions would never return; and fearing that their stay till the very excessive heats were past, might involve them in another difficulty, that of missing the Etesian winds, they secured a boat to carry them to Fushout, the residence of Hamam, the Shekh of Upper Egypt.

This sort of vessel is called a canja, and is one of the most commodious used on any river, being safe, and expeditious at the same time, though at first sight it has a strong appearance of danger. That on which they embarked was about 100 feet from stern to stem, with two masts, main and foremast, and two monstrous *Latine* sails, the main-sail yard being about 200 feet in length.

A certain kind of robber, peculiar to the Nile, is constantly on the watch to rob boats, in which they suppose the crew are off their guard. They generally approach the boat when it is calm, either swimming under water, or when it is dark, upon goat skins; after which they mount with the utmost silence, and take away whatever they can lay their hands on. They are not very fond it seems of meddling with vessels

whereon they see Franks, or Europeans, because by them some have been wounded with fire-arms. The attempts are generally made when you are at anchor, or under weigh, at night, in very moderate weather; but ofteneft when you are falling down the stream without mafts; for it requires ftrength, vigour, and skill, to get aboard a vefsel going before a brisk wind; though indeed they are abundantly provided with all thefe requifites.

It was the 12th of December when they embarked on the Nile at Bulac, on board the Canja. At firft they had the precaution to apply to their friend Risk concerning their captain Hagi Haffan Abou Cuffi, and they obliged him to give his fon Mahomet in fecurity for his behaviour towards them. There was nothing fo much they defired as to be at fome diftance from Cairo on their voyage. In civility and extortion are always the confequence in this deteftable when you are about to leave it.

The wind being contrary, they were obliged to advance againft the ftream, by having the beat drawn with a rope. They advanced a few miles to two convents of Cophts, called Deireteen. Here they ftopped to pafs the night, having had a fine view of the Pyramids of Geeza and Saccara, and being then in fight of a prodigious number of others built of white clay, and ftretching far into the defert to the fouth-west. Two of thefe feemed full as large as thofe that are called the Pyramids of Geeza. One of them was of a very extraordinary form; it feemed as if it had been intended at firft to be a very large one, but that the builder's heart or means had failed him, and that he had brought it to a very mifhapen difproportioned head at laft.

On the fide of the Nile, oppofite to their boat, a little farther to the fouth, was a tribe of Arabs encamped. Thefe were fubject to Cairo, or were then at peace with its government. They are called Howadat, being a part of the Atouni, a large tribe that poffeffes the Iftmus of Suez, and from that go up between the Red Sea and the mountains that bound the eaft part of the Valley of Egypt. They reach to the length of Coffeir, where they border upon another large tribe  
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called Ababdé, which extends from thence up into Nubia. Both these are what were anciently called *Shepherds*, and are constantly at war with each other.

Mr. Bruce now bargained with the Shekh of the Howadat to furnish him with horses to go to Metrahenny, or Mohannan, where once he said Mimf had stood, a large city, the capital of all Egypt. All this was executed with great success. Early in the morning the Shekh of the Howadat had passed at Miniel, where there is a ferry, the Nile being very deep, and attended our traveller with five horsemen and a spare horse for himself, at Metrahenny, south of Miniel, where there is a great plantation of palm-trees.

On the 13th, in the morning about eight o'clock, our travellers let out their vast sails, and passed a very considerable village called Turra, on the east side of the river, and Shekh Atman, a small village, consisting of about thirty houses, on the west.

The Nile here is about a quarter of a mile broad; and there cannot be the smallest doubt, in any person disposed to be convinced, that this is by very far the narrowest part of Egypt yet seen; for it is certainly less than half-a-mile between the foot of the mountain and the Libyan shore.

Having gained the western edge of the palm-trees at Mohannan, our travellers had a fair view of the Pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly S. W. They saw three large granite pillars S. W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest or cistern of granite; but no obelisks, or stones with hieroglyphics, and they thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly.

These, their conductor said, were the ruins of Mimf, the ancient seat of the Pharaohs Kings of Egypt, that there was another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menouf, below Terane and Batn el Baccara.

Mr. Bruce, perceiving now that he could get no further intelligence, returned with his kind guide, whom he gratified for his pains, and they parted content with each other.

All the people in the date villages seemed to be of a yellower and more sick-like colour, than any our traveller

veller had ever seen; besides, they had an inanimate, dejected, grave countenance, and seemed rather to avoid, than wish for any conversation.

It was near four o'clock in the afternoon when they returned to their boatmen. By the way they met one of their Moors, who told them, that they had drawn up the boat opposite to the northern point of the palm-trees of Metrahenny.

The wind was fair and fresh, rather a little on their beam; when, in great spirits, they hoisted their main and fore-sails, leaving the point of Metrahenny. They saw the Pyramids of Saccara still S. W. of them; several villages on both sides of the river, but very poor and miserable; part of the ground on the east side had been overflowed, yet was not sown; a proof of the oppression and distress the husbandman suffers in the neighbourhood of Cairo, by the avarice and disagreement of the different officers of that motly incomprehensible government.

After sailing about two miles, they saw three men fishing in a very extraordinary manner and situation. They were on a raft of palm branches, supported on a float of clay jars, made fast together. The form was triangular, like the face of a Pyramid; two men, each provided with a casting net, stood at the two corners, and threw their net into the stream together; the third stood at the third corner, which was foremost, and threw his net the moment the other two drew theirs out of the water. And this they repeated, in perfect time, and with surprising regularity. The Rais thought our travellers wanted to buy fish, and letting go his main-sail, ordered them on board with a great tone of superiority.

They were in a moment alongside of them; and one of them came on board, lashing his miserable raft to a rope at their stern. In recompence for their trouble they gave them some large pieces of tobacco, and this transported them so much, that they brought them a basket, of several different kinds of fish, all small; excepting one laid on the top of the basket, which was a clear salmon-coloured fish, silvered upon its sides, with a shade of blue upon its back. It weighed about 10 lb.

and was most excellent, being perfectly firm, and white like a perch. There are some of this kind 70 lb. weight. Mr. Bruce examined their nets, they were rather of a smaller circumference than our casting nets in England; the weight, as far as he could guess, rather heavier in proportion than ours, the thread that composed them being smaller. He could not sufficiently admire their success, in a violent stream of deep water, such as the Nile; for the river was at least twelve feet deep where they were fishing, and the current very strong.

These fishers offered willingly to take Mr. Bruce upon the raft to teach him; but his curiosity went not so far. They said their fishing was merely accidental, and in course of their trade, which was selling these potter earthen jars, which they got near Ashmounein; and after having carried the raft with them to Cairo, they untie, sell them at the market, and carry the produce home in money, or in necessaries upon their back. A very poor æconomical trade, but sufficient, as they said, from the carriage of crude materials, the moulding, making, and sending them to market, to Cairo and to different places in the Delta, to afford occupation to two thousand men.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, they came to the point of an island; there were several villages with date trees on both sides of them; the ground was overflowed by the Nile, and cultivated. The current was very strong here. They then came to Halouan, an island now divided into a number of small ones, by canals being cut through it, and, under different Arabic names, they still reach very far up the stream. Mr. Bruce landed to see if there were remains of the olive tree which Strabo says grew here, but without success. Our travellers imagined, however, that there had been such a Tree; because opposite to one of the divisions into which this large island is broken, there was a village called Zeitoon, or the Olive Tree.

On the 15th of December, the weather being nearly calm, they left the north end of the island; their course was due south, the line of the river; and three miles farther

farther they passed Woodan, and a collection of villages, all going by that name, upon the east.

The ground is all cultivated about this village, to the foot of the mountains, which is not above four miles; but it is full eight on the west all overflowed and sown. The Nile is here but shallow, and narrow, not exceeding a quarter of a mile broad, and three feet deep; owing, as is supposed, to the resistance made by the island in the middle of the current, and by a bend it makes, thus intercepting the sand brought down by the stream. The mountains here come down till within two miles of Sufel Woodan, for so the village is called. They were told there were some ruins to the westward of this, but only rubbish, neither arch nor column standing.

The wind still freshening, they passed by several villages on each side, all surrounded with palm-trees, verdant and pleasant, but conveying an idea of sameness and want of variety, such as every traveller must have felt who has sailed in the placid, muddy, green-banked rivers in Holland. The Nile, however, is here full a mile broad, the water deep, and the current strong. The wind seemed to be exasperated by the resistance of the stream, and blew fresh and steadily, as indeed it generally does where the current is violent.

They passed with great velocity Nizelet Embarak, Cubabac, Nizelet Omar, Racca Kibeer, then Racca Segulier, and came in sight of Atfia, a large village at some distance from the Nile; all the valley here was green, the palm-groves beautiful, and the Nile deep. Still it was not the prospect that pleased; for the whole ground that was sown to the sandy ascent of the mountains, was but a narrow stripe of three quarters of a mile broad, and the mountains themselves, which here began to have a moderate degree of elevation, and which bounded this narrow valley, were white, gritty, sandy, and uneven, and perfectly destitute of all manner of verdure.

They kept, as usual, a very good watch all night, which passed without disturbance. Next day, the 17th, was exceedingly hazy in the morning, though it cleared about ten o'clock. It was, however, sufficient



ficient to shew the falsity of the observation of an author, who says, that the Nile emits no fogs, and in the course of the voyage they often saw other examples of the fallacy of this assertion.

The Pyramids, which had been on their right hand at different distances since they passed the Saccara, terminated here in one of a very singular construction. About two miles from the Nile, between Suf and Woodan, there is a Pyramid, which at first sight appears all of a piece; it is of unbaked bricks, and perfectly entire; the inhabitants call it the false Pyramid. The lower part is a hill exactly shaped like a Pyramid for a considerable height. Upon this is continued the superstructure in proportion till it terminates like a Pyramid above; and, at a distance, it would require a good eye to discern the difference, for the face of the stone has a great resemblance to clay, of which the Pyramids of the Saccara are composed.

The 18th, about eight o'clock in the morning, they prepared to get on their way; the wind was calm, and south.

After passing Comadreezy, the Nile is again divided by another fragment of the island, and inclines a little to the westward. On the east is the village Sidi Ali el Courani. It has only two palm-trees belonging to it, and on that account hath a deserted appearance; but the wheat upon the banks was five inches high, and more advanced than any they had seen. The mountains on the east-side came down to the banks of the Nile, were bare, white, and sandy, and there was on this side no appearance of villages. The river here is about a quarter of a mile broad, or something more. It should seem it was the Angyrorum Civitas of Ptolemy, but neither night nor day could Mr. Bruce get an instant for observation, on account of thin white clouds, which confused (for they scarce can be said to cover) the heavens continually.

They now passed a convent of cophts, with a small plantation of palms. It was a miserable building, with a dome like to a saint's or marabout's, and stood quite alone. About four miles from this was the village of Nizelet el Arab, consisting of miserable huts. Here began

began large plantations of sugar canes, the first they had yet seen; they were then loading boats with these to carry them to Cairo. Mr. Bruce procured from them as many as he desired. The canes were about an inch and a quarter in diameter, they were cut in round pieces about three inches long, and, after having been slit, they were steeped in a wooden bowl of water. They give a very agreeable taste and flavour to it, and make it the most refreshing drink in the world, whilst by imbibing the water, the canes become more juicy, and lose a part of their heavy, clammy sweetness, which would occasion thirst. Our traveller was surprized at finding this plant in such a state of perfection so far to the northward. They were now scarcely arrived in lat.  $29^{\circ}$ , and nothing could be more beautiful and perfect than the canes were.

Sugar, tobacco, red podded or Cayenne pepper, cotton, some species of Solanum, Indigo, and a multitude of others, have not as yet their origin well ascertained. Prince Henry of Portugal put his discoveries to immediate profit, and communicated what he found new in each part in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, to where it was wanting. It will be soon difficult to ascertain to each quarter of the world the articles that belong to it, and fix upon those few that are common to all. Even wheat, the early produce of Egypt, is not a native of it. It grows under the Line, within the Tropics, and as far north and south as we know. Severe northern winters seem to be necessary to it, and it vegetates vigorously in frost and snow. But whence it came, and in what shape, is yet left to conjecture.

Though the stripe of green wheat was continued all along the Nile, it was interrupted for about half a mile on each side of the coptish convent. These poor wretches know, that though they may sow, yet, from the violence of the Arabs, they shall never reap, and therefore leave the ground desolate.

On the side opposite to Sment, the stripe began again, and continued from Sment to Mey-Moom, about two miles, and from Mey-Moom to Shenuiah, one mile further. In this small stripe, not above a quarter of a mile broad, besides wheat, clover was sown, which they call Berfine, and cultivate in the same manner as in England.

They next passed Boush, a village on the west-side of the Nile, two miles south of Shenujah; and, a little further, Beni Ali, where they saw for a minute the mountains on the right or west side of the Nile, running in a line nearly south, and very high. About five miles from Boush is the village of Maniareish on the east side of the river, and here the mountains on that side end.

The country all around is well cultivated, and seemed to be of the utmost fertility; the inhabitants were better clothed, and seemingly less miserable and oppressed, than those they left behind in the places near Cairo. The Nile was very shallow at Beni Suef, and the current strong. They touched several times in the middle of the stream, and came to anchor at Baha, about a quarter of a mile above Beni Suef, where they passed the night.

They were told to keep good watch here all night, that there were troops of robbers on the east-side of the water, who had lately plundered some boats, and that the cacheff either dared not, or would not give them any assistance. They indeed kept strict watch, but saw no robbers, and were no other way molested.

The 18th they had fine weather and a fair wind. Still Mr. Bruce thought the villages were beggarly, and the constant groves of palm-trees so perfectly verdant, did not compensate for the penury of the sown land, the narrowness of the valley, and barrenness of the mountains. — They arrived in the evening at Zohora, about a mile south of Eufa. It consisted of three plantations of dates, and was five miles from Miniet, and there they passed the night.

The wind was so high they scarcely could carry their sails; the current was strong at Shekh Temine, and the violence with which they went through the water was terrible. The Rais told Mr. Bruce, that they should have slackened their sails, if it had not been, that, seeing him curious about the construction of the vessel and her parts, and as they were in no danger of striking, though the water was low, he wanted to shew him what she could do.

They passed by a number of villages on the western shore, the eastern seeming to be perfectly unpeopled:— First, Feshné, a considerable place; then Miniet, a large town

town, which had been fortified towards the water, at least there were some guns there. A rebel Bey had taken possession of it, and it was usual to stop here, the river being both narrow and rapid; but the Rais was in great spirits, and resolved to hold his wind, as Mr. Bruce had desired him, and no body made them any signal from shore.

They came to a village called Rhoda, whence they saw the magnificent ruins of the ancient city of Antinous, built by Adrian. Unluckily Mr. Bruce knew nothing of these ruins when he left Cairo, and had taken no pains to provide himself with letters of recommendation as he could easily have done.

Mr. Bruce asked the Rais what sort of people they were? He said that the town was composed of very bad 'Turks, very bad Moors, and very bad Christians; that several devils had been seen among them lately, who had been discovered by being better and quieter than the rest. The Nubian geographer informs us, that it was from this town Pharaoh brought his magicians, to compare their powers with those of Moses; an anecdote worthy that great historian.

Our traveller told the Rais, that he must, of necessity, go ashore. He did not seem to be fond of the expedition; but hauling in his main-sail, and with his fore-sail full, stood S. S. E. directly under the Ruins. In a short time they arrived at the landing-place; the banks were low, and they brought up in a kind of bight or small bay, where there was a stake, so their vessel touched very little, or rather swung clear.

Abou Cuffi's son Mahomet, and the Arab, went on shore, under pretence of buying some provision, and to see how the land lay; but after the character they had of the inhabitants, all their fire arms were brought to the door of the cabin. In the mean time, partly with his naked eye, and partly with his glass, Mr. Bruce was enabled to contemplate the Ruins attentively, which filled him with astonishment and admiration. The columns of the angle of the portico were standing fronting to the north, part of the tympanum, cornice, frize, and architrave, all entire, and very much ornamented; thick trees hid what was behind. The columns were of the largest size and fluted; the capitals

Corinthian, and in all appearance entire. They were of white Parian marble probably, but had lost the extreme whiteness, or polish, of the Antinous at Rome, and were changed to the colour of the fighting gladiator, or rather to a brighter yellow. He saw indistinctly, also, a triumphal arch, or gate of the town, in the very same style; and some blocks of very white shining stone which seemed to be alabaster.

Mr. Bruce and those who remained with him in the boat were on a sudden alarmed by hearing a violent dispute between the two who went on shore and the inhabitants. Upon this the Rais stripping, slipped off the rope from the stake, and another of the Moors struck a strong perch or pole into the river, and twisted the rope round it. They were in a bight, or calm place, so that the stream did not move the boat.

Mahomet and the Moor came presently in sight; the people had taken Mahomet's turban from him, and they were apparently on the very worst terms. Mahomet cried to our travellers that the whole town was coming, and getting near the boat, he and the Moor jumped in with great agility. A number of people was assembled, and three shots were fired into the boat, very quickly, the one after the other.

Mr. Bruce cried out in Arabic, "Infidels, thieves, and robbers! come on, or we shall presently attack you:" upon which he immediately fired a ship-blunderbuss with pistol small bullets, but with little elevation, among the bushes, so as not to touch them. The three or four men that were nearest fell flat upon their faces, and slid away among the bushes on their bellies, and they saw no more of them.

They now put their vessel into the stream, filled their fore-sail and stood off, Mahomet crying, "Be upon your guard, if you are men, we are Sanjack's soldiers, and will come for the turban to-night." More they neither heard nor saw.

They were no sooner out of their reach, than the Rais, filling his pipe, and looking very grave, told Mr. Bruce to thank God, that our traveller was in the vessel with such a man as he was, as it was owing to that only he escaped from being murdered a-shore. "Certainly,  
Haffan,

Haffan, (said Mr. Bruce) under God, the way of escaping from being murdered on land, is never to go out of the boat; but don't you think that my blunderbuss was as effectual a mean as your holiness? Tell me, Mahomet, What did they do to you?" He said, they had not seen them come in, but had heard of them ever since they were at Metrahenny, and had waited to rob or murder them; that upon now hearing they were come, they had all ran to their houses for their arms, and were coming down, immediately, to plunder the boat; upon which he and the Moor ran off, and being met by these three people, and the boy, on the road, who had nothing in their hands, one of them snatched the turban off. He likewise added, that there were two parties in the town; one in favour of Ali Bey, the other friends to a rebel Bey who had taken Miniet; that they had fought two or three days ago, among themselves, and were going to fight again, each of them having called Arabs to their assistance.

Haffan and his son Mahomet were violently exasperated, and nothing would serve them but to go in again near the shore, and fire all the guns and blunderbusses among the people. But, besides that Mr. Bruce had no inclination of that kind, he was very loth to frustrate the attempts of some future traveller, who might add this to the great remains of architecture preserved already.

At Reremont there are a great number of Persian wheels, to draw the water for the sugar canes, which belong to Christians. The water thus brought up from the river runs down to the plantations, below or behind the town, after being emptied on the banks above; a proof that here the descent from the mountains is not an optic fallacy, as a former writer says.

They passed Ashmounein, probably the ancient Lato-  
polis, a large town, which gives the name to the province, where there are magnificent ruins of Egyptian architecture; and after they came to Melawé, larger, better built, and better inhabited than Ashmounein, the residence of the Cacheff. Mahomet Aga was there at that time with troops from Cairo; he had taken Miniet, and, by the friendship of Shekh Hamam, the great Arab, go-

vernor of Upper Egypt, he kept all the people on that side of the river in allegiance to Ali Bey.

Our traveller here received about a gallon of brandy, and a jar of lemons and oranges, preserved in honey; both very agreeable. Likewise a lamb, and some garden-stuffs. Among the sweetmeats was some horse-radish preserved like ginger, which certainly, though it might be wholesome, was the very worst stuff ever tasted. Mr. Bruce gave a good square piece of it, well wrapped in honey, to the Rais, who coughed and spit half an hour after, crying he was poisoned.

They passed the Mollé, a small village with a great number of acacia trees intermixed with the plantations of palms. These occasion a pleasing variety, not only from the difference of the shape of the tree, but also from the colour and diversity of the green.

On the 20th, early in the morning, they again set sail and passed several villages, till at length they reached Siout, where the wind turned directly south, so they were obliged to stay at Tima the rest of the 20th, where Mr. Bruce went on shore. It is a small town, surrounded like the rest with groves of palm trees. The Nile is here full of sandy islands. Those that the inundation has first left are all sown, and are chiefly on the east. The others on the west were barren and uncultivated; all of them mostly composed of sand.

The 21st, in the morning they came to Gawa, where is the second scene of ruins of Egyptian architecture, after leaving Cairo. Mr. Bruce immediately went on shore, and found a small temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in several separate pieces. They seemed by that, and their slight proportions, to be of the most modern of that species of building; but the whole were covered with hieroglyphics, the old story over again, the hawk and the serpent, the man sitting with the dog's head, with the perch, or measuring rod; in one hand, the hemisphere and globes with wings, and leaves of the bananatree, as is supposed, in the other. The temple is filled with rubbish and dung of cattle, which the Arabs bring in here to shelter them from the heat.

On

On the 22d, at night, they arrived at Achmim. Mr. Bruce landed with his quadrant and instruments, with a view of observing an eclipse of the moon; but, immediately after her rising, clouds and mist so effectually covered the whole heavens, that it was not even possible to catch a star of any size passing the meridian. Achmim is a very considerable place.

The 24th of December, they left Achmim, and came to the village Shekh Ali on the west, two miles and a quarter distant. They then passed Hamdi, and several other villages; and the next morning, the 25th, impatient to visit the greatest, and most magnificent scene of ruins that are in Upper Egypt, they set out from Beliani, and, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, arrived at Dendera. Although they had heard that the people of this place were the very worst in Egypt, they were not very apprehensive. They had two letters from the Bey, to two very principal men there, commanding them, as they would answer with their lives and fortunes, to have a special care that no mischief befel them; and likewise a very pressing letter to Shekh Hamam at Fourshout, in whose territory they were.

Dendera is a considerable town at this day, all covered with thick groves of palm trees, the same that Juvenal describes it to have been in his time. A mile south of the town are ruins of two temples, one of which is so much buried under ground, that little of it is to be seen; but the other, which is by far the most magnificent, is entire, and accessible on every side. It is also covered with hieroglyphics, both within and without, all in relief; and of every figure, simple and compound, that ever has been published, or called an hieroglyphic.

The form of the building is an oblong square, the ends of which are occupied by two large apartments, or vestibules, supported by monstrous columns, all covered with hieroglyphics likewise. Some are in form of men and beasts; some seem to be the figures of instruments of sacrifice, while others, in a smaller size, and less distinct form, seem to be inscriptions in the current hand of hieroglyphics. They are all finished with care.

The capitals are of one piece, and consist of four huge human heads, placed back to back against one another, with



with bat's ears, and an ill-imagined, and worse executed, fold drapery between them. Above these is a large oblong square block, still larger than the capitals, with four flat fronts, disposed like pannels, that is with a kind of square border round the edges, while the faces and fronts are filled with hieroglyphics; as are the walls and ceilings of every part of the temple. Between these two apartments in the extremities, there are three other apartments, resembling the first, in every respect, only that they are smaller. The whole building is of common white stone, from the neighbouring mountains, only those two, in which have been sunk the pirms for hanging the outer doors, (for it seems they had doors even in those days) are of granite, or black and blue porphyry.

The top of the temple is flat, the spouts to carry off the water are monstrous heads of sphinxes; the globes with wings, and the two serpents, with a kind of shield or breast-plate between are here frequently repeated, such as we see them on the Carthaginian medals.

\* The hieroglyphics have been painted over, and great part of the colouring yet remains upon the stones, red, in all its shades, especially that dark dusky colour called Tyrian purple; yellow, very fresh; sky-blue (that is, near the blue of an eastern sky, several shades lighter than ours); green of different shades; these are all the colours preserved.

A little before our traveller came to Dendera, they saw the first crocodile, and afterwards hundreds, lying upon every island, like large flocks of cattle; yet the inhabitants of Dendera drive their beasts of every kind into the river, and they stand there for hours. The girls and women too, that come to fetch water in jars, stand up to their knees in the water for a considerable time; and if may we guess by what happens, their danger is full as little as their fear, for none of them, as far as our travellers could learn, had been bitten by a crocodile. However, if the Denderites were as keen and expert hunters of Crocodiles, as some historians tell us they formerly were, there is surely no part of the Nile where they would have better sport than here, immediately before their own city.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce, having viewed the ruins, proceeded to Furfhout, and went to the convent of Italian Friars, who, like those of Achmim, are of the order of the reformed Franciscans.

Furfhout is in a large and cultivated plain. It is nine miles over to the foot of the mountains, all sown with wheat. There are, likewise, plantations of sugar canes. The town, as they said, contains above 10,000 people, but this computation is perhaps rather exaggerated.

While our travellers were at Furfhout, there happened a very extraordinary phenomenon. It rained the whole night, and till about nine o'clock next morning; when the people began to be very apprehensive lest the whole town should be destroyed. It is a perfect prodigy to see rain here; and the prophets said it portended a dissolution of government, which was justly verified soon afterwards, and at that time indeed was extremely probable.

They left Furfhout the 7th of January, 1769, early in the morning. They had not hired their boat farther than Furfhout; but the good terms which subsisted between Mr. Bruce and the faint, his Rais, made an accommodation very easy to carry them farther. He now agreed for 4l. to carry them to Syene and down again; but, if he behaved well, he expected a trifling premium. "And, if you behave ill, Hassan, (said Mr. Bruce) what do you think you deserve?"—"To be hanged, (said he) I deserve, and desire no better."

The wind at first was but scant; however, it freshened up towards noon, when they passed a large town called How, on the west side of the Nile. About four o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at El Gourni, a small village, a quarter of a mile distant from the Nile. It has in it a temple of old Egyptian architecture. Mr. Bruce thinks, that this, and the two adjoining heaps of ruins, which are at the same distance from the Nile, probably might have been part of the ancient Thebes.

Nothing remains of the ancient Thebes but four prodigious temples, all of them in appearance more ancient, but neither so entire, nor so magnificent, as those of Dendera.

Dendera. The temples at Medinet Tabu are the most elegant of these. The hieroglyphics are cut to the depth of half-a-foot, in some places, but we have still the same figures, or rather a less variety, than at Dendera.

A number of robbers, who much resemble our gypsies, live in the holes of the mountains above Thebes. They are all out-laws, and punished with death if elsewhere found. Osman Bey, an ancient governor of Girgè, unable to suffer any longer the disorders committed by these people, ordered a quantity of dried faggots to be brought together, and, with his soldiers, took possession of the face of the mountain, where the greatest number of these wretches were: He then ordered all their caves to be filled with this dry brushwood, to which he set fire, so that most of them were destroyed; but they have since recruited their numbers, without changing their manners.

About half a mile north of El Gourni, are the magnificent, stupendous sepulchres of Thebes. The mountains of the Thebaid come close behind the town; they are not connected with each other in ridges, but stand insulated upon their bases; so that you can get round each of them. A hundred of these, it is said, are excavated into sepulchral, and a variety of other apartments.

Luxor, and Carnac, which is a mile and a quarter below it, are by far the largest and most magnificent scenes of ruins in Egypt, much more extensive and stupendous than those of Thebes and Dendera put together.

There are two obelisks here of great beauty, and in good preservation; they are less than those at Rome, but not at all mutilated. The pavement, which is made to receive the shadow, is to this day so horizontal, it might still be used in observation.

At Carnac they saw the remains of two vast rows of sphinxes, one on the right-hand, the other on the left, (their heads were mostly broken) and, a little lower, a number as it should seem of termini. They were composed of basalt, with a dog or lion's head, of Egyptian sculpture. They stood in lines likewise, as if intended as an avenue to some principal building.

On

On the 17th, our travellers left Luxor, and sailed with a very fair wind, and in great spirits. In the evening, they came to an anchor on the eastern shore nearly opposite to Efné. They passed over to Efné next morning. It is the ancient Latopolis, and has very great remains, particularly a large temple, which though the whole of it is of the remotest antiquity, seems to have been built at different times, or rather out of the ruins of different ancient buildings. The hieroglyphics upon this are very ill executed, and are not painted. The town is the residence of an Arab Shekh, and the inhabitants are a very bad sort of people; but as Mr. Bruce was dressed like an Arab, they did not molest, because they did not know him.

On the 18th, they left Efné, and passed the town of Edfu, where there are likewise considerable remains of Egyptian architecture.

The wind failing, they were obliged to stop in a very poor, desolate, and dangerous part of the Nile, called Jibbel el Silfelly, where a boom, or chain, was drawn across the river, to hinder, as is supposed, the Nubian boats from committing piratical practices in Egypt lower down the stream.

About noon, they passed Coom Ombo, a round building like a castle, and then arrived at Daroo, a miserable mansion, unconscious that, some years after, they were to be indebted to that paltry village for the man who was to guide them through the desert, and restore them to their native country and their friends.

On the 20th, they sailed with a favourable wind till about an hour before sun-rise, and about nine o'clock came to an anchor on the south end of the palm groves, and north end of the town of Syene, nearly opposite to an island in which there is a small handsome Egyptian temple, pretty entire. It is the temple of *Cnuphis*, where formerly was the Nilometer.

Adjoining to the palm trees was a very good comfortable house, belonging to Hussein Schourbatchie, the man that used to be sent from that place to Cairo, to receive the pay of the janissaries in garrison at Syene, upon whom too Mr. Bruce had credit for a very small sum.

They

They passed out at the south gate of the town, into the first small sandy plain. A very little to the left there are a number of tomb stones with inscriptions in the Cufic character, which travellers erroneously have called an *unknown* language and letters, although it was the only letter and language known to Mahomet, and the most learned of his sect in the first ages.

After passing the tomb-stones without the gate, they came to a plain about five miles long, bordered on the left by a hill of no considerable height, and sandy like the plain, upon which are seen some ruins, more modern than those Egyptian buildings already described. They seem indeed to be a mixture of all kinds and ages.

The distance from the gate of the town to Termiffi, or Marada, the small villages on the cataract, is exactly six English miles. After the description already given of this cataract in some authors, a traveller has reason to be surpris'd, when arriv'd on its banks, to find that vessels sail up the cataract, and consequently the fall cannot be so violent as to deprive people of hearing.

The bed of the river, occupied by the water, was not then half a mile broad. It is divided into a number of small channels, by large blocks of granite, from thirty to forty feet high. The current, confin'd for a long course between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itself with great violence. Finding, in every part before it, opposition from the rocks of granite, and forced back by these, it meets the opposite currents. The chafing of the water against these huge obstacles, the meeting of the contrary currents one with another, creates such a violent ebullition, and makes such a noise and disturbed appearance, that it fills the mind with confusion, rather than terror.

On the 22d, 23d, and 24th of January, our travellers being at Syene, in a house immediately east of the small island in the Nile, by a mean of three observations of the sun in the meridian, Mr. Bruce concluded the latitude of Syene, to be  $24^{\circ} 0' 45''$  north.

As Mr. Bruce was now about to launch into that part of his expedition, in which he was to have no further intercourse with Europe, he set himself to work to examine all his observations, and put his journal in such forwardness

forwardness by explanations, where needful, that the labours and pains he had hitherto been at, might not be totally lost to the public, if he should perish in the journey he had undertaken, which, every day, from all information he could procure, appeared to be more and more desparate.

Having finished these, at least so far as to make them intelligible to others, he conveyed them to his friends at Cairo, to remain in their custody till he should return, or news come that he was otherwise disposed of.

On Thursday, the 16th of February, 1769, Mr. Bruce heard the caravan was ready to set out for Kenné, the Cæne Emporium of antiquity. All the way from Kenné, close to their left, were desert hills, on which not the least verdure grew, but a few plants of a large species of Solanum, called Burrumbuc.

On the 17th, at eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bruce, having mounted his servants all on horseback, and taken the charge of their own camels, (for there was a confusion in their caravan not to be described, and the guards they knew were but a set of thieves) they advanced slowly into the desert. There were about two hundred men on horseback, armed with firelocks; all of them lions, if you believed their word or appearance; but our travellers were credibly informed, that fifty of the Arabs, at first sight, would have made these heroes fly without any bloodshed.

Our travellers' road was all the way in an open plain, bounded by hillocks of sand, and fine gravel, perfectly hard, and not perceptibly above the level of the plain country of Egypt. About twelve miles distant there is a ridge of mountains of no considerable height, perhaps the most barren in the world. Between these their road lay through plains, never three miles broad, but without trees, shrubs, or herbs. There are not even the traces of any living creature, neither serpent nor lizard, antelope nor ostrich, the usual inhabitants of the most dreary deserts. There is no sort of water on the surface, brackish or sweet. Even the birds seem to avoid the place as pestilential, not one being seen of any kind so much as flying over. The sun was burning hot, and,  
upon

upon rubbing two sticks together, in half a minute, they both took fire, and flamed; a mark how near the country was reduced to a general conflagration!

At half past three, they pitched their tent near some draw-wells, which, upon tasting, they found bitterer than foot. They had, indeed, other water carried by the camels in skins. This well-water had only one needful quality, it was cold, and therefore very comfortable for refreshing them outwardly. This unpleasant station is called Legeta; here they were obliged to pass the night, and all next day, to wait the arrival of the caravan of Cus, Esté, and part of those of Kenne and Ebanout.

In the evening came twenty Turks from Caramania, which is that part of Asia Minor immediately on the side of the Mediterranean opposite to the coast of Egypt; all of them neatly and cleanly dressed like Turks, all on camels, armed with swords, a pair of pistols at their girdle, and a short neat gun; their arms were in very good order, with their flints and ammunition stowed in cartridge-boxes, in a very soldier-like manner. A few of these spoke Arabic, and Mr. Bruce's Greek servant, Michael, interpreted for the rest. Having been informed, that the large tent belonged to an Englishman, they came into it without ceremony. They told Mr. Bruce, that they were a number of neighbours and companions, who had set out together to go to Mecca, to the Hadje; and not knowing the language, or customs of the people, they had been but indifferently used since they landed at Alexandria, particularly somewhere about Achmim; that one of the Owam, or swimming thieves, had been on board of them in the night, and had carried off a small portmanteau with about 200 sequins in gold; that, though a complaint had been made to the Bey of Girgé, yet no satisfaction had been obtained; and that now they had heard an Englishman was here, whom they reckoned their *countryman*, they had come to propose, that they should make a common cause to defend each other against all enemies.—What they meant by *countryman* was this:—There is in Asia Minor, somewhere between Anatolia and Caramania, a district which they call Caz Dagli, and this the Turks believe was the country from which the English first drew there origin; and on this account  
they

they never fail to claim kindred with the English wherever they meet, especially if they stand in need of their assistance.

Mr. Bruce says, he cannot conceal the secret pleasure he had in finding the character of his country so firmly established among nations so distant, enemies to our religion, and strangers to our government. Turks from Mount Taurus, and Arabs from the desert of Libya, thought themselves unsafe among their own countrymen, but trusted their lives and their little fortunes implicitly to the direction and word of an Englishman whom they had never before seen.

They staid all the 18th at Legeta, waiting for the junction of the caravans, and departed the 19th at six o'clock in the morning. Their journey, all that day, was through a plain, never less than a mile broad, and never broader than three; the hills, on their right and left, were higher than the former, and of a brownish calcined colour, like the stones on the sides of Mount Vesuvius, but without any herb or tree upon them.

At half past ten, they passed a mountain of green and red marble, and at twelve they entered a plain called Hamra, where they first observed the sand red, with a purple cast, of the colour of porphyry, and this is the signification of Hamra, the name of the valley.

Mr. Bruce dismounted here, to examine of what the rocks were composed; and found that here began the quarries of porphyry, without the mixture of any other stone; but it was imperfect, brittle and soft. He had not been engaged in this pursuit an hour, before they were alarmed with a report that the Atouni had attacked the rear of the caravan; they were at the head of it. The Turks and his servants were all drawn together, at the foot of the mountain, and posted as advantageously as possible. But it soon appeared, that they were some thieves only, who had attempted to steal some loads of corn from camels that were weak, or fallen lame, perhaps in intelligence with those of their own caravans.

On the 20th, at six o'clock in the morning, they left Main el Mafarek, and, at ten, came to the mouth of the defiles. At eleven they began to descend, having had a very imperceptible ascent from Kenné all the way.

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On the 21st, they departed early in the morning from Koraim, and, at ten o'clock, they passed several defiles, perpetually alarmed by a report, that the Arabs were approaching; none of whom they ever saw.

At length they arrived at Coffeir, a small mud-walled village, built upon the shore, among hillocks of floating sand. It is defended by a square fort of hewn stone, with square towers in the angles, which have in them three small cannon of iron, and one of brass, all in very bad condition; of no other use but to terrify the Arabs, and hinder them from plundering the town when full of corn, going to Mecca in time of famine. The walls are not high; nor was it necessary, if the great guns were in order. But as this is not the case, the ramparts are heightened by clay, or by mud-walls, to screen the soldiers from the fire-arms of the Arabs, that might otherwise command them from the sandy hills in the neighbourhood.

The port, if we may call it so, is on the south-east of the town. It is nothing but a rock which runs out about four hundred yards into the sea, and defends the vessels, which ride to the west of it, from the north and north-east winds, as the houses of the town cover them from the north-west. There is a large inclosure with a high mud-wall, and, within, every merchant has a shop or magazine for his corn and merchandise: little of this last is imported, unless coarse India goods, for the consumption of Upper Egypt, since the trade to Dongola and Sennaar has been interrupted.

Mr. Bruce found, by many meridian altitudes of the sun, taken at the castle, that Coffeir is in lat.  $26^{\circ} 7' 51''$  north; and, by three observations of Jupiter's satellites, he found its longitude to be  $34^{\circ} 4' 15''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The caravan from Syene arrived at this time, escorted by four hundred Ababdé, all upon camels, each armed with two short javelins. The manner of their riding was very whimsical; they had two small saddles on each camel, and sat back to back, which might be, in their practice, convenient enough; but, if they had been to fight with our travellers, every ball would have killed two of them.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce now took up his quarters in the castle, and as the Ababbé had told strange stories about the Mountain of Emeralds, he determined, till his captain should return, to make a voyage thither. There was no possibility of knowing the distance by report; sometimes it was twenty-five miles, sometimes it was fifty, and sometimes it was a hundred.

He chose a man who had been twice at these mountains of emeralds; and with the best boat then in the harbour, on Tuesday the 14th of March, they sailed, with the wind at North East, from the harbour of Cofseir, about an hour before the dawn of day. They kept coasting along, with a very moderate wind, much diverted with the red and green appearances of the marble mountains upon the coast. Their vessel had one sail, like a straw mattrafs, made of the leaves of a kind of palm-tree, which they call *Doom*. It was fixed above, and drew up like a curtain, but did not lower with a yard like a sail; so that upon stress of weather, if the sail was furled, it was so top-heavy, that the ship must founder, or the mast be carried away. But, by way of indemnification, the planks of the vessel were sewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron, in the whole ship; so that when you struck upon a rock, seldom any damage ensued.

On the 15th, about nine o'clock, Mr. Bruce saw a large high rock, like a pillar, rising out of the sea. At first, he took it for a part of the Continent; but, as he advanced nearer it, the sun being very clear, and the sea calm, he took an observation, and as their situation was lat.  $25^{\circ} 6'$ , and the island about a league distant, to the S. S. W. of them, he concluded its latitude to be pretty exactly  $25^{\circ} 3'$  North. This island is about three miles from the shore, of an oval form, rising in the middle. It seems to be of granite; and is called, in the language of the country, *Jibbel Siberget*, which has been translated *the Mountain of Emeralds*. *Siberget*, however, is a word in the language of the *Shepherds*, who, probably, never in their lives saw an emerald; and though the Arabic translation is *Jibbel Zumrud*, and that word has been transferred to the emerald, a very fine stone, oftener seen since the discovery of the new world, yet  
Mr.

Mr. Bruce very much doubts, whether either *Siberget* or *Zumrud* ever meant Emerald in old times.

On the 16th, at day-break in the morning, our traveller took the Arab of Cossair with him, who knew the place. They landed on a point perfectly desert; at first, sandy like Cossair, afterwards, where the soil was fixed, producing some few plants of rue or absinthium. They advanced above three miles farther in a perfectly desert country, with only a few acacia-trees scattered here and there, and came to the foot of the mountains.

At the foot of the mountain, or about seven yards up from the base of it, are five pits or shafts, none of them four feet in diameter, called the *Zumrud Wells*, from which the ancients are said to have drawn the emeralds. Our travellers were not provided with materials, and little endowed with inclination, to descend into any one of them, where the air was probably bad. Mr. Bruce picked up the nozzels, and some fragments of lamps, like those of which we find millions in Italy; and some worn fragments, but very small ones, of that brittle green chrystal, which is the *fiberget* and *bilur* of Ethiopia, perhaps the *zumrud*, the *smaragdus* described by Pliny, but by no means the emerald, known since the discovery of the new world, whose first character absolutely defeats its pretension, the true Peruvian emerald being equal in hardness to the ruby.

Mr. Bruce, having satisfied his curiosity as to these mountains, without having seen a living creature, returned to his boat, where he found all well, and an excellent dinner of fish prepared.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, with a favourable wind and fine weather, they continued along the coast, with an easy sail. They saw no appearance of any inhabitants; the mountains were broken and pointed, taking the direction of the coast, advancing and receding as the shore itself did. They continued this voyage; and, after encountering storms that were nearly proving fatal to them, they arrived safe at Cossair, on the 19th, about the close of the evening.

On the 5th of April, Mr. Bruce, after having made his last observation of longitude at Cossair, embarked on board a vessel he had procured for the purpose, and failed

failed from that port. It was necessary to conceal from some of his servants his intention of proceeding to the bottom of the Gulph, lest, finding themselves among Christians so near Cairo, they might desert a voyage of which they were sick, before it was well begun.

In the morning of the 6th, they made the Jaffateen Islands. They are four in number, joined by shoals and sunken rocks. They are crooked, or bent, like half a bow, and are dangerous for ships sailing in the night, because there seems to be a passage between them, to which, when pilots are attending, they neglect two small dangerous sunk rocks, that lie almost in the middle of the entrance, in deep water.

On the 9th, they arrived at Tor, a small straggling village, with a convent of Greek Monks, belonging to Mount Sinai. Don John de Castro took this town when it was walled and fortified, soon after the discovery of the Indies by the Portuguese; it has never since been of any consideration. It serves now only as a watering-place for ships going to and from Suez. From this we have a distinct view of the points of the mountains Horeb and Sinai, which appear behind and above the others, their tops being often covered with snow in winter.

The Rais, having dispatched his business, was eager to depart; and, accordingly, on the 11th of April, at day-break, they stood out of the harbour of Tor. At night, by an observation of two stars in the meridian, Mr. Bruce concluded the latitude of Cape Mahomet to be  $27^{\circ} 54'$ , N. It must be understood of the mountain, or high land, which forms the Cape, not the low point. The ridge of rocks that run along behind Tor, bound that low sandy country, called the Desert of Sin, to the eastward, and end in this Cape, which is the high land observed at sea; but the lower part, or southernmost extreme of the Cape, runs about three leagues off from the high land, and is so low, that it cannot be seen from deck above three leagues.

On the 12th, they sailed from Cape Mahomet, just as the sun appeared. They passed the island of Tyrone, in the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf, which divides it near equally into two; or rather the north-west side is

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narrowest.

narrowest. The direction of the Gulf is nearly north and south.

On the 15th they came to an anchor at El Har, where they saw high, craggy, and broken mountains, called the Mountains of Ruddua. These abound with springs of water; all sorts of Arabian and African fruits grow here in perfection, and every kind of vegetable that they will take the pains to cultivate. It is the paradise of the people of Yambo; those of any substance have country houses there; but, strange to tell, they stay there but for a short time, and prefer the bare, dry, and burning sands about Yambo, to one of the finest climates, and most verdant pleasant countries, that exists in the world. The people of the place told Mr. Bruce, that water freezes there in winter, and that there are some of the inhabitants who have red hair, and blue eyes, a thing scarcely ever seen but in the coldest mountains in the East.

On the 16th, about ten o'clock, they passed a mosque, or Shekh's tomb on the main land, on their left hand, called Kubbet Yambo, and before eleven they anchored in the mouth of the port in deep water. Yambo, corruptly called Imbo, is an ancient city, now dwindled to a paltry village. Yambo, in the language of the country, signifies a fountain or spring, a very copious one of excellent water being found there among the date trees, and it is one of the stations of the Emir Hadje in going to, and coming from Mecca. The advantage of the port, however, which the other has not, and the protection of the castle, have carried trading vessels to the modern Yambo, where there is no water, but what is brought from pools dug on purpose to receive the rain when it falls.

Yambo, or at least the present town of that name, Mr. Bruce found, by many observations of the sun and stars, to be in latitude  $24^{\circ} 3' 35''$  north, and in longitude  $38^{\circ} 16' 30''$  east from the meridian of Greenwich.

The many delays of loading the wheat, the desire of *doubling* the quantity Mr. Bruce had been permitted to take, detained him at Yambo till the 27th of April, very much against his inclination. For he was not a little



little uneasy at thinking among what a banditti he lived, whose daily wish was to rob and murder him, from which they were restrained by fear only; and this, a fit of drunkenness, or a piece of bad news, such as a report of Ali Bey's death, might remove in a moment. Indeed they were allowed to want nothing. A sheep, some bad beer, and some very good wheat-bread, were delivered to them every day from the Aga, which, with dates and honey, and a variety of presents from those that Mr. Bruce attended as a physician, made them pass their time comfortably enough; they went frequently in the boats to fish at sea, and, as our traveller had brought with him three sizgigs of different sizes, with the proper lines, he seldom returned without killing four or five dolphins. The sport with the line was likewise excellent. They had vinegar in plenty at Yambo; onions, and several other greens, from Raddua; and, being all cooks, they lived well.

On the 28th of April, in the morning, they sailed with a cargo of wheat that did not belong to them, and three passengers, instead of one, for whom only Mr. Bruce had undertaken. After touching at different islands, on the 3d of May, they arrived at Jidda, close upon the quay, where the Officers of the Custom-house immediately took possession of their baggage.

The port of Jidda is very extensive, consisting of numberless shoals, small islands, and sunken rocks, with channels however between them, and deep water. You are very safe in Jidda harbour, whatever wind blows, as there are numberless shoals which prevent the water from ever being put into any general motion; and you may moor head and stern, with twenty anchors out if you please. But the danger of being lost, perhaps, lies in the going in and coming out of the harbour. Indeed the observation is here verified, the more *dangerous* the port, the *abler* the pilots, and no accidents ever happen.

Of all the new things Mr. Bruce had yet seen, what most astonished him was the manner in which trade was carried on at this place. Nine ships were there from India; some of them worth perhaps 200,000l. One merchant, a Turk, living at Mecca, thirty hours jour-

ney off, where no Christian dare go, whilst the whole Continent is open to the Turk for escape, offers to purchase the cargoes of four out of nine of these ships himself; another, of the same cast, comes and says, he will buy none, unless he has them all. The samples are shewn, and the cargoes of the whole nine ships are carried into the wildest part of Arabia, by men with whom one would not wish to trust ourselves alone in the field. This is not all, two India brokers come into the room to settle the price. One on the part of the India captain, the other on that of the buyer the Turk. They are neither Mahometans nor Christians, but have credit with both. They sit down on the carpet, and take an India shawl, which they carry on their shoulders, like a napkin, and spread it over their hands. They talk, in the mean time, on different subjects, of the arrival of ships from India, or of the news of the day, as if they were employed in no serious business whatever. After about twenty minutes spent in handling each others fingers below the shawl, the bargain is concluded, say for nine ships, without one word ever having been spoken on the subject, or pen or ink used in any shape whatever. There never was one instance of a dispute happening in *these sales*.

Matters are to be carried still further, and the money is to be paid. A private Moor, who has nothing to support him but his character, becomes responsible for the payment of these cargoes; his name was Ibrahim Saraf when Mr. Bruce was there; *i. e.* Ibrahim the Broker. This man delivers a number of coarse hempen bags, full of what is supposed to be money. He marks the contents upon the bag, and puts his seal upon the string that ties the mouth of it. This is received for what is marked upon it, without any one ever having opened one of the bags, and, in India, it is current for the value marked upon it, as long as the bag lasts.

Jidda, as well as all the east coast of the Red Sea, is very unwholesome. Immediately without the gate of that town, to the eastward, is a desert plain filled with the huts of the Bedowèens, or country Arabs, built of long bundles of spartum, or bent grass, put together like fascines. These Bedowèens supply Jidda with  
milk

milk and butter. There is no stirring out of town, even for a walk, unless for about half a mile, on the south side by the sea, where there is a number of stinking pools of stagnant water, which contributes to make the town very unwholesome.

This place, besides being in the most unwholesome part of Arabia, is, at the same time, in the most barren and desert situation. This, and many other inconveniences, under which it labours, would, probably, have occasioned its being abandoned altogether, were it not for its vicinity to Mecca, and the great and sudden influx of wealth from the India trade, which, once a year, arrives in this part, but does not continue, passing on, as through a turnpike, to Mecca; whence it is dispersed all over the east. Very little advantage however accrues to Jidda. The customs are all immediately sent to a needy sovereign, and a hungry set of relations, dependents, and ministers at Mecca. The gold is returned in bags and boxes, and passes on as rapidly to the ships as the goods do to the market, and leaves as little profit behind. In the mean time, provisions rise to a prodigious price, and this falls upon the townsmen, while all the profit of the traffic is in the hands of strangers; most of whom, after the market is over, (which does not last six weeks) retire to Yemen, and other neighbouring countries, which abound in every sort of provision.

Though Jidda is the country of their prophet, yet no where are there so many unmarried women, and the permission of marrying four wives was allowed in this district in the first instance, and afterwards communicated to all the tribes. But Mahomet, in his permission of plurality of wives, seems constantly to have been on his guard against suffering that, which was intended for the welfare of his people, from operating in a different manner. He did not permit a man to marry two, three, or four wives, unless he could maintain them. He was interested for the rights and rank of these women; and the man so marrying was obliged to shew before the Cadi, or some equivalent officer, or judge, that it was in his power to support them, according to their birth. It was not so with concubines,



with women who were purchased, or who were taken in war. Every man enjoyed these at his pleasure, and their peril, that is, whether he was able to maintain them or not. From this great scarcity of provisions, which is the result of an extraordinary concourse to a place almost destitute of the necessaries of life, few inhabitants of Jidda can avail themselves of the privilege granted them by Mahomet. He therefore cannot marry more than one wife, because he cannot maintain more, and from this cause arises the want of people, and the large number of unmarried women.

The kindness and attention Mr. Bruce here received from his countrymen did not leave him as long as he was on shore. They all did him the honour to attend him to the water edge. All the quay of Jidda was lined with people to see the English salute, and along with his vessel there parted, at the same time, one bound to Masuah, which carried Mahomet Abd el kader, governor of Dahalac, over to his government.

Jidda is in lat.  $28^{\circ} 0' 1''$  north, and in long.  $39^{\circ} 16' 45''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich. The weather there had few changes, and the general wind was north-west, or more northerly. This blowing along the direction of the Gulf brought a great deal of damp along with it; and this damp increases as the season advances. Once in twelve or fourteen days, perhaps, they had a south wind, which was always dry.

On the 8th of July, 1769, Mr. Bruce sailed from the harbour of Jidda on board the same vessel as before, and suffered the Rais to take a small loading for his own account, upon condition that he was to carry no passengers. The wind was fair, and they sailed through the English fleet at their anchors. As they had all honoured our traveller with their regret at parting, and accompanied him to the shore, the Rais was surpris'd to see the respect paid to his little vessel as it passed under their huge sterns, every one hoisting his colours, and saluting it with eleven guns.

At a quarter past eight, on the 11th, they were towed to their anchorage in the harbour of Konfodah. Konfodah means the town of the hedge-hog. It is a small village, consisting of about two hundred miserable houses,

houses, built with green wood, and covered with mats, made of the doom, or palm-tree, lying on a bay, or rather a shallow basin, in a desert waste or plain. Behind the town are small hillocks of white sand. Nothing grows on shore excepting kelp, but it is exceedingly beautiful, and very luxuriant; farther in there are gardens. Fish is in perfect plenty; butter and milk in great abundance; even the desert looks fresher than other deserts, which makes it probable that rain sometimes falls there.

Kofodah is in lat.  $19^{\circ} 7'$  North. It is one of the most unwholesome parts on the Red Sea; provision is very dear and bad, and the water execrable. Goats flesh is the only meat, and that very dear and lean. The anchorage, from the castle, bears north-west a quarter of a mile distant, from ten to seven fathoms, in sand and mud.

At five in the afternoon of the 14th, they passed Ras Heli, which is the boundary between Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the Hejaz, or province of Mecca, the first belonging to the Imam, or king of Sana, the other to the Sheriffe lately spoken of. Mr. Bruce desired his Rais to anchor this night close under the Cape, as it was perfectly calm and clear, and, by taking a mean of five observations of the passage of so many stars, the most proper for the purpose, over the meridian, he determined the latitude of Ras Heli, and consequently the boundary of the two states, Hejaz and Yemen, or Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, to be  $18^{\circ} 36'$  north.

Every part of the sandy desert at the foot of the mountains is called *Tebama*, which extends to Mocha. But in the maps it is marked as a separate country from Arabia Felix, whereas it is but the low part, or sea coast of it, and is not a separate jurisdiction. It is called *Tema* in Scripture, and derives its name from *Taami* in Arabic, which signifies the sea-coast. There is little water here, as it never rains; there is also no animal but the gazel or antelope, and but a few of them. There are few birds, and those which may be found are generally silent.

On the 18th, at seven in the morning, they first discovered the mountains, under which lies the town of

Loheia. The bay was so shallow, and the tide being at ebb, they could get no nearer than within about five miles of the shore. Loheia is built upon the south-west side of a peninsula, surrounded every where, but on the east, by the sea. In the middle of this neck there is a small mountain which serves for a fortress, and there are towers with cannon, which reach across on each side of the hill to the shore. Beyond this is a plain, where the Arabs intending to attack the town, generally assemble. At Loheia they had a very uneasy sensation, a kind of prickling came into their legs, which were bare, occasioned by the salt effluvia, or freams, from the earth, which all about the town, and further to the south, is strongly impregnated with that mineral. Fish, and butchers meat, and indeed all sorts of provision, are plentiful and reasonable at Loheia, but the water is bad. It is found in the sand at the foot of the mountains, down the sides of which it has fallen in the time of the rain, and is brought to the town in skins upon camels. There is also plenty of fruit brought from the mountains by the Bedowé, who live in the skirts of the town, and supply it with milk, firewood, and fruit, chiefly grapes and bananas.

The government of the Imam is much more gentle than any Moorish government in Arabia or Africa; the people too are of gentler manners, the men, from early ages, being accustomed to trade. The women at Loheia are as solicitous to please as those of the most polished nations in Europe; and, though very retired, whether married or unmarried, they are not less careful of their dress and persons. At home they wear nothing but a long shift of fine cotton-cloth, suitable to their quality. They dye their feet and hands with henna, not only for ornament, but as an astringent, to keep them dry from sweat; they wear their own hair, which is plaited, and falls in long tails behind.

On the 27th, in the evening, they parted from Loheia, but were obliged to tow the boat out. About eleven they sailed with a wind at north-east, and passed a cluster of islands on their left.

After passing some dangerous shoals, on the 30th, at seven o'clock in the morning, with a gentle but steady wind

wind at west, they sailed for the mouth of the Indian Ocean. The Rais became more lively and bolder as he approached his own coast, and offered to carry Mr. Bruce for nothing, if he would go home with him to Sheher, but he had already enough upon his hands.

The coast of Arabia, all along from Mocha to the Straits, is a bold coast, close to which you may run without danger night or day. They continued their course within a mile of the shore, where in some places there appeared to be small woods, in others a flat bare country, bounded with mountains a considerable distance. The wind freshened as they advanced. About four in the afternoon they saw the mountain which forms one of the Capes of the Straits of Babelmandeb, in shape resembling a gunner's quoin.

The 31st, at nine in the morning, they came to anchor above Jibbel Raban, or Pilots Island, just under the Cape which, on the Arabian side, forms the north entrance of the Straits. After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two, by the island of Perim, otherwise called *Mebum*. The inmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian shore, is two leagues broad at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathom of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathom. From this, the coast on both sides runs nearly in a north-west direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian ocean grows straiter. The coast upon the left hand is part of the kingdom of Adel, and, on the right, that of Arabia Felix.

On the 2d, at sun-rise, they saw land a-head, which they took to be the main; but, upon nearer approach, and the day becoming clearer, they found two low islands to the leeward; one of which they fetched with great difficulty. They found there the stock of an old acacia-tree, and two or three bundles of wreck, or rotten sticks, which they gathered with great care; and all of them agreed, they would eat breakfast, dinner, and supper hot, instead of the cold repast they had made in the Straits. They now made several large fires; one took the charge of the coffee, another boiled the rice; they killed four turtles, made ready a dol-

phin; got beer, wine, and brandy, and drank the king's health in earnest, which their regimen would not allow them to do in the Straits of Babelmandeb. While this good cheer was preparing, Mr. Bruce saw with his glass, first one man running along the coast westward, who did not stop; about a quarter of an hour after, another upon a camel, walking at the ordinary pace, who dismounted just opposite to them, and, as he thought, kneeled down to say his prayers upon the sand. They had launched their boat immediately upon seeing the trunk of the tree on the island; so they were ready, and Mr. Bruce ordered two of the men to row him on shore, which they did. It is a bay of but ordinary depth, with straggling trees, and some flat ground along the coast. Immediately behind is a row of mountains of a brownish or black colour.

Mr. Bruce went on shore at the place, and, after some little intercourse with some of the natives, whose conduct was very suspicious, he directed the Rais to stand out towards Crab-island, and there being a gentle breeze from the shore, carrying an easy sail, they stood over upon Mocha town, to avoid some rocks or islands. While lying at Crab-island, he observed two stars pass the meridian, and by them he concluded the latitude of that island to be  $13^{\circ} 2' 45''$  north.

The wind continuing moderate, but more to the southward, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, they passed Jibbel el Ourèe, then Jibbel Zekir; and having a steady gale, with fair and moderate weather, passing to the westward of the island Rafab, between that and some other islands to the north-east, where the wind turned contrary, they arrived at Loheia, the 6th, in the morning. Loheia is in lat.  $15^{\circ} 40' 52''$  north, and in long.  $42^{\circ} 58' 15''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Every thing being prepared for our travellers departure, they sailed from Loheia on the 3d of September, 1769, for Masuah. The harbour of Loheia, which is by much the largest in the Red Sea, is now so shallow, and choked up, that, unless by a narrow canal through which you enter and go out, there is no where three fathom of water, and in many places not  
half

half that depth. This is the case with all the harbours on the east-coast of the Red Sea, while those on the west are deep, without any banks or bars before them.

An Abyssinian, who died on board, and who had been buried upon their coming out from Loheia bay, had been seen upon the bowsprit for two nights, and had terrified the sailors very much; even the Rais had been not a little alarmed; and, though he could not directly say that he had seen him, yet, after Mr. Bruce was in bed on the 7th, he complained seriously to him of the bad consequences it would produce if a gale of wind was to rise, and the ghost was to keep his place there; he desired him to come forward and speak to him. "My good Rais, (said Mr. Bruce) I am exceeding tired, and my head aches much with the sun, which hath been violent to-day. You know the Abyssinian paid for his passage, and, if he does not overload the ship, (and I apprehend he should be lighter than when we took him on board) I do not think, that in justice or equity, either you or I can hinder the ghost from continuing his voyage to Abyssinia, as we cannot judge what serious business he may have there." The Rais began to bless himself that he did not know any thing of his affairs.—"Then, (said Mr. Bruce) if you do not find he makes the vessel too heavy before, do not molest him; because, certainly, if he was to come into any other part of the ship, or if he was to insist to sit in the middle of you (in the disposition that you all are) he would be a greater inconvenience to you than in his present post." The Rais began again to bless himself, repeating a verse of the *Koran*; "bismilla sheitan rejem," in the name of God keep the devil far from me. "Now, Rais, (said Mr. Bruce) if he does us no harm, you will let him ride upon the bowsprit till he is tired, or till he comes to Masuah; for I swear to you, unless he hurts or troubles us, I do not think I have any obligation to get out of my bed to molest him; only see that he carries nothing off with him."

The Rais now seemed to be exceedingly offended, and said, for his part, he did not care for his life more than any other man on board; if it was not from fear of a gale of wind, he might ride on the bowsprit and

be d—n'd; but that he had always heard learned people could speak to ghosts. "Will you be so good Rais, (replied our traveller) to step forward, and tell him, that I am going to drink coffee, and should be glad if he would walk into the cabin, and say any thing he has to communicate to me, if he is a Christian, and if not, to Mahomet Gibberti." The Rais went out, but, as Mr. Bruce's servant told him, he would neither go himself, nor could get any person to go to the ghost for him. However, here the matter ended for the present. He was indeed seen again some time afterwards, and was said to have robbed several of the passengers of part of their property. Mr. Bruce, however, found out, that it was not the ghost, but some of the sailors who were the thieves, and, after this detection, the ghost was never more heard of.

On the 11th, about seven in the evening, they struck upon a reef of coral rocks. Arabs are cowards in all sudden dangers; for they consider every accident as the will of Providence, and therefore not to be avoided. The Arab sailors were for immediately taking to the boat; while the Abyssinians were for cutting up the planks and wood of the inside of the vessel, and making her a raft. A violent dispute ensued, and after that a battle, [when night overtook them, still fast upon the rock. The Rais and Yafine, however, calmed the riot, when Mr. Bruce begged the passengers would hear him. "You all know, (said he) or should know, that the boat is mine; as I bought it with my money, for the safety and accommodation of myself and servants; you know, likewise, that I and my men are all well armed, while you are naked; therefore do not imagine that we will suffer any of you to enter that boat, and save your lives at the expence of ours. On this vessel of the Rais is your dependence, in it you are to be saved or to perish; therefore all hands to work, and get the vessel off, while it is calm; if she had been materially damaged, she had been sunk before now." They all seemed on this to take courage, and said, they hoped he would not leave them. He told them, if they would be men, he would not leave them while there was a bit of the vessel together.

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The boat was immediately launched, and one of Mr. Bruce's servants, the Rais, and two sailors, were put on board. They were soon upon the bank, where the two sailors got out, who cut their feet at first upon the white coral, but afterwards got firmer footing. They attempted to push the ship backwards but she would not move. Poles and handspikes were tried in order to stir her, but these were not long enough. In a word, there was no appearance of getting her off before morning, when they knew the wind would rise, and it was to be feared she would then be dashed to pieces. Other efforts were then used, and a great cry was set up, that she began to move. A little after, a gentle wind just made itself felt from the east, and the cry from the Rais was, "Hoist the fore-sail and put it a-back." This being immediately done, and a gentle breeze filling the fore-sail at the time, they all pushed, and the vessel slid gently off, free from the shoal. Mr. Bruce did not partake of the joy so suddenly as the others did. He had also some fears a plank might have been started; but they saw the advantage of a vessel being sewed, rather than nailed together, as she not only was unhurt, but made very little water.

On the 19th of September, at five in the afternoon, they came to an anchor in the harbour of Masuah, having been seventeen days on their passage, including the day they first went on board, though this voyage, with a favourable wind, is generally made in three days; it often has, indeed, been sailed in less. Yet this must not be wholly attributed to the weather, as they spent much time in surveying the islands.



# TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

## THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

### BOOK II.

*Account of the first Ages of the Indian and African Trade—  
the first Peopling of Abyssinia and Atbara—some Conjectures concerning the Origin of Language there.*

WHOEVER peruses the history of the most ancient nations, will find the origin of wealth and power to have risen in the east, and to have gradually advanced westward, spreading itself at the same time north and south. They will find the riches and population of those nations decay in proportion as this trade forsakes them; which cannot but suggest to every sensible being, this certain truth, that God makes use of the smallest means and causes to operate the greatest and most powerful effects. Sesostris passed with a fleet of large ships from the Arabian Gulf into the Indian ocean; he subdued part of India, and opened to Egypt the commerce of that country by sea. It would appear he revived, rather than first discovered, this way of carrying on the trade to the East-Indies, which, though it was at times intermitted, was, nevertheless, perpetually kept up by the trading nations themselves, from the ports of India and Africa, and on the Red Sea from Edom.

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The pilots of Sesostris were acquainted with the phenomena of the trade winds and monsoons. History says further of Sesostris, that the Egyptians considered him as their greatest benefactor, for having laid open to them the trade both of India and Arabia, for having overturned the dominion of the *Shepherd* kings; and, lastly, for having restored to the Egyptian Individuals each their own lands, which have been wrested from them by the violent hands of the Ethiopian *Shepherds*, during the first usurpation of these princes. In memory of his having happily accomplished these events, Sesostris is said to have built a ship of cedar of a hundred and twenty yards in length, the outside of which he covered with plates of gold, and the inside with plates of silver, and this he dedicated in the temple to Isis.

The inhabitants of the peninsula of India laboured under many disadvantages in point of climate. The high and wholesome part of the country was covered with barren and rugged mountains; and, at different times of the year, violent rains fell in large currents down the sides of these, which overflowed all the fertile land below; and these rains were no sooner over, than they were succeeded by a scorching sun, the effect of which upon the human body was to render it feeble, enervated, and incapable of the efforts necessary for agriculture. In this flat country, large rivers, that scarce had declivity enough to run, crept slowly along, through meadows of fat black earth, stagnating in many places as they went, rolling an abundance of decayed vegetables, and filling the whole air with exhalations of the most corrupt and putrid kind. Yet they had plenty of cloathing adopted by Providence to their climate; spices to preserve their health; and every tree without culture produced them fruit of the most excellent kind; every tree afforded them shade, under which they could pass their lives delightfully in a calm and rational enjoyment, by the gentle exercise of weaving, at once providing for the health of their bodies, the necessities of their families, and the riches of their country. But however plentifully their spices grew, in whatever quantity the Indians consumed them, and however generally they wore their own manufactures, the superabundance of both was such, as naturally led them

them to look out for articles against which they might barter their superfluities.

The silk and cotton of India were white and colourless, liable to soil, and without any variety; but Arabia produced gums and dyes of various colours, which were highly agreeable to the taste of the Asiatics. The basis of trade, between India and Arabia, was thus laid from the beginning by the hand of Providence. The wants and necessities of the one found a supply, or balance from the other.

In India they fixed on gold and silver as proper returns for their manufactures and produce. It is not easy to say, whether it was from their hardness or beauty, or what other reason governed the mind of man in making this standard of barter. The history of the particular transactions of those times is lost, if indeed there ever was such history, and, therefore, all further inquiries are in vain.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to speak of the origin of characters or letters. He says, but two original characters obtained in Egypt. The first was the Geez, the second the Saitic, and both these were the oldest characters in the world, and both derived from hieroglyphics.

Thebes was built by a colony of Ethiopians from Sire, the city of Seir, or the Dog Star. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Greeks, by putting O before Siris, had made the word unintelligible to the Egyptians: Siris, then, was Ofiris; but he was not the Sun, no more than he was Abraham, nor was he a real personage. He was Syrius, or the dog-star, designed under the figure of a dog, because of the warning he gave to Atbara, where the first observations were made at his disengaging himself from the rays of the sun, so as to be visible to the naked eye. His first appearance was figuratively compared to the barking of a dog, by the warning it gave to prepare for the approaching inundation. Mr. Bruce believes, therefore, this was the first hieroglyphic; and that Isis, Ofiris, and Tot, were all after-inventions relating to it. It is not to be doubted, that hieroglyphics, but not astronomy, were invented at Thebes, where the theory of the dog-star was particularly investigated, because connected with their rural year.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce considers that immense quantity of hieroglyphics, with which the walls of the temples, and faces of the obelisks, are covered, as containing so many astronomical observations. He looks upon these as the ephemerides of some thousand years, and that sufficiently accounts for their number. Their date and accuracy were indisputable; they were exhibited in the most public places, to be consulted as occasion required; and, by the deepness of the engraving, hardness of the materials, and the thickness and solidity of the block itself upon which they were carved, they bade defiance at once to violence and time.

Mr. Bruce is sensible, that most of the learned writers are of sentiments very different from him in these respects. They look for mysteries and hidden meanings, moral and philosophical treatises, as the subjects of these hieroglyphics. A sceptre, they say, is the hieroglyphic of a king. But where do we meet a sceptre upon an antique Egyptian monument? or who told us this was an emblem of royalty among the Egyptians at the time of the first invention of this figurative writing? Again, the serpent with the tail in its mouth denotes the eternity of God, that he is without beginning and without end. This is a Christian truth, and a Christian belief, but no where to be found in the polytheism of the inventors of hieroglyphics. It is not with philosophy as with astronomy; the older the observations, the more use they are of to posterity. A lecture of an Egyptian priest upon divinity, morality, or natural history, would not pay the trouble at this day, of engraving it upon stone; and one of the reasons that no such subjects were ever treated in hieroglyphics is, that in all those Mr. Bruce ever had an opportunity of seeing, and very few people have seen more, he constantly found the same figures repeated, which obviously, and without dispute, allude to the history of the Nile, and its different periods of increase, the mode of measuring it, the Etesian winds; in short, such observations as we every day see in an almanack, in which we cannot suppose, that forsaking the obvious import, where the good they did was evident, they should ascribe different meanings to the hieroglyphic, to which no key has been  
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left, and therefore their future inutility must have been foreseen.

The word *Tot* is Ethiopic, and there can be little doubt it means the dog-star. It was the name given to the first month of the Egyptian year. The meaning of the name, in the language of the province of Siré, is an *idol*, composed of different heterogeneous pieces; it is found having this signification in many of their books. Thus a naked man is not a *Tot*, but the body of a naked man, with a dog's head, an ass's head, or a serpent instead of a head, is a *Tot*. According to the import of that word it is an almanack, or section of the phenomena in the heavens, which are to happen in the limited time it is made to comprehend, when exposed for the information of the public; and the more extensive its use is intended to be, the greater number of emblems, or signs of observation, it is charged with.

The multitude of these emblems, and the frequent change of them, produced the necessity of contracting their size, and this again a consequential alteration in the original forms; and a stile or small portable instrument became all that was necessary for finishing these small *Tots*, instead of a large graver or carving tool, employed in making the large ones. But men, at last, were so much used to the alteration, as to know it better than under its primitive form, and the engraving became what we may call the first elements, or root, in preference to the original.

These *Tots* were probably what formerly the Egyptians called a book, or almanack; a collection of these was probably hung up in some conspicuous place, to inform the public of the state of the heavens, seasons, and diseases to be expected in the course of them, as is the case in the English almanacks at this day.

Whether letters were known to Noah before the flood, is no where said from any authority, and the inquiry into it is therefore useless. It is difficult, in Mr. Bruce's opinion, to imagine that any society, engaged in different occupations, could subsist long without them. There seems to be less doubt, that they were invented, soon after the dispersion, long before Moses, and in  
common

common use among the Gentiles of his time. It seems also probable, that the first alphabet was Ethiopic, first founded on hieroglyphics, and afterwards modelled into more current, and less laborious figures, for the sake of applying them to the expedition of business.

Though Moses certainly did not invent either, or any character, it is probable that he made two, perhaps more, alterations in the Ethiopic alphabet as it then stood, with a view to increase the difference still more between the writing then in use among the nations, and what he intended to be peculiar to the Jews. The first was altering the direction, and writing from right to left, whereas, the Ethiopian was, and is to this day, written from left to right, as was the hieroglyphical alphabet. The second was taking away the points, which, from all times, must have existed, and been, as it were, a part of the Ethiopic letters invented with them, and Mr. Bruce does not see how it is possible it ever could have been read without them; so that, which way soever the dispute may turn concerning the antiquity of the application of the Masoretic points, the invention was no new one, but did exist as early as language was written. Probably these alterations were very rapidly adopted after the writing of the law, and applied to the new character as it then stood; because, not long after, Moses was ordered to submit the law itself to the people, which would have been perfectly useless, had not reading and the character been familiar to them at that time.

It also appears to our traveller, that the Ethiopic words were always separated, and could not run together, or be joined as the Hebrew, and that the running the words together into one must have been matter of choice in the Hebrew, to increase the difference in writing the two languages, as the contrary had been practised in the Ethiopian language. Though there is really little resemblance between the Ethiopic and the Hebrew letters, and not much more between that and the Samaritan, yet there is room for suspicion, that the languages were once much nearer a kin than this disagreement of their alphabet promises, and for this reason, that a very great number of words are found throughout the Old Testament that have really no root, nor can be derived  
from

from any Hebrew origin, and yet all have, in the Ethiopic, a plain, clear, unequivocal origin, to and from which they can be traced without force or difficulty.

After Thebes was destroyed by the first Shepherds, commerce, and it is probable the arts with it, fled for a time from Egypt, and centered in Edom, a city and territory, though we know little of its history, at that period the richest in the world. David, in the very neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, calls Edom the strong city; "Who will bring me into the strong city? Who will lead me into Edom?" David, from an old quarrel, and probably from the recent instigations of the Tyrians his friends, invaded Edom, destroyed the city, and dispersed the people. He was the great military power then upon the continent; Tyre and Edom were rivals; and his conquest of that last great and trading state, which he united to his empire, would yet have lost him the trade he sought to cultivate, by the very means he used to obtain it, had not Tyre been in a capacity to succeed to Edom, and to collect its mariners and artificers, scattered abroad by the conquest. David took possession of two ports, Eloth and Ezion-gaber, from which he carried on the trade to Ophir and Tarshish, to a very great extent to the day of his death.

David was succeeded by Solomon in his kingdom, and likewise in the friendship of Hiram king of Tyre. Solomon visited Eloth and Ezion-gaber in person, and fortified them. He collected a number of pilots, shipwrights, and mariners, dispersed by his father's conquest of Edom, most of whom had taken refuge in Tyre and Sidon, the commercial states in the Mediterranean. Hiram supplied him with sailors in abundance; but the sailors so furnished from Tyre were not capable of performing the service which Solomon required, without the direction of pilots and mariners used to the navigation of the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Such were those mariners who formerly lived in Edom, whom Solomon had now collected in Eloth and Ezion-gaber.

Very different was the last-mentioned navigation in all respects from that of the Mediterranean, which, with regard to the former, might be compared to a pond, every side being confined with shores little distant one from the other; even that small extent of sea was so full of islands,

islands, that there was much greater art required in the pilot to avoid land than to reach it. It was, besides, subject to variable winds, being to the northward of  $30^{\circ}$  of lat. the limits to which Providence hath confined those winds all over the globe; whereas the navigation of the Indian Ocean was governed by laws more convenient and regular, though altogether different from those that obtained in the Mediterranean. Mr. Bruce then proceeds to explain this phenomenon.

It is known to all those who are ever so little versant in the history of Egypt, that the wind from the north prevails in that valley all the summer months, and is called the *Etesian winds*; it sweeps the valley from north to south, that being the direction of Egypt, and of the Nile, which runs through the midst of it. The two chains of mountains, which confine Egypt on the east and on the west, constrain the wind to take this precise direction.

We may naturally suppose the same would be the case in the Arabian Gulf, had that narrow sea been in a direction parallel to the land of Egypt, or due north and south. The Arabian Gulf, however, or what we call the Red Sea, lies from nearly north-west to south-east, from Suez to Mocha. It then turns nearly east and west till it joins the Indian Ocean at the Straits of Babelmandeb. The Etesian winds, which are due north in Egypt, here take the direction of the Gulf, and blow in that direction steadily all the season, while it continues north in the valley of Egypt; that is, from April to October the wind blows north-west up the Arabian Gulf towards the Straits; and from November till March, directly contrary, down the Arabian Gulf, from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Suez and the Isthmus. These winds, which some corruptly call *the trade-winds*, is a very erroneous name given to them, and apt to confound narratives, and make them unintelligible. A trade-wind is a wind which, all the year through, blows, and has ever blown, from the same point of the horizon; such is the south-west, south of the Line, in the Indian and Pacific Ocean. On the contrary, those winds, of which we have now spoken, are called *monsoons*; each year they blow six months from the northward, and the other six months



months from the southward in the Arabian Gulf: While in the Indian Ocean, without the Straits of Babelmandeb, they blow just the contrary at the same seasons; that is, in summer from the southward, and in winter from the northward, subject to a small inflexion to the east and to the west.

It may be necessary here to observe, that a vessel sailing from Suez or the Elanitic Gulf, in any of the summer months, will find a steady wind at north-west, which will carry it in the direction of the Gulf to Mocha. At Mocha, the coast is east and west to the Straits of Babelmandeb, so that the vessel from Mocha will have variable winds for a short space, but mostly westerly and these will carry her on to the Straits. She is then done with the monsoon in the Gulf, which was from the north, and, being in the Indian Ocean, is taken up by the monsoon which blows in the summer months there, and is directly contrary to what obtains in the Gulf. This is a south-wester, which carries the vessel with a flowing sail to any part in India, without delay or impediment. The same happens upon her return home. She sails in the winter months by the monsoon proper to that sea, that is, with a north-east, which carries her through the Straits of Babelmandeb. She finds, within the Gulf, a wind at south-east, directly contrary to what was in the ocean; but then her course is contrary likewise, so that a south-easter, answering to the direction of the Gulf, carries her directly to Suez, or the Elanitic Gulf, to which ever way she proposes going. Hitherto all is plain, simple, and easy to be understood; and this was the reason why, in the earliest ages, the India trade was carried on without difficulty.

The prosperous days of the commerce with the Elanitic Gulf seemed to be at this time nearly past; yet, after the revolt of the ten tribes, Edom remaining to the house of David, they still carried on a sort of trade from the Elanitic Gulf, though attended with many difficulties. This continued till the reign of Jehosophat; but, on Jehoram's succeeding that prince, the Edomites revolted and chose a king of their own, and were never after subject to the kings of Judah till the reign of Uzziah, who conquered Eloth, fortified it, and having  
peopled

peopled it with a colony of his own, revived the old traffic. This subsisted till the reign of Ahaz, when Rezin king of Damascus took Eloth, and expelled the Jews, planting in their stead a colony of Syrians. But he did not long enjoy this good fortune, for the year after, Rezin was conquered by Tiglath-pileser; and one of the fruits of this victory was the taking of Eloth, which never after returned to the Jews.

The extirpation of the Edomites, the repeated wars and conquest to which the cities on the Eranitic Gulf had been subject, all the great events that immediately followed one another, of course disturbed the usual channel of trade by the Red Sea, whose ports were now consequently become unsafe by being in possession of strangers, robbers, and soldiers; it changed, therefore, to a place nearer the center of police and good government, than fortified and frontier towns could be supposed to be. The Indian and African merchants, by convention, met in Assyria, as they had done in Semiramis's time; the one by the Persian Gulf and Euphrates, the other through Arabia. Assyria, therefore, became the mart of the India trade in the East.

Nabopollaser, and his son Nebuchadnezzar, brought a prodigious quantity of bullion, both silver and gold to Babylon his capital, having plundered Tyre, and robbed Solomon's Temple of all the gold that had been brought from Ophir; and he had, besides, conquered Egypt and laid it waste, and cut off the communication of trade in all these places, by almost extirpating the people. Immense riches flowed to him, therefore, on all sides, and it was a circumstance particularly favourable to merchants in that country, that it was governed by written laws that screened their properties from any remarkable violence or injustice.

Such was the situation of the country at the birth of Cyrus, who, having taken Babylon and slain Belshazzar, became master of the whole trade and riches of the East. Whatever character writers give of this great prince, his conduct, with regard to the commerce of the country, shews him to have been a weak one; for not content with the prodigious prosperity to which his dominions had arrived, by the misfortunes of other nations,  
and

and perhaps by the good faith kept by his subjects to merchants, enforced by those written laws, he undertook the most absurd and disastrous project of molesting the traders themselves, and invading India, that all at once he might render himself master of their riches. He executed this scheme just as absurdly as he formed it; for, knowing that large caravans of merchants came into Persia and Assyria from India, through the Ariana, (the desert coast that runs all along the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, almost entirely destitute of water, and very nearly as much so of provisions, both which caravans always carry with them), he attempted to enter India by the very same road with a large army, the very same way his predecessor Semiramis had projected 1300 years before; and as her army had perished, so did his to a man, without having ever met with the least success.

His son and successor Cambyfes, was equally unfortunate; for, observing the quantity of gold brought from Ethiopia into Egypt, he resolved to march to the source, and at once make himself master of those treasures by rapine, which he thought came too slowly through the medium of commerce.

Cambyfes's expedition into Africa obtained a celebrity by the absurdity of the project, by the enormous cruelty and havock that attended the course of it, and by the great and very just punishment that closed it in the end. It was one of those many monstrous extravagancies, which made up the life of the greatest madman that ever disgraced the annals of antiquity. The basest mind is perhaps the most capable of avarice; and when this passion has taken possession of the human heart, it is strong enough to excite us to undertakings as great as any of those dictated by the noblest of our virtues. Cambyfes, amidst the commission of the most horrid excesses during the conquest of Egypt, was informed that, from the south of that country, there was constantly brought a quantity of pure gold, independent of what came from the top of the Arabic Gulf, which was now carried into Assyria, and circulated in the trade of his country. This supply of gold belonged properly and exclusively to Egypt; and a very lucrative,

very extensive commerce, was, by its means, carried on with India. He found out that the people, possessing these treasures, were called *Macrobi*, which signifies *long livers*; and that they possessed a country divided from him by lakes, mountains, and deserts. But what still affected him most was, that in his way were a multitude of warlike Shepherds.

Cambyfes, in order to make peace with the Shepherds, fell furiously upon the gods and temples in Egypt; he murdered the sacred ox, the apis, destroyed Memphis, and all the public buildings wherever he went. This was a gratification to the Shepherds, being equally enemies to those that worshipped beasts, or lived in cities. After this introduction, he concluded peace with them in the most solemn manner, each nation vowing eternal amity with the other. Notwithstanding which, no sooner was he arrived at Thebes (in Egypt) than he detached a large army to plunder the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, the greatest object of the worship of these *Shepherds*; which army utterly perished without a man remaining, probably covered, by the moving sands. He then began his march against the *Macrobi*, keeping close to the Nile. The country there being too high to receive any benefit from the inundation of the river, produced no corn, so that part of his army died for want of provision.

A detachment from another part of his army proceeded to the country of the Shepherds, who, indeed, furnished him with food; but, exasperated at the sacrilege he had committed against their god, they conducted his troops through places where they could procure no water. After suffering all this loss, he was not yet arrived beyond  $24^{\circ}$ , the parallel of Syene. From hence he dispatched ambassadors, or spies, to discover the country before him, finding he could no longer rely upon the Shepherds. These found it full of black warlike people, of great size, and prodigious strength of body; active, and continually exercised in hunting the lion, the elephant, and other monstrous beasts which live in these forests. They so abound with gold, that the most common utensils and instruments were made of that metal, whilst, at the same time, they were utter

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strangers

strangers to bread of any kind whatever; and, not only so, but their country was, by its nature, incapable of producing any sort of grain from which bread could be made. They subsisted upon raw flesh alone, dried in the sun, especially that of the rhinoceros, the elephant, and giraffa, which they had slain in hunting. On such food they have ever since lived, and live to this day, and on such food Mr. Bruce himself lived with them; yet still it appears strange, that people confined to this diet, without variety or change, should have it for their characteristic that they were long livers.

The Shepherds were not at all alarmed at the arrival of Cambyfes's ambassadors. On the contrary, they treated them as an inferior species of men. Upon asking them about their diet, and hearing it was upon bread, they called it *dung*, probably from having the appearance of that bread which the miserable Agows, their neighbours, make from seeds of bastard rye, which they collect in their fields under the burning rays of the sun. They laughed at Cambyfes's requisition of submitting to him, and did not conceal their contempt of his idea of bringing an army thither. They treated ironically his hopes of conquest, even supposing all difficulties of the desert overcome, and his army ready to enter their country, and counseled him to return while he was well, at least for a time, till he should produce a man of his army that could bend the bow that they then sent him; in which case, he might continue to advance, and have hope of conquest.

It is well known, that the Persians were all famous archers. The mortification, therefore, they experienced, by receiving the bow they could not bend, was a very sensible one, though the narrative of the quantity of gold the messengers had seen made a much greater impression upon Cambyfes. To procure this treasure was, however, impracticable, as he had no provision, nor was there any in the way of his march. His army, therefore, wasted daily by death and dispersion; and he had the mortification to be obliged to retreat into Egypt, after part of his troops had been reduced to the necessity of eating each other.

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Trade was now attempted to be opened by Darius, king of Persia, in a much more worthy and liberal manner, as he sent ships down the river Indus into the ocean, whence they entered the Red Sea. It is probable, in this voyage, he acquired all the knowledge necessary for establishing this trade in Persia; for he must have passed through the Persian Gulf, and along the whole eastern coast of Arabia; he must have seen the marts of perfumes and spices that were at the mouth of the Red Sea, and the manner of bartering for gold and silver, as he was necessarily in those trading places which were upon the very same coast from which the bullion was brought.

Alexander's expedition into India was, of all events, that which most threatened the destruction of the commerce of the Continent, or the dispersing it into different channels throughout the East: First, by the destruction of Tyre, which must have, for a time, annihilated the trade by the Arabian Gulf; then by his march through Egypt into the country of the Shepherds, and his intended further progress into Ethiopia to the head of the Nile. If we may judge of what we hear of him in that part of his expedition, we should be apt not to believe, as others are fond of doing, that he had schemes of commerce mingled with those of conquests. His anxiety about his own birth at the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, this first question that he asked of the priest, "Where the Nile had its source," seemed to denote a mind busied about other objects; for else he was then in the very place for information, being in the temple of the horned god, the deity of the Shepherds, the African carriers of the Indian produce; a temple which, though in the midst of sand, and destitute of gold or silver, possessed more and better information concerning the trade of India and Africa, than could be found in any other place on the Continent.

Alexander, after having viewed the main ocean to the south, ordered Nearchus with his fleet to coast along the Persian Gulf, accompanied by part of the army on land for their mutual assistance, as there were a great many hardships which followed the march of the army by land, and much difficulty and danger attend-

ed the shipping as they were sailing in unknown seas against the monsoons. Nearchus himself informed the king at Babylon of his successful voyage, who gave him orders to continue it into the Red Sea, which he happily accomplished to the bottom of the Arabian Gulf.

The wisest princes that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt were the the Ptolemies, who applied with the utmost care and attention to cultivate the trade of India, to keep up a perfect and friendly understanding with every country that supplied any branch of it, and instead of disturbing it either in Asia, Arabia, or Ethiopia, as their predecessors had done, they used their utmost efforts to encourage it in all quarters.

Ptolemy I. was at this time reigning in Alexandria, the foundation of whose greatness he not only laid, but lived to see it arrive at the greatest perfection. It was his constant saying, that the true glory of a king was not in being rich himself, but in making his subjects so. He, therefore, opened his ports to all trading nations, encouraged strangers of every language, protected caravans, and a free navigation by sea, by which, in a few years, he made Alexandria the great store-house of merchandize from India, Arabia, and Ethiopia. Ptolemy had been a soldier from his infancy, and consequently kept up a proper military force, that made him every where respected in these warlike and unsettled times. He had a fleet of two hundred ships of war constantly ready in the port of Alexandria, the only part for which he had apprehensions. All behind him was wisely governed, whilst it enjoyed a most flourishing trade, to the prosperity of which peace is necessary. He died in peace and old age, after having merited the glorious name of *Soter*, or *Saviour of the kingdom*.

Alexandria received the current of trade with the greatest impetuosity, all the articles of luxury of the East were to be found there. Gold and silver, which were sent formerly to Tyre, came now down to the Isthmus (for Tyre was no more) by a much shorter carriage, thence to Memphis, whence it was sent down the Nile to Alexandria. The gold from the west and south parts of the continent reached the same port with much less  
time

time and risk, as there was now no Red Sea to pass; and here was found the merchandise of Arabia and India in the greatest profusion.

Ptolemy, to facilitate the communication with Arabia, built a town on the coast of the Red Sea, in the country of the Shepherds, and called it *Berenice*, after his mother. This was intended as a place of necessary refreshment for all the traders up and down the Gulf, whether of India or Ethiopia; hence the cargoes of merchants, who were afraid of losing the monsoons, or had lost them, were carried by the inhabitants of the country, in three days, to the Nile, and there embarked for Alexandria. To make the communication between the Nile and the Red Sea still more commodious, this prince tried an attempt (which had twice before miscarried with very great loss) to bring a canal from the Red Sea to the Nile, which he actually accomplished, joining it to the Pelusiac, or Eastern branch of the Nile.

Ptolemy had a very powerful fleet and army, but he was inferior to many of the princes, his rivals, in elephants, of which great use was then made in war. These Ethiopians were hunters, and killed them for their subsistence. Ptolemy, however, wished to have them taken alive, being numerous, and hoped both to furnish himself, and dispose of them as an article of trade, to his neighbours. There is something ridiculous in the manner in which he executed this expedition. Aware of the difficulty of subsisting in that country, he chose only a hundred Greek horsemen, whom he covered with coats of monstrous appearance and size, which left nothing visible but the eyes of the rider. Their horses too were disguised by huge trappings, which took from them all proportion and shape. In this manner they entered this part of Ethiopia, spreading terror every where by their appearance, to which their strength and courage bore a strict proportion whenever they came to action. But neither force nor intreaty could gain any thing upon these Shepherds, or ever make them change or forsake the food they had been so long accustomed to; and all the fruit Ptolemy reaped from this expedition, was to build a city, by the sea-



side, in the south-east corner of this country, which he called Ptolemais Theron, or Ptolemais in the country of wild beasts.

Ptolemy Evergetes, son and successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus, having provided himself amply with necessaries for his army, ordered a fleet to coast along beside him, up the Red Sea; he penetrated quite through the country of the Shepherds into that of the Ethiopian Troglodytes, who are black and woolly-headed, and inhabit the low country quite to the mountains of Abyssinia. He even ascended those mountains, forced the inhabitants to submission, built a large temple at Axum, the capital of Sirè, and raised a great many obelisks, several of which are standing to this day. Afterwards proceeding to the south-east, he descended into the cinnamon and myrrh country, behind Cape Gardafan, (the Cape that terminates the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean) from this, crossed over to Arabia, to the Homerites, being the same people with the Abyssinians, only on the Arabian shore. He then conquered several of the Arabian princes, who first resisted him, and had it in his power to have put an end to the trade of India there, had he not been as great a politician as he was a warrior. He used his victory, therefore, in no other manner, than to exhort and oblige these princes to protect trade, encourage strangers, and, by every means provide for the surety of neutral intercourse, by making rigorous examples of robbers by sea and land.

India, and the Indian seas, were as well known in Egypt as they are now; and the embassy of Eudoxus to the Indies must have been to remove the bad effects, which the extortions and robberies of Ptolemy VII. committed upon all strangers in the beginning of his reign, had made upon the trading nations. Eudoxus returned, but after the death of Ptolemy. The necessity, however, of this voyage appeared still great enough to make Cleopatra, his widow, project a second to the same place, and greater preparations were made than for the former one. But Eudoxus, trying experiments probably about the courses of the trade-winds, lost his passage, and was thrown upon the coast of Ethiopia; where, having landed, and made himself agreeable to the natives, he brought home

home to Egypt a particular description of that country and its produce, which furnished all the discovery necessary to instruct the Ptolemies in every thing that related to the ancient trade of Arabia.

The discovery of Spain, the possession of the mines of Attica from which they drew their silver, and the revolution that happened in Egypt itself, seemed to have superseded the communication with the coast of Africa; for, in Strabo's time, few of the ports of the Indian Ocean, even those nearest the Red Sea, were known. Mr. Bruce supposes, that the trade to India by Egypt decreased from the very time of the conquest by Cæsar. The mines the Romans had at the source of the river Betis, in Spain, did not produce them above 15,000*l.* a-year; this was not a sufficient capital for carrying on the trade to India, and therefore the immense riches of the Romans seem to have been derived from the greatness of the prices, not from the extent of the trade. Egypt now, and all its neighbourhood, began to wear a face of war, to which it had been a stranger for so many ages. The north of Africa was in constant troubles, after the first ruin of Carthage; so that we may imagine the trade to India began again, on that side, to be carried on pretty much in the same manner it had been before the days of Alexander. But it had enlarged itself very much on the Persian side, and found an easy, short inlet, into the north of Europe, which then furnished them a market and consumption of spices.

The Jews in Alexandria, until the reign of Ptolemy Philcon, had carried on a very extensive part of the India trade. All Syria was mercantile; and lead, iron, and copper, supplied, in some manner, the deficiency of gold and silver, which never again was in such abundance till after the discovery of America. But the ancient trade to India, by the Arabian Gulf and Africa, carried on by the medium of these two metals, remained at home undiminished with the Ethiopians, defended by large extensive deserts, and happy with the enjoyment of riches and security, till a fresh discovery again introduced to them both partners and masters in their trade.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give some account of the visit made by the Queen of Sheba, as we erroneously call

her, and the consequences of that visit; the foundation of an Ethiopian monarchy, and the continuation of the sceptre in the tribe of Judah, down to this day.

Many have thought this queen was an Arab. But Saba was a separate state, and the Sabeans a distinct people from the Ethiopians and the Arabs, and have continued so till very lately. We know, from history, that it was a custom among these Sabeans, to have women for their sovereigns in preference to men, a custom which still subsists among their descendents. Her name, the Arabs say, was *Belkis*; the Abyssinians, *Maqueda*. Our Saviour calls her *Queen of the South*, without mentioning any other name, but gives his sanction to the truth of the voyage. "The Queen of the South (or Saba, or Azab) shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here." No other particulars, however, are mentioned about her in scripture. The gold, the myrrh, cassia, and frankincense, were all the produce of her own country; and the many reasons Pineda gives to shew she was an Arab, more than convince Mr. Bruce that she was an Ethiopian or Cushite shepherd.

Whether she was a Jewess or a Pagan is uncertain; Sabaism was the religion of all the East. It was the constant attendant and stumbling block of the Jews; but considering the multitude of that people then trading from Jerusalem, and the long time it continued, it is not improbable she was a Jewess. She likewise appears to have been a person of learning, and that sort of learning which was then almost peculiar to Palestine, not to Ethiopia. For we see that one of the reasons of her coming, was to examine whether Solomon was really the learned man he was said to be. She came to try him in allegories, or parables, in which Nathan instructed Solomon.

The annals of Abyssinia say she was a Pagan when she left Azab, but being full of admiration at the sight of Solomon's works, she was converted to Judaism in Jerusalem, and bore him a son, whom she called Menilek, and who was their first king.

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She returned with her son Mi elek to Saba, or Azab, whom, after keeping him some years, she sent back to his father to be instructed. Solomon did not neglect his charge, and he was anointed and crowned king of Ethiopia, in the temple of Jerusalem, and at his inauguration took the name of David. After this he returned to Azab, and brought with him a colony of Jews, among whom were many doctors of the law of Moses, particularly one of each tribe, to make judges in his kingdom, from whom the present Umbares (or Supreme Judges, three of whom always attend the king) are said and believed to be descended. With these came also Azarias, the son of Zalok the priest, and brought with him a Hebrew transcript of the law, which was delivered into his custody, as he bore the title of Nebrit, or High Priest; and this charge, though the book itself was burnt with the church of Axum in the Moorish war of Adel, is still continued, as it is said, in the lineage of Azarias, who are Nebrits or keepers of the church of Axum, at this day. All Abyssinia was thereupon converted, and the government of the church and state modelled according to what was then in use at Jerusalem.

The queen of Saba having made laws irrevocable to all her posterity, died, after a long reign of forty years, in 986 before Christ, placing her son Menilek upon the throne, whose posterity, the annals of Abyssinia would teach us to believe have ever since reigned. So far we must indeed bear witness to them, that this is no new doctrine, but has been steadfastly and uniformly maintained from their earliest account of time; first, when Jews, then in later days after they had embraced Christianity.

Mr. Bruce then observes, that as we are about to take our leave of the Jewish religion and government in the line of Solomon, it is here the proper place that he should add what he has to say of the Falasha. The account they give of themselves, which is supported only by tradition among them, is, that they came with Menilek from Jerusalem, so that they agree perfectly with the Abyssinians in the story of the queen of Saba, who, they say, was a Jewess, and her nation Jews before the time of Solomon; that she lived at Saba, or Azaba, the myrrh and frankincense country upon the Arabian gulf. They

say further, that she went to Jerusalem, under protection of Hiram king of Tyre, whose daughter is said in the xlvth Psalm to have attended her thither; that she went not in ships, nor through Arabia, for fear of the Ishmaelites, but from Azab round Masuah and Suakem, and was escorted by the Shepherds, her own subjects, to Jerusalem, and back again, making use of her own country vehicle, the camel, and that her's was a white one, of prodigious size and exquisite beauty. They agree also, in every particular, with the Abyssinians, about the remaining part of the story, the birth and inauguration of Menilek, who was their first king; also the coming of Azarias, and twelve elders from the twelve tribes, and other doctors of the law, whose posterity they deny to have ever apostatised to Christianity, as the Abyssinians pretend they did at the conversion. They say, that, when the trade of the Red Sea fell into the hands of strangers, and all communication was shut up between them and Jerusalem, the cities were abandoned, and the inhabitants relinquished the coast; that they were the inhabitants of these cities, by trade mostly brick and tile-makers, potters, thatchers of houses, and such like mechanics, employed in them; and finding the low country of Dembea afforded materials for exercising these trades, they carried the article of pottery in that province to a degree of perfection scarcely to be imagined.

These people, being very industrious, multiplied exceedingly, and were very powerful at the time of the conversion to Christianity, or, as they term it, the Apostacy under Abreha and Atzbeha. At this time they declared a prince of the tribe of Judah, and of the race of Solomon and Menilek, to be their sovereign. The name of this prince was Phineas, who refused to abandon the religion of his forefathers, and from him their sovereigns are lineally descended; so they have still a prince of the house of Judah, although the Abyssinians, by way of reproach, have called this family Bet Israel, intimating that they were rebels, and revolted from the family of Solomon and tribe of Judah.

An attempt was made, about the year 960, by this family to mount the throne of Abyssinia, when the princes of the house of Solomon were nearly extirpated upon the  
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rock Damo. This, it is probable, produced more animosity and bloodshed. At last the power of the Falatha was so much weakened, that they were obliged to leave the flat country of Dembea, having no cavalry to maintain themselves there, and to take possession of the rugged, and almost inaccessible rocks, in that high ridge called the mountains of Samen. A great overthrow, which they received in the year 1600, brought them to the very brink of ruin. In that battle Gideon and Judith, their king and queen, were slain. They have since adopted a more peaceable and dutiful behaviour, pay taxes, and are suffered to enjoy their own government.

The only copy of the Old Testament which they have, is in Geez, the same made use of by the Abyssinian Christians, who are the only scribes, and sell these copies to the Jews; and, it is very singular that no controversy, or dispute about the text, has ever yet arisen between the professors of the two religions.

Tudolf, the most learned man that has written upon the subject, says, that it is apparent the Ethiopic Old Testament, at least the Pentateuch, was copied from the Septuagint, because of the many Grecisms to be found in it; and the names of birds and precious stones, and some other passages that appear literally to be translated from the Greek. He imagines also, that the present Abyssinian version is the work of Frumentius their first bishop, when Abyssinia was converted to Christianity under Abreha and Atzbeha, about the year 330 after Christ, or a few years later.

As the Abyssinian copy of the Holy Scriptures, in Mr. Ludolf's opinion, was translated by Frumentius above 330 after Christ, and the Septuagint version, in the days of Philadelphus, or Ptolemy II. above 160 years before Christ, it will follow, that, if the present Jews use the copy translated by Frumentius, and, if that was taken from the Septuagint, the Jews must have been above 400 years without any books whatsoever at the time of the conversion by Frumentius: So they must have had all the Jewish law, which is in perfect vigour and force among them, all their Levitical observances, their purifications, atonments, abstinences and sacrifices, all depending upon their memory, without writing,

at least for that long space of 400 years. This, though not absolutely impossible, is surely very nearly so. We know, that at Jerusalem itself, the seat of Jewish law and learning, idolatry happening to prevail, during the short reigns of only four kings, the law, in that interval, became so perfectly forgotten and unknown, that a copy of it being accidentally found and read by Josiah, that prince, upon his first learning its contents, was so astonished at the deviations from it, that he apprehended the immediate destruction of the whole city and people.

The Abyssinians have the whole scriptures entirely as we have, and count the same number of books; but they divide them in another manner, at least in private hands, few of them, from extreme poverty, being able to purchase the whole, either of the historical or prophetic books of the Old Testament. The same may be said of the New, for copies containing the whole of it are very scarce. Indeed no where, unless in churches, do you see more than the Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in one person's possession, and it must not be an ordinary man that possesses even these. Many books of the Old Testament are forgotten, so that it is the same trouble to procure them, even in churches, for the purpose of copying, as to consult old records long covered with dust and rubbish. The Revelation of St. John is a piece of favourite reading among them. There is no such thing as distinctions between canonical and apocryphal books. Bell and the Dragon, and the Acts of the Apostles, are read with equal devotion, and, for the most part, with equal edification. The Song of Solomon is a favourite piece of reading among the old priests, but forbidden to the young ones, to the deacons, laymen, and women. The Abyssinians believe, that this song was made by Solomon in praise of Pharaoh's daughter; and do not think, as some of our divines are disposed to do, that there is in it any mystery or allegory respecting Christ and the church.

Next to the New Testament they place the constitutions of the Apostles, which they call *Synodos*, which, as far as the cases or doctrines apply, we may say is the written law of the country. These were translated out  
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of the Arabic. They have next a general liturgy, or book of common prayer, besides several others peculiar to certain festivals, under whose names they go. The next is a very large voluminous book, called *Haimansout Abou*, chiefly a collection from the works of different Greek fathers, treating of, or explaining several heresies, or disputed points of faith, in the ancient Greek Church. Translations of the works of St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostome, and St. Cyril, are likewise current among them.

The next is the Synaxar, or the *Flos Sanctorum*, in which the miracles and lives, or lies of their saints, are at large recorded, in four monstrous volumes in folio, stuffed full of fables of the most incredible kind. They have a saint that wrestled with the devil in the shape of a serpent nine miles long, threw him from a mountain, and killed him. Another saint who converted the devil, who turned monk, and lived in great holiness forty years after his conversion, doing penance for having tempted our Saviour upon the mountain: what became of him after, they do not say. Again, another saint, that never ate nor drank from his mother's womb, went to Jerusalem, and said mass every day at the holy sepulchre, and came home at night in the shape of a stork. The last Mr. Bruce mentions was a saint, who, being very sick, and his stomach in disorder, took a longing for partridges; he called upon a brace of them to come to him, and immediately two roasted partridges came *flying*, and rested upon his plate, to be devoured. These stories are circumstantially told and vouched by unexceptionable people, and were a grievous stumbling-block to the Jesuits, who could not pretend their own miracles were either better established, or more to be credited.

The last of this Ethiopic library is the book of Enoch. Upon hearing this book first mentioned, many literati in Europe had a wonderful desire to see it, thinking that, no doubt, many secrets and unknown histories might be drawn from it. Upon this, some impostor getting an Ethiopic book into his hands, wrote for the title, *The Prophecies of Enoch*, upon the front page of it. M. Pierisc no sooner heard of it than he purchased it of the impostor for a considerable sum of money: being placed  
afterwards



afterwards in Cardinal Mazarine's library, where Mr. Ludolf had access to it, he found it was a Gnostic book upon mysteries in heaven and earth, but which mentioned not a word of Enoch, or his prophecy, from beginning to end; and, from this disappointment, he takes upon him to deny the existence of any such book any where else. This, however, is a mistake; for, among the articles Mr. Bruce consigned to the library at Paris, was a very beautiful and magnificent copy of the prophecies of Enoch, in large quarto; another is amongst the books of scripture which he brought home, standing immediately before the book of Job, which is its proper place in the Abyssinian canon; and a third copy he presented to the Bodleian library at Oxford.

The Abyssinian annals mention an expedition to have happened into the farthest part of Arabia Felix, which the Arabian authors, and indeed Mahomet himself in the Koran calls by the name of the War of the Elephant, and the cause of it was as follows: There was a temple nearly in the middle of the peninsula of Arabia, that had been held in the greatest veneration for about 1400 years. The Arabs say, that Adam, when shut out of paradise, pitched his tent on this spot; while Eve, from some accident or other, died and was buried on the shore of the Red Sea, at Jidda. Two days journey east from this place, her grave, of green sods about fifty yards in length, is shewn to this day. In this temple also was a black stone, upon which Jacob saw the vision mentioned in scripture, of the angels descending, and ascending into Heaven. It is likewise said, with more appearance of probability, that this temple was built by Sesostris, in his voyage to Arabia Felix, and that he was worshipped there under the name of Osiris.

This tower, and idol, being held in great veneration by the neighbouring nations, suggested the very natural thought of making the temple the market for the trade from Africa and India. They chose this town in the heart of the country, accessible on all sides, and commanded on none, calling it Becca, which signifies the House; though Mahomet, after breaking the idol and dedicating the temple to the true God, named it Mecca, under

under which name it has continued, the centre or great mart of the India trade to this day.

Abreha, in order to divert this trade into a channel more convenient for his present dominions, built a very large church or temple, in the country of the Homerites, and nearer the Indian Ocean. To encourage also the resort to this place, he extended to it all the privileges, protection, and emoluments, that belonged to the Pagan temple of Mecca.

Among the various tribes of Arabs, one called Beni Koreish, had the care of the Caba, the name by which the round tower of Mecca was called. These people were exceedingly alarmed at the prospect of their temple being at once deserted, both by its votaries and merchants, to prevent which, a party of them, in the night, entered Abreha's temple, and having first burned what part of it could be consumed, they polluted the part that remained, by besmearing it over with human excrements.

So gross an affront could not be passed unnoticed by Abreha, who, mounted upon a white elephant, at the head of a considerable army, resolved, in return, to destroy the temple of Mecca, and with this intent laid siege to that place. Abou Thaleb was then keeper of the Caba, who had interest with his countrymen the Beni Koreish to prevail upon them to make no resistance, nor shew any signs of wishing to make a defence. He had presented himself early to Abreha upon his march. There was a temple of Osiris at Taief, which, as a rival to that of Mecca, was looked upon by the Beni Koreish with a jealous eye. Abreha was so far misled by the intelligence given him by Abou Thaleb, that he mistook the Temple of Taief for that of Mecca, and razed it to the foundation, after which he prepared to return home.

Being soon afterwards informed of his mistake, and not repenting of what he had already done, he resolved to destroy Mecca also. Abou Thaleb, however, had never left his side; by his great hospitality, and the plenty he procured to the Emperor's army, he so gained Abreha, that hearing, on inquiry, he was no mean man, but a prince of the tribe of Beni Koreish, noble Arabs, he obliged him to sit in his presence, and kept him constantly with him as a companion. At last, not  
knowing

knowing how to reward him sufficiently, Abreha desired him to ask any thing in his power to grant, and he would satisfy him. Abou Thaleb, taking him at his word, wished to be provided with a man, that should bring back forty oxen, the soldiers had stolen from him. Abreha, who expected that the favour he was to ask, was to spare the Temple, which he had in that case resolved in his mind to do, could not conceal his astonishment at so silly a request, and he could not help testifying this to Abou Thaleb, in a manner that shewed it had lowered him in his esteem. Abou Thaleb, smiling, replied very calmly, "If that before you is the Temple of God, as I believe it is, you shall never destroy it, if it is his will that it should stand: If it is not the Temple of God, or which is the same thing, if he has ordained that you should destroy it, I shall not only assist you in demolishing it, but shall help you in carrying away the last stone of it upon my shoulders: But as for me, I am a Shepherd, and the care of cattle is my profession; twenty of the oxen which are stolen are not my own, and I shall be put in prison for them tomorrow; for neither you nor I can believe that this is an affair God will interfere in; and therefore I apply to you for a soldier who will seek the thief, and bring back my oxen, that my liberty be not taken from me."

Abreha had now refreshed his army, and, from regard to his guest, had not touched the Temple; when, says the Arabian author, there appeared, coming from the sea, a flock of birds called Ababil, having faces like lions, and each of them in his claws, holding a small stone like a pea, which he let fall upon Abreha's army, so that they all were destroyed. The author of the manuscript from which Mr. Bruce took this fable, and which is also related by several other historians, and mentioned by Mahomet in the Koran, does not seem to swallow the story implicitly. For he says, that there is no bird that has a face like a lion, that Abou Thaleb was a Pagan, Mahomet being not then come, and that the Christians were worshippers of the true God, the God of Mahomet; and, therefore, if any miracle was wrought here, it was a miracle of the devil, a victory in favour of Paganism, and destructive of the belief of the

the true God. In conclusion, he says, that it was at this time that the small-pox and measles first broke out in Arabia, and almost totally destroyed the army of Abreha. But if the stone, as big as a pea, thrown by the Ababil, had killed Abreha's army to the last man, it does not appear how any of them could die afterwards, either by the small-pox or measles. All that is material, however, to us, in this fact, is, that the time of the siege of Mecca will be the æra of the first appearance of that terrible disease, the small-pox, which we shall set down about the year 356; and it is highly probable, from other circumstances, that the Abyssinian army was the first victim to it.

As for the church Abreha built near the Indian ocean, it continued free from any further insult till the Mahometan conquest of Arabia Felix, when it was finally destroyed in the Khalifat of Omar. This is the Abyssinian account, and this the Arabian history of the War of the Elephant, which are stated as found in the books of the most credible writers of those times.

The Jewish religion had spread itself far into Arabia as early as the commencement of the African trade with Palestine; but, after the destruction of the temple by Titus, a great increase both of number and wealth had made that people absolute masters in many parts of that peninsula. In the Neged, and as far up as Medina, petty princes, calling themselves kings, were established, who being trained in the wars of Palestine, became very formidable among the pacific commercial nations of Arabia, deeply sunk into Greek degeneracy.

Phineas, a prince of that nation from Medina, having beat St Aretas, the Governor of Najiran, began to persecute the Christians by a new species of cruelty, by ordering certain furnaces, or pits full of fire, to be prepared, into which he threw as many of the inhabitants of Najiran as refused to renounce Christianity. Justin, the Greek Emperor, was then employed in an unsuccessful war with the Persians, so that he could not give any assistance to the afflicted Christians in Arabia, but in the year 522 he sent an embassy to Caleb, or Elefbaas, king of Abyssinia, intreating him to interfere in favour of the Christians of Najiran, as he too was of  
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the Greek church. On the Emperor's first request, Caleb sent orders to Abreha, Governor of Yemen, to march to the assistance of Aretas, the son of him who was burnt, and who was then collecting troops. Strengthened by this reinforcement, the young soldier did not think proper to delay the revenging his father's death, till the arrival of the Emperor; but having come up with Phineas, who was ferrying his troops over an arm of the sea, he entirely routed them, and obliged their prince, for fear of being taken, to swim with his horse to the nearest shore. It was not long before the Emperor had crossed the Red Sea with his army; nor had Phineas lost any time in collecting his scattered forces to oppose him. A battle was the consequence, in which the fortune of Caleb again prevailed.

Neither of the Jewish kingdoms were destroyed by the victories of Caleb, or Abreha, nor the subsequent conquest of the Persians. In the Neged, or north part of Arabia, they continued not only after the appearance of Mahomet, but till after the Hegira. The Arabian manuscripts say positively, that this Abreha, who assisted Aretas, was Governor of Arabia Felix, or Yemen.

In the Greek church a most shameful prostitution of manners prevailed, as also innumerable heresies, which were first received as true tenets of their religion, but were soon after persecuted in a most uncharitable manner, as being erroneous. Their lies, their legends, their fables and miracles, and, above all, the abandoned behaviour of the priesthood, had brought their characters in Arabia almost as low as that of the detested Jew, and, had they been considered in their true light, they had been still lower. The dictates of nature in the heart of the honest Pagan, constantly employed in long, lonely, and dangerous voyages, awakened him often to reflect who that Providence was that invisibly governed him, supplied his wants, and often mercifully saved him from the destruction into which his own ignorance or rashness were leading him. Possessed by no system, perverted by no prejudice, he wished to know and adore his Benefactor, with purity and simplicity of heart, free from these fopperies and follies with which ignorant priests and monks had disguised his worship.

Possessed

Possessed of charity, steady in his duty to his parents, full of veneration for his superiors, attentive and merciful even to his beasts; in a word, containing in his heart the principles of the first religion, which God had inculcated in the heart of Noah, the Arab was already prepared to embrace a much more perfect one than what Christianity, at that time, disfigured by folly and superstition, appeared to him to be.

Mahomet, of the tribe of Beni Koreish (at whose instigation is uncertain) took upon himself to be the apostle of a new religion, pretending to have, for his only object, the worship of the true God. Ostensibly full of the morality of the Arab, of patience and self-denial, superior even to what is made necessary to salvation by the gospel, his religion, at the bottom, was but a system of blasphemy and falsehood, corruption and injustice. Mahomet and his tribe were most profoundly ignorant. There was not among them but one man that could write, and it was not doubted he was to be Mahomet's secretary, but unfortunately Mahomet could not read his writing. The story of the angel who brought him leaves of the Koran is well known, and so is all the rest of the fable. The wiser part of his own relations, indeed, laughed at the impudence of his pretending to have a communication with angels. Having, however, gained, as his apostles, some of the best soldiers of the tribe of Beni Koreish, and persisting with great uniformity in all his measures, he established a new religion upon the ruins of idolatry and Sabaism, in the very temple of Mecca.

Mahomet enjoined nothing severe, and the frequent prayers and washings with water which he directed, were gratifications to a sedentary people in a very hot country. The lightness of this yoke, therefore, recommended it rapidly to those who were disgusted with long fasting, penances, and pilgrimages. The poison of this false, yet not severe religion, spread itself from that fountain to all the trading nations: India, Ethiopia, Africa, all Asia, suddenly embraced it; and every caravan carried into the bosom of its country people not more attached to trade, than zealous to preach and propagate their new faith.

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The Arabs began very soon to study letters, and came to be very partial to their own language; Mahomet himself so much so, that he held out his Koran, for its elegance alone, as a greater miracle than that of raising the dead. This was not universally allowed at that time; as there were even then compositions supposed to equal, if not to surpass it.

The Arabs were a people who lived in a country, for the most part, desert; their dwellings were tents, their principle occupation feeding and breeding cattle, and they married with their own family. The language therefore of such a people must be very poor; there is no variety of images in their whole country. They were always bad poets, as their works will testify; and if contrary to the general rule, the language of Arabia Deserta became a copious one, it must have been by the mixture of so many nations meeting and trading at Mecca. It must, at the same time, have been the most corrupt, where there was the greatest concourse of strangers, and this was certainly among the Beni Koreish at the Caba.

The war that had distracted all Arabia, first between the Greeks and Persians, then between Mahomet and the Arabs, in support of his divine mission, had very much hurt the trade carried on by universal consent at the Temple of Mecca. Caravans, when they dared venture out, were surprised upon every road, by the partisans of one side or the other. Both merchants and trade had taken their departure to the southward, and established themselves south of the Arabian Gulf, in places which had been the markets for commerce, and the rendezvous of merchants. The conquest of the Abyssinian territories in Arabia forced all those that yet remained to take refuge on the African side, in the little districts which now grew into consideration. The Governor of Yemen (or Najashi) converted now to the faith of Mahomet, retired to the African side of the Gulf. His government, long ago, having been shaken to the very foundation by the Arabian war, was at last totally destroyed.

After Omar had subdued Egypt, he destroyed the valuable library at Alexandria; but his successors thought very differently from him in the article of profane learning.

Greek

Greek books of all kinds (especially those of Geometry, Astronomy, and Medicine,) were searched for every where and translated. Sciences flourished and were encouraged. Trade at the same time kept pace, and increased with knowledge. Geography and astronomy were every where diligently studied, and solidly applied to make the Voyages of men from place to place safe and expeditious.

In one family of the Jews, an independent sovereignty had always been preserved on the mountain of Samen, and the royal residence was upon a high-pointed rock, called the Jews Rock: Several other inaccessible mountains served as natural fortresses for this people, now grown very considerable by frequent accessions of strength from Palestine and Arabia, whence the Jews had been expelled. Gideon and Judith were then king and queen of the Jews, and their daughter Judith (whom in Amhara they call *Esther*, and sometimes *Saat*, i. e. *fire*,) was a woman of great beauty, and talents for intrigue; had been married to the governor of a small district called Bugna, in the neighbourhood of Lasta, both which countries were likewise much infected with Judaism.

Judith had made so strong a party, that she resolved to attempt the subversion of the Christian religion, and, with it, the succession in the line of Solomon. The children of the royal family were at this time, in virtue of the old law, confined on the almost inaccessible mountain of Damo in Tigrè. The short reign, sudden and unexpected death of the late king Aizor, and the desolation and contagion which an epidemical disease had spread both in court and capital, the weak state of Del Naad who was to succeed Aizor and was an infant; all these circumstances together, impressed Judith with an idea that now was the time to place her family upon the throne, and establish her religion by the extirpation of the race of Solomon. Accordingly she surprised the rock Damo, and slew the whole princes there, to the number, it is said, of about 400. Some nobles of Amhara, upon the first news of the catastrophe at Damo, conveyed the infant king Del Naad, now the only remaining prince of his race, into the powerful and loyal province of Shoa, and by this means the royal family was preserved to be again restored. Judith took possession of the throne in defiance of  
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the law of the queen of Saba, by this the first interruption of the succession in the line of Solomon; and, contrary to what might have been expected from the violent means she had used to acquire the crown, she not only enjoyed it herself during a long reign of 40 years, but transmitted it also to five of her posterity.

After a great number of years, the line of Solomon was again restored in the descendants of Del Naad, who, as we have seen, had escaped from the massacre of Damo under Judith. Content with possessing the loyal province of Shoa, they continued their royal residence there, without having made one attempt, as far as history tells us, towards recovering their ancient kingdom.





# T R A V E L S

TO DISCOVER

The SOURCE of the NILE.

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BOOK III.

ANNALS OF ABYSSINIA.

*Containing the History of the Abyssinians, from the Restoration of the Line of Solomon to the Death of Socinios.*

ICON AMLAC.

FROM 1268 TO 1283.

**I**N an abridgement of so copious a work, it cannot be expected that we should follow Mr. Bruce minutely through his Annals of Abyssinia. The accounts of kings and princes of remote ages are not always entertaining. We shall therefore in this and the following Book collect only such matters as appear entertaining or instructive to our readers, and shall refer those to the original itself, whose leisure, curiosity, or pecuniary abilities, may enable them to peruse larger works.

Icon Amlac is the only name by which we know this first prince of the race of Solomon, restored now fully to his dominions, after a long exile his family had suffered by the treason of Judith. The signification of his name is, "Let him be made our sovereign," and is apparently

parently that which he took upon his inauguration or accession to the throne; and his name of baptism, and bye-name or popular name given him, are both therefore lost. He was a wise and prudent prince.

### I G B A S I O N.

From 1283 to 1312.

TO Icon Amlac succeeded Igba Sion, and after him five other princes, his brothers, Bahar Segued, Tzenaf Segued, Jan Segued, Hafeb Araad, and Kedem Segued, all in five years. So quick a succession in so few years seems to mark very unsettled times. Whether it was a civil war among themselves that brought these reigns to so speedy a conclusion, or whether it was that the Moorish states in Adel had grown in power, and fought successfully against them, we do not know.

### A M D A S I O N.

From 1312 to 1342.

AMDA Sion succeeded his father, Wedem Araad, who was youngest brother of Icon Amlac, and came to the crown upon the death of his uncles. He is generally known by this his inauguration name; his Christian name was Guebra Mascal. His reign began with a scene as disgraceful to the name of Christian as it was new in the annals of Ethiopia, and which promised a character very different from what this prince preserved ever afterwards. He had for a time, it seems, privately loved a concubine of his father, but had now taken her to live with him publicly; and, not content with committing this sort of incest, he, in a very little time after, had seduced his two sisters.

Patience was as little among this prince's virtues as chastity, as he immediately ordered Honorius to be apprehended, stripped naked, and severely whipped through every street of his capital. That same night the town took fire, and was entirely consumed, and the clergy lost no time to persuade the people, that it was the blood of  
Honorius

Honorius that turned to fire whenever it had dropped upon the ground, and so had burnt the city. The king, perhaps better informed, thought otherwise of this, and supposed the burning of his capital was owing to the Monks themselves. He therefore banished those of Debra Libanos out of the province of Shoa.

In Adel and Auffa the inhabitants are tawny, and not black, and have long hair. They are rich and powerful; but there is no current coin in Abyssinia. Gold is paid by weight; all the revenues are chiefly paid in kind, viz. oxen, sheep, and honey, which are the greatest necessaries of life. As for luxuries, they are obtained by a barter of gold, myrrh, coffee, elephant's teeth, and a variety of other articles, which are carried over to Arabia; and in exchange for these is brought back whatever is commissioned.

In Abyssinia, the rainy season generally puts an end to the active part of war, as every one retires then to towns and villages to screen themselves from the inclemency of the climate, deluged now with daily rain. The soldier, the husbandman, and, above all, the women, dedicate this season to continued festivity and riot. These villages and towns are always placed upon the highest mountains; the valleys that intervene are soon divided by large and rapid torrents. Every hollow foot-path becomes a stream, and the valleys between the hills become so miry as not to bear a horse; the waters, both deep and violent, are too apt to shift their direction to suffer any one on foot to pass safely. All this season, and this alone, people sleep in their houses with safety; their lances and shields are hung up on the sides of their hall, and the saddles and bridles taken off their horses; for in Abyssinia, at other times, the horses are always bridled, and are accustomed to eat and drink with this incumbrance. The court, and the principal officers of government, retire to the capital, and there administer justice, make alliances, and prepare the necessary funds and armaments, which the present exigencies of the state require on the return of fair weather.

The Abyssinians are every one of them fearful of the night, unwilling to travel, and, above all, to fight in that season, when they imagine the world is in possession

sion of certain genii, averse to intercourse with men, and very vindictive, if even by accident they are ruffled, or put out of their way by their interference. This, indeed, is carried to so great a height, that no man will venture to throw water out of a basin upon the ground, for fear that, in ever so small a space the water should have to fall, the dignity of some elf, or fairy, might be violated. The Moors have none of these apprehensions, and are accustomed, in the way of trade, to travel at all hours, sometimes from necessity, but often from choice, to avoid the heat. They laugh; moreover, at the superstitions of the Abyssinians, and not unfrequently avail themselves of them. A verse of the Koran, sewed up in leather, and tied round their necks or their arms, secures them from all these incorporeal enemies; and, from this known advantage, if other circumstances are favourable, they never fail to fight the Abyssinians at or before the dawn of the morning, for in this country there is no twilight.

Amda Sion died of a natural death at Tederal in Shoa, after a reign of thirty years, which was but a continued series of victories, no instance being recorded of his having been once defeated.

#### SAIF ARAAD.

From 1342 to 1370.

SAIF ARAAD succeeded his father Amda Sion; and in his time, all was peaceable on the side of Adel, as nothing is mentioned relative to that war. Little is said of this monarch worth mentioning here, nor of the several succeeding kings from this period to 1434.

#### ZARA JACOB.

From 1434 to 1468.

ZARA JACOB, fourth son of David II. succeeded his nephew, and reigned 34 years; and at his inauguration, took the name of Constantine. He is looked upon, in Abyssinia, to have been another Solomon, and a model of what the best of sovereigns should be. From what we know of him, he seems to have been a prince who

who had the best opportunity, and with that the greatest inclination to be instructed in the politics, manners, and religion of other countries.

A convent had been long before this established at Jerufalem for the Abyffinians, which he in part endowed, as appears by his letters still extant, written to monks of that convent. He also obtained from the Pope, a convent for the Abyffinians at Rome, which, to this day, is appropriated to them, though it is very seldom that either there, or even at Jerufalem, there are now any Abyffinians. By his desire, and in his name, ambassadors, (*i. e.* priests from Jerufalem), were sent by Abba Nicodemus, the then superior, who assisted at the Council of Florence, where, however, they adhered to the opinion of the Greek church, about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, which created a schism between the Greek and Latin churches. This embassy was thought of consequence enough to be the subject of painting in the Vatican, and to this picture we owe the knowledge of such an embassy having been sent.

### BÆDA MARIAM.

From 1468 to 1478.

BÆDA MARIAM succeeded to the throne against his father's inclination, after having received much ill-usage during the earlier part of his life, of which this was the occasion. His mother took so violent and irregular a longing to see her son king, that she formed a scheme, by the strength of a party of her relations and friends, trusting to the weakness of an old man, to force him into a partnership with his father. Examples of two kings, at the same time, and even in this degree of relation, were more than once to be found in the Abyffinian annals; but those times were now no more. A strong jealousy had succeeded to an unreasonable confidence, and had thrown both the person and pretensions of the heirs-apparent of this age to as great a distance as was possible.

Sion Magafs, or the Grace of Sion, (for such was the name of the queen), first began to tamper with the clergy, who, though they did not absolutely join her in

her views, shewed her, however, more encouragement than was strictly consistent with their allegiance. From these she applied to some of the principal officers of state, and to those about the king, the best affected to her son and his succession. These, aware of the evil tendency of her scheme, first advised her, by every means, to lay it aside; and afterwards, seeing she still persisted, and afraid of a discovery, that would involve her accomplices in it, they disclosed the matter to the king himself, who repented the intention so heinously, that he ordered the queen to be beaten with rods till she expired.

Though nothing had hitherto appeared to criminate the young prince, it was soon told the king, that, after the death of the queen, her son Bæda Mariam had taken frankincense and wax-tapers from the churches, which he employed, at stated times, in the observation of the usual solemnities over his mother's grave. The king, having called his son before him, began to question him about what he had heard; while the prince, without hesitation, gave him a full account of every circumstance, glorying in what, he said, was his duty, and denying that he was accountable to any man on earth for the marks of affection which he shewed to his mother.

Bæda Mariam, considering his son's justification as a reproach made to himself for cruelty, ordered the prince, and, with him, his principal friend Meherata Christos, to be loaded with irons, and banished to the top of a mountain; and it is hard to say where this punishment would have ended, had not the monks of Debra Kosso and Debra Libanos, and all those of the desert, (who thought themselves in some measure accomplices with his mother), by exhortations, pretended prophecies, dreams and visions, convinced the king, that Providence had decreed unalterably, that none but his son, Bæda Mariam, should succeed him. To this ordinance the old king bowed, as it gave him a prospect of the long continuance of his family on the throne of Abyssinia.

The king, while he was busy in planning the conquest of Adel, was seized with a pain in his bowels, whether from poison or otherwise, it is not known, which put a period

period to his life. He was a prince of great bravery and conduct, very moderate in his pleasures, very devout, zealous for the established church, but steady in his resistance to the monks and other clergy, in all their attempts towards persecution, innovation, and independency.

### ISCANDER, or ALEXANDER.

From 1478 to 1495.

**KING** Bæda Mariam being dead, the history of Abyssinia informs us, that a tumultuous meeting of the nobles brought from the mountain of Geshen the queen Romana, with her son Iscander, who, upon his arrival, was crowned without any opposition. For several years after Iscander ascended the throne, the queen his mother, together with the Acab Saat, Tesfo Georgis, and Betwudet Amdu, governed the kingdom despotically, under the name of the young king. Accordingly, after some years sufferance, a conspiracy was formed, at the head of which were two men of great power, Abba Amdu and Abba Hafabo; but the conspirators proving unsuccessful, some of them were imprisoned, some put to death, and others banished to unwholesome places, there to perish with hunger and fevers.

The king having proved successful in the war against Adel, in his return to Shoa, left his troops, which was the northern army, in the northern provinces, as he passed; so that he came to Shoa with a very small retinue, hearing that Za Saluce, his prime minister, and commander in chief, had gone to Amhara, of which place he was governor. This traitor, however, had left his creatures behind him, after instructing them what they were to do. Accordingly, the second day after Iscander's arrival in Tegulat, the capital of Shoa, they set upon him, during the night, in a small house in Aylo Meidan, and murdered him while he was sleeping. They concealed the body for some days in a mill; but Taka Christos, and some others of the king's friends, took up the corpse and exposed it to the people, who, with one accord, proclaimed Andreas, son of Iscander, king; and Za Saluce, and his adherents, traitors.



In the mean time, Za Saluce, far from finding the encouragement he expected in Amhara, was, upon his first appearance, set upon by the nobility of that province; and being deserted by his troops, he was taken prisoner; his eyes were put out, and, being mounted on an afs, he was carried, amidst the curses of the people, through the provinces of Amhara and Shoa. Ifcanda was succeeded by his son Andreas, or Amda Sion, an infant, who reigned seven months only.

### NAOD.

From 1495 to 1508.

SOON after the unfortunate death of the young king Alexander, the people in general, wearied of minorities, unanimously chose Naod for their king. He was Alexander's youngest brother, the difference of ages being but one year, though he was not by the same mother, but by the king's second wife, Calliope.

Naod was no sooner seated on the throne than he published a very general and comprehensive amnesty. By proclamation he declared, "That any person who should upbraid another with being a party in the misfortunes of past times, or say that he had been privy to this or to that conspiracy, or had been a favourite of the empress, or a partizan of Za Saluce, or had received bribes from the Moors, should, without delay, be put to death." This proclamation had the very best effect, as it quieted the mind of every guilty person when he saw the king, from whom he feared an enquiry, cutting off all possible means by which it could be procured against him.

Naod having, by his courage and prudence, freed himself from fear of a foreign war, set himself, like a wise prince, to the reforming of the abuses that prevailed every where among his people, and to the cultivation of the arts of peace. He died a natural death, after having reigned 13 years.

### DAVID III.

From 1508 to 1540.

DAVID was only 11 years old when he was placed upon the throne; and, at his inauguration, took the name

name of Lebna Dengehel, or the Virgin's Frankincense ; then that of Etana Dengehel, or the Myrrh of the Virgin ; and after that of Wanag Segued, which signifies Reverenced, or Feared, among the Lions, with whom, towards the last of his reign, he resided in wilds and mountains, more than with men. He died in the year 1540, after a reign of complicated misfortunes.

### CLAUDIUS, OR ATZENAF SEGUED.

From 1540 to 1559.

CLAUDIUS succeeded his father David III. being yet young, and found the empire in circumstances that would have required an old and experienced prince. But, though young, he possessed those graceful and affable manners which, at first sight, attached people of all sorts to him. He had been tutored with great care by the empress Helena, was expert in all warlike exercises, and brave beyond his years. Such is the character given this prince by the Abyssinian writers : but Mr. Bruce is of opinion that he did not merit these encomiums.

Under this reign, Mr. Bruce relates some particulars of Nur, governor of Zeyla, and general of the Moors, which, in spite of the narrow limits to which we are confined, we cannot avoid transcribing. He was deeply in love with a widow lady, Del Wumbarea, from whom he had marks of gratitude to expect, as he had assisted her in making her escape into Atbara, that day her husband was slain. But this heroine had constantly refused to listen to any proposals ; nay, had vowed she never would give her hand in marriage to any man, till he should first bring her the head of Claudius, who had slain her husband. Nur willingly accepted the condition, which gave him few rivals.

Claudius, who had hitherto been victorious, had marched towards Adel, when he received a message from Nur, that there still remained a governor of Zeyla, whose family was chosen as a particular instrument for shedding the blood of the Abyssinian princes ; and desired him, therefore, to be prepared, for he was speedily to set out to come to him. Claudius had

been employed in various journies through different parts of his kingdom, repairing the churches which the Moors had burnt ; and he was then rebuilding that of Debra Werk when this message of Nur was brought to him. This prince was of a temper never to avoid a challenge ; and if he did not march against Nur immediately, he staid no longer than to complete his army as far as possible. He then began his march for Adel, very much, as it is said, against the advice of his friends.

This advice was singular, as he was, at that time, victorious. But many prophecies were current in the camp, that the king was to be unfortunate this campaign, and in which he was to lose his life. These unfortunate rumours tended much to discourage the army, at the same time that they seemed to have a contrary effect on the king, and to confirm him in his resolution to fight.

Both armies were drawn up and ready to engage, when the chief priest of Debra Libanos came to the king, to tell him a dream, or vision, which warned him not to fight ; but the Moors were then advancing, and the king, on horseback, made no reply, but marched briskly forward to the enemy. The cowardly Abyssinians, upon the first fire, fled, leaving the king engaged in the middle of the Moorish army with twenty horse, and eighteen Portuguese musqueteers, who were all slain around his person ; and he himself fell, after fighting manfully, and receiving twenty wounds. His head was cut off, and by Nur delivered to Del Wumbarea, who directed it to be tied by the hair to the branch of a tree before her door, that she might keep it constantly in sight. Here it remained three years, till it was purchased from her by an Armenian merchant, her first grief having, it is probable, subsided, upon the acquisition of a new husband. The merchant carried the head to Antioch, and buried it there in the sepulchre of a saint of the same name.

In this manner died king Claudius, in the 19th year of his reign, who, by his virtues and capacity, might hold a first place among any series of kings we have known, victorious in every action he fought, except in that one only in which he died. A great slaughter was made after this among the routed, and many of the  
first

first nobility were slain in endeavouring to escape; among the rest, the dreamer from Debra Libanos, his vision, by which he knew the king's death, not having extended so far as to reveal his own. The Abyffinians immediately transferred the name of this prince into their catalogue of saints, and he is called St. Claudius in that country to this day.

This battle was fought on the 22d of March, 1550; and the victory gained by Nur was a complete one. The king and most of his principal officers were slain; great part of the army taken prisoners, the rest dispersed, and the camp plundered; so that no Moorish general had ever returned home with the glory he did. But afterwards, in his behaviour, he exhibited a spectacle more memorable, and that did him more honour than the victory itself; for, when he drew near to Adel, he clothed himself in poor attire, like a common soldier, and bare-headed, mounted on an ordinary mule, with an old saddle and tattered accoutrements, he forbade the songs and praise with which it is usual to meet the conquerors in that country, when returning with victory from the field. He declined also all share in the success of that day, declaring that the whole of it was due to God alone, to whose mercy and immediate interposition he owed the destruction of the Christian army.

#### MENAS, OR ADAMAS SEGUED.

From 1559 to 1563.

Menas succeeded his brother Claudius, and found his kingdom in almost as great confusion as it had been left by his father David. As nothing occurs very remarkable in this reign, we shall pass on to his successor

#### SERTZA DENGHELL, OR MELEC SEGUED.

From 1563 to 1595.

He was only twelve years old when he came to the throne, and was crowned at Axum with all the ancient ceremonies. The beginning of his reign was marked

by a mutiny of his soldiers, who, joining themselves to some Mahometans, plundered the town, and then disbanded.

Sertza Dengehell, having proved victorious in all his wars, determined to chastise the malecontents of a people called the Damots, when he was accosted by a priest, famous for his holiness and talent for divination, who advised him not to undertake that war; but the king expressed his contempt both of the advice and the adviser. The priest is said to have limited his advice still further, and to have only begged him to remember not to eat the fish of a certain river in the territory of Giba, in the province of Shat. The king, however, flushed with his former victories, forgot the name of the river, and the injunction; and, having eat fish out of this river, was immediately after taken dangerously ill, and died on his return. The writer of his life says, that the fatal effects of this river were afterwards experienced in the reign of Yafous the Great, at the time in which he wrote, when the king's whole army, encamped along the sides of this river, were taken with violent sickness after eating the fish caught in it, and that many of the soldiers died. Whether this be really fact or not, Mr. Bruce does not take upon him to decide. Whether fish, or any other animal, living in water impregnated with poisonous minerals, can preserve its own life, and yet imbibe a quantity of poison sufficient to destroy the men that should eat it, seems to him very doubtful.

Sertza Dengehell was of a very humane, affable disposition, very different from his father Menas. He was steadfast in his adherence to the church of Alexandria, and seemed perfectly indifferent as to the Romish church and clergy. In conversation, he frequently condemned their tenets, but always commended the sobriety and sanctity of their lives.

### ZA DENGHELL.

From 1595 to 1604.

No sooner was Sertza Dengehell dead, perhaps some time before, but a conspiracy was formed to change the order

order of succession, and this was immediately executed, by order of the triumvirate, who sent a body of soldiers, and seized Za Denghell, and carried him close prisoner to Deck, a large island in the lake Tzana, belonging to the queen, where he was kept for some time, till he escaped and hid himself in the wild inaccessible mountains of Gojam, which there form the banks of the Nile. He was, however, afterwards restored, and converted to the Romish religion. The transactions of this and the two succeeding reigns were, in a manner, but one continued scene of rebellion, bloodshed, and slaughter. The Roman Catholic missionaries sent to Abyssinia, also employ several sheets in the original work; but, as these are matters foreign to the plan of an abridgement, we shall only observe, that Za Denghell was succeeded by Jacob, who reigned from 1604 to 1605, and was succeeded by Socinios, who reigned from 1605 to 1632. We shall conclude this book with an extract of two from the occurrences of this last reign.

Mr. Bruce, in his account of the kingdom of Gingiro, says, all matters in this state are conducted by magic; and we may see to what point the human understanding is debased in the distance of a few leagues. Let no man say that ignorance is the cause, or heat of climate, which is the unintelligible observation generally made on these occasions. For why should heat of climate addict a people to magic more than cold? or, why should ignorance enlarge a man's powers, so that, overleaping the bounds of common intelligence, it should extend his faculty of conversing with a new set of beings in another world? The Ethiopians, who nearly surround Abyssinia, are blacker than those of Gingiro, their country hotter, and are, like them, an indigenous people, that have been, from the beginning, in the same part where they now inhabit. Yet the former neither adore the devil, nor pretend to have a communication with him; they have no human sacrifices, nor are there any traces of such enormities having prevailed among them. A communication with the sea has been always open, and the slave-trade prevalent from the earliest times; while the king of Gingiro, shut up in the heart of the continent, sacrifices those slaves to the devil which he has no oppor-

tunity to fell to man. For, at Gingiro begins that accursed custom of making the shedding of human blood a necessary part in all solemnities. How far to the southward this reaches, Mr. Bruce does not pretend to know; but he looks upon this to be the geographical bounds of the reign of the devil, on the north side of the equator, in the peninsula of Africa.

When the king of Gingiro dies, the body of the deceased is wrapped in a fine cloth, and a cow is killed. They then put the body so wrapped up into the cow's skin. As soon as this is over, all the princes of the royal family fly and hide themselves in the bushes; while others, entrusted with the election, enter into the thickets, beating every where about, as if looking for game. At last a bird of prey, called in their country Liber, appears, and hovers over the person destined to be king, crying and making a great noise, without quitting his station. By this means the person destined to be elected is found, surrounded, as is reported, by tigers, lions, panthers, and such-like wild-beasts. This is imagined to be done by magic, or the devil, else there are every where enough of these beasts lying in the cover to furnish materials for such a tale, without having recourse to the power of magic to assemble them. As they find their king, like a wild beast, so his behaviour continues the same after he is found. He flies upon them with great rage, resisting to the last, wounding and killing all he can reach, without any consideration, till, overcome by force, he is dragged to a throne, which he fills in a manner perfectly corresponding to the rationality of the ceremonies of his instalment.

Before the king enters his palace, two men are to be slain; one at the foot of the tree by which his house is chiefly supported; the other at the threshold of his door, which is besmeared with the blood of the victim. And it is said, that the particular family, whose privilege it is to be slaughtered, so far from avoiding it, glory in the occasion, and offer themselves willingly to meet it.

The Ethiopic memoirs of Socinius' reign is interrupted to record a very trifling anecdote, which Mr. Bruce inserts, as it serves to give some idea of the simplicity and ignorance of those times. The historian says, that this  
year

year there was brought into Abyssinia, a bird called *Para*, which was about the bigness of a hen, and spoke all languages ; Indian, Portuguese, and Arabic. It named the king's name ; although its voice was that of a man, it could likewise neigh like a horse, and mew like a cat, but did not sing like a bird. It was produced before the assembly of judges, of the priests, and the azages of court, and there it spoke with great gravity. The assembly, after considering circumstances well, were unanimously of opinion, that the evil spirit had no part in endowing it with these talents. But to be certain of this, it was thought most prudent to take the advice of Ras Sela Christos, then in Gojam, who might, if he thought fit, consult the superior of Mahebar Selassé ; to them it was sent, but it died on the road. The historian closes his narrative by this wise reflection on the parrot's death, " Such is the lot of all flesh."



# TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

## THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK IV.

ANNALS OF ABYSSINIA.

*Continuation of the Annals, from the Death of Socinius till  
Mr. Bruce's Arrival in Abyssinia.*

FACILIDAS, OR, SULTAN SEGUED.

From 1632 to 1665.

**F**ACILIDAS, in the fifth year of his reign, after having gained several victories over the neighbouring princes, passed the winter in Gafat; but a misfortune happened the following year, which very much affected the whole kingdom. The people of Lasta grew desperate from their former defeat, and determined again to try the fortune of war. Facilidas, trusting to his former reputation acquired in these mountains in his father's time, on the 3d of March, 1638, advanced with a large army into Lasta, with a design to bring these peasants to a battle. But the rebels growing wise by their losses, no longer chose to trust themselves on the plain, but, retiring to the strongest posts, fortified them so judiciously, that, without risking any loss themselves, they cut off all supplies or provisions coming to the king's army.

It

It happened at that time the cold was so excessive, that almost the whole army perished amidst the mountains; great part from famine, but a greater still from cold, a very remarkable circumstance in these latitudes. Lasta is barely  $12^{\circ}$  from the Line, and it was now the equinox in March, so that the sun was but  $12^{\circ}$  from being in the zenith of Lasta, and there was in the day twelve hours of sun. Yet here is an example of an army, not of foreigners, but of natives, perishing with cold in their native country, when the sun is no farther than  $12^{\circ}$  from being vertical, or from being directly over their heads; a strong proof this, that there is no way of judging, by the degrees of heat in the thermometer, what effect that degree of heat or cold is to have upon the human body.

Facilidas, after a long reign, in which nothing very remarkable occurred, was taken ill at Gondar, in the end of October, of a disease which, from its first appearance, he thought would prove mortal. He, therefore, sent to his eldest son Hannes, whom he had constantly kept with him, and who was now of age to govern, and recommended to him his kingdom, and the persevering in the ancient religion. He died the 30th of September 1665, in great peace and composure of mind, and they buried him at Azazo. Facilidas had every good quality necessary to constitute a great prince, without any alloy or mixture, that, upon so much provocation as he had, might have misled him to be a bad one. He was calm, dispassionate, and courteous in his behaviour. In the very difficult part he had to act between his father and the nation, the necessities of the times had taught him a degree of reserve, which, if it was not natural, was not therefore the less useful to him. He was, in his own person, the bravest soldier of his time, and always exposed himself in proportion as the occasion was important. To this were added all the qualities of a good general, in which character he seems to have equalled his father Socinios, who else was universally allowed to be the first of his time. Fierce and violent in battle, he was backward in shedding blood after it. Though an enemy to the Catholic religion, yet, from duty to his father, he lived with the Patriarchs and Jesuits upon so familiar a footing, that they confess themselves, it was not from  
any

any part of his behaviour to them they ever could judge him an enemy. He was most remarkable for an implicit submission to his father's commands; and, upon this principle, fought in favour of the Catholic religion, against his own friends and persuasion, because such were the orders of his sovereign.

### HANNES I. OR CELAFE SEGUED.

From 1665 to 1680.

THIS prince was not in his nature averse to war, though, besides two feeble attempts he made upon Lasta, and one against the Shangalla, all without material consequences, no military expedition was undertaken in his time; and no rebellion or competitor (so frequent in other reigns) at all disturbed his. He seems to have had the seeds of bigotry in his temper; from the beginning of his reign he commanded the Mahometans to eat no other flesh but what had been killed by Christians; and gathered together the Catholic books, which the Jesuits had translated into the Ethiopic language, and burned them in a heap. Much of his attention was given to church matters, and, in regulating these, he seems to have employed most of his time.

Hannes died the 19th of July, and was buried at Tedda, after having reigned 15 years. He seems, from the scanty memorials of his long reign, to have been a weak prince; but, perhaps, if the circumstances of the times were fully known, he may have been a wise one.

### YASOUS I.

From 1680 to 1704.

YASOUS succeeded his father Hannes with the approbation of the whole kingdom. He had twice in Hannes's lifetime absconded from the palace, and this was interpreted as implying an impatience to reign. But Mr. Bruce rather thinks the cause was a difference of manners, his father being extremely bigoted, fordid, and covetous; for he never, in those elopements, pretended

tended to make a party contrary to his father's interest, nor shewed the least inclination to give either the army or the people a favourable impression of himself, to the disadvantage of the king. There was, besides, a difference in religious principles. Yafous had a great predilection for the monks of Debra Libanos, or the high church; while Hannes, his father, had done every thing in his power to instil into his son a prepossession in favour of those of Abbe Eustathius. To these opinions, therefore, so widely different, as well in religion as the things of the world, Mr. Bruce attributes the young prince's disinclination to live with his father. This seems confirmed by the first step he took upon his mounting the throne, which was to make an alteration in the church government, from what his father had left it at his death.

The king then took a journey of a very extraordinary nature, and such as Abyssinia had never before seen. Attended only by his nobility, of whom a great number had flocked to him, he sat down at the foot of the mountain of Wechné, and ordered all the princes of the royal family, who were banished, and confined there, to be brought to him. During the last reign, the mountain of Wechné, and those forlorn princes that lived upon it, had been, as it were, totally forgotten. Hannes having sons of an age fit to govern, and his eldest son Yafous living below with his father, no room seemed to remain for attempting a revolution, by the young candidates escaping from the mountain. This oblivion, to which they were consigned, melancholy as it was, proved the best state these unhappy prisoners could have wished; for to be much known for either good or bad qualities did always, at some period, become fatal to individuals. Punishment always followed inquiries after a particular prince; and all messages, questions, or visits, at the instance of the king, were constantly forerunners of the loss of life, or amputation of limbs, to these unhappy exiles. To be forgotten, then, was to be safe; but this safety carried very heavy distress along with it. Their revenues were embezzled by their officers or keepers, and ill paid by the king; and the fordid temper of Hannes had often reduced them all to the danger of perishing with hunger and cold.

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The new king, Yafous, as he was well acquainted with all these circumstances, so he was, in his nature and disposition, as perfectly willing to repair the injuries that were past, and prevent the like in future. In consequence of this, there soon appeared, as risen from the dead, Claudius, son of Socinius, the first exile who was sent to the mountain of Wechné, by his brother Facilidas, grandfather of Yafous. This was the prince who was fixed upon by the Jesuits to succeed his father, and govern that country when converted to the Romish religion by their intrigues, and conquered by the arms of the Portuguese. This was the prince who, to make their enemies appear more odious, these Jesuits have asserted was slain by his brother Facilidas, one instance by which we may judge of the justice of the other charges laid against that humane, wise, and virtuous prince, whose only crime was an inviolable attachment to the religion and constitution of his country, and the just abhorrence he most reasonably had, as an independent prince, to submit the prerogatives of his crown, and the rights of his people, to the blind controul of a foreign prelate.

The sons of Facilidas, with their families, also came from the mountain; and likewise his own brothers, Ayto Theophilus, and Ayto Claudius, sons of his father Hatza Hannes. The sight of so many noble relations, some advanced in years, some in the flower of their youth, and some yet children; all, however, in tatters, and almost naked, made such an impression on the young king, that he burst into tears. Nor was his behaviour to the respective degrees of them less proper or engaging. To the old he paid that reverence and respect due to parents; to those about his own age, a kind and liberal familiarity; while he bestowed upon the young ones caresses and commendations sweetened with the hopes that they might see better times. His first care was, to provide them all plentifully with apparel and every necessary. His brothers he dressed like himself, and his uncles still more richly. He then divided a large sum of money among them all.

In the month of December, which is the pleasantest season of the whole year, the sun being moderately hot, the sky constantly clear and without a cloud, all the court was encamped under the mountain, and the inferior fort strewed

strewn along the grass. All were treated at the expence of the king, passing the day and night in continual festivals. "It is but right," said the king, "that I should pay for a pleasure so great, that none of my predecessors ever dared to taste it;" and of all that noble assembly, none seemed to enjoy it more sincerely than the king. All pardons solicited for criminals at this time were granted. In this manner having spent a whole month, before his departure, the king called for the *destar* (*i. e.* the treasury-book) in which the account of the sum allowed for the maintenance of these prisoners is stated; and having enquired strictly into the expenditure, and cancelled all grants that had been made of any part of that sum to others, and provided in future for the full, as well as yearly payment of it, he, for his last act, gave to the governor of the mountain a large accession of territory, to make him ample amends for the loss of the dues he was understood to be intitled to from that revenue. After this, he embraced them all, assuring them of his constant protection; and mounting his horse, he took the keeper along with him, leaving all the royal family at their liberty at the foot of the mountain.

So generous a conduct, and this last mark of confidence, more than all the rest, touched the minds of that noble troop, who hurried, every man with his utmost speed, to restore themselves voluntarily to their melancholy prison, imputing every moment of delay, as a step towards treason and ingratitude to their munificent, compassionate, and magnanimous benefactor. All their way was moistened with tears, flowing from sensible and thankful hearts; and all the mountain resounded with prayers for the long-life and prosperity of the king, and that the crown might never leave the lineal descendants of his family. It was very remarkable, that, during this long reign, though he was constantly involved in war, no competitor from the mountain ever appeared in breach of those vows they had so voluntarily undertaken.

Another great advantage the king reaped by this generous conduct, was, that all the most powerful and considerable people in the kingdom had an opportunity, at one view, to see each individual of the royal family, that was capable of wearing the crown; and all,  
with

with one voice agreed, upon the comparison made, that, if they had been then assembled to elect a king, the choice would not have fallen on any but the present.

Yafous is reported to have been the most graceful and dexterous horseman of his time. He distinguished himself in hunting as much for his address and courage against the beasts, as he had, for a short while before, done by his affability, generosity, and benevolence, amidst his own family. All was praise, all was enthusiasm, wherever the young king presented himself; the ill-boding monks and hermits had not yet dared to foretel evil; but every common mouth predicted this was to be an active, vigorous, and glorious reign, without being thought by this to have laid any pretension to the gift of prophecy.

In the 9th year of the reign of Yafous, there appeared a comet, remarkable for its size and fiery brightness of its body, and for the prodigious length and distinctness of its tail. It was first taken notice of at Gondar, two days before the feast of St. Michael on which day the army takes the field. A sight so uncommon alarmed all sorts of people; and the prophets, who had kept themselves within very moderate bounds during this whole reign, now thought that it was incumbent upon them to distinguish themselves, and be silent no longer. Accordingly they foretold, from this phenomenon, and published every where as a truth, infallibly and immutably pre-ordained, that the present campaign was to exhibit a scene of carnage and bloodshed more terrible and more extensive than any thing that ever had appeared in the annals of Ethiopia. That those torrents of blood, which were every where to follow the footsteps of the king, were to be stopped by his death, which was to happen before he ever returned again to Gondar; and, as the object of the king's expedition was still a secret, these alarming presages gained a great deal of credit. But it was not so with Yafous, who, notwithstanding he was importuned by learned men of all sorts, to put off his departure for some days, absolutely refused, answering always such requests by irony and derision: "Pho! Pho!" says he, "you are not in the right: we must give the comet fair play; use him well, or he will never appear again, and then idle  
people

people and old women will have nothing to amuse themselves with."

Yafous accordingly left Gondar at the time he had appointed; and he was already arrived at Amdaber, a few days distance from the capital, when an express brought him word of his mother's death, on which he immediately marched back to Gondar, and buried her in the island of Mitraha, with all possible magnificence, and with every mark of sincere grief.

The prophets, though they had not succeeded in what they foretold, they kept, nevertheless, a good countenance. It is true, that no blood was shed, nor did the king die before he returned to Gondar; but his mother died when he was away, and that was much the same thing; for they contended, that it was not a great mistake, from the bare authority of a comet, to err only in the sex of the person that was to die; a queen for a king was a very near calculation. As for the bloody story and the king's death, they said they had mistaken the year in computing; but, that it still was to happen (when it pleased God) *some other time*.

These explanations were allowed by the people to be the best possible, excepting the king, who perceived a degree of malice in the foretelling his death and certain loss of his army, just at the instant he was taking the field. But he disguised his resentment under strong irony, with which he attacked these diviners incessantly. He had inquired accurately the day of his mother's death. "How is it," says he to his chaplain, or kees hatzé, "that this comet should come to *foretel* my mother's death, when she was dead four days before it appeared?" Another day, to the same person he said, "I fear you do my mother too much honour at the expence of religion. Is it decent to suppose that such a star, like that which appeared at the birth of Christ, should now be employed on no greater errand than to foretel the death of the daughter of Guebra Mafcal?" These, and many more such railleries, accounted by these visionaries as little short of impiety, so mortified Kostè (the kees hatzé,) a great believer in, and protector of the dreamers, that he resigned all his employments, and retired among the hermits into the desert of Werk-leva, towards Sennaar, to study the  
aspects



aspects of the stars more accurately, and more at leisure.

A sudden and violent alarm began the tenth year, and spread itself in an instant all over the kingdom, without any certain authority. The Galla, with an innumerable army, were said to have entered Gojam, at several places, and laid waste the whole province; and this was the more extraordinary, as the Nile was now in the height of its inundation. On his march, the king learned, that this story arose merely from a panic; and this formidable army turned out to be no more than a small band of robbers of that nation, who had passed the river in their usual way, part on horseback, while the foot were dragged over, hanging at the horses' tails, or riding on goat-skins, blown up with the wind. This small party had surprized some weak villages, killed the inhabitants, and immediately returned across the river. But the alarm continued, and there were people at Gondar, who were ready to swear they saw the villages and churches on fire, and a large army of Galla on their march to Ibaba, at the same time that there was not one Galla on the Gojam side of the river. Yafous, however, either considering this small body of Galla coming at this unseasonable time, and the panic that was so artificially spread, a feint to throw him off his guard when a real invasion might be intended, or with a view to cover his own designs, summoned all the men of the province of Gojam to meet him in arms at Ibaba, the 7th day of January, being the proper season for preparing an expedition into the country of the Galla.

Yafous, for his first wife, had married Ozoro Malacotawit, a lady of great family and connexions in the province of Gojam. By her he had a son, Tecla Haimanout, who was grown to manhood, and had hitherto lived in the most dutiful affection and submission to his father, who, on his part, seemed to place unlimited confidence in his son. He now gave a proof of this, not very common in the annals of Abyssinia, by leaving Tecla Haimanout behind him, at an age when he was fit to reign, appointing him Betwudet, with absolute power to govern in his absence. Yafous had a mistress whom he tenderly loved, a woman of great quality likewise, whose name was Ozoro Kedustè.

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While the king was watching the motions of the Galla, news were brought that Ozoro Kedustè had been taken ill of a fever; and though, upon this intelligence, he disposed his affairs so as to return with all possible expedition, yet when he came to Bercantè, the lady's house, he found that she was not only dead, but had been for some time buried. All his presence of mind now left him; he fell into the most violent transport of wild despair; and, ordering her tomb to be opened, he went down into it, taking his three sons along with him whom he had by her, and became so frantic at the sight of the corpse, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be forced again to leave the sepulchre. He returned first to Gondar, then he retired to an island in lake Tzana, there to mourn his lost mistress.

The king, in the mean time, having finished his mourning, dispatched Bedjerund Oustas to his son the Betwudet, at Gondar, ordering him forthwith to send him a body of his household troops to rendezvous on the banks of the lake, opposite to the island Tchekla Wunze, where he then had his residence. It has been said, contrary to all truth, by those who have written travels into this country, that sons born in marriage had the same preference in succession as they have in other countries. But this is entirely without foundation; for, in the first place, there is no such thing as a regular marriage in Abyssinia; all consists in mere consent of parties. But, allowing this to be regular, not only natural children, that is, those born in concubinage, where no marriage was in contemplation, and adulterous bastards, that is, the sons of unmarried women by married men, and all manner of sons whatever, succeed equally as well to the crown as to private inheritance; and there cannot be a more clear example of this than in the present king, who, although he had a son, Tecla Haimanout, born of the queen Malacotawit in wedlock, was yet succeeded by three bastard brothers, all sons of Yafous, born in adultery, that is, in the life of the queen. David and Hannes were sons of the king by his favourite Ozoro Kedustè; Bacuffa, by another lady of quality.

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Though the queen Malacotawit had passed over with seeming indifference the preference the king had given his mistress, Ozoro Kedustè, during her lifetime, yet, from a very unaccountable kind of jealousy, she could not forgive those violent tokens of affection the king had shewn after her death, by going down with his sons and remaining with the body in the grave. Full of resentment for this, she had persuaded her son, Tecla Haimanout, that Yafous had determined to deprive him of his succession, to send him and her, his mother, both to Wechnè, and place his bastard-brother, David, son of Ozoro Kedustè, upon the throne. The queen had been very diligent in attaching to her the principal people about the court. By her own friends, and the assistance of the discontented and banished monks, she had raised a great army in Gojam under her brothers, Dermin and Paulus. Tecla Haimanout had shewn great signs of wisdom and talents for governing, and very much attached to himself some of his father's oldest and ablest servants. It was, therefore, agreed, in return to Yafous's message by Oustas, to answer, That, after so long a reign, and so much bloodshed, the king would do well to retire to some convent for the rest of his life, and atone for the many great sins he had committed; and that he should leave the kingdom in the hands of his son Tecla Haimanout, as the ancient king Caleb had resigned his crown into the hands of St. Pantaleon, in favour of his son Guebra Mascal. As it was not very safe to deliver such a message to a king such as Yafous, it was therefore sent to him by a common foot-foldier, who could not be an object of resentment.

The king received it at Tchevla Wunze, the island in the lake Tzana, where he was then residing. He answered with great sharpness by the same messenger, "That he had been long informed who these were that had seduced his son, Tecla Haimanout, at once from his duty to him as his father, and his allegiance as his sovereign; but, though he did not hold them to be equal in sanctity to St. Pantaleon, yet, such as they were, he proposed immediately to meet at Gondar, and settle there his son's coronation."

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A message like this could not fail of being perfectly understood. Those of the court that were with Tecla Haimanout, and the inhabitants of the capital, met together, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to live and die with their king Tecla Haimanout. The severity of Yafous was well known; his provocation now was a just one; and the measure of vengeance that awaited them, every one concerned knew to be such that there was no alternative but death or victory. Neither party were slack in preparations. Kasmati Honorius, governor of Damot, a veteran officer and old servant of Yafous, collected a large body of troops and marched them down the west side of the lake. Yafous having there joined them, and putting himself at the head of his army, began his march, rounding the lake on its south side towards Dingleber.

Tecla Haimanout did not delay a moment after hearing his father was in motion, but marched with his army from Gondar, attended with all the ensigns of royalty. He encamped at Bartcho, in that very field where Za Denghel was defeated and slain by his rebellious subjects. Thinking this a post ominous to kings, he resolved to wait for his father there, and give him battle. The king, in his march through the low country of Dembea, was attacked by a putrid fever, very common in those parts, which so increased upon him that he was obliged to be carried back to Tchekla Wunze. This accident discouraged his whole party. His army, with Honorius, took the road to Gojam, but did not disperse, awaiting the recovery of the king. But the queen, Malacotawit, no sooner heard that Yafous her husband was sick at Tchekla Wunze, than she sent to her son Tecla Haimanout to leave his unwholesome station, and march back immediately to Gondar; and, as soon as he was returned, she dispatched her two brothers, Dermin and Paulus, with a body of soldiers and two Mahometan musqueteers, who entering the island Tchekla Wunze by surprise, shot and disabled the king while sitting on a couch; immediately after which, Dermin thrust him through with a sword. They attempted afterwards to burn the body, in order to avoid the ill-will the sight of it must occasion. In  
G this,

this, however, they were prevented by the priests of the island and the neighbouring nobility, who took possession of the body, washed it, and performed all the rites of sepulture, then carried it in a kind of triumph, with every mark of magnificence due to the burial of a king, interring it in the small island of Mitraha, where lay the body of all his ancestors, and where Mr Bruce saw the body of this king still entire. Nor did the prince his son, Tecla Haimanout, now king, discourage the people in the respect they voluntarily paid to his father. On the contrary, that parricide himself shewed every outward mark of duty, to the which inwardly his heart had been long a stranger.

Poncet, who saw this king, gives this character of him: He says he was a man very fond of war, but averse to the shedding of blood. However this may appear a contradiction, or said for the sake of the antithesis, it really was the true character of this prince, who, fond of war, and in the perpetual career of victory, did, by pushing his conquests as far as they could go, inevitably occasion the spilling of much blood. Yet, when his army was not in the field, though he detected a multitude of conspiracies among priests and other people at home, whose lives in consequence were forfeited to the law, he very rarely, either from his own motives, or the persuasion of others, could be induced to inflict capital punishments though often strongly provoked to it.

### TECLA HAIMANOUT I.

FROM 1704 TO 1706.

Elias the Armenian, who was charged with letters of protection from Yafous to meet the missionary M. du Roule at Sennaar, where he had been murdered, had reached within three days journey of that capital, when he heard that king Yafous was assassinated. Terrified at the news, he returned in the utmost haste to Gondar, and presented the letters, which had been written by Yafous, to be renewed by his son, king Tecla Haimanout. Tecla Haimanout read his father's letters, and approved of their contents, ordering them to be copied in his own name; and Elias without delay set out with them.

them. Mr. Bruce has here inserted a translation of these letters, which were originally written in Arabic, and appear to Mr. Bruce to be of the few that are authentic, among those many which have been published as coming from Abyssinia.

“ The king Tecla Haimanout, son of the king of the church of Ethiopia, king of a thousand churches. On the part of the powerful august king, arbiter of nations, shadow of God upon earth, the guide of kings who profess the religion of the Messiah, the most powerful of Christian kings, he that maintains order between Mahometans and Christians, protector of the boundaries of Alexandria, observer of the commandments of the gospel, descended of the line of the prophets David and Solomon,—may the blessing of Israel be upon our prophet and upon them.—To the king Baady, son of the king Ounfa, may his reign be full of happiness, being a prince endowed with these rare qualities that deserve the highest praises as governing his kingdom with distinguished wisdom, and by an order full of equity.—The king of France, who is a Christian, wrote a letter seven or eight years ago, by which he signified to me, that he wished to open a trade for the advantage of his subjects and of mine, which request we have granted. We come at present to understand, that he has sent us presents by a man whose name is Du Roule, who has likewise several others along with him, and that these people have been arrested at your town of Sennaar. We require of you, therefore, to set them immediately at liberty, and to suffer them to come to us with all the marks of honour, and that you should pay regard to the ancient friendship which has always subsisted between our predecessors, since the time of the *king of Sedgid* and the *king of Kim*, to the present day. We also demand of you to suffer all the subjects of the king of France to pass, and all those that come with letters of his consul who is at Cairo, as all such Frenchmen come for trade only, being of the same religion with us. We likewise recommend to you, that you permit to pass freely, all French Christians, Cophts, and Syrians who follow our rites, observing our religion, and who intend coming into our country; and that you do not suffer any of those who are contrary to our religion to pass, such as

the monk Joseph, and his companions, whom you may keep at Sennaar, it being in no shape our intention to suffer them to come into our dominions, where they would occasion troubles, as being enemies to our faith. God grant you your desires."—Wrote the 10th of Zulkadè, Anno 1118, *i. e.* the 21st of January 1706

The direction is—"To king Baady, son of king Ounfa, may God favour him with his grace."

Mr. Bruce remarks on this letter, that the Arabs, who fed their flocks near the frontiers of the two countries, were often plundered by the kings of Abyssinia making descents into Atbara; but this was never reckoned a violation of peace between the two sovereigns. On the contrary, as the motive of the Arabs, for coming south into the frontiers of Abyssinia, was to keep themselves independent, and out of the reach of Sennaar, when the king of Abyssinia fell upon them there, he was understood to do that monarch service, by driving them down farther within his reach. The Baharnagash has been always at war with them; they are tributary to him for eating his grass and drinking his water, and nothing that he ever does to them gives any trouble or inquietude to Sennaar. It is interpreted as maintaining his ancient dominion over the Shepherds, those of Sennaar being a new power, and accounted as usurpers.

*Translation of an Arabic Letter from the King of Abyssinia to M. du Roule.*

"The King Tecia Haimanout, king of the established church, son of the king of a thousand churches.

"This letter cometh forth from the venerable, august king, who is the shadow of God, guide of Christian princes that are in the world, the most powerful of the Nazarean kings, observer of the commandments of the gospel, protector of the confines of Alexandria, he that maintaineth order between Mahometans and Christians, descended from the family of the prophets David and Solomon, upon whom being the blessings of Israel, may God make his happiness eternal, and his power perpetual, and protect his arms—So be it.—To his excellence the most virtuous and most prudent man Du Roule, a French-

Frenchman sent to us, may God preserve him, and make him arrive at a degree of eminence—So be it.—Elias, your interpreter, whom you sent before you, being arrived here, has been well received. We have understood that you are sent to us on the part of the king of France our brother, and are surpris'd that you have been detained at Sennaar. We send to you at present a letter for king Baady, in order that he may set you at liberty, and not do you any injury, nor to those that are with you, but may behave in a manner that is proper both for you and to us, according to the religion of Elias that you sent, who is a Syrian; and all those that may come after you from the king of France our brother, or his consul at Cairo, shall be well received, whether they be ambassadors or private merchants, because we love those that are of our religion. We receive with pleasure those who do not oppose our laws, and we send away those that do oppose them. For this reason, we did not receive immediately Joseph with all his companions, not choosing that such sort of people should appear in our presence, nor intending that they should pass Sennaar, in order to avoid troubles which may occasion the death of many; but with respect to you, have nothing to fear, you may come in all safety, and you shall be received with honour.”—Written the 10th of the month Zulkadè, Anno 1118, *i. e.* the 21st of January of the year 1706.

The address is—“Let the present be delivered to M. du Roule at the town of Sennaar.”

The unlucky messenger, Elias, was again about to enter Sennaar, when he received information that Du Roule was assassinated. If he had fled hastily from this inauspicious place upon the murder of Yafous, his haste was now tenfold, as he considered himself engaged in the same circumstances that had involved M. du Roule's attendants in his misfortunes. The king, upon hearing the account given by Elias of the melancholy fate of the ambassador at Sennaar, was so exasperated, that he gave immediate orders for recalling such of his troops as he had permitted to go to any considerable distance; and, in a council held for that purpose, he declared, that he considered the death of M. du Roule as an affront that



immediately affected his crown and dignity. He was, therefore, determined not to pass it over, but to make the king of Sennaar sensible that he, as well as all the other kings upon earth, knew the necessity of observing the law of nations, and the bad consequence of perpetual retaliations that must follow the violation of it. In the mean time, thinking that the basha of Cairo was the cause of this, he wrote the following letter to him.

*Translation of an Arabic Letter from the King of Abyssinia to the Basha and Divan of Cairo.*

“ To the Pacha, and Lords of the Militia of Cairo. On the part of the king of Abyssinia, the king Tecla Haimanout, son of the king of the church of Abyssinia. On the part of the august king, the powerful arbiter of nations, shadow of God upon earth, the guide of kings who profess the religion of the Messiah, the most powerful of all Christian kings, he who maintains order between Mahometans and Christians, protector of the confines of Alexandria, observer of the commandments of the gospel, heir from father to son of a most powerful kingdom, descended of the family of David and Solomon,—may the blessing of Israel be upon our prophet, and upon them! may his happiness be durable, and his greatness lasting, and may his powerful army be always feared.—To the most powerful lord, elevated by his dignity, venerable by his merits, distinguished by his strength and riches among all Mahometans, the refuge of all those that reverence him, who by his prudence governs and directs the armies of the noble empire, and commands his confines; victorious viceroy of Egypt, the four corners of which shall be always respected and defended:—so be it.—And to all the distinguished princes, judges, men of learning, and other officers whose business it is to maintain order and good government, and to all commanders in general, may God preserve them all in their dignities, in the nobleness of their health. You are to know that our ancestors never bore any envy to other kings, nor did they ever occasion them any trouble, or shew them any mark of hatred. On the contrary,

contrary, they have, upon all occasions, given them proofs of their friendships, assisting them generously, relieving them in their necessities, as well in what concerns the caravan and pilgrims of Mecca in Arabia Felix, as in the Indies, in *Persia*, and other distant and out-of-the-way places, also by protecting distinguished persons in every urgent necessity. Nevertheless, the king of France our brother, who professes our religion and our law, having been induced thereto, by some advances of friendship on our part such as are proper, sent an ambassador to us; I understand that you caused him to be arrested at Sennaar, and also another by name Murat, the Syrian, whom you did put in prison also, though he was sent to that ambassador on our part, and by thus doing, you have violated the law of nations, as ambassadors of kings ought to be at liberty to go wherever they will; and it is a general obligation to treat them with honour, and not to molest or detain them, nor should they be subject to pay customs, or any sort of presents. We could very soon repay you in kind, if we were inclined to revenge the insult you have offered to the man Murat sent on our part; the Nile would be sufficient to punish you, since God hath put into our power his fountain, his outlet, and his increase, and that we can dispose of the same to do you harm; for the present we demand of, and exhort you to desist from any future vexations towards our envoys, and not disturb us by detaining those who shall be sent towards you, but you shall let them pass and continue their route without delay, coming and going wherever they will freely for their own advantage, whether they are our subjects or Frenchmen, and whatever you shall do to or for them, we shall regard as done to or for ourselves."

The address is—"To the basha, princes, and lords governing the town of great Cairo, may God favour them with his goodness."

There are some things very remarkable in this letter. The king of Abyssinia values himself, and his predecessors, upon never having molested or troubled any of his neighbours who were kings, nor bore any envy towards them. We are not then to believe what we see often in history, than there was frequent war between

Sennaar and Abyffinia, or that Sennaar was tributary to Abyffinia. That ftripe of country, inhabited by the Shangalla, would, in this cafe, have been firft conquered. But it is more probable, that the great difference of climate, which immediately takes place between the two kingdoms, the great want of water on the frontiers, barriers placed there by the hand of Nature, have been the means of keeping thefe kingdoms from having any mutual concerns; and fo, indeed, we may guefs by the utter filence of the books, which never mention any war at Sennaar till the beginning of the reign of Socinius.

The next thing remarkable is his protection of the pilgrims who go to Mecca, and the merchants that go to India. Several caravans of both fet out yearly from his kingdom, all Mahometans, fome of whom go to Mecca for religion, the others to India, by Mocha, to trade.

The king, after having conquered all his enemies, was perfuaded by fome of his favourites, firft to difmifs Dermin, his general, and his army, then all the troops that had joined him, and go with a few of his attendants, or court, to hunt the buffalo in the neighbouring country, Idi; which council the young prince too rafhly adopted, fufpecting no treason.

During the hunting-match, a confpiracy was formed by Gueber Mo, his two brothers, Palambaras, Hannes, and feveral others, old officers belonging to the late king Yafous, who faw that he intended, one by one, to weed them out of the way as foon as fafely he could, and that the whole power and favour was at laft to fall into the hands of the Iteghé, and her brothers Dermin and Paulus. Accordingly one morning, the confpirators having furrounded him while riding, one of them thruft him through the body with a fword, and threw him from his mule upon the earth. They then laid his body upon a horfe, and, with all poffible expedition, carried him to the houfe of Azena Michael, where he arrived yet alive, but died immediately upon being taken from the horfe. Badjerund Oufas, and fome others of his father's old officers, who had attached themfelves to him after his father's death, took the body of the king and buried it in Quebran.

This

This affassination was no sooner known, than the master of the horse, with the few troops that he could gather together, came to the palace, and took a young son of Tecla Haimanout, aged only four years, whom he proclaimed king, and the Iteghé, Malacotawit, regent of the kingdom. But Badjerund Outtas, and those who had not been concerned in the murder of either king, went straight to the mountain of Wechné, and brought thence Tiflis, that is Theophilus, son to Hannes, and brother to the late king Yafous, whom they crowned at Emfras, and called him, by his inauguration name, Atferar Segued.

## T I F I L I S.

FROM 1706 TO 1709.

The new king, Theophilus, a few days after his coronation, having called the whole court and clergy together, declared to them, that his faith upon the disputable point concerning our Saviour's incarnation was different from that of his brother Yafous, or that of his nephew Tecla Haimanout, but in every respect conformable to that of the monks of Gojam, followers of Abba Eustathius, and that of the Iteghè, Malacotawit, Dermin, and Paulus. A violent clamour was instantly raised against the king by the priests of Debra Libanos, as having forsaken the religious principles of his predecessors. But the king was inflexible; and this ingratiated him more with the inhabitants of Gojam. Not many days after, the king arrested the master of the horse, Johannes Palambaras, the Betwudet Tigi, and several others, all supposed to be concerned in the murder of the late king, and confined them in several places and prisons.

This conduct of the king entirely relieved the minds of all the friends of Tecla Haimanout from any further fear of being called to account for the murder of Yafous; and, in consequence of this, the queen Malacotawit with her brothers Dermin and Paulus, and all the murderers of the late king Yafous, came to Gondar that same winter to do homage to Theophilus, whom they now thought their greatest protector. But the wife and

fagacious king had kept his secret in his own bosom. All his behaviour hitherto had been only dissimulation, to induce his brother's murderers to come within his power. And no sooner did he see that he had succeeded in this, than the very first day, while they were yet at audience, he ordered an officer, in his own presence, to arrest first the queen, and then her two brothers Dermin and Paulus. He gave the same directions concerning the rest of the conspirators, who were all scattered about Gondar, eating, drinking, and fearing nothing, but rejoicing at the happy days they had promised themselves, and were now to see: he ordered the whole of them, amounting to 37 persons, many of these of the first rank, to be all executed that same forenoon.

The first executed was the queen, who was taken immediately from his presence and hanged by the common hangman on the tree before the palace gate: the first of her rank, it is believed, that ever died so vile a death, either in Abyssinia or any other country. Dermin and Paulus were first carried to the tree to see their sister's execution; after which, one after the other, they were thrust through with swords, the weapon with which they had wounded the late king Yafous. But the two Mahometans were shot with muskets, it having been in that manner they had ended the late king's life, after Dermin had wounded him with a sword. As they had committed high treason, none of the bodies of these traitors were allowed to be buried; they were hewn in small pieces with knives, and strewed about the streets, to be eaten by the hyænas and dogs: a most barbarous and offensive custom, to which they strictly adhere to this very day.

Theophilus, after having thus taken ample vengeance for the murder of his brother Yafous, did not stop here. Tecla Haimanout was, it is true, a parricide, but he was likewise a king, and his nephew; nor did it seem just to Theophilus that it should be left in the will of private subjects, after having acknowledged Tecla Haimanout as their sovereign, to choose a time afterwards; in which they were to cut him off for a crime, which, however great, had not hindered them from swearing allegiance to him at his accession, and entering into his service at the time when it was recently

committed. He, therefore, ordered all the regicides in custody to be put to death ; and sent circular letters to the several governors, that they should observe the same rule as to all those directly concerned in the murder of his nephew Tecla Haimanout, who should be found in places under their command.

## O U S T A S.

From 1709 to 1714.

The Abyssinians, from a very antient tradition, attribute the foundation of their monarchy to Menilek, son of Solomon, by the queen of Saba, or Azab, rendered in the Vulgate, the Queen of the South.

Yafous the Great, after a long and glorious reign, had been murdered by his son Tecla Haimanout. Two years after, this parricide fell in the same manner. The affassination of two princes, so nearly related, and in so short a time, had involved, from different motives, the greatest part of the noble families of the kingdom, either in the crime itself, or in the suspicion of aiding and abetting it.

Tifilis, or Theophilus, brother of Yafous, upon the death of Tecla Haimanout, had been brought from the mountain, and placed on the throne as successor to his nephew ; this prince was scarcely crowned when he made some very severe examples of the murderers of his brother, and he seemed privately taking informations that would have reached the whole of them, had not death put an end to his enquiries and to his justice.

The family of king Yafous was very numerous on the mountain. It was the favourite store whence both the soldiery and the citizens chose to bring their princes. There were, at that very instant, many of his sons princes of great hopes and proper ages. Nothing then was more probable than that the prince, now to succeed, would be of that family, and, as such, interested in pursuing the same measures of vengeance on the murderers of his father and of his brother as the late king Theophilus had done ; and how far, or to whom this might extend, was neither certain nor safe to trust to.

The time was now past when the nobles vied with each other, who should be the first to steal away privately, or go with open force, to take the new king from the mountain, and bring him to Gondar, his capital.

Under all these circumstances, a subject had the ambition and boldness to offer himself for king, and he was accordingly elected. This was Oustas, son of Delba Yafous, by a daughter of the late king of that name; and Abyssinia now saw, for the second time, a stranger seated on the throne of Solomon. Oustas was a man of undisputed merit, and had filled the greatest offices in the state. He had been Badjerund, or master of the household, to the late king Yafous. Tecla Haimanout, who succeeded, had made him governor of Samen; and though, in the next reign, he had fallen into disgrace with Theophilus, this served but to aggrandize him more, as he was very soon after restored to favour, and by this very prince raised to the dignity of Ras, the first place under the king, and invested at once with the government of two provinces, Samen and Tigré. He was, at the death of Theophilus, the greatest subject in Abyssinia; one step higher set him on the throne, and the circumstances of the time invited him to take it. He had every quality of body and mind requisite for a king; but the constitution of his country had made it unlawful for him to reign. He took upon his inauguration the name of Tzai Segued.

The new king Oustas followed the customs of the ancient monarchs of Abyssinia, whose constant practice was to make a public hunting match the first expedition of their reign. On these occasions the king, attended by all the great officers of state, whose merit and capacity are already acknowledged, reviews his young nobility, who all appear to the best advantage as to arms, horses, and equipage, with the greatest number of servants and attendants. The scene of this hunting is always in Kolla, crowded with an immense number of the largest and fiercest wild beasts, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, leopards, panthers, and buffaloes fiercer than them all, wild boars, wild asses, and many varieties of the deer kind.

As

As soon as the game is roused, and forced out of the wood by the footmen and dogs, they all singly, or several together, according to the size of the beast, or as strength and ability in managing their horses admit, attack the animal upon the plain with long spikes or spears, or two javelins in their hands. The king, unless very young, sits on horse-back on a rising ground, surrounded by the graver sort, who point out to him the names of those of the nobility that are happy enough to distinguish themselves in his fight. Each young man brings before the king's tent, as a trophy, a part of the beast he has slain; the head and the skin of a lion or leopard, the scalp or horns of a deer, the tail of a buffalo, or the horn of a rhinoceros. The great trouble, force, and time necessary to take out the teeth of the elephant, seldom make them ready to be presented with the rest of the spoils. The head of a boar is brought stuck upon a lance; but is not touched, as being unclean.

The king's perquisites are the elephant's teeth. Of these round ivory rings are turned for bracelets, and a quantity of them always brought by him to be distributed among the most deserving in the field, and kept ever after as certificates of gallant behaviour. Nor is this mark attended with honour alone. Any man who shall from the king, queen-regent, or governor of a province, receive so many of these rings as shall cover his arm down to his wrist, appears before the twelve judges on a certain day, and there, laying down his arm with these rings upon it, the king's cook breaks every one in its turn with a kind of kitchen-cleaver, whereupon the judges give him a certificate, which proves that he is entitled to a territory, whose revenue must exceed 20 ounces of gold, and this is never either refused or delayed. All the different species of game, however, are not equally rated. He that slays a Galla, or Shangalla, man to man, is entitled to two rings; he that slays an elephant, to two; a rhinoceros, two; a giraffa, on account of its speed, and to encourage horsemanship, two; a buffalo, two; a lion, two; a leopard, one; two boars, whose tusks are grown, one; and one for every four of the deer kind.

About



About the killing of these beasts great disputes constantly arise; to determine which, and prevent feuds and quarrels, a council sits every evening, in which is an officer called *Dimshasba*, or *Red Cap*, from a piece of red silk he wears upon his forehead, leaving the top of his head bare, for no person is allowed to cover his head entirely except the king, the twelve judges and dignified priests. This officer regulates the precedence of one nobleman over another, and is possessed of the history of all pedigrees, the noblest of which are always accounted those nearest to the king reigning.

Before the council, every man pleads his own cause, and receives immediate sentence. It is a settled rule, that those who strike the animal first, if the lance remain upright, or in the same direction in which it enters the beast, are understood to be the slayers of the beast, whatever number combat with him afterwards. There is one exception, however, that if the beast, after receiving the first wound, though the lance is in him, should lay hold of a horse or man, so that it is evident he would prevail against them; a buffalo, for example, that should toss a man with his horns, or an elephant that should take a horse with his trunk, the man who shall then slay the beast, and prevent or revenge the death of the man or horse attacked, shall be accounted the slayer of the beast, and entitled to the premium. This was the ancient employment of these councils. In Mr. Bruce's time they kept up this custom in point of form; the council sat late upon most serious affairs of the nation; and the death, banishment, and degradation of the first men in the kingdom were agitated and determined here, under the pretence of fitting to judge the prizes of pastimes. This hunting is seldom prolonged beyond a fortnight.

From ocular inspection, the king is presumed to be able to choose among the young nobility those that are ready for taking the necessary charges in the army; and it is from his judgment in this, that the priests foretell whether his reign is to be a successful one, or to end in misfortune and disappointment.

The high country of Abyssinia is destitute of wood; the whole lower part of the mountains is sown with different

ferent forts of grain ; the upper part perfectly covered with grafs and all forts of verdure. There are no plains, or very small ones. Such a country, therefore, is unfit for hunting, as it is incapable of either sheltering or nourishing any number of wild beasts. The lower country, however, called Kolla, is full of wood, consequently thinly inhabited. The mountains, not joined in chains or ridges, run in one upon the other, but, standing each upon its particular base, are accessible all round, and interspersed with plains. Great rivers falling from the high country with prodigious violence, during the tropical rains, have in the plains washed away the soil down to the solid rock, and formed large basons of great capacity, where, though the water becomes stagnant in pools when the currents fail above, yet, from their great depth and quantity, they resist being consumed by evaporation, being also thick covered with large shady trees whose leaves never fall. These large trees, which, in their growth, and vegetation of their branches, exceed any thing that our imagination can figure, are as necessary for food, as the pools of water are for cisterns to contain drink for those monstrous beasts, such as the elephant and rhinoceros, who there make their constant residence, and who would die with hunger and with thirst, unless they were thus copiously supplied both with food and water.

Flat as the deserts are on which this country borders, it has fat black earth for its soil. Many nations of perfect blacks inhabit the low country, all Pagans, and mortal enemies to the Abyssinian government. Hunting these miserable wretches is the next expedition undertaken by a new king. The season of this is just before the rains, while the poor savage is yet lodged under the trees preparing his food for the approaching winter, before he retires into his caves in the mountain, where he passes that inclement season in constant confinement, but as constant security ; for these nations are all Troglodytes, and by the Abyssinians are called Shangalla.

Whatever pains Oufas took to attach himself to the nobility, a dangerous conspiracy was already forming at Gondar by those very people who had persuaded him

to

to mount the throne, and whom he had left at home, from a persuasion that they only were to be trusted with the support of his interest and the government in his absence. Upon the first intelligence, the king, with a chosen body of troops, entered Gondar in the night, and surpris'd the conspirators while actually sitting in council. Ras Hezekias, his prime minister, and Heraclides, master of his household, and five others of the principal confederates, lost their ears and noses, and were thrown into prison in such circumstances that they could not live. Benaia Bafilé, one of the principal traitors, and the most obnoxious to the king, escaped for a time, having had already intelligence of Oufas's coming.

The king having quieted every thing at Gondar, being at peace with all his neighbours, and having no other way to amuse his troops and keep them employed, set out to join the remainder of his young nobility whom he had left in the Kolla to attack the Shangalla, who were formerly a very numerous people, divided into distinct tribes, or, as it is called, different nations, living each separately in distinct territories, each under the government of the chief of its own name, and each family of that name under the jurisdiction of its own chief, or head.

These Shangalla, during the fair half of the year, live under the shade of trees, the lowest branches of which they cut near the stem on the upper part, and then bend, or break them down, planting the ends of the branches in the earth. These branches they cover with the skins of wild beasts. After this they cut away all the small or superfluous branches in the inside, and so form a spacious pavilion, which at a distance appears like a tent, the tree serving for the pole in the middle of it, and the large top overshadowing it so as to make a very picturesque appearance. Every tree then is a house, under which live a multitude of black inhabitants until the tropical rains begin. It is then they hunt the elephant, which they kill by many various devices, as they do the rhinoceros and the other large creatures. Those who reside where water abounds, with the same industry kill the hippopotami, or river-horses, which are exceedingly numerous in the pools of the stagnant rivers.

rivers. Where this flat belt, or country is broadest, the trees thickest, and the water in the largest pools, there the most powerful nations live, who have often defeated the royal army of Abyssinia, and constantly laid waste, and sometimes nearly conquered, the provinces of Tigré and Siré, the most warlike and most populous part in Abyssinia.

Mr. Bruce, before he gives over the account of the Shangalla, delivers them again out of their caves, because this return includes the history of an operation never heard of perhaps in Europe. No sooner does the sun pass the zenith, going southward, than the rains instantly cease; and the thick canopy of clouds, which had obscured the sky during their continuance, being removed, the sun appears in a beautiful sky of pale blue, dappled with small thin clouds, which soon after disappear, and leave the heavens of a most beautiful azure. A very few days of the intense heat then dries the ground so perfectly, that it gapes in chasms; the grass, struck at the roots by the rays, supports itself no more, but droops and becomes parched. To clear this away, the Shangalla set fire to it, which runs with incredible violence the whole breadth of Africa, passing under the trees, and following the dry grass among the branches with such velocity as not to hurt the trees, but to occasion every leaf to fall.

A proper distance is preserved between each habitation, and round the principal watering-places; and here the Shangalla again fix their tents in the manner before described. Nothing can be more beautiful than these shady habitations; but they have this fatal effect, that they are discernable from the high grounds, and guide their enemies to the places inhabited. The country now cleared, the hunting begins, and, with the hunting, the danger of the Shangalla. All the governors bordering upon the country, from the Baharnagash to the Nile on the west, are obliged to pay a certain number of slaves.

The Saangalla go all naked; they have several wives, and these very prolific. They bring forth children with the utmost ease, and never rest or confine themselves after delivery, but washing themselves and the child with cold water, they wrap it up in a soft cloth made of the bark of trees, and hang it upon a branch, that the  
large

large ants, with which they are infested, and the serpents, may not devour it. After a few days, when it has gathered strength, the mother carries it in the same cloth upon her back, and gives it suck with the breast, which she throws over her shoulder, this part being of such a length as, in some, to reach almost to their knees.

From the constant interruptions Oustas had met with in all his hunting-matches, the divining monks had prophesied his reign was to be short, and attended with much bloodshed; nor were they for once distant from the truth; for, in the month of January 1714, while he was overlooking the workmen building the church of Abba Antonius, at Gondar, he was taken suddenly ill, and, suspecting some unwholesomeness or *witchcraft* in his palace, he ordered his tent to be pitched without the town till the apartments should be smoaked with gunpowder. But this was done so carelessly by his servants, that his house was burnt to the ground, which was looked upon as a very bad omen, and made a great impression upon the minds of the people.

It was generally understood that the king was dangerously ill, and that his complaint was every day increasing. Upon this the principal officers went, according to the usual custom, to condole with and comfort him. This was at least what they pretended. Their true errand, however, was pretty well known to be an endeavour to ascertain whether the sickness was of a kind likely to continue, till measures could be adopted with a degree of certainty to take the reins of government out of his hand. The king easily divined the reason of their coming. Having had a good night, he used the strength he had thereby acquired to rouse himself for a moment, to put on the appearance of health, and shew himself, as usual, engaged in his ordinary dispatch of business. The seeming good countenance of the king made their condolence premature. Some excuse, however, for so formal a visit, was necessary; but every apology was not safe. They adopted this, which they thought unexceptionable, that hearing he was sick, which they happily found he was not, they came to propose to him a thing equally proper whether he was sick or well; that he would, in time, settle the succession upon his son Fasil, then in the mountain of Wechné,

as

as a means of quieting the minds of his friends, preventing bloodshed, and securing the crown to his family. Oufas did the utmost to command himself upon this occasion, and to give them an answer such as suited a man in health who hoped to live many years. But it was now too late to play such a part; and, in spite of his utmost dissimulation, evident signs of decay appeared upon him.

On the 10th day of February, Oufas died, but whether of a violent or natural death is not known. Posterity, regarding his merit more than his title, have however kept his name still among the list of kings; and tradition, doing him more justice still than history, has ranked him among the best that ever reigned in Abyssinia.

#### D A V I D IV.

From 1714 to 1719.

DAVID, immediately upon his accession, appointed Fit-Auraris Agnè, Ozoro Keduste's brother, his Betwudet, and Abra Hezekias his master of the household, and was proceeding to fill up the inferior posts of government, when he was interrupted by the clamours of a multitude of monks demanding a convocation of the clergy. David was a rigid adherent to the church of Alexandria, and educated by his mother in the tenets of the monks of Saint Eustathius, that is, the most declared enemies of every thing approaching to the tenets of the church of Rome. He was consequently, not by inclination, neither was he by duty, obliged to undertake the defence of measures adopted by Oufas, of which he was besides ignorant, having been confined in the mountain of Wechné. He ordered, therefore, the missionaries, and their interpreter, whose name was Abba Gregorius, to be apprehended. These unfortunate people were accordingly produced before the most prejudiced and partial of all tribunals. The trial neither was, nor intended to be long. The first question put was a very direct one; "Do you, or do you not, receive the council of Chalcedon as a rule of faith? and, Do you believe that Leo the pope lawfully, and regularly presided at it, and conducted it?" To  
this

this the prisoners plainly answered, "That they looked upon the council of Chalcedon as the fourth general council, and received it as such, and as a rule of faith: that they did believe pope Leo lawfully and regularly presided at it, as being head of the Catholic church, successor to St. Peter, and Christ's vicar upon earth." Upon this a general shout was heard from the whole assembly; and the fatal cry, "Stone them.—Whoever throws not three stones, he is accursed, and an enemy to Mary," immediately followed.

One priest only, distinguished for piety and learning among his countrymen, and one of the chief men in the assembly, with great vehemence declared, they were tried partially and unfairly, and condemned unjustly. But his voice was not heard amidst the clamours of such a multitude; and the monks were accordingly by the judges condemned to die. Ropes were instantly thrown about their necks, and they were dragged to a place behind the church Abbo, in their way to Tedda, where they were, according to their sentence, stoned to death, suffering with a patience and resignation equal to the first martyrs.

Conspiracies against the king, owing to his having massacred many monks, were every where openly talked of, the fruits of which soon appeared. David fell sick, and those about him endeavoured to persuade him, that it was the remains of an injury which he had lately received from a fall off his horse. But, upon the meeting of a council, on the 9th of March, 1719, it was discovered and proved, that Kasmati Laté and Ras Georgis had employed Kutcho, keeper of the palace, to give a strong poison to the king, which he had taken that morning from the hands of a Mahometan. Ras Georgis was then brought before the council, and scarcely denied the fact; upon which his only son was ordered to be hewn to pieces before his face, and immediately after the father's eyes were pulled out. Kutcho, keeper of the palace, and the Mahometan who gave the poison, were hewn to pieces with swords before the gate of the palace, and their mangled bodies thrown to the dogs. The king died that evening in great agony.

BACUFFA.

## B A C U F F A.

From 1719 to 1729.

BACUFFA, who now succeeded to the throne, was exceedingly fond of divinations, dreams, and prophecies, so are all the Abyssinians; but he imbibed an additional propensity to these among the Pagans to whom he had fled. One day, when walking alone, he perceived a priest exceedingly attentive in observing the forms that little pieces of straw, cut to certain lengths, made upon a pool of water into which ran a small stream. From the combination of these in letters, or figures, as they chanced to fall, an answer is procured to the doubt proposed, which, if you believe these idlers, is perfectly infallible.

The new king in disguise, dressed like a poor man, is said to have asked the priest after what he was inquiring. The priest answered, He was trying whether the king would have a son, and who should govern the kingdom after him. The king abode the investigation patiently; and the answer was, That he should have a son; but that a Welleta Georgis should govern the kingdom after him for thirty years, though that Welleta Georgis should be neither his son nor any descendant of his. Full of thought at this untoward prediction, he harboured it in his breast without communicating it to any one, and resolved to blast the hopes of every Welleta Georgis that should be so unfortunate as to stand within the possibility of reigning after him. Many innocent people of different parts disappeared from this unknown crime; and eleven princes on the mountain of Wechné, some say more, lost their lives for a name that is very common in Abyssinia, without one overt act of treason, or even a suspicion of what they were accused. A panic now struck all ranks of people, without terminating in any scheme of resistance; which sufficiently shewed that the king had succeeded in dissolving all confederacies among his subjects, and destroying radically that rebellious spirit which had operated so fatally in the last reigns.

Among the kings of Abyssinia it is a custom, especially in intervals of peace, to disappear for a time, without



out any warning. Sometimes, indeed, one or two confidential servants, pretending to be busied in other affairs, attend at a distance, and keep their eye upon him, while, disguised in different manners, he goes like a stranger to those parts he intends to visit. In one of these private journeys, passing into Kuara, a province on the N. E. of Abyssinia, near the confines of Sennaar, Bucassa happened, or counterfeited, to be seized by a fever, a common disease of that unwholesome country. He was then in a poor village belonging to servants of a man of distinction, whose house was on the top of the hill immediately above, in temperate and wholesome air. The hospitable landlord, upon the first hearing of the distress of a stranger, immediately removed him up to his house, where every attention that could be suggested by a charitable mind was bestowed upon his diseased guest, who presently recovered his former state of health, but not till the kind assistance and unwearied diligence of the beautiful daughter of the house had made a deep impression upon him, and laid him under the greatest obligations.

The family consisted of five young men in the flower of their youth, and one daughter, whose name was Berhan Magafs, *the Glory of Grace*, exceedingly beautiful, gentle, mild, and affable: of great understanding and prudence beyond her age; the darling, not only of her own family, but of all the neighbourhood. Bucassa recovering his health, returned speedily to the palace, which he entered privately at night, and appeared early next morning sitting in judgement, and hearing causes, which with these princes, is the first public occupation of the day.

A messenger, with guards and attendants, was immediately sent to Kuara, and Berhan Magafs hurried from her father's house, she knew not why; but her surprise was carried to the utmost, by being presented and married to the king, no reply, no condition, or stipulation being suffered. She gained, however, and preserved his confidence as long as he lived: not that Bucassa valued himself upon constancy to one wife, more than the rest of his predecessors had done. He had, indeed, many mistresses, but with these he observed a very singular

lar rule; he never took to his bed any one woman whatever, the fair Berhan Magafs excepted, without her having been first so far intoxicated with wine or spirits as not to remember any thing that passed in conversation.

After he had created his wife Iteghè, Bacuffa pretended to be sick; several days passed without hopes of recovery; but at last the news of the king's death were published in Gondar. The joy was so great, and so universal, that nobody attempted to conceal it. Every one found himself eased of a load of fear which had become insupportable. Several princes escaped from the mountain of Wechné to put themselves in the way of being chosen; some were sent to by those great men who thought themselves capable of effecting the nomination, and a speedy day was appointed for the burial of the king's corpse, when Bacuffa appeared, in the ordinary seat of justice, early in the morning of that day, with the Iteghè, and the infant Yafous, his son, sitting in a chair below him. There was no occasion to accuse the guilty. The whole court, and all strangers attending there upon business, fled, and spread an universal terror through the whole streets of Gondar. All ranks of people were driven to despair, for all had rejoiced, and much less crimes had been before punished with death. What this sedition would have ended in, it is hard to know, had it not been for the immediate resolution of the king, who ordered a general pardon and amnesty to be proclaimed at the door of the palace.

Two kettle-drums of a large size are constantly placed one on each side of the outer gate of the king's house. They are called the *lion* and the *lamb*. The lion is beat at the proclamations which regard war, attainders for conspiracies and rebellions, promotions to supreme commands, and suchlike high matters. The lamb is heard only on beneficent, pacific occasions, or gifts from the crown, of general amnesties, of private pardons, and reversals of penal ordinances. The whole town was in expectation of some sanguinary decree, when, to their utter surprise, they heard the voice of the lamb, a certain sign of peace and forgiveness; and speedily followed by a proclamation, forbidding people of all degrees to leave their houses, that the king's word was pledged for every one's security; and that all the principal

cipal men should immediately attend him within the palace; in a public place which is called the Ashoa, and that upon pain of rebellion.

The king appeared cloathed all in white, being the habit of peace; his head was bare, dressed, anointed, and perfumed, and his face uncovered. He thus advanced to the rail of the gallery, about 10 feet above the heads of the audience, and, in a very graceful, composed, but resolute manner, began a short oration to the people. He put them in mind of their wantonness in having made Oustas, a man not of the royal line of Solomon, king of Abyssinia; of their having incited his brother, Tecla Haimanout, to assassinate their father Yafous; that they had afterwards murdered Tecla Haimanout himself, one brother, and lately his other brother David, his own immediate predecessor: that he had taken due vengeance upon all the ringleaders of those crimes, as was the duty of his place, and, if much blood had been shed, it was because many enormities had been committed; but that knowing now that order was established, and conspiracies extinguished among them, he had counterfeited death, to signify an end was put to Bacuffa and his bloody measures; that he now was risen again, and appeared to them by the name of Atzham Georgis, son of Yafous the Great; and ordered every man home to his house to rejoice at the accession of a new king, under whom they should have justice, and live without fear, as long as they respected the king that God had anointed over them.

The loudest acclamations followed this speech. "Long live Bacuffa! Long live Atzham Georgis!" It was well known that this king never failed in his word, or any way prevaricated in his promises. Every one, therefore, went home in as perfect peace as if war had never been among them; and Bacuffa's delicacy in this respect was seen a few days after; for Hannes his brother having been brought clandestinely from Wechné, by Kasmati Georgis, a nobleman of great consequence, they were both taken by the governor of Wechné, and sent in chains to the king. The ordinary process would have been to put them instantly to death, as being apprehended in the very highest act of treason: nor would this have alarmed any person whatever, or been thought an  
 infraction

an infraction of the king's late promise. Bacuffa, however, was of another mind. He sent the criminal judges, who ordinarily sit upon capital crimes, to meet the two prisoners in their way to Gondar, and carried them back to the foot of the mountain of Wechné to have their crimes proved, and to be tried there out of his presence and influence, where they were both condemned, Hannes to have an arm cut off, Georgis to be sent to prison to the governor of Walkayt, with private orders to put him to death; both which sentences were executed, though Hannes so far recovered, that he was king of Abyssinia in Mr. Bruce's time, notwithstanding this mutilation.

The king died after a vigorous reign, and after having cut off the greatest part of the ancient nobility near Gondar, who were of age to have been concerned in the transactions of the last reigns. This has rendered his memory odious, though it is universally confessed he saved his country from an aristocratical or democratical usurpation; both equally unconstitutional, as they equally struck at the root of monarchy.

#### YASOUS II. or, ADIAM SEGUED.

From 1729 to 1753.

THE new king, Yafous II. when arrived at the seventh year of his reign, proclaimed a general hunt, which is a declaration of his near approach to manhood; but he pursued it no length of time, and again returned to Gondar.

On the 23d day of December, Yafous again set out on another hunting party, and killed two elephants and a rhinoceros. He then proceeded to Tchelga, and from Tchelga to Waldubba; thence he went to the rivers Gandova and Shimfa. Here he exercised himself at a very violent species of hunting, that of forcing the gieratacachin, which means long tail; it is otherwise called giraffa in Arabic. It is the tallest of beasts, and is often killed by the elephant hunters. Its skin is beautifully variegated when young, but turns brown when arrived at any age. It was not with a view to hunt only, that Yafous made these frequent  
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excursions towards the frontiers of Sennaar. His resolution was formed (as it appeared soon after) in imitation of his forefather Socinios, to revive his right over the country of the *Shepherds*, his ancient vassals, who, since the accession of strength by uniting with the Arabs, had forgot their ancient tribute and subjection.

This year, 1736, there happened a total eclipse of the sun, which very much affected the minds of the weaker sort of people. The dreamers and the prophets were every where let loose, full of the lying spirit which possessed them, to foretel that the death of the king, and the downfall of his government, were at hand, and deluges of civil blood were then speedily to be spilt both in the capital and provinces. There was not, indeed, at the time any circumstance that warranted such a prediction, or any thing likely to be more fatal to the state, than the expenditure of the large sums of money that the turn the king had taken subjected him to. He had built a large and very costly church at Koscam, and he was still engaged in a more extensive work in the building of a palace at Gondar, besides a variety of other expensive undertakings.

In the 24th year of Yafous's reign, he was taken ill, and died on the 21st day of June, 1753, after a very short illness. As he was but a young man, and of a strong constitution, there was some suspicion he died by poison given him by the queen's relations, who were desirous to secure another minority, rather than serve under a king, who, by every action, shewed he was no longer to be led or governed by any, but least of all by them. Yafous was married very young to a lady of noble family in Amhara, by whom he had two sons, Adigo and Aylo. But their mother pretending to a share of her husband's government, and to introduce her friends at court, so hurt Welleta Georgis, the Iteghé, or queen-regent, that she prevailed on the king to banish both mother and sons to the mountain of Wechné.

In order to prevent such interference for the future, the Iteghé took a step, such as had never before been attempted in Abyssinia. It was to bring a wife to Yafous from a race of Galla. Her name was Wobit, daughter of Amitzo, to whom Bacusia had once fled when he escaped

escaped from the mountain before he was king, and had been kindly entertained there. Her family was of the tribe of Edjow, and the division of Toluma, that is, of the southern Galla, upon the frontiers of Amhara. They were esteemed the politest, that is, the least barbarous, of the name. But it was no matter, they were Galla, and that was enough. Between them and Abyssinia, oceans of blood had been shed, and strong prejudices imbibed against them, never to be effaced by marriages. She was, however, brought to Gondar, christened by the name of Bassébée, and married to Yafous. By her he had a son, named Joas, who succeeded his father.

## JOAS.

From 1753 to 1768.

AS soon as the death of king Yafous was known, the old officers and servants of the crown, remembering the tumults and confusion that happened in Gondar at his accession, repaired to the palace from their different governments, each with a small well-regulated body of troops, sufficient to keep order, and strengthen the hands of Ras Welled de l'Oul, whom they all looked upon as the father of his country. The first who arrived was Kasmatî Waragna of Damot; then Ayo of Begemder, and very soon after, though at much the greatest distance, Suhul Michael, governor of Tigré. These three entered the palace, with Welled de Joas, who, after a troublesome reign, was assassinated in his palace, and buried in the church of St. Raphael.

## HANNES II.

1769.

HANNES, a man upwards of seventy years of age, made his entry into Gondar the 3d of May, 1769. He was brother to Bacuffa, and having in his time escaped from the mountain, and being afterwards taken, his hand was cut off by order of the king his brother, and he was sent back to the place of his confinement. It

is a law of Abyssinia, derived from that of Moses, that no man can be capable either of the throne or priesthood, unless he be perfect in all his limbs; the want of a hand, therefore, certainly disqualified Hannes, and it was with that intent it had been cut off; but this objection was easily over-ruled. However, besides his age, he was very feeble in body; and having had no conversation but with monks and priests, this had debilitated his mind as much as age had done his body. He could not be persuaded to take any share in the government; and when he was desired to take the field to defend his kingdom, he wept, hid himself, turned monk, and demanded to be sent back to his former place of confinement. The consequence was, that he was one day poisoned at his breakfast.

#### TECLA HAIMANOUT II.

1769.

TECLA Haimanout succeeded his father. He was a prince of a most graceful figure, tall for his age, rather thin, and of the whitest shade of Abyssinian colour, such are all those princes that are born in the mountain. Though he had been absent but a very few months from his native mountain, his manners and carriage were those of a prince, that from his infancy had sat upon an hereditary throne. He had an excellent understanding, and prudence beyond his years. He was said to be naturally of a very warm temper, but this he had so perfectly subdued, as scarcely ever to have given an instance of it in public.

With the beginning of this king's reign we shall close the Annals of Abyssinia, and return to Mr. Bruce, at Masuah; after which we shall accompany him from thence in his journey to Gondar.



TRAVELS

# TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER

## THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

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### BOOK V.

*Account of Mr. Bruce's Journey from Masuah to Gondar—  
Transactions there—Manners and Customs of the Abyssinians.*

**M**ASUAH, or the harbour of the Shepherds is a small island on the Abyssinian shore, having an excellent harbour, and water deep enough for ships of any size, to the very edge of the island; here they may ride in the utmost security, from whatever point, or with whatever degree of strength the wind blows. The island itself is very small, scarce three quarters of a mile in length, and about half that in breadth, one-third occupied by houses, one by cisterns to receive the rain-water, and the last is reserved for burying the dead.

This island was a place of much resort as long as commerce flourished; but it fell into obscurity very suddenly under the oppression of the Turks, who put the finishing-hand to the ruin of the Indian trade in the Red Sea, begun some years before by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlements made by the Portuguese on the continent of India.

On the 19th of September, 1769, Mr. Bruce arrived at Masuah, very much tired of the sea, and desirous to



land. But, as it was evening, he thought it advisable to sleep on board that night, that he might have a whole day (as the first is always a busy one) before him, and receive in the night any intelligence from friends, who might not choose to venture to come openly to see him and his company in the day, at least before the determination of the Naybe, the governor of that place, had been heard concerning them.

On the 20th, a person came from Mahomet Gibberti, to conduct Mr. Bruce on shore. The Naybe himself was still at Arkeeko, and Achmet, his cousin and successor, therefore, had come down to receive the duties of the merchandize on board the vessel which brought Mr. Bruce. There were two elbow chairs placed in the middle of the market-place. Achmet sat on one of them, while the several officers opened the bales and packages before him; the other chair on his left hand was empty. He was dressed all in white, in a long Banian habit of muslin, and a close-bodied frock reaching to his ancles, much like the white frock and petticoat the young children wear in England. This species of dress did not, in any way, suit Achmet's shape or size; but, it seems, he meant to be in gala. As soon as Mr. Bruce came in sight of him, our traveller doubled his pace; but Mahomet Gibberti's servant whispered to Mr. Bruce not to kiss his hand, which, indeed, he intended to have done. Achmet stood up, just as he arrived within arm's-length of him; when they touched each other's hands, carried their fingers to their lips, then laid their hands across their breasts, our traveller pronounced the salutation of the inferior *Salam Alicum!* Peace be between us; to which he answered immediately, *Alicum Salam!* There is peace between us. He pointed to the chair, which Mr. Bruce declined; but he obliged him to sit down.

In these countries, the greater honour that is shewn you at first meeting, the more considerable present is expected. He made a sign to bring coffee directly, as the immediate offering of meat or drink is an assurance your life is not in danger. He began with an air that seemed rather serious; "We have expected you here some time ago, but thought you had changed your mind,  
and

and was gone to India."—"Since sailing from Jidda, I have been in Arabia Felix, the Gulf of Mocha, and crossed last from Loheia."—"Are you not afraid," said he, "so thinly attended, to venture upon these long and dangerous voyages?"—"The countries where I have been are either subject to the emperor of Constantinople, whose firman I have now the honour to present you, or to the regency of Cairo, and port of Janizaries—here are their letters—or to the sherriffe of Mecca. To you, Sir, I present the sherriffe's letters; and, besides these, one from Metical Aga, your friend, who, depending on your character, assured me this alone would be sufficient to preserve me from ill usage so long as I did no wrong; as for the dangers of the road from banditti and lawless persons, my servants are indeed few, but they are veteran soldiers, tried and exercised from their infancy in arms, and I value not the superior number of cowardly and disorderly persons."

He then returned Mr. Bruce the letters, saying, "You will give these to the Naybe to-morrow; I will keep Metical's letter, as it is to me, and will read it at home." He put it accordingly in his bosom; and their coffee being done, Mr. Bruce rose to take his leave, and was presently wet to the skin by deluges of orange-flower water showered upon him from the right and left, by two of his attendants, from silver bottles.

A very decent house had been provided; and he had no sooner entered, than a large dinner was sent them by Achmet, with a profusion of lemons, and good fresh water, now become one of the greatest delicacies in life; and instantly after, their baggage was all sent unopened, with which he was very well pleased, being afraid they might break something in his clock, telescopes, or quadrants, by the violent manner in which they satisfy their curiosity.

On the 10th of September, a female slave came, and brought with her the proper credentials, an Indian handkerchief full of dry dates, and a pot or bottle of unvarnished potter's earth, which keeps the water very cool.

On the 21st, in the morning, the Naybe came from Arkeeko. The usual way is by sea; it is about two leagues straight across the bay, but somewhat more by land. The passage from the main is on the north side of the island, which is not above a quarter of a mile broad; there is a large cistern for rain-water on the land side, where you embark across. He was poorly attended by three or four servants, miserably mounted, and about forty naked savages on foot, armed with short lances and crooked knives. The drum beat before him all the way from Arkeeko to Masuah. Upon entering the boat, the drum on the land-side ceased, and those, in what is called the Castle of Masuah, began. The castle is a small clay hut, and in it one swivel-gun, which is not mounted, but lies upon the ground, and is fired always with great trepidation and some danger. The drums are earthen jars, such as they send butter with into Arabia; the mouths of which are covered with a skin, so that a stranger, on seeing two or three of these together, would run a great risk of believing them to be jars of butter, or pickles, carefully covered with oiled parchment. All the procession was in the same style. The Naybe was dressed in an old shabby Turkish habit, much too short for him, and seemed to have been made about the time of Sultan Selim. He wore also upon his head a Turkish cowke, or high cap, which scarcely admitted any part of his head. In this dress, which on him had a truly ridiculous appearance, he received the castan, or investiture of the island of Masuah; and being thereby representative of the grand signior, consented that day to be called Omar Aga, in honour of the commission.

In the afternoon, Mr. Bruce went to pay his respects to the Naybe, and found him sitting on a large wooden elbow-chair, at the head of two files of naked savages, who made an avenue from his chair to the door. He had nothing upon him but a coarse cotton shirt, so dirty, that it seemed all pains to clean it again would be thrown away, and so short, that it scarcely reached his knees. He was very tall and lean, his colour black, had a large mouth and nose; in place of a beard, a very scanty tuft of grey hairs upon the point of his chin; large, dull, and heavy

heavy eyes; a kind of malicious, contemptuous smile on his countenance; he was altogether of a most stupid, and brutal appearance. His character perfectly corresponded with his figure, for he was a man of mean abilities, cruel to excess, avaricious, and a great drunkard.

Mr. Bruce presented his firman.—The greatest basha in the Turkish empire would have risen upon seeing it, kissed it, and carried it to his forehead; but he did not even receive it into his hand, and pushed it back to our traveller again, saying, “Do you read it all to me word for word.”—Mr. Bruce told him it was Turkish; that he had never learned to read a word of that language.—“Nor I neither,” says he, “and I believe I never shall.” Mr. Bruce then gave him the other letters he had brought with him. He took them all together in both his hands, and laid them unopened beside him, saying, “You should have brought a moullah along with you. Do you think I shall read all these letters? Why, it would take me a month.” He then glared upon our traveller, and with his mouth open, so like an idiot, that it was with the utmost difficulty Mr. Bruce kept his gravity, only answering, “Just as you please; you know best.”

A silence followed this short conversation, and Mr. Bruce took the opportunity to give him his present, with which he did not seem displeas'd, but rather that it was below him to tell him so; he then took his leave of the Naybe, very little pleas'd with his reception, and the small account he seem'd to make of his letters, or of himself.

The small-pox was raging with such violence at Masuah, that it was fear'd the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead. The whole island was fill'd with shrieks and lamentations both night and day. They at last began to throw the bodies into the sea, which depriv'd our travellers of the fish, of which they had ate some kinds which were excellent. Mr. Bruce had suppress'd his character of physician, fearing he should be detain'd by reason of the multitude of sick.

The Naybe came to Masuah on the 15th of October, dispatch'd the vessel that brought our travellers

over; and, as if he had only waited till this evidence was out of the way, he, that very night, sent word, that Mr Bruce was to prepare him a handsome present. He gave in a long list of particulars to a great amount, which he desired might be divided into three parcels, and presented three several days. One was to be given him as Naybe of Arkeeko; one as Omar Aga, representative of the grand signior; and one for having passed their baggage *gratis* and unvisited, especially the large quadrant.

As the assurance of protection Mr. Bruce had received, gave him courage, he answered him, "That, having a firman of the grand signior, and letters from Metical Aga, it was mere generosity should he give him any present at all, either as Naybe or Omar Aga; that he was not a merchant that bought and sold, nor had merchandize on board, therefore had no customs to pay." Upon this he sent for Mr. Bruce to his house, where he found him in a violent fury, and many useless words passed on both sides. At last he peremptorily told our traveller, "That, unless he had 300 ounces of gold ready to pay him on Monday, upon his landing from Arkeeko, he would confine him in a dungeon, without light, air, or meat, till the bones came through his skin for want.

On the 29th of October, the Naybe came again from Arkeeko to Masuah, and Mr. Bruce was told, in a very ill humour with him. He soon received a message to attend him, and found him in a large waste room like a barn, with about sixty people with him. This was his divan, or grand council, with all his janissaries and officers of state, all naked, assembled in parliament. There was a comet that had appeared a few days after their arrival at Masuah, which had been many days visible in Arabia Felix, being then in its perihelion; and, after passing its conjunction with the sun, it now appeared at Masuah early in the evening, receding to its aphelion. Mr. Bruce had been observed watching it with great attention, and the large tubes of the telescopes had given offence to ignorant people. The first question the Naybe asked him was, "What that comet meant, and why it appeared?" And before he could

answer him, he again said, "The first time it was visible, it brought the small-pox, which has killed above 1000 people in Masuah and Arkeeko. It is known you conversed with it every night at Loheia; it has now followed you again to finish the few that remain, and then you are to carry it into Abyssinia. What have you to do with the comet?"

Without giving Mr. Bruce leave to speak, his brother Emir Achmet then said, "That he was informed our traveller was an engineer going to Michael, governor of Tigré, to teach the Abyssinians to make cannon and gunpowder; that the first attack was to be against Masuah. Five or six others spoke much in the same strain; and the Naybe concluded by saying, "That he would send Mr. Bruce in chains to Constantinople, unless he went to Hamazen, with his brother Emir Achmet, to the hotwells there, and that this was the resolution of all the janizaries; for he had concealed his being a physician.

After much altercation between Mr. Bruce and the Naybe, the former turned his back, and Mr. Bruce went away exceedingly disturbed, as it was plain his affairs were coming to a crisis for good or for evil. He observed, or thought he observed, all the people shunned him. He was, indeed, upon his guard, and did not wish them to come near him; but, turning down into his own gateway, a man passed closely by him, saying distinctly in his ear, though in a low voice, first in Tigré and then in Arabic, "*Fear nothing, or, Be not afraid.*" This hint, short as it was, gave him no small courage.

Upon the 6th, in the morning, while at breakfast, Mr. Bruce was told that three servants had arrived from Tigré; one from Janua, a young man and slave, who spoke and wrote Greek perfectly; the other two servants were Ras Michael's, or rather the king's, both wearing the red short cloak lined and turned up with mazarine-blue, which is the badge of the king's servant, and is called *shalaka*. Ras Michael's letters to the Naybe were very short. He said the king Hatzé Hanne's health was bad, and wondered at hearing, that the physician, sent to him by Metical Aga, from Arabia, was not forwarded to him instantly at Gondar, as he had heard of his being arrived at Masuah some time

before. He ordered the Naybe, moreover, to furnish him with necessaries, and dispatch him without loss of time.

Masuah, by a great variety of observations of the sun and stars, was found to be in lat.  $15^{\circ} 35' 5''$ , and, by an observation of the second satellite of Jupiter, on the 22d of September, 1769, its longitude was found to be  $39^{\circ} 36' 30''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The island of Masuah is very unwholesome, as, indeed, is the whole coast of the Red Sea, from Suez to Badelmandeb, but more especially between the tropics. Violent fevers, called there *nedad*, make the principal figure in this fatal list, and generally terminate the third day in death. If the patient survives till the fifth day, he very often recovers by drinking water only, and throwing a quantity of cold water upon him, even in his bed, where he is permitted to lie without attempting to make him dry, or change his bed, till another deluge adds to the first.

The bark is the most sovereign remedy here; but it must be given in very different times and manners from those pursued in Europe. Were a physician to take time to prepare his patient for the bark, by first giving him purgatives, he would be dead of the fever before his preparation was completed. The second or third dose of the bark, if any quantity is swallowed, never fails to purge; and, if this evacuation is copious, the patient rarely dies, but, on the contrary, his recovery is generally rapid. Moderate purging is for the most part to be adopted; and rice is a much better food than fruit.

The next common disease in the low country of Arabia, the intermediate island of Masuah, and all Abyssinia, (for the diseases are exactly similar in all this tract) is the Tertian fever, which is in nothing different from our Tertian, and is successfully treated here in the same manner as in Europe. As no species of this disease, as far as Mr. Bruce saw, menaces the patient with death, especially in the beginning of the disorder, some time may be allowed for preparation to those who doubt the effect of the bark in this country. But still he apprehends the safest way is to give small doses from the beginning, on the first intermission, or even remission, though it should be somewhat obscure and uncertain.

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The next disease, which we may say is endemial in the countries before-mentioned, is called *banzeer*, the *bags* or the *swine*, and is a swelling of the glands of the throat, and under the arms. This the ignorant inhabitants endeavour to bring to a suppuration, but in vain; they then open them in several places; a sore and running follows, and a disease very much resembling what is called in Europe the Evil.

The next (though not a dangerous complaint) has a very terrible appearance. Small tubercles, or swellings, appear all over the body, but thickest in the thighs, arms, and legs. These swellings go and come for weeks together without pain; though the legs often swell to a monstrous size, as in the dropsy.

All the nations in Africa within the tropics are wonderfully affected at the smallest eruption or roughness of the skin. A black of Sennaar will hide himself in the house, where dark, and is not to be seen by his friends, if he should have two or three pimples on any part of his body. Nor is there any remedy, however violent, that they will not fly to for immediate relief.

The next complaint Mr. Bruce mentions as common in these countries, is called *Farenteit*, a corruption of an Arabic word, which signifies the worm of Pharaoh; all bad things being by the Arabs attributed to these poor kings, who seem to be looked upon by posterity as the evil genii of the country which they once governed.

This extraordinary animal only afflicts those who are in constant habit of drinking stagnant water, whether that water is drawn out from wells, as in the kingdom of Sennaar, or found by digging in the sand where it is making its way to its proper level the sea, after falling down the side of the mountains after the tropical rains. This plague appears indiscriminately in every part of the body, but oftenest in the legs and arms. Upon looking at this worm, on its first appearance, a small black head is extremely visible, with a hooked beak of a whitish colour. Its body is seemingly of a white silky texture, very like a small tendon bared and perfectly cleaned. After its appearance, the natives of these countries, who are used to it, seize it gently by the head, and wrap it round a thin piece of silk, or small bird's feather. Every day, or several times a-day, they



they try to wind it up upon the quill as far as it comes readily; and, upon the smallest resistance, they give over for fear of breaking it. Mr. Bruce has seen five feet, or something more, of this extraordinary animal, wound out, with invincible patience, in the course of three weeks. No inflammation then remained, and scarcely any redness round the edges of the aperture, only a small quantity of lymph appeared in the hole or puncture, which scarcely issued out upon pressing. In three days it was commonly well.

Mr. Bruce himself experienced this complaint. He was reading upon a sofa at Cairo, a few days after his return from Upper Egypt, when he felt, in the fore part of his leg, upon the bone, about seven inches below the centre of his knee-pan, an itching resembling what follows the bite of a muscheto. Upon scratching, a small tumour appeared, very like a muscheto bite. The itching returned in about an hour afterwards; and, being more intent upon his reading than his leg, he scratched it till the blood came. He soon after observed something like a black spot, which had already risen considerably above the surface of the skin. All medicine proved useless; and the disease not being known at Cairo, there was nothing for it but to have recourse to the only received manner of treating it in this country. About three inches of the worm was wound out upon a piece of raw silk in the first week, without pain or fever; but it was broken afterwards through the carelessness and rashness of the surgeon, when changing a poultice, on board the ship in which he returned to France. A violent inflammation followed; the leg swelled so as to scarce leave any appearance of knee or ankle; the skin red and distended, seemed glazed like a mirror. The wound was now healed, and discharged nothing; and there was every appearance of mortification coming on. The great care and attention procured him in the lazaretto at Marseilles, by a nation always foremost in the acts of humanity to strangers, and the attention and skill of the surgeon, recovered him from this troublesome complaint.

Fifty-two days had elapsed since it first begun; thirty-five of which were spent in the greatest agony. It suppurated at last; and, by enlarging the orifice, a  
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good quantity of matter was discharged. He had made constant use of bark, both in fomentations and inwardly; but he did not recover the strength of his leg entirely till near a year after, by using the baths of Poretta.

The last Mr. Bruce mentions of these endemial diseases, and the most terrible of all others that can fall to the lot of man, is the Elephantiasis, which some have chosen to call the Leprosy, or *Lepra Arabum*; though in its appearance, and in all its circumstances and stages, it no more resembles the leprosy of Palestine, than it does the gout or the dropsy. During the course of it, the face is often healthy to appearance; the eyes vivid and sparkling: those affected have sometimes a kind of dryness upon the skin of their backs, which, upon scratching, leaves a mealiness, or whiteness; the only circumstance in which it resembled the leprosy; but it has no scaldiness. The hair, too, is of its natural colour; not white, yellowish, or thin, as in the leprosy, but so far from it, that though the Abyssinians have very rarely hair upon their chin, Mr. Bruce has seen people, apparently in the last stage of the elephantiasis, with a very good beard of its natural colour. The appetite is generally good during this disease; nor does any change of regimen affect the complaint.

Mr. Bruce's first general advice to a traveller is this: To remember well what was the state of his constitution before he visited these countries, and what his complaints were, if he had any; for fear very frequently seizes us upon the first sight of the many and sudden deaths we see upon our first arrival, and our spirits are so lowered by perpetual perspiration, and our nerves so relaxed, that we are apt to mistake the ordinary symptoms of a disease familiar to us in our own country, for the approach of one of these terrible distempers that are to hurry us in a few hours into eternity. This has a bad effect in the very slightest disorders; so that it hath become proverbial—"If you think you shall die, you shall die." If a traveller finds, that he is as well, after having been some time in this country, as he was before entering it, his best way is to make no innovation in his regimen, farther than in abating something in the quantity. But if he is of a tender constitution, he cannot act more wisely than to follow implicitly the regi-

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men of sober, healthy people of the country, without arguing upon European notions, or substituting what we consider as succedaneums to what we see used on the spot. All spirits are to be avoided; even bark is better in water than in wine. The stomach being relaxed by profuse perspiration, needs something to strengthen, but not inflame, and enable it to perform digestion. For this reason (instinct we should call it, if speaking of beasts) the natives of all eastern countries season every species of food, even the simplest and mildest, rice, so much with spices, especially pepper, as absolutely to blister an European palate. These powerful antiseptics Providence has planted in these countries for this use; and the natives have, from the earliest times, had recourse to them in proportion to the quantity they can procure.

Mr. Bruce lays down this as a positive rule of health, that the warmest dishes the natives delight in, are the most wholesome strangers can use in the putrid climates of the Lower Arabia, Abyssinia, Sennaar, and Egypt itself, and that spirits, and all fermented liquors, should be regarded as poisons; and, for fear of temptation, not so much as be carried along with you, unless as a menstruum for outward applications. Spring, or running-water, if you can find it, is to be your only drink. You cannot be too nice in procuring this article. But as, on both coasts of the Red Sea you can scarcely find any but stagnant water, the way our traveller practised was always this: when he was at any place that allowed him time and opportunity, he took a quantity of fine sand, washed it from the salt quality with which it was impregnated, and spread it upon a sheet to dry; he then filled an oil-jar with water, and poured into it as much from a boiling kettle as would serve to kill all the animalcula and eggs that were in it. He then sifted his dried sand as slowly as possible upon the surface of the water in the jar, till the sand stood half a foot in the bottom of it; after letting it settle a night, he drew it off by a hole in the jar with a spigot in it, about an inch above the sand; then threw the remaining sand out upon the cloth, and dried and washed it again.

This process is sooner performed than described. The water is as limpid as the purest spring, and little inferior

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to the finest Spa. Drink largely of this without fear, according as your appetite requires. By violent perspiration the aqueous part of your blood is thrown off; and it is not spirituous liquor can restore this, whatever momentary strength it may give you from another cause. When hot, and almost fainting with weakness, from continual perspiration, Mr. Bruce has gone into a warm bath, and been immediately restored to strength, as upon first rising in the morning.

In Nubia, never scruple to throw yourself into the coldest river or spring you can find, in whatever degree of heat you are. The reason of the difference in Europe is, that, when by violence you have raised yourself to an extraordinary degree of heat, the cold water in which you plunge yourself checks your perspiration, and shuts your pores suddenly. The medium is itself too cold, and you do not use force sufficient to bring back the perspiration, which nought but action occasioned; whereas, in these warm countries, your perspiration is natural and constant, though no action be used, only from the temperature of the medium; therefore, though your pores are shut, the moment you plunge yourself into the cold water, the simple condition of the outward air again covers you with pearls of sweat the moment you emerge; and you begin the expence of the aqueous part of your blood afresh from the new stock that you have laid in by your emersion.

Rice and pillaw are the best food; fowls are very bad, eggs are worse; greens are not wholesome. In Arabia, the mutton is good, and when roasted, may be eaten warm with safety; perhaps better if cold. All soups or broths are to be avoided; all game is bad.

It is a custom that, from the first ages, has prevailed in the east, to shriek and lament upon the death of a friend or relation, and cut their faces upon their temple with their nails, about the breath of a sixpence, one of which is left long for that purpose. It was always practised by the Jews, and thence adopted by the Abyssinians, though expressly forbidden both by the law and the prophets. At Masuah, it seems to be particular to dance upon that occasion. The women, friends, and visitors place themselves in a ring; then dance slowly, figuring in and out as in a country dance. This dance is all to the voice,

no instrument being used upon the occasion: only the drum (the butter-iar before mentioned) is beat adroitly enough, and seems at once necessary to keep the dance and song in order. In Abyssinia, too, this is pursued in a manner more ridiculous. Upon the death of an ozoro, or any nobleman, the twelve judges (who are generally between 60 and 70 years of age) sing the song, and dance the figure-dance, in a manner so truly ridiculous, that grief must have taken fast hold of every spectator who does not laugh upon the occasion.

In Masuah, it is a general custom for people to burn myrrh and incense in their houses before they open the doors in the morning; and when they go out at night, or early in the day, they have always a small piece of rag, highly fumigated with these two perfumes, which they stuff into each nostril to keep them from the unwholesome air.

Their houses are, in general, built of poles and bent grass, as in the towns of Arabia: but besides these, there are about twenty of stone, six or eight of which are two stories each; though the second seldom consists of more than one room, and that one generally not a large one.

Situated as Masuah is, in the very entrance of Abyssinia, a very plentiful country, yet all the necessaries of life are scarce and dear. Their quality, too, is very indifferent. This is owing to the difficulty, expence, and danger of carrying the several articles through the desert flat country, called Samhar, which lies between Arkecko and the mountains of Abyssinia; as well as to the extortions exercised by the Naybe, who takes, under the name of customs, whatever part he pleases of the goods and provisions brought to that island; by which means the profit of the seller is so small, as not to be worth the pains and risk of bringing it.

A considerable trade is carried on at Masuah, notwithstanding these inconveniences, narrow and confined as the island is, and violent and unjust as is the government. But it is all done in a slovenly manner, and for articles where a small capital is invested. Property here is too precarious to risk a venture in valuable commodities, where the hand of power enters into every transaction.

On the 13th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Bruce waited upon the Naybe at his own house. He received

ceived him with more civility than usual: or rather, with less brutality; for a grain of any thing like civility had never yet appeared in his behaviour. He had just received news, that a servant of his, sent to collect money at Hamazen, had run off with it. As our traveller saw he was busy, he took his leave of him, only asking his commands for Habesh; to which he answered, "We have time enough to think of that; do you come here to-morrow."

On the 14th, in the morning, he waited upon him according to appointment, having first struck his tent, and got all his baggage in readiness. He received him as before; then told him with a grave air, "that he was willing to further his journey into Habesh to the utmost of his power, provided he shewed him that consideration which was due to him from all passengers; that as, by his tent, baggage, and arms, he saw he was a man above the common sort, which the grand signior's firman, and all his letters testified, less than 1000 patakas offered by him would be putting a great affront upon him; however, in consideration of the governor of Tigré, to whom he was going, he would consent to receive 300, upon his swearing not to divulge this, for fear of the shame that would fall upon him abroad."

To this Mr. Bruce answered, in the same grave tone, that he thought him very wrong to take 300 patakas with shame, when receiving a thousand would be more honourable as well as more profitable; therefore, he had nothing to do but put that into his account-book with the governor of Tigré, and settle his honour and his interest together. As for himself, he was sent for by Metical Aga, on account of the king, and was proceeding accordingly, and if he opposed his going forward to Metical Aga, he should return; but then again he should expect ten thousand patakas from Metical Aga, for the trouble and loss of time he had been at, which he and the Ras would no doubt settle with him." The Naybe said nothing in reply, but only muttered, closing his teeth, *sheitan afrit*, that devil, or tormenting spirit.

Those friends, which Mr. Bruce had made at Masuah; seeing the Naybe's obstinacy against their departure, and knowing the cruelty of his nature, advised Mr.  
Bruce

Bruce to abandon all thoughts of Abyffinia; for, that in passing through Samhar, among the many barbarous people whom he commanded, difficulties would multiply upon them daily, and, either by accident, or order of the Naybe, they would be surely cut off. However, our traveller was too well convinced of the embarrassment that lay behind him, if left alone with the Naybe, and too determined upon his journey, to hesitate upon going forward. He even flattered himself, that his stock of stratagems to prevent their going, was by this time exhausted, and, that the morrow would see them in the open fields, free from further tyranny and controul.

On the 15th, early in the morning, Mr. Bruce again struck his tent, and had his baggage prepared, to shew they were determined to stay no longer. At eight o'clock he went to the Naybe, and found him almost alone, when he received him in a manner that, for him, might have passed for civil. He began with a considerable degree of eloquence, or fluency of speech, a long enumeration of the difficulties of their journey, the rivers, precipices, mountains, and woods they were to pass; the number of wild beasts every where to be found; as also the wild savage people that inhabited those places; the most of which he said were luckily under his command, and he would recommend to them to do them all manner of good offices. He commanded two of his secretaries to write the proper letters, and then ordered them coffee.

In the mean time came in a servant covered with dust and seemingly fatigued, as having arrived in haste from afar. The Naybe, with a considerable deal of uneasiness and confusion, opened the letters, which were said to bring intelligence, that the Hazorta, Shio, and Tora, the three nations that possessed that part of Samhar through which our road led to Dobarwa, the common passage from Masuah to Tigré, had revolted, driven away his servants, and declared themselves independent. He then (as if all was over) ordered his secretaries to stop writing; and, lifting up his eyes, began, with great seeming devotion, to thank God we were not already on our journey; for, innocent as he was, when our travellers should have been cut off, the fault would have

have been imputed to him. Angry as Mr. Bruce was at so bare-faced a farce, he could not help bursting out into a violent fit of loud laughter, when the Naybe put on the severest countenance, and desired to know the reason of his laughing at such a time. "It is now two months," answered Mr. Bruce, "since you have been throwing various objections in my way; can you wonder, that I do not give into so gross an imposition? This same morning, before I struck my tent, in presence of your nephew, Achmet, I spoke with two Shiho, just arrived from Samhar, who brought letters to Achmet, which said all was in peace. Have you earlier intelligence than that of this morning?"

He was for some time without speaking, then said, "If you are weary of living, you are welcome to go; but I will do my duty in warning those that are along with you of their and your danger, that, when the mischief happens, it may not be imputed to me." "No number of naked Shiho," said Mr. Bruce, "unless instructed by you, can ever be found on our road, that will venture to attack us. The Shiho have no fire-arms; but if you have sent on purpose some of your soldiers, that have fire-arms, these will discover by what authority they come. For our part, we cannot fly; we neither know the country, the language, nor the watering-places, and we shall not attempt it. We have plenty of different sorts of fire-arms, and your servants have often seen at Masuah we are not ignorant in the use of them. We, it is true, may lose our lives, that is in the hand of the Almighty; but we shall not fail to leave enough on the spot, to give sufficient indication to the King and Ras Michael, who it was that were our assassins."

Mr. Bruce then rose very abruptly to go away. It is impossible to give any one, not conversant with these people, any conception what perfect masters the most clownish and beastly among them are of dissimulation. The countenance of the Naybe now changed in a moment. In his turn he burst out into a loud fit of laughter, which surprised our traveller full as much as his, some time before, had done him. Every feature of his treacherous countenance was altered and softened into  
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air, invited them to rest on this delightful spot, though otherwise, perhaps, it was not exactly conformable to the rules of prudence, as they saw several huts and families of the Hazorta along the side of the stream, with their flocks feeding on the branches of trees and bushes, entirely neglectful of the grass they were treading under foot. The caper-tree here grows as high as the tallest English elm; its flower is white, and its fruit, though not ripe, was full as large as an apricot.

On the 19th they continued their journey, the road still winding between mountains in the bed, or torrent of a river, bordered on each side with rack and sycamore-trees of a good size. At half past eight o'clock, they encamped at a place called Tubbo, where the mountains are very steep, and broken very abruptly into cliffs and precipices. Tubbo was by much the most agreeable station they had seen; the trees were thick, full of leaves, and gave them abundance of very dark shade. There was a number of many different kinds so closely planted, that they seemed to be intended for natural arbours. Every tree was full of birds, variegated with an infinity of colours, but destitute of a song; others, of a more homely and more European appearance, diverted them with a variety of wild notes, in a stile of music still distinct and peculiar to Africa; as different in the composition from our linnet and goldfinch, as our English language is to that of Abyssinia: yet, from very attentive and frequent observation, Mr. Bruce found that the skylark, at Masuah, sung the same notes as in England. It was observable, that the greatest part of the beautiful painted birds were of the jay, or magpie kind, nature seeming, by the fineness of their dress, to have marked them for children of noise and impertinence, but never to have intended them for pleasure and meditation.

On the 20th, they began to ascend the hills, or eminences, which serve as the roots or skirts of the great mountain Taranta. The road was on each side bordered with nabca, or junep trees of great beauty, and sycamores perfectly deprived of their verdure and branches. The country here is every where deprived of the shade it would enjoy from these fine trees, by the barbarous axes of the Hazorta. They found every where immense flocks  
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of antelopes; as also partridges of a small kind that willingly took refuge upon trees; neither of these seemed to consider our travellers as enemies. The antelopes let them pass through their flocks, only removing to the right or to the left, or standing still and gazing upon them till they passed. But, as they were then on the confines of Tigrè, or rather on the territory of the Baharnagash, and as the Hazorta were in motion every where removing towards the coast, far from the dominions of the Abyssinians to which they were going, a friend of their own tribe, who had joined our travellers for safety, knowing how little trust was to be put in his countrymen when moving in this contrary direction, advised them by no means to fire, or give any unnecessary indication of the spot where they were, till they gained the mountain of Taranta, at the foot of which they halted.

In the afternoon, they began to ascend the mountain, through a most rocky, uneven road, if it can deserve the name, not only from its incredible steepness, but from the large holes and gullies made by the torrents, and the huge monstrous fragments of rocks which, loosened by the water, had been tumbled down into their way. It was with great difficulty they could creep up, each man carrying his knapsack and arms; but it seemed beyond the possibility of human strength to carry their baggage and instruments. Their tent, indeed, suffered nothing by its falls; but the telescopes, time-keeper, and quadrant, were to be treated in a more deliberate and tender manner. The quadrant had hitherto been carried by eight men, four to relieve each other; but these were ready to give up the undertaking upon trial of the first few hundred yards. A number of expedients, such as trailing it on the ground, (all equally fatal to the instrument) were proposed. At last, as Mr. Bruce was incomparably the strongest of the company, as well as the most interested, he, and a stranger Moor who had followed them, carried the head of it for about 400 yards over the most difficult and steepest part of the mountain, which before had been considered as impracticable by all.

Yasine was the name of that Moor, recommended to Mr. Bruce by Metical Aga, a person whom he had discovered to be of a most sagacious turn of mind, firm  
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heart, and strenuous nerves; never more distinguished for all these qualities than in the hour of imminent danger; at other times remarkable for quietness and silence, and a constant study of his Koran.

They found it impossible to pitch their tents, from the extreme weariness in the exertions they had made. But there was another reason also; for there was not earth enough covering the bare sides of Taranta to hold fast a tent-pin; there were, however, variety of caves near them, and throughout the mountain, which had served for houses to the old inhabitants; and in these they found a quiet and not inconvenient place of repose, the night of the 20th of November.

On the 21st, at half past six in the morning, Mr. Bruce, having encouraged his company with good words, increase of wages, and hopes of reward, they began to encounter the other half of the mountain. His baggage moved much more briskly than the preceding day. The upper part of the mountain was, indeed, steeper, more craggy, rugged, and slippery than the lower, and impeded more with trees, but not embarrassed so much with large stones and holes. Their knees and hands, however, were cut to pieces by frequent falls, and their faces torn by the multitude of thorny bushes. At last, they gained the top of the mountain, upon which is situated a small village called Halai, the first they had seen since their leaving Masuah. It is chiefly inhabited by poor servants and shepherds keeping the flocks of men of substance living in the town of Dixan.

The plain on the top of the mountain Taranta was, in many places, sown with wheat, which was then ready to be cut down, though the harvest was not yet begun. The grain was clean, and of a good colour, but inferior in size to that of Egypt. It did not, however, grow thick, nor was the stalk above fourteen inches high. The water is very bad on the top of Taranta, being only what remains of the rain in the hollows of the rocks, and in pits prepared for it. Being very tired, they pitched their tent on the top of the mountain. The night was remarkably cold, at least appeared so to them, whose pores were opened by the excessive heat of Masuah. The dew began to fall strongly, and so continued till an hour after sun-

set, though the sky was perfectly clear, and the smallest stars discernible.

Mr. Bruce killed a large eagle here, about six feet ten inches from wing to wing. It seemed very tame till shot. The ball having wounded it but slightly, when on the ground it could not be prevented from attacking the men or beasts near it with great force and fierceness, so that Mr. Bruce was obliged to stab it with a bayonet. It was of a dirty white; only the head and upper part of its wings were of a light brown.

On the morning of the 22d, they left their station on the top of Taranta, and soon after began to descend on the side of Tigré through a broken and uneven road. After this they began to mount a small hill, from which they had a distinct view of Dixan. They pitched their tent near some marshy ground for the sake of water, at three quarters past ten, but it was very bad, having been for several weeks stagnant. They saw here the people busy at their wheat harvest; others, who had finished theirs, were treading it out with cows or bullocks. They make no use of their straw; sometimes they burn it, and sometimes leave it on the spot to rot.

At half an hour after four in the afternoon, they came to Dixan. Halai was the first village, so is this the first town in Abyssinia, on the side of Taranta. Dixan is built on the top of a hill, perfectly in form of a sugar loaf; a deep valley surrounds it every where like a trench, and the road winds spirally up the hill till it ends among the houses.

Our travellers baggage had passed the trench, and had reached the low town through which Salomé had conducted Mr. Bruce, under pretence of getting a speedy shelter from the heat: but he overacted his part; and Janni, his servant, who spoke Greek, giving Mr. Bruce a hint to go no further, he turned short towards the house, and sat down with his firelock upon a stone at the door. Their baggage quickly followed, and all was put safe in a kind of a court inclosed with a sufficient stone-wall.

It was not long till Hagi Abdelcader, Achmet's friend, came to them, inviting Mr. Bruce civilly to his house, and declaring to him the friendly orders

he had received from Achmet concerning him; bringing along with him also a goat, some butter and honey. Mr. Bruce excused himself from leaving Janni's friend, the Christian, where he had first alighted; but he recommended Yafine to him, for he had begun to shew great attachment to Mr. Bruce. In about a quarter of an hour came Saloomé with about twenty men, and demanded our travellers in the name of the Naybe, as his strangers: he said they owed him money for conducting them, and likewise for the customhouse dues. In a moment near a hundred men were assembled round Hagi Abdelcader, all with shields and lances, and Mr. Bruce expected to see a fray of the most serious kind. But Abdelcader, with a switch in his hand, went gravely up to Saloomé, and, after chiding his party with great authority, he held up his stick twice over Saloomé's head, as if to strike him; then ordered him, if he had any demands, to come to him in the evening; upon which both parties dispersed, and left them in peace. The matter was settled in the evening with Saloomé in an amicable manner.

The town of Dixan consists of Moors and Christians, and is very well peopled; yet the only trade of either of these sects is a very extraordinary one, that of selling of children. The Christians bring such as they have stolen in Abyssinia to Dixan as to a sure deposit; and the Moors receive them there, and carry them to a certain market at Masuah, whence they are sent over to Arabia or India. The priests of the province of Tigré, especially those near the rock Damo, are openly concerned in this infamous practice; and some of these have been licensed by Michael to carry it on as a fair trade, upon paying so many firelocks for each dozen or score of slaves. Nothing can elucidate the footing upon which this trade stands better than a transaction, which happened while Mr. Bruce was in Ethiopia, and which reached Gondar by way of complaint from Masuah, and was told him by Michael himself.

Two priests of Tigré, whose names Mr. Bruce has forgotten, had been long intimate friends. They dwelt near the rock Damo. The youngest was married and had two children, both sons; the other was old, and had

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none. The old one reproved his friend one day for keeping his children at home idle, and not putting them to some profession by which they might gain their bread. The married priest pleaded his poverty and his want of relations that could assist him; on which, the old priest offered to place his eldest son with a rich friend of his own, who had no children, and where he should want for nothing. The proposal was accepted, and the young lad, about ten years of age, was delivered by his father to the old priest, to carry him to this friend, who sent the boy to Dixan, and sold him there. Upon the old priest's return, after giving the father a splendid account of his son's reception, treatment, and prospects; he gave him a piece of cotton cloth, as a present from his son's patron. The younger child, about eight years old, hearing the good fortune of his elder brother, became so importunate to be allowed to go and visit him, that the parents were obliged to humour him, and consent. But the old priest had a scruple, saying, he would not take the charge of so young a boy, unless his mother went with. This being settled, the old priest conveyed them to the market at Dixan, where he sold both the mother and the remaining child. Returning to the father, the old priest told him, that his wife would stay only so long, and expected he would then fetch her upon a certain day, which was named. The day being come, the two priests went together to see this happy family; and, upon their entering Dixan, it was found, that the old priest had sold the young one, but not to the same Moor to whom he had sold his family. Soon after, these two Moors who had bought the Christians, becoming partners in the venture, the old priest was to receive forty cotton-cloths, that is, 10*l.* Sterling, for the husband, wife, and children.

The payment of the money, perhaps the resentment of the family trepanned, and the appearance of equity which the thing itself bore, suggested to the Moorish merchants that there was some more profit, and not more risk, if they carried off the old priest likewise. But as he had come to Dixan, as it were under public faith, in a trade that greatly interested the town, they were affraid to attempt any thing against him whilst there. They began

then as it were to repent of their bargain, from a pretended apprehension that they might be stopped and questioned at going out of town, unless he would accompany them to some small distance; in consideration of which, they would give him, at parting, two pieces of cloth to be added to the other forty, which he was to take back to Tigré with him upon his return. The beginning of such expeditions is in the night. When all were asleep, they set out from Dixan, the buyers, the seller, and the family sold; and, being arrived near the mountain where the way turns off to the desert, the whole party fell upon the old priest, threw him down, and bound him. The woman insisted that she might be allowed to cut, or tear off the little beard he had, in order, as she said, to make him look younger; and this demand was reckoned too just to be denied her. The whole five were then carried to Masuah; the woman and her two children were sold to Arabia; the two priests had not so ready a market, and they were both in the Naybe's house when Mr. Bruce was at Masuah, though he did not then know it.

The Naybe, willing to ingratiate himself with Ras Michael at a small expence, wrote to him an account of the transaction, and offered, as they were priests, to restore them to him. But the Ras returned for answer, that the Naybe should keep them to be his chaplains; as he hoped, some day he would be converted to the Christian faith himself; if not, he might send them to Arabia with the rest; they would serve to be carriers of wood and drawers of water; and that there still remained at Damo enough of their kind to carry on the trade with Dixan and Masuah.

This story Mr. Bruce heard from Ras Michael himself, at his grand daughter's marriage, when he was feasting, and in great spirits. He, and all the company, laughed heartily, and although there were in the room at least two dozen of priests, none of them seemed to take this incident more seriously than the rest of the company. From this we may guess at the truth of what the Catholic writers advance, with regard to the respect and reverence shown to the priesthood by the government and great men in Abyssinia. Dixan is in lat.  $14^{\circ} 57'$  North,

55" North, and long. 40° 7' 30" east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Our travellers left Dixan on the 25th of November, descending the very deep hill on which the town is situated. Hagi Abdalcader had attended them thus far before he left them, and the noted Saloomé came likewise, to see if some occasion would offer of doing them further mischief; but the king's servants, now upon their own ground, began to take upon them a proper consequence. One of them went to meet Saloomé at the bank of the river, and making a mark, on the ground with his knife, declared that his patience was quite exhausted by what he had been witness to at Mefuah and Dixan; and if now Saloomé, or any other man belonging to the Naybe, offered to pass that mark, he would bind him hand and foot, and carry him to a place where he should be left tied to a tree, a prey to the lion and hyæna. They all returned, and there our travellers' persecution from the Naybe ended. But it was very evident, from Achmet's behaviour and discourse, had they gone by Dobarwa, which was the road proposed by the Naybe, their sufferings would not have been as yet half finished, unless they had ended with their lives.

They remained under a tree seven feet and a half in diameter during the night of the 25th. Mr. Bruce says, it will be to him a station ever memorable, as the first where he recovered a portion of that tranquillity of mind, to which he had been a stranger ever since his arrival at Mafuah.

On the 26th, at seven in the morning, they left their most pleasant quarters under the tree, and set forward with great alacrity. About a quarter of a mile from the river they crossed the end of the plain Zarai. Though this is but three miles long, and one where broadest, it was the largest plain they had seen since their passing Taranta, whose top was now covered wholly with large, black, and very heavy clouds, from which they heard and saw frequent peals of thunder, and violent streams of lightning. This plain was sown partly with wheat, partly with Indian corn; the first was cut down, the other not yet ripe.



On the 27th they left Hadawi, continuing their journey down a very steep and narrow path between too stony hills; then ascended one still higher, upon the top of which stands the large village of Goumbubba, whence they had a prospect over a considerable plain all sown with the different grain this country produces, wheat, barley, teff, and tocusso; simsim, (or sesame) and nook; the last is used for oil.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, they had a violent shower of hailstones. Nothing is more common than aggravation about the size of hail; but, stooping to take up one, Mr. Bruce thought as large as a nutmeg, he received a blow from another just under his eye, which he imagined had blinded him, and which occasioned a swelling all the next day.

Yafine, during the four days Mr. Bruce had staid at a place called Kello, had told him his whole history. It seems he had been settled in a province of Abyssinia, near to Sennaar, called Ras el Feel; had married Abd el Jilleel, the Shekh's daughter; but, growing more popular than his father-in-law, he had been persecuted by him, and obliged to leave the country. He began now to form hopes, that, if Mr. Bruce was well received, as he saw, in all appearance, he was to be, he might, by his interest, be appointed to his father-in-law's place; especially if there was war, as every thing seemed to indicate. Abd el Jilleel was a coward, and incapable of making himself of personal value to any party. On the contrary, Yafine was a tried man, an excellent horseman, strong, active, and of known courage, having been twice with the late king Yafous in his invasions of Sennaar, and both times much wounded there.

On the 5th of December, they began first to see the high mountains of Adowa, nothing resembling in shape to those of Europe, nor, indeed, any other country. Their sides were all perpendicular rocks, high like steeples, or obelisks, and broken into a thousand different forms.

They next passed the Mareb, which is the boundary between Tigré and the Baharnagash, on this side. It runs over a bed of soil; is large, deep, and smooth; but, upon rain falling, it is more dangerous to pass than any river

river in Abyssinia, on account of the frequent holes in its bottom. They then entered the narrow plain of Yeeha, wherein runs the small river, which either gives its name to, or takes it from it.

At eleven o'clock, they rested by the side of the mountain whence the river falls. All the villages that had been built here bore the marks of the justice of the governor of Tigré. They had been long the most incorrigible banditti in the province. He surrounded them in one night, burnt their houses, extirpated the inhabitants, and would never suffer any one since to settle there.

On Wednesday the 6th of December, they again proceeded on their journey, and in about three hours travelling on a very pleasant road, over easy hills and through hedge-rows of jessamine, honeysuckles, and many kinds of flowering shrubs, they arrived at Adowa, where once resided Michael Suhul, governor of Tigré.

Adowa is situated on the declivity of a hill, on the west side of a small plain surrounded every where by mountains. This plain is watered by three rivulets which are never dry in the midst of summer. There are fish in these three streams, but none of them remarkable for their size, quantity, or goodness. The best are those of Mai Gogua, a clear and pleasant rivulet, running very violently and with great noise. There are many agreeable spots to the south-east of the convent, on the banks of this river, which are thick-shaded with wood and bushes. Adowa consists of about 300 houses, and occupies a much larger space than would be thought necessary for these to stand on, by reason that each house has an inclosure round it of hedges and trees; the last chiefly the wanzey. The number of these trees so planted in all the towns, screen them so, that, at a distance, they appear so many woods. Adowa was not formerly the capital of Tigré, but has accidentally become so upon the accession of this governor, whose property, or paternal estate, lay in and about it. His mansion-house is not distinguished from any of the others in the town, unless by its size; it is situated upon the top of the hill, and resembles a prison rather than a palace; for there are in and about it above three hundred persons in irons,

some of whom have been there for twenty years, mostly with a view to extort money from them; and, what is the most unhappy, even when they have paid the sum of money which he asks, they do not get their deliverance from his merciless hands; most of them are kept in cages like wild beasts, and treated every way in the same manner.

What deservedly interested our travellers most was, the appearance of their kind and hospitable landlord, Janni. He had sent servants to conduct them from the passage of the river, and met them himself at the out-door of his house. Mr. Bruce says he does not remember to have seen a more respectable figure. He had his own short white hair, covered with a thin muslin turban, a thick well-shaped beard, as white as snow, down to his waist. He was clothed in the Abyssinian dress, all of white cotton, only he had a red silk sash, embroidered with gold, about his waist, and sandals on his feet; his upper garment reached down to his ancles. He had a number of servants and slaves about him of both sexes; and, when Mr. Bruce approached him, he seemed disposed to receive him with marks of humility and inferiority, which mortified him much, considering the obligations he was under to him, the trouble he had given, and was unavoidably still to give him. Mr. Bruce embraced him with great acknowledgments of kindness and gratitude, calling him father; a title he always used in speaking either to him or of him afterwards, when he was in higher fortune, which he constantly remembered with great pleasure.

He conducted them through a court yard planted with jessamine, to a very neat, and, at the same time, large room, furnished with a silk sofa; the floor was covered with Persian carpets and cushions. All round, flowers and green leaves were strewed upon the outer yard; and the windows and sides of the room stuck full of evergreens, in commemoration of the Christmas festival that was at hand. Mr. Bruce stopped at the entrance of this room; for his feet were both dirty and bloody, and it is not good-breeding to show or speak of your feet in Abyssinia, especially if any thing ails them, and, at all times, they are covered. Janni immediately perceived

ceived the wounds that were upon his feet. Both their cloaths and flesh were torn to pieces at Taranta, and several other places; but he thought they had come on mules furnished them by the Naybe. For the young man Mr. Bruce had sent to him from Kella, following the genius of his countrymen, tho' telling truth was just as profitable to him as lying, had chosen the latter, and seeing the horse he had got from the Baharnaash, had figured in his own imagination, a multitude of others, and told Janni that there were with Mr. Bruce horses, asses, and mules in great plenty; so that when Janni saw them passing the water, he took our traveller for a servant, and expected, for several minutes, to see the splendid company arrive, well mounted upon horses and mules caprifoned.

He was so shocked at Mr. Bruce's saying, that he performed this terrible journey on foot, that he burst into tears, uttering a thousand reproaches against the Naybe for his hard-heartedness and ingratitude, as he had twice, as he said, hindered Michael from going in person and sweeping the Naybe from the face of the earth. Water was immediately procured to wash their feet. And here began another contention, Janni insisted upon doing this himself, which made Mr. Bruce run out into the yard, and declare he would not suffer it. After this, the like dispute took place among the servants. It was always a ceremony in Abyssinia, to wash the feet of those that come from Cairo, and who are understood to have been pilgrims at Jerusalem.

This was no sooner finished, than a great dinner was brought, exceedingly well dressed. But no consideration or intreaty could prevail upon their kind landlord to sit down and partake with them. He would stand all the time, with a clean towel in his hand, though he had plenty of servants; and afterwards dined with some visitors, who had come out of curiosity, to see a man arrived from so far. It was long before Mr. Bruce cured his kind landlord of these respectful observances, which troubled him very much, nor could Janni wholly ever get rid of them.

Adowa is the seat of a very valuable manufacture of coarse cotton cloth, which circulates all over Abyssinia

instead of silver money; each web is sixteen peck long of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  width, their value a pataka; that is, ten for the ounce of gold. The houses in Adowa are all of rough stone, cemented with mud instead of mortar. That of lime is not used but at Gondar, where it is very bad. The roofs are in the form of cones, and thatched with a reedy sort of grass, something thicker than wheat straw. Excepting a few spots taken notice of as they came to Adowa, this was the only part of Tigré where there was soil sufficient to yield corn; the whole of the province besides is one entire rock.

At Adowa, and all the neighbourhood, they have three harvests annually. The first seed time is in July and August; it is the principal one for wheat, which they then sow in the middle of the rains. In the same season they sow tocusso, teff, and barley. From the 20th of November, they reap first their barley, then their wheat, and last of all their teff. In the room of these they sow immediately upon the same ground, without any manure, barley, which they reap in February; and then often sow teff, but more frequently a kind of veitch, or pea, called Shimbra; these are cut down before the first rains, which are in April. With all these advantages of triple harvests, which cost no fallowing, weeding, manure, or other expensive processes, the farmer in Abyssinia is always poor and miserable.

The cattle roam at discretion through the mountains. The Herdsmen set fire to the grass, bent, and brushwood, before the rains, and an amazing verdure immediately follows. As the mountains are very steep and broken, goats are chiefly the flocks that graze upon them. It is not the extreme height of the mountains in Abyssinia that occasions surprise, but the number of them, and the extraordinary forms they present to the eye. Some of them are flat, thin, and square, in shape of a hearth-stone, or slab, that scarce would seem to have base sufficient to resist the action of the winds. Some are like pyramids, others like obelisks or prisms, and some, the most extraordinary of all the rest, pyramids pitched upon their points, with their base uppermost, which, if it were possible, as it is not, they could have been so formed.

formed in the beginning, would be strong objections to our received ideas of gravity.

On the 10th of January, 1770, Mr. Bruce visited the remains of the Jesuits convent of Fremona. It is built upon the even ridge of a very high hill, in the middle of a large plain, on the opposite side of which stands Adowa. It rises from the east to the west, and ends in a precipice on the east; it is also very steep to the north, and slopes gently down to the plain on the south. The convent is about a mile in circumference, built substantially with stones, which are cemented with lime-mortar. It has towers in the flanks and angles; and, notwithstanding the ill-usage it has suffered, the walls remain still entire to the height of twenty-five feet. It is divided into three, by cross walls of equal height. The first division seems to have been destined for the convent, the middle for the church, and the third division is separated from this by a wall, and stands upon a precipice.

The kindness, hospitality, and fatherly care of Janni never ceased a moment. He had already represented Mr. Bruce in the most favourable light to the Iteghé, or queen-mother, (whose servant he had long been) to her daughter Ozoro Esther, and Ozoro Atlash; and, above all, to Michael, with whom his influence was very great; and, indeed, to every body he had any weight with, his own countrymen, Greeks, Abyssinians, and Mahometans; and, as they afterwards found, he had raised their curiosity to a great pitch.

On the 17th, our travellers set out from Adowa, resuming their journey to Gondar; and, on the 18th, in the morning, they ascended one of those hills, through a very rough stony road, and again came into the plain, wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia. The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but, like the cities of ancient times, consist altogether of public buildings. In one square, which Mr. Bruce apprehend to have been the center of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them.

Axum is watered by a small stream, which flows all the year from a fountain in the narrow valley, where  
stand

stand the rows of obelisks. The spring is received into a magnificent basin of 150 feet square, and thence it is carried, at pleasure, to water the neighbouring gardens, where there is little fruit, excepting pomegranates, neither are these very excellent. The present town of Axum stands at the foot of the hill, and may have about six hundred houses. There are several manufactures of coarse cotton cloth; and here too the best parchment is made of goats skins, which is the ordinary employment of the monks. On the 19th of January, by a meridian altitude of the sun, and a mean of several altitudes of stars by night, Mr. Bruce found the latitude of Axum to be  $14^{\circ} 6' 36''$  north.

On the morning of the 20th of January, Mr. Bruce left Axum; the road was at first sufficiently even, through small vallies and meadows; they began to ascend gently, but through a road exceedingly difficult in itself, by reason of large stones standing on edge, or heaped one upon another; apparently the remains of an old large causeway, part of the magnificent works about Axum.

The last part of the journey made ample amends for the difficulties and fatigue they had suffered in the beginning. For the road, on every side, was perfumed with variety of flowering shrubs, chiefly different species of Jessamine; one in particular of these called Agam, impregnated the whole air with the most delicious odour, and covered the small hills through which they passed, in such profusion, that they were, at times, almost overcome with its fragrance. The country all round had now the most beautiful appearance, and this was heightened by the finest of weather, and a temperature of air neither too hot nor too cold.

Soon after our travellers had lost sight of the ruins of this ancient capital of Abyssinia, they overtook three travellers driving a cow before them; they had black goat skins upon their shoulders, and lances and shields in their hands, in other respects were but thinly clothed; they appeared to be soldiers. The cow did not seem to be fattened for killing, and it occurred to our travellers that it had been stolen. This, however, was not their business, nor was such an occurrence at all remarkable in a country so long engaged in war. They  
saw

saw that their attendants attached themselves in a particular manner to the three soldiers who were driving the cow, and held a short conversation with them. Soon after, the drivers suddenly tript up the cow, and gave the poor animal a very rude fall upon the ground, which was but the beginning of her sufferings. One of them sat across her neck, holding down her head by the horns, the other twisted the halter about her forefeet, while the third, who had a knife in his hand, to Mr. Bruce's very great surprize, in place of taking her by the throat, got astride upon her belly before her hind-legs, and gave a very deep wound in the upper part of her buttock. From the time Mr. Bruce had seen them throw the beast upon the ground, he had rejoiced, thinking, that when three people were killing a cow, they must have agreed to sell part of her to them; and he was much disappointed upon hearing the Abyffinians say, that they were to pass the river to the other side, and not encamp where he intended. Upon Mr. Bruce's proposing they should bargain for part of the cow, his men answered, what they had already learned in conversation, that they were not then to kill her, that she was not wholly theirs, and they could not sell her. This awakened Mr. Bruce's curiosity; he let his people go forward, and staid himself, till he saw, with the utmost astonishment, two pieces, thicker and longer than our ordinary beef steaks, cut out of the higher part of the buttock of the beast. How it was done he cannot positively say, because judging the cow was to be killed from the moment he saw the knife drawn, he was not anxious to view that catastrophe. which was by no means an object of curiosity; whatever way it was done, it surely was adroitly, and the two pieces were spread upon the outside of one of their shields.

One of them still continued holding the head, while the other two were busied in curing the wound. This too was done not in an ordinary manner; the skin which had covered the flesh that was taken away was left entire, flapped over the wound, and was fastened to the corresponding part by two or more small skewers, or pins. Whether they had put any thing under the skin between that and the wounded flesh, Mr. Bruce cannot



not tell; but at the river side where they were, they had prepared a cataplasm of clay, with which they covered the wound; they then forced the animal to rise, and drove it on before them, to furnish them with a fuller meal when they should meet their companions in the evening.

Mr. Bruce could not but admire a dinner so truly soldier-like, nor did he ever see so commodious a manner of carrying provisions along on the road as this was. He naturally attributed this to necessity, and the love of expedition. It was a liberty, to be sure, taken with Christianity; but what transgression is not warranted to a soldier when distressed by his enemy in the field? He could not as yet conceive that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even of priests, throughout all this country. In the hospitable, humane house of Janui, these living feasts had never appeared. It is true they had seen raw meat, but no part of an animal torn from it with the blood. The first shocked them as uncommon, but the other as impious.

On the 20th, they pitched their tent in a small plain, by the banks of a quick clear running stream; the spot is called Mai Shum. A peasant had made a very neat little garden on both sides of the rivulet, in which he had sown abundance of onions and garlic, and he had a species of pumpkin, which Mr. Bruce thought was little inferior to a melon. This man guessed by their arms and horses that they were hunters, and he brought them a present of the fruits of his garden, and begged their assistance against a number of wild boars, which carried havoc and desolation through all his labours, marks of which were, indeed, too visible every where. Such instances of industry are very rare in this country, and demanded encouragement. Mr. Bruce paid him, therefore, for his greens; and sent two of his servants with him into the wood, and got on horseback himself. Mirza, his horse, indeed, as well as his master, had recruited greatly during their stay at Adowa, under the hospitable roof of their good friend Janui.

Amongst them they killed five boars, all large ones, in the space of about two hours; one of which measured six feet nine inches; and, though he ran at an amazing speed  
near

near two miles, so as to be with difficulty overtaken by the horse, and was struck through and through with two heavy lances loaded at the end with iron, no person dared to come near him on foot, and he defended himself above half an hour, till, having no lances left, Mr. Bruce shot him with a horse pistol. But the misfortune was, that after their hunting had been crowned with such success, they did not dare to partake of the excellent venison they had acquired; for the Abyssinians hold pork of all kinds in the utmost detestation; and our traveller was now become cautious, lest he should give offence, being at no great distance from the capital.

In the course of their journey, Mr. Bruce heard a cry from his servants, "Robbers! Robbers!" He immediately got upon his mule to learn what alarm this might be, and saw, to his great surprise, part of his baggage strewed on the ground, the servants running, some leading, others on foot driving such of their mules as were unloaded before them; in a word, every thing in the greatest confusion possible. Having got to the edge of the wood, they faced about, and began to prepare their fire-arms; but as Mr. Bruce saw the king's two servants, and the man that Janni sent with them endeavouring all they could to pitch the tent, he forbade them to fire, till they should receive orders from him. Mr. Bruce now rode immediately up to the tent, and in his way was saluted from among the bushes with many stones, one of which gave him a violent blow upon the foot. At the same instant, he received another blow with a small unripe pumpkin, just upon the belly, where he was strongly defended by the coarse cotton cloth wrapped several times about him by way of sash or girdle. As robbers fight with other arms than pumpkins, when Mr. Bruce saw this fall at his feet, he was no longer under apprehension.

Notwithstanding this disagreeable reception, our traveller advanced towards them, crying out, they were friends, and Ras Michael's friends; and desired only to speak to them, and he would give them what they wanted. A few stones were the only answer, but they did no hurt. Mr. Bruce then gave Yafine his gun, thinking that might have given offence. The top of the tent being now up, two men came forward making great complaints,

plaints, but of what he did not understand, only that they seemed to accuse our travellers of having wronged them. In short, they found the matter was this: one of the Moors had taken a heap of straw which he was carrying to his ass, and the proprietor, at seeing this, had alarmed the village. Every body had taken lances and shields; but, not daring to approach for fear of the fire-arms, they had contented themselves with showering stones from their hiding-places, at a distance from among the bushes. Our travellers immediately told them, however, that though, as the king's guest, they had a title to be furnished with what was necessary, yet, if they were averse to it, they were very well content to pay for every thing they furnished, both for his men and beasts; but that they must throw no stones, otherwise they should defend themselves.

The tent being now pitched, and every thing in order, a treaty soon followed. They consented to sell them what they wanted, but at extravagant prices, which however, Mr. Bruce was content to comply with. But a man of the village, acquainted with one of the king's servants, had communicated to him, that the presence of the Moor's taking the straw was not really the reason of the uproar, for they made no use of it except to burn; but that a report had been spread abroad, that an action had happened between Fasil and Ras Michael, in which the latter had been defeated, and the country no longer in fear of the Ras, had indulged themselves in their usual excesses, and, taking them for a caravan of Mahometans with merchandise, had resolved to rob them.

On the 22d, they arrived at the town of Sirè, and pitched their tent in a strong situation, in a very deep gulley on the west extremity of the town.

Sirè, the province properly so called, reaches from Axum to the Facazzè. The town of Sirè is situated on the brink of a very steep, narrow valley, and through this the road lies, which is almost impassable. In the midst of this valley runs a brook bordered with palm-trees, some of which are grown to a considerable size, but bear no fruit. The town is larger than that of Axum; it is in form of a half-moon fronting the plain, but

its greatest breadth is at the west end; all the houses are of clay, and thatched; the roofs are in form of cones, as, indeed, are all in Abyssinia. Sirè is famous for a manufacture of coarse cotton cloths, which pass for current money through all the province of Tigré, and are valued at a drachm, the tenth part of a wakea of gold, or near the value of an imperial dollar each; their breadth is a yard and quarter. Besides these, beads, needles, cohol, and incense at times only, are considered as money. The articles depend greatly on chance, which or whether any are current for the time or not; but the latter is often demanded; and, for the first, there are modes and fashions among these barbarians, and all, except those of a certain colour and form, are useless. These people were not of a humour to buy and sell with them. They were not perfectly satisfied that Michael was alive, and waited only a confirmation of the news of his defeat, to make their own terms with all strangers unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. On the other hand, our travellers were in possession of superior force, and, knowing their inclinations, they treated them pretty much in the manner they would have done by them. Mr. Bruce, on the 22d of January, determined the latitude of Sirè to be  $14^{\circ} 4' 35''$  north, and its longitude to be  $38^{\circ} 0' 15''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Although Sirè is situated in one of the finest countries in the world, like other places, it has its inconveniencies. Putrid fevers, of the very worst kind, are almost constant here; and there did then actually reign a species of these that daily swept away a number of people.

At Sirè our travellers heard the good news that Ras Michael, on the 10th of this month, had come up with Fasil at Fagitta, and entirely dispersed his army, after killing 10,000 men. This account, though not confirmed by any authority, struck all the mutinous of this province with awe; and every man returned to his duty for fear of incurring the displeasure of this severe governor, which they well knew would instantly be followed by more than an adequate portion of vengeance, especially against those that had not accompanied him to the field.

On the 24th, they struck their tent at Sirè, and passed through a vast plain. All this day they could discern no mountains,

mountains, as far as eye could reach, but only some few detached hills, standing separate on the plain, covered with high grass, which they were then burning, to produce new with the first rains. The country to the north is altogether flat, and perfectly open; and though they could not discover one village this day, yet it seemed to be well-inhabited, from the many people they saw on different parts of the plain, some at harvest, and some herding their cattle.

On the 26th our travellers met a deserter from Ras Michael's army, with his firelock upon his shoulder, driving before him two miserable girls about ten years old, stark-naked, and almost famished to death, the part of the booty which had fallen to his share in laying waste the country of Maitsha, after the battle. They asked him of the truth of this news, but he would give them no satisfaction; sometimes he said there had been a battle, sometimes none. He apparently had some distrust, that one or other of the facts, being allowed to be true, might determine them as to some design they might have upon him and his booty. He had not, in their opinion, the air of a conqueror, but rather of a coward that had sneaked away, and stolen these two miserable wretches he had with him. Mr. Bruce asked where Michael was? If at Buré? where, upon defeat of Fasil, he naturally would be. He said, No; he was at Ibaba, the capital of Maitsha; and this gave our travellers no light, it being the place he would go to before, while detachments of his army might be employed in burning and laying waste the country of the enemy he had determined to ruin, rather than return to it some time after the battle. At last they were obliged to leave him. Mr. Bruce gave him some flour and tobacco, both which he took very thankfully; but further intelligence he would not give.

On the 30th our travellers encamped at Addergey, near a small rivulet called Mai-Lumi, the river of limes, or lemons, in a plain scarce a mile square, surrounded on each side with very thick wood in form of an amphitheatre. Above this wood, are bare, rugged, and barren mountains. Midway in the cliff is a miserable village, that seems rather to hang than to stand there, scarce a yard of level ground being before it to hinder its inhabitants

tants from falling down the precipice. The wood is full of lemons and wild citrons, from which it acquires its name. Before the tent, to the westward, was a very deep valley, which terminated this little plain in a tremendous precipice.

The hyænas this night devoured one of the best of our travellers mules. They are here in great plenty, and so are lions; the roaring and grumbling of the latter, in the part of the wood nearest their tent, greatly disturbed their beasts, and prevented them from eating their provender. Mr. Bruce lengthened the strings of his tent, and placed the beasts between them. The white ropes, and the tremulous motion made by the impression of the wind, frightened the lions from coming near them. They had procured from Janni two small brass bells, such as the mules carry, and had tied these to the storm strings of the tent, where their noise, no doubt, greatly contributed to the safety of their beasts, from these ravenous, yet cautious animals, so that they never saw them; but the noise they made, and, perhaps, their smell, so terrified the mules, that, in the morning, they were drenched in sweat, as if they had been a long journey. The brutish hyæna was not so to be deterred. Mr. Bruce shot one of them dead on the night of the 31st of January, and on the 2d of February, he fired at another so near, that he was confident of killing him. Whether the balls had fallen out, or that he had really missed him with the first barrel, he knew not, but he gave a snarl and a kind of bark upon the first shot, advancing directly upon him, as if unhurt. The second shot, however, took place, and laid him without motion on the ground. Yafine and his men killed another with a pike; and such was their determined coolness, that they stalked round about our travellers with the familiarity of a dog, or some other domestic animal brought up with man.

They were still more incommoded by a smaller animal, a large, black ant, little less than an inch long, which, coming out from under the ground, demolished their carpets, which they cut all into shreds, and part of the lining of their tent likewise, and every bag or sack they could find. Their bite causes a considerable inflammation,

tion, and the pain is greater than that which arises from the bite of a scorpion; they are called *gundan*.

The Shum, on the first of February, sent his people to value, as he said, their merchandize, that they might pay custom. Many of the Moors, in their caravan, had left them to go a near way to Hauza. Mr. Bruce had at most five or six asses, including those belonging to Yafine. He humoured them so far as to open the cases where were the telescopes and quadrant, or, indeed, rather shewed them open, as they were not shut from the observation he had been making. They could only wonder at things they had never before seen. On the 2d of February the Shum came himself, and a violent altercation ensued. He insisted upon Michael's defeat: Mr. Bruce told him the contrary news were true, and begged him to beware lest it should be told to the Ras upon his return that he had propagated such a falsehood. He told him also, that they had advice, that the Ras's servants were now waiting for them at Lamalon, and insisted upon his suffering them to depart.

After much altercation with the Shum, on the 4th of February in the morning, they left Addergey. While employed in making ready for their departure, which was just at the dawn of day, a hyæna, unseen by any of them, fastened upon one of Yafine's asses, and had almost pulled his tail away. Mr. Bruce was busied at gathering the tent-pins into a sack, and had placed his musket and bayonet ready against a tree, as it is at that hour, and the close of the evening, you are always to be on your guard against banditti. A boy, who was servant to Yafine, saw the hyæna first, and flew to Mr. Bruce's musket. Yafine was disjoining the poles of the tent, and, having one half of the largest in his hand, he ran to the assistance of his ass, and in that moment the musket went off, luckily charged with only one ball, which gave Yafine a flesh wound between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand. The boy instantly threw down the musket, which had terrified the hyæna, and made him let go the ass; but he stood ready to fight Yafine, who, not amusing himself with the choice of weapons, gave him so rude a blow with the tent-pole upon his head, that it felled him to the ground; others, with

with pikes, put an end to his life. They were then obliged to turn their cares towards the wounded. Yafine's wound was soon seen to be a trifle; besides, he was a man not easily alarmed on such occasions. But the poor afs was not so easily comforted. The stump remained, the tail hanging by a piece of it, which they were obliged to cut off. The next operation was actual cautery; but, as they had made no bread for breakfast, their fire had been early out. They therefore were obliged to tie the stump round with whip-cord, till they could get fire enough to heat an iron.

What sufficiently marked the voracity of these beasts, the hyænas, was, that the bodies of their dead companions, which our travellers hauled a long way from them, and left there, were almost entirely eaten by the survivors the next morning: and Mr. Bruce then observed, for the first time, that the hyæna of this country was a different species from those he had seen in Europe, which had been brought from Asia or America.

On the 4th of February, they continued their journey along the side of a hill, through thick wood and high grafs; then descended into a steep, narrow valley, the sides of which had been shaded with high trees, but in burning the grafs the trees were consumed likewise; and the shoots from the roots were some of them above eight feet high since the tree had thus suffered that same year.

On the 8th, in the morning, they began ascending Lamalmon, through a very narrow road, or rather path, for it scarcely was two feet wide any where. It was a spiral winding up the side of the mountain, always on the very brink of a precipice. Torrents of water, which in winter carry prodigious stones down the side of this mountain, had divided this path into several places, and opened to our travellers a view of that dreadful abyss below, which few heads can bear to look down upon. They were here obliged to unload their baggage, and, by slow degrees, crawl up a hill, carrying them little by little upon their shoulders round these chafins, where the road was intersected. The mountains grow steeper, the paths narrower, and the breaches more frequent as they ascended. Scarce were their mules, though unloaded,  
able



able to scramble up, but were perpetually falling; and, to increase their difficulties, which, in such cases, seldom come single, a large number of cattle was descending, and seemed to threaten to push them all into the gulf below. After two hours of constant toil, at nine o'clock, they alighted in a small plain called Kedus, or St Michael, from a church and village of that name, neither beast nor man being able to go a step further.

The plain of St Michael, where they now were, is at the foot of a steep cliff which terminates the west side of Lamalmon. It is here perpendicular like a wall, and a few trees only upon the top of the cliff. Over this precipice flow two streams of water, which never are dry, but run in all seasons. They fall into a wood at the bottom of this cliff, and preserve it in continual verdure all the year, though the plain itself below is all rent in chasms, and cracked by the heat of the sun. These two streams form a considerable rivulet in the plain of St Michael, and are a great relief both to men and cattle in this tedious and difficult passage over the mountain.

The air of Lamalmon is pleasant and temperate. They here found their appetite return, with a cheerfulness, lightness of spirits, and agility of body, which indicated that their nerves had again resumed their wonted tone, which they had lost in the low, poisonous, and sultry air on the coast of the Red Sea. The sun here is indeed hot, but in the morning a cool breeze never fails, which increases as the sun rises high. In the shade it is always cool.

Lamalmon, is the pass through which the road of all caravans to Gondar lies. It is here they take an account of all baggage and merchandise, which they transmit to the Negadé Ras, or chief officer of the customs at Gondar, by a man whom they send to accompany the caravan. There is also a present, or awide, due to the private proprietor of the ground; and this is levied with great rigour and violence, and, for the most part, with injustice; so that this station, which, by the establishment of the customhouse, and nearness to the capital, should be in a particular manner attended to by government, is always the place where the first robberies and murders are committed in unsettled times.

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Though our travellers had nothing with them which could be considered as subject to duty, they submitted every thing to the will of the robber of the place, and gave him his present. If he was not satisfied, he seemed to be so, which was all they wanted.

They had obtained leave to depart early in the morning of the 9th, but it was with great regret they were obliged to abandon their Mahometan friends into hands that seemed disposed to shew them no favour. The king was in Maitsha, or Damot, that is to say, far from Gondar, and various reports were spread abroad about the success of the campaign. These people only waited for an unfavourable event to make a pretence for robbing travellers of every thing they had. The persons whose right it was to levy these contributions were two, a father and son; the old man was dressed very decently, spoke little, but smoothly, and had a very good carriage. He professed a violent hatred to all Mahometans, on account of their religion, a sentiment which seemed to promise nothing favourable to their friend Yafine and his companions; but, in the evening, the son, who seemed to be the active man, came to their tent, and brought them a quantity of bread and bouza, which his father had ordered before. He seemed to be much taken with our traveller's fire-arms, and was very inquisitive about them. Mr. Bruce gave him every sort of satisfaction, and, little by little, saw he might win his heart entirely; which he very much wished to do, that he might free his companions from bondage.

The young man, it seems, was a good foldier; and, having been in several actions under Ras Michael, as fusileer, he brought his gun, and insisted on shooting at marks. Mr. Bruce humoured him in this; but as he used a rifle which he did not understand, he found himself overmatched, especially by the greatness of the range, for he shot straight enough. He then shewed him the manner they shot flying, there being quails in abundance, and wild pigeons, of which he killed several on wing, which left him in the utmost astonishment. Having got on horseback, Mr. Bruce next went through the exercise of the Arabs, with a long spear and a short javelin. This was more within his

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comprehension, as he had seen something like it; but he was wonderfully taken with the fierce and fiery appearance of his horse, and, at the same time, with his docility, the form of his saddle, bridle, and accoutrements. He threw at last the sandals off his feet, twisted his upper garment into his girdle, and set off at so furious a rate, that Mr. Bruce could not help doubting whether he was in his sober understanding. It was not long till he came back, and with him a man servant carrying a sheep and a goat, and a woman carrying a jar of honey-wine. Mr. Bruce had not yet quitted the horse; and when he saw what his intention was, he put Mirza to a gallop, and, with one of the barrels of the gun, shot a pigeon, and immediately fired the other into the ground. There was nothing after this that could have surprized him, and it was repeated several times at his desire; after which he went into the tent, where he invited himself to Mr. Bruce's house at Gondar. There he was to teach him every thing he had seen. They now swore perpetual friendship; and a horn or two of hydromel being emptied, Mr. Bruce introduced the case of his fellow-travellers, and obtained a promise that they should have leave to set out together. He would, moreover, take no awide, and said he would be favourable in his report to Gondar.

Matters were so far advanced, when a servant of Michael's arrived, sent by Petro's, Janni's brother, who had obtained him from Ozoro Esther. This put an end to all their difficulties. Our young soldier also kept his word, and a mere trifle of awide was given, rather by the Moor's own desire than from demand, and the report of the baggage, and dues thereon, were as low as could be wished. News was now brought them, that Ras Michael had actually beaten Fasil, forced him to retire to the other side of the Nile, and was then in Maitsha, where it was thought he would remain with the army all the rainy season. This was just what Mr. Bruce could have wished, as it brought him at once to the neighbourhood of the sources of the Nile, without the smallest shadow of fear or danger.

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On the 9th of February, they took leave of the friends they had so newly acquired at Lamalmon. They began to ascend what still remained of the mountain, which, though steep and full of bushes, was much less difficult than that which they had passed. At a quarter past seven they arrived at the top of Lamalmon, which has, from below, the appearance of being sharp-pointed. On the contrary, they were much surprised to find there a large plain, part in pasture, but more bearing grain. It is full of springs, and seems to be the great reservoir from whence arise most of the rivers that water this part of Abyssinia. A multitude of streams issue from the very summit in all directions; the springs boil out from the earth in large quantities, capable of turning a mill. They plow, sow, and reap here at all seasons; and the husbandman must blame his own indolence, and not the soil, if he has not three harvests. They saw, in one place, people busy cutting down wheat; immediately next to it, others at the plough; and the adjoining field had green corn in the ear; a little further, it was not an inch above the ground.

The mountain is every where so steep and high, that it is not enough to say against the will, but without the assistance of those above, no one from below can venture to ascend. On the top is a large plain, affording plenty of pasture, as well as room for plowing and sowing for the maintenance of the army; and there is water, at all seasons, in great plenty, and even fish in the streams upon it; so that, although the inhabitants of the mountain had been often besieged for a considerable time together, they suffered little inconvenience from it, nor ever were taken unless by treason; except by Christopher de Gama and his Portuguese who are said, by their own historians, to have stormed this rock, and put the Mahometan garrison to the sword. No mention of this honourable conquest is made in the annals of Abyssinia, though they give the history of this campaign of Don Christopher in the life of Claudius, or Atzenaf Segued.

On the 10th, in the morning, they continued along the plain on the top of Lamalmon; and, after having suffered, with infinite patience and perseverance, the

hardships and danger of this long and painful journey, at forty minutes past ten they were gratified, at last, with the sight of Gondar, and in the course of the next day arrived there.

Abba Salama, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, at that time filled the post of Acab Saat, or *guardian of the fire*. It is the third dignity of the church, and he is the first religious officer in the palace. He had a very large revenue, and still a greater influence. He was a man exceedingly rich, and of the very worst life possible; though he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity, it was said he had at that time above seventy mistresses in Gondar. His way of seducing women was as extraordinary as the number seduced. It was not by gifts, attendance, or flattery, the usual means employed on such occasions; when he had fixed his desires upon a woman, he forced her to comply, under pain of *excommunication*. He was exceedingly eloquent and bold, was a man of a pleasing countenance, short, and of a very fair complexion; indifferent, or rather averse to wine, but a monstrous glutton; nice in what he had to eat, to a degree scarcely before known in Abyssinia; a mortal enemy to all white people, whom he classed under the name of Franks, for which the Greeks, uniting their interests at favourable times, had often very nearly overfet him.

The next morning, about ten o'clock, Mr. Bruce, dressed in his Moorish dress, went to Ayto Aylo, and found him with several great plates of bread, melted butter, and honey, before him, of one of which he and our traveller ate; the rest were given to the Moors, and other people present. There was with him a priest of Koscam, and they all set out for that palace as soon as they had finished breakfast. They passed the brook of St Raphael, a suburb of Gondar, where is the house of the Abuna; and upon coming in sight of the palace of Koscam, they all uncovered their heads, and rode slowly. As Aylo was all-powerful with the Iteghé, indeed her first counsellor and friend, their admittance was easy and immediate. They alighted, and were shewn into a low room in the palace. Ayto Aylo went immediately to the Iteghé, or queen, to inquire about Welled Hawaryar, who

who was then ill, and his audience lasted two long hours. He returned to them with the news, that Welled Hawaryat was much better, by a medicine a faint from Waldubba had given him, which consisted in some characters, written with common ink upon a tin plate, which characters were washed off by a medical liquor, and then given him to drink. It was agreed, however, that the complaint was the small pox, and the good it had done him was, he ate heartily of *brind*, or raw beef, after it, though he had not ate before since his arrival, but called perpetually for drink.

Mr. Bruce, before he entered on his charge of physician, stated to those present in the palace, the disagreeable task now imposed upon him, a stranger without acquaintance or protection, having the language but imperfectly, and without power or controul among them. He professed his intention of doing his utmost, although the disease was much more serious and fatal in this country than in his own; but he insisted one condition should be granted him, which was, that no directions as to regimen or management, even of the most trifling kind, as they might think, should be suffered, without his permission and superintendence, otherwise he washed his hands of the consequence.

This being assented to by all present, Mr. Bruce set the servants to work. There were apartments enough. He opened all the doors and windows, fumigating them with incense and myrrh in abundance, and washed them with warm water and vinegar. The common and fatal regimen in this country, and in most parts in the east, has been to keep their patient from feeling the smallest breath of air; hot drink, a fire, and a quantity of covering are added in Abyssinia, and the doors shut so close as even to keep the room in darkness, whilst this heat is further augmented by the constant burning of candles.

Ayabdar, Ozoro Altash's remaining daughter, and the son of Mariam Barea, were both taken ill at the same time, and happily recovered. A daughter of Kasmati Boro, by a daughter of Kasmati Eshtès, died, and her mother, though she survived, was a long time ill afterwards. Ayabdar was very much marked, so was Mariam

Barea's son. At this time, Ayto Confu, son of Kafmati Netcho by Ozoro Esther, had arrived from Tcherkin, a lad of very great hopes, though not then fourteen. He came to see his mother without my knowledge or her's, and was infected likewise. Last of all the infant child of Michael, the child of his old age, took the disease, and though the weakest of all the children, recovered best.

The patients, being all likely to do well, were removed to a large house of Kafmati Eshtë, which stood still within the boundaries of Kōscam, while the rooms underwent another lustration and fumigation, after which they all returned; and Mr. Bruce got, as his fee, a present of the neat and convenient house formerly belonging to Basna Eusebius, which had a separate entry, without going through the palace.

On the 10th of March, the army marched into the town in triumph, and the Ras at the head of the troops of Tigrè. He was bareheaded; over his shoulders, and down to his back, hung a pallium, or cloak, of black velvet, with a silver fringe. A boy, by his right stirrup, held a silver wand of about five feet and a half long, much like the staves of our great officers at court. Behind him all the soldiers, who had slain an enemy and taken the spoils from them, had their lances and firelocks ornamented with small shreds of scarlet cloth, one piece for every man he had slain. Remarkable among all this multitude was Hagos, door-keeper of the Ras. This man, always well-armed and well-mounted, had followed the wars of the Ras from his infancy, and had been so fortunate in this kind of single combat, that his whole lance and javelin, horse and person, were covered over with the shreds of scarlet cloth. At this last battle of Fagitta, Hagos is said to have slain eleven men with his own hand. Indeed there is nothing more fallacious than judging of a man's courage by these marks of conquests. A good horseman, armed with a coat of mail, upon a strong, well-fed, well-winded horse, may, after a defeat, kill as many of these wretched, weary, naked fugitives, as he pleases, confining himself to those that are weakly, mounted upon tired  
horses,

horses, and covered only with goat's-skins, or that are flying on foot.

One thing remarkable in this cavalcade, which Mr. Bruce observed, was the head-dress of the governors of provinces. A large broad fillet was bound upon their forehead, and tied behind their head. In the middle of this was a horn, or a conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called *kirn*, or horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. This Mr. Bruce apprehends, like all other of their usages, is taken from the Hebrews, and the several allusions made in scripture to it arise from this practice:—"I said unto fools, deal not foolishly; and to the wicked, lift not up the horn."—"Lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck."—"But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn"—"And the horn of the righteous shall be exalted with honour." And so in many other places throughout the Psalms.

Next to these came the king, with a fillet of white muslin about three inches broad, binding his forehead, tied with a large double knot behind, and hanging down about two feet on his back. About him were the great officers of state, such of the young nobility as were without command; and after these, the household troops. Then followed the Kanitz Kitzera, or executioner of the camp, and his attendants; and, last of all, amidst the King's and the Ras's baggage, came a man bearing the stuffed skin of the unfortunate Woosheka upon a pole, which he hung upon a branch of the tree before the king's palace appropriated for public executions.

It was now the 13th of March, and Mr. Bruce had gone every day once to see the children at Koscam; at all which times he had been received with the greatest cordiality and marks of kindness by the Iteghé, and orders given for his free admittance upon all occasions like an officer of her household.

About the 14th, Mr. Bruce was informed, that all his recommendatory letters were to be read. He expected at the ordinary hour, about five in the afternoon, to be sent for, and had rode out to Koscam with Ayto



Heikel, the queen's chamberlain, to see the child, who was pretty well recovered of all its complaints, but very weak. In the interim, Mr. Bruce was sent for to the Ras, with orders to dispatch a man with the king's present, to wait for him at the palace, whither he was to go after leaving Michael. Five in the evening was fixed as the hour. Mr. Bruce came a little before the time, and met Ayto Aylo at the door. He squeezed him by the hand, and said, "Refuse nothing, it can be all altered afterwards; but it is very necessary, on account of the priests and the populace, you should have a place of some authority, otherwise you will be robbed and murdered the first time you go half a mile from home: fifty people have told me; you have chests filled with gold, and that you can make gold, or bring what quantity you please from the Indies; and the reason of all this is, because you refused the queen and Ozoro Esther's offer of gold at Koscam, and which you must never do again."

Our travellers went in and saw the Ras, who was an old man, sitting upon a sofa; his white hair was dressed in many short curls. He appeared to be thoughtful, but not displeased; his face was lean, his eyes quick and vivid, but seemed to be a little sore from exposure to the weather. He seemed to be about six feet high, though his lameness made it difficult to guess with accuracy. His air was perfectly free from constraint, what the French call *degagee*. They must have been bad physiognomists that did not discern his capacity and understanding by his very countenance. Every look conveyed a sentiment with it: he seemed to have no occasion for other language, and indeed he spoke little. Mr. Bruce offered, as usual, to kiss the ground before him; and of this he seemed to take little notice, stretching out his hand, and shaking Mr. Bruce's upon his rising.

Mr. Bruce sat down with Aylo, three or four of the judges, Heikel the queen's chamberlain, and others, who whispered something in his ear, and went out; which interruption prevented Mr. Bruce from speaking as he was prepared to do, or give him his present, which a man held behind him. The Ras began gravely, "Yagoube, I think that is your name, hear what I say to you, and

and mark what I recommend to you. You are a man, I am told, who make it your business to wander in the fields in search after trees and grass in solitary places, and to sit up all night alone looking at the stars of the heavens. Other countries are not like this, though this was never so bad as it is now. These wretches here are enemies to strangers; if they saw you alone in your own parlour, their first thought would be how to murder you; though they knew they were to get nothing by it, they would murder you for mere mischief." "The devil is strong in them," says a voice from a corner of the room, which appeared to be that of a priest. "Therefore, (says the Ras,) after a long conversation with your friend Aylo, whose advice I hear you happily take, as indeed we all do, I have thought that situation best which leaves you at liberty to follow your own designs, at the same time that it puts your person in safety; that you will not be troubled with monks about their religious matters, or in danger from these rascals that may seek to murder you for money."

"What are the monks?" said the same voice from the corner; "the monks will never meddle with such a man as this."—"Therefore the king, (continued the Ras, without taking any notice of the interruption) has appointed you Baalomaal, and to command the Kocob horse, which I thought to have given to Francis, an old soldier of mine; but he is poor, and we will provide for him better, for these appointments have honour, but little profit." "Sir, (said Francis, who was in presence, but behind,) it is in much more honourable hands than either mine or the Armenian's, or any other white man's, since the days of Hatzé Menas, and so I told the king to-day." "Very well, Francis, (says the Ras) it becomes a soldier to speak the truth, whether it makes for or against himself. Go then to the king, and kiss the ground upon your appointment. I see you have already learned this ceremony of our's; Aylo and Heikel are very proper persons to go with you. The king expressed his surprise to me last night he had not seen you; and there too is Tecla Mariam, the king's secretary, who came with your appointment from the palace to-day." The man in the corner whom Mr. Bruce took for a

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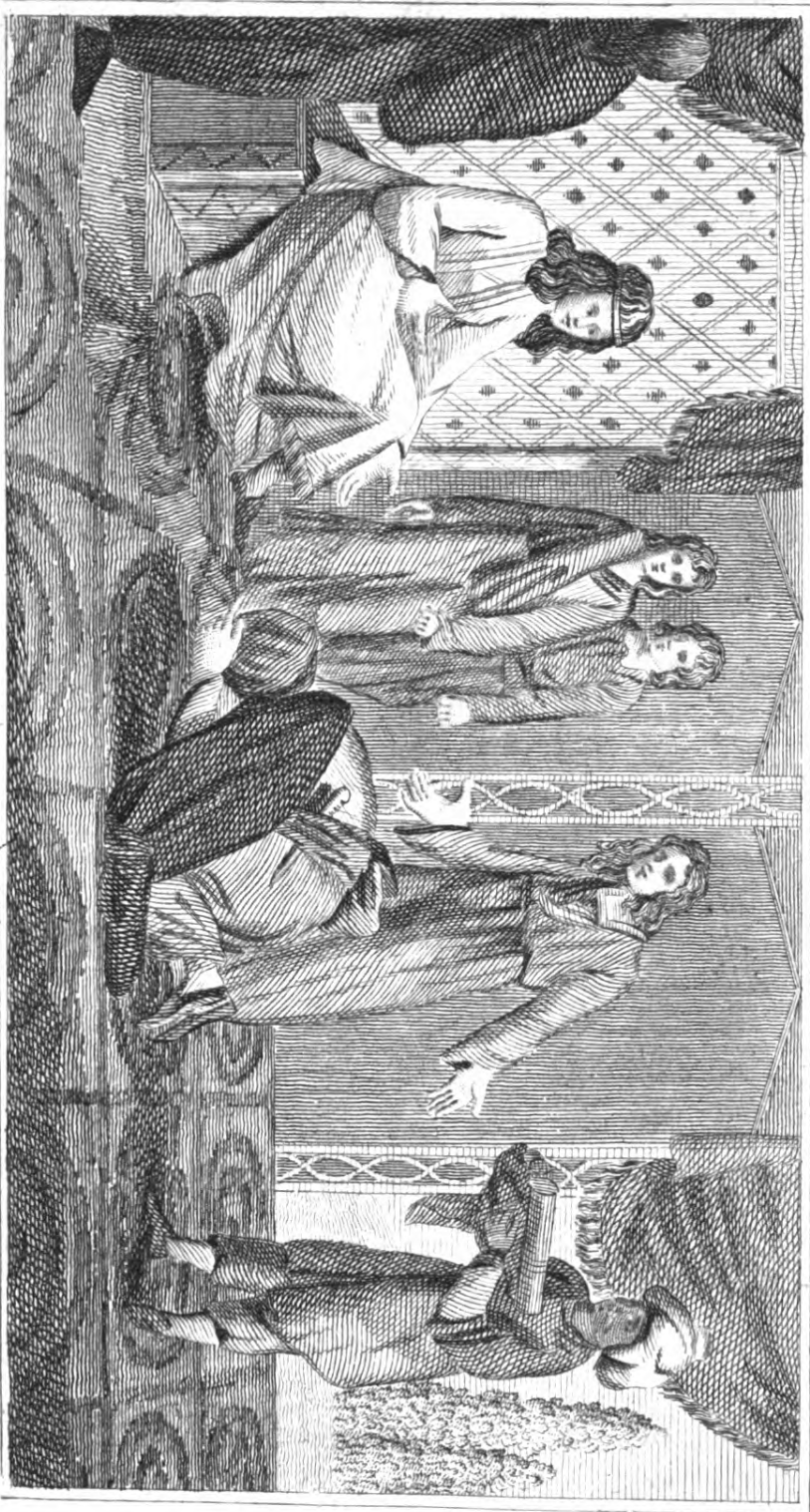
priest,

priest, was this Tecla Mariam, a scribe. Mr. Bruce then gave him a present, after which he soon retired.

Mr. Bruce went afterwards to the king's palace, and met Aylo, and Heikel at the door of the presence-chamber. Tecla Mariam walked before them to the foot of the throne; after which Mr. Bruce advanced and prostrated himself upon the ground. "I have brought you a servant, (says he to the king,) from so distant a country, that if you ever let him escape, we shall never be able to follow him, or know where to seek him." To this the king made no reply, nor did he shew any alteration of countenance. Five people were standing on each side of the throne, all young men, three on his left, and two on his right. One of these, the son of Tecla Mariam, (afterwards Mr. Bruce's great friend) who stood uppermost on the left hand, came up, and taking hold of him by the hand, placed him immediately above him; when seeing Mr. Bruce had no knife in his girdle, he pulled out his own and gave it to him. Upon being placed, Mr. Bruce again kissed the ground.

The king was in an alcove; the rest went out of sight from where the throne was, and sat down. The usual questions were now put to Mr. Bruce about Jerusalem and the holy places—where his country was? which it was impossible to describe, as they knew the situation of no country but their own—why he came so far?—whether the moon and the stars, but especially the moon, was the same in his country as in theirs? and a great many such idle and tiresome questions. He had several times offered to take his present from the man who held it, that he might offer it to his Majesty and go away; but the king always made a sign to put it off, till, being tired to death with standing, he leaned against the wall. Mr. Bruce was absolutely in despair, and scarcely able to speak a word, inwardly mourning, the hardness of his lot in this his first preferment, and sincerely praying it might be his last promotion in that court. However, he was at last permitted to retire.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give the geographical division of Abyssinia into provinces. At Masuah, that is, on the coast of the Red Sea, begins an imaginary division



Mr. Bruce introduced to the King at Gondar.



tion of Abyssinia into two, which is rather a division of language than strictly to be understood as territorial. The first division is called *Tigre*, between the Red Sea and the river Tacazzé. Between that river and the Nile, westward, where it bounds the Galla, it is called *Ambara*. But whatever convenience there may be from this division, there is neither geographical nor historical precision in it, for there are many little provinces included in the first that do not belong to Tigré; and, in the second division, which is Amhara, that which gives the name, is but a very small part of it.

Mafuah, in ancient times, was one of the principal places of residence of the Baharnagash, who, when he was not there himself, constantly left his deputy or lieutenant. In summer he resided for several months in the island of Dahalac, then accounted part of his territory. He was, after the King and Betwudet, the person of the greatest consideration in the kingdom, and was invested with fendick and nagareet, the kettle-drum and colours, marks of supreme command.

Tigré is the next province in Abyssinia, as well for greatness as riches, power, and dignity, and nearest Mafuah. It is bounded by the territory of the Baharnagash, that is, by the river Mareb on the east, and the Tacazzé upon the west. It is about one hundred and twenty miles broad from E. to W. and two hundred from N. to S. This is its present situation. The hand of usurping power has abolished all distinction on the west-side of the Tacazzé; besides, many large governments, such as Enderta and Antalow, and great part of the Baharnagash, were swallowed up in this province to the east. What, in a special manner, makes the riches of Tigré, is, that it lies nearest the market, which is Arabia; and all the merchandise destined to cross the Red Sea must pass through this province, so that the governor has the choice of all commodities wherewith to make his market. The strongest male, the most beautiful female slaves, the purest gold, the largest teeth of ivory, all must pass through his hands. Fire-arms, moreover, which for many years have decided who is the most powerful in Abyssinia, all these come from Arabia, and not one can be purchased without his know-

ing to whom it goes, and after his having had the first refusal of it.

Siré, a province about twenty-five miles broad, and not much more in length, is reckoned as part of Tigré also, but this is not a new usurpation. It lost the rank of a province, and was united to Tigré for the misbehaviour of its governor Kafmati Claudius, in an expedition against the Shangalla in the reign of Yafous the Great.

After passing the Tacazzé, the boundary between Siré and Samen, we come to that mountainous province called by the last name. A large chain of rugged mountains, where is the Jews Rock, reaches from the south of Tigré down near to Waldubba, the low, hot country that bounds Abyssinia on the north.

On the N. E. of Tigré lies the province of Begemder. It borders upon Angot, whose governor is called Angot Ras; but the whole province now, excepting a few villages, is conquered by the Galla. It has Amhara, which runs parallel to it, on the south, and is separated from it by the river Bashilo. Both these provinces are bounded by the river Nile on the west. Begemder is about 180 miles in its greatest length, and 60 in breadth, comprehending Lafta, a mountainous province, sometimes depending on Begemder, but often in rebellion.

Begemder is the strength of Abyssinia in horsemen. It is said, that, with Lafta, it can bring out 45,000 men; but this, as far as ever Mr. Bruce could inform himself, is a great exaggeration. They are exceeding good soldiers when they are pleased with their general, and the cause for which they fight; otherwise, they are easily divided, great many private interests being continually kept alive, as it is thought industriously, by government itself. It is well stocked with cattle of every kind, all very beautiful. The mountains are full of iron-mines; they are not so steep and rocky, nor so frequent, as in other provinces, if we except only Lafta, and abound in all sort of wild fowl and game.

Amhara is the next province, between the two rivers Bashilo and Geshen. The length of this country from E. to W. is about 120 miles, and its breadth something more than 40. It is a very mountainous country, full of  
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of nobility ; the men are reckoned the handsomest in Abyssinia, as well as the bravest.

Between the two rivers Geshen and Samba, is a low, unwholesome, though fertile province, called Walaka ; and southward of that is Upper Shoa. This province, or kingdom, was famous for the retreat it gave to the only remaining prince of the house of Solomon, who fled from the massacre of his brethren by Judith, about the year 900, upon the rock of Damo. Here the royal family remained in security, and increased in number, for near 400 years, till they were restored.

Gojam, from north-east to south-east, is about 80 miles in length, and 40 in breadth. It is a very flat country, and all in pasture ; has few mountains, but these are very high ones, and are chiefly on the banks of the Nile, to the south, which river surrounds the province.

On the south-east of the kingdom of Gojam is Damot. It is bounded by the Temci on the east, by the Gult on the west, by the Nile on the south, and by the high mountains of Amid Amid on the north. It is about 40 miles in length from north to south, and something more than 20 in breadth from east to west.

On the other side of Amid Amid is the province of Agows, bounded by those mountains on the east ; by Burè and Umbarma, and the country of the Gongas, on the west ; by Damot and Gafat upon the south, and Dingleber on the north.

South from Dembea is Kuara, a very mountainous province confining upon the Pagan blacks, or Shangalla, called Gongas and Guba, the Macrobi of the ancients.— It is a very unwholesome province, but abounding in gold, not of its own produce, but that of its neighbourhood, these Pagans—Guba, Nuba, and Shangalla.

Nara, and Ras el Feel, Tchelga, and on to Tcherkin, is a frontier wholly inhabited by Mahometans. Its government is generally given to a stranger, often to a Mahometan, but one of that faith is always deputy-governor. The use of keeping troops here is to defend the friendly Arabs and Shepherds, who remain in their allegiance to Abyssinia, from the resentment of the Arabs of Sennaar, their neighbours ; and, by means of these friendly Arabs and Shepherds, secure a constant supply  
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of horses for the king's troops. It is a barren stripe of a very hot, unwholesome country, full of thick woods, and fit only for hunting. The inhabitants, fugitives from all nations, are chiefly Mahometans, but very bold and expert horsemen, using no other weapon but the broad sword, with which they attack the elephants and rhinoceros. There are many other small provinces, which occasionally are annexed, and sometimes are separated.

The crown of Abyssinia is hereditary, and has always been so, in one particular family, supposed to be that of Solomon by the queen of Saba, Negasta Azab, or queen of the south. It is nevertheless elective in this line; and there is no law of the land, nor custom, which gives the eldest son an exclusive title to succeed to his father. The practice has indeed been quite the contrary. When, at the death of a king, his sons are old enough to govern, and, by some accident, not yet sent prisoners to the mountain, then the eldest, or he that is next, and not confined, generally takes possession of the throne by the strength of his father's friends; but if no heir is then in the low country, the choice of the king is always according to the will of the minister, which passes for that of the people; and his inclination and interest being to govern, he never fails to choose an infant whom he afterwards directs, ruling the kingdom absolutely during the minority, which generally exhausts, or is equal to the term of his life.

From this flow all the misfortunes of this unhappy country. This very defect arises from a desire to institute a more than ordinary perfect form of government; for the Abyssinians first position was, "Woe be to the kingdom whose king is a child;" and this they know must often happen when succession is left to the course of nature. But when there was a choice to be made out of two hundred persons, all of the same family, all capable of reigning, it was their own fault, they thought, if they had not always a prince of proper age and qualification to rule the kingdom, according to the necessities of the times, and to preserve the succession of the family in the house of Solomon, agreeable to the laws of the land; but this mode of reasoning experience has proved fallacious.

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The king is anointed with plain oil of olives, which, being poured upon the crown of his head, he rubs it into his long hair indecently enough with both his hands, pretty much as his soldiers do with theirs when they get access to plenty of butter.

The crown is made in the shape of a priest's mitre, or head-piece; it is a kind of helmet, covering the king's forehead, cheeks, and neck. It is lined with blue taffety; the outside is half gold and half silver, of the most beautiful fillagrane work. The king goes to church regularly, his guards taking possession of every avenue and door through which he is to pass, and nobody is allowed to enter with him, because he is then on foot, excepting two officers of his bed-chamber who support him. He kisses the threshold and side-posts of the church-door, the steps before the altar, and then returns home: sometimes there is service in the church, sometimes there is not; but he takes no notice of the difference. He rides up stairs into the presence chamber on a mule, and lights immediately on the carpet before his throne; and Mr. Bruce has sometimes seen great indeencies committed by the said mule in the presence-chamber, upon a Persian carpet.

The Serach Massery, an officer so called, with a long whip, begins cracking and making a noise, worse than twenty French Postilions, at the door of the palace before the dawn of day. This chafes away the hyæna and other wild beasts; this, too, is the signal for the king's rising, who sits in judgment every morning fasting, and after that, about eight o'clock, he goes to breakfast.

There are six noblemen of the king's own choosing who are called Baalomaal, or gentlemen of his bed-chamber; four of these are always with him. There is a seventh, who is the chief of these, called Azeleffa el Camisha, groom of the robe, or stole. He is keeper of the king's wardrobe, and the first officer of the bed-chamber. These officers, the black slaves, and some others, serve him as menial servants, and are in a degree of familiarity with him unknown to the rest of the subjects.

When the king sits to consult upon civil matters of consequence, he is shut up in a kind of box opposite to  
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the head of the council table. The persons that deliberate sit at the table, and, according to their rank, give their voices, the youngest or lowest officer always speaking first. The first that give their votes are the Shalaka, or colonels of the household-troops. The second are the great butlers, men that have the charge of the king's drink. The third is the Badjerund, or keeper of that apartment in the palace called the *lion's house*; and after these the keeper of the banqueting-house. The next is called Lika Magwafs, an officer that always goes before the king to hinder the pressure of the crowd. In war, when the king is marching, he rides constantly round him at a certain distance, and carries his shield and his lance; at least he carries a silver shield, and a lance pointed with the same metal, before such kings as do not choose to expose their person. No prince ever lost his life in battle till the coming of the Europeans into Abyssinia, when both the excommunicating and murdering of their sovereigns seem to have been introduced at the same time. After the Lika Magwafs comes the Palambaras; after him the Fit-Auraris; then the Gera Kafmati, and the Kanya Kafmati, their names being derived from their rank or order in encamping, the one on the right, the other on the left of the king's tent; Kanya and Gera signifying *the right* and *the left*; after them the Dakakin Billetana Gueta, or the under chamberlain; then the secretary for the king's commands; after him the right and left Azages, or generals; after them Rak Maffery, after him the basha, after him Kafmati of Damot, then of Samen, then Amhara, and, last of all, Tigrè, before whom stands a golden cup upon a cushion, and he is called Nebrit, as being governor of Axum, or keeper of the book of the law supposed to be there.

After the governor of Tigrè comes the Acab Saat, or guardian of the fire, and the chief ecclesiastical officer of the king's household. Some have said, that this officer was appointed to attend the king at the time of eating, and that it was his province to order both meat and drink to be withdrawn whenever he saw the king inclined to excess.

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After the Acab Saat comes the first master of the household; then the Betwudet, or Ras; last of all the king gives his sentence, which is final, and sends it to the table, from the balcony where he is then sitting, by the officer called Kal-Hatzè.

We meet in Abyssinia with various usages, which many have hitherto thought to be peculiar to those ancient nations in which they were first observed; others, not so learned, have thought they originated in Abyssinia. Mr. Bruce first takes notice of those that regard the king and court.

The kings of Persia, like these we are speaking of; were eligible in one family only, that of the Arfacidæ, and it was not till that race failed they chose Darius. The title of the king of Abyssinia is, *King of Kings*; and such Daniel tells us was that of Nebuchadnezzar. The right of primogeniture does not so prevail in Abyssinia as to exclude election in the person of the younger brothers, and this was likewise the case in Persia. In Persia a preference was understood to be due to the king's lawful children; but there were instances of the natural child being preferred to the lawful one. Darius, tho' a bastard, was preferred to Isogius, Xerxes's lawful son, and that merely by the election of the people. The same has always obtained in Abyssinia. A very great part of their kings are adulterous bastards, others are the issue of concubines; but they have been preferred to the crown by the influence of a party, always under the name of the Voice of the People.

Though the Persian kings had various palaces, to which they removed at different times in the year, Pafargarda, the metropolis of their ancient kings, was observed as the only place for their coronation; and this, too, was the case of Abyssinia with their metropolis of Axum.

The next remarkable ceremony in which these two nations agreed, is that of adoration, inviolably observed in Abyssinia to this day, as often as you enter the sovereign's presence. This is not only kneeling, but an absolute prostration. You first fall upon your knees, then upon the palms of your hands, then incline your head and body till your forehead touch the earth; and, in case you have an answer to expect, you lie in that posture till the king, or somebody from him, desires you

you to rise. This, too, was the custom of Persia; Arrian says this was first instituted by Cyrus, and this was precisely the posture in which they adored God, mentioned in the book of Exodus.

It is the constant practice in Abyssinia to beset the king's doors and windows within his hearing, and there, from early morning to night, to cry for justice as loud as possible, in a distressed and complaining tone, and in all the different languages they are masters of, in order to their being admitted to have their supposed grievances heard. In a country so ill governed as Abyssinia is, and so perpetually involved in war, it may be easily supposed there is no want of people, who have real injuries and violence to complain of: But if it were not so, this is so much the constant usage, that when it happens (as in the midst of the rainy season) that few people can approach the capital, or stand without in such bad weather, a set of vagrants are provided, maintained, and paid, whose sole business it is to cry and lament, as if they had been really very much injured and oppressed; and this they tell you is for the king's honour, that he may not be lonely by the palace being too quiet. This, of all their absurd customs, was the most grievous and troublesome to Mr. Bruce. Sometimes, while Mr. Bruce was busy in his room in the rainy season, there would be four or five hundred people, who all at once would begin, some roaring and crying, as if they were in pain, others demanding justice, as if they were that moment suffering, or if in the instant to be put to death; and some groaning and sobbing as if just expiring; and this horrid symphony was so artfully performed, that no ear could distinguish but that it proceeded from real distress. Mr. Bruce was often so surprised as to send the soldiers at the door to bring in one of them, thinking him come from the country, to examine who had injured him; many a time he was a servant of his own, or some other equally known; or, if he was a stranger, upon asking him what misfortune had befallen him, he would answer very composedly, Nothing was the matter with him; that he had been sleeping all day with the horses; that hearing from the soldiers at the door that he, Mr. Bruce,  
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was retired to his apartment, he and his companions had come to cry and make a noise under his window, to do him *honour* before the people, for fear he should be melancholy, by being too quiet when alone; and therefore hoped that he would order them drink, that they might continue with a little more spirit. The violent anger which this often put him into did not fail to be punctually reported to the king, at which he would laugh heartily; and he himself was often hid not far off, for the sake of being a spectator of his heavy displeasure.

Xerxes, being about to declare war against the Greeks, assembled all the principal chiefs of Asia in council. "That I may not, says he, be *thought* to *act* only by my own judgment, I have called you together. At the same time, I think proper to intimate to you, that it is your duty to obey my will, rather than enter into any deliberation or remonstrances of your own."

We will now compare some particulars, the dress and ornaments of the two kings. The king of Abyssinia wears his hair long; so did the ancient kings of Persia. A comet had appeared in the war with Persia, and was looked upon by the Romans as a bad omen. Vespasian laughed at it, and said, if it portended any ill it was to the king of Persia, because, *like him*, it wore long hair.

The diadem was, with the Persians, a mark of royalty, as with the Abyssinians, being composed of the same materials, and worn in the same manner. The king of Abyssinia wears it, while marching, as a mark of sovereignty, that does not impede or incommode him, as any other heavier ornament would do, especially in hot weather. This fillet surrounds his head above the hair, leaving the crown perfectly uncovered. It is an offence of the first magnitude for any person, at this time, to wear any thing upon his head, especially white, unless for Mahometans, who wear caps, and over them a large white turban; or for priests, who wear large turbans of muslin also. This was the diadem of the Persians, as appears from Lucian who calls it a white fillet about the forehead. The kings of Abyssinia anciently sat upon a gold throne, which is a large, convenient, oblong, square seat, like a small bedstead, covered with Persian carpets, damask,

mask, and cloth of gold, with steps leading up to it. It is still richly gilded; but the many revolutions and wars have much abridged their ancient magnificence. It is, in Abyssinia, high-treason, to sit upon any seat of the king's; and he that presumed to do this would be instantly hewn to pieces, if there was not some other collateral proof of his being a madman.

It is probable that Alexander had heard of this law in Persia, and disapproved of it; for one day, it being extremely cold, the king, sitting in his chair before the fire, warming his legs, saw a soldier, probably a Persian, who had lost his feeling by extreme numbness. The king immediately leaped from his chair, and ordered the soldier to be set down upon it. The fire soon brought him to his senses, but he had almost lost them again with fear, by finding himself in the king's seat. To whom Alexander said, "Remember, and distinguish, how much more advantageous to man my government is than that of the kings of Persia. By sitting down on my seat, you have saved your life; by sitting on theirs, you would infallibly have lost it."

In Abyssinia it is considered as a fundamental law of the land, that none of the royal family, who has any deformity or bodily defect, shall be allowed to succeed to the crown; and, for this purpose, any of the princes, who may have escaped from the mountain of Wechné, and who are afterwards taken, are mutilated in some of their members, that thus they may be disqualified from ever succeeding. In Persia the same was observed. Procopius tells us, that Zames, the son of Cabades, was excluded from the throne because he was blind of one eye, the law of Persia prohibiting any person that had a bodily defect to be elected king.

The kings of Abyssinia were seldom seen by the people. This absurd usage gave rise to many abuses. In Persia it produced two officers, who were called the king's eyes, and the king's ear, and who had the dangerous employment, Mr. Bruce means dangerous for the subject, of seeing and hearing for their sovereign. In Abyssinia it created an officer called the king's mouth, or voice, for, being seen by nobody, he spoke of course in the  
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third person, *Hear what the king says to you*, which is the usual form of all regal mandates in Abyssinia, and what follows has the force of law.

Solemn hunting matches were always in use both with the kings of Abyssinia and those of Persia. In both kingdoms it was a crime for a subject to strike the game till such time as the king had thrown his lance at it. This absurd custom was repealed by Artaxerxes Longimanus in one kingdom, and by Yafous the Great in the other, so late as the beginning of the last century.

The kings of Abyssinia are above all laws. They are supreme in all causes ecclesiastical and civil; the land and persons of their subjects are equally their property, and every inhabitant of their kingdom is born their slave; if he bears a higher rank it is by the king's gift; for his nearest relations are accounted nothing better. The same obtained in Persia.

There are several kinds of bread in Abyssinia, some of different sorts of tefl, and some of tocusso, which also vary in quality. The king of Abyssinia eats of wheat bread, though not of every wheat, but of that only that grows in the province of Dembeà, therefore called the king's food. It always has been, and still is the custom of the kings of Abyssinia, to marry what number of wives they choose; that these were not, therefore, all queens; but that among them there was one who was considered particularly as queen, and upon her head was placed the crown, and she was called Iteghé. Thus, in Persia, we read that Ahasuerus loved Esther, who had found grace in his sight more than the other virgins, and he had placed a golden crown upon her head. And Josephus informs us, that when Esther was brought before the king, he was exceedingly delighted with her, and made her his lawful wife, and when she came into the palace he put a crown upon her head: whether placing the crown upon the queen's head had any civil effect as to regency in Persia, as it had in Abyssinia, is what history does not inform us.

The king of Abyssinia never is seen to walk, nor to set his foot upon the ground, out of his palace; and when he would dismount from the horse or mule on which he rides, he has a servant with a stool, who places



it properly for him for that purpose. He rides into the anti-chamber to the foot of his throne, or to the stool placed in the alcove of his tent. He very often judges capital crimes himself. No man is condemned by the king in person to die for the first fault, unless the crime be of a horrid nature, such as parricide or sacrilege. And, in general, the life and merits of the prisoner are weighed against his immediate guilt; so that if his first behaviour has had more merit towards the state than his present-delinquency is thought to have injured it, the one is placed fairly against the other, and the accused is generally absolved when the sovereign judges alone. Darius had condemned Sandoces, one of the king's judges, to be crucified for corruption, that is, for having given false judgment for a bribe. The man was already hung up on the cross, when the king, considering with himself how many good services he had done, previous to this, the only offence which he had committed, ordered him to be pardoned.

The Persian king, in all expeditions, was attended by judges. We find in Herodotus, that, in the expedition of Cambyfes, ten of the principal Egyptians were condemned to die by these judges for every Persian that had been slain by the people of Memphis. Six judges always attend the king of Abyssinia to the camp, and, before them, rebels taken on the field are tried and punished on the spot. People that the king distinguished by favour, or for any public action, were in both kingdoms presented with gold chains, swords, and bracelets. These in Abyssinia are understood to be chiefly rewards of military service; yet Poncet received a gold chain from Yafous the Great. The day before the battle of Serbraxos, Ayton Engedan received a silver bridle and saddle, covered with silver plates, from Ras Michael.

In Abyssinia, when the prisoner is condemned in capital cases, he is not again remitted to prison, which is thought cruel, but he is immediately carried away, and the sentence executed upon him. Abba Salama, the Acab Saat, was condemned by the king the morning he entered Gondar, on his return from Tigré, and immediately hanged, in the garment of a priest, on a tree at the door of the king's palace. Chremation, brother to the  
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usurper Socinius, was executed that same morning; Guebra Denghel, Ras Michael's son-in-law, was likewise executed that same day, immediately after judgment; and so were several others. The same was the practice in Persia, as we learn from Xenophon, and more plainly from Diodorus.

The capital punishments, in Abyssinia, are the crosses. Socinius first ordered Arzo, his competitor, who had fled for assistance and refuge to Phineas king of the Falasha, to be crucified without the camp. We find the same punishment inflicted by Artaxerxes upon Haman, who was ordered to be affixed to the cross till he died.

The next capital punishment is flaying alive. That this barbarous execution still prevails in Abyssinia is proved by the fate of the unfortunate Woosheka, taken prisoner in the campaign of 1769, while Mr. Bruce was in Abyssinia; a sacrifice made to the vengeance of the beautiful Ozoro Esther, who, kind and humane as she was in other respects, could receive no atonement for the death of her husband.

Lapidation, or stoning to death, is the next capital punishment in Abyssinia. This is chiefly inflicted upon strangers called *Franks*, for religious causes. The catholic priests in Abyssinia that have been detected there, in these latter days, have been stoned to death, and their bodies lie still in the streets of Gondar, in the squares or waste-places, covered with the heaps of stone which occasioned their death by being thrown at them. There are three of these heaps at the church of Abbo, all covering Franciscan friars; and, besides them, a small pyramid over a boy who was stoned to death with them, about the first year of the reign of David the IV. In Persia we find, that Pagorasus (according to Ctesias) was stoned to death by the order of the king; and the same author says, that Pharnacyas, one of the murderers of Xerxes, was stoned to death likewise.

Among capital punishments may be reckoned likewise the plucking out of the eyes, a cruelty which Mr. Bruce had but too often seen committed in the short stay he made in Abyssinia. This is generally inflicted upon rebels. After the slaughter of the battle of Fagitta, twelve chiefs of the Pagan Galla, taken prisoners by Ras Michael,

chael, had their eyes torn out, and were afterwards abandoned to starve in the valleys below the town. Several prisoners of another rank, noblemen of Tigré, underwent the same misfortune; and, what is wonderful, not one of them died in the operation, nor its consequences, though performed in the coarsest manner with an iron forceps, or pincers.

The dead bodies of criminals slain for treason, murder, and violence, on the high-way at certain times, are seldom buried in Abyssinia. The streets of Gondar are strewed with pieces of their carcases, which bring the wild beasts in multitudes into the city as soon as it becomes dark, so that it is scarcely safe for any one to walk in the night. The dogs used to bring pieces of human bodies into the house, and court-yard, to eat them in greater security.

Notwithstanding the Abyssinians were so anciently and nearly connected with Egypt, they never seem to have made use of paper, or papyrus, but imitated the practice of the Persians, who wrote upon skins, and they do so to this day. This arises from their having early been Jews. In Parthia, likewise, Pliny informs us, the use of papyrus was absolutely unknown; and though it was discovered that papyrus grew in the Euphrates, near Babylon, of which they could make paper, they obstinately rather chose to adhere to their ancient custom of weaving their letters on cloth, of which they made their garments. The Persians, moreover, made use of parchment for their records, to which all their remarkable transactions were trusted; and to this it is probably owing we have so many of their customs preserved to this day.

From this great resemblance in customs between the Persians and Abyssinians, following the fashionable way of judging about the origin of nations, one should boldly conclude, that the Abyssinians were a colony of Persians; but this is very well known to be without foundation. The customs, mentioned as only peculiar to Persia, were common to all the east; and they were lost when those countries were over-run and conquered by those who introduced barbarous customs of their own. The reason why we have so much left of the Persian customs is, that they were written, and so not liable to alteration; and, being on parchment, did also contribute

bute to their preservation. The history which treats of those ancient and polished nations has preserved few fragments of their manners entire from the ruins of time ; while Abyssinia, at war with nobody, or at war with itself only, has preserved the ancient customs which it enjoyed in common with all the east, and which were only lost in other kingdoms by the invasion of strangers, a misfortune Abyssinia has never suffered since the introduction of letters.

The old Egyptians, as we are told by Sacred Scripture, did not eat with strangers ; but perhaps the observation is extended farther than ever Scripture meant. The instance given of Joseph's brethren not being allowed to eat with the Egyptians was, because Joseph had told Pharoah that his brethren, and Jacob his father, were shepherds, that he might get from the Egyptians the land of Goshen, a land, as the name imports, of pasturage and grass, which the Nile never overflowed, and it was therefore in possession of the shepherds. Now the shepherds, we are told, were the direct natural enemies of the Egyptians who live in towns. The shepherds also sacrificed the god whom the Egyptians worshipped.

The Egyptians worshipped the cow, and the shepherds lived upon her flesh, which made them a separate people, that could not eat nor communicate together ; and the very knowledge of this was, as we are informed by Scripture, the reason why Joseph told Pharoah, when he asked him what profession his brethren were of, " Your servants, says Joseph, are shepherds, and their employment the feeding of cattle ;" and this was given out, that the land of Goshen might be allotted to them, and so they and their descendants be kept separate from the Egyptians, and not exposed to mingle in their abominations ; or, though they had abstained from those abominations, they could not kill cattle for sacrifice or for food. They would have raised ill-will against themselves, and, as Moses says, would have been stoned, and so the end of bringing them to Goshen would have been frustrated, which was to nurse them in a plentiful land, in peace and security, till they should attain to be a mighty people, capable of subduing and filling the land to which, at the end of their captivity, God was to lead them.

The Abyssinians neither eat nor drink with strangers, though they have no reason for this; and it is now a mere prejudice, because the old occasion for this regulation is lost. They break, or purify, however, every vessel a stranger of any kind shall eat or drink in. The custom, then, is copied from the Egyptians, and they have preserved it, though the Egyptian reason does no longer hold.

The Egyptians made no account of the mother what her state was; if the father was free, the child followed the condition of the father. This is strictly so in Abyssinia. The king's child by a negro-slave, bought with money, or taken in war, is as near in succeeding to the crown, as any one of twenty children that he has older than that one, and born of the noblest women of the country.

The men in Egypt did neither buy nor sell; the same is the case in Abyssinia at this day. It is infamy for a man to go to market to buy any thing. He cannot carry water or bake bread; but he must wash the cloaths belonging to both sexes; and, in this function, the women cannot help him. In Abyssinia the men carried their burdens on their heads, the women on their shoulders; and this difference, we are told, obtained in Egypt. It is plain, that this buying, in the public market, by women, must have ended whenever jealousy or sequestration of that sex began; for this reason it ended early in Egypt; but, for the opposite reason, it subsists in Abyssinia to this day. It was a sort of impiety in Egypt to eat a calf; and the reason was plain, they worshipped the cow. In Abyssinia, to this day, no man eats veal, although every one very willingly eats a cow; the Egyptian reason no longer subsists, as in the former case, but the prejudice remains, though they have forgotten their reason.

The Abyssinians eat no wild or water-fowl, not even the goose, which was a great delicacy in Egypt. The reason of this is, that, upon their conversion to Judaism, they were forced to relinquish their ancient municipal customs, as far as they were contrary to the Mosaic law; and the animals, in their country, not corresponding, in form, kind, or name, with those mentioned in the Septuagint, or original Hebrew, it  
has

these separate reigns come to be added together, the one sum total will not agree with the other, but will be more or less than the just time which that prince reigned. This, indeed, as errors compensate full as frequently as they accumulate, will seldom amount to a difference above three years; a space of time too trivial to be of any consequence in the history of barbarous nations.

TRAVELS

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# T R A V E L S

T O D I S C O V E R

## The SOURCE of the NILE.

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### B O O K VI.

*First Attempt to discover the Source of the Nile frustrated.  
A successful Journey thither, with a full Account of every  
Thing relating to that celebrated River.*

ONE day, when Mr. Bruce was at court, he met Tecla Mariam, the king's secretary, who taking him by the hand, said, with a laughing countenance, "O ho, I wish you joy; this is like a man; you are now no stranger, but one of us; why was not you at court?" Mr. Bruce said he had no particular business there, but that he came thither to see Ayto Confu, that he might speak in favour of Yafine to get him appointed deputy of Ras el Feel. "Why don't you appoint him yourself? (says he) what has Confu to do with the affair now? You don't intend always to be in leading strings? You may thank the king for yourself, but I would never advise you to speak one word of Yafine to him; it is not the custom; you may, if you please, to Confu; he knows him already. His estate lies all around you, and he will enforce your orders, if there should be any need."

"Pardon me, Tecla Mariam, (said Mr. Bruce,) if I do not understand you. I came here to solicit for Yafine, that Confu or his successor would appoint him their  
deputy,

has followed, that there are many of each class that know not whether they are clean or not; and a wonderful confusion and uncertainty has followed through ignorance or mistake, being unwilling to violate the law in any one instance through not understanding it.

Mr. Bruce has mentioned, in the course of the narrative of his journey from Masuah, that, at a small distance from Axum, he overtook, on the way, three travellers who seemed to be soldiers, driving a cow before them. They halted at a brook, threw down the beast, and one of them cut a pretty large collop of flesh from its buttocks, after which they drove the cow gently on as before. A violent out-cry was raised in England at hearing this circumstance, which they did not hesitate to pronounce *impossible*, when the manners and customs of Abyssinia were to them utterly unknown. The Jesuits, established in Abyssinia for above an hundred years, had told them of that people eating, what they call raw meat, in every page, and yet they were ignorant of this.

It must be from prejudice alone we condemn the eating of raw flesh; no precept, divine or human, forbids it; and if it be true, as later travellers have discovered, that there are nations ignorant of the use of fire, any law against eating raw flesh could never have been intended by God as obligatory upon mankind in general. At any rate, it is certainly not clearly known, whether the eating raw flesh was not an earlier and more general practice than by preparing it with fire; many wise and learned men have doubted, whether it was at first permitted to man to eat animal food at all. God, the author of life, and the best judge of what was proper to maintain it, gave this regimen to our first parents—“Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed: to you it shall be for meat.” And though, immediately after, he mentions both beasts and fowls, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth, he does not say that he has designed any of these as meat for man. On the contrary, he seems to have intended the vegetable creation as food for both man and beast—“And to every beast of



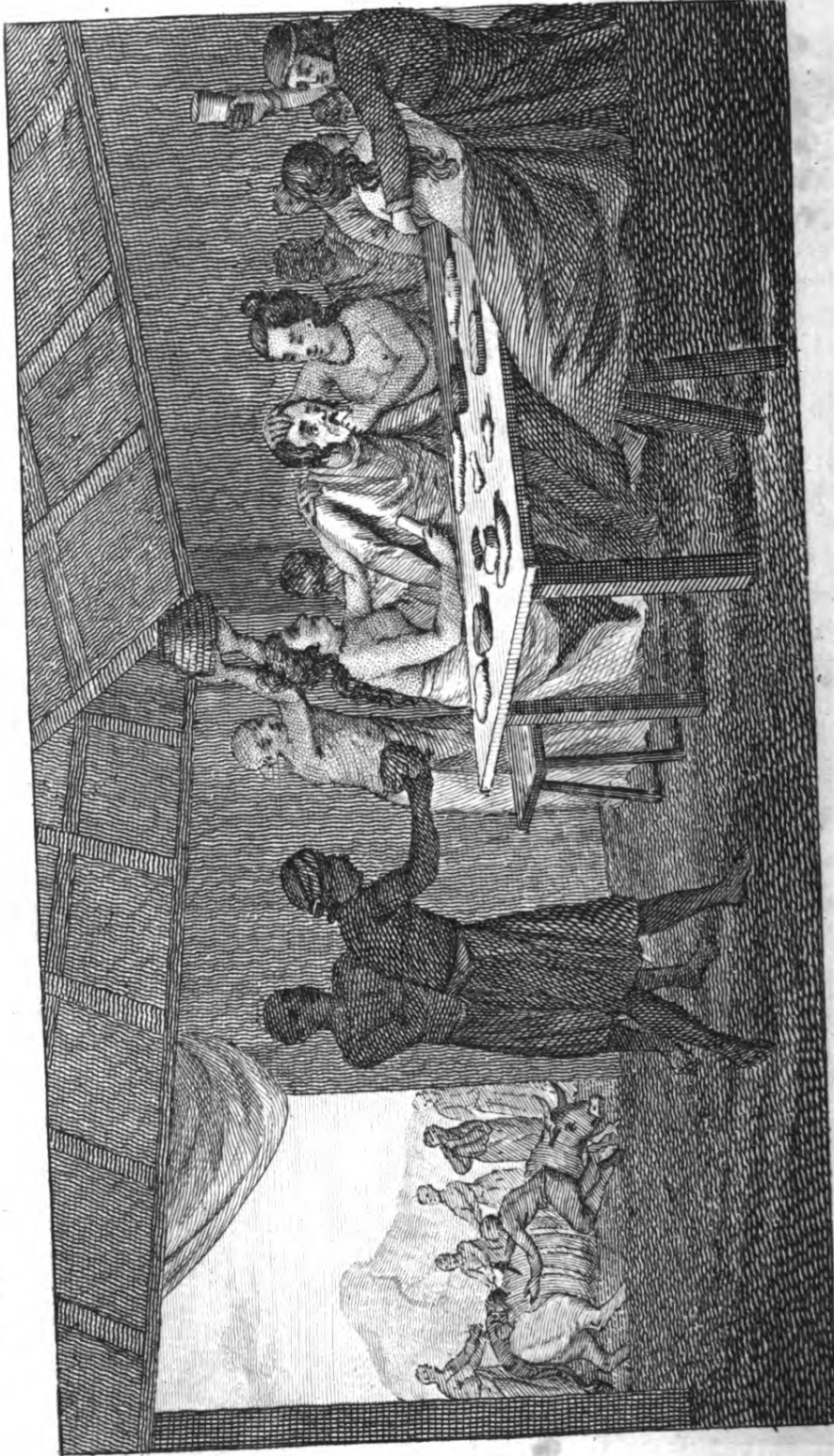
the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is life*, I have given every green herb for meat; and it was so." After the flood, when mankind began to repopulate the earth, God gave Noah a much more extensive permission: "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things."

Saul's army, after a battle, *slew*, that is, fell voraciously upon the cattle they had taken, and threw them upon the ground to cut off their flesh, and eat them raw, so that the army was defiled by eating blood, or living animals. To prevent this, Saul caused to be rolled to him a great stone, and ordered those that killed their oxen to cut their throats upon that stone. This was the only lawful way of killing animals for food; the tying of the ox, and throwing it upon the ground was not permitted as equivalent. The Israelites did probably in that case, as the Abyssinians do at this day; they cut a part of its throat, so that blood might be seen upon the ground, but nothing mortal to the animal followed from that wound. But, after laying his head upon a large stone, and cutting his throat, the blood fell from on high, or was poured on the ground like water; and sufficient evidence appeared the creature was dead before it was attempted to eat it. We have seen that the Abyssinians came from Palestine a very few years after this; and we are not to doubt that they then carried with them this, with many other Jewish customs, which they have continued to this day.

Consistent with the plan of this work, which is to describe the manners of the several nations through which Mr. Bruce passed, good and bad, as he observed them, he says he cannot avoid giving some account of this Polyphemus banquet, as far as decency will permit him; it is part of the history of a barbarous people; and Mr. Bruce says, however he might wish it, he cannot decline it.

In the capital, where one is safe from surprise at all times, or in the country or villages, when the rains have become so constant, that the valleys will not bear a horse to pass them, or that men cannot venture far from home, through fear of being surrounded and swept away by  
temporary





AN · ABYSSINIAN · BANQUET ·

temporary torrents, occasioned by sudden showers on the mountains; in a word, when a man can say he is safe at home, and the spear and shield is hung up in the hall, a number of people of the best fashion in the villages, of both sexes, courtiers in the palace, or citizens in the town, meet together to dine between twelve and one o'clock. A long table is set in the middle of a large room, and benches beside it for a number of guests who are invited. Tables and benches the Portuguese introduced amongst them; but bull-hides, spread upon the ground, served them before, as they now do in the camp and country. A cow or bull, one or more, as the company is numerous, is brought close to the door, and his feet strongly tied. The skin that hangs down under his chin and throat, is cut only so deep as to arrive at the fat of which it totally consists, and, by the separation of a few small blood vessels, six or seven drops of blood only fall upon the ground. They have no stone, bench, nor altar, upon which these cruel assassins lay the animal's head in this operation. Mr. Bruce begs his pardon indeed for calling him an assassin, as he is not so merciful as to aim at the life, but, on the contrary, to keep the beast alive till he be nearly eaten up. Having satisfied the Mosaic law, according to his conception, by pouring these six or seven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work; on the back of the beast, and on each side of the spine they cut skin deep; then putting their fingers between the flesh and the skin, they begin to strip the hide of the animal half way down his ribs, and so on to the buttock, cutting the skin wherever it hinders them commodiously to strip the poor animal bare. All the flesh on the buttocks is then cut off, and in solid, square pieces, without bones, or much effusion of blood; and the prodigious noise the animal makes is a signal for the company to sit down to table.

There are then laid before every guest, instead of plates, round cakes, if they may be so called, about twice as big as a pan-cake, and something thicker and tougher. It is unleavened bread of a sourish taste, far from being disagreeable, and very easily digested, made of a grain called teff. It is of different colours, from black to the colour of the whitest wheat-bread. Three or four of

these cakes are generally put uppermost, for the food of the person opposite to whose seat they are placed. Beneath these are four or five of ordinary bread, and of a blackish kind. These serve the master to wipe his fingers upon, and afterwards the servant for bread to his dinner. Two or three servants then come, each with a square piece of beef in their bare hands, laying it upon the cakes of teff, placed like dishes down the table, without cloth or any thing else beneath them. By this time all the guests have knives in their hands, and their men have the large crooked ones, which they put to all sorts of uses during the time of war. The women have small clasped knives, such as the worst of the kind made at Birmingham, sold for a penny each. The company are so arranged that one man sits between two women; the man with his long knife cuts a thin piece, which would be thought a good beef-steak in England, while you see the motion of the fibres yet perfectly distinct, and alive in the flesh. No man in Abyssinia, of any fashion whatever, feeds himself, or touches his own meat. The women take the steak and cut it length-ways like strings, about the thickness of a little finger, then cross-ways into square pieces, something smaller than dice. This they lay upon a piece of the teff bread, strongly powdered with black pepper, or Cayenne pepper, and fossil salt; they then wrap it up in teff bread like a cartridge.

In the mean time, the man having put up his knife, with each hand resting upon his neighbour's knee, his body stooping, his head low and forward, and mouth open very like an idiot, he turns to the one whose cartridge is first ready, who stuffs the whole of it into his mouth, which is so full that he is in constant danger of being choaked. This is a mark of grandeur. The greater the man would seem to be, the larger piece he takes in his mouth; and the more noise he makes in chewing it, the more polite he is thought to be. They have, indeed, a proverb that says, "Beggars and thieves only eat small pieces, or without making a noise." Having dispatched this morsel, which he does very expeditiously, his next female neighbour holds forth another cartridge, which goes the same way, and so on till he

he is satisfied. He never drinks till he has finished eating; and, before he begins, in gratitude to the fair-one that fed him, he makes up two small rolls of the same kind and form; each of his neighbours open their mouths at the same time, while with each hand he puts their portion into their mouths. He then falls to drinking out of a large handsome horn; the ladies eat till they are satisfied, and then all drink together. A great deal of mirth and joke goes round, very seldom with any mixture of acrimony or ill-humour.

During all this time, the unfortunate victim at the door is bleeding indeed, but bleeding little. As long as they can cut off the flesh from his bones, they do not meddle with the thighs, or the parts where the great arteries are. At last, they fall upon the thighs likewise; and soon after the animal, bleeding to death, becomes so tough that the cannibals, who have the rest of it to eat, find very hard work to separate the flesh from the bones with their teeth like dogs.

In the mean time, those within are very much elevated; love lights all its fires, and every thing is permitted with absolute freedom. There is no coyness, no delays, no need of appointments or retirement, to gratify their wishes; there are no rooms but one, in which they sacrifice to Bacchus and to Venus.

Although we read from the Jesuits a great deal about marriage and polygamy, yet there is nothing which may be averred more truly, than that there is no such thing as marriage in Abyssinia, unless that which is contracted by mutual consent, without other form, subsisting only till dissolved by dissent of one or other, and to be renewed or repeated as often as it is agreeable to both parties, who, when they please, cohabit together again as man and wife, after having been divorced, had children by others, or whether they have been married, or had children with others or not. Mr. Bruce remembers to have once been at Koscam in presence of the Iteghé, when, in the circle, there was a woman of great quality, and seven men who had all been her husbands, none of whom was the happy spouse at that time.

Upon separation they divide the children. The eldest son falls to the mother's first choice, and the eldest

daughter to the father. If there be but one daughter, and all the rest sons, she is assigned to the father. If there be but one son, and all the rest daughters, he is the right of the mother. If the numbers are unequal after the first election, the rest are divided by lot. There is no such distinction as legitimate and illegitimate children from the king to the beggar; for supposing any one of their marriages valid, all the issue of the rest must be adulterous bastards.

Ras Michael one day asked Mr. Bruce, before Abba Salama, (the Acab Saat) whether such things as these promiscuous marriages and divorces were permitted and practised in his country? He excused himself till he was no longer able; and, upon his insisting, he was obliged to answer, that even if scripture had not forbidden it, as Christians, as Englishmen, the law restrained them from such practices, by declaring polygamy felony, or punishable by death.

The king in his marriage uses no other ceremony than this: He sends an Azage to the house where the lady lives, where the officer announces to her, it is the king's pleasure that she should remove instantly to the palace. She then dresses herself in the best manner, and immediately obeys. Thenceforward he assigns her an apartment in the palace, and gives her a house elsewhere in any part she chuses. Then, when he makes her Iteghé, it seems to be the nearest resemblance to marriage; for, whether in the court or the camp, he orders one of the judges to pronounce in his presence, that he, the king, has chosen his hand-maid, naming her, for his queen; upon which the crown is put upon her head, but she is not anointed.

The crown being hereditary in one family, but elective in the person, and polygamy being permitted, must have multiplied these heirs very much, and produced constant disputes, so that it was found necessary to provide a remedy for the anarchy and effusion of royal blood, which was otherwise inevitably to follow. The remedy was a humane and gentle one, they were confined in a good climate upon a high mountain, and maintained there at the public expence. They are there taught to read and write, but nothing else; 750 cloths for wrapping round them,

them, 3000 ounces of gold, which is 30,000 dollars, or crowns, are allowed by the state for their maintenance. These princes are hardly used; and, in troublesome times, often put to death upon the smallest misinformation. While Mr. Bruce was in Abyssinia, their revenue was so grossly misapplied, that some of them were said to have died with hunger and of cold, by the avarice and hard-heartedness of Michael neglecting to furnish them necessaries. Nor had the king, as far as ever Mr. Bruce could discern, that fellow-feeling one would have expected from a prince rescued from that very situation himself; however that be, and however distressing the situation of those princes, we cannot but be satisfied with it when we look to the neighbouring kingdom of Sennaar, or Nubia. There no mountain is trusted with the confinement of their princes; but, as soon as the father dies, the throats of all the collaterals, and all their descendants, that can be laid hold of, are cut; and this is the case with all the black states in the desert west of Sennaar, Dar Fowr, Selé, and Bagirma.

In speaking of the military force of this kingdom, great exaggerations have been used. The largest army that ever was in the field, was that in the rebellion before the battle of Serbraxos. When they first encamped upon the lake Tzana, the rebel army altogether might amount to about 50,000 men. In about a fortnight afterwards, many had deserted; and Mr. Bruce does not think (for he speaks only by hearsay) that, when the king marched out of Gondar, they were then above 30,000. When Gojam joined, and it was known that Michael and his army increased to above 60,000 men; cowards and brave, old and young, veteran soldiers and blackguards, all came to be spectators of that desirable event, which many of the wisest had despaired of living to see. The king's army, perhaps, never amounted to 26,000 men; and, by desertion and other causes, when they retreated to Gondar, Mr. Bruce does not suppose the army was 16,000 mostly from the province of Tigré. Fasil, indeed, had not joined: and adding his army of 12,000 men, it does not appear, that any king of Abyssinia ever commanded 40,000 effective men, at any time, or upon any cause whatever, exclusive of his household troops.



Their standards are large staves, surmounted at the top with a hollow ball; below this is a tube, in which the staff is fixed; and immediately below the ball, a narrow stripe of silk made forked, or swallow-tailed, like a vane, and seldom much broader. The standards of the infantry have their flags painted two colours cross-ways—yellow, white, red, or green. The horse have all a lion upon their flag, some a red, some a green, and some a white lion. The black horse have a yellow lion, and over it a white star upon a red flag, alluding to two prophecies, the one, "Judah is a young lion," and the other, "There shall come a star out of Judah." This had been discontinued for want of cloth till the war of Begemder, when a large piece was found in Joas's wardrobe, and was thought a certain omen of his victory, and of a long and vigorous reign. This piece of cloth was said to have been brought from Cairo by Yafous II. for the campaign of Sennaar, and, with the other standards and colours, was surrendered to the rebels when the king was made prisoner.

The king's household troops should consist of about 8000 infantry, 2000 of which carry firelocks, and supply the place of archers; bows have been laid aside for near a hundred years, and are now only used by the Waito Shangalla, and some other barbarous inconsiderable nations. These troops are divided into four companies, each under an officer called Shalaka, which answers to our colonel. Every twenty men have an officer, every fifty a second, and every hundred a third; that is, every twenty have one officer who commands them, but is commanded likewise by an officer who commands the fifty; so that there are three officers who command fifty men, six command a hundred, and thirty command five hundred, over whom is the Shalaka; and this body they call Bet, which signifies a *house*, or *apartment*, because each of them goes by the name of one of the king's apartments. For example, there is an apartment called Anbafa Bet, or the *lion's house*, and a regiment carrying that name has the charge of it, and their duty is at that apartment, or that part of the palace where it is; there is another called Jan Bet or the *elephant's house*, that gives the name to another regiment; another called Werk  
Sacala,

Sacala, or the *gold house*, which gives its name to another corps; and so on with the rest.

There are four regiments, that seldom, if ever, amount to 1600 men, which depend alone upon the king, and are all foreigners, at least the officers; these have the charge of his person while in the field. In times, when the king is out of leading-strings, they amount to four or five thousand and then oppress the country, for they have great privileges. At times, when the king's hands are weak, they are kept incomplete out of fear and jealousy.

Before the king marches, three proclamations are made. The first is, "Buy your mules, get ready your provision, and pay your servants; for, after such a day, they that seek me here shall not find me." The second is about a week after, or according as the exigency is pressing; this is, "Cut down the kantuffa in the four quarters of the world, for I do not know where I am going." This kantuffa is a terrible thorn which very much molests the king and nobility in their march, by taking hold of their long hair, and the cotton cloth they are wrapped in. The third and last proclamation is, "I am encamped upon the Angrab, or Kahha; he that does not join me there, I will chastise him for seven years." Mr. Bruce was long in doubt what this term of seven years meant, till he recollected the jubilee-year of the Jews, with whom seven years was a prescription of offences, debts, and all trespasses.

The rains generally cease the eighth of September; a sickly season follows, till they begin again about the 20th of October; they then continue pretty constant, but moderate in quantity, till Hedar St. Michael, the eighth of November. All epidemic diseases cease with the end of these rains, and it is then the armies begin to march.

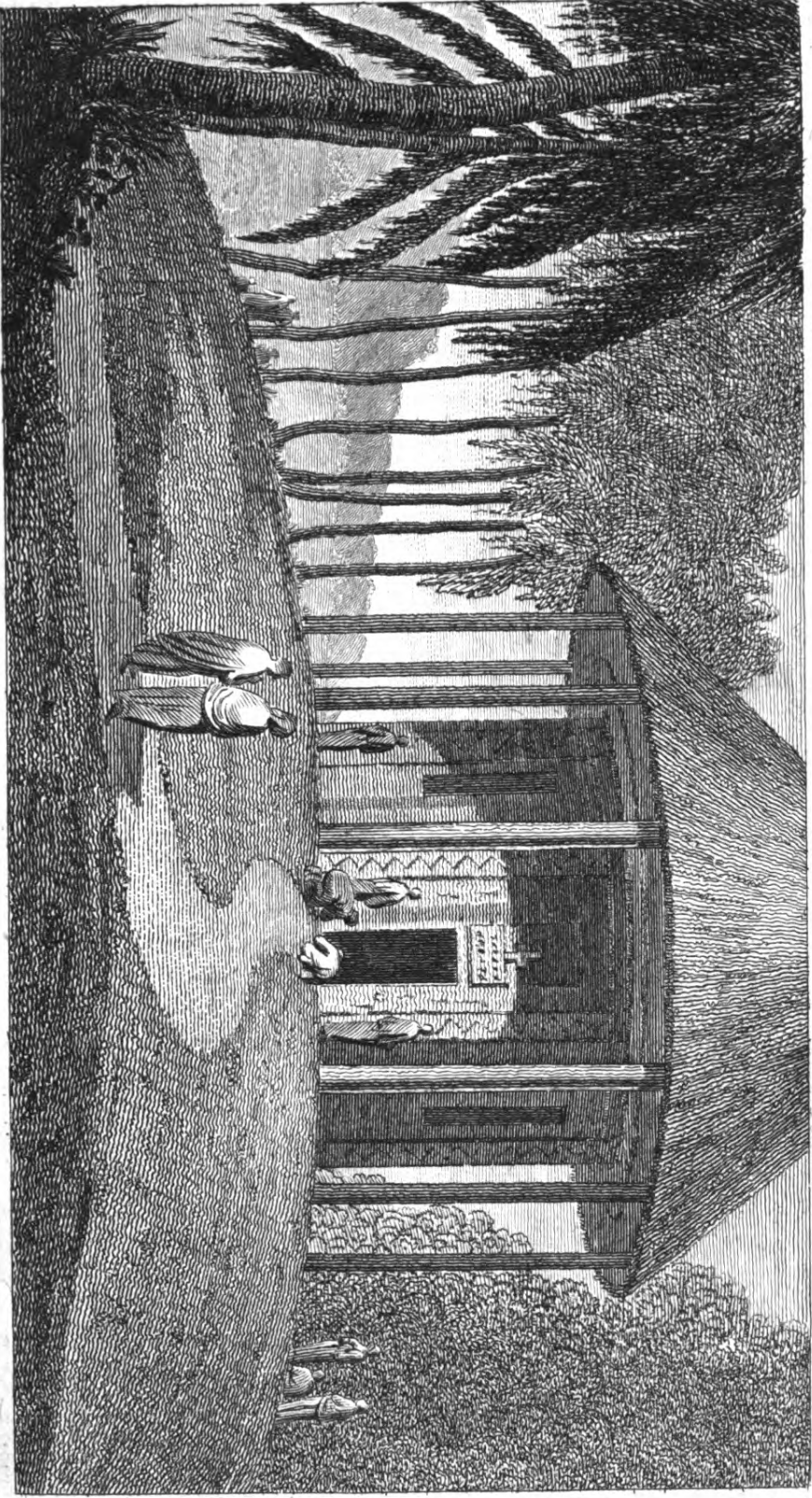
Mr. Bruce next proceeds to speak of the state of religion in Abyssinia, where there are more churches than in any other country; and, though it is very mountainous, and consequently the view much obstructed, it is very seldom you see less than five or six churches; and, if you are on a commanding ground, five times that number. Every great man that dies thinks he has

atoned for all his wickedness if he leaves a fund to build a church, or has built one in his life-time. The king builds many. Wherever a victory is gained, there a church is erected in the very field stinking with the putrid bodies of the slain. Formerly this was only the case when the enemy was Pagan or Infidel; now the same is observed when the victories are over Christians. The situation of a church is always chosen near running water, for the convenience of their purifications and abutions, in which they observe strictly the Levitical law. They are always placed upon the top of some beautiful, round hill, which is surrounded entirely with rows of the oxycedrus, or Virginia cedar, which grows here in great beauty and perfection, and is called *Arz*. There is nothing adds so much to the beauty of the country as these churches and the plantations about them. In the middle of this plantation of cedars is interspersed, at proper distances, a number of those beautiful trees called *Cusio*, which grow very high, and are all extremely picturesque.

The churches are all round, with thatched roofs; their summits are perfect cones; the outside is surrounded by a number of wooden pillars, which are nothing else than the trunks of the cedar-tree, and are placed to support the edifice, about eight feet of the roof projecting beyond the wall of the church, which forms an agreeable walk, or colonade, around it in hot weather, or in rain. The inside of the church is in several divisions, according as is prescribed by the law of Moses. The first is a circle somewhat wider than the inner one; here the congregation sit and pray. Within this is a square, and that square is divided by a veil or curtain, in which is another very small division answering to the holy of holies. This is so narrow, that none but the priests can go into it. You are bare-footed, whenever you enter the church; and, if bare-footed, you may go through every part of it, if you have any such curiosity, provided you are pure, that is, have not been concerned with women for twenty-four hours before, or touched carrion or dead bodies, (a curious assemblage of ideas,) for in that case you are not to go within  
the

College, Pa.

*St. Myronian Church.*





the precincts, or outer circumference of the church, but stand and say your prayers at an awful distance among the cedars.

Every person of both sexes, under Jewish disqualifications, are obliged to observe this distance; and this is always a place belonging to the church, where, unless in Lent, you see the greatest part of the congregation; but this is left to your own conscience; and, if there was either great inconvenience in the one situation, or great satisfaction in the other, the case would be otherwise.

On your first entering the church, you put off your shoes; but you must leave a servant there with them, or else they will be stolen, if good for any thing, by the priests and monks before you come out of the church. At entering you kiss the threshold, and the two door-posts, go in and say what prayer you please; that finished, you come out again, and your duty is over. The churches are full of pictures, painted on parchment, and nailed upon the walls, in a manner little less slovenly than you see paltry prints in beggarly country ale-houses. There has been always a sort of painting known among the scribes, a daubing much inferior to the worst of our sign-painters. Sometimes, for a particular church, they get a number of pictures of saints, on skins of parchment, ready finished from Cairo, in a stile very little superior to these performances of their own. They are placed like a frieze, and hung in the upper part of the wall. St. George is generally there with his dragon, and St. Demetrius fighting a lion. There is no choice in their saints; they are both of the Old and New Testament, and those that might be dispensed with from both. There is St. Pontius Pilate and his wife; there is St. Balaam and his ass; St. Samson and his jaw-bone; and so of the rest. But the thing that surprised Mr. Bruce most was a kind of square miniature upon the front of the head-piece, or mitre, of the priest, administering the sacrament at Adowa, representing Pharaoh on a white horse plunging in the Red Sea, with many guns and pistols swimming upon the surface of it around him.

Nothing embossed, nor in relief, ever appears in any of their churches; all this would be reckoned idolatry, so much so, that they do not wear a cross, as has been represented,

fented, on the top of the ball of the sendick, or standard, because it casts a shade; but there is no doubt that pictures have been used in their churches from the very earliest age of Christianity.

The articles of the faith of the Abyssinians have been inquired into and discussed with so much keenness in the beginning of this century, that Mr. Bruce fears he should disoblige some of his readers were he to pass this subject without notice.

Their first bishop, Frumentius, being ordained about the year 333, and instructed in the religion of the Greeks of the church of Alexandria by St. Athanasius, then sitting in the chair of St. Mark, it follows that the true religion of the Abyssinians, which they received on their conversion to Christianity, is that of the Greek church; and every rite or ceremony in the Abyssinian church may be found and traced up to its origin in the Greek church while both of them were orthodox. Frumentius preserved Abyssinia untainted with heresy till the day of his death. We find from a letter preserved in the works of St. Athanasius, that Constantius, the heretical Greek emperor, wished St. Athanasius to deliver him up, which that patriarch refused to do; indeed, at that time, it was not in his power.

Soon after this, Arianism, and a number of other heresies, each in their turn, were brought by the monks from Egypt, and infected the church of Abyssinia. A great part of these heresies, in the beginning, were certainly owing to the difference of the languages in those times, and especially the two words *Nature* and *Person*, than which no two words were ever more equivocal in every language in which they have been translated.

It was settled by the first general council, that one baptism only was necessary for the regeneration of man, for freeing him from the sin of our first parents, and lifting him under the banner of CHRIST.—“I confess one baptism for the remission of sins,” says the Symbol. It was maintained by the Jesuits, that in Abyssinia, once every year, they baptised all grown people, or adults. Mr. Bruce here relates what he himself saw on the spot.

The small river, running between the town of Adowa and the church, had been dammed up for several days;

days; the stream was scanty, so that it scarcely overflowed. It was in places three feet deep, in some, perhaps, four, or little more. Three large tents were pitched the morning before the feast of the Epiphany; one on the north for the priests to repose in during intervals of the service, and beside this one to communicate in: on the south there was a third tent, for the monks and priests of another church to rest themselves in their turn. About twelve o'clock at night, the monks and priests met together, and began their prayers and psalms at the water-side, one party relieving each other. At dawn of day the governor, Welleta Michael, came thither with some soldiers to raise men for Ras Michael, then on his march against Waragna Fasil, and sat down on a small hill by the water-side, the troops all skirmishing on foot and on horseback around them.

As soon as the sun began to appear, three large crosses of wood were carried by three priests dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, and who, coming to the side of the river, dipt the cross into the water, and all this time the firing, skirmishing, and praying went on together. The priests with the crosses returned, one of their number before them carrying something less than an English quart of water in a silver cup or chalice; when they were about fifty yards from Welleta Michael, that general stood up, and the priest took as much water as he could hold in his hands and sprinkled it upon his head, holding the cup at the same time to Welleta Michael's mouth to taste; after which the priest received it back again, saying, at the same time, "Gzier y'barak," which is simply, "May God bless you." Each of the three crosses were then brought forward to Welleta Michael, and he kissed them. The ceremony of sprinkling the water was then repeated to all the great men in the tent, all cleanly dressed as in gala. Some of them, not contented with aspersion, received the water in the palms of their hands joined, and drank it there; more water was brought for those that had not partaken of the first; and, after the whole of the governor's company were sprinkled, the crosses returned to the river, their bearers singing *ballelujahs*, and skirmishing and firing continuing.

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Mr. Bruce observed, that, a very little time after the governor had been sprinkled, two horses and two mules, belonging to Ras Michael and Ozoro Esther, came and were washed. Afterwards the soldiers went in and bathed their horses and guns; those who had wounds bathed them also. Heaps of platters and pots, that had been used by Mahometans or Jews, were brought thither likewise to be purified; and thus the whole ended.

Mr. Bruce saw this ceremony performed afterwards at Kahha, near Gondar, in presence of the king, who drank some of the water, and was sprinkled by the priests; then took the cup in his hand, and threw the rest that was left upon Amha Yafous, saying, "I will be your deacon;" and this was thought a high compliment, the priest giving him his blessing at the same time, but offering him no more water.

Mr. Bruce then mentions the account given of this by Alvarez, chaplain to the Portuguese embassy, under Don Roderigo de Lima.

The king had invited Don Roderigo de Lima, the Portuguese ambassador, to be present at the celebration of the festival of the Epiphany. They went about a mile and a half from their former station, and encamped upon the side of a pond which had been prepared for the occasion. Alvarez says, that, in their way, they were often asked by those they met or overtook, "Whether or not they were going to be baptized?" to which the chaplain and his company answered in the negative, as having been already once baptized in their childhood. "In the night, says he, a great number of priests assembled about the pond, roaring and singing with a view of blessing the water. After midnight the baptism began. The Abuna Mark, the king and queen, were the first that went into the lake; they had each a piece of cotton cloth about their middle, which was just so much more than the rest of the people had. At the sun-rising the baptism was most thronged; after which, when Alvarez came, the lake was full of holy water, into which they had poured oil."

It should seem, from this outset of his narrative, that he was not at the lake till the ceremony was half over, and did not see that benediction of the water at all, nor the

the curious exhibition of the King, Queen, and Abuna, and their cotton cloths.

The Abyssinians receive the holy sacrament in both kinds in unleavened bread, and in the grape bruised with the husk together as it grows, so that it is a kind of marmalade, and is given in a flat spoon: whatever they may pretend, some mixture seems necessary to keep it from fermentation in the state that it is in, unless the dried cluster is fresh bruised just before it is used, for it is little more fluid than the common marmalade of confectioners; but it is perfectly the grape as it grew, bruised, stones and skin together. Some means, however, have been used, as Mr. Bruce supposes, to prevent fermentation, and make it keep; and though this is constantly denied, he has often thought he tasted a flavour that was not natural to the grape itself.

It is a mistake that there is no wine in Abyssinia, for a quantity of excellent strong wine is made at Dreedā, south-west from Gondar, about thirty miles, which would more than supply the quantity necessary for the celebration of the eucharist in all Abyssinia twenty times over. The people themselves are not fond of wine, and plant the vine in one place only; and in this they have been imitated by the Egyptians, their colony; but a small black grape, of an excellent flavour, grows plentifully wild in every wood in Tigré.

Large pieces of bread are given to the communicants in proportion to their quality; and Mr. Bruce has seen great men, who, though they opened their mouths as wide as conveniently a man can do, yet, from the respect the priest bore him, such a portion of the loaf was put into his mouth that water ran from his eyes, from the incapacity of chewing it, which, however, he does as indecently, and with full as much noise, as he eats at table.

After receiving the sacrament of the eucharist in both kinds, a pitcher of water is brought, of which the communicant drinks a large draught; and well he needs it to wash down the quantity of bread he has just swallowed. He then retires from the steps of the inner division, upon which the administering priest stands, and, turning his  
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face to the wall of the church, in private says some prayer with seeming decency and attention.

The Romanists doubt of the validity of the Abyssinian consecration of the elements, because in their liturgy it is plainly said, "LORD put thy hand upon this cup, and bless it, and sanctify it, and purify it, that in it may be made thy holy blood;" and of the bread they say, "Bless the saucer, or plate, that in it may be made thy holy body." And in their prayer they say, "Change this bread that it may be made thy pure body, which is joined with this cup of thy precious blood." The Jesuits doubt of the validity of this consecration, because it is said, "this *bread* is my body," and over the wine, "this *cup* is my blood;" whereas, to operate a true transubstantiation, they should say over the bread, "this is my body."

Mr. Bruce finishes this subject by an anecdote that happened a few months before his coming into Abyssinia, as it was accidentally told him by the priest of Adowa the very day of the Epiphany, and which Janni vouched to be true, and to have seen.

The Sunday before Ras Michael's departure for Gondar from Adowa, he went to church in great pomp, and there received the sacrament. There happened to be such a crowd to see him, that the wine, part of the consecrated elements, was thrown down and spilt upon the steps whereon the communicants stood at receiving. Some straw or hay was instantly gathered and sprinkled upon it to cover it, and the communicants continued the service till the end, treading that grass under foot.

This giving great offence to Janni, and some few priests that lived with him, it was told Michael, who, without explaining himself, said only, "As to the fact of throwing the hay, they are a parcel of hogs, and know no better." These few words had stuck in the stomach of the priest of Adowa, who, with great secrecy, and as a mark of friendship, begged Mr. Bruce would give him his opinion what he should have done, or rather, what would have been done in his country? Mr. Bruce told him, that the answer to his question depended upon two things, which, being known, his difficulties would be very easily solved. "If you do believe

lieve that the wine spilt by the mob upon the steps, and trodden under foot afterwards, was really the blood of JESUS CHRIST, then you was guilty of a most horrid crime, and you should cry upon the mountains to cover you; and ages of atonement are not sufficient to expiate it. You should, in the mean time, have railed the place round with iron, or built it round with stone, that no foot, or any thing else but the dew of heaven, could have fallen upon it, or you should have brought in the river upon the place that would have washed it all to the sea, and covered it ever after from sacrilegious profanation. But if, on the contrary, you believe (as many Christian churches do) that the wine (notwithstanding consecration) remained in the cup nothing more than wine, but was only the symbol, or type, of CHRIST'S blood of the New Testament, then the spilling it upon the steps, and the treading upon it afterwards, having been merely accidental, and out of your power to prevent, being so far from your wish that you are heartily sorry that it happened, I do not reckon that you are further liable in the crime of sacrilege, than if the wine had not been consecrated at all. You are to humble yourself, and sincerely regret that so irreverent an accident happened in your hands, and in your time; but as you did not intend it, and could not prevent it, the consequence of an accident, where inattention is exceedingly culpable, will be imputed to you, and nothing further."

The priest declared to Mr. Bruce, with the greatest earnestness, that he never did believe that the elements in the eucharist were converted by consecration into the real body and blood of CHRIST. He said, however, that he believed this to be the Roman Catholic faith, but it never was his; and that he conceived that bread was bread, and the wine was wine, even after consecration. From this example, which occurred merely accidentally, and was not the fruit of interrogation or curiosity, it appears to Mr. Bruce, whatever the Jesuits say, some at least among the Abyssinians do not believe the real presence in the eucharist; but further our traveller is not enough informed to give a positive opinion.

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The Abyssinians are not all agreed about the state of souls before the resurrection of the body. The opinion which generally prevails is, that there is no third state; but that, after the example of the thief, the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision immediately upon the separation from the body. But their practice and books both contradict this; for, as often as any person dies, alms are given, and prayers are offered for the souls of those departed, which would be vain did they believe they were already in the presence of God, and in possession of the greatest bliss possible, wanting nothing to complete it.

The circumcision of the Abyssinians is performed with a sharp knife, or razor. There is no laceration with the nails, no formula or repetition of words, nor any religious ceremony at the time of the operation, nor is it done at any particular age, and generally it is a woman that is the surgeon. The Falasha say, they perform it sometimes with the edge of a sharp stone, sometimes with a knife or razor, and at other times with the nails of their fingers; and for this purpose they have the nails of their little fingers of an immoderate length: at the time of the operation the priest chants a hymn, or verse, importing, "Blessed art thou, O LORD, who hast ordained circumcision!" This is performed on the eighth day, and is a religious rite, according to the first institution by God to Abraham.

All the inhabitants of the globe agree in considering it shameful to expose the private part of their body, even to men; and in the east, where, from climate, you are allowed, and from respect to your superiors, the generality of men are forced to go naked, all agree in covering their waist, which is called their *nakedness*, though it is really the only part of their body that is covered.

Circumcision having no natural cause or advantage, being in itself repugnant to man's nature, and extremely painful, if not dangerous, it could never originate in man's mind wantonly and out of free-will. It might have done so, indeed, from imitation, but with Abraham it had a cause, as God was to make his private family in a few years numerous, like the sands of the sea. This mark, which separated them from all the world, was an  
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easy way to shew whether the promise was fulfilled or not. They were going to take possession of a land where circumcision was not known, and this shewed them their enemy distinct from their own people.

There is another ceremony, which regards the women also, and which Mr. Bruce calls *incision*. This is an usage frequent, and still retained among the Jews, though positively prohibited by the law: "Thou shalt not cut thy face for the sake of, or on account of the dead." As soon as a near relation dies in Abyssinia, a brother or parent, cousin-german or lover, every woman in that relation, with the nail of her little finger, which she leaves long on purpose, cuts the skin of both her temples, about the size of a sixpence; and therefore you see either a wound or a scar in every fair face in Abyssinia; and in the dry season, when the camp is out, from the loss of friends, they seldom have liberty to heal till peace, and the army returns with the rains.

The Abyssinians, like the ancient Egyptians, their first colony, in computing their time, have continued the use of the solar year. Diodorus Siculus says, "They do not reckon their time by the moon, but according to the sun; that thirty days constitute their month, to which they add five days and the fourth part of a day, and this completes their year."

It is uncertain whence they derived the names of their months; they have no signification in any of the languages of Abyssinia. The name of the first month among the old Egyptians has continued to this day. It is Tot, probably so called from the first division of time among the Egyptians, from observation of the heliacal rising of the dog-star. The names of the months retained in Abyssinia are possibly in antiquity prior to this; they are probably those given them by the Cushite, before the Kalendar at Thebes and Meroë, their colony, were formed.

The Abyssinians have another way of describing time peculiar to themselves; they read the whole of the four evangelists every year in their churches. They begin with Matthew, then proceed to Mark, Luke, and John, in order; and when they speak of an event, they write  
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and say it happened in the days of Matthew, that is, in the first quarter of the year, while the gospel of St. Matthew was yet reading in the churches. They compute the time of the day in a very arbitrary, irregular manner. The twilight is very short, almost imperceptible, and was still more so when the court was removed farther to the southward in Shoa. As soon as the sun falls below the horizon, night comes on, and all the stars appear. This term, then, the twilight, they choose for the beginning of their day, and call it Naggé, which is the very time the twilight of the morning lasts. The same is observed at night, and Mefet is meant to signify the instant of beginning the twilight, between the sun's falling below the horizon and the stars appearing. Mid-day is by them called *Kater*, a very old word, which signifies *culmination*, or a thing's being arrived or placed at the middle or highest part of an arch. All the rest of times, in conversation, they describe by pointing at the place in the heavens where the sun then was, when what they are describing happened.

Mr. Bruce concludes what further he has to say on this subject, by observing, that nothing can be more inaccurate than all Abyssinian calculations. Besides their absolute ignorance in arithmetic, their excessive idleness and aversion to study, and a number of fanciful, whimsical combinations, by which every particular scribe or monk distinguishes himself, there are obvious reasons why there should be a variation between their chronology and ours. The beginning of our years are different; ours begin on the 1st of January, and theirs on the 1st day of September, so that there are 8 months difference between us. The last day of August may be the year 1780 with us, and 1779 only with the Abyssinians. And in the reign of their kings, they very seldom mention either month or day beyond an even number of years. Supposing, then, it is known that the reign of ten kings extended from such to such period, where all the months and days are comprehended, when we come to assign to each of these an equal number of years, without the correspondent months and days, it is plain that, when all these

deputy, and you answer that you advise me to appoint him myself." "And so I do, replied Tecla Mariam). Who is to appoint him but you? You are governor of Ras el Feel; are you not?" Mr. Bruce stood motionless with astonishment. "It is no great affair, said he, and I hope you will never see it. It is a hot, unwholesome country, full of Mahometans; but its gold is as good as any Christian gold whatever. I wish it had been Begemder with all my heart, but there is a good time coming."

Mr. Bruce, after having recovered himself a little from his surprize, went to Ayto Confu to kiss his hand as his superior; but this he would by no means suffer him to do. A great dinner was provided them by the Iteghé; and Yafine being sent for, was appointed, cloathed, that is, invested, and ordered immediately to Ras el Feel to his government, to make peace with the Daveina, and bring all the horses he could get with him from thence, or from Atbara. The having thus provided for Yafine, and secured, as he thought, a retreat to Sennaar for himself, gave him the first real pleasure that he had received since his landing at Masuah; and that day, seeing himself in company with all his friends, and the hopes of this country, for the first time since his arrival in Abyssinia, he abandoned himself to joy.

His constitution was, however, too much weakened to bear any excesses. The day after, when he went home to Emfras, he found himself attacked with a slow fever, and thinking that it was the prelude of an ague, with which he was often tormented, he fell to taking bark, without any remission, or, where the remission was very obscure, he shut himself up in the house, upon his constant regimen of boiled rice, with abundant draughts of cold water.

At this time a piece of bad news was circulated at Gondar, that Kasmati Boro, whom the Ras had left governor at Damot, had been beaten by Fasil, and obliged to retire to his own country in Gojam, to Stadis Amba, near the passage of the Nile, at Miné; and that Fasil, with a much larger army of Galla than that he had brought to Fagitta, had taken possession of Buré, the usual place of his residence. This being privately talked



of as true, Mr. Bruce asked Kefla Yafous, in confidence, what he knew of it. Upon its being confirmed, he could not disguise his sorrow, as he was convinced that unexpected turn of affairs would be an invincible obstacle to his reaching the source of the Nile. "You are mistaken, says Kefla Yafous, it is the best thing that could happen to you. Why you desire to see those places I do not know; but this I am sure of, you never will arrive there with any degree of safety while Fasil commands. He is as perfect a Galla as ever forded the Nile; he has neither word, nor oath, nor faith that can bind; he does mischief for mischief's sake, and then laughs at it."

After Fasil's defeat at Fagitta, and the affront he received at Assoa in the heart of his own country, he had continued his route to Buré, a district of the Agows, where was his constant residence. After this he had crossed the Nile into the country of Bizamo; and Boro de Gago had taken up his residence at Brué, when Michael returned to Gondar; but no sooner had he heard of his arrival in those parts, than he marched with a number of horse, and forced his rival to retire to Gojam.

A very obstinate battle was fought at Banja, in which the Agows were entirely defeated by Fasil, seven of their chiefs killed, all men of great consequence, among whom was Ayamico, a very near relation of the king. The news were first brought by a son\* of Nanna Georgis, chief of the Agows, who escaped from the battle. Michael was at dinner, and Mr. Bruce was present. It was one of his carousals for the marriage of Powussen, when young Georgis came into the room, in a torn and dirty habit, unattended, and almost unperceived, and presented himself at the foot of the table. Michael had then in his hand a cup of gold, it being the exclusive privilege of the governor of the province of Tigré to drink out of such a cup; it was full of wine; before a word was spoken, and, upon the first appearance of the man, he threw the cup and wine upon the ground, and cried out, "I am guilty of the death of these people." Every one arose, the table was removed, and Georgis told his misfortune, that Nanna Georgis his father, Zeegam Georgis, the next in rank among them, Ayamico

mico the king's relation, and four other chiefs, were slain at Banja, and their race nearly extirpated by a victory gained with much bloodshed, and after cruelly pursued in retaliation for that of Fagitta.

A council was immediately called, where it was resolved, that, though the rainy season was at hand, the utmost expedition should be made to take the field; that Gusho and Powussen should return to their provinces, and increase their army to the utmost of their power; that the king should take the low road by Foggora and Dara, there to join the troops of Begemder and Amhara, cross the Nile at the mouth of the lake, above the second cataract, as it is called, and march thence straight to Buré, which, by speedy marches, might be done in five or six days. No resolution was ever embraced with more alacrity; the cause of the Agows was the cause of Gondar, or famine would else immediately follow. The king's troops and those of Michael were all ready, and had just refreshed themselves by a week's festivity.

Gusho and Powussen, after having sworn to Michael that they never would return without Fasil's head, decamped next morning with very different intentions in their hearts; for no sooner had they reached Begemder than they entered into a conspiracy in form against Michael, which they had long meditated; they had resolved to make peace with Fasil, and swear with him a solemn league, that they were but to have one cause, one council, and one interest, till they had deprived Michael of his life and dignity.

All this time Mr. Bruce found himself declining in health, to which the irregularities of the last week had greatly contributed. The king and Ras had sufficiently provided tents and conveniences for him, yet he wanted to construct for himself a tent, with a large slit in the roof, that he might have an opportunity of taking observations with his quadrant, without being inquieted by troublesome or curious visitors. He therefore obtained leave from the king to go to Emfras, a town about twenty miles south from Gondar, where a number of Mahometan tent-makers lived. Gusho had a house there, and a pleasant garden, which he very willingly gave Mr. Bruce the use of, with this advice, however,

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which at the time he did not understand, rather to go on to Amhara with him, for he would there sooner recover his health, and be more in quiet, than with the King or Michael. As the king was to pass immediately under this town, and as most of those that loaded and unloaded his tents and baggage were Mahometants, and lived at Emfras, he could not be better situated, or more at his liberty and ease than there.

After having taken his leave of the king and the Ras, he paid the same compliment to the Iteghé at Koscam. That excellent princess endeavoured much to dissuade Mr. Bruce from leaving Gondar. She treated the intention of going to the source of the Nile as a fantastical folly, unworthy of any man of sense or understanding, and very earnestly advised him to stay under her protection at Koscam, till he saw whether Ras Michael and the king would return, and then take the first good opportunity of returning to his own country through Tigré, the way that he came, before any evil should overtake him.

Mr. Bruce excused himself the best he could. It was not easy to do it with any degree of conviction, to people utterly unlearned, and who knew nothing of the prejudice of ages in favour of the attempt he was engaged in. He, therefore, turned the discourse to professions of gratitude for benefits that he had every day received from her, and for the very great honour that she then did him, when she condescended to testify her anxiety concerning the fate of a poor unknown traveller like him, who could not possibly have any merit but what arose from her own gracious and generous sentiments, and universal charity, that extended to every object in proportion as they were helpless.

Gondar, the metropolis of Abyssinia, is situated upon a hill of considerable height, the top of it nearly plain, on which the town is placed. It consists of about ten thousand families in times of peace; the houses are chiefly of clay, the roofs thatched, in the form of cones, which is always the construction within the tropical rains. On the west end of the town is the king's house, formerly a structure of considerable consequence; it was a square building, flanked with square towers; it was  
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formerly four stories high; and, from the top of it, had a magnificent view of all the country southward to the lake Tzana. Great part of this house is now in ruins, having been burnt at different times; but there is still ample lodging in the two lowest floors of it, the audience-chamber being above one hundred and twenty feet long.

Gondar, by a number of observations of the sun and stars made by day and night, in the course of three years, with an astronomical quadrant of three feet radius, and two excellent telescopes, and by a mean of all their small differences, is in lat.  $12^{\circ} 34' 30''$ ; and by many observations, Mr. Bruce concluded its longitude to be  $37^{\circ} 33' 0''$  east from the meridian of Greenwich.

On the 4th of April 1770, at eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bruce set out from Gondar, and the next day he arrived at Emfras, after a very pleasant, though not interesting excursion. The town is situated on a steep hill, and the way up to it is almost perpendicular like the ascent of a ladder. The houses are all placed about the middle of the hill, fronting the west, in number about 300. Above these houses are gardens, or rather fields, full of trees and bushes, without any sort of order, up to the very top. Emfras commands a view of the whole lake of Tzana, and part of the country on the other side. It was once a royal residence. On a small hill is a house of Hatzé Hannes, in form of a square tower, now going fast to ruin. Emfras is in lat.  $12^{\circ} 12' 38''$  N. and long.  $37^{\circ} 38' 30''$  E. of the meridian of Greenwich.

The lake of Tzana is much the largest expanse of water known in that country. Its extent, however, has been greatly exaggerated. Its greatest breadth is 35 miles; but it decreases greatly at each extremity, where it is not sometimes above ten miles broad. Its greatest length is 49 miles from north to south, and which extent this lake has in length. In the dry months, from October to March, the lake shrinks greatly in size; but after that all those rivers are full which are on every side of it, and fall into the lake, like radii drawn to a center, then it swells, and extends itself into the plain country, and has of course a much larger surface.

On the 12th of May our travellers heard the king had marched to Tedda, and on the 15th, they heard the king's kettle drums. Forty-five of these instruments constantly go before him, beating all the way while he is on his march. The Mahometan town near the water was plundered in a minute; but the inhabitants had long before removed every thing valuable.

On the 14th, at day-break, Mr. Bruce mounted his horse, with all his men-servants, leaving the women-servants and an old man to take care of the house. It was very unsafe to travel in such company at such an hour. Early as it was, the king was then in council, and Ras Michael, who had his advisers assembled also in his tent, had just left it to go to the king's. There was about 500 yards between their tents, and a free avenue is constantly left, in which it is a crime to stand, or even to cross, unless for messengers sent from the one to the other.

Mr. Bruce now took the advantage to pay a visit to the great cataract of Alata. The first thing our traveller was shewn was the bridge, which consists of one arch of about twenty-five feet broad. Fragments of the parapets remained, and the bridge itself seemed to bear the appearance of frequent repairs, and many attempts to ruin it; otherwise, in its construction, it was exceedingly commodious. The Nile here is confined between two rocks, and runs in a deep trough, with great roaring and impetuous velocity. They were told no crocodiles were ever seen so high, and were obliged to remount the stream above half a mile before they came to the cataract, through trees and bushes of a beautiful and delightful appearance.

The cataract itself was the most magnificent sight that Mr. Bruce ever beheld. The height has been rather exaggerated. The missionaries say the fall is about sixteen ells, or fifty feet. The measuring is, indeed, very difficult; but, by the position of long sticks, and poles of different lengths, at different heights of the rock, from the water's edge, Mr. Bruce thinks he may venture to say that it is nearer forty feet than any other measure. The river had been considerably increased by rains, and fell in one sheet of water, without any interval.

val, above half an English mile in breadth, with a force and noise that was truly terrible, and which stunned, and made him, for a time, perfectly dizzy. A thick fume, or haze, covered the fall all round, and hung over the course of the stream both above and below, marking its track, though the water was not seen. The river, though swelled with rain, preserved its natural clearness, and fell, as far as he could discern, into a deep pool, or basin, in the solid rock, which was full, and in twenty different eddies to the very foot of the precipice; the stream, when it fell, seeming part of it to run back with great fury upon the rock, as well as forward in the line of its course, raising a wave, or violent ebullition, by chaffing against each other.

Jerome Lobo pretends, that he has sat under the curve, or arch, made by the projectile force of the water rushing over the precipice. He says he sat calmly at the foot of it, and looking through the curve of the stream, as it was falling, saw a number of rainbows of inconceivable beauty in this extraordinary prism. This however, Mr. Bruce, without hesitation, avers to be a downright falsehood. A deep pool of water, reaches to the very foot of the rock, and is in perpetual agitation. Now, allowing that there was a seat, or bench, which there is not, in the middle of the pool, it is absolutely impossible, by any exertion of human strength, to have arrived at it. Although a very robust man, in the prime and vigour of life, and a hardy, practised, indefatigable swimmer, Mr. Bruce is perfectly confident he could not have got to that seat from the shore through the quietest part of that basin. It was a most magnificent sight, that ages, added to the greatest length of human life, would not deface or eradicate from Mr. Bruce's memory; it struck him with a kind of stupor, and a total oblivion of where he was, and of every other sublunary concern. It was one of the most magnificent, stupendous sights in the creation, though degraded and vilified by the lies of a groveling, fanatic peasant.

On the 22d of May, our travellers were all equally desirous to resume their journey. They set out accordingly at six o'clock in the morning, ascending some hills covered with trees and shrubs of inexpressible beauty,

and many of extraordinary fragrance. They continued ascending about three miles, till they came to the top of the ridge within sight of the lake. As they rose, the hills became more bare and less beautiful.

After Mr. Bruce had passed the Nile, he found himself more than ordinarily depressed; his spirits were sunk almost to a degree of despondency, and yet nothing had happened since that period more than was expected before. This disagreeable situation of mind continued at night while he was in bed. The rashness and imprudence with which he had engaged himself in so many dangers without any necessity for so doing; the little prospect of his being ever able to extricate himself out of them, or, even if he lost his life, of the account being conveyed to his friends at home; the great and unreasonable presumption which had led him to think that, after every one that had attempted this voyage had miscarried in it, he was the only person that was to succeed: all these reflections upon his mind, when relaxed, dozing, and half oppressed with sleep, filled his imagination with what he had heard other people call the *horrors*, the most disagreeable sensation he ever was conscious of, and which he then felt for the first time. Impatient of suffering any longer, he leaped out of bed, and went to the door of the tent, where the outward air perfectly awakened him, and restored his strength and courage. All was still, and at a distance he saw several bright fires, but lower down, and more to the right than he expected, which made him think he was mistaken in the situation of Karcagna. It was then near four in the morning of the 25th. He called upon his companions, happily buried in deep sleep, as he was desirous, if possible, to join the king that day. They accordingly were three or four miles from Derdera when the sun rose; there had been little rain that night, and they found very few torrents on their way; but it was slippery, and uneasy walking, the rich soil being trodden into a consistence like paste.

A little before nine they heard a gun fired, which gave them some joy, as the army seemed not to be far off; a few minutes after, they heard several dropping shots; and, in less than a quarter of an hour's time, a general firing

firing began from right to left, which ceased for an instant, and then was heard again as smart as ever; about the occasion of which they were divided in opinion. The firing continued much in the same way, rather slacker, but apparently advancing nearer them; a sure sign that their army was beaten and retreating. They, therefore, made themselves ready, and mounted on horseback, that they might join them. Yet it was a thing appeared to them scarcely possible, that Fasil should beat Ras Michael so easily, and with so short a resistance.

They had not gone far in the plain before they had a fight of the enemy, to their very great surprise and no small comfort. A multitude of deer, buffaloes, boars, and various other wild beasts, had been alarmed by the noise and daily advancing of the army, and gradually driven before them. The country was all overgrown with wild oats, a great many of the villages having been burnt the year before the inhabitants had abandoned them: in this shelter the wild beasts had taken up their abodes in very great numbers. When the army pointed towards Karcagna to the left, the silence and solitude on the opposite side made them turn to the right to where the Nile makes a semi-circle, the Jemma being behind them, and much overflowed. When the army, therefore, instead of marching south and by east towards Samseen, had turned their course north-west, their faces towards Gondar, they had fallen in with these innumerable herds of deer and other beasts, who, confined between the Nile, the Jemma, and the lake, had no way to return but that by which they had come. These animals, finding men in every direction in which they attempted to pass, became desperate with fear; and, not knowing what course to take, fell a prey to the troops. The soldiers, happy in an occasion of procuring animal food, presently fell to firing wherever the beasts appeared; every loaded gun was discharged upon them, and this continued for very near an hour.

A numerous flock of the largest deer met them just in the face, and seemed so desperate, that they had every appearance of running them down; and part of them forced themselves through, regardless of our travellers, whilst others turned south to escape across the plain.



The king and Ras Michael were in the most violent agitation of mind; though the cause was before their eyes, yet the word went about that Woodage Afahel had attacked the army; and this occasioned a great panic and disorder, for every body was convinced with reason that he was not far off. The firing, however, continued, the balls flew about in every direction, some few were killed, and many people and horses were hurt; still they fired, and Ras Michael, at the door of his tent, crying, threatening, and tearing his grey locks, found, for a few minutes, the army was not under his command. At this instant, Kafmati Netcho, whose Fit-Auraris had fallen back on his front, ordered his kettle drums, to be beat before he arrived in the king's presence; and this being heard, without it being known generally who they were, occasioned another panic. The king ordered his tent to be pitched, his standard to be set up, his drums to beat (the signal for encamping) and the firing immediately ceased. But it was a long while before all the army could believe that Woodage Afahel had not been engaged with some part of it that day. Mr. Bruce coming up with the army, he asked one of the generals, whither they were now marching? He said, that as soon as the news of the conspiracy were known, a council was held, where it was the general opinion they should proceed briskly forward, and attack Fasil alone at Buré, then turn to Gondar, to meet the other two; but then they had it upon the very best authority that great rains had fallen to the southward; that the rivers, which were so frequent in that part of the country, were mostly impassable, so there would be great danger in meeting Fasil with an army spent and fatigued with the difficulty of the roads. It was, therefore, determined, and the Ras was decidedly of that opinion, that they should keep their army entire for a better day, and immediately cross the Nile, and march back to Gondar; that they had accordingly wheeled about, and that day was the first of their proceeding, which had been interrupted by the accident of the firing. Mr. Bruce then waited upon the king, and staid a considerable time with him.

On the 26th of May, early in the morning, the army marched towards the Nile. In the afternoon they encamped

camped, between two and three, on the banks of the river Coga.

Next morning, the 27th, they left the river Coga, marching down upon the Nile, and passed the church of Mariam Net, as they call the church of St. Anne. Here the superior, attended by about fifty of his monks, came in procession to welcome Ras Michael; but he, it seems, had received some intelligence of ill-offices the people of this quarter had done to the Agows by Fasil's direction; he, therefore, ordered the church to be plundered, and took the superior, and two of the leading men of the monks, away with him to Gondar; several of the others were killed and wounded, without provocation, by the soldiers, and the rest dispersed through the country.

They arrived about four on the banks of the Nile, and took possession in a line of about 600 yards of ground. From the time they decamped from Coga, it poured incessantly the most continued rain they ever had yet seen, violent claps of thunder followed close one upon another, almost without interval, accompanied with sheets of lightning, which ran on the ground like water; the day was more than commonly dark, as in an eclipse, and every hollow, or foot-path, collected a quantity of rain, which fell into the Nile in torrents.

The Abyssinian armies pass the Nile at all seasons. It rolls with it no trees, stones, nor impediments; yet the sight of such a monstrous mass of water terrified Mr. Bruce, and made him think the idea of crossing would be laid aside. It was plain in the face of every one, that they gave themselves over for lost; an universal dejection had taken place, and it was but too visible that the army was defeated by the weather, without having seen an enemy. The Greeks crowded around Mr. Bruce all forlorn and despairing, cursing the hour they had first entered that country, and following these curses with fervent prayers, where fear held the place of devotion. A cold and brisk gale now sprung up at N. W. with a clear sun; and soon after four, when the army arrived on the banks of the Nile, these temporary torrents were all subsided, the sun was hot, and the ground again beginning to become dry.

Netcho, Ras Michael's Fit-Auraris, with about 400 men, had passed in the morning, and had sent back word to the king, that his men had passed swimming, and with very great difficulty; that he doubted whether the horses, or loaded mules, could cross at any rate; but if it were resolved to make the trial, they should do it immediately, without staying till the increase of the river. He said both banks were composed of black earth, slippery and miry, which would become more so when horses had puddled it; he advised, above all, the turning to the right immediately after coming ashore, in the direction in which he had fixed poles, as the earth there was hard and firm, besides having the advantage of some round stones, which hindered the beasts from slipping or sinking. Instead, therefore, of resting there that night, it was resolved that the horse should cross immediately.

The first who passed was a young man, a relation of the king, brother to Ayamico, killed at the battle of Banja; he walked in with great caution, marking a track for the king to pass. He had gone upon rather solid ground, about twice the length of his horse, when he plunged out of his depth, and swam to the other side. The king followed him immediately with a great degree of haste, Ras Michael calling to him to proceed with caution, but without success. Afterwards came the old Ras on his mule, with several of his friends swimming both with and without their horses on each side of him, in a manner truly wonderful. He seemed to have lost his accustomed calmness, and appeared a good deal agitated; forbade, upon pain of death, any one to follow him directly, or to swim over, or, as their custom is, holding their mules by the tail. As soon as these were safely ashore, the king's household and black troops, and Mr. Bruce with them, advanced cautiously into the river, and swam happily over, in a deep stream of reddish coloured water which ran without violence almost upon a level. Each horseman had a mule in his hand, which swam after him, or by his side, with his coat of mail and head-piece tied upon it. It is impossible to describe the confusion that followed; night was hard upon them, and, though it increased their loss, it, in great measure, concealed it; a thousand men had not yet passed, though

though on mules and horses; many mired in the muddy landing-place, fell back in the stream, and were carried away and drowned. Of the horse belonging to the king's household, one hundred and eighty in number, seven only were missing; with them Ayto Aylo, vice-chamberlain to the queen, and Tecla Mariam the king's uncle, a great friend of Ras Michael's, both old men.

There was no baggage (the tent of the Ras and that of the king excepted) which had as yet come over, and these were wet, being drenched in the river. The Fit-Auraris had left, ready made, two rafts for Ozoro Esther, and the other two ladies, with which she might have easily been conducted over, and without much danger; but the Ras had made Ozoro Esther pass over in the same manner he had crossed himself, many swimming on each side of her mule. She would have fain staid on the east side, but it was in vain to remonstrate. She was with child, and had fainted several times; but yet nothing could prevail with the Ras to trust her on the bank till morning. She crossed, however, safely, though almost dead with fright. The night was cold and clear, and a strong wind at north-west had blown all the afternoon. The river had abated towards mid-night, when, whether from this cause, or, as they alledged, that they found a more favourable ford, all the Tigré infantry, and many mules lightly loaded, passed with less difficulty than any of the rest had done, and with them several loads of flour; luckily also, Mr. Bruce's two tents and mules, to his great consolation, came safely over when it was near morning. Still the army continued to pass, and those that could swim seemed best off. Ayto Aylo, the queen's chamberlain, and Tecla Mariam, were probably drowned at the first attempt to pass, as they were never after heard of. Before day-light the van and the center had all joined the king; the number that had perished was never distinctly known, for those that were missing were thought to have remained on the other side with Kefla Yafous, at least for that day.

On the 28th, Kefla Yafous crossed Amlac Ohha with some degree of difficulty, and was obliged to abandon several baggage mules. He advanced after this with as  
great



great diligence as possible to Delakus, and found the ford, though deep, much better than he expected. He had pitched his tent on the high road to Gondar, before Welleta Yafous, the enemy, knew he was decamped, and of this passage he immediately advised Michael refreshing his troops for any emergency. About two in the afternoon Welleta Yafous appeared with his horse on the other side of the Nile, but it was then too late. Kefla Yafous was so strongly posted, and the banks of the river so guarded with fire-arms, down to the water-edge, that Fasil and all his army would not have dared to attempt the passage, or even approach the banks of the river.

Ras Michael, having received this intelligence, dispatched the Fit-Auraris, Netcho, to take post upon the ford of the Kelti, a large river, but rather broad than deep, about three miles off. He himself followed early in the morning, and passed the Kelti just at sun-rise, without halting; he then advanced to meet Kefla Yafous, as the army began to want provisions, the little flour that had been brought over, or which the soldiers had taken with them, being nearly exhausted during that night and the morning after. It was found too, that the men had but little powder, none of them having recruited their quantity since the hunting of the deer; but what they had was in perfect good order, being kept in horns and small wooden bottles, corked in such a manner as to be secured from water of any kind. Kefla Yafous, therefore, being in possession of the baggage, powder, and the provisions, a junction with him was absolutely necessary, and they expected to effect this at Wainadega, about twenty miles from their last night's quarters. Between twelve and one they heard the Fit-Auraris engaged; and there was sharp firing on both sides, which soon ceased. Michael ordered his army immediately to halt; he and the king, and Billetana Gueta Teela, commanded the van; Welleta Michael, and Ayto Tesfos of Siré, the rear. Having marched a little farther, he changed his order of battle. It was not long before the Fit-Auraris's two messengers arrived, running like deer along the plain, which was not absolutely flat, but sloped gently down, declining not a fathom in fifteen. Their account was,  
that

that they had fallen in with Fasil's Fit-Auraris; that they had attacked him smartly, and, though the enemy were greatly superior, being all horse except a few musqueteers, had killed four of them. The Ras, having first heard the message of the Fit-Auraris alone, he sent a man to report it to the king; and, immediately after this, he ordered two horsemen to go full gallop along the east-side of the hill, the low road to Walnadega, to warn Kessa Yasous of Fasil's being near at hand; he likewise directed the Fit-Auraris to advance cautiously till he had seen Fasil, and to pursue no party that should retreat before him.

Fasil soon appeared at the top of the hill, with about 3000 horse. It was a fine fight, but the evening was beginning to be overcast. After having taken a full view of the army, they all began to move slowly down the hill, beating their kettle drums. Fasil sent down a party to skirmish with these; and he himself halted after having made a few paces down the hill. The two bodies of horse met just half way, and mingled together, as appeared at least, with very decisive intention; but whether it was by orders or from fear, for they were not overmatched in numbers, the Abyssinian horse turned their backs and came precipitately down, so that they were afraid they would break in upon the foot. Several shots were fired from the center at them by order of the Ras, who cried out aloud, in derision, "Take away these horses and send them to the mill." They divided, however, to the right and left, into the two grassy valleys under cover of the musquetry, and a very few horses of Fasil's were carried in along with them, and slain by the soldiers on the side of the hill. On the king's side, no man of note was missing but Welleta Michael, nephew of Ras Michael, whose horse falling, he was taken prisoner, and carried off by Fasil.

The whole army advanced immediately at a very brisk pace, hooping and screaming, as is their custom, in a most harsh and barbarous manner, crying out Hatxé Ali! But Fasil, who saw the forward countenance of the king's troops, and that a few minutes would lay him under necessity of risking a battle, which he did not intend, withdrew

withdrew his troops at a smart trot over the smooth downs, returning towards Boskon Abbo.

This is what was called the battle of Limjour, from a village burnt by Ras Michael last campaign. The name of a battle is surely more than it deserves. Had Fafil been half as willing as the Ras, it could not have failed being a decisive one. The Ras, who saw that Fafil would not fight, easily penetrated his reasons; and no sooner was he gone, and his own drums silent, than he heard a negareet beat, and knew it to be that of Kessa Yafous. This general encamped upon the river Avoley, leaving his tents and baggage under a proper guard, and had marched with the best and freshest of his troops to join Michael before the engagement. All was joy at meeting, every rank of men joined in extolling the merit and conduct of their leaders; and, indeed, it may be fairly said, the situation of the king and the army was desperate at that instant when the troops were separated on different sides of the Nile; nor could they have been saved, but by the speedy resolution taken by Kessa Yafous to march without loss of time, and pass at the ford of Delakus, and the diligence and activity with which he executed that resolution.

The army marched next day to Dingleber, a high hill, or rock, approaching so close to the lake as scarcely to leave a passage between. Upon the top of this rock is the king's house. As they arrived very early there, and were now out of Fafil's government, the king insisted upon treating Ras Michael and all the people of consideration.

As the king sat down to dinner, an accident happened that occasioned great trepidation among all his servants. A black eagle was chased into the king's tent by some of the birds of prey that hover about the camp; and it was after in the mouth of every one, that the king would be dethroned by a man of inferior birth and condition. Every body at that time looked to Fafil: the event proved the application false, though the omen was true. Powussen of Begemder was as low-born as Fafil, as great a traitor, but more successful, to whom the ominous presage pointed; and, though we cannot but look  
upon

upon the whole as accident, it was but too soon fulfilled.

In the evening of the 29th arrived at Dingleber two horsemen from Fasil, clad in habits of peace, and without arms; they were known to be two of his principal servants, were grave, genteel, middle-aged men. They had an audience early after their coming, first of the Ras, then of the king. They said, and said truly, that Fasil had repassed the Kelti, was encamped on the opposite side, and was not yet joined by Welleta Yafous. Their errand was, to desire that the Ras might not fatigue his men by unnecessarily hurrying on to Gondar, because he might rest secured of receiving no further molestation from Fasil their master, as he was on his march to Buré. They told the Ras the whole of the conspiracy, as far as it regarded him, and the agreement that Powussen and Gusso had made with their master to surround him at Derdera: they mentioned, moreover, how sensible Fasil was of their treason towards him; that, instead of keeping their word, they had left him to engage the king and the Ras's whole force at a time when they knew the greatest part of his Galla troops were retired to the other side of the Nile, and could be assembled with difficulty: That if the Ras by chance had crossed at Delakus, as Keffa Yafous had done, instead of embarrassing his army among the rivers of Maitsha, and crossing the Nile at that most dangerous place near Amlac-Ohha (a passage never before attempted in the rainy season) the consequence would have been, that he must have either fought at great disadvantage with an inferior army against the Ras, or have retired to Metchakel, leaving his whole country to the mercy of his enemies. Fasil declared his resolution never again to appear in arms against the king, but that he would hold his government under him, and pay the accustomed taxes punctually: he promised also, that he would renounce all manner of connection with Gusso and Powussen, as he had already done, and he would take the field against them next season with his whole force, whenever the king ordered him. The messengers concluded, with desiring the Ras to give Fasil his grand-daughter, Welleta Selassé, in marriage,



riage, and that he would then come to Gondar without distrust.

The Ras, though he did not believe all this, made no difficulty in agreeing to every thing that they desired. He promised the grand-daughter; and, as earnest of his believing the rest, the king's two nagareets were brought to the door of the tent, where, to the very great surprize of our travellers, they heard it proclaimed, "Fasil is governor of the Agow, Maitsha Gojam, and Damot; prosperity to him, and long may he live a faithful servant to the king our master!"—This was an extraordinary revolution in so small a space of time. It was scarce 43 hours since Fasil had laid a scheme for drowning the greater part of the army in the Nile, and cutting the throats of the residue on both sides of it; it was not twenty-four hours, since he had met them to fight in open field, and now he was become the king's lieutenant general in four of the most opulent provinces of Abyssinia. This was produced, however, by the necessity of the times, and both parties were playing at the same game, who should over-reach the other. Fasil's messengers were magnificently clothed, and it was first intended they should have gone back to him; but, after reflection, another person was sent, these two chusing to go to Gondar with the king to remain hostages for Fasil's word, and to bring back his investiture from thence to Buré. The whole camp abandoned itself to joy.

On the 30th of May, nothing material happened; and, in a few days, they arrived at Gondar. Several of the great officers of state reached Gondar, and many others met them at Abba Samuel. Mr. Bruce did not perceive the news they brought increased the spirits either of the King or the Ras; the soldiers, however, were all contented, because they were at home; but the officers, who saw farther, wore very different countenances, especially those that were of Amhara. Mr. Bruce, in particular, had very little reason to be pleased; for, after having undergone a constant series of fatigues, dangers, and expences, he was returned to Gondar disappointed of his views in arriving at the source of the Nile, without any other acquisition than a violent ague.

The

The whole army being in motion, Mr. Bruce had the evening before taken leave of the king in an interview which cost him more than almost any one in his life. The substance was, that he was ill in his health, and quite unprepared to attend him into Tigré, to which place the army was to retreat; that his heart was set upon completing the only purpose of his coming into Abyssinia, without which he should return into his own country with disgrace; that he hoped, through his majesty's influence, Fasil might find some way for him to accomplish it; if not, he trusted soon to see him return, when he hoped it would be easy; but, if he then went to Tigré, was fully persuaded he should never have the resolution to come again to Gondar.

The king seemed to take heart at the confidence with which Mr. Bruce spoke of his return. "You, Yagoube, says he in a humble, complaining tone, could tell me, if you pleased, whether I shall or not, and what is to befall me; those instruments and those wheels, with which you are constantly looking at the stars, cannot be for any use unless for prying into futurity."—"Indeed, prince, said Mr. Bruce, these are things by which we guide ships at sea, and by these we mark down the ways that we travel by land; teach them to people that never passed them before, and, being once traced, keep them thus to be known by all men for ever. But of the decrees of Providence, whether they regard you or myself, I know no more than the mule upon which you ride."—"Tell me then, I pray, tell me, what is the reason you speak of my return as certain?"—"I speak, said Mr. Bruce, from observation, from reflections that I have made, much more certain than prophecies and divinations by stars. The first campaign of your reign at Fagitta, when you was relying upon the dispositions that the Ras had most ably and skillfully made, a drunkard with a single shot, defeated a numerous army of your enemies. Powuffen and Gusso were your friends, as you thought, when you marched out last, yet they had, at that very instant, made a league to destroy you at Derdera; and nothing but a miracle could have saved you, shut up between two lakes and three armies. It was neither you nor  
Michael

Michael that disordered their councils, and made them fail in what they had concerted. You were for burning Samfeen, whilst Woodage Afahel was there in ambush with a large force, with a knowledge of all the fords, and master of all the inhabitants of the country. Remember how you passed those rivers, holding hand in hand, and drawing one another over. Could you have done this with an enemy behind you, and such an enemy as Woodage Afahel? He would have followed and harraffed you till you took the ford at Goutto, and there was Welleta Yafous waiting to oppose you with 6000 men on the opposite bank. When Ras Michael marched by Mariam Net, he found the priests at their homes. Was that the case in any of the other churches we passed? No; all were fled for fear of Michael; yet these were more guilty than any by their connections with Fasil: notwithstanding which, they alone, of all others, staid, though they knew not why; an invisihle hand held them that they might operate your preservation. Nothing could have saved the army but the desperate passage, so tremendous that will exceed it the belief of man, crossing the Nile that night. Yet if the priests had crossed before this, not a man would have proceeded to the ford. The priests would have been Ras Michael's prisoners; and, on the other side, they never would have spoken a word whilst in the presence of Michael. Providence, therefore, kept them with Kessa Yafous; all was discovered, and the army saved by the retreat, and his speedy passing at the ford of Delakus. What would have happened to Kessa Yafous, had Fasil marched down to Delakus either before or after the passage? Kessa Yafous would have been cut off before Ras Michael had passed the Kelti; instead of which, an unknown cause detained him, most infatuated-like, beating his kettle-drums behind Boskon Abbo, while our army under the Ras was swimming that dangerous river, and most of us passing the night, naked, without tents, provision, or powder. Nor did he ever think of presenting himself till we had warmed ourselves by an easy march in a fine day, when we were every way his superiors, and Kessa Yafous in his rear. From all these special marks of the favour of an over-ruling Providence,

dence, I do believe stedfastly that God will not leave his work half finished. He it is who, governing the whole universe, has yet reserved specially to himself the department of war; he it is who has stiled himself the God of Battles."

The king was very much moved, and, as Mr. Bruce conceived, persuaded. He said, "O Yagoube, go but with me to Tigré, and I will do for you whatever you desire me."—"You do, Sir, said Mr. Bruce, whatever I desire you and more. I have told you my reasons why that cannot be; let me stay here a few months, and wait your return." The king then advised him to live entirely at Koscam with the Iteghé, without going out unless Fasil came to Gondar, and to send punctually word how he was treated. Upon this they parted with inexpressible reluctance. He was a king worthy to reign over a better people. Mr. Bruce's heart was deeply penetrated with those marks of favour and condescension, which he had uniformly received from him ever since he entered his palace.

Two very remarkable things were said to have happened the night before Michael left the city. He had always pretended, that, before he undertook an expedition, a person, or spirit, appeared to him, who told him the issue and consequence of the measures he was then taking; this he imagined to be St. Michael the archangel, and he presumed very much upon this intercourse. In a council that night, where none but friends were present, he had told them, that his spirit had appeared some nights before, and ordered him, in his retreat, to surprise the mountain of Wechné, and either slay or carry with him to Tigré the princes sequestered there. Nebrit Tecla, governor of Axum, with his two sons, all concerned in the late king's murder, were, it is said, strong advisers of this measure; but Ras Michael, probably satiated with royal blood already, Kefla Yafous, and all the more worthy men of any consequence, acting on principle, absolutely refused to consent to it. It was upon this the passage by Belesien was substituted instead of the attempt on Wechné, and it was determined to conceal it.

Though

Though the queen shewed very great dislike to Mr. Bruce's attempting his journey at such a time, yet she **did** not positively command the contrary; he was prepared, therefore, to leave Gondar the 27th of October, 1770, and thought to get a few miles clear of the town, and then make a long stretch the next day. He had received his quadrant, time-keeper, and telescopes from the island of Mitraha, where he had placed them after the affair of Guebra Mehedin, and had now put them in the very best order. But, about twelve o'clock, he was told a message from Ras Michael had arrived with great news from Tigré. He went immediately to Koscam as fast as he could gallop, and found there Guebra Christos, a man used to bring the jars of bouza to Ras Michael at his dinner and supper; low men are always employed on such errands, that they may not, from their consequence, excite a desire of vengeance. The message that he brought was to order bread and beer to be ready for 30,000 men who were coming with the king, as he had just decamped from before the mountain Haramat, which he had taken, and put Za Menfus to the sword, with every man that was in it: this message struck the queen with such a terror that she was not visible the whole day.

In the evening before, Mr. Bruce had endeavoured to engage his old companion Strates to accompany him on this attempt, as he had done on the former; but the recollection of past dangers and sufferings was not yet banished from his mind; and upon his asking him to go and see the head of this famous river, he coarsely, according to his stile, answered, "Might the devil fetch him if ever he sought either his head or his tail again."

On the 28th of October, they left Gondar, passed the river Kahha at the foot of the town; and on the 30th reached Bamba, where Fasil was encamped.

They found Bamba a collection of villages, in a valley now filled with soldiers. They went to the left with their guide, and got a tolerable house, but the door had been carried away. Fasil's tent was pitched a little below them, larger than the others, but without further distinction: it was easily known, however, by the lights about it; and by the nagareet, which still continued beating:

ing: he was then just alighting from his horse. Mr. Bruce immediately sent Ayto Aylo's servant, whom he had with him, to present his compliments, and acquaint him of his being on the road to visit him. He thought now all his difficulties were over: for he knew it was in his power to forward them to their journey's end; and his servants, whom he saw at the palace near the king, when Fasil was invested with his command, had assured Mr. Bruce, not only of an effectual protection, but also of a magnificent reception, if he chanced to find him in Maitsha.

It was now, however, near eight at night of the 30th, before Mr. Bruce received a message to attend him. He repaired immediately to his tent, and after announcing himself, he waited about a quarter of an hour before he was admitted; he was sitting upon a cushion with a lion's skin upon it, and another stretched like a carpet before his feet, and had a cotton cloth, something like a dirty towel, wrapped about his head; his upper cloak, or garment, was drawn tight about him over his neck and shoulders, so as to cover his hands. Mr. Bruce bowed, and went forward to kiss one of them, but it was so entangled in the cloth, that he was obliged to kiss the cloth instead of the hand. This was done either as not expecting he should pay him that compliment, as he certainly should not have done, being one of the king's servants, if the king had been at Gondar, or else it was intended for a mark of disrespect, which was very much of a piece with the rest of his behaviour afterwards.

There was no carpet or cushions in the tent, and only a little straw, as if accidentally, thrown thinly about it. Mr. Bruce sat down upon the ground, thinking him sick, not knowing what all this meant; he looked steadfastly at our travellers, saying softly, Endett nawi? Bogo nawi? which, in Amharic, is, How do you do? Are you very well? Mr. Bruce made the usual answer, "Well, thank God." He again stopt, as for our traveller to speak; there was only one old man present, who was sitting on the floor mending a mule's bridle. He took him at first for an attendant, but observing that a servant uncovered held a candle to him, he thought he was one of his Galla; but then he saw a blue silk thread, which he had about  
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his neck, which is a badge of Christianity all over Abyssinia, and which a Galla would not wear. What he was, Mr. Bruce could not make out; he seemed, however, to be a very bad cobbler, and took no notice of them.

Ayto Aylo's servant, who stood behind Mr. Bruce, pushed him with his knee, as a sign that he should speak, which he accordingly began to do with some difficulty, "I am come, said he, by your invitation, and the king's leave, to pay my respects to you in your own government, begging that you would favour my curiosity so far as to suffer me to see the country of the Agows, and the source of the Abay, or Nile, part of which I have seen in Egypt." "The source of the Abay! exclaimed he, with a pretended surprise, do you know what you are saying? Why, it is, God knows where, in the country of the Galla, wild, terrible people. The source of the Abay! Are you raving! repeats he again; Are you to get there, do you think, in a twelvemonth, or more, or when?" "Sir, said Mr. Bruce, the king told me it was near Sacala, and still nearer Geesh; both villages of the Agows, and both in your government." "And so you know Sacala, and Geesh?" says he, whistling and half angry. "I can repeat the names that I hear, said Mr. Bruce, all Abyssinia knows the head of the Nile."—"Aye, says he imitating my voice and manner, but all Abyssinia won't carry you there, that I promise you." "If you are resolved to the contrary, said Mr. Bruce, they will not; I wish you had told the king so in time, then I should not have attempted it; it was relying on you alone I came so far, confident, if all the rest of Abyssinia could not protect me there, that your word singly could do it."

He now put on a look of more complacency. "Look you, Yagoube, says he, it is true I can do it; and, for the king's sake who recommended it to me, I would do it; but the Acab Salma has sent to me to desire me not to let you pass further; he says it is against the law of the land to permit Franks like you to go about the country, and that he has dreamed something ill will befall me if you go into Maitsha." Mr. Bruce was as much irritated, as he thought it possible for him

to be. "So, so, said our traveller, the time of priests, prophets, and dreamers is coming on again." "I understand you, says he, laughing for the first time, I care as little for priests as Michael does, and for prophets too, but I would have you consider the men of this country are not like yours; a boy of these Galla would think nothing of killing a man of your country. You white people are all effeminate; you are like so many women; you are not fit for going into a province where all is war, and inhabited by men, warriors from their cradle."

Mr. Bruce saw he intended to provoke him; and he had succeeded so effectually that he should have died, he believes, imprudent as it was, if he had not told him his mind in reply. "Sir, said our traveller, I have passed through many of the most barbarous nations in the world; all of them, excepting this clan of yours, have some great men among them above using a defenceless stranger ill. But the worst and lowest individual among the most uncivilized people never treated me as you have done to-day under your own roof, where I have come so far for protection." He asked, "How?" "You have, in the first place, said Mr. Bruce, publickly called me Frank, the most odious name in this country, and sufficient to occasion me to be stoned to death without further ceremony, by any set of men wherever I may present myself. By Frank you mean one of the Romish religion, to which my nation is as adverse as yours; and again, without having ever seen any of my countrymen but myself, you have discovered, from that specimen, that we are all cowards and effeminate people, like, or inferior to, your boys or women. Look you, Sir, you never heard that I gave myself out as more than an ordinary man in my own country, far less to be a pattern of what is excellent in it. I am no soldier, though I know enough of war to see yours are poor proficients in that trade. But there are soldiers, friends and countrymen of mine, who would not think it an action in their lives to vaunt of, that with 500 men they had trampled all yon naked savages into dust."



On this Fafil made a feigned laugh, and seemed rather to take his freedom amiss. It was, doubtless, a passionate and rash speech. "As to myself, continued Mr. Bruce, unskilled in war as I am, could it be now without further consequence, let me but be armed in my own country fashion on horseback, as I was yesterday, I would without thinking myself overmatched, fight the two best horsemen you shall choose from this your army of famous men, who are warriors from their cradle; and if, when the king arrives, you are not returned to your duty, and we meet again, as we did at Limjour, I will pledge myself, with his permission, to put you in mind of this promise." This did not make things better.

He repeated the word *duty* after him, and would have replied, but Mr. Bruce's nose burst out in a stream of blood; and, that instant, Aylo's servant took hold of Mr. Bruce by the shoulder, to hurry him out of the tent. Fafil seemed to be a good deal concerned, for the blood streamed out in plenty; our traveller then returned to his tent, and the blood was soon staunch'd by washing his face with cold water. He sat down, to recollect himself, and the more he calmed, the more he was dissatisfied at being put off his guard; but it is impossible to conceive the provocation without having proved it. Mr. Bruce felt but too often how much the love of our native soil increases by our absence from it; and how jealous we are of comparisons made to the disadvantage of our countrymen by people who, all proper allowances being made, are generally not their equals, when they would boast themselves their superiors. Mr. Bruce confesses further, in gratification to his critics, that he was, from his infancy, of a sanguine, passionate disposition; very sensible of injuries that he had neither provoked nor deserved; but much reflection, from very early life, continual habits of suffering in long and dangerous travels, where nothing but patience would do, had, he flattered himself, abundantly subdued his natural proneness to feel offences, which, common sense might teach him, he could only revenge upon himself.

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Mr. Bruce went to bed, and, falling into a sound sleep, was waked near mid-night by two of Fafil's servants, who brought each of them a lean live sheep; they said they had brought the sheep, and were come to ask how Mr. Bruce was, and to stay all night to watch the house for fear of the thieves in the army; they likewise brought their master's order for him to come early in the morning to him, as he wanted to dispatch him on his journey before he gave the Galla liberty to return. This dispelled every doubt, but it raised his spirits so much, that, out of impatience for morning, he slept very little more that night.

Fafil, having sent for Mr. Bruce the next morning, invited him to partake of a great breakfast; honey and butter, and raw beef in abundance, as also some stewed dishes that were very good. He was very hungry, having tasted nothing since dinner the day before; and he had had much exercise of body as well as of mind. They were all very chearful, every one saying something about the Agows, or of the Nile. Mr. Bruce, at last, thus addressed Fafil: "Your continual hurry, said he, all the times I have seen you, has put it out of my power till now to make you the acknowledgement it is ordinaty for strangers to present when they visit great men in their own country, and ask favours of them." Mr. Bruce then took a napkin, and opened it before him; he seemed to have forgotten the present altogether; but from that moment he saw his countenance changed, he was like another man. "O Yagoube, said he, a present to me! you should be sensible that is perfectly needless; you were recommended to me by the King and the Ras; you know, we are friends, and I would do twenty times as much for yourself, without recommendation from either; besides, I have not behaved to you like a great man."

It was not a very hard thing to conquer these scruples; he took the several pieces of the present one by one in his hands, and examined them; there was a crimson silk sash, made at Tunis, about five yards long, with a silk fringe of the same colour; it was as beautiful a web of silk as ever Mr. Bruce saw; it had a small waved pattern wrought in it; the next was a yellow, with a

row border, or stripe, and a silver wrought fringe, but neither so long nor thick as the other; the next were two Cyprus manufactured shawls, silk and cotton, with a fatten stripe, the one broader than the other, but five yards long each; the next was a Persian pipe, with a long pliable tube, or worm, covered with Turkey leather, with an amber mouth-piece, and a crystal vase for smoking tobacco through water, a great luxury in the eastern countries; the next were two blue bowls, as fine as the one he had just then broken, and of the same sort. He shoved them from him, laughing, and said, "I will not take them from you, Yagoube; this is downright robbery; I have done nothing for this, which is a present for a king."—"It is a present to a friend," said Mr. Bruce, often of more consequence to a stranger than a king; I always except your king, who is the stranger's best friend."—Though he was not easily disconcerted, he seemed, at this time, to be very nearly so.—"If you will not receive them, continued Mr. Bruce, such as they are offered, it is the greatest affront ever was put upon me; I can never, you know, receive them again."

By this he was convinced. More feeble arguments would indeed have satisfied him, and he folded up the napkin with all the articles, and gave them to an officer; after which the tent was again cleared for consultation; and, during this time, he had called his man of confidence, whom he was to send with us, and instructed him properly. Mr. Bruce plainly saw that he had gained the ascendant; and, in the expectation of Ras Michael's speedily coming to Gondar, he was as willing to be on his journey the one way, as he was the other.

It was about one o'clock, or after it, when Mr. Bruce was admitted to Fasil: he received him with great complacency, and would have had him sit down on the same cushion with himself, which he declined. "Friend Yagoube, said he, I am heartily sorry that you did not meet me at Buré before I set out; there I could have received you as I ought; but I have been tormented with a multitude of barbarous people, who have turned my head, and whom I am now about to dismiss. I go to Gondar in peace, and to keep peace there, for the  
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king on this side the Tacazzé has no other friend than me; Powushen and Gusho are both traitors, and so Ras Michael knows them to be. I have nothing to return you for the present you have given me, for I did not expect to meet a man like you here in the fields; but you will quickly be back; we shall meet on better terms at Gondar; the head of the Nile is near at hand; a horseman, express, will arrive there in a day. I have given you a good man, well known in this country to be my servant; he will go to Geesh with you, and return you to a friend of Ayto Ayló's and mine, Shalaka Welled Amlac; he has the dangerous part of the country wholly in his hands, and will carry you safe to Gondar; my wife is at present in his house; fear nothing, I shall answer for your safety: When will you set out? to-morrow?"

Mr. Bruce replied, with many thanks for his kindness, that he wished to proceed immediately, and that his servants were already far off, on their way,

Fasil then said to Mr. Bruce, "Throw off those clothes; they are not decent; I must give you new ones, you are my vassal. The king granted you Geesh, where you are going, and I must invest you." A number of Fasil's servants then hurried him out; our traveller presently threw off his trowsers, and his two upper garments, and remained in his waistcoat; these were presently replaced by new ones, and he was brought back in a minute to Fasil's tent, with only a fine loose muslin under garment or cloth round him, which reached to his feet. Upon his coming back to the tent, Fasil took off the one that he had put on himself new in the morning, and put it about Mr. Bruce's shoulders with his own hand, his servants throwing another immediately over him, saying at the same time to the people, "Bear witness, I give to you, Yagoube, the Agow Geesh, as fully and freely as the king has given it me." Mr. Bruce bowed and kissed his hand, as is customary for feudatories, and he then pointed to him to sit down.

"Hear what I say to you, continued Fasil, I think it right for you to make the best of your way now, for you will be the sooner back at Gondar. You need not be alarmed at the wild people who are going after you,

though it is better to meet them coming this way, than when they are going to their homes; they are commanded by Welleta Yafous, who is your friend, and is very grateful for the medicines you sent him at Gondar: he has not been able to see you, being so much busied with those wild people; but he loves you, and will take care of you, and you must give me more of that physic when we meet at Gondar." Mr. Bruce bowed, and he continued—"Hear me what I say; you see those seven people (our traveller never saw more thief-like fellows in his life)—these are all leaders and chiefs of the Galla—savages if you please; they are all your brethren. You may go through their country as if it were your own, without a man hurting you: you will be soon related to them all; for it is their custom that a stranger of distinction, like you, when he is their guest, sleeps with the sister, daughter, or near relation of the principal men among them. I dare say, you will not think the customs of the Galla contain greater hardships than those of Amhara." He then jabbered something to them in Galla, which Mr. Bruce did not understand. They all answered by the wildest howl he ever heard, and struck themselves upon the breast apparently assenting.

"When Ras Michael, continued Fasil, came from the battle of Fagitta, the eyes of forty-four brethren and relations of these people present were pulled out, at Gondar, the day after he arrived, and they were exposed upon the banks of the river Angrab to starve, where most of them were devoured by the hyenas; you took three of them up to your house; nourished, clothed, protected, and kindly treated them." "They are now in good health, said Mr. Bruce, and want nothing: the Iteghé will deliver them to you. The only other thing I have done to them was, I got them baptised: I do not know if that will displease them; I did it as an additional protection to them, and to give them a title to the charity of the people of Gondar," "As for that, said Fasil, they do not care the least about baptism; it will neither do them good nor harm, they do not trouble themselves about these matters; give them meat and drink, and you will be very welcome to baptise them

them all from morning to night; after such good care these Galla are all your brethren, they will die for you before they see you hurt." He then said something to them in Galla again, and they all gave another assent, and made a shew of kissing our traveller's hand.

They sat down; and Mr. Bruce confesses, if they entertained any good-will to him, it was not discernible in their countenances. "Besides this, continued Fasil, you was very kind and courteous to my servants while at Gondar, and said many favourable things of me before the king; you sent me a present also, and above all, when Joas, my master's body was dug up from the church-yard of St. Raphael, and all Gondar were afraid to shew it the least respect, dreading the vengeance of Ras Michael, you, a stranger, who had never seen him, nor received benefit from him, at your own expence paid that attention to his remains, which would have better become many at Gondar, and me in particular, had I been within reach, or had intelligence of the matter: now, before all these men, ask me any thing you have at heart, and, be it what it may, they know I cannot deny it you." He delivered this, in a tone and gracefulness of manner, superior, Mr Bruce thought, to any thing he had ever before seen, although the Abyssinians are all orators, as, indeed, are most barbarians. "Why then, said Mr. Bruce, by all those obligations you are pleased to mention, of which you have made a recital so truly honourable to me, I ask you the greatest favour that man can bestow upon me—send me, as conveniently as possible, to the head of the Nile, and return me and my attendants in safety, after having dispatched me quickly, and put me under no constraint that may prevent me from satisfying my curiosity in my own way." This, replied he, is no request, I have granted it already; besides, I owe it to the commands of the king whose servant I am. Since, however, it is so much at your heart, go in peace, I will provide you with all necessaries. If I am alive, and governor of Damot, as you are, we all know, a prudent and sensible man, unsettled as the state of the country is, nothing disagreeable can befall you."

He then turned again to his seven chiefs, who all got up, himself, Mr. Bruce, and his companions; they all stood round in a circle, and raised the palm of their hands, while he and his Galla together repeated a prayer about a minute long; the Galla seemingly with great devotion. "Now, said Fasil, go in peace, you are a Galla; this is a curse upon them, and their children, their corn, grass, and cattle, if ever they lift their hand against you or yours, or do not defend you to the utmost, if attacked by others, or endeavour to defeat any design they may hear is intended against you." Upon this, Mr. Bruce offered to kiss his hand before he took his leave, and they all went to the door of the tent, where there was a very handsome grey horse bridled and saddled. "Take this horse, said Fasil, as a present from me; it is not so good as your own, but, depend upon it, it is the horse which I rode upon yesterday, when I came here to encamp; but do not mount it yourself, drive it before you saddled and bridled as it is; no man of Maitsha will touch you when he sees that horse; it is the people of Maitsha, whose houses Michael has burnt, that you have to fear, and not your friends the Galla.

Mr. Bruce then took the most humble and respectful leave of him possible, and also of his new-acquired brethren, the Galla, praying inwardly he might never see them again. Mr. Bruce, then turning to Fasil, according to the custom of the country to superiors, asked him leave to mount on horseback before him, and was speedily out of sight.

On the second of November, they pursued their journey in a direction southward, and passed the church of Boskon Abbo; ever memorable to them, as being the station of Fasil in May, when he intended to cut them off after their passage of the Nile.

At three quarters after ten in the morning, they passed the small river Aroossi, which either gives its name to, or receives it from, the district through which it passes; it falls into the Nile about four miles below; is a clear, small, brisk stream; its banks covered with verdure not to be described.

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All the little territory of Arooffi is by much the most pleasant that our traveller had seen in Abyssinia, perhaps it is equal to any thing the east can produce; the whole is finely shaded with acacia-trees, which, in the sultry parts of Africa, produce the gum-arabic. These trees grow seldom above fifteen or sixteen feet high, then flatten and spread wide at the top, and touch each other, while the trunks are far asunder, and under a vertical sun, leave you, many miles together, a free space to walk in a cool, delicious shade.

After passing the Assar, and several villages belonging to Goutto, they had, for the first time, a distinct view of the high mountain of Geesh, the long-wished-for end of their dangerous and troublesome journey. Under this mountain are the fountains of the Nile; about thirty miles, as near as they could conjecture in a straight line, without counting the deviations or crookedness of the road. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the second of November, they came to the banks of the Nile; the passage is very difficult and dangerous, the bottom being full of holes made by considerable springs, light sinking sand, and, at every little distance, large rocky stones; the eastern side was muddy and full of pits, the ground of clay; the Nile here is about 260 feet broad, and very rapid; its depth about four feet in the middle of the river, and the sides not above two. Its banks are of a very gentle, easy descent; the western side is chiefly ornamented with high trees of the salix, or willow tribe, growing straight, without joints or knots, and bearing long pointed pods full of a kind of cotton.

Our travellers, having passed the Nile, arrived at Goutto, the village so called, and took up their lodgings in the house of a considerable person, who had abandoned it upon their approach, thinking them part of Fasil's army. Though this habitation was of use in protecting them from the poor, yet it hurt them by alarming and so depriving them of the assistance of the opulent, such as the present owner, who, if he had known they were strangers from Gondar, would have willingly staid and entertained them, being a relation and friend of Shalaka Welled Amlac.



As they heard distinctly the noise of the cataract, and had still a full hour and a half of light, Mr. Bruce determined to visit the water-fall, lest he should be thereby detained the next morning. Being well armed, Mr. Bruce set out for the cataract; and, after riding through a plain, hard country, in some parts very stony, and thick-covered with trees, in something more than half an hour's easy galloping all the way, they came straight to the cataract, conducted thereto by the noise of the fall.

This, known by the name of the First Cataract of the Nile, did not by its appearance come up to the idea they had formed of it, being scarce fifteen feet in height, and about sixty yards over; but in many places the sheet of water is interrupted, and leaves dry intervals of rock. The sides are neither so woody nor verdant as those of the cataract of the Assar; and it is in every shape less magnificent, or deserving to be seen, than is the noble cataract at Alata before described, erroneously called the Second Cataract. Mr. Bruce, having satisfied his curiosity at this cataract, galloped back the same road that he had come, without having seen a single person since he left Goutto.

On the 3d of November, at eight o'clock in the morning, they left the village of Goutto, and continued, for the first part of the day, through a plain country full of acacia-trees. They continued their journey from thence, and at length arrived at a tripple ridge of mountains disposed one range behind the other, nearly in form of three concentric circles, which seemed to suggest an idea, that they are Mountains of the Moon, or the *Montes Lunæ* of antiquity, at the foot of which the Nile was said to rise; in fact, there are no others. These mountains are all of them excellent soil, and every where covered with fine pasture; but as this unfortunate country had been for ages the theatre of war, the inhabitants have only ploughed and sown the top of them, out of the reach of enemies or marching armies. On the middle of the mountain are villages built of a white sort of grass, which makes them conspicuous at a great distance; the bottom is all grass, where their cattle feed continually

nually under their eye; these, upon any alarm, they drive up to the top of the mountains out of danger.

Being arrived at the top of the mountain, they had a distinct view of all the remaining territory of Sacala, the mountain Geesh, and church of St. Michael Geesh, about a mile and a half distant from St. Michael Sacala, where they then were. They saw, immediately below them, the Nile itself strangely diminished in size, and now only a brook that had scarcely water to turn a mill. Mr. Bruce could not satiate himself with the sight, revolving in his mind all those classical prophecies that had given the Nile up to perpetual obscurity and concealment. Mr. Bruce was awakened out of this delightful reverie by an alarm that they had lost Woldo their guide. Though Mr. Bruce long had expected something from his behaviour, he did not think, for his own sake, it could be his intention to leave them. Various conjectures immediately followed; some thought he had resolved to betray and rob them; some conceived it was an instruction of Fasil's to him, in order to their being treacherously murdered; some again supposed he was slain by the wild beasts, especially those apes or baboons, whose voracity, size, and fierce appearance, were exceedingly magnified. Mr. Bruce began to think, that he might be ill, for he had before complained, and that the sickness might have overcome him upon the road; and this, too, was the opinion of Ayto Aylo's servant, who said, however, with a significant look, that he could not be far off; they, therefore, sent him, and one of the men that drove the mules, back to seek after him; and they had not gone but a few hundred yards when they found him coming, but so decrepid and so very ill, that he said he could go no farther than the church, where he was positively resolved to take up his abode that night. Mr. Bruce felt his pulse, examined every part about him, and saw, he thought, evidently, that nothing ailed him. Without losing his temper, however, Mr. Bruce told him firmly, that he perceived he was an impostor; that he should consider that he was a physician, as he knew he cured his master's first friend, Welleta Yafous: that the feeling of his hand told him as plain as his tongue could have done, that nothing ailed

him ; that it told him likewise he had in his heart some prank to play, which would turn out very much to his disadvantage. He seemed dismayed after this, said little, and only desired them to halt for a few minutes, and he should be better ; “ for, says he, it requires strength in us all to pass another great hill before we arrive at Geesh.”

“ Look you, said Mr. Bruce, lying is to no purpose ; I know where Geesh is as well as you do, and that we have no more mountains or bad places to pass through ; therefore, if you choose to stay behind, you may ; but to-morrow I shall inform Welleta Yafous at Buré of your behaviour.” He said this with the most determined air possible, and left them, walking as hard as he could down to the ford of the Nile. Woldo remained above with the servants, who were loading their mules ; he seemed to be perfectly cured of his lameness, and was in close conversation with Ayto Aylo's servant for about ten minutes, which Mr. Bruce did not choose to interrupt, as he saw that man was already in possession of part of Woldo's secret. This being over, they all came down to Mr. Bruce as he was sketching a branch of a yellow-rose tree, a number of which hang over the ford.

The whole company passed, and Woldo, seeming to walk as well as ever, ascended a gentle rising hill, near the top of which is St. Michael Geesh. The Nile here is not four yards over, and not above four inches deep, where they crossed ; it was indeed become a very trifling brook, but ran swiftly over a bottom of small stones, with hard black rock appearing amidst them : it is at this place very easy to pass, and very limpid, but, a little lower, full of inconsiderable falls ; the ground rises gently from the river to the southward, full of small hills and eminences, which you ascend and descend almost imperceptibly. The whole company had halted on the north side of St. Michael's church, and there Mr. Bruce reached them without affecting any hurry.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the day having been very hot for some hours, they were sitting in the shade of a grove of magnificent cedars, intermixed with  
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some very large and beautiful cusso-trees, all in the flower; the men were lying on the grass, and the beasts fed, with the burdens on their backs, on the most luxuriant herbage. Mr. Bruce said indifferently to Woldo, in passing, that he was glad to see him recovered; that he would presently be well, and should fear nothing. He then got up, and desired to speak with Mr. Bruce alone, taking Aylo's servant along with him. "Now, said our traveller very calmly, I know by your face you are going to tell me a lie. I do swear to you solemnly, you never, by that means, will obtain any thing from me, no not so much as a good word; truth and good behaviour will get you every thing; what appears a great matter in your sight is not perhaps of such value in mine; but nothing except truth and good behaviour will answer to you; now I know for a certainty you are no more sick than I am."—"Sir, said he, with a very confident look, you are right; I did counterfeit; I neither have been, nor am I at present any way out of order; but I thought it best to tell you so, not to be obliged to discover another reason that has much more weight with me why I cannot go to Geesh, and much less shew myself at the sources of the Nile, which I confess are not much beyond it, though I declare to you there is still a *bill* between you and those sources."—"And pray, said Mr. Bruce calmly, what is this mighty reason? Have you had a dream, or a vision in that trance you fell into when you lagged behind below the church of St. Michael Sacala?" "No, says he, it is neither trance, nor dream, nor devil neither; I wish it was no worse; but you know as well as I, that my master Fasil defeated the Agows at the battle of Benja. I was there with my master, and killed several men, among whom some were of the Agows of this village Geesh, and you know the usage of this country, when a man, in these circumstances, falls into their hands, his blood must pay for their blood."

Mr. Bruce burst out into a violent fit of laughter, which very much disconcerted him. "There, said our traveller, did not I say to you it was a lie that you was going to tell me? do not think I disbelieve or dispute with you the vanity of having killed men; many men were slain at that battle; somebody must, and you may have

have been the person who slew them ; but do you think that I can believe that Fasil, so deep in that account of blood, could rule the Agows in the manner he does, if he could not put a servant of his in safety among them 20 miles from his residence ; do you think I can believe this ?” “ Come, come, said Aylo's servant to Woldo, did you not hear that truth and good behaviour will get you every thing you ask ? Sir, continued he, I see this affair vexes you, and what this foolish man wants will neither make you richer nor poorer ; he has taken a great desire for that crimson silk-bash which you wear about your middle. I told him to stay till you went back to Gondar ; but he says he is to go no farther than to the house of Shalaka Welled Amlac in Maitsha, and does not return to Gondar ; I told him to stay till you had put your mind at ease, by seeing the fountains of the Nile, which you are so anxious about. He said, after that had happened, he was sure you would not give it him, for you seemed to think little of the cataract at Goutto, and of all the fine rivers and churches which he had shewn you ; except the head of the Nile shall be finer than all these, when, in reality, it will be just like another river, you will then be dissatisfied, and not give him the bash.”

Mr. Bruce thought there was something very natural in these suspicions of Woldo ; besides, he said he was certain that, if ever the bash came into the sight of Welled Amlac, by some means or other, he would get it into his hands. This rational discourse had pacified Mr. Bruce a little ; but it must have been fine indeed to have stood for a minute between him and the accomplishment of his wishes. Mr. Bruce then laid his hand upon the pistols that stuck in his girdle, and drew them out to give them to one of his suite, when Woldo, who apprehended it was for another purpose, ran some paces back, and hid himself behind Aylo's servant. Mr. Bruce, after having taken off his bash, “ Here is your bash, Woldo, said he, but mark what I have said, and now most seriously repeat to you, truth and good behaviour will get any thing from me ; but if in the course of this journey, you play one trick more, though ever so trifling, I will bring such a vengeance upon your head that you shall not

not be able to find a place to hide it in, when not the fash only will be taken from you, but your skin also will follow it."

He took the fash, but seemed terrified at the threat, and began to make apologies. "Come, come, said Mr. Bruce, we understand each other; no more words; it is now late, lose no more time, but carry me to Geesh, and the head of the Nile directly, without preamble, and shew me the hill that separates me from it." He then carried our traveller round to the south-side of the church, out of the grove of trees that surrounded it. "This is the hill, said he, looking archly, that, when you was on the other side of it, was between you and the fountains of the Nile; there is no other; look at that hillock of green sod in the middle of that watery spot, it is in that the two fountains of the Nile are to be found: Geesh is on the face of the rock where you green trees are; if you go the length of the fountains, pull off your shoes as you did the other day; for these people are all Pagans, worse than those that were at the ford, and they believe in nothing that you believe, but only in this river, to which they pray every day as if it were God; but this perhaps you may do likewise." Half undressed as Mr. Bruce was, by loss of his fash, and throwing his shoes off, he ran down the hill towards the little island of green sods, which was about two hundred yards distant; the whole side of the hill was thick grown over with flowers, the large bulbous roots of which appearing above the surface of the ground, and their skins coming off on treading upon them, occasioned two very severe falls before he reached the brink of the marsh. Mr. Bruce, after this, came to the island of green turf, which was in form of an altar, apparently the work of art, and he stood in rapture over the principal fountain which rises in the middle of it.

It is easier to guess than describe the situation of Mr. Bruce's mind at that moment—standing on that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the course of near three thousand years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last, only by the difference of the numbers

numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly, and without exception, followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography.

Mr. Bruce now proceeds to describe the sources of the Nile, which have, as he says, remained to our days as unknown as they were to antiquity, no good or genuine voucher having yet been produced capable of proving that they were before discovered, or seen by the curious eye of any traveller, from the earliest ages to this day; and it is with confidence Mr. Bruce proposes to his reader, that he will consider him as still standing at these fountains, and patiently hear from him the recital of the origin and circumstances of this the most famous river in the world, which are not to be found in books, or from any other human authority whatever, and which, by the care and attention he has paid to the subject, will, he hopes, be found satisfactory here.

Divine honours are paid by the Agows of Damot to the Nile; they worship the river, and thousands of cattle have been offered, and still are offered, to the spirit supposed to reside at its source. They are divided into clans, or tribes; and it is worthy of observation, that it is said there never was a feud, or hereditary animosity between any two of these clans; or, if the seeds of any such were sown, they did not vegetate longer than till the next general convocation of all the tribes, who meet annually at the source of the river, to which they sacrifice, calling it by the name of the *God of Peace*. One of the least considerable of these clans, for power and number, has still the preference among its brethren, from the circumstance that, in its territory, and near the miserable village that gives it name, are situated the much sought-for springs from which the Nile rises.

Geesh, however, though not farther distant from these than 600 yards, is not in sight of the sources of the Nile. The country upon the same plane with the fountains, terminates

terminates in a cliff about 300 yards deep down to the plain of Aſſoa, which flat country continues in the ſame ſubaltern degree of elevation, till it meets the Nile again about ſeventy miles ſouthward, after it has made the circuit of the provinces of Gojam and Damot.

A prodigious cave is in the middle of this cliff, in a direction ſtraight north towards the fountains, whether the work of nature or art Mr. Bruce cannot determine; in it are many bye-paths, ſo that it is very difficult for a ſtranger to extricate himſelf; it is a natural labyrinth, large enough to contain the inhabitants of the village, and their cattle. In this large cliff, Mr. Bruce tired himſelf part of ſeveral days, endeavouring to reach as far northward as poſſible; but the air, when he had advanced ſomething above one hundred yards, ſeemed to threaten to extinguish his candle by its dampneſs, and the people were beſides not at all diſpoſed to gratify his curioſity farther, after aſſuring him that there was nothing at the end more remarkable than what he then ſaw, which he had reaſon to believe was the caſe. The face of this cliff, which fronts to the ſouth, has a moſt picturesque appearance from the plain of Aſſoa below, parts of the houſes at every ſtage appearing, through the thickets of trees and buſhes with which the whole face of the cliff is thickly covered; impenetrable fences of the very worſt kind of thorn, hide the mouths of the caverns above mentioned, even from ſight; there is no other communication with the houſes, either from above or below, but by narrow-winding ſheep-paths, which through theſe thorns are very difficult to be diſcerned, for all are allowed to be overgrown with the utmoſt wildneſs, as a part of their defence; lofty and large trees, moſt of them of the thorny kind, tower high up above the edge of the cliff, and ſeem to be a fence againſt people falling down into the plain; theſe are all at their proper ſeaſon covered with flowers of different ſorts and colours, ſo are the buſhes below on the face of the cliff: every thorn in Abyſſinia indeed bears a beautiful flower.

From the edge of the cliff of Geeſh, above where the village is ſituated, the ground ſlopes with a very eaſy deſcent due north, and lands you at the edge of a triangular marſh above eighty-fix yards broad, in the line of  
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the fountains, and two hundred and eighty-six yards two feet from the edge of the cliff above the house of the priest of the river, where Mr. Bruce resided.

Upon the rock, in the middle of the plain, the Agows used to pile up the bones of the beasts killed in sacrifice, mixing them with billets of wood, after which they set them on fire. This is now discontinued, or rather transferred to another place near the church, as they are at present indulged in the full enjoyment of their idolatrous rites, both under Fasil and Michael. In the middle of the marsh, near the bottom of the mountain of Geesh, arises a hillock of a circular form, about three feet from the surface of the marsh itself, though apparently founded much deeper in it. The diameter of this is something short of twelve feet, it is surrounded by a shallow trench, which collects the water, and voids it eastward; it is firmly built with sod or earthen turf, brought from the sides, and constantly kept in repair, and this is the altar upon which all their religious ceremonies are performed. In the middle of this altar is a hole, obviously made, or at least enlarged, by the hand of man. It is kept clear of grass, or other aquatic plants, and the water in it is perfectly pure and limpid, but has no ebullition or motion of any kind discernable upon its surface. This mouth, or opening of the source, is some parts of an inch less than three feet diameter, and the water stood at that time, the 5th of November, about two inches from the lip or brim, nor did it either increase or diminish during all the time of his stay at Geesh, though they made plentiful use of it. This spring is about six feet six inches deep.

At the distance of ten feet from the first of these springs, a little to the west of south, is the second fountain, about eleven inches in diameter; but this is eight feet three inches deep. And about twenty feet distant from the first, is the third source, its mouth being something more than two feet large, and it is five feet eight inches deep. Both these last fountains stand in the middle of small altars, made, like the former, of firm sod, but neither of them above three feet diameter, and having a foot of less elevation than the first. The altar in this third source seemed almost dissolved by the water, which in both stood nearly up to the brim; at the foot of each appeared a  
clear

clear and brisk running rill; these uniting, joined the water in the trench of the first altar, and then proceeded directly out, pointing eastward, in a quantity that would have filled a pipe of about two inches diameter. The water from these fountains is very light and good, and perfectly tasteless; it was at this time most intensely cold, though exposed to the mid-day without shelter, there being no trees nor bushes nearer it than the cliff of Geesh on its south-side, and the trees that surround Saint Michael Geesh on the north, which, according to the custom of Abyssinia, is, like other churches, planted in the midst of a grove.

On the 5th of November, the day after Mr. Bruce's arrival at Geesh, the weather perfectly clear, cloudless, and nearly calm, in all respects well adapted to observation, being extremely anxious to ascertain, beyond the power of controversy, the precise spot on the globe that this fountain had so long occupied unknown, he pitched his tent on the north edge of the cliff, immediately above the priest's house, having verified the instrument with all the care possible, both at the zenith and horizon. With a brass quadrant of three feet radius, by one meridian altitude of the sun's upper limb, all necessary equations and deductions considered, he determined the latitude of the place of observation to be  $10^{\circ} 59' 11''$ ; and by another observation of the same kind made on the 6th,  $10^{\circ} 59' 8''$ ; after which, by a medium of thirty-three observations of stars, the largest and nearest, the first vertical, he found the latitude to be  $10^{\circ} 59' 10''$ ; a mean of which being  $10^{\circ} 59' 9\frac{1}{2}''$ , say  $10^{\circ} 59' 10''$ . The longitude he ascertained to be  $36^{\circ} 55' 30''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich.

On the night of the 4th, the very night of Mr. Bruce's arrival, melancholy reflections upon his present state, the doubtfulness of his return in safety, were he permitted to make the attempt, and the fears that even this would be refused, according to the rule observed in Abyssinia with all travellers who have once entered the kingdom; the consciousness of the pain that he was then occasioning to many worthy individuals, expecting daily that information concerning his situation, which it was not in his power to give them; some other thoughts, perhaps, still  
nearer

nearer the heart than those, crowded upon his mind, and forbade all approach of sleep. He was, at that very moment, in possession of what had, for many years, been the principle object of his ambition and wishes: indifference, which from the usual infirmity of human nature follows, at least for a time, complete enjoyment, had taken place of it. The marsh, and the fountains, upon comparison with the rise of many of our rivers, became now a trifling object in his sight. He remembered that magnificent scene in his own native country, where the Tweed, Clyde, and Annan rise in one hill; three rivers, as he now thought, not inferior to the Nile in beauty, preferable to it in the cultivation of those countries through which they flow; superior, vastly superior, to it in the virtues and qualities of the inhabitants, and in the beauty of its flocks, crowding its pastures in peace, without fear of violence from man or beast. He had seen the rise of the Rhine and Rhone, and the more magnificent sources of the Soane; he began, in his sorrow, to treat the inquiry about the source of the Nile as a violent effort of a distempered fancy. Grief or despondency now rolling upon him like a torrent, relaxed, not refreshed, by unquiet and imperfect sleep, he started from his bed in the utmost agony; he went to the door of his tent; every thing was still; the Nile, at whose head he stood, was not capable either to promote or to interrupt his slumbers, but the coolness and serenity of the night braced his nerves, and chased away those phantoms that, while in bed, had oppressed and tormented him.

Numerous dangers, hardships, and sorrows had indeed beset him through this half of his excursion; but it was still as true, that another Guide, more powerful than his own courage, health, or understanding, if any of these can be called man's own, had uniformly protected him in all that tedious half; he found his confidence not abated, that still the same Guide was able to conduct him to his now wished-for home. He immediately resumed his former fortitude, considered the Nile, indeed, as no more than rising from springs, as all other rivers do, but widely different in this, that it was the palm for three thousand years held out to all the nations in the world as

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a *detur dignissimo*, which, in his cool hours he had thought was worth the attempting at the risk of his life, which he had long either resolved to lose, or lay this discovery, a trophy in which he could have no competitor, for the honour of his country, at the feet of his sovereign, whose servant he was.

Mr. Bruce had procured from the English ships, while at Jidda, some quick-silver, perfectly pure, and heavier than the common sort; warming, therefore, the tube gently at the fire, he filled it with this quick-silver, and, to his great surprise, found that it stood at the height of 22 English inches. Suspecting that some air might have insinuated itself into the tube, he laid it by in a warm part of the tent, covered till morning, and returning to bed, slept there profoundly till six, when, satisfied the whole was in perfect order, he found it to stand at 22 English inches; neither did it vary sensibly from that height any of the following days he staid at Geesh; and thence he inferred, that, at the sources of the Nile, he was then more than two miles above the level of the sea; a prodigious height, to enjoy a sky perpetually clear, as also a hot sun never over-cast for a moment with clouds from rising to setting. On the 6th of November, at a quarter past five in the morning, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 44°, at noon 96°, and at sun-set 46°. It was, as to sense, cold at night, and still more so an hour before sun-rise.

The Nile, keeping nearly in the middle of the marsh, runs east for thirty yards, with a very little increase of stream, but perfectly visible, till met by the grassy brink of the land declining from Sacala. This turns it round gradually to the N. E. and then due north; and, in the two miles it flows in that direction, the river receives many small contributions from springs that rise in the banks on each side of it: there are two, particularly one on the hill at the back of St. Michael Geesh, the other a little lower that in on the other side, on the ground declining from Sacala. These last-mentioned springs are more than double its quantity: and being arrived under the hill whereon stands the church of Saint Michael Sacala, about two miles from its source, it there becomes a stream that would turn a common mill, shallow, clear,  
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and running over a rocky bottom about three yards wide: this must be understood to be variable according to the season; and the present observations are applicable to the 5th of November, when the rains had ceased for several weeks.

Our traveller says, nothing can be more beautiful than this spot; the small rising hills about them were all thick-covered with verdure, especially with clover, the largest and finest he ever saw; the tops of the heights crowned with trees of a prodigious size; the stream, at the banks of which they were sitting, was limpid and pure as the finest crystal; the ford, covered thick with a bushy kind of tree that seemed to affect to grow to no height, but thick with foliage and young branches, rather to court the surface of the water, whilst it bore, in prodigious quantities, a beautiful yellow flower, not unlike a single wild rose of that colour, but without thorns.

After having stepped over the ford fifty times, he observed it no larger than a common mill stream. The Nile, from this ford, turns to the westward, and after running over loose stones occasionally, in that direction, about four miles farther, the angle of inclination increasing greatly, broken water, and a fall commences of about six feet, and thus it gets rid of the mountainous place of its nativity, and issues into the plain of Goutto, where is its first cataract. Arrived in the plain of Goutto, the river seems to have lost all its violence, and scarcely is seen to flow; but, at the same time, it there makes so many sharp, unnatural windings, that it differs from any other river Mr. Bruce ever saw, making about twenty sharp angular peninsulas in the course of five miles, through a bare, marshy plain of clay, quite destitute of trees, and exceedingly inconvenient and unpleasant to travel. After passing this plain, it turns due north, receives the tribute of many small streams, the Gometti, the Googueri, and the Kebezza, which descend from the mountains of Aformasha; and, united, fall into the Nile about twenty miles below its source; it begins here to run rapidly, and again receives a number of beautiful rivulets, which have their rise in the heights of Litchambara, the semi-circular range of mountains that pass behind, and seem to inclose Aformasha. Here it begins to become a considerable

siderable stream; its banks high and broken, covered with old timber trees for the space of about three miles; it inclines to the north-east, and winds exceedingly, and is then joined by the small river Diwa from the east. As the mere names of places, through which the Nile passes, can afford very little amusement to our readers, we shall only observe, that it empties itself at last into the Mediterranean.

Mr. Bruce now proceeds to investigate the reason of the inundations of the Nile, and observes, that it is an observation, which holds good through all the works of Providence, that although God, in the beginning, gave an instance of his almighty power, by creating the world with one single *fiat*, yet, in the laws he has laid down for the maintaining order and regularity in the details of his creation, he has invariably produced all these effects by the least degree of power possible, and by those means that seem most obvious to human conception. But it seemed, however, not according to the tenor of his ways and wisdom, to create a country like Egypt, without springs, or even dews, and subject it to a nearly vertical sun, that he might save it by so extraordinary an intervention as was the annual inundation, and make it the most fertile spot of the universe.

Whatever were the conjectures of the dreamers of antiquity, modern travellers and philosophers, describing without system or prejudice what their eye saw, have found that the inundation of Egypt has been effected by natural means, perfectly consonant with the ordinary rules of Providence, and the laws given for the government of the rest of the universe. They have found that the plentiful fall of the tropical rains produced every year at the same time, by the action of a violent sun, has been uniformly, without miracle, the cause of Egypt's being regularly overflowed. The sun being nearly stationary for some days in the tropic of Capricorn, the air there becomes so much rarified, that the heavier winds, charged with watery particles, rush in upon it from the Atlantic on the west, and from the Indian Ocean on the east. The south wind, moreover, loaded with heavy vapour, condensed in that high ridge of mountains not far south of the line, which forms a spine to the peninsula

peninsula of Africa, and, running northward with the other two, furnish wherewithal to restore the equilibrium.

The sun, having thus gathered such a quantity of vapours as it were to a focus, now puts them in motion, and drawing them after it in its rapid progress northward, on the 7th of January, for two years together, seemed to have extended its power to the atmosphere of Gondar, when, for the first time, there appeared in the sky white, dappled, thin clouds, the sun being then distant  $34^{\circ}$  from the zenith, without any one cloudy or dark speck having been seen for several months before. Advancing to the line with increased velocity, and describing larger spirals, the sun brings on a few drops of rain at Gondar the 1st of March, being then distant  $5^{\circ}$  from the zenith; these are greedily absorbed by the thirsty soil, and this seems to be the farthest extent of the sun's influence, capable of causing rain, which then only falls in large drops, and lasts but a few minutes: the rainy season, however, begins most seriously upon its arrival at the zenith of every place, and these rains continue constant and increasing after he has passed it, in his progress northward. Before this, green boughs and leaves appear floating in the Bahar el Abiad, and shew that, in the latitude where it rises, the rains are already abundant. The Galla, who inhabit, or have passed that river, give account of its situation, which lies, as far as Mr. Bruce could ever calculate, about  $5^{\circ}$  from the line.

In April, all the rivers in Amhara, Begemder, and Lasta, first discoloured, and then beginning to swell, join the Nile in the several parts of its course nearest them: the river then, from the height of its angle inclination, forces itself through the stagnant lake without mixing with it. In the beginning of May, hundreds of streams pour themselves from Gojam, Damot, Maitsha, and Dembea, into the lake Tzana, which had become low by intense evaporation, but now begins to fill insensibly, and contributes a large quantity of water to the Nile, before it falls down the cataract of Alata. In the beginning of June, the sun having passed all Abyssinia, the rivers there are all full, and then is the time of the greatest

greatest rains in Abyssinia, while it is for some days, as it were, stationary in the tropic of Cancer.

Immediately after the sun has passed the Line, he begins the rainy season to the southward, still as he approaches the zenith of each place; but the situation and necessities of this country being varied, the manner of promoting the inundation is changed. A high chain of mountains run from about  $6^{\circ}$  south all along the middle of the continent towards the Cape of Good Hope, and intersects the southern part of the peninsula, nearly in the same manner that the river Nile does the northern. A strong wind from the south, stopping the progress of the condensed vapours, dashes them against the cold summits of this ridge of mountains, and forms many rivers which escape in the direction either east or west, as the level presents itself. If this is towards the west, they fall down the sides of the mountains into the Atlantic, and if on the east, into the Indian Ocean.

Three remarkable appearances attend the inundation of the Nile. Every morning in Abyssinia is clear, and the sun shines; about nine, a small cloud, not above four feet broad, appears in the east, whirling violently round as if upon an axis, but, arrived near the zenith, it first abates its motion, then loses its form, extends itself greatly, and seems to call up vapours from all opposite quarters. These clouds, having attained nearly the same height, rush against each other with great violence. The air, impelled before the heaviest mass, or swiftest mover, makes an impression of its own form in the collection of clouds opposite, and the moment it has taken possession of the space made to receive it, the most violent thunder possible to be conceived instantly follows, with rain; after some hours, the sky again clears, with a wind at north, and it is always disagreeably cold when the thermometer is below  $63^{\circ}$ .

The second thing remarkable, is the variation of the thermometer; when the sun is in the southern tropic,  $36^{\circ}$  distant from the zenith of Gondar, it is seldom lower than  $72^{\circ}$ ; but it falls to  $60^{\circ}$  and  $59^{\circ}$  when the sun is immediately vertical; so happily does the approach of rain compensate the heat of a too-scorching sun.

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The third is that remarkable stop in the extent of the rains northward, when the sun, that has conducted the vapours from the Line, and should seem, now more than ever, to be in possession of them, is here overruled suddenly, till, on its return to the zenith of Gerri, again it resumes the absolute command over the rain, and reconducts it to the Line to furnish distant deluges to the southward.

Mr. Bruce says it is in February, March, or April only, the plague begins in Egypt. Mr. Bruce does not believe it an endemical disease, but rather thinks it comes from Constantinople with merchandise, or passengers, and at this time of the year, that the air having attained a degree of putridity proper to receive it by the long absence of dews, the infection is thereto joined, and continues to rage till it is suddenly stopped by the dews occasioned by a refreshing mixture of rain-water, which is poured out into the Nile at the beginning of the inundation.

The first and most remarkable sign of the change brought about in the air is the sudden stopping of the plague at Saint John's day: every person, though shut up from society for months before, buys, sells, and communicates with his neighbour without any sort of apprehension; and it was never known, as far as Mr. Bruce could learn upon fair inquiry, that any one fell sick of the plague after this anniversary: it will be observed Mr. Bruce does not say, *died*; there are, examples of that, though he believes but few; the plague is not always a disease that suddenly terminates, it often takes a considerable time to come to a head, appearing only by symptoms; so that people taken ill, under the most putrid influence of the air, linger on, struggling with the disease which has already got such hold that they cannot recover; but what Mr. Bruce says he means is, that no person is taken ill of the plague so as to die after the dew has fallen in June; and no symptoms of the plague are ever commonly seen in Egypt but in those spring months already mentioned, the greater part of which are totally destitute of moisture.

Mr. Bruce then mentions a circumstance, which is universally known, and cannot be denied. The Turks and  
Moors

Moors are known to be predestinarians; they believe the hour of man's death is so immutably fixed that nothing can either advance or defer it an instant. Secure in this principle, they expose in the market-place, immediately after Saint John's day, the clothes of the many thousands that have died during the late continuance of the plague, all which imbibe the moist air of the evening and the morning, are handled, bought, put on, and worn without any apprehension of danger; and though they consist of furs, cotton, silk, and woollen cloths, which are stuffs the most retentive of the infection, no accident happens to those who wear them from this their happy confidence.

Mr. Bruce now returns back to his guide Woldo, whom they had left settling their reception with the chief of the village of Geesh. They found the measures taken by this man such as convinced them at once of his capacity and attachment. The miserable Agows, assembled all around him, were too much interested in the appearance our travellers made, not to be exceedingly inquisitive how long their stay was to be among them. They saw, by the horse driven before them, that they belonged to Fasil, and suspected, for the same reason, that they were to maintain them, or, in other words, that they should live at discretion upon them as long as they chose to tarry there; but Woldo, with great address, had dispelled those fears almost as soon as they were formed. He informed them of the king's grant to Mr. Bruce of the village of Geesh; that Fasil's tyranny and avarice would end that day, and another master, like Negadé Ras Georgis, was come to pass a chearful time among them, with a resolution to pay for every labour they were ordered to perform, and purchase all things for ready money: he added, moreover, that no military service was further to be exacted from them, either by the king or governor of Damot, nor from their present master, as he had no enemies. They found this news had circulated with great rapidity, and they met with a hearty welcome upon their arrival at the village.

Woldo had asked a house from the Shum, who very civilly had granted Mr. Bruce his own; it was just  
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large enough to serve him, but they were obliged to take possession of four or five others, and they were scarcely settled in these, when a servant arrived from Fasil to intimate to the Shum his surrendry of the property and sovereignty of Geesh to Mr. Bruce, in consequence of a grant from the king : he brought with him a fine, large, milk-white cow, two sheep, and two goats ; the sheep and goats Mr. Bruce understood were from Welleta Yafous. Fasil also sent them six jars of hydromel, fifty wheat loaves of very excellent bread, and to this Welleta Yafous had added two middle sized horns of excellent strong spirits. Their hearts were now perfectly at ease, and they passed a very merry evening. Woldo, who had done his part to great perfection, and had reconciled the minds of all the people of the village to our travellers, had a little apprehension for himself ; he thought he had lost credit with Mr. Bruce, and therefore employed the servant of Ayto Aylo to desire Mr. Bruce not to speak of the sash to Fasil's servant. Our traveller assured him, that, as long as he saw him acting properly, as he now did, it was much more probable he should give him another sash on their return, than complain of the means he had used to get this last. This entirely removed all his fears, and, indeed, as long after as he was with them, he every day deserved more and more their commendations.

Woldo was now perfectly happy ; he had no superior or spy over his actions ; he had explained himself to the Shum, that they should want somebody to buy necessaries to make bread for our travellers, and to take care of the management of their house. They displayed their lesser articles for barter to the Shum, and told him the most considerable purchases, such as oxen and sheep, were to be paid in gold. He was struck with the appearance of our traveller's wealth, and the generosity of their proposals, and told Woldo that he insisted, since they were in his houses, they would take his daughters for their house keepers. The proposal was a most reasonable one, and readily accepted. He accordingly sent for three in an instant, and they delivered them their charge. The eldest took it upon her readily ; she was about sixteen years of age, of a stature above the middle size, but she  
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was remarkably genteel, and, colour apart, her features would have made her a beauty in any country in Europe; she was, besides, very sprightly; they understood not one word of her language, though she comprehended very easily the signs that they made. This nymph of the Nile was called by nick name Irepone, which signifies some animal that destroys mice, but whether of the ferret or snake kind, Mr. Bruce could not perfectly understand; sometimes it was one, and sometimes another, but which it was he thought of no great importance.

After disposing of some of their stock in purchases, she thought herself obliged to render our travellers an account, and give back the residue at night to Woldo, with a protestation that she had not stolen or kept any thing to herself. Mr. Bruce looked upon this regular accounting as an ungenerous treatment of their benefactress. Mr. Bruce called on Woldo, and made him produce a parcel that contained the same with the first commodities they had given her; and this consisted of beads, antimony, small scissars, knives, and large needles. He then brought out a packet of the same that had not been broken, and told her, they were intended to be distributed among her friends, and that they expected no account from her; on the contrary, that, after she had bestowed these, to buy them necessaries, and for any purposes she pleased, he had still as many more to leave her at parting, for the trouble she had given herself. Mr. Bruce often thought the head of the little savage would have turned with the possession of so much riches, and so great confidence; and it was impossible to be so blinded, as not to see that our traveller had already made great progress in her affections. To the number of trifles he had added one ounce of gold, value about fifty shillings sterling, which he thought would defray their expences all the time they staid; and having now perfectly arranged the œconomy of their family, nothing remained but to make the proper observations.

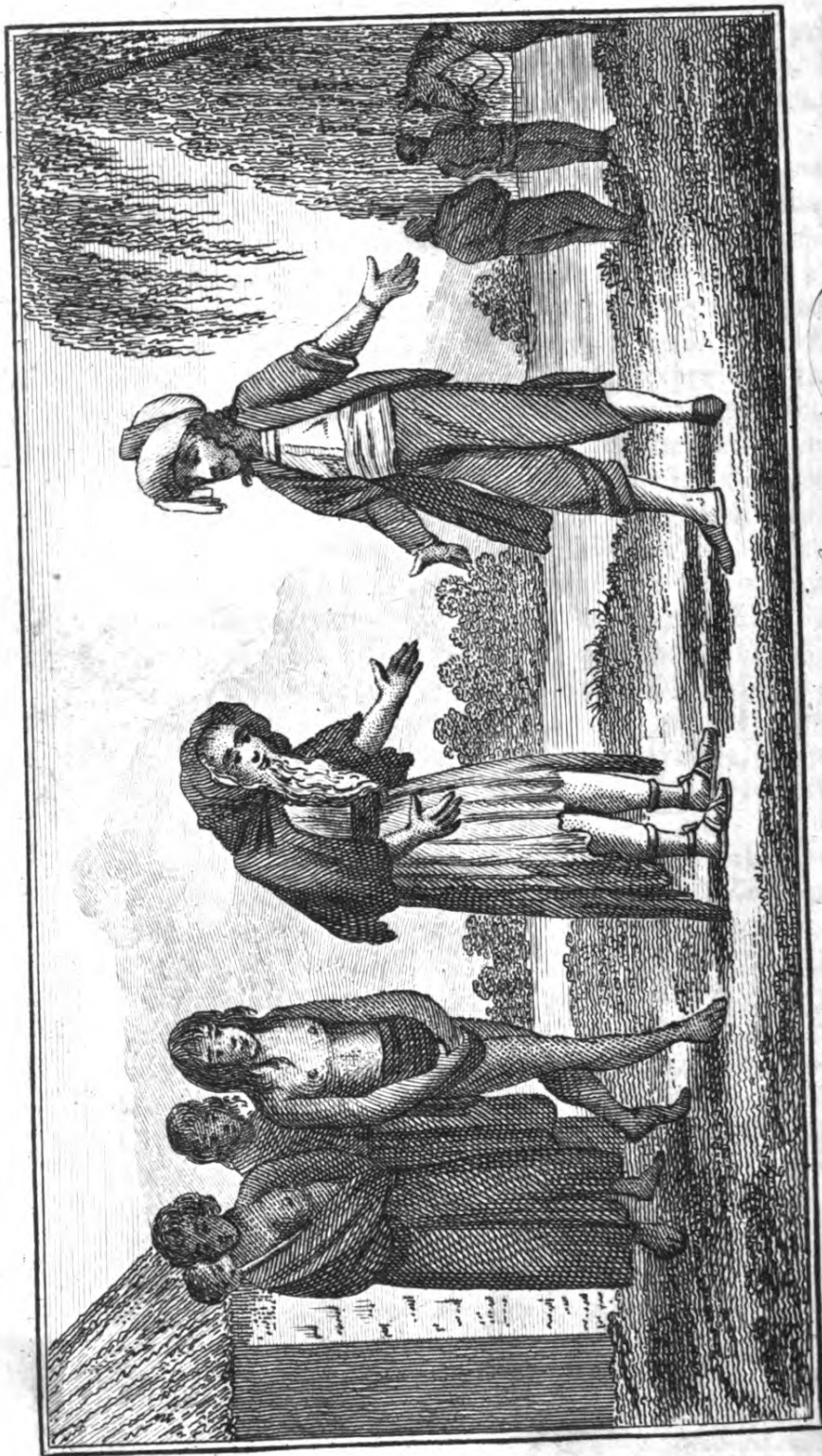
As the houses are all clay and straw, there was no place for fixing his clock; he was therefore obliged to employ a very excellent watch made for him by Ellicott. The dawn now began, and a few minutes afterwards every body was at their doors; every one crowded to

see them, and they breakfasted in public with very great cheerfulness. The white cow was killed, and every one was invited to his share of her. The Shum, priest of the river, would likewise have been of the party, but he declined either sitting or eating with them, though his sons were not so scrupulous.

Once a year, upon this principal fountain and altar already mentioned, on the first appearance of the dog-star, or, as others say, eleven days after, this priest assembles the heads of the clans; and having sacrificed a black heifer that never bore a calf, they plunge the head of it into this fountain, they then wrap it up in its own hide, so as no more to be seen, after having sprinkled the hide within and without with water from the fountain. The carcase is then split in half, and cleaned with extraordinary care; and, thus prepared, it is laid upon the hillock over the first fountain, and washed all over with its water, while the elders, or considerable people, carry water in their hands joined (it must not be in any dish) from the two other fountains; they then assemble upon the small hill a little west of St. Michael, (it used to be the place where the church now stands), there they divide the carcase into pieces corresponding to the number of the tribes, and each tribe has its privilege, or pretensions, to particular parts, which are not in proportion to the present consequence of the several clans. Geesh has a principal slice, though the most inconsiderable territory of the whole; Sacala has the next; and Zeegam, the most considerable of them all in power and riches, has the least of the whole. After having ate this carcase raw, according to their custom, and drunk the Nile water, to the exclusion of any other liquor, they pile up the bones on the place where they sit, and burn them to ashes.

This used to be performed where the church now stands; but Ras Sela Christos, some time after, having beaten the Agows, and desirous, at the Jesuits instigation, to convert them to Christianity, he demolished their altar where the bones were burnt, and built a church upon the site, the doors of which, Mr. Bruce believes, were never opened since that reign; nor is there now, as far as he could perceive, any Christian there who might wish





(Shamm, Priest of the Niles.)

wish to see it frequented. After Sela Christos had demolished their altars by building this church, they ate the carcase, and burnt the bones, on the top of the mountain of Geesh out of the way of profanation, where the vestiges of this ceremony may yet be seen; but probably the fatigue attending this, and the great indifference their late governors have had for Christianity; have brought them back to a small hillock by the side of the marsh, west of St. Michael's church, and a little to the southward, where they perform this solemnity every year, and they will probably resume their first altar when the church is fallen to ruins, which they are every day privately hastening.

Having finished their bloody banquet, they carry the head, close wrapt from sight in the hide, into the cavern, which they say reaches below the fountains, and there, by a common light, without torches, or a number of candles, as denoting a solemnity, they perform their worship, the particulars of which Mr. Bruce never could learn; it is a piece of free masonry, which every body knows, and nobody ventures to reveal. At a certain time of the night they leave the cave, but at what time, or by what rule, our traveller could not learn; neither would they tell him what became of the head, whether it was ate, or buried, or how consumed. The Abyssinians have a story, probably created by themselves, that the devil appears to them; and with him they eat the head, swearing obedience to him upon certain conditions, that of sending rain, and a good season for their bees and cattle: however this may be, it is certain, that they pray to the spirit residing in the river, whom they call the Everlasting God, Light of the World, Eye of the World, God of Peace, their Saviour, and Father of the Universe.

Their landlord, the Shum, made no scruple of reciting his prayers for seasonable rain, for plenty of grass, for the preservation of serpents, at least of one kind of this reptile; he also deprecated thunder in these prayers, which he pronounced very pathetically with a kind of tone or song; he called the river, "Most High God, Saviour of the World;" of the other words Mr. Bruce



could not well judge, but by the interpretation of Woldo. Those titles, however, of divinity which he gave to the river, he could perfectly comprehend without an interpreter, and for these only he is a voucher.

Mr. Bruce asked the priest, into whose good graces he had purposely insinuated himself, if ever any spirit had been seen by him? He answered, without hesitation, Yes; very frequently. He said he had seen the spirit the evening of the 3d, just as the sun was setting, under a tree, which he shewed our traveller at a distance, who told him of the death of a son, and also that a party from Fasil's army was coming; that, being afraid, he consulted his serpent, who ate readily and heartily, from which he knew no harm was to befall him from his visitors. Mr. Bruce asked him, if he could prevail on the spirit to appear to him. He said he could not venture to make that request. He said he was of a very graceful figure and appearance: he thought rather older than middle age; but he seldom chose to look at his face; he had a long white beard, his clothes not like theirs of leather, but like silk, of the fashion of the country. Mr. Bruce asked him how he was certain it was not a man? he laughed, or rather sneered, shaking his head, and saying, "No, no, it is no man, but a spirit." Mr. Bruce then desired to know why he prayed against thunder. He said, Because it was hurtful to the bees, their great revenue being honey and wax: then, why he prayed for serpents? he replied, Because they taught him the coming of good or evil. It seems they have all several of these creatures in the neighbourhood, and the richer sort always in their houses, whom they take care of, and feed before they undertake a journey, or any affair of consequence. They take this animal from his hole, and put butter and milk before him, of which he is extravagantly fond; if he does not eat, ill-fortune is near at hand.

Before an invasion of the Galla, or an inroad of the enemy, they say these serpents disappear, and are no where to be found. Fasil, the sagacious and cunning governor of the country, was, as it was said, greatly addicted to this species of divination, insomuch as never to mount  
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his horse, or go from home, if an animal of this kind, which he had in his keeping, refused to eat.

The Shum's name was Kessa Abay, or Servant of the River; he was a man about seventy, not very lean, but infirm, fully as much so as might have been expected from that age. He conceived that he might have had eighty-four or eighty-five children. That honourable charge which he possessed had been in his family from the beginning of the world, as he imagined. Indeed, if all predecessors had as numerous families as he, there was no probability of the succession devolving to strangers. He had a long white beard, and very moderately thick; an ornament rare in Abyssinia, where they have seldom any hair upon their chin. He had round his body a skin wrapt and tied with a broad belt. Above this he wore a cloak with the hood up, and covering his head; he was bare legged, but had sandals, much like those upon ancient statues; these, however, he put off as soon as ever he approached the bog where the Nile rises, which our travellers were all likewise obliged to do. They were allowed to drink the water, but make no other use of it. None of the inhabitants of Geesh wash themselves, or their clothes, in the Nile, but in a stream that falls from the mountain of Geesh down into the plain of Asso, which runs south, and meets the Nile in its turn northward, passing the country of the Gafars and Gongas.

The Agows, in whose country the Nile rises, are, in point of number, one of the most considerable nations in Abyssinia; when their whole force is raised, which seldom happens, they can bring to the field 4000 horse, and a great number of foot; they were, however, once much more powerful; several unsuccessful battles, and the perpetual inroads of the Galla, have much diminished their strength. The country, indeed, is still full of inhabitants; but from their history we learn, that one clan, called Zeegam, maintained singly a war against the king himself, from the time of Socinios to that of Yafous the Great, who, after all, overcame them by surprise and stratagem; and that another clan, the Denguis, in like manner, maintained the war against Facilidas, Hannes I. and Yafous II. all of them active princes.

Their riches, however, are still greater than their power, for though their province in length is no where 60 miles, nor half that in breadth, yet Gondar and all the neighbouring country depend for the necessaries of life, cattle, honey, butter, wheat, hides, wax, and a number of such articles, upon the Agows, who came constantly in succession, a thousand and fifteen hundred at a time, loaded with these commodities, to the capital. As the dependence upon the Agows is for their produce rather than on the forces of their country, it has been a maxim with wise princes to compound with them for an additional tribute, instead of their military service; the necessities of the times have sometimes altered these wise regulations, and between their attachment to Fasil, and afterwards to Ras Michael, they have been very much reduced, whereby the state hath suffered.

It may naturally be supposed, that, in a long carriage, such as that of a hundred miles in such a climate, butter must melt, and be in a state of fusion, consequently very near putrefaction; this is prevented by the root of an herb, called Moc-moco, yellow in colour, and in a shape nearly resembling a carrot; this they bruise and mix with their butter, and a very small quantity preserves it fresh for a considerable time; and this is a great saving and convenience; for, supposing salt was employed, it is very doubtful if it would answer the intention; besides, salt is a money in this country, being circulated in the form of wedges, or bricks, it serves the purpose of silver coin, and is the change of gold; so that this herb is of the utmost use in preventing the increase in price of this necessary article, which is the principal food of all ranks of people in this country.

Besides the market of Gondar, the neighbouring black savages, the woolly-headed Shangalla, purchase the greatest part of these commodities from them, and many others, which they bring from the capital when they return thence; they receive in exchange elephants teeth, rhinoceros' horns, gold in small pellets, and a quantity of very fine cotton; of which goods they might receive a much greater quantity were they content to cultivate trade in a fair way, without making inroads upon these savages for  
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the sake of slaves, and thereby disturbing them in their occupations of seeking for gold and hunting the elephant.

The cloathing of the Agows is all of hides, which they soften and manufacture in a method peculiar to themselves; and this they wear in the rainy season, when the weather is cold, for here the rainy seasons are of long duration and violent, which still increases the nearer you approach the Line. The younger sort are chiefly naked, the married women carrying their children about with them upon their backs; their cloathing is like a shirt down to their feet, and girded with a belt or girdle about their middle; the lower part of it resembles a large double petticoat, one ply of which they turn back over their shoulders, fastening it with a broach, or skewer, across their breast before, and carrying their children in it behind. The women are generally thin, and, like the men, below the middle size. There is no such thing as barrenness known among them. They begin to bear children before eleven; they marry generally about that age, and are marriageable two years before: they close child-bearing before they are thirty, though there are several instances to the contrary.

Besides what they sell, and what they pay to the governor of Damot, the Agows have a particular tribute which they present to the king: one thousand dabra of honey, each dabra containing about sixty pounds weight, being a large earthen vessel. They pay, moreover, fifteen hundred oxen and 1000 ounces of gold; formerly the number of jars of honey was four thousand, but several of these villages being daily given to private people by the king, the quantity is diminished by the quota so alienated. The butter is all sold; and, since the fatal battle of Benja, the king's share comes only to about one thousand jars. The officer that keeps the accounts, and sees the rents paid, is called Agow Miziker; his post is worth one thousand ounces of gold; and by this it may be judged with what œconomy this revenue is collected.

Though Mr. Bruce had with him two large tents sufficient for his people, he was advised to take possession of the houses to secrete their mules and horses from thieves

in the night, as also from the assaults of wild beasts, of which this country is full. Almost every small collection of houses has behind it a large cave, the subterraneous dwelling, dug in the rock, of a prodigious capacity, and which must have been a work of great labour. It is not possible at this distance of time, to say whether these caverns were the ancient habitation of the Agows when they were Troglodytes, or whether they were intended for retreats upon any alarm of an irruption of the Galla into their country.

On the 9th of November, Mr. Bruce having finished his memorandum relating to these remarkable places, traced again on foot the whole course of this river from its source to the plain of Goutto. He was unattended by any one, having with him only two hunting dogs, and his gun in his hand. The quantity of game of all sorts, especially the deer kind, was, indeed, surprising; but though he was, as usual, a very successful sportsman, he was obliged, for want of help, to leave each deer where he fell. They sleep in the wild oats, and do not rise till you are about to tread upon them, and then stare at you for half a minute before they attempt to run off.

Our travellers having now finished their business, nothing remained but to depart. They had passed their time in perfect harmony; the address of Woldo, and the great attachment of their friend Irepone, had kept their house in a cheerful abundance. They had lived, it is true, too magnificently for philosophers, but neither idly nor riotously; and he believes, never will any *sovereign* of Geesh be again so popular, or reign over his subjects with greater mildness. Mr. Bruce had practised medicine gratis, and killed, for three days successively, a cow each day for the poor and the neighbours. He had clothed the high priest of the Nile from head to foot, as also his two sons, and decorated two of his daughters with beads of all the colours of the rainbow, adding every other little present they seemed fond of, or that our travellers thought would be agreeable. As for their amiable Irepone, they had reserved for her the choicest of their presents, the most valuable of every article they had with them, and a large proportion of every one  
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of them ; they also gave her some gold ; but she, more generous and nobler in her sentiments than they, seemed to pay little attention to these that announced to her the separation from her friends ; she tore her fine hair, which she had every day before braided in a newer and more graceful manner ; she threw herself upon the ground in the house, and refused to see our travellers mount on horseback, or take their leave, and came not to the door till they were already set out, then followed them with her good wishes and her eyes as far as she could see or be heard.

Mr. Bruce took his leave of Kefla Abay, the venerable priest of the most famous river in the world, who recommended him with great earnestness to the care of his god, which as one of our travellers humorously enough observed, meant nothing less than he hoped the devil would take him. All the young men in the village, with lances and shields, attended them to Saint Michael Sacala, that is, to the borders of their country, and end of Mr. Bruce's little sovereignty.



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# T R A V E L S

TO DISCOVER

The SOURCE of the NILE.

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## B O O K VII.

*Return from the Source of the Nile to Gondar—Mr. Bruce prepares to leave Abyssinia.*

ON the 10th of November, 1770, our travellers left Geesh on their return to Gondar, and passed the Abay, under the church of Saint Michael Sacala. The next day, they continued their journey in their former road, and in the afternoon they halted at the house of Shalaka Welled Amlac, with whom Mr. Bruce was well acquainted at Gondar; his house is called Welled Abea Abbo, from a church of Abbo about an eighth part of a mile distant.

Here Mr. Bruce settled with his former guide Woldo, to his perfect satisfaction, and cancelled entirely the memory of some disagreeable things passed. He then consigned our traveller very solemnly to Ayto Aylo's servant, in presence of Welled Amlac, and then took his leave.

On the 12th of November, having settled their account with their host, they set out from the hospitable house of Shalaka Welled Amlac. Their landlord accompanied them in person to the ford; and by this, and his  
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readiness to shew them what he thought worthy of their curiosity, and by his care in ascertaining for them the distances and situations of places, he gave them a certain proof he was well contented, and, therefore, that they had nothing to fear.

They gained, with difficulty, the middle of the river, where the bottom was firm, and there they rested a little. Whilst they were wading near the other side, they found foul ground, but the water was shallow, and the banks low and easy to ascend. The river side, as far as they could see, was bare and destitute of wood of any kind, only bordered with thistles and high grass, and the water tinged deep with red earth, of which its banks are composed. This passage is called Delakus, and is passable from the end of October to the middle of May. Immediately on the top of the hill ascending from the river is the small town of Delakus, which gives this ford its name; it is more considerable in appearance than is the generality of these small towns or villages in Abyssinia, because inhabited by Mahometans only, a trading, frugal, intelligent, and industrious people.

Their conductor, Welled Amlac, put our travellers in mind of the service he had rendered them, and they were not unmindful of him. He had been received with very great respect at the last place, and it is incredible with what expedition he swallowed near a pound of raw flesh cut from the buttocks of the animal yet alive. After some horns of hydromel, he passed to the other side, where he was received with still more affection, if possible, by Welleta Michael; and there he began again to eat the raw meat with an appetite as keen as if he had fasted for whole days; he then consigned our travellers to Ayto Welleta Michael, his friend, who furnished them with a servant to conduct them on their way, while he himself remained that night at the ford.

They left the ford at five in the evening, and, pursuing their journey north, they passed the small town of Delakus, continuing along the hill among little spots of brush-wood and small fields of corn intermixed.

Maitsha, the place our travellers were now preparing to leave, is governed by ninety-nine Shums, and is an appendage of the office of Betwuder, to whom it pays



two thousand ounces of gold. The people are originally of those Galla west of the Abay. Yafous the Great, when at war with that people, who, in many preceding reigns, had laid waste the provinces of Gojam and Damot, and especially Agow, when he passed the Abay, found these people at variance among themselves; and the king, who was every where victorious, being joined by the weakest, advanced to Narea, and, on his return, transplanted these Galla into Maitsha, placing part of them along the Nile to guard the passes. His successors at different times followed his example; part they settled in Maitsha, and part along the banks of the Nile in Damot and Gojam, where being converted to Christianity, at least to such Christianity as is professed in Abyssinia, they have increased exceedingly, and amounted, at least before the war in 1768, to 15,000 men, of whom about 4000 are horsemen.

Mr. Bruce's servants and baggage arrived at Gondar, while he himself went to Koscam, and thus finished their long-projected expedition, or journey, to the fountains of the Nile, having, in their return home, made, as it were, the chord of the arch of their former journey, or about ninety-three miles.

It was not till the 23d of November, owing to the troubles that then reigned in the capital of Abyssinia, that Mr. Bruce saw the Iteghé. She sent for him early in the morning, and had a large breakfast prepared: she looked very much worn out and indisposed. When he came first into her presence, he kneeled, with his forehead to the ground. She put on a very serious countenance, and, without desiring him to rise, said gravely to her people about her, "There, see that madman, who in times like these, when we the natives of the country are not safe in our own houses, rashly, against all advice, runs out into the fields to be hunted like a wild beast by every robber, of which this country is full." She then made him a sign to rise, which he did, and kissed her hand. "Madam, said he, if I did this, it was in consequence of the good lessons your majesty deigned to give me."—"Me! says she, with surprise, was it I that advised you, at such a time as this, to put yourself in the way of men like Coque Abou Barea, and Wood-  
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age Afahel, to be ill-used, robbed, and probably murdered?"—"No, said Mr. Bruce, Madam, you certainly never did give me such advice; but you must own that every day I have heard you say, when you was threatened by a multitude of powerful enemies, that you was not afraid, you was in God's hands, and not in theirs. Now, Madam, Providence has hitherto protected you: I have, in humble imitation of you, had the same Christian confidence, and I have succeeded; I knew I was in God's hands, and therefore valued not the bad intentions of all the robbers in Abyssinia."

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give the history of the Abyssinians during his residence among them. This subject employs several sheets; but, as they contain only a detail of horrid rebellions, battles, blood, and slaughter, and such as the readers of this abridgement can be no ways interested in, we shall content ourselves with observing, that Mr. Bruce seems to have shewn great courage in several instances, and on that account was presented by the king with a large chain of gold, with very massy links, which he doubled twice, and then put it over Mr. Bruce's neck. The chain consisted of 184 links, each of them weighing 3 1-12 pennyweights of fine gold, "It was with the utmost reluctance, says Mr. Bruce, that, being in want of every thing, I sold a great part of this honourable distinction at Sennaar in my return home. It is hoped my successors will never have the same excuse I had for further diminishing this honourable monument which I have left them."

After the troubles had ceased, and Ras Michael, of whom we have before spoken, was sent away prisoner from Gondar, the queen returned to Koscam, where Mr. Bruce passed a great part of his time; but his health declining every day, he had obtained, with great difficulty, liberty from her to attempt his return home. The king, too, after a hundred exceptions and provisos, had at length been brought to give an unwilling consent.

Captain Thomas Price, of the Lion of Bombay, had been obliged, by this business with the government of Mecca, to continue at Jidda, till the season after Mr.

Bruce

Bruce went from thence to Abyssinia. He had already heard once from him, and now a second time. He informed Mr. Bruce, that his countrymen had been in the greatest pain for him; that several reports had been current, both at Jidda and Mocha, of his having been assassinated; sometimes it was said by the Naybe of Masuah; sometimes that it happened at Gondar; by others at Sennaar, at his return home. Captain Price wrote in this last letter, that, thinking Mr. Bruce must be distressed for want of money, he had left orders with Ibrahim Seraff, the English broker at Jidda, to advance him 1000 crowns, desiring his draft to be sent to Ibrahim, directed to him or his brother at Bombay, and to make it payable to a gentleman of that name who lived in Smithfield.

Mr. Bruce's resolution being now taken, and leave obtained, he considers this as the proper place to resume the account of his finances. Mr. Bruce had occasionally borrowed from a Greek, whose name was Petros. This man was originally a native of the island of Rhodes, which he must have left early, for he was not at this time much past thirty; he had been by trade a shoemaker. For what reason he left his own country, Mr. Bruce does not know, but he was of a very pleasing figure and address, though very timid. The Iteghé very much distinguished him, and the king had made him *Azeleffa el Camisha*, which answers precisely to groom of the stole, or first lord of the bed-chamber in England. Being pliant, civil, and artful, and always well-dressed, he had gained the good graces of the whole court; he was also rich, as the king was generous, and his perquisites not inconsiderable.

After one of the campaigns, in which a dwarf was shot who was standing before Ras Michael, and the palace set on fire in the fray which followed, the crown, which was under Petros's charge, was melted; the gold, indeed, that it consisted of, was afterwards found, but there was said to have been on the top of it a pearl, or jewel, of immense price and size, larger than a pigeon's egg; and this, whatever it was, had disappeared, being in all probability consumed by the fire. Ras Michael, on the  
contrary,

contrary, believed that it had been taken out by Petros with a view to sell it, and for this reason he had constantly refused him liberty to leave Abyssinia, and had kept him always in fear, that some day or other he would strip him of all that he had saved. While Michael was besieging the mountain Haramat, Petros beseeched Mr. Bruce to take 30 l. of him, and give him his first, second, and third bill of exchange upon Messrs. Julian and Rosa, his correspondents at Cairo, payable a month after sight, to the Maronite Bishop of Mount Sinai, after which he set out for his own country, *in forma pauperis*, and thereby escaped the rapacity of both Ras Michael and the Naybe of Masuah. As for the bill, it came duly to hand, and was paid to the bishop, who would very fain have received for each of the duplicates, and was near being bastinadoed for insisting upon this before the Bey at Cairo.

Mr. Bruce had made a shew, and, as he himself says, with some degree of ostentation, of sending his gold chain to Cairo by the hands of Metical Aga's servant, declaring always that it was the only piece of Abyssinian gold he should carry out of the country, which he was to leave, both in fact and appearance, a *pauper*. Mules are the only beasts for carriage commonly used in Abyssinia, though bulls and cows, of a particular kind, are bought for the purpose by carriers, merchants, and such like, in that country, especially near the mines or quarries of salt; they are very slow, however, and capable of no great burden, though very easily maintained. Mr. Bruce had abundance of mules of his own for carrying his instruments and baggage; and the king and Iteghé furnished him with others for his own riding. He had, besides, two favourite horses, which he intended to attempt to carry home, foolishly enough; for though he thought in his own mind, that he was sufficiently informed of, and prepared for all sorts of hardships, he had not foreseen the hundredth part of the difficulties and dangers that were then awaiting him.

Since the Iteghé had returned, Mr. Bruce always lived at Koscam by her own desire, as her health was very precarious since her residence in Gojam. This suited his  
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his intention of withdrawing privately, and therefore, not to multiply the number of leave-takings, he had reduced his whole attendance to the king and queen.

Mr. Bruce's whole attention was now taken up in preparations for his return through the kingdom of Sennaar and the Desert. Mr. Bruce does not wish to take up the reader's time with a long narrative of leave-taking, or what passed between him and those illustrious personages, with whom he had lived so long in the most perfect and cordial friendship. Men of little, and envious minds, would perhaps think he was composing a panegyric upon himself, from which, therefore, he says, he most willingly refrains.

Mr. Bruce then mentions what passed at the last interview he had with the Iteghé, two days before his departure. Tenfa Christos, who was one of the chief priests of Gondar, was a native of Gojam, and consequently of the low church, or a follower of Abba Eustathius, in other words, as great an enemy as possible to the Catholic, or as they will call it, *the religion of the Franks*. He was, however, reputed a person of great probity and sanctity of manners, and had been on all occasions rather civil and friendly to Mr. Bruce when they met, though evidently not desirous of any intimate connections or friendship; and as Mr. Bruce, on his part, expected little advantage from connecting himself with a man of his principles, he very willingly kept at all possible distance.

This priest came often to the Iteghé's and Ayto Aylo's, with both of whom he was much in favour; and here Mr. Bruce happened to meet him, when he was taking his leave in the evening. "I beg of you, said he, Yagoube, as a favour, to tell me, now you are immediately going away from this country, and you can answer me without fear, Are you really a Frank, or are you not?" "Sir, said Mr. Bruce, I do not know what you mean by fear; I should as little decline answering you any question you have to ask had I ten years to stay, as now I am to quit this country to-morrow: I came recommended, and was well received by the king and Ras Michael: I neither taught nor preached; no man ever heard me say a word about my particular mode of worship; and as often as my  
duty

duty has called me, I have never failed to attend divine service as it is established in this country. What is the ground of fear that I should have, while under the king's protection, and customs of Abyssinia?"—"True, replied Tenfa Christos, I do not say you should be alarmed; whatever your faith is I would defend you myself; the Iteghé knows I always spoke well of you, but will you gratify an old man's curiosity, in telling me whether or not you really are a Frank, Catholic, or Jesuit?"

"I have too great a regard, replied Mr. Bruce, to the request of a man, so truly good and virtuous as you, not to have answered you the question at whatever time you could have asked me; and I do now declare to you, by the word of a Christian, that my countrymen and I are more distant in matters of religion, from these you call Catholics, Jesuits, or Franks, than you and your Abyssinians are; and that a priest of my religion, preaching in any country subject to those Franks, would as certainly be brought to the gallows as if he had committed murder, and just as speedily as you would stone a Catholic priest preaching here in the midst of Gondar. Every man in our country is allowed to serve God in his own way; and as long as their teachers confine themselves to what the Sacred Books have told them, they can teach no ill, and therefore deserve no punishment. No religion, indeed, teaches a man evil; but, when forgetting this, they preach against government, curse the king, absolve his subjects from allegiance, or incite them to rebellion, as being lawful, the sword of the civil power cuts them off, without any blame falling upon their religion, because these things were done in contradiction to what their priests, from the Scripture, should have taught them were truly the tenets of that very religion." The Iteghé now interposed, and the subject was dropped.

Mr. Bruce then got up, and, passing to the other side of the room, he stood by Tenfa Christos, saying to him, "And now, holy father, I have one, last favour to ask you, which is your forgiveness, if I have at any time offended you; your blessing, now that I am immediately to depart, if I have not; and your prayers while on my long and dangerous journey, through countries of infidels and pagans."

A hum

A hum of applause sounded all throughout the room. The Iteghé said something, but what, Mr. Bruce did not hear. Tensa Christos was surprised apparently at Mr. Bruce's humility, which he had not expected, and cried out with tears in his eyes, "Is it possible, Yagoube, that you believe my prayers can do you any good?"—"I should not be a Christian, as I profess to be, Father," replied Mr. Bruce, "if I had any doubt of the effect of good men's prayers." So saying, he stooped to kiss his hand, when he laid a small iron cross upon his head; and, to our traveller's great surprise, instead of a benediction, he repeated the LORD'S PRAYER. Mr. Bruce was afraid he would have kept him stooping till he should add the ten commandments likewise, when he concluded, "Gzier y' Baracuc," May GOD bless you. After which, Mr. Bruce made his obeisance to the Iteghé, and immediately withdrew, it not being the custom, at public audiences, to salute any one in the presence of the sovereign.

Twenty greasy monks, however, had placed themselves in his way as he went out, that they might have the credit of giving him the blessing likewise after Tensa Christos. As he had very little faith in the prayers of these drones, so he had some reluctance to kiss their greasy hands and sleeves; however, in running this disagreeable gauntlet, he gave them his blessing in English,—“LORD send you all a halter, as he did to Abba Salama,” meaning the Acab Saat. But they, thinking he was recommending them to the patriarch Abba Salama, pronounced, at random, with great seeming devotion, their Amen,—So be it.

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# T R A V E L S

TO DISCOVER

## The SOURCE of the NILE.

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### B O O K VIII.

*Mr. Bruce returns by Sennaar through Nubia and the great desert—Arrives at Alexandria, and afterwards at Marseilles.*

ON the 26th of December, 1771, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Bruce left Gondar. He had purposed to set out early in the morning, but was detained by the importunity of his friends. The king had delayed his setting out, by several orders sent him in the evening each day; and he plainly saw there was some meaning in this, and that he was wishing to throw difficulties in the way, till some accident, or sudden emergency, never wanting in that country, should make it absolutely impossible for him to leave Abyssinia. When, therefore, the last message came to Koscam on the 27th, at night, Mr. Bruce returned his respectful duty to his majesty, put him in mind of his promise, and somewhat peevishly, he believes, intreated him to leave him to his fortune; that his servants were already gone, and he was resolved to set out next morning.

The next morning early, Mr. Bruce was surpris'd at the arrival of a young nobleman, lately made one of his bed-chamber, with fifty light horse. As he was satisfied, that leaving Abyssinia, without parade, as privately



vately as possible, was the only way to pass through Sennaar; he therefore insisted upon none of his friends accompanying him, and he begged to decline this escort. At one o'clock, Mr. Bruce set out by the west side of Debra T'zai, having the mountain on their right hand. From the top of that ascent, they saw the plain and flat country below, black, and, in its appearance, one thick wood, which some authors have called lately, the Shumeta, or Nubian forest.

All the disasters which Mr. Bruce had been threatened with in the course of the journey, which he had thus begun, now presented themselves to his mind, and made, for a moment, a strong impression upon his spirits. But it was too late to draw back, the die was cast, for life or for death; home was before him, however distant; and if, through the protection of Providence, he should be fortunate enough to arrive there, he promised himself both ease and the applause of his country, and of all unprejudiced men of sense and learning in Europe; for having, by his own private efforts alone, completed a discovery, which had, from early ages, defied the address, industry, and courage of all the world.

Having rather hardened, than comforted his heart by these reflections, he now advanced down the steep side of the mountain, through very strong and rugged ground, torn up by the torrents that fall on every side from above. This is called the Descent of Moura; and though both they and their beasts were in great health and spirits, they could not, with their utmost endeavours, advance much more than one mile an hour. Two Greeks, one of whom only was his servant, and a third, nearly blind, flying from poverty and want; an old janissary, who had come to Abyssinia with the Abuna, and Copht who left them at Sennaar; these, and some common men who took charge of the beasts, and were to go no further than Tcherkin, were his only companions in this long and weary journey.

On the 28th they entered a thick wood, winding round a hill, in a south-east direction, to get into the plain below, where they were surrounded by a great multitude of men, armed with lances, shields, slings, and large clubs or sticks, who rained a shower of stones towards

wards them; but they were at such a distance, that all of them fell greatly short of them. Whether this was owing to fear, or not, they did not know; but supposing that it was, they thought it their interest to keep it up as much as possible. Mr. Bruce, therefore, ordered two shots to be fired over their heads; not with any intention to hurt them, but to let them hear, by the balls whistling among the leaves of the trees, that their guns carried farther than any of their slings; and that, distant as they then were, they were not in safety, if they had a disposition to do harm. They seemed to understand their meaning, by gliding through among the bushes, and appearing at the top of a hill farther off, where they continued hopping, and crying, and making signs, which our travellers could not, neither did they endeavour to understand.

While resting on the banks of the river Mogetch, they had been overtaken by two men, and two women, who were driving two loaded asses, and were going to Tcherkin; they had desired leave to keep company with our travellers, for fear of danger on the road. Mr. Bruce had two Abyssinian servants, but they were not yet come up, attending one of the baggage mules that was lame. They were obliged then to have recourse to one of these stranger women, who understood the language of Tigré, and undertook readily to carry their message to a stranger, who was still very busy making signs from behind a tree, without coming one step nearer.

Mr. Bruce's message to them was, that if they shewed the smallest appearance of further insolence, either by approaching the tent, or slinging stones that night, the next morning, when the horse he expected were come up, he would burn their town, and put every man of them to the sword. A very submissive answer was sent back, with a heap of lies in excuse of what they called their mistake. His two servants coming soon after, both of whom, hereafter, were to be in the service of Ayto Confu, went boldly one to each village, to bring two goats, some jars of bouza, and to prepare fifty loaves of bread for next morning. The goats were dispatched instantly, so was the bouza; but when the morning came, the people had all fled from their houses, without preparing any bread. These villages were called Gimbaar. They were

three in number ; each situated upon the top of a pointed hill, in a direction from east to west, and made a very beautiful appearance from the plain below.

On the 29th, they left the inhospitable villages of Gimbaar, not without entertaining some apprehensions of meeting the inhabitants again in the course of the day. But though they took every precaution against being surpris'd, that prudence could dictate, their fears of the encounter did not rise to any great height. Mr. Bruce got, indeed, on horseback, leaving his mule, and, putting on his coat of mail, leaving the fire-arms under the command of Hagi Ismael, the old Turk, he rode always about a quarter of a mile before the baggage, that they might not come suddenly upon them, as they had done the night before. However, they met with no opposition, but proceeded on to Waalia ; and at half past four in the afternoon encamped in the market-place.

Waalia is a collection of villages, each placed upon the top of a hill, and inclosing, as in a circle, an extensive flat piece of ground about three miles over, on which a very well-frequented market is kept. The name is given it from a species of small pigeons, with yellow breasts and variegated backs, the fattest and best of all the pigeon kind. Waalia lies due N. W. from Gondar.

On the 30th, they set out from Waalia, and proceeded along the Mai Lumi, or the River of Lemons. A prodigious quantity of fruit loaded the branches of these trees even likely to break them ; and these were in all stages of ripeness. Multitudes of blossoms covered the opposite part of the tree, and sent forth the most delicious odour possible. They provided themselves amply with this fruit. The natives make no use of it, but our travellers found it a great refreshment to them, both mixed with their water, and as sauce to their meat, of which they had now no great variety since their onions had failed them, and a supply of them was no longer to be procured.

They soon after reached the pass of Dav-Dohha, a very narrow defile, full of strata of rocks, like steps of stairs, but so high, that, without leaping, or being pulled up, no horse or mule can ascend. Besides, the descent, though short, is very steep, and almost choaked

up by huge stones, which the torrents, after washing the earth from about them, had rolled down from the mountain above. Both sides of the defile are covered thick with wood and bushes, especially that detestable thorn the kantuffa, so justly reprobated in Abyssinia. Having extricated themselves successfully from this pass, their spirits were so elated, that they began to think their journey now at an end, not reflecting how many passes, full of real danger, were still before them.

On the morning of the 2d of January, 1772, Mr. Bruce having dressed his hair, perfumed it according to the custom of the country, and put on clean clothes, with no other arms but his knife, and a pair of pistols at his girdle, came out of the tent to mount his mule for Tcherkin. He now saw Confu's servant, whose name was Welleta Yafous, pulling the Guinea-fowls and pigeons out of the pannier, where his servants had put them, and scattering them upon the ground, saying to those who interrupted him, "Throw away this carrion; you shall have a better breakfast and dinner, to-day;" and turning to Mr. Bruce, more than ordinarily pleased at seeing him dressed, and that he continued to use the Abyssinian habit, he jumped upon his mule, and appeared in great spirits. They all set out at a brisker pace than usual, by the assistance of the two fresh mules.

They passed through the midst of several small villages; and at last Mr. Bruce pitched his tent in the market-place at Tcherkin, which seemed a beautiful lawn laid out for pleasure, shaded with fine old trees, of an enormous height and size, and watered by a small but very limpid brook, running over beds of pebbles as white as snow.

The impatient Welleta Yafous would only give Mr. Bruce time to see his quadrant and other instruments safely stowed, and hurried him through a very narrow and crooked path up the side of the mountain, at every turn of which was placed a great rock or stone, the station for musquets to enfilade the different stages of the road below, where it was strait for any distance. They at last reached the outer court, where Mr. Bruce saw a great many of his old acquaintance, whom he had known

at Ozoro Esther's house at Gondar, and who all welcomed him with the greatest demonstrations of joy, as if he had come from a long journey.

Mr. Bruce was then taken to an inner apartment, where, to his great surprise, instead of Ayto Confu, he saw his mother, Ozoro Esther, sitting on a couch, and at her feet the secretary's daughter, the beautiful Tecla Mariam; and, soon after, the secretary himself, and several others belonging to the court. After having made a profound obeisance, "Ozoro Esther, said Mr. Bruce, I cannot speak for surprise. What is the meaning of your having left Gondar to come into this wilderness? As for Tecla Mariam, I am not surprised at seeing her; I know she, at any time, would rather die than leave you; but that you have both come hither without Ayto Confu, and in so short a time, is what I cannot comprehend."—"There is nothing so strange in this, replied Ozoro Esther, the troops of Begemder have taken away my husband, Ras Michael, God knows where; and, therefore, being now a single woman, I am resolved to go to Jerusalem to pray for my husband, and to die there, and be buried in the Holy Sepulchre. You would not stay with us, so we are going with you. Is there any thing surprising in all this?"

"But tell me, truly, said Tecla Mariam, you that know every thing, while peeping and poring through these long glasses, did not you learn by the stars that we were to meet you here?"—"Madam, answered Mr. Bruce, if there was one star in the firmament that had announced to me such agreeable news, I should have relapsed into the old idolatry of this country, and worshipped that star for the rest of my life." Breakfast now came in; the conversation took a very lively turn, and from the secretary our traveller learned that the matter stood thus: "The king, restoring the villages to the Iteghé, according to the stipulation of his last treaty with Powußen, thought that he might so far infringe upon it, from gratitude to Ras Michael, as to give part of the number to Ozoro Esther, the Iteghé's daughter; and Ayto Confu, going to Tcherkin to hunt, he took his mother along with him to put her in possession: for the Iteghé's people were not lambs, nor did they pay much regard

regard to the orders of the king, nor to that of the Iteghé their mistrefs."

They now wanted only the presence of Ayto Confu to make their happiness complete ; he came about four, and with him Ayto Engedan, and a great company. There was nothing but rejoicing on all sides. Seven ladies, relations and companions of Ozoro Esther, came with Ayto Confu ; and Mr. Bruce confesses this to have been one of the happiest moments of his life. He quite forgot the disastrous journey he had before him, and all the dangers that awaited him. He began even to regret being so far in his way to leave Abyssinia for ever.

Ayto Confu's house at Tcherkin is built on the edge of a precipice, which takes its name from the mountain Amba Tcherkin. It is built all with cane very artificially, the outer wall being composed of fascines of canes, so neatly joined together as not to be penetrated by rain or wind. The entry is from the fourth side of it, very crooked and difficult, half way up the rock. On the east, is a very plentiful spring, which furnishes the house with excellent water. Yet, after all, this house, though inaccessible, is not defensible, and affords very little safety to its master ; for the Shangalla, with flax, or any thing combustible, tied to the point of their arrows, would easily set it on fire if they once approach it ; and the Abyssinians with guns could as easily destroy it, as, on such occasions, they wrap their balls in cotton wads. The inside of the state rooms were hung with long stripes of carpeting, and the floors covered with the same.

About Tcherkin is great plenty of game of every sort, elephants, rhinoceroses, and a great number of buffaloes, which differ nothing in form from the buffaloes of Europe or of Egypt, but very much in temper and disposition. They are fierce, rash, and fearless of danger ; and, contrary to the practice of any other creature not carnivorous, they attack the traveller and the hunter equally, and it requires address to escape from them. They seem to be, of all others, the creature the most given to ease and indulgence. They lie under the most shady trees, near large pools of water, of which they make constant use, and sleep soundly all the day long.

long. The flesh of the female is very good when fat, but that of the male, hard, lean, and disagreeable. Their horns are used in various manners by the turners, in which craft the Abyssinians are very expert.

Though they were all happy to their wish in this enchanted mountain, the active spirit of Ayto Confu could not rest; he was come to hunt the elephant, and hunt him he would. All those that understood any thing of this exercise had assembled from a great distance to meet Ayto Confu at Tcheikin. He and Engedan, from the moment they arrived, had been overlooking, from the precipice, their servants training and managing their horses in the market-place below. Great bunches of the finest canes had been brought from Kuara for javelins; and the whole house was employed in fitting heads to them in the most advantageous manner. Mr. Bruce, though he says he should have been very well contented to have remained where he was, yet the preparations for sport of so noble a kind roused his spirits, and made him desirous to join in it. On the other hand, the ladies all declared, that they thought, by leaving them, they were devoting them to death or slavery, as they did not doubt, if the Shangalla missed the hunting party, they would come forward to the mountain and slay them all. But a sufficient garrison was left, and they were well assured that the Shangalla, being informed they were out, and armed, and knowing their numbers, would take care to keep close in their thickets far out of their way.

On the 6th, an hour before day, after a hearty breakfast, they mounted on horseback, to the number of about thirty belonging to Ayto Confu. But there was another body, both of horse and foot, which made hunting the elephant their particular business. These men dwell constantly in the woods, and know very little of the use of bread, living entirely upon the flesh of the beasts they kill, chiefly that of the elephant or rhinoceros. They are exceedingly thin, light, and agile, both on horseback and foot; are very swarthy, though few of them black; none of them woolly-headed, and all of them have European features. They are called Agageer, a name of their profession, not of their nation, which comes from the word Agar, and signifies to hough or ham-

ham-string with a sharp weapon. More properly it means, indeed, the cutting the tendon of the heel, and is a characteristic of the manner in which they kill the elephant, which is shortly as follows:—"Two men, absolutely naked, without any rag or covering at all about them, get on horseback; this precaution is from fear of being laid hold of by the trees or bushes, in making their escape from a very watchful enemy. One of these riders sits upon the back of the horse, sometimes with a saddle, and sometimes without one, with only a switch or short stick in one hand, carefully managing the bridle with the other; behind him sits his companion, who has no other arms but a broad-sword, such as is used by the Slavonians, and which is brought from Trieste. His left hand is employed grasping the sword by the handle, and about fourteen inches of the blade is covered with whip-cord. This part he takes in his right hand, without any danger of being hurt by it; and, though the edges of the lower part of the sword are as sharp as a razor, he carries it without a scabbard.

"As soon as the elephant is found feeding, the horseman rides before him as near his face as possible; or, if he flies, crosses him in all directions, crying out, "I am such a man, and such a man; this is my horse, that has such a name; I killed your father in such a place, and your grandfather in such another place, and I am now come to kill you; you are but an ass in comparison of them." This nonsense he verily believes the elephant understands, who, chafed and angry at hearing the noise immediately before him, seeks to seize him with his trunk, or proboscis; and, intent upon this, follows the horse everywhere, turning round with him frequently, neglectful of making his escape by running straight forward, in which consists his only safety. After having made him turn once or twice in pursuit of the horse, the horseman rides close up along-side of him, and drops his companion just behind on the off side; and while he engages the elephant's attention upon the horse, the footman behind gives him a drawn stroke just above the heel, or what in man is called the tendon Achilles. This is the critical moment; the horseman immediately wheels round, and takes his companion up behind him, and



rides off full speed after the rest of the herd, if they have started more than one; and sometimes an expert Agageer will kill three out of one herd. If the sword is good, and the man not afraid, the tendon is commonly entirely separated; and if it is not cut through, it is generally so far divided, that the animal, with the stress he puts upon it, breaks the remaining part asunder. In either case, he remains incapable of advancing a step, till the horseman returning, or his companions coming up, pierce him through with javelins and lances; he then falls to the ground, and expires with the loss of blood.

“The Agageer nearest Mr. Bruce presently lamed his elephant, and left him standing. Ayto Engedan, Ayto Confu, Guebra Mariam, and several others, fixed their spears in the other, before the Agageer had cut his tendons. Mr. Bruce's Agageer, however, having wounded the first elephant, failed in the pursuit of the second; and, being close upon him at entering the wood, he received a violent blow from a branch of a tree which the elephant had bent by his weight, and, after passing, allowed it to replace itself, when it knocked down both the riders, and very much hurt the horse. This, indeed, is the great danger in elephant-hunting; for some of the trees, that are dry and short, break, by the violent pressure of so immense a body moving so rapidly, and fall upon the pursuers, or across the roads. But the greatest number of these trees, being of a succulent quality, they bend without breaking, and return quickly to their former position, when they strike both horse and man so violently, that they often beat them to pieces, and scatter them upon the plain. Dextrous, too, as the riders are, the elephant sometimes reaches them with his trunk, with which he dashes the horse against the ground, and then sets his feet upon him, till he tears him limb from limb with his proboscis: a great many hunters die this way. Besides this, the soil, at this time of the year, is split into deep chasms, or cavities, by the heat of the sun, so that nothing can be more dangerous than the riding.

As soon as the elephant is slain, they cut the whole flesh off his bones into thongs, like the reins of a  
 bridle,

bridle, and hang these, like festoons, upon the branches of trees, till they become perfectly dry, without salt, and they then lay them by for their provision in the season of the rains."

There now remained but two elephants of those that had been discovered, which were a she one with a calf. The Agageer would willingly have let these alone, as the teeth of the female are very small, and the young one is of no sort of value, even for food, its flesh shrinking much upon drying. But the hunters would not be limited in their sport. The people having observed the place of her retreat, thither they eagerly followed. She was very soon found, and as soon lamed by the Agageers; but when they came to wound her with the darts, as every one did in their turn, to their very great surprise, the young one which had been suffered to escape unheeded and unpursued, came out from the thicket apparently in great anger, running upon the horses and men with all the violence it was master of. Mr. Bruce was amazed, and as much as ever he was, upon such an occasion, afflicted, at seeing the great affection of the little animal defending its wounded mother, heedless of its own life or safety. He, therefore, cried to them for God's sake to spare the mother, though it was then too late; and the calf had made several rude attacks upon Mr. Bruce, which he avoided without difficulty; but he says he is happy to this day, in the reflection that he did not strike it. At last, making one of its attacks upon Ayto Engedan, it hurt him a little on the leg: upon which he thrust it through with his lance, as others did after, and it then fell dead before its wounded mother, whom it had so affectionately defended.

"Here, Mr. Bruce says, is an example of a beast, a young one too, possessing abstracted sentiments to a very high degree. By its flight on the first appearance of the hunters, it is plain it apprehended danger to itself; it also reflected upon that of its mother, which was the cause of its return to her assistance. This affection or duty, or let us call it any thing we please, except instinct, was stronger than the fear of danger; and it must have conquered that fear by reflection before it returned, when

it resolved to make its best and last efforts ; for it never attempted to fly afterwards."

Mr. Bruce and his party then sought about for the buffaloes and rhinoceroses ; but though there was plenty of both in the neighbourhood, they could not find them ; their noise and shooting in the morning having probably scared them away. One rhinoceros was only seen by a servant. They returned in the evening to a great fire, and lay all night under the shade of trees.

The next morning they were on horseback by the dawn of day in search of the rhinoceroses, many of which they had heard make a very deep groan and cry as the morning approached ; several of the Agageers then joined them ; and, after they had searched about an hour in the very thickest part of the wood, one of them rushed out with great violence, crossing the plain towards a wood of canes that was about two miles distance. But though he ran, or rather trotted, with surprising speed, considering his bulk, he was, in a very little time, transfixed with thirty or forty javelins ; which so confounded him, that he left his purpose of going to the wood, and ran into a deep hole, ditch, or ravine, a *cul de sac*, without outlet, breaking above a dozen of the javelins as he entered. Here they thought he was caught as in a trap, for he had scarce room to turn ; when a servant, who had a gun, standing directly over him, fired at his head, and the animal fell immediately, to all appearance dead. All those on foot now jumped in with their knives to cut him up, and they had scarce begun, when the animal recovered so far as to rise upon his knees ; happy then was the man that escaped first ; and had not one of the Agageers, who was himself engaged in the ravine, cut the sinew of the hind-leg as he was retreating, there would have been a very sorrowful account of the foot-hunters that day.

After having dispatched him, Mr. Bruce was curious to see what wound the shot had given, which had operated so violently upon so huge an animal ; and he doubted not it was in the brain. But it had struck him no where but upon the point of the foremost horn, of which it had carried off above an inch ; and this occasioned a concussion that had stunned him for a minute, till the bleeding had recovered

recovered him. Mr. Bruce preserved the horn from curiosity, and has it now by him.

They had not gone far before a wild boar arose between Mr. Bruce and Ayto Engedan, which our traveller immediately killed with his javelin. This was the sport Mr. Bruce had been many years used to in Barbary, and was infinitely more dextrous at it than any of the present company; this put him more upon a par with his companions, who had not failed to laugh at him, upon his horse's refusal to carry him near either to the elephant or rhinoceros.

Ammonios was a man of approved courage and conduct, and had been in all the wars of Ras Michael, and was placed about Ayto Confu, to lead the troops, curb the presumption, and check the impetuosity of that youthful warrior. He was tall, and awkwardly made; slow in speech and motion, so much as even to excite ridicule; about sixty years of age, and more corpulent than the Abyssinians generally are; in a word, as pedantic and grave in his manner as it is possible to express. He spent his whole leisure time in reading the Scripture, nor did he willingly discourse of any thing else. He had been bred a foot soldier; and, though he rode as well as many of the Abyssinians, yet, having long stirrup-leathers, with iron rings at the end of them, into which he put his naked toe only, instead of stirrups, he had no strength or agility on horseback, nor was his bridle such as could command his horse to stop, or wind and turn sharply among trees, though he might make a tolerable figure on a plain.

A boar, roused on our right, had wounded a horse and a footman of Ayto Confu, and then escaped. Two buffaloes were found by those on the right, one of which wounded a horse likewise. Ayto Confu, Engedan, Fuebra Mariam, and Mr. Bruce killed the other with equal share of merit, without being in any sort of danger. All this was in little more than an hour when their sport seemed to be at the best; their horses were considerably blown, not tired; and though they were beating homewards, still they were looking very keenly for more game.

Ammonios was on the left among the bushes, and some large, beautiful, tall spreading-trees, close on the banks

of the river Bedowi, which stands there in pools. Whether the buffalo found Ammonios, or Ammonios the buffalo, is what they could never get him to explain to them; but he had wounded the beast slightly in the buttock, which, in return, had gored his horse, and thrown both him and it to the ground. Luckily, however, his cloak had fallen off, which the buffalo tore in pieces, and employed himself for a minute with that and with the horse, but then left them, and followed the man as soon as he saw him rise and run. Ammonios got behind one large tree, and from that to another still larger. The buffalo turned very awkwardly, but kept close in pursuit; and there was no doubt he would have worn out their companion, who was not used to such quick motion. Ayto Engedan, who was near him, and might have assisted him, was laughing, ready to die at the droll figure a man of Ammonios's grave carriage made, running and skipping about naked, with a swiftness he had never practised all his life before; and Engedan continued calling to Confu to partake of the diversion.

The moment Mr. Bruce heard his repeated cries, he galloped out of the bushes to the place where he was, and could not help laughing at his ridiculous figure, very attentive to the beast's motions, which seemed to dodge with great address, and keep to his adversary with the utmost obstinacy. As soon as Engedan saw Mr. Bruce, he cried, "Yagoube! for the love of CHRIST! for the love of the blessed Virgin! don't interfere till Confu comes up." Confu immediately arrived, and laughed more than Engedan, but did not offer to interfere; on the contrary, he clapped his hands, and cried, "Well done, Ammonios," swearing he never saw so equal a match in his life. The unfortunate Ammonios had been driven from tree to tree, till he had got behind one within a few yards of the water; but the brush-wood upon the banks, and his attention to the buffalo, hindered him from seeing how far it was below him. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see him holding the tree with both his hands, peeping first one way, and then another, to see by which the beast would turn. And well he might be on his guard; for the animal was absolutely mad, tossing up the ground with his feet both before and behind.

behind. "Sir, said Mr. Bruce, to Ayto Confu, this will be but an ugly joke to night, if we bring home that man's corpse, killed in the very midst of us, while we were looking on." Saying, this, he parted at a canter behind the trees, crying to Ammonios to throw himself into the water, when he should strike the beast; and seeing the buffaloe's head turned from Mr. Bruce, at full speed, he ran the spear into the lower part of his belly, through his whole intestines, till it came out above a foot on the other side, and there he left it with a view to hinder the buffalo from turning. It was a spear which, though small in the head, had a strong, tough, seasoned shaft, which did not break by striking it against the trees and bushes; and it pained and impeded the animal's motions, till Ammonios quitting the tree, dashed through the bushes with some difficulty, and threw himself into the river. But here a danger occurred that Mr. Bruce had not foreseen. The pool was very deep, and Ammonios could not swim; so that though he escaped from the buffalo, he would infallibly have been drowned, had he not caught hold of some strong roots of a tree shooting out of the bank; and there he lay in perfect safety from the enemy till the servants went round, and brought him out of the pool on the further side.

In the mean time, the buffalo, mortally wounded, seeing his enemy had escaped, kept his eyes intent upon the hunters, who were about forty yards from him, walking backwards towards the company, with intent to turn suddenly upon the nearest horse; when Ayto Confu ordered two men with guns to shoot him through the head, and he instantly fell. The two they first killed were females; this last was a bull, and one of the largest, confessedly, that had ever been seen. Though not fat, Mr. Bruce supposes he weighed nearer fifty than forty stone. His horns from the root, following the line of their curve, were about fifty-two inches, and nearly nine where thickest in the circumference. They were flat not round. Ayto Confu ordered the head to be cut off, and cleared of its flesh, so that the horns and skeleton of the head only remained; this he hung up in his great hall among the probosces of elephants, and horns of rhinoceroses,

cerofes, with this inscription in his own language, "*Yagoube the Kipt killed this upon the Bedowi.*"

The evening of the day on which they set out to hunt, some men arrived from Ras el Feel sent by Yafine, with camels for their baggage, nothing but mules being used at Tcherkin. They brought word, that the Shangalla were down near the Tacazzé, so that now was the time to pass without fear; that Abd el Jeleel, the former Shum of Ras el Feel, Yafine's mortal enemy, had been seen lurking in the country near Sanchaho; but as he had only four men, and was himself a known coward, it was not probable he would attempt any thing against our travellers, though it would be always better for them to keep on their guard.

Tcherkin has a market on Saturdays, in which raw cotton, cattle, honey, and coarse cotton cloths are sold. The Shangalla formerly molested Tcherkin greatly, but for thirty years past they had done little damage. The small-pox raged so violently for a number of years among them, that it greatly diminished their numbers, and consequently their power of troubling their neighbours.

On Wednesday the eighth of January, Mr. Bruce, having rectified his quadrant with great attention, found the latitude of Tcherkin, to be  $13^{\circ} 7' 35''$  north. But though from that time he was ready to depart, he could not possibly get disengaged from his friends, but by a composition, which was, that he should stay till the 15th, the day before Ozoro Esther and her company were to set out on their return to Gondar; and that they, on their part, should suffer Mr. Bruce to depart on that day, without further persuasion, or throwing any obstacle whatever in his way.

On the morning of the 15th of January, they left Tcherkin, and entered immediately into thick woods; but proceeded very slowly, the road being bad and unknown, if it could be called a road, and their camels overloaded.

On the 17th on the morning, they came to Sanchaho, an old frontier territory of Abyssinia. The town may consist of about 300 huts or houses, neatly built of canes, and curiously thatched with leaves of the same. It rises in the midst of a plain, and resembles in shape  
Tcherkin

Tcherkin Amba, though much larger; a considerable district all around belongs to it, of wilds and woods, if such as these, abandoned entirely to wild beasts, can be said to belong to any man. The east end slopes with rather a steep descent into the plain; and through that is a narrow winding road, seemingly the work of art, being obstructed at turns by huge stones, and at different stages, for the purpose of defence by guns or arrows; all the other sides of the rock are perpendicular precipices. The inhabitants of the town are Baafa, a race of Shangalla, converted to the Mahometan religion.

On the 20th, our travellers proceeded but a mile and a half; their beasts and themselves being equally fatigued, and their cloaths torn all to rags, when they arrived at Guanjock, which is a very delightful spot by the river side; small woods of very high trees, interspersed with very beautiful lawns; several fields also cultivated with cotton; variety of game, especially Guinea fowls, in great abundance, and, upon every tree, parroquets, of all the different kinds and colours, compose the beauties of Guanjock. Mr. Bruce saw no parrots, and supposes there were none; but on firing a gun, the first probably ever heard in those woods, there was such a screaming of other birds on all sides, some flying to the place whence the noise came, and some flying from it, that it was impossible to hear distinctly any other sound.

They continued the journey from thence, and at a quarter after one came to Mariam-Ohha, and at half past three arrived at Hor-Cacamoot. Hor, in that country, signifies the dry deep bed of a torrent, which has ceased to run; and Cacamoot, the shade of death; so that Yafine's village, where they now took up their quarters, is called the Valley of the Shadow of Death. A bad omen for weak and wandering travellers as they were, surrounded by a multitude of dangers; and so far from home, that there seemed to be but one that could bring them thither. They trusted in Him, and He did deliver them.

Hor-Cacamoot is situated in a plain in the midst of a wood, so much only of which has been cleared away as to make room for the miserable huts of which it consists, and for the small spots of ground on which they sow ma-  
shilla,



shilla, or maize, to furnish them with bread. Their other food consists entirely of the flesh of the elephant and rhinoceros, and chiefly of the former; for the trouble of hunting the elephant is not greater than chasing the rhinoceros, and the difference of gain is much superior. The elephant has a greater quantity of better flesh, while his large teeth are very valuable, and afford a ready price every where. The inhabitants being little acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the smaller game, of the deer kind, are not much molested, unless by the wild Shangalla, who make use of bows and arrows, so that these animals are increased beyond imagination.

Ras el Feel consisted once of thirty-nine villages. All the Arabs of Atbara resorted to them with butter, honey, horses, gold, and many other commodities; and the Shekh of Atbara, living upon the frontier of Sennaar, entertained a constant good correspondence with the Shekh of Ras el Feel, to whom he sent yearly a Dongola horse, two razors, and two dogs. The Shekh of Ras el Feel, in return, gave him a mule and a female slave; and the effect of this intercourse was to keep all the intermediate Arabs in their duty. But since the expedition of Yafous II. against Sennaar, no peace has ever subsisted between the two states; on the contrary, all the Arabs that assisted the king, and were defeated with him, pay tribute no longer to Sennaar, but live on the frontiers of Abyssinia, and are protected there.

On the 17th of March, they set out from Hor-Cacmoot on their journey to Teawa, the capital of the province of Atbara.

On the 18th, at half after six in the morning, they continued their journey through thick, and almost impenetrable woods full of thorns; and in two hours came to the bed of a torrent, though in appearance dry, upon digging with their hands in the loose sand, they found great plenty of fresh water exceedingly well tasted, being sheltered by projecting rocks from the action of the sun. This is called Surf el Shekh. Here they filled their girbas, for there is very little good water to be found between this and Teawa. A girba is an ox's skin squared, and the edges sewed together very artificially by a double seam, which does not let out water, much resembling

resembling that upon the best English cricket-balls. An opening is left in the top of the girba, in the same manner as the bung-hole of a cask. Around this the skin is gathered to the size of a large handful, which, when the girba is full of water, is tied round with whip-cord. These girbas generally contain about sixty gallons each, and two of them are the load of a camel. They are then all besmeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water from oozing through, as to prevent its being evaporated by the action of the sun upon the girba, which, in fact, happened to them twice, so as to put them in imminent danger of perishing with thirst.

Yafine had provided a camel and two girbas, as well as every other provision necessary for them, till they should arrive at Teawa. Surf-el Shekh is the boundary of Ras el Feel. Here Mr. Bruce took an affectionate leave of his friend Yafine, who, with all his attendants, shewed, at parting, that love and attachment they had constantly preserved to Mr. Bruce since their first acquaintance.

On the 20th, our travellers arrived at Imferrha, and from thence were two hours in going to Rashid, for they were flying for their lives; the *Simoom*, or hot-wind, having struck them not long after they had set out from Imferrha; and their little company, all but Mr. Bruce, fell sick with the quantity of poisonous vapour that they had imbibed. Our traveller supposes, that from Rashid to Imferrha it is about five miles; and though it is one of the most dangerous halting places between Ras el Feel and Sennaar, yet they were so enervated, their stomachs so weak, and their head-achs so violent, that they could not pitch their tent, but each wrapping himself in his cloak, resigned himself immediately to sleep, under the cool shade of the large trees, invited by the pleasant breeze from the north, which seemed to be merely local, confined to this small grove, created probably by the vicinity of the water, and the agitation they had occasioned in it.

In this helpless state to which they were reduced, Mr. Bruce alone continued not weakened by the *Simoom*, nor overcome by sleep. A Ganjar Arab, who drove an ass laden with salt, took this opportunity of stealing  
one

one of the mules, together with a lance and shield belonging to one of Mr. Bruce's servants. The country was so woody, and he had so much the advantage of them in point of time, and they were in so weak and discouraged a state, that it was thought in vain to pursue him one step. So he got off with his booty, unless he was intercepted by some of those wild beasts, which he would find every where in his way, whether he returned to Ras el Feel, or the frontiers of Kuara, his own country.

Having refreshed themselves with a little sleep, the next thing was to fill their girbas, or skins, with water. But before they attempted this, Mr. Bruce thought to try an experiment of mixing about twenty drops of spirit of nitre in a horn of water about the size of an ordinary tumbler. This he found greatly refreshed him, though his head-ach still continued. It had a much better effect upon his servants, to whom he gave it; for they all seemed immediately recovered, and their spirits much more so, from the reflection that they had with them a remedy they could trust to, if they should again be so unfortunate as to meet this poisonous wind or vapour.

On the 23d, which was the seventh day since they had left Ras el Feel, they arrived at Teawa, the principal village and residence of the Shekh of Atbara, between three and four miles from the ruins of Garigana. The whole distance, then, from Hor-Cacamoot, may be about sixty-five miles to Teawa, as near as Mr. Bruce then could compute.

The strength of Teawa was about 25 horse, of which about ten were armed with coats of mail. They had about a dozen of firelocks, very contemptible from the order in which they were kept, and still more so from the hands that bore them. The rest of the inhabitants might amount to twelve hundred men, naked, miserable, and despicable Arabs, like the rest of those that live in villages, who are much inferior in courage to the Arabs that dwell in tents: weak as its state was, it was the seat of government, and as such a certain degree of reverence attended it. Such was the state of Teawa. Its consequence was only to remain till the Daveina should  
resolve

resolve to attack it, when its corn fields being burnt and destroyed in a night by a multitude of horsemen, the bones of its inhabitants scattered upon the earth would be all its remains.

We may judge of the dangerous situation of Mr. Bruce at Teawa from what passed between him and Fidele, the Shekh, who was a man of a most infamous character. Mr. Bruce being sent for by the Shekh, he found him sitting in a spacious room, in an alcove, on a large broad sofa like a bed, with India curtains gathered on each side into festoons. He called to a black boy who attended him, in a very surly tone, to bring him a pipe; and, in much the same voice, said to Mr. Bruce, "What! alone?" Our traveller replied, "Yes; what are your commands with me?" Mr. Bruce saw he either was, or affected to be, drunk, and which ever was the case, he knew it would lead to mischief; he therefore repented heartily of having come into the house alone.

After he had taken two whiffs of his pipe, and the slave had left the room, "Are you prepared?" said he: "Have you brought the *needful* along with you?" Mr. Bruce wished to have occasion to join Soliman, his servant, and answered, "My servants are at the outer door, and have the vomit you wanted." "D--n you and the vomit too, said he, with great passion, I want money, and not poison. Where are your piastres?" "I am a bad person, replied Mr. Bruce, to furnish you with either. I have neither money nor poison; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lie down and compose yourself; I will see you to-morrow morning." Mr. Bruce was going out. "Haikim, said he, infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father: look at his blood, where it has stained the floor, which never could be washed out. I am informed you have 20,000 piastres in gold with you; either give me 2000 before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die; I will put you to death with my own hand." Upon this he took up his sword, that was lying at the head of his sofa, and, drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room;

room; and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above his elbow like a butcher, said, "I wait your answer."

Mr. Bruce now stepped one pace backwards, and held the little blunderbuss in his hand, without taking it off the belt. He said, in a firm tone of voice, "This is my answer: I am not a man, as I have told you before, to die like a beast by the hand of a drunkard. On your life, I charge you, stir not from your sofa." He had no need to give this injunction; he heard the noise which the closing the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought he had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back on the sofa, crying, "For God's sake, Haikim, I was but jesting." At the same time, with all his might, he cried, "Brahim! Mahomet! El coom! El coom!"—"If one of your servants approach me, said Mr. Bruce, that instant I will blow you to pieces: not one of them shall enter this room till they bring in my servants with them; I have a number of them armed at your gate, who will break in the instant they hear me fire."

The women had come to the door, and Mr. Bruce's servants were admitted, each having a blunderbuss in his hand, and pistols at his girdle. They were now greatly an overmatch for Shekh, who sat far back on the sofa, and pretended that all he had done was in joke, in which his servants joined, and a very confused, desultory discourse followed, till the Turk, Sherriffe Ismael, happened to observe the Shekh's scabbard of his sword thrown upon the floor, on which he fell into a violent fit of laughter. He endeavoured to make the Shekh understand, that drunkards and cowards had more need of the scabbard than the sword; that he, Fidele, and the other drunkard that came to their house two or three nights before, who said he was Shekh of Jehaina were just possessed of the same portion of courage and insolence.

As no good could be expected from this expostulation, Mr. Bruce stopt it, and took his leave, desiring the Shekh to go to-bed and compose himself, and not try any more of these experiments, which would certainly end in his shame, if not in his punishment. He made no answer, only wished them good night,

Mr.

Mr. Bruce and his servants went to the door, through the several apartments, very much upon their guard, for there was no person to light them out, and they were afraid of some treachery or ambush in the antichamber and dark passages; but they met nobody; and were, even at the outer gate, obliged to open the door themselves. Without the gate there were about twenty people gathered together, but none of them with arms; and, by the half words and expressions they made use of, they could judge they were not the Shekh's friends. They followed them for a little, but dispersed before they arrived at their house.

They had scarce got rid of this real danger, when the apprehension of an imaginary one struck them violently. The water at Teawa is stagnant in pools, and exceedingly bad. Either that, or the bouza, a kind of new beer which they sent them with their meat, had given all of them, at the same time, a violent diarrhœa, and Mr. Bruce was tormented with a perpetual thirst ever since they had been overtaken by the Simoom; and the bouza being acid was not only more agreeable, but, he thought, relieved him more than bad water: in this, therefore, he certainly had exceeded. When they found they were all taken ill at the same time, it came into their heads that Shekh Fidele had given them poison in their dinner, and they were very much perplexed what they should do the next day. None of them, therefore, tasted the meat sent them; when at night, their friend, the black slave, came, and to her they frankly told their doubts. The poor creature fell into such violent fits of laughing, which followed so close the one upon the other, and lasted so long, that Mr. Bruce feared she would have expired upon the spot. "It is the water, said she, it does so to all strangers; and then she fell into another great fit of laughter." "Child, answered Mr. Bruce, you know the Shekh is not our friend, and there is no easier way to get rid of us than by poison, as we eat every thing that comes from you without fear." "And so you may, said she; the Shekh could do no such thing without our knowledge, and we would rather all be burnt alive than be guilty of so vile an action. Besides, said she, this is not like Habesh, where both meat and drink, brought to you, are tasted by the bearer before you use them. There is no such

such thing as poison in Arbara; the lance and the knife in the field, that is the manner in which they kill one another here."

They then shewed her their dinner uneaten, and she again fell into a violent fit of laughter, and took the meat away that she might warm it, and they heard her laughing all the way as she went by herself. She was not long in returning with provisions in plenty, and told them, that her mistresses never were so diverted in their lives, and she left them still laughing.

During the whole of Mr. Bruce's stay at Teawa, the behaviour of Fidele was all of a piece, and it is probable our traveller would have finished his travels in that place, had not some of his powerful friends interested themselves in his security. However, after various impediments, on the 18th, they took leave of the Shekh to proceed on their journey. The day had been immoderately hot, and they had resolved to travel all night, though they did not say so to the Shekh, who advised them to sleep at Imgededema, where there was fresh water. But they had taken a girba of water with them, or rather, in case of accident, a little in each of the three girbas.

Their journey, for the first seven hours, was through a barren, bare, and sandy plain, without finding a vestige of any living creature; without water, and without grass; a country that seemed under the immediate curse of Heaven. However, after a most disagreeable journey, on the 19th, at eight in the evening they arrived at Beyla. Mr. Bruce found Beyla to be in lat.  $13^{\circ} 42' 4''$ ; that is, about eleven miles west of Teawa, and thirty-one and a half miles due south. They were met by Mahomet, the Shekh, at the very entrance of the town. He said, he looked upon them as risen from the dead; that they must be good people, and particularly under the care of Providence, to have escaped the many snares the Shekh of Arbara had laid for them. Mahomet, the Shekh, had provided every sort of refreshment possible for them, and, thinking they could not live without it, he had ordered sugar for them from Sennaar. Honey for the most part hitherto had been its substitute. They had a good comfortable supper; as fine wheat-bread as ever Mr. Bruce

Bruce ate in his life, brought from Sennaar, as also rice: in a word, every thing that their kind landlord could contribute to their plentiful and hospitable entertainment.

Our traveller's whole company was full of joy, to which the Shekh greatly encouraged them; and if there was any alloy to the happiness, it was seeing that Mr. Bruce did not partake of it. Symptoms of an aguish disorder had been hanging about him for several days, ever since the diarrhœa had left him. He found the greatest repugnance, or nausea, at the smell of warm meat; and, having a violent head-ach, he insisted upon going to-bed supperless, after having drank a quantity of warm water by way of emetic. Being exceedingly tired, he soon fell sound a-sleep, having first taken some drops of a strong spirituous tincture of the bark which he had prepared at Gondar, resolving, if he found any remission, as he then did, to take several good doses of the bark in powder on the morrow, beginning at day-break, which he accordingly did with its usual success.

On the 20th of April, a little after the dawn of day, the Shekh, in great anxiety, came to the place where Mr. Bruce was lying, upon a tanned buffaloe's hide, on the ground. His sorrow was soon turned into joy when he found him quite recovered from his illness. He had taken the bark, and expressed a desire of eating a hearty breakfast of rice, which was immediately prepared for him.

The Shekh of Beyla was an implicit believer in medicine. Seeing him take some drops of the tincture before coffee, he insisted upon pledging Mr. Bruce, and he believes would have willingly emptied the whole bottle. The Shekh, having suffered great agony with his own complaint, had passed some small stones, and was greatly better, as he said, for the soap-pills. Mr. Bruce put him in a way to prepare these, as also his lime-water. It was impossible to have done any favour for him equal to this, as his agony had been so great.

It was now the time to give the Shekh a present, and Mr. Bruce had prepared one for him, such as he very well deserved; but no intreaty, nor any means he could  
use,



use, could prevail upon him to accept of the nearest trifle. On the contrary, he solemnly swore, that if Mr. Bruce importuned him further, he would get upon his horse and go into the country. All that he desired, and that too as a favour, was, that, when Mr. Bruce had rested at Sennaar, he might come and consult him further as to his complaints, for which he promised he should bring a recompence with him.

Though Mr. Bruce was much pleased with his reception here, he determined to press on to Sennaar before affairs there were in a desperate situation, or some scheme of mischief should be contrived by Fidele. They had again a large and plentiful dinner, and a quantity of bouza; venison of several different species of the antelope or deer kind, and Guinea-fowls, boiled with rice, were the best part of their fare, for the venison smelled and tasted strongly of musk. This was the provision made by the Shekh's two sons, boys about fourteen or fifteen years old, who had got each of them a gun with a matchlock, and whose favour he secured to a very high degree, by giving them some good gunpowder, and plenty of small leaden bullets.

In the afternoon they walked out to see the village, which is a very pleasant one, situated upon the bottom of a hill, covered with wood, all the rest flat before it. Through this plain there are many large timber trees, planted in rows, and joined with high hedges, as in Europe, forming inclosures for keeping cattle; but of these they saw none, as they had been moved to the Dender for fear of the flies. There is no water at Beyla but what is got from deep wells. Large plantations of Indian corn are every where about the town. The inhabitants are in continual apprehension from the Arabs Daveina at Sim Sim, about 40 miles south-east from them; and from another powerful race called Wed abd el Gin, i. e. *Son of the slaves of the Devil*, who live to the south-west of them, between the Dender and the Nile. Beyla is another frontier town of Sennaar, on the side of Sim Sim; and between Teawa and this, on the Sennaar side, and Ras el Feel, Nara, and Tehelga, upon the Abyssinian side, all is desert and waste, the Arabs only suffering the water to remain there without villages near

near it, that they and their flocks may come at certain seasons while the grass grows, and the pools or springs fill elsewhere.

Though Mr. Bruce went early to bed with full determination to set out by day-break, yet he found it was impossible to put his design in execution, or get from the hands of their kind landlord. One of their girbas seemed to fail, and needed to be repaired. Nothing good, as he truly said, could come from the Shekh of Atbara.

On the 21st of April, they left Beyla at three o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded through a very pleasant, flat country, but without water; there had been none in their way nearer than the river Rahad. About eleven at night they alighted in a wood: The place is called Baherie, as near as they could compute, nine miles from Beyla.

On the 22d, at half past five o'clock in the morning, they left Baherie, still continuing westward, and at nine they came to the banks of the Rahad. The ford is called Tchir Chaira. The river itself was now standing in pools, the water foul, stinking, and covered with a green mantle; the bottom soft and muddy, but there was no choice. The water at Beyla was so bad, that they took only as much as was absolutely necessary till they arrived at running water from the Rahad.

On the 23d they met several men, on horseback and on foot, coming out from among the bushes, who endeavoured to carry off one of their camels. They indeed were somewhat alarmed, and were going to prepare for resistance. The camel they had taken away had on it the king's and Shekh Adelan's presents, and some other things for their future need. Their clothes too, books, and papers, were upon the same camel. However, as this was only a contrivance to extort a present from Mr. Bruce, the matter was easily got over, and the camel restored.

On the 24th, they came to the river Dender, standing now in pools, but by the vast wideness of its banks, and the great deepness of its bed, all of white sand, it should seem that in time of rain it will contain nearly as much water as the Nile. The banks are every where thick

grown with the rack and jujeb tree, especially the latter. The wood, which had continued mostly from Beyla, here failed entirely, and reached no further towards Sennaar. These two sorts of trees, however, were in very great beauty, and of a prodigious size.

At six o'clock in the evening, they set out from a shady place of repose on the banks of the Dender, through a large plain, with not a tree before them; but they presently found themselves encompassed with a number of villages, nearly of a size, and placed at equal distances in form of a semi-circle, the roofs of the houses in shape of cones, as are all those within the rains. The plain was all of a red, soapy earth, and the corn just sown. This whole country is in perpetual cultivation, and though at this time it had a bare look, would no doubt have a magnificent one when waving with grain. At nine they halted at a village of Pagan Nuba. These are all soldiers of the Mek of Sennaar, cantoned in these villages, which, at the distance of four or five miles, surround the whole capital. They are either purchased or taken by force from Fazuclo, and the provinces to the south upon the mountains Dyre and Tegla. Having settlements and provisions given them, as also arms put into their hands, they never wish to desert, but live a very domestic and sober life.

They pay adoration to the moon; and that their worship is performed with pleasure and satisfaction, is obvious every night that she shines. Coming out from the darkness of their huts, they say a few words upon seeing her brightness, and testify great joy, by motions of their feet and hands, at the first appearance of the new moon. Mr. Bruce never saw them pay any attention to the sun, either rising or setting, advancing to or receding from the meridian; but, as far as he could learn, they worship a tree, and likewise a stone, though he never could find out what tree or stone it was, only that it did not exist in the country of Sennaar, but in that where they were born. Their priests seemed to have great influence over them, but through fear only, and not from affection. They are distinguished by thick copper bracelets about their wrists, as also sometimes one, and sometimes two about their ancles.

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On the 25th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they set out from the villages of the Nuba, intending to arrive at Basboch, where is the ferry over the Nile; but they had scarcely advanced two miles into the plain, when they were inclosed by a violent whirlwind, or what is called at sea the water-spout. The plain was red earth, which had been plentifully moistened by a shower in the night-time. The unfortunate camel that had been taken by the Cohala seemed to be nearly in the center of its vortex. It was lifted up and thrown down at a considerable distance, and several of its ribs broken. Although, as far as Mr. Bruce could guess, he was not near the center, it whirled him off his feet, and threw him down upon his face, so as to make his nose gush out with blood. Two of the servants likewise had the same fate. It plastered them all over with mud, almost as smoothly as could have been done with a trowel. It took away Mr. Bruce's sense and breathing for an instant, and his mouth and nose were full of mud when he recovered. He guesses the sphere of its action to be about 200 feet. It demolished one half of a small hut, as if it had been cut through with a knife, and dispersed the materials all over the plain, leaving the other half standing.

As soon as they recovered themselves, they took refuge in a village, from fear only, for they saw no vestige of any other whirlwind. It involved a great quantity of rain, which the Nuba of the villages told them was very fortunate, as it portended good luck to them, and a prosperous journey; for they said, that had dust and sand arisen with the whirlwind, in the same proportion it would have done had not the earth been moistened, they would all infallibly have been suffocated; and they cautioned them, by saying, that tempests were very frequent in the beginning and end of the rainy season, and whenever they should see one of them coming, to fall down upon their faces, keeping their lips close to the ground, and so let it pass; and thus it would neither have power to carry them off their feet, nor suffocate them, which was the ordinary case.

Their kind landlords, the Nuba, gave them a hearty welcome, and helped them to wash their clothes first, and then to dry them. When Mr. Bruce was stripped

naked, they saw the blood running from his nose, and said, they could not have thought that one so white as he was could have been capable of bleeding. They gave them a piece of roasted hog, which they ate, (except Ismael and the Mahometans) very much to the satisfaction of the Nuba. On the other hand, as their camel was lame, they ordered one of their Mahometan servants to kill it, and take as much of it as would serve themselves that night; they also provided against wanting themselves the next day. The rest they gave among their new-acquired acquaintance, the Nuba of the village, who did not fail to make a feast upon it for several days after; and, in recompence for their liberality, they provided them with a large jar of bouza, not very good, indeed, but better than the well-water. This Mr. Bruce repaid by tobacco, beads, pepper, and stibium, which he saw plainly was infinitely more than they expected. Although they had been a good deal surpris'd at the sudden and violent effects of the whirlwind of that day, and severely felt the bruises it had occasioned, yet they pass'd a very social and agreeable evening. Mr. Bruce had seldom, in his life, upon a journey, pass'd a more comfortable night. He had a very neat, clean hut, entirely to himself, and a Greek servant that sat near him. Some of the Nuba watch'd for them all night, and took care of their beasts and baggage. They sung and replied to one another alternately, in notes full of pleasant melody, till Mr. Bruce fell fast asleep, involuntarily, and with regret, for, though bruised, they were not fatigued, but rather discouraged, having gone no further than two miles that day.

The landlord of the hut where Mr. Bruce was asleep, having prepared for their safety and that of their baggage, thought himself bound in duty to go and give immediate information to the prime minister of the unexpected guests that then occupi'd his house. He found Adelan at supper, but was immediately admitted, and a variety of questions ask'd him, which he answer'd fully. He describ'd their colour, their number, the unusual size and number of their fire-arms, the pounciness of their attire, and, above all, their great cheerfulness, quietness, and affability, their being contented with eating any thing, and in particular mention'd the hogs flesh. One man then

then present, testifying abhorrence to this, Adelan said of Mr. Bruce to their landlord, "Why, he is a soldier and a Kafr, like yourself. A soldier and a Kafr, when travelling in a strange country, should eat every thing, and so does every other man that is wise; has he not a servant of mine with him?" He answered, "Yes, and a servant of the king too; but he had left them, and was gone forward to Sennaar." "Go you with them, (says he) and stay with them at Basboch till he had time to send for them to town." He had returned from Aira long before our travellers arose, and told them the conversation, which was great comfort to them all; for they were not much pleased with the king's servant going before, as they had every reason to think he was disaffected towards them.

On the 26th, at six o'clock in the morning, they set out from this village of Nuba, their way being still across this immense plain. All the morning there were terrible storms of thunder and lightning, some rain, and one shower of so large drops, that it wet them to the skin in an instant. It was quite calm, and every drop fell perpendicularly upon them. Mr. Bruce thinks he never in his life felt so cold a rain, yet it was not disagreeable; for the day was close and hot, and they should have wished every now and then to have had a moderate refrigeration; this, however, was rather too abundant. The villages of the Nuba were, on all sides, throughout this plain. At nine o'clock they arrived at Basboch, which is a large collection of huts of these people, and has the appearance of a town.

The governor, a venerable old man of about seventy, who was so feeble that he could scarcely walk, received them with great complacency, only saying, when he took Mr. Bruce by the hand, "O Christian! what dost thou, at such a time, in such a country?" Mr. Bruce was surprised at the politeness of his speech, when he called him *Nazarani*, the civil term for Christian in the east; whereas *Infidel* is the general term among these brutish people; but it seems he had been several times at Cairo. Mr. Bruce had here a very clean and comfortable hut to lodge in, though they were sparingly supplied with pro-

visions all the time they were there, but never were suffered to fast a whole day together.

Bafboch is on the eastern bank of the Nile, not a quarter of a mile from the ford below. The river here runs north and south; towards the sides it is shallow, but deep in the middle of the current, and in this part it is much infested with crocodiles. Sennaar is two miles and a half S. S. W. of it. They heard the evening drum very distinctly, and not without anxiety, when they reflected to what a brutish people, according to all accounts, they were about to trust themselves.

On the 29th, leave was sent them, to enter Sennaar. It was not without some difficulty that Mr. Bruce got his quadrant and heavy baggage safely carried down the hill, for the banks are very steep to the edge of the water. The intention of their assistants was to slide the quadrant down the hill, in its case, which would have utterly destroyed it; and as their boat was but a very indifferent embarkation, it was obliged to make several turns to and fro before they got all their several packages landed on the western side.

They were conducted by Adelan's servant to a very spacious good house belonging to the Shekh himself, having two stories, a long quarter of a mile from the king's palace. He left a message for them to repose themselves, and in a day or two to wait upon the king, and that he should send to tell them when they were to come to him. This they resolved to have complied with most exactly; but the very next morning, the 30th of April, there came a servant from the palace to summon them to wait upon the king, which they immediately obeyed. Mr. Bruce took with him three servants, black Soliman, Ismael the Turk, and his Greek servant Michael. The palace covers a prodigious deal of ground. It is all of one storey, built of clay, and the floors of earth. The chambers through which they passed were all unfurnished, and seemed as if a great many of them had formerly been destined as barracks for soldiers, of whom Mr. Bruce did not see above fifty on guard. The king was in a small room, not twenty feet square, to which they ascended by two short flights of narrow steps. The floor of the room was covered with broad square tiles; over it was  
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laid a Persian carpet, and the walls hung with tapestry of the same country; the whole very well kept, and in good order.

The king was sitting upon a matress, laid on the ground, which was likewise covered with a Persian carpet, and round him was a number of cushions of Venetian cloth of gold. His dress did not correspond with this magnificence, for it was nothing but a large, loose shirt, of Surat blue cotton cloth, which seemed not to differ from the same worn by his servants, except that, all round the edges of it, the seams were double-stitched with white silk, and likewise round the neck. His head was uncovered; he wore his own short black hair, and was as white in colour as an Arab. He seemed to be a man about thirty-four, his feet were bare, but covered by his shirt. He had a very plebeian countenance, on which was stamped no decided character; Mr. Bruce should rather guess him to be a soft, timid, irresolute man. At our traveller's coming forward and kissing his hand, he looked at them for a minute as if undetermined what to say. He then asked for an Abyssinian interpreter, as there are many of these about the palace. He said to him in Arabic, "I apprehend I understand as much of that language as will enable me to answer any question you have to put to me." Upon which he turned to the people that were with him, "Downright Arabic, indeed! You did not learn that language in Habesh?" said he to Mr. Bruce, who answered, "No; I have been in Egypt, Turkey, and Arabia where I learned it; but I have likewise often spoken it in Abyssinia, where Greck, Turkish, and several other languages are used." He said, "Impossible! he did not think they knew any thing of languages, excepting their own, in Abyssinia."

There were sitting in the side of the room opposite to him, four men dressed in white cotton shirts, with a white shawl covering their heads and part of their face, by which it was known they were religious men, or men of learning, or of the law. One of these answered the king's doubt of the Abyssinians knowledge in languages. "They have languages enough, and you know that Habesh is called the paradise of Asses." During this conversation, Mr. Bruce took the sherriffe of Mecca's letter,



also one from the king of Abyssinia; he gave him the king's first, and then the sheriff's. He took them both as Mr. Bruce gave them, but laid aside the king's upon a cushion, till he had read the sheriff's. After this he read the king's, and called immediately again for an Abyssinian interpreter; upon which Mr. Bruce said nothing, supposing, perhaps, he might chuse to make him deliver some message to him in private, which he would not have his people hear. But it was pure confusion and absence of mind, for he never spoke a word to him when he came. "You are a physician and a soldier," says the king. "Both, in time of need," said Mr. Bruce. "But the sheriff's letter tells me also, that you are a nobleman in the service of a great king that they call Englifeman, who is master of all the Indies, and who has Mahometan as well as Christian subjects, and allows them all to be governed by their own laws."—"Though I never said so to the sheriff, (replied Mr. Bruce) yet it is true; I am as noble as any individual in my nation, and am also servant to the greatest king now reigning upon earth, of whose dominions, it is likewise truly said, these Indies are but a small part."—"How comes it, (says the king) you that are so noble and learned, that you know all things, all languages, and so brave that you fear no danger, but pass, with two or three old men, into such countries as this and Habesh, where Baady my father perished with an army? How comes it that you do not stay at home and enjoy yourself, eat, drink, take pleasure and rest, and not wander like a poor man, a prey to every danger?"—"You, Sir, (replied Mr. Bruce) may know some of this sort of men; certainly you do know them; for there are in your religion, as well as mine, men of learning, and those too of great rank and nobility, who, on account of sins they have committed, or vows they have made, renounce the world, its riches and pleasures: They lay down their nobility, and become humble and poor, so as often to be insulted by wicked and low men, not having the fear of God before their eyes."—"True, these are Dervish," said some that were present. "I am then one of these Dervish, (said Mr. Bruce) content with the bread that is given me, and bound for some years to travel in hardships and  
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danger, doing all the good I can to poor and rich, serving every man, and hurting none." "Tybe! that is well," said the king. "And how long have you been travelling about?" adds one of the others. "Near twenty years," said Mr. Bruce.—"You must be very young, (says the king) to have committed so many sins, and so early; they must all have been with women?"—"Part of them, I suppose were, (replied Mr. Bruce) but I did not say I was one of those that travelled on account of their sins, but that there were some Dervishes that did so on account of their vows, and some to learn wisdom." Mr. Bruce now withdrew.

The drum beat a little after six o'clock in the evening. They then had a very comfortable dinner sent them, camels flesh stewed with an herb of a viscous slimy substance, called Bammia. After having dined, and finished the journal of the day, Mr. Bruce fell to unpacking his instruments, the barometer and thermometer first, and, after having hung them up, was conversing with Adelan's servant when he should pay his visit to his master. About eight o'clock came a servant from the palace, telling Mr. Bruce now was the time to bring the present to the king. He sorted the separate articles with all the speed he could, and they went directly to the palace. The king was then sitting in a large apartment, as far as he could guess, at some distance from the former. He was naked, but had several clothes lying upon his knee, and about him, and a servant was rubbing him over with very stinking butter or grease, with which his hair was dropping as if wet with water. Large as the room was, it could be smelled through the whole of it. The king asked Mr. Bruce if ever he greased himself as he did? Mr. Bruce said, Very seldom, but fancied it would be very expensive. He then told him, that it was elephants grease, which made people strong, and preserved the skin very smooth. Our traveller said he thought it very proper, but could not bear the smell of it, though his skin should turn as rough as an elephant's for the want of it. He said, if Mr. Bruce had used it, his hair would not have turned so red as it was, and that it would all become white presently when that redness came off.

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“ You may see, (continued he) the Arabs driven in here by the Daveina, and all their cattle taken from them, because they have no longer any greafe for their hair. The fun firft turns it red, and then perfectly white; and you will know them in the ftreet by their hair being the colour of yours. As for the fmell, you will fee that cured prefently.”

After having rubbed him abundantly with greafe, they brought a pretty large horn, and in it fomething fcented, about as liquid as honey. It was plain that civit was a great part of the compofition. The king went out at the door, Mr. Bruce fupposes into another room, and there two men deluged him over with pitchers of cold water, whilft, as he imagined, he was ftark-naked. He then returned, and a flave anointed him with this fweet ointment; after which he fat down, as completely drefsed, being juft going to his woman's apartment where he was to fup. Mr. Bruce told him, he wondered why he did not ufe rofe-water as in Abyffinia, Arabia, and Cairo. He faid, he had it often from Cairo, when the merchants arrived; but as it was now long fince any came, his people could not make more, for the rofe would not grow in his country, though the women made fomething like it of lemon-flower.

His toilet being finifhed, our traveller then produced his prefent, which he told him the king of Abyffinia had fent to him, hoping that, according to the faith and custom of nations, he would not only protect him while here, but fend him fafely and fpeedily out of his dominions into Egypt. He answered, there was a time when he could have done all this, and more, but thofe times were changed. Sennaar was in ruin, and was not like what it was. He then ordered fome perfumed forbet to be brought for Mr. Bruce to drink in his prefence, which is a pledge that your perfon is in fafety. The king thereupon withdrew, and went to his ladies.

It was not till the eighth of May Mr. Bruce had his audience of Shekh Adelan at Aira, which is three miles and a half from Sennaar; they walked out early in the morning, for the greateft part of the way along the fide  
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of the Nile, which had no beauty, being totally divested of trees, the bottom foul and muddy, and the edges of the water white with small concretions of calcarious earth, which, with the bright sun upon them, dazzled and affected their eyes very much. They then struck across a large sandy plain without trees or bushes, and came to Adelan's habitation.

Within the gate was a number of horses, with the soldiers barracks behind them; they were all picqueted in ranks, their faces to their masters barracks. It was one of the finest sights Mr. Bruce ever saw of the kind. They were all above sixteen hands high, of the breed of the old Saracen horses, all finely made, and as strong as our coach-horses, but exceedingly nimble in their motion; rather thick and short in the forehead, but with the most beautiful eyes, ears, and heads in the world; they were mostly black, some of them black and white, some of them milk-white foaled, so not white by age, with white eyes and white hoofs, not perhaps a great recommendation.

A steel shirt of mail hung upon each man's quarters opposite to his horse, and by it an antelope's skin made soft like shamoy, with which it was covered from the dew of the night. A head-piece of copper, without crest or plumage, was suspended by a lace above the shirt of mail, and was the most picturesque part of the trophy. To these was added an enormous broadsword in a red leather scabbard; and upon the pommel hung two thick gloves, not divided into fingers as ours, but like hedgers gloves, their fingers in one poke. They told Mr. Bruce, that, within that inclosure at Aira, there were 400 horses, which, with the riders, and armour complete for each of them, were all the property of Shekh Adelan, every horseman being his slave, and bought with his money.

Adelan was then sitting upon a piece of the trunk a palm-tree, in the front of one of these divisions of his horses, which he seemed to be contemplating with pleasure; a number of black people, his own servants and friends, were standing round him. He had on a long drab-coloured camlet gown, lined with yellow fatten,

and a camlet cap like a head piece, with two short points that covered his ears. This, it seems, was his dress when he rose early in the morning to visit his horses, which he never neglected. The Shekh was a man above six feet high, rather corpulent, had a heavy walk, seemingly more from affectation of grandeur than want of agility. He was about sixty, of the colour and features of an Arab and not of a Negro, but had rather more beard than falls to the lot of people in this country; large piercing eyes, and a determined, though, at the same time, a very pleasing countenance. Upon Mr. Bruce's coming near him he got up, "You that are a horseman, (says he, without any salutation) what would your king of Habesh give for these horses?" — "What king, (answered Mr. Bruce in the same tone) would not give any price for such horses, if he knew their value?"

They then went into a large saloon, hung round with mirrors and scarlet damask; in one of the longest sides were two large sofa's covered with crimson and yellow damask, and large cushions of cloth of gold, like to the king's. He now pulled off his camlet gown and cap, and remained in a crimson sattin coat reaching down below his knees, which lapped over at the breast, and was girt round his waist with a scarf or sash, in which he had stuck a short dagger in an ivory sheath, mounted with gold; and one of the largest and most beautiful amethysts upon his finger that Mr. Bruce ever saw, mounted plain, without any diamonds, and a small gold ear-ring in one of his ears.

"Why have you come hither, (says he to Mr. Bruce) without arms, and on foot, and without attendants?" *Yagoube*. "I was told that horses were not kept at Sennaar, and brought none with me. *Adelan*. "You suppose you have come through great dangers, and so you have. But what do you think of me, who am day and night out in the fields, surrounded by hundreds and thousands of Arabs, all of whom would eat me alive if they dared?" *Yagoube*. "A brave man, used to command as you are, does not look to the number of his enemies, but to their abilities; a wolf does not fear ten thousand sheep more than he does one." *Ad.* "True; look out at the door; these

these are their chiefs whom I am now taxing, and I have brought them hither that they may judge from what they see whether I am ready for them or not." *Yag.* "You could not do more properly; but, as to my own affairs, I wait upon you from the king of Abyssinia, desiring safe conduct through your country into Egypt, with his royal promise, that he is ready to do the like for you again, or any other favour you may call upon him for." He took the letter and read it. *Ad.* "The king of Abyssinia may be assured I am always ready to do more for him than this. It is true, since the mad attempt upon Sennaar, and the next still madder, to replace old Baady upon the throne, we have had no formal peace, but neither are we at war. We understand one another as good neighbours ought to do; and what else is peace?" *Yag.* "You know I am a stranger and traveller, seeking my way home. I have nothing to do with peace or war between nations. All I beg is a safe conduct through your kingdom, and the rights of hospitality bestowed in such cases on every common stranger; and one of the favours I beg is, your acceptance of a small present. I bring it not from home; I have been long absent from thence, or it would have been better." *Ad.* "I'll not refuse it, but it is quite unnecessary. I have faults like other men, but to hurt, or ransom strangers, was never one of them. Mahomet Abou Kalec, my brother, is however, a much better man to strangers than I am; you will be lucky if you meet him here; if not, I will do for you what I can when once the confusion of these Arabs is over."

Mr. Bruce gave him the sherriffe's letter, which he opened, looked at, and laid by without reading, saying only, "Aye, Metical is a good man, he sometimes takes care of our people going to Mecca; for my part, I never was there, and probably never shall." Mr. Bruce then presented his letter from Ali Bey to him. He placed it upon his knee, and gave a slap upon it with his open hand. *Ad.* "What! do you not know, have you not heard, Mahomet Abou Dahab, his Hafnadar, has rebelled against him, banished him out of Cairo, and now sits in his place? But don't be disconcerted at that, I know you to be a man of honour and  
prudence;

prudence; if Mahomet, my brother, does not come, as soon as I can get leisure, I will dispatch you." The servant that had conducted Mr. Bruce to Sennaar, and was then with him, went forward close to him, and said, in a kind of whisper, "Should he go often to the king?"—"When he pleases; he may go to see the town, and take a walk, but never alone, and also to the palace, that, when he returns to his own country, he may report he saw a king at Sennaar, that neither knows how to govern, nor will suffer others to teach him; who knows not how to make war, and yet will not sit in peace." Mr. Bruce then took his leave of him, but there was a plentiful breakfast in the other room, to which he sent them. At going out Mr. Bruce took his leave by kissing his hand, which he submitted to without reluctance. "Shekh, (said our traveller) when I pass these Arabs in the square, I hope it will not disoblige you if I converse with some of them out of curiosity?" *Ad.* "By no means, as much as you please; but don't let them know where they can find you at Sennaar, or they will be in your house from morning till night, will eat up all your victuals, and then, in return, will cut your throat if they can meet you upon your journey."

Mr. Bruce returned home to Sennaar, very well pleased with his reception at Aira. He had not seen, since he left Gondar, a man so open and frank in his manners, and who spoke without disguise what apparently he had in his heart.

The next morning, after Mr. Bruce came home from Aira, he was agreeably surpris'd by a visit from Hagi Belal, to whom he had been recommended by Metical Aga, and to whom Ibrahim Seraff, the English broker at Jidda, had address'd him for any money he should need at Sennaar. Belal welcomed him with great kindness, and repeated testimonies of joy and wonder at his safe arrival. He had been down in Atbara at Gerri, or some villages near it, with merchandize, and had not yet seen the king since he came home, but gave Mr. Bruce the very worst description possible of the country, inasmuch that there seem'd to be not a spot, but the one he then stood on, in which he was not in imminent danger

ger of destruction, from a variety of independent causes, which it seemed not possibly in his power to avoid. In the evening, he sent Mr. Bruce some refreshments, which he had long been unaccustomed to; some tea, excellent coffee, some honey and brown sugar, several bottles of rack, likewise nutmegs, cinnamon, ginger, and some very good dates of the dry kind which he had brought from Atbara.

Hagi Belal was a native of Morocco. He had been at Cairo, and also at Jidda and Mocha. He knew the English well, and professed himself both obliged and attached to them. It was some days before Mr. Bruce ventured to speak to him upon money business, or upon any probability of finding assistance here at Sennaar. He gave him little hopes of the latter, repeating to him what he very well knew about the disagreement of the king and Adelan. He seemed to place all his expectations, and those were but faint ones, in the coming of Shekh Abou Kalec from Kordofan. He said, nothing could be expected from Shekh Adelan without going to Aira, for that he would never trust himself in Sennaar, in this king's life time, but that the minister was absolute the moment he assembled his troops without the town.

One morning he came to Mr. Bruce after having been with the king, when our traveller was himself preparing to go to the palace. He said, he had been sent for upon his account, and had been questioned very narrowly what sort of a man he was. Having answered very favourably, both of him and his nation, he had asked for Metical Aga's letters, or any other letters received concerning him from Jidda; he said, that he had only shewn Metical's letter, wrote in the name of the sherriffe, as also one from himself; that there were several great officers of government present; and the Cadi (whom Mr. Bruce had seen the first time he had been with the king) had read the letters aloud to them all: That one of them had asked, How it came that such a man as our traveller ventured to pass these deserts, with four or five old servants, and what it was he came to see; that he answered, he apprehended his chief object at Sennaar was to be forwarded

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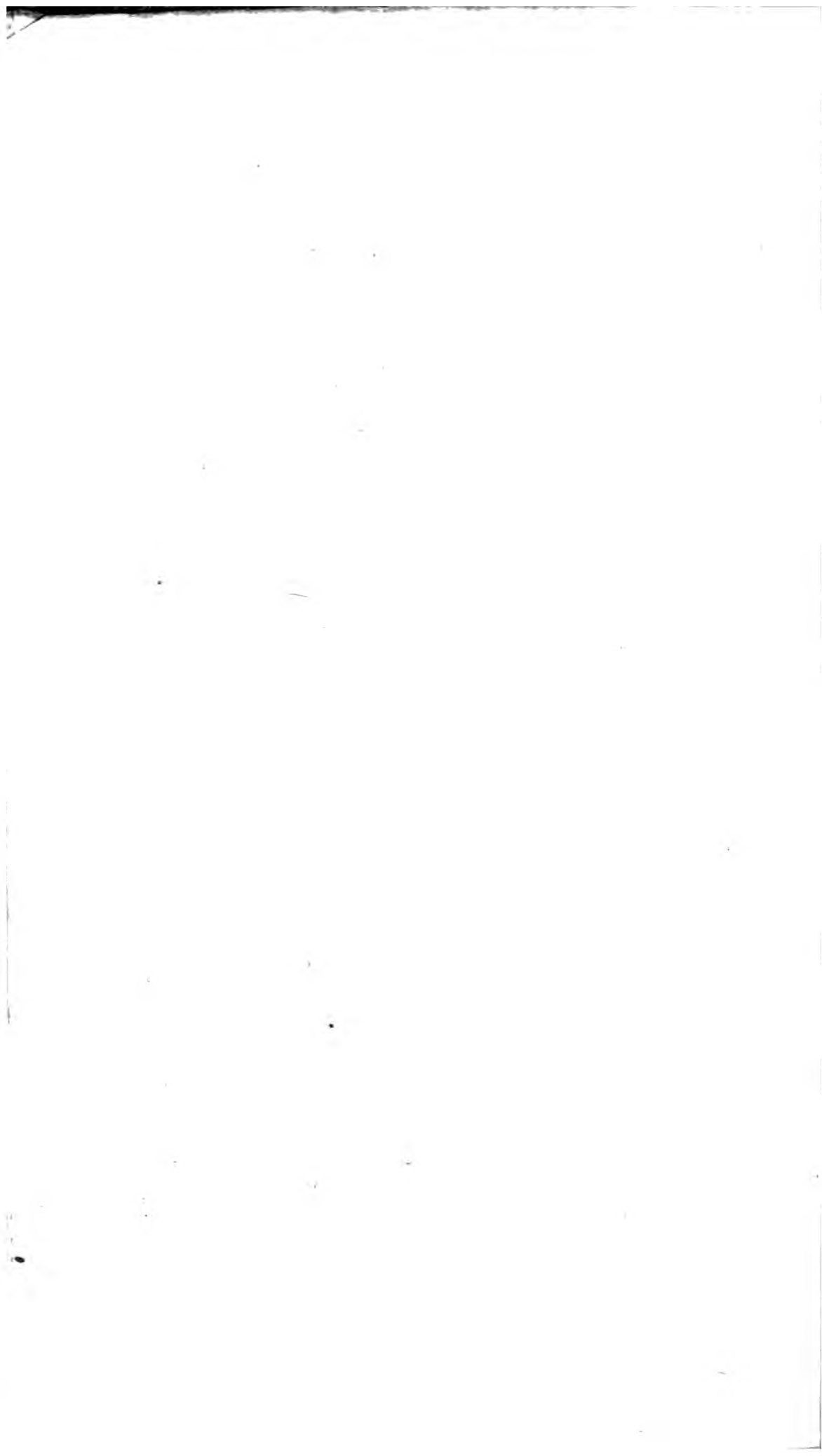
to his own country. It was also asked, Why Mr. Bruce had not some Englishmen with him, as none of his servants were of that nation, but poor beggarly Kopts, Arabs, and Turks, who were none of them of his religion. Belal answered, That travellers through these countries must take up with such people as they can find going the same way; however, he believed some English servants had died in Abyssinia, which country he had left the first opportunity that had offered, being wearied by the perpetual war which prevailed. Upon which the king said, "He has chosen well, when he came into this country for peace. You know, Hagi Belal, I can do nothing for him; there is nothing in my hands. I could easier get him back into Abyssinia than forward him into Egypt. Who is it now that can pass into Egypt?" The Cadi then said, "Hagi Belal can get him to Suakem, and so to Jidda to his countrymen." To which Belal replied, "The king will find some way when he thinks farther of it."

A few days after this, Mr. Bruce had a message from the palace. He found the king sitting alone, apparently much chagrined, and in ill-humour. He asked him, in a very peevish manner, if he was not yet gone? To which he answered, "Your Majesty knows that it is impossible for me to go a step from Sennaar without assistance from you." He again asked him, in the same tone as before, "How he could think of coming that way?" He said, nobody imagined in Abyssinia but that he was able to give a stranger safe conduct through his own dominions." He made no reply, but nodded a sign for him to depart, which he immediately did, and so finished this short, but disagreeable interview.

About four o'clock that same afternoon, Mr. Bruce was again sent for to the palace, when the king told him, that several of his wives were ill, and desired that he would give them his advice, which he promised to do without difficulty, as all acquaintance with the fair sex had hitherto been much to his advantage. He was admitted into a large square apartment very ill-lighted, in which were about fifty women, all perfectly black, without any covering but a very narrow piece of cotton rag about their waists. While he was musing whether  
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Mr. Bruce's Visit to the King's Ladies at Sanaar.



or not these all might be queens, or whether there was any queen among them, one of them took him by the hand and led him rudely enough into another apartment. This was much better lighted than the first. Upon a large bench, or sofa, covered with blue Surat cloth, sat three persons cloathed from the neck to the feet with blue cotton shirts.

One of these, who Mr. Bruce found was the favourite, was about six feet high, and corpulent beyond all proportion. She seemed to him, next to the elephant and rhinoceros, to be the largest living creature he had met with. Her features were perfectly like those of a Negro; a ring of gold passed through her under lip, and weighed it down, till, like a flap, it covered her chin, and left her teeth bare, which were very small and fine. The inside of her lip she had made black with antimony. Her ears reached down to her shoulders, and had the appearance of wings; she had in each of them a large ring of gold, somewhat smaller than a man's little finger, and about five inches diameter. The weight of these had drawn down the hole where her ear was pierced so much that three fingers might easily pass above the ring. She had a gold necklace, like what we used to call *Esfavage*, of several rows, one below another, to which were hung rows of sequins pierced. She had on her ankles two manacles of gold, larger than any he had ever seen upon the feet of felons. with which he could not conceive it was possible for her to walk; but afterwards he found they were hollow. The others were dressed pretty much in the same manner; only there was one that had chains which came from her ears to the outside of each nostril, where they were fastened. There was also a ring put through the gristle of her nose, and which hung down to the opening of her mouth. It had altogether something of the appearance of a horse's bridle. Upon his coming near them, the eldest put her hand to her mouth and kissed it, saying, at the same time, in very vulgar Arabic, "Kifhalek howaja?" (How do you do, merchant). Mr. Bruce never in his life was more pleased with distant salutations than at this time. He answered, "Peace be among you! I am a physician, and not a merchant." Mr. Bruce here omits  
to

to enumerate the multitude of their complaints; being a lady's physician, he considers discretion and silence as his first duties.

No horse, mule, ass, or any other of burden, breed or even live at Sennaar, or many miles about it. Poultry does not live there. Neither dog nor cat, sheep nor bullock, can be preserved a season there. They must go all, every half year, to the sands. Though all possible care be taken of them, they die in every place where the fat earth is about the town during the first season of the rains. Two grey-hounds which Mr. Bruce brought from Atbara, and the mules which he brought from Abyssinia, lived only a few weeks after he arrived. They seemed to have some inward complaint, for nothing appeared outwardly. Several kings have tried to keep lions, but no care could prolong their lives beyond the first rains. Shekh Adelan had two, which were in great health, being kept with his horses at grafs in the sands but three miles from Sennaar: neither rose, nor any species of jessamine, grow here; no tree but the lemon flowers near the city, that ever Mr. Bruce saw; the rose has been often tried, but in vain.

Sennaar is in lat.  $23^{\circ} 34' 36''$  north, and in long.  $33^{\circ} 30' 30''$  east from the meridian of Greenwich. It is on the west side of the Nile, and close upon the banks of it. The ground whereon it stands rises just enough to prevent the river from entering the town, even in the height of the inundation, when it comes to be even with the street.

The country around Sennaar is exceedingly pleasant in the end of August and beginning of September, Mr. Bruce means so far as the eye is concerned; instead of that barren, bare waste, which it appeared on their arrival in May, the corn now sprung up, and covering the ground, made the whole of this immense plain appear a level, green land, interspersed with great lakes of water, and ornamented at certain intervals with groups of villages, the conical tops of the houses presenting, at a distance, the appearance of small encampments. Through this immense, extensive plain, winds the Nile, a delightful river there, above a mile broad, full to the very brim, but never overflowing. Every where on these banks are seen  
numerous

numerous herds of the most beautiful cattle of various kinds, the tribute recently extorted from all the Arabs, who freed from their vexations, return home with the remainder of their flocks in peace, at as great a distance from the town, country, and their oppressors, as they possibly can.

War and treason seem to be the only employment of this horrid people, whom Heaven has separated, by almost impassable deserts, from the rest of mankind, confining them to an accursed spot, seemingly to give them earnest in time of the only other worse which he has reserved to them for an eternal hereafter. The dress of Sennaar is very simple. It consists of a long shirt of blue Surat cloth called Marowty, which covers them from the lower part of the neck down to their feet, but does not conceal the neck itself; and this is the only difference between the mens and the womens dress; that of the women covers their neck altogether, being buttoned like ours. The men have sometimes a sash tied about their middle; and both men and women go bare-footed in the house, even those of the better sort of people. Their floors are covered with Persian carpets, especially the womens apartments. In fair weather, they wear sandals; and without doors they use a kind of wooden patten, very neatly ornamented with shells. In the greatest heat at noon, they order buckets of water to be thrown upon them instead of bathing. Both men and women anoint themselves, at least once a-day, with camels grease mixed with civet, which they imagine softens their skin, and preserves them from cutaneous eruptions, of which they are so fearful, that the smallest pimple in any visible part of their body keeps them in the house till it disappears: For the same reason, though they have a clean shirt every day, they use one dipt in grease to lie in all night, as they have no covering but this, and lie upon a bull's hide tanned, and very much softened by this constant greasing, and at the same time very cool, though it occasions a smell that no washing can free them from.

The poorer sort live upon millet, made into bread or flour. The rich make a pudding of this, toasting the flour before the fire, and pouring milk and butter into it; besides which, they eat beef, partly roasted and partly  
raw.

raw. Their horned cattle are the largest and fattest in the world, and are exceedingly fine; but the common meat sold in the market is camels flesh. The liver of the animal, and the spare rib, are always eaten raw through the whole country. Mr. Bruce never saw one instance where it was dressed with fire: it is not then true that eating raw flesh is peculiar to Abyssinia; it is practised in this instance of camels flesh in all the black countries to the westward. Hogs flesh is not sold in the market; but all the people of Sennaar eat it publickly: men in office, who pretend to be Mahometans, eat theirs in secret.

On the 7th of August, Mr. Bruce was informed by Hagi Belal, that Shekh Fidele of Teawa had been several days in the palace with the king, and had informed him that Mr. Bruce was laden with money, besides a quantity of cloth of gold, the richest he had ever seen, which the king of Abyssinia had destined as a present to him, but which our traveller had perverted to his own use: He added, that the king had expressed himself in a very threatening manner, and that he was very much afraid he was not in safety if Shekh Adelan was gone from Aira. Upon this Mr. Bruce desired Hagi Belal to go to the palace, and obtain for him an audience of the king. In vain he represented to our traveller the risk he ran by this measure; he persisted in his resolution, he was tied to the stake. To fly was impossible, and he had often overcome such dangers by braving them.

Belal went then unwillingly to the palace. Whether he delivered the message he knows not, but he returned saying, the king was busy and could not be seen. Mr. Bruce had, in the interim, sent Soliman to the Gindi, or Sed el Coom, telling him his difficulties, and the news he had heard. In place of returning an answer, he came directly to him himself, and was sitting with him when Hagi Belal returned, who appeared somewhat disconcerted at the meeting. Gindi chid Hagi Belal very sharply, asking him what good all that tittle-tattle did either him or Mr. Bruce, and insinuated pretty plainly, that he believed Hagi Belal did this in concert with the king, to extort some present from our traveller. After some further conversation, Gindi took his leave, and Mr. Bruce attended

attended him down stairs, with many professions of gratitude; and at the door he said, in a very low voice, to our traveller, "Take care of yon Belal, he is a dog worse than a Christian."

It was now the 20th; and, for several days since Adelan's departure, no provisions were sent to Mr. Bruce's house, as before was usual. Money therefore became absolutely necessary, not only for their daily subsistence, but for camels to carry their baggage, provisions, and water across the desert. He now despaired absolutely of assistance of any kind from the king; and an accident that happened made him lay all thoughts aside of ever troubling him more upon the subject. There are at Mecca a number of black eunuchs, whose services are dedicated to that temple, and the sepulchre of Medina. Part of these, from time to time, procure liberty to return on a visit to their respective homes, or to the large cities where they were sold from, on the Niger, Bornou, Torcur, and Tombucto, where they beg donations for the holy places, and frequently collect large sums of gold, which abounds in these towns and territories. One of these, called Mahomet Towash, which signifies Eunuch, had returned from a begging voyage in Sudan, or Nigritia, and was at Sennaar exceedingly ill with an intermitting fever. The king had sent for Mr. Bruce to visit him, and the bark in a few days had perfectly recovered him. A proportional degree of gratitude had, in return, taken place in the breast of Mahomet, who, going to Cairo, was exceedingly desirous of taking Mr. Bruce with him, and this desire was increased when he heard he had letters from the sherriffe of Mecca, and was acquainted with Metical Aga, who was his immediate master.

Nothing could be more fortunate than this rencounter at such a time, for he had spare camels in great plenty, and the Arabs, as he passed them, continued giving him more, and supported him with provisions wherever he went, for these people, being accounted sacred, and regarded with a certain religious awe, as being in the immediate service of their prophet, till now used to pass inviolate wherever they were going, however unsettled the times, or however slenderly attended.

Every



Every thing was now ready, Mr. Bruce's instruments and baggage packed up, and the 25th of August fixed when they should begin their journey to Atbara. Mahomet, who passed a great part of his time at Mr. Bruce's house, had not been seen by them for several days, which they did not think extraordinary, being busy themselves, and knowing that his trade demanded continual attendance on the great people; but they were exceedingly surpris'd at hearing from his black Soliman, that he and all his equipage had set out the night of the 20th for Atbara. This they found afterwards was at the earnest persuasion of the king, and was at that time a heavy disappointment to Mr. Bruce, however fortunate it turned out afterwards.

The night of the 25th, which was to have been that of their departure, Mr. Bruce sat late in his room up stairs, in the back, or most private part of their house. His little company was holding with him a most melancholy council on what had so recently happened, and, in general, upon the unpromising face of their affairs. Their single lamp was burning very low, and suggested to them that it was the hour of sleep, to which, however, none of them were very much inclined. Georgis, a Greek, who, on account of the soreness of his eyes had staid below in the dark, and had fallen asleep, came running up stairs in a great fright, and told them he had been wakened by the noise of men endeavouring to force open the door; that he hearkened a little, and found there were many of them. Their arms were all ready, and they snatched them up and ran towards the door; but Mr. Bruce stopt, and planted them upon the first landing-place in the stair-case, as he wished not to fire till the enemy was fairly in the house, that no excuse might remain for this their violation of hospitality. By this time, the assailants had forced the outer gate, and were then in the lodge, endeavouring to do the same by the inner, having put a handspike under it to lift it up from the hinges. "Are you not madmen, (said Mr. Bruce) and weary of your lives, to attempt to force Adelan's house, when there are within it men abundantly provided with large fire-arms, that, upon one discharge through the door, will lay you all dead where  
you

you now stand?" "Stand by from the door, (cries Ismael) and let me fire. These black Kafirs don't yet know what my blunderbus is." They had been silent from the time Mr. Bruce had spoken, and had withdrawn the handspike from under the door. "Ullah! Ullah! (cries one of them softly) how found you sleep! we have been endeavouring to waken you this hour. The king is ill; tell Yagoube to come to the palace, and open the door instantly." "Tell the king (said Mr. Bruce) to drink warm water, and I will see him in the morning." At this time one of Mr. Bruce's servants fired a pistol in the air out of an upper window, upon which they all ran off. They seemed to be about ten or twelve in number, and left three handspikes behind them. The noise of the pistol brought the guard, or patrol, in about half an hour, who carried intelligence to the Sid el Coom, our traveller's friend, by whom he was informed in the morning, that he had found them all out, and put them in irons; that Mahomet, the king's servant, who met them at Teawa, was one of them; and that there was no possibility now of concealing this from Adelan, who would order him to be impaled.

Things were now come to such a crisis that Mr. Bruce was determined to leave his instruments and papers with Kittou, Adelan's brother, or with the Sid el Coom, while he went to Shaddy to see Adelan. But first he thought it necessary to apply to Hagi Belal to try what funds they could raise to provide the necessaries for their journey. Mr. Bruce shewed him the letter of Ibrahim, the English broker of Jidda, of which before he had received a copy and repeated advices, and told him he should want 200 sequins at least, for his camels and provisions, as well as for some presents that he should have occasion for, to make his way to the great men in Atbara. Never was surprise better counterfeited than by this man. He held up his hands in the utmost astonishment, repeating, 200 sequins! over twenty times, and asked Mr. Bruce if he thought money grew upon trees at Sennaar, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could spare him 20 dollars, part of which he must borrow from a friend.

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This was a stroke that seemed to insure Mr. Bruce's destruction, no other resource being now left. They were already indebted to Hagi Belal twenty dollars for provision; they had seven mouths to feed daily; and as they had neither meat, money, nor credit, to continue at Sennaar was impossible. They had seen, a few nights before, that no house could protect them there; and to leave Sennaar was, in their situation, as impossible as to stay there. They had neither camels to carry their provisions and baggage, nor skins for their water, nor, indeed, any provisions to carry, nor money to supply them with any of these, nor knew any person that could give them assistance nearer than Cairo, from which they were then distant about  $17^{\circ}$  of the meridian, or above 1000 miles in a straight line; great part of which was through the most barren, inhospitable deserts in the world, destitute of all vegetation, and of every animal that had the breath of life. Hagi Belal was inflexible; he began now to be weary of our travellers, to see them but seldom, and there was great appearance of his soon withdrawing himself entirely.

Mr. Bruce's servants began to murmur; some of them had known of his gold chain from the beginning, and these, in the common danger, imparted what they knew to the rest. In short, he resolved, though very unwillingly, not to sacrifice his own life and that of his servants, and the finishing his travels, now so far advanced, to childish vanity. He determined therefore to abandon his gold chain, the honourable recompence of a day full of fatigue and danger. Whom to intrust it to was the next consideration; and, upon mature deliberation, he found it could be to nobody but Hagi Belal, bad as he had reason to think he was. However, to put a check upon him, he sent for the Sid el Coom, in whose presence he repeated his accusation against Belal; he read the Seraff's letter in his favour, and the several letters that Belal had written him whilst he was at Gondar, declaring his acceptance of the order to furnish him with money when he should arrive at Sennaar; and he upbraided him in the strongest terms with duplicity and breach of faith.

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But all that he could say was very far short of the violent expostulation from the Gindi that immediately followed. He gave Hagi Belal many not obscure hints, that he looked upon this injury as done to himself, and would repay him; that though he had done this to please the king, the time might not be far off when that favour would be of very little use to him; on the contrary, might be a reason for stripping him of all he had in the world." The force of these arguments seemed to strike Hagi Belal's imagination very powerfully. He even offered to advance 50 sequins, and to see if he could raise any more among his friends. The Gindi (a rare instance in that country) offered to lend him fifty. But the dye was now cast, the chain had been produced and seen, and it was become exceedingly dangerous to carry such a quantity of gold in any shape along with him. He therefore consented to sell it to Hagi Belal in presence of the Gindi, and they immediately set about the purchase of necessaries, with this proviso, that if Adelan, upon Mr. Bruce's going to Shaddly, did furnish him with camels and necessaries, so much of the chain should be returned.

It was the 5th of September that they were all prepared to leave this capital of Nubia, an inhospitable country from the beginning, and which, every day they continued in it, had engaged them in greater difficulties and dangers. They flattered themselves, that, once disengaged from this bad step, the greatest part of their sufferings was over; for they apprehended nothing but from men, and, with very great reason, thought they had seen the worst of them.

In the evening Mr. Bruce received a message from the king to come directly to the palace. He accordingly obeyed, taking two servants along with him, and found him sitting in a little, low chamber, very neatly fitted up with chintz, or printed callico curtains, of a very gay and glaring pattern. He was smoking with a very long Persian pipe through water, was alone, and seemed rather grave than in ill-humour. He gave Mr. Bruce his hand to kiss as usual, and after pausing a moment without speaking, (during which our traveller standing before him) a slave brought him a little stool, and set it

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down

down just opposite to him; upon which he said, in a low voice, so that Mr. Bruce could scarcely hear him, "Fudda, sit down," pointing to the stool. He sat down accordingly. "You are going, I hear (says he) to Adelan." Our traveller answered, "Yes." "Did he send for you?" He said, "No; but, as he wanted to return to Egypt, he expected letters from him in answer to those he brought from Cairo." *King.* "You are not so gay as when you first arrived here." *Ya.* "I have had no very great reason." Their conversation was now taking a very laconic and serious turn, but he did not seem to understand the meaning of what he said last. *K.* "Adelan has sent for you by my desire; Wed Abroff and all the Jehaina Arabs have rebelled, and will pay no tribute. They say you have a quantity of powerful fire-arms with you that will kill twenty or thirty men at a shot." *Ya.* "Say fifty or sixty, if it hits them," *K.* "He is therefore to employ you with your guns to punish those Arabs, and spoil them of their camels, part of which he will give to you." Mr. Bruce presently understood what he meant, and only answered, "I am a stranger here, and desire to hurt no man. My arms are for my own defence against robbery and violence." At this instant the Turk, Hagi Ismael, cried from without the door, in broken Arabic, "Why did not you tell those black Kafirs, you sent to rob and murder us the other night, to stay a little longer, and you would have been better able to judge what our fire-arms can do, without sending for us either to Abroff or Adelan. By the head of the prophet! let them come in the day time, and I will fight ten of the best you have in Sennaar." *K.* "The man is mad, but he brings me to speak of what was in my head when I desired to see you. Adelan has been informed that Mahomet, my servant, who brought you from Teawa, has been guilty of a drunken frolic at the door of his house, and has sent soldiers to take him to-day, with two or three others of his companions." *Ya.* "I know nothing about Mahomet, nor do I drink with him, or give him drink. About half a score of people broke into Adelan's house in the night, with a view to rob and murder us, but I was not at the pains to fire at such wretches as these. Two or three servants with sticks were all that were

were needful. I understand, indeed, that Shekh Adelan is exceedingly displeas'd that I did not fire at them, and has sent to the Gindi, ordering him to deliver two of them to him to-morrow to be executed publicly before the door of his house on the market-day. But this, you know, is among yourselves. I am very well pleas'd none of them are dead, as they might have been, by my hands or those of my people." K. "True; but Adelan is not king, and I charge you when you see him to ask for Mahomet's life, or a considerable deal of blame will fall upon you. When you return back, I will send him to conduct you to the frontiers of Egypt." Upon this Mr. Bruce bowed, and took his leave. He went home perfectly determin'd what he was to do. He had now obtained from the king an involuntary safeguard till he should arrive at Adelan's, that is, he was sure that, in hopes Mr. Bruce might procure a reprieve for Mahomet, no trap would be laid for him on the road. He determin'd therefore to make the best use of his time; and every thing being ready, they loaded the camels, and sent them forward that night to a small village call'd Soliman, three or four miles from Sennaar; and having settl'd his accounts with Hagi Belal, he received back six links, the miserable remains of one hundred and eighty-four, of which his noble chain once consist'd.

This traitor kept him the few last minutes to write a letter to the English at Jidda, to recommend him for the service he had done Mr. Bruce at Sennaar; and this he complied with, that he might inform the broker Ibrahim that he had received no money from his correspondent, and give him a caution never again to trust Hagi Belal in similar circumstances.

After leaving Sennaar, Mr. Bruce was overtaken on the road by a black slave, who at first gave him some apprehension, as he was alone with only one Barbarian, a Nubian servant, by the side of his camel, and was going slowly. Upon enquiry, he found him to be sent from Hagi Belal, with a basket containing some green tea and sugar, and four bottles of rack, in return for his letter. He sent back the messenger, and gave the care of the basket to his own servant; and, about ten o'clock in the

evening of the 5th of September, they all met together joyfully at Soliman.

On the 8th of September, they left the village of Soliman, and about three o'clock in the afternoon came to Wed el Tumbel, which is not a river, as the name would seem to signify, but three villages situated upon a pool of water, nearly in a line from north to south.

On the 4th of October, after meeting with various adventures in the course of their journey, but none of them of any material consequence, they arrived at Chendi, or Chundi which is a large village, the capital of its district, the government of which belongs to Sittina, (as she is called) which signifies the Mistress, or the Lady, she being sister to Wed Ageeb, the principal of the Arabs in this country. She had been married, but her husband was dead. She had one son, Idris Wed el Faal, who was to succeed to the government of Chendi upon his mother's death, and who, in effect, governed all affairs of his kindred already.

Chendi has in it about 250 houses, which are not all built contiguous, some of the best of them being separate, and that of Sittina's is half a mile from the town. There are two or three tolerable houses, but the rest of them are miserable hovels, built of clay and reeds. Sittina gave Mr. Bruce one of these houses, which he used for keeping his instruments and baggage from being pilfered or broken; he slept abroad in the tent, and it was even there hot enough. The women of Chendi are esteemed the most beautiful in Atbara, and the men the greatest cowards. This is the character they bear among their countrymen, but they had little opportunity of verifying either.

On their arrival at Chendi they found the people very much alarmed at a phenomenon, which, though it often happens, by some strange inadvertency had never been observed, even in this serene sky. The planet Venus appeared shining with undiminished light all day, in defiance of the brightest sun, from which she was but little distant. Though this phenomenon be visible every four years, it filled all the people, both in town and country, with alarm. They flocked to Mr. Bruce in crowds from all quarters to be satisfied what it meant, and, when they  
saw

saw his telescopes and quadrant, they could not be persuaded but that the star had become visible by some correspondence and intelligence with him, and for his use. The bulk of the people in all countries is the same; they never foretel any thing but evil. The very regular and natural appearance of this planet was immediately converted, therefore, into a sign that there would be a bad harvest next year, and scanty rains; that Abou Kalec with an army would depose the king, and over-run all Atbara; whilst some threatened Mr. Bruce as a principal operator in bringing about these disasters. On the other hand, without seeming over-solicitous about his vindication, he insinuated among the better sort, that this was a lucky and favourable sign, a harbinger of good fortune, plenty, and peace. The clamour upon this subsided very much to his advantage, the rather, because Sittina and her son Idris knew certainly that Mahomet Abou Kalec was not to be in Atbara that year.

On the 12th of October Mr. Bruce waited upon Sittina, who received him behind a screen, so that it was impossible either to see her figure or face; he observed, however, that there were apertures so managed in the screen that she had a perfect view of him. She expressed herself with great politeness, talked much upon the terms in which Adelan was with the king, and wondered exceedingly how a white man like him should venture so far in such an ill-governed country. "Allow me, Madam, (said Mr. Bruce) to complain of a breach of hospitality in you, which no Arab has been yet guilty of towards me." "Me! (said she) that would be strange indeed, to a man that bears my brother's letter. How can that be!" "Why you tell me, Madam, that I am a white man, by which I know that you see me, without giving me the like advantage. The queens of Sennaar did not use me so hardly; I had a full sight of them without having used any importunity." On this she broke out into a great fit of laughter; then fell into a conversation about medicines to make her hair grow, or rather to hinder it from falling off. She desired Mr. Bruce to come to her the next day; that her son Idris would be then at home from the Howat, and that he very



much wished to see him. She that day sent them plenty of provisions from her own table.

On the 13th it was so excessively hot that it was impossible to suffer the burning sun. The poisonous simoom blew likewise as if it came from an oven. Their eyes were dim, their lips cracked, their knees tottering, their throats perfectly dry, and no relief was found from drinking an immoderate quantity of water. The people advised Mr. Bruce to dip a sponge in vinegar and water, and hold it before his mouth and nose, and this greatly relieved him. In the evening he went to Sittina. Upon entering the house, a black slave laid hold of him by the hand, and placed him in a passage, at the end of which were two opposite doors. Mr. Bruce did not well know the reason of this; but staid only a few minutes, when he heard one of the doors at the end of the passage open, and Sittina appeared magnificently dressed, with a kind of round cap of solid gold upon the crown of her head, all beat very thin, and hung round with sequins; with a variety of gold chains, solitaires, and necklaces of the same metal, about her neck. Her hair was plaited in ten or twelve small divisions like tails, which hung down below her waist, and over her was thrown a common cotton white garment. She had a purple silk stole, or scarf, hung very gracefully upon her back, brought again round her waist, without covering her shoulders or arms. Upon her wrists she had two bracelets like handcuffs, about half an inch thick, and two gold manacles of the same at her feet, fully an inch diameter, the most disagreeable and awkward part of her dress. Mr. Bruce expected she would have hurried through with some affectation of Surprise. On the contrary, she stopt in the middle of the passage, saying, in a very grave manner, "Kifahlec,---how are you?" Mr. Bruce thought this was an opportunity of kissing her hand, which he did without her shewing any sort of reluctance. "Allow me as a physician, Madam, (said Mr. Bruce) to say one word." She bowed with her head, and said, "Go in at that door, and I will hear you." The slave appeared, and carried him through a door at the bottom of the passage into a room, while her mistress vanished in at another.

another door at the top, and there was the screen he had seen the day before, and the lady sitting behind it.

She was a woman scarcely forty, taller than the middle size, had a very round, plump face, her mouth rather large, very red lips, the finest teeth and eyes he had seen, but at the top of her nose, and between her eye-brows, she had a small speck made of cobalt or antimony, four-corner'd, and of the size of the smallest patches our women used to wear; another rather longer upon the top of her nose, and one on the middle of her chin.

*Sittina*. "Tell me what you would say to me as a physician."—*Ya*. "It was, Madam, but in consequence of your discourse yesterday. That heavy gold cap with which you press your hair will certainly be the cause of a great part of it falling off." *Sitt*. "I believe so; but I should catch cold, I am so accustomed to it, if I was to leave it off. Are you a man of name and family in your own country?" *Ya*. "Of both, Madam." *Sitt*. "Are the women handsome there?" *Ya*. "The handsomest in the world, Madam; but they are so good, and so excellent in all other respects, that nobody thinks at all of their beauty, nor do they value themselves upon it." *Sitt*. "And do they allow you to kiss their hands?" *Ya*. "I understand you, Madam, though you have mistaken me. There is no familiarity in kissing hands, it is a mark of homage, and distant respect paid in my country to our sovereigns, and to none earthly besides." *Sitt*. "O yes! but the kings." *Ya*. "Yes, and the queens too always on the knee, Madam; I said our sovereigns, meaning both king and queen. On her part it is a mark of gracious condescension, in favour of rank, merit, and honourable behaviour; it is a reward for dangerous and difficult services, above all other compensation." *Sitt*. "But do you know that no man ever kissed my hand but you?" *Ya*. "It is impossible I should know that, nor is it material. Of this I am confident, it was meant respectfully, cannot hurt you, and ought not to offend you." *Sitt*. "It certainly has done neither, but I wish very much Idris my son would come and see you, as it is on his account I dressed myself to-day." *Ya*. "I hope, Madam, when I do see him he will think of some way of forwarding me safely  
to

to Barbar, in my way to Egypt." *Sitt.* "Safely! God forgive you! you are throwing yourself away wantonly. Idris himself, king of this country, dares not undertake such a journey. But why did not you go along with Mahomet Towash? He set out only a few days ago for Cairo, the same way you are going, and has, believe, taken all the Hybeers with him. Go call the porter," said she to her slave. When the porter came, "Do you know if Mahomet Towash is gone to Egypt?" "I know he is gone to Barbar, says the porter, the two Mahomets, and Abd el Jelleel, the Bishareen, are with him." "Why did he take all the Hybeers?" said *Sittina*. "The men were tired and discouraged, (answered the porter) by their late ill-usage from the Cubba-beesh, and, being stripped of every thing, they wanted to be at home," *Sitt.* "Somebody else will offer, but you must not go without a good man with you; I will not suffer you. These Bishareen are people known here, and may be trusted; but while you stay let me see you every day, and if you want any thing, send by a servant of mine. It is a tax, I know, improperly laid upon a man like you, to ask for every necessary, but Idris will be here, and he will provide you better." He went away upon this conversation, and soon found, that Mahomet Towash had so well followed the direction of the Mek of Sennaar, as to take all the Hybeers, or Guides of note with him on purpose to disappoint Mr. Bruce.

Chendi is in lat.  $16^{\circ} 38' 35''$  north, and  $33^{\circ} 24' 45''$  east of the meridian of Greenwich.

On the 20th of October, in the evening, they left Chendi, and rested two miles from the town; and, on the 9th of November, having received all the assurances possible from Idris, the guide whom Mr. Bruce had engaged at Chendi, that he would live and die with them, after having repeated the prayer of peace, they put on the best countenance possible, and committed themselves to the desert. There were Ishmael the Turk, two Greek servants besides Georgis, who was almost blind and useless. Two Barbarins, who took care of the camels, Idris, and a young man, a relation of his, who joined him at Barbar, to return home; in all nine persons,

fons, eight only of whom were effective. They were all well-armed with blunderbusses, swords, pistols, and double-barrelled guns, except Idris and his lad, who had lances, the only arms they could use.

On the 14th, they were at once surpris'd and terrified by a sight surely one of the most magnificent in the world. In that vast expanse of desert, from W. and to N. W. of them, they saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand at different distances, at times moving with great celerity, at others stalking on with a majestic slowness; at intervals they thought they were coming in a very few minutes to overwhelm them; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach them. Again they would retreat so as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjoined, dispersed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon shot. About noon they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon them, the wind being very strong at north. Eleven of them ranged along side of them, about the distance of three miles. The greatest diameter of the largest appeared to Mr. Bruce at that distance as if it would measure ten feet. They retired from them with a wind at S. E. leaving an impression upon our traveller's mind to which he can give no name, though surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable deal of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying; the swiftest horse, or fastest sailing ship, could be of no use to carry them out of this danger, and the full persuasion of this rivetted him as if to the spot where he stood, and he let the camels gain on him so much in his state of lameness, that it was with some difficulty he could overtake them.

From this day, subordination, though not entirely ceased, was fast on the decline; all was discontent, murmuring, and fear. Their water was greatly diminished, and that terrible death by thirst began to stare them in the face, and this was owing in a great measure to their own imprudence. Ishmael, who had  
been.

been left sentinel over the skins of water, had slept so soundly, that this had given an opportunity to a Tuco-roy to open one of the skins that had not been touched, and serve himself out of it at his own discretion. Mr. Bruce supposes, that, hearing somebody stir, and fearing detection, he had withdrawn himself as speedily as possible, without taking time to tie the mouth of the girba, which they found in the morning with scarce a quart of water in it.

The phænomenon of the Simoom, unexpected by them, though foreseen by Idris, caused them all to relapse into the greatest despondency. It still continued to blow, so as to exhaust them entirely, though the blast was so weak as scarcely would have raised a leaf from the ground. At twenty minutes before five the Simoom ceased, and a comfortable and cooling breeze came by starts from the north, blowing five or six minutes at a time, and then falling calm.

That desert, which did not afford inhabitants for the assistance or relief of travellers, had greatly more than sufficient for destroying them. Large tribes of Arabs, two or three thousand, encamped together, were canted, as it were, in different places of this desert, where there was water enough to serve their numerous herds of cattle, and these, as their occasion required, traversed in parties all that wide expanse of solitude, from the mountains near the Red Sea east, to the banks of the Nile on the west, according as their several designs or necessities required. These were Jabeleen Arabs, those cruel, barbarous fanatics, that deliberately shed so much blood during the time they were establishing the Mahometan religion. If it had been their lot to fall among these people, and it was next to a certainty that they were at that very instant surrounded by them, death was certain, and their only comfort was, that they could die but once, and that to die like men was in their own option. Indeed, without considering the bloody character which these wretches naturally bear, there could be no reason for letting them live: They could be of no service to them as slaves; and to have sent them into Egypt, after having first rifled and destroyed their goods, could

not

not be done by them but at a great expence, to which well-inclined people only could have been induced from charity, and of that last virtue they had not even heard the name. Their only chance then remaining was, that their number might be so small, that, by our travellers great superiority in fire-arms and in courage, they might turn the misfortune upon the aggressors, deprive them of their camels and means of carrying water, and leave them scattered in the desert, to that death which either of them, without an alternative, must suffer. However, they were lucky enough not to meet with any of those barbarians.

On the 22d, their camels were reduced to five, and it did not seem that these were capable of continuing their journey much longer. In that case, no remedy remained, but that each man should carry his own water and provisions. Now, as no one man could carry the water he should use between well and well, it was more than probable that distance would be doubled by some of the wells being found dry; and if that was not the case, yet, as it was impossible for a man to carry his provisions who could not walk without any burden at all, their situation seemed to be most desperate.

On the 27th, at half past five in the morning, they attempted to raise their camels by every method that they could devise, but all in vain, only one of them could get upon his legs, and that one did not stand two minutes till he kneeled down, and could never be raised afterwards. Every way they turned themselves, death now stared them in the face. They had neither time nor strength to waste, nor provisions to support them. They then took the small skins that had contained their water, and filled them as far as they thought a man could carry them with ease; but after all these shifts, there was not enough to serve them three days, at which he had estimated their journey to Syene, which still however was uncertain. Finding, therefore, the camels would not rise, they killed two of them, and took so much flesh as might serve for the deficiency of bread, and, from the stomach of each of the camels, got about four gallons of water. The small remains of their miserable stock of black bread and dirty water, the only support they had

had hitherto lived on amidst the burning sands, and their spirits likewise were exhausted by an uncertainty of their journey's end. They were surrounded among those terrible and unusual phenomena of nature which Providence, in mercy to the weakness of his creatures, has concealed far from their sight in deserts almost inaccessible to them. Nothing but death was before their eyes: All Mr. Bruce's papers, his quadrant, telescopes, and time-keeper, were now to be abandoned to the rude and ignorant hands of robbers, or to be buried in the sands. However, on the 29th, to their inexpressible joy, they saw the palm trees at Assouan, and a quarter before ten arrived in a grove of palm-trees on the north of that city.

They were not long arrived, before they received from the Aga about fifty loaves of fine wheat bread, and several large dishes of dressed meat. But the smell of these last no sooner reached Mr. Bruce than he fainted upon the floor. He made several trials afterwards, with no better success, for the first two days, nor could he reconcile himself to any sort of food but toasted bread and coffee. His servants had none of these qualms, for they partook largely and greedily of the Aga's bounty.

Mr. Bruce was obliged to keep his room five or six days after his arrival; but, as soon as got better, he and his servants set out on dromedaries, in order to recover his baggage. The Aga had sent four servants belonging to his stables to accompany them; active, lively, and good-humoured fellows. About twelve o'clock, they got into a valley, and hid themselves in the lowest part of it, under a bank, for the night was exceeding cold; Mr. Bruce was afraid, that they had passed his baggage in the dark, as none of them were perfectly sure of the place; but as soon as light came, they recovered their tract as fresh and entire as when they made it. After having gone about half an hour in their former footsteps, they had the unspeakable satisfaction to find the quadrant and whole baggage; and by them the bodies of their slaughtered camels, a small part of one of them having been torn by the haddaya, or kite.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce, after having received a very kind reception at this place, on the 11th of December, set out for Cairo, where he arrived on the 10th of January, 1773. After some stay there, he proceeded to Alexandria, where he arrived without any thing material occurring. At length, our traveller happily reached Marfailles, where he finishes the account of his travels.

THE END.





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