

AN ESSAY  
ON THE  
SUPERSTITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND ARTS,  
COMMON TO THE  
ANCIENT EGYPTIANS,  
ABYSSINIANS, AND ASHANTEES.

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“ Il seroit à souhaiter, je l'avoue, que nous eussions plus  
“ d'éclaircissemens sur les Ethiopiens qu'on n'en trouve dans les  
“ historiens et les géographes de l'antiquité. Cependant le peu  
“ de notions qu'on a recueillies sur ce peuple suffit pour expli-  
“ quer plusieurs difficultés, et pour rendre les ténèbres moins  
“ épaisses.”

DE PAUW, *Recherches philosophiques sur les Egyptiens.*

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## P R E F A C E



IT is presumed that this little Essay will prove, by a variety of curious evidence, that Abyssinia is not the only part of Africa which has been partly civilized by an intercourse with colonists and emigrants from ancient Egypt; and that much light may be reflected on Antiquity as well as Natural History and Physical Science, by pursuing the British Discoveries in Africa, gradually, and in detail.

A N E S S A Y,

ETC. ETC.

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THE traditions of emigration, not of the whole population but of particular families, so current in Ashantee and the neighbouring nations, the numerous exceptions to the negro countenance, and the striking similitude of most of their more extraordinary superstitions, laws, and customs to those of ancient Egypt, persuaded me that most of the higher classes are descended from eastern Ethiopians who had been improved by an intercourse with the Egyptian emigrants and colonists.

The connection and intercourse of Egypt and Ethiopia seem, naturally, to have existed from the foundation of these kingdoms. The Greek writers agree, that the Ethiopians frequently bursting into Egypt with their vast armies, by the same route so fatal to the troops of Cambyses, subdued and occupied it for ages. The Ethiopic dynasties are recorded in the Egyptian chronicles: an Ethiopian had been elevated to the throne of Egypt long before the reign of Sesostris. A king of Ethiopia, celebrated for his moderation and his prudence, was invited to expel and succeed the tyrant Amosis: another seized the throne which the Egyptians had before proffered or accorded to his countryman, and after expiating the usurpation

by a reign of fifty years distinguished by wisdom and humanity, by the abolition of death and the substitution of useful public labour as a punishment, perfected his glory by voluntarily retiring to his native country.<sup>1</sup> The commerce between Egypt and Ethiopia was as ancient as their wars, and even in the time of Herodotus and Strabo, the two people were indiscriminately blended in Elephantine and its neighbourhood, which they inhabited in common.<sup>2</sup> The former asserts that tradition attributed an Ethiopian origin to Elephantine and Thebes.

But a mere intercourse, however intimate, does not seem sufficient to account for the striking coincidence of superstitions and customs which I shall submit; they are only to be explained by the emigrations from Egypt to Ethiopia, recorded in the ancient authors. I will not dwell on the expedition of Sesostris, (who is considered to have subdued the whole of Abyssinia and the kingdom of Adel),<sup>3</sup> but rest principally on the fact, related by Herodotus and

(1) Sabacon lived about sixty years before Psammiticus. Heeren thinks he reigned in Meroe. Idees sur les Relations politiques et commerciales des Anciens Peuples de l'Afrique, p. 218.

(2) The Egyptians had colonies at Meroe, Gojam, and Tachompso. Ptolemy Philadelphus penetrated with five hundred horse into the country of the Ethiopians and founded the city of Ptolemais Theron. Browne observes, that the island near Assouan is peopled with blacks only, but the inhabitants of the city have red skins and different features; he adds, that the inhabitants of Sennaar, Dongola, and Mahas are not Negroes. According to Herodotus, the Egyptians and Ethiopians were mingled together as far as Tachompso (which Adelung concludes to be the Gitsche of Norden's map); and the language of the Ammonian Oasis was Ethiopic and Egyptian, intermingled. L. ii. c. 29, 42.

(3) Pliny speaks of a City and Cape Gaza, situated nere Cape Guardafui, as having been the termination of the expedition of Sesostris. L. 6. c. 34. Strabo says, that monuments, columns, and inscriptions, placed by this great king to record his conquests, remained even in his time. L. 17. p. 1138. Herodotus assures us, that he himself saw at Ephesus and in Palestine the columns raised by Sesostris. L. 2. c. 106. Apollonius of Rhodes affirms that the Egyptians had maps engraved on stone in the time of Sesostris, containing all they knew of the world, and, more particularly, the countries traversed in the expeditions of this conqueror. L. iv. 279. Argonaut. Homer's geographical knowledge of Africa comprehended

confirmed by Diodorus, Artemidorus, Eratosthenes and Pliny, that two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians, wearied of remaining three years in garrison on the frontiers, deserted from Psammiticus, and went as far beyond Meroe as Meroe is beyond Elephantine, or a journey of four months from the latter country;<sup>1</sup> that they presented themselves to the king of that part of Ethiopia, who gave them the lands of some of his enemies, whom they ejected; and that the Ethiopians civilized themselves in adopting the manners of the Egyptians. The Ethiopians thus dispossessed or ejected, were, doubtless, only pressed into the nearest convenient countries, and still preserving an intercourse, participated, in some degree, in the civilization introduced by the emigrants from Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Although the conjecture of Newton, that Cambyses made the conquest of Ethiopia, is not supported by Herodotus, yet the Greek

Egypt, the Sidonians of the Red Sea, the Erembes or Arab Troglodytae, and the Ethiopians of Soudan and Abyssinia; for he says, that his more remote Ethiopians extend to the ocean (Il. 23-205); that they are divided into eastern and western by the Nile (Odys. 1-22); and that Menelaus, the particulars of whose voyage (Odys. v. 81) are admired and confirmed by Strabo, did not reach them until he had ascended the Nile and traversed Egypt.

(1) Diodorus is considered by Heyne to have taken this part of his history from Agatharcides, which entitles it to more credit: he pretends that the emigrants had been disgusted by Psammiticus giving his mercenaries the right in the Syrian expedition. (L. 1, p. 64; Wech.) Some consider that of the Sebrites to be another or distinct emigration of Egyptians into Ethiopia; not voluntary, as the former, but compulsory, through the tyranny of Psammiticus: Strabo however gives the simple fact from Artemidorus (L. 16, p. 1115), and from Eratosthenes (p. 1134), the former stating that they were subject to a queen who reigned in Meroe, and the latter that their queen was subject to the king of Meroe. Pliny writes that, 'Tolen is five journeys from Meroe, twelve journeys from which is Esar the town of the Egyptians who fled from Psammiticus, and who are said to have inhabited it three hundred years.' L. 6, c. 30. Herod., L. 2, c. 29.

(2) Heeren, discussing the data in each author, concludes that these emigrants settled in Gouam, the most southern province of Abyssinia.—De Militum Aegyptiorum in Aethiopia migratione et coloniis ibi conditis. Comment. Soc. Gotting. t. 11, p. 133. He impresses, that, as the military are known to have been the next order to the priests, these emigrants must have been a superior class of Egyptians.

historian affirms that Cambyses subjugated some provinces of that country, and that the inhabitants sent him an annual tribute (comprehending Elephants' teeth amongst the articles), which was still paid in his time. Herodotus also assures us that Xerxes had Occidental Ethiopians and Libyans in his army when he invaded Greece;<sup>1</sup> the former had woolly hair and anointed their bodies before going into action; and the latter have been concluded to be the Negro Ethiopians described so accurately by Diodorus, and placed by him in the heart of Africa as well as on the borders of the Nile.<sup>2</sup>

The sweeping expedition of Ptolemy Evergetes, who is known, by the record of his triumphal monument at Adulis, to have subdued nations southward of the sources of the Nile, and others as far westward as the modern kingdom of Kulla,<sup>3</sup> undoubtedly compelled many Ethiopian tribes or families (inheriting the superstitions and customs which their ancestors had adopted from the Egyptian emigrants) to retire still more westward, from the first alarm of his approach, the fear of a second invasion, or the apprehension of being despoiled of half their possessions, as he records some of the nations whom he subdued to have been<sup>4</sup>

The figures in the Temple of Kalabsha convinced Burckhardt that the Egyptians had carried their arms further into the interior than it had been before concluded.<sup>5</sup> The two species of apes

(1) L. 3, 1. 7 c. 69, 70. (2) L. 3. sub init. (3) See Appendix.

(4) If the monument at Adulis recorded the conquests of an Abyssinian monarch, as Mr. Salt and De Sacy have concluded, from its conformity with the Greek inscription which the former found at Axum, there is still the same probability of the dislocation of several Ethiopic nations.

(5) "On considering the subjects they represent, they will be found very important, because they record an historical fact, no where else alluded to in any Egyptian structure. The hero of Egypt has here carried his arms into a country inhabited by lions, cameleopards, apes, and elephants, none of which animals are found in Nubia or Dongola.....All the above described trophies of victory, therefore, indicate that the battles must have been fought in the countries to the south of the civilized country of ancient Meroe, for the skin

(which Porphyry mistook for men), worshipped at Babylon near Memphis and at Hermopolis, were brought from the interior of Ethiopia, which also proves that the Egyptians had a greater correspondence with it than we have believed.<sup>1</sup> Neither are we sure that the type of the curious architecture discovered in Ashantee, the ornaments of which are evidently of Egyptian character, does not exist on a larger scale in some Ethiopic ruins in the interior. Ebn al Ouardi asserted, in the thirteenth century, that there were old and ancient cities in the further part of Africa;<sup>2</sup> and Ensiedel was informed in his Mission that there were many ancient ruins in Eskar, said to be south of Afnoo, and S.S. W. of Bornoo.<sup>3</sup>

Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus both agree in distinguishing Ethiopians in some degree civilized, from others who were savages; speaking of the former as having been of themselves a little advanced, and afterwards perfected in laws and manners by the deserters and colonists from Egypt.

Diodorus writes of the Ethiopian savages, that some deposit their dead bodies in the water, as the most honourable sepulture, and others in their own houses. Now it is remarkable, that the Jum Jums, a cannibal nation adjoining the Niger far to the eastward, were particularly described as consigning their dead to the river in rude coffins;<sup>4</sup> and the Sheekans, and other Anthropophagi whom I have described, and laid down for the first time in my map of north-western Africa, having conversed with individuals of these

clad prisoners denote a savage people. The battle pieces at Thebes, at Luxor, and Karnac seem to allude to less distant scenes of warfare." 1  
Travels in Nubia, p. 119.

(1) De Pauw. Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens, 1763, p. 161.

(2) Ebn al Ouardi, Perle des Merveilles. Melange de Geographie et d'Histoire Naturelle. Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi, tom. 2, p. 36.

(3) Ensiedel in Sammlung, etc. Culen. Leips. pt. 3. 433-447.

(4) Mission to Ashantee, p. 192.

nations in the Empoongwa or Gaboon country, bury their dead in their houses, under their beds.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen too in the chapter on Geography, that the Jum Jums of the Ashantee travellers and itineraries, the Yem Yems or cannibals described to Hornemann as south of Cano and the Niger, the cannibal nations behind the river Gaboon, all occur, on these different authorities, in the same neighbourhood, if not in the same spot. There can be no doubt, then, that these nations, found almost precisely where Ptolemy has placed his Ethiopes Anthropophagi, are the descendants of the savage Ethiopians of Herodotus.

Having thus separated the barbarous Ethiopians, by identifying them with the cannibal nations still retaining such of their customs as are briefly recorded, and found in the same geographical situation, I will return to the Ashantees, whom I have considered to be part of the civilized Ethiopians of Herodotus and Diodorus, pressed

(1) The Kaylees eat their dead, as the people of Maniana are also said to do. The discovery of such horrid propensities still existing must correct our disbelief of what Herodotus has told us of some Indian tribes, who murdered their sick, even whilst hopes of recovery existed, to gratify their unnatural appetite for human flesh. In the dreadful famine in Egypt, A.D. 1200, thirty women were burned within a few days at Cairo, who had confessedly destroyed several children in order to eat their flesh, and their remains were devoured by the populace. The lower orders lay in ambush to carry off children and passengers as food, and, which is still more horrible, rich individuals acquired spontaneously such a liking for human flesh, that the greatest severity of the government could not for a long time destroy the propensity, or prevent the secret indulgence of it.—Relation de l'Egypte, par Abd Allatif, Medecin Arabe de Bagdad, traduit par De Sacy: c. 2, p. 360:

He lived in the thirteenth century. Of the ancient Ethiopian tribes of this part of Africa, the Hylophages were distinguished as possessing their wives in common: the Eningas and Asheeras, who are found in the same neighbourhood, still make it a common practice to exchange their wives, or to lend them one to another. The Cynaemolges were particularized as cultivating a breed of dogs; so do the modern Pahmways, and their fondness of the meat has almost weaned them from their appetite for human flesh. Shaw tells us that the inhabitants of the district of Zaabstill eat dogs as their ancestors the Canarii did (v. 1, p. 168); and Justin relates that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, sent an edict to the Carthaginians forbidding them to feed on dog's flesh. XIX. 1.

westward by the Egyptian emigrants (by an intercourse with whom they had nevertheless acquired most of the arts, customs, and superstitions which now surprise us), and afterwards driven or compelled to emigrate still further westward, by the sweeping expedition of Ptolemy Evergetes.

The colony of Syrians placed by Alexander to the south of the Axomites, and who are considered by Mr. Salt to have obtruded a new dynasty on the throne of Abyssinia, are likely to have compelled or induced emigration to the westward.<sup>1</sup>

The Ashantees and their neighbours must have again been disturbed from time to time, by the several emigrations of the nations of the Mediterranean, whom Buache, in his researches for the construction of a map of Africa for Ptolemy, has at once discovered, by the identity of the names in the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean and south of the Niger. The Mimaces, for instance, are laid down by Ptolemy a little south of Tripoli, and, again, a little west of the modern Yarriba. The Nabatharæ close behind Algiera, and also where Dahomey now exists. The Dolopes in the present dominion of Tripoli, and again, where we expect to find the negro kingdom of Kulla: the Blemmyi in three places; on the Arabian Gulph, near Rees Ageeg; on the eastern frontier of Abyssinia; and south of the Equator, a little above the track of the traders from Loango to Nimeamay. The Astacures are found, in Ptolemy, on the confines of Tripoli, and again, south of the Niger, near where our informants described the modern kingdom of Atagara to be, so that some trace of the name seems to be preserved. The Daradi, another of Ptolemy's emigrant nations (although they do not appear to have advanced beyond the modern Bergoo in his time), probably afterwards proceeded further west-

(1) Philostorgii Historia Eccles. p. 470. Nicephorus Call. (Basil, 1559).  
L. 9, c. 18.

ward, and founded the existing kingdom of Daura,<sup>1</sup> the neighbour of Cassina. The Gallas are still found south of Abyssinia, and also in the interior of the Grain Coast of Guinea; Cornelius Balbus subdued Gallas on the northern bank of the Niger. Browne learned that the people of Dageon, the neighbours of Darfoor, came originally from the vicinity of Tunis.<sup>2</sup> Many more instances might be adduced of the same names being found at remote distances north and south of the Niger, whilst other nations, as the Samamicii, originally from the coast of the Mediterranean near Lebeda, do not appear to have reached the Niger in Ptolemy's time, but to have rested in their progress on the northern frontier of the negro kingdom of Asben.<sup>3</sup>

It appears, that the Arabs, whom Pliny and more ancient writers affirmed to have settled from Syene as far up as Meroe, have since that time penetrated south westward into the interior of Ethiopia; for in the accounts and MSS. charts which I received from the natives, Wadey was always distinguished as the first Arab dominion, and its inhabitants were said to use a different diet, and their ambition only to be repressed by the great power of the Emperor of Bornou. This progress of the Arabs inland must also have contributed to the dislocation of the Ethiopic or Negro nations.

The expedition of Cornelius Balbus<sup>4</sup> (the last Roman general who

(1) The Telensii seem to have been the only one of Ptolemy's nations known to Leo Africanus, and their city Telensin is mentioned by Abulfeda. The modern kingdom of Gaw would appear, however, to be the Geua of Ptolemy; perhaps, Marrowa is his Maurali; and his Buzes may have founded the modern kingdom of Boussa.

(2) Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, p. 306

(3) The Guanches, although separated from the Egyptians by the whole breadth of northern Africa, not only resembled them in the extraordinary practice of preserving their dead (entrusted in both cases to the priest), and in some of their mummies, but also in language. Adelung's Mithridates, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 59, 60.

(4) This Consul subdued the Troglodytae, the people of Fezzan, Cidamus (the modern Gadamis), and the whole chain of volcanic mountains (Mons Ater) now called the Black Haroudja. After crossing sandy deserts, he conquered Garama (the modern Germa),

enjoyed the honour of a triumph), who reached the Niger, and marched for some time on its northern bank (apparently where the modern negro kingdoms of Noofee, Yaocora, and Fillani are now situated), must doubtless have disturbed many of the colonies and aborigines, and induced movements to the south of the Niger. The previous expedition of Suetonius Paulinus<sup>1</sup> (who seems to have

the capital of the Garamantae, and Tabidium (the modern Taboo); the nation of Niteris; the city of Negligemela (the Wergela of Rennel); Bubeium (probably the Tibbos); the E napi, and the people of a second chain of mountains, which he calls Mons Niger. The inscriptions in the triumph of Balbus presented, besides, the names of Arapsa and Nitibrus, which he had conquered, as well as the Discera nation; the city of Debris (probably the modern Djier); the river Nathabur (the torrent Mezzeran, which, passing by Taboo, is likely to have been called the river of Taboo, Nar signifying water in Arabic); the city of Thapsagus (either Tagazza or Agadez); and the people of Dana, probably those of Gana. The mountains of Gir, mentioned in this triumph, were distinguished as affording precious stones; and Mocandi (cited by Marmol, 1. 1, p. 45) reports, after the Arabs, that rich emeralds are found in the mountains near the Niger. Pliny, 1. 5, c. 5. Geographie Physique de la Mer Noire, etc. Par M. Dureau de la Malle, fils. 1807. The latter author considers Maxala (another of the places conquered by Balbus) to be the Sala of the Arab geographers, but I have little doubt of its having been a Carthaginian colony in that part of the interior, for we find Maxala vetus placed close to Carthage, in Ptolemy. May not the city of Bois, recorded as one of the most remote of his conquests, be the modern Boussa? The river Dasibari appears more likely to be the Gambaroo than the Niger; and it seems to me that the young Nasamons of Herodotus are more likely to have reached the former river than the latter.

(1) Pliny, 1. 5, c. 1. He states the expedition to have crossed the highest chain of the Atlas, the mountains of which were always covered with snow, and to have advanced across black sandy deserts, uninhabitable from the extreme heat, and throughout which volcanic rocks were scattered, to the Gir and Niger, and even beyond these rivers. Wuetonius described the banks of the Niger as covered with vast forest filled with elephants, wild beasts, and serpents of all descriptions. He names the Canarii and Perorsi as situated beyond the Niger, and these nations are placed by Ptolemy south of the Gambia. The probability of the Niger of this expedition being the Niger of the moderns, has lately been opposed with some ingenuity (Memoires de Geographie Ancienne et de Chronologie, par M. Latreille, 1819): but perhaps the broad belt of firm land which appears to intersect the desert, according to the Narrative of an English sailor carried beyond the Dibir as a slave (which Major Rennel informed me was to have been published two years ago), will be admitted as an unexpected fact in favour of the alleged extent of the Roman expedition.

passed near where Park understood the source of the Niger to be, into the country of the Perorsi, placed by Ptolemy between the Gambia and the Coast), must also have contributed to these secondary movements of the Ethiopians.

Septimius Flaccus, according to Marinus of Tyre, made a three months expedition into the interior of Africa, proceeding from the country of the Garamantes into Ethiopia, and traversing Libya. Julius Maternus, according to the same author, was employed four months in a similar enterprise, having departed from Leptis Magna or the modern Lebeda, to join the Garamantes at Garama, in order to invade Agysimba, the country of rhinoceroses. Ptolemy objects to the unreasonable length of time allotted to these marches,<sup>1</sup> without reflecting that they were neither likely to be direct, long, or rapid.<sup>2</sup> As no great lake or considerable river is mentioned as existing in Agysimba, it has been concluded that they neither reached the Niger or the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo or Houssa;<sup>3</sup> this may admit of argument, but that such extensive expeditions must have compelled or induced many nations and tribes not very remote from the Niger, to emigrate further southwards for safety, cannot be doubted.

Probus undertook an expedition against the Blemmyi, near the frontiers of Thebes, vanquished them, and sent several prisoners to Rome.<sup>4</sup> Diocletian transported considerable numbers of the

(1) L. 1, c. 8.

(2) Indeed, according to the Sheik Hag Cassim's Itinerary, the caravan is eighty-four days travelling from Tripoli to Timbuctoo direct: i.e. through Gadames and Agably: the caravan which makes a circuit by Tareknah, Houssa, and Wanonki, is considerably longer. According to another Itinerary, the caravan from Tripoli to Cassina, (which goes by Gadames, Tegherein, Acoudi, and Agadez), is 101 days performing the journey. Essay on the Geography of North Western Africa. 1821. Page 14.

(3) Walkenaer's Cosmologie. Page 240

(4) Flav. Vopisc. in Prob.

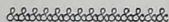
Blemmyi and Nobatae to an island in the Nile near Elephantine, accorded them temples and allowed them to choose their own priests. Before the reign of Diocletian the Roman frontier extended to within twenty-three jounries of Axum.<sup>1</sup>

Thus then it would appear, that tribes or nations of the more civilized E-thiopiains, were ejected by the great Egyptian emigration; pressed still farther by the conquerors whose invasions were recorded at Axum and Adulis; again dispossessed by the enterprising Carthaginian colonies spread from Cyrene to the Atlantic;<sup>2</sup> by the

(1) Procop. de Bell. Pers. L. 1, c. 19.

(2) We have the authority of Bochart for this assertion, in addition to the evidences of the charts constructed on the authority of Ptolemy, wherein nations retaining the same names are found thus far removed from each other. Many of the Carthaginians fled to their colonies in the interior of Africa, when Scipio destroyed their city; and some of the Vandals sought the same refuge from the threats of Belisarius. Traces of the Phoenicians are still to be detected in the mixture of the Ashantee superstitions. The Phoenicians, confessedly, made human sacrifices, and frequently even of those who were most dare to them; although these sacrifices were early discontinued, as well as in Egypt. Their priests were in the habit of cutting their bodies with knives and lancets: those who pretend to sudden inspiration, or that the Fetish has come upon them, in Ashantee, lacerate themselves dreadfully by rolling over the sharp points of rocks, beating themselves and tearing their flesh with their own hands, so as to present the most shocking spectacles. The Phoenician priests also worked themselves to the height of frenzy, by dancing and the violent exercise of their voices, and then raved or prophesied, as if possessed by some invisible power. I have frequently seen the Fetish women or priestesses in Ashantee (and I was told that the priests did so too) dancing or whirling round on one leg until they became stupefied from giddiness, yelling and screaming the whole time, and then uttering what was called 'the voice of the Fetish.' But when we recollect that Carthage was founded by a colony from Tyre, Tyre by a colony from Sidon, and Sidon in Syria (according to Strabo) by the Sidonians of the coast of the Arabian Gulph, it may be presumed that these customs were derived from the Egyptians. Hesiod, whom Strabo cites, also places the Sidonians on the Red Sea, and in the time of the latter geographer their remained the vestiges of a city there named Phoenicon oppidum. Aristotle says that Carthage preserved the affection of her people by sending them frequently into the colonies which environed her territory. Sallust acknowledges that he consulted the Carthaginian books for the geography of Africa. c. 21. The Nomadic nations of the little Syrtis are considered to have made the commerce of Africa for the Carthaginians, traversing the deserts of Libya to the Nigir. Heeren. tom. 1, p. 81.

Numidians, Gaetulians and Garamantes, driven southwards by the Romans; and ultimately arrived at their present situation through a series of internal wars and emigrations, positively recorded in their own historical traditions, but otherwise unknown to us. Many traces of the superstitions and customs which these people had previously adopted from the Egyptians, are still existing, and many must have been lost or corrupted in their change of abode, and their consequent connection with the less civilized Ethiopians. "Quod vix et ne vix quidem cogitari potest, vetustissimos Nili accolae peregrina semper connubia abhorruisse, neque unquam cum victrice gente coalescere coactos fuisse. Diversa enim novarum regionum natura, diversa vicinarum gentium exempla, dissimiles denique occupationes, atque in artibus et doctrinis progressus nunquam non inter quamvis nationem, ejusque colonias maximas diversitates effecerunt." 1



I will first show wherein the laws and customs of the Abyssinians and Ashantees still agree; for the Ashantees will be found to have retained the Egyptian superstitions much more perfectly than the Abyssinians, because the latter must have abandoned many on their conversion, as incompatible with their new religion.

The following customs will be recognised as Abyssinian. The king of Ashantee is never to be presumed to speak but through his ministers or interpreters, who invariably repeat his most ordinary observations, however audible, with the Abyssinian exordium, "Hear what the King says!" He confines himself to the palace and is invisible to his subjects for several days, twice every six weeks. Before decision in criminal cases he always retires to a

(1) Meiner's De Veterum Egyptiorum Origine, in Com. Reg. Soc. Goetting. T. 10.

secret council: he never eats in public, or before any but his slaves. It is high treason to sit on the king's seat, which is turned upside down the instant he quits it. In Abyssinia, none inherit the throne with any bodily defect: in Ashantee, the most lawless intrigue is permitted to the females of the royal family, if their gallants are handsome, with the view of securing the same preeminence of person to the heirs of the throne.

The throne of Ashantee is hereditary in one family, as in Abyssinia, and I cannot be consider the prefix of Sai or Zai (for it was pronounced both ways, and at first I always wrote it with a z) to the names of all their kings, as an evidence of connexion, when I read the following remark on a list of the ancient kings of Abyssinia, by Mr. Salt. "Up to this time we find Za or Zo "prefixed, which is the mark, I conceive, of the Shepherd Kings, "or original Ethiopians; but about this time, the El which "succeeds, seems to denote a change in the dynasty; probably, "by a colony of Syrians placed by Alexander to the south of the "Axomites, near the mouth of the Red Sea."<sup>1</sup>

This Abyssinian prefix of Za or Zo was sometimes pronounced or written Zai or Sai, as it is now in Ashantee: the brother and associated of the king Aelzanas, as recorded in the inscription at Axum, was called Sai-Azanas, and in the Abyssinian chronicles we find one of the ancient kings before Bazen, named Wurred-Sai.<sup>2</sup>

The white fillet worn by the king of Abyssinia on ordinary occasions, is also the distinguishing ornament of the king of Ashantee, and never assumed by any subject; but on state occa-

(1) Voyage en Abyssinie, traduit de l'anglais, t. 2. p. 24.

(2) Barretus also writes it with an S. "Alii clamant Saio! Saio!" Ludolf records of the king of Abyssinia (after the description of Gregory, a native of that country whom he met at Rome), "Oh subjectos quosdam regulos Neguca Nagast Zai-Tjopja semet vocat." Historia Ethiopica. France. 1681. There is also a striking similitude in the names of the

sion (when the king of Abyssinia would wear his crown) the fillet is discarded, and the following venerated ornament, which it would be death to imitate, is carefully painted in white across the forehead of the decorated monarch. This line, which I believe heralds call Cauncette, is frequent on the walls of the tombs of the kings at Thebes.

The officers who precede the king with the long whips, to lash away the crowd, and the Master of the Wardrobe, are found in the Ashantee as well as the Abyssinian royal household; Yokokroko enjoyed the latter dignity, and used to boast that the king could not procure a single garment but through him. Mr. Salt writes, 'to give an idea of the dependence of the chiefs of the Ras, it is necessary to observe, that some of those who were clothed most richly, and were

more ancient Abyssinian kings, recorded in the chronicles, as copied by Mr. Salt, and those of the Ashantee kings and chiefs.

Abyssinian.Ashantee.

Aiba.....	Ayboo.
Aiga.....	Agay.
Asfah.....	Asafoo.
Amosi.....	Amoisee.
Messenh.....	Mensa.
Bakr.....	Bakki.
Gouma.....	Gimma.
Anda.....	Ando.
Nain.....	Nanu.
Armah.....	Arma.
Ambasa.....	Amba.

There was also an Egyptian dynasty of Saites, to which Psammiticus belonged. "Le nom de Sais par lequel les Grecs ont designe cette ville, n'est autre chose que son nom Egyptien suivi d'une desinence grecque. Nous l'avons trouve sous sa forme primitive dans un manuscrit Copte de la Bibliotheque Imperiale." Egypte sous les Pharaons, ou Recherches sur la Geographie, etc. Champollion, t. 2, p. 219. Pliny mentions the Egyptian emigrants to have founded a town named Sai; and it is extraordinary, that "the Furians distinguish the southern part of their empire by the name of Said, as well as the Egyptians." Browne, p. 239.

followed by the most numerous suites, held the offices of chief Butler, chief Cup-bearer, etc.' The splendid suite and attire of the King's Cook,<sup>1</sup> the Master of the Band, the Gold Horn Blower, and others, have been mentioned as most striking, in the description of our entree into Coomassie. Another very extraordinary coincidence is, that the king of Ashantee has, as part of his state household, a band of royal or licensed robbers (the manner of whose depredation I have described in the 'Customs'), organised in the same manner as those who annoyed the earliest European visitors to the capital of Abyssinia, where they were also attached to the royal household.<sup>2</sup>

The kings of Abyssinia are always attended by judges or civil authorities in their military expeditions: no Ashantee army ever proceeds on a campaign without one being attached to it, and if the king is present, three or four, to settle the tributes, to make 'the great laws' (treaties), and to try and condemn enemies or rebels at the moment of their falling into their

(1) I have described, in our entry into Coomassie, that the king's dishes, with panther skin covers, were carried under a conopy behind the chief cook. Alvarez mentions the same piece of state. "Sous ce poile marchoient les pages, qui portoient la viande dans aucuns fort grands plats de bois: et estoient les pots couvers de leurs couvercles."

(2) Au remuer de notre bagage, nous eumes l'experience de l'avertissement que nous avions eu de nous garder des larrons. Car en chemin enleverent, par force, a l'un de nos serviteurs quatre bacins de oujure, quatre ecuelles de porcelaine, avec quelques autres menues utensiles de cuisine. Et pour autant que le valet se voulut defendre et resister a leur effort ilz le blesserent fort dangereusement en la jambe. Mais l'ambassadeur n'y peut autrement remedier, sinon de faire pancer la playe de celuy-cy, car depuis on ne peut oncques recourir aucune des besongnes volees. Le matin ensuyant on deroba de rechef, dedans la tente de l'ambassadeur, un cape a George de Breu, ce pendant qu'il dormoit: laquele luy avoit coute vingt ducas, et a nous aucuns sacs, qui estoient pleins de plusieurs hardes, sans qu'on on fait autre poursuite pour nous les faire restituer; a cause, qu'il yavoit un capitaine des larrons (comme nous avons dit) lequel n'avoit autre etat, pour lever et dresser les tentes du roy, sinon ce que pouvoient dérober les suppos.—Historiale description de l'Ethiopie, de Dom Francois Alvarez. En Anvers. Plantin. 1558.

power. The three proclamations of the king of Abyssinia before he begins a campaign; 'Prepare your provision, for on such a day I am here no more;' 'Clear the path every where, for I know not where I go;' 'I am encamped, join me or die;' precisely accord with the three proclamations of the king of Ashantee. Coranza was the great rendezvous for the Gaman invasion. Mr. Salt informs us, that the members of the royal family of Abyssinia now live in dependence on the chiefs of the different provinces: the sons and nephews of the kings of Ashantee are thus committed to the care of the most powerful chiefs. The present king was brought up in the suite of Apokoo.<sup>1</sup>

The deposed kings of Abyssinia have been secured retirements. Tecla Haimanout, when dethroned by Ourdo Oussan, died in his retreat at Oualdabba. When Sai Quamina was dethroned, irritating as his conduct had been, he was allowed to retire, with a certain number of wives and slaves, to a more secluded part of the kingdom; and the few who contradicted the general assurance that he there died a natural death, always added, that he was killed in consequence of his own entreaties to his brother, being unable to endure the reverse of fortune. The cautious dread with which our most confidential friends amongst the Ashantees spoke of this and other murders of men of rank, kept us wholly ignorant of it until just before we quitted Coomaasie, when it was reluctantly drawn forth after an accidental hint: Mr. Salt observes it as extraordinary, that although he had been three months in the country, he had never heard a word of the tragical death of the Ras Kefla Yasoos, nor was it mentioned until after he had quitted Antaloo for the last time.

The independent judicial power, the distinct treasuries, and the

(1) See the interesting anecdote in Mr. Hutchinson's Diary. Mission to Ashantee, p. 418.

importance of the governors of Tigris, Begender, Enderte, and Gojam, the great provinces of Abyssinia, place them on a footing with the governors of the four great Ashantee districts of Soota, Marmpon, Becqua, and Kokoofoo; who possess distinct treasuries, levy tributes, administer justice, celebrate the great annual festival in their own capitals after they have assisted in that of Coomassie, and are alone permitted to wear the little silver circles like buckles, which distinguish the sandals of the king. The court of Gondar was described to Mr. Salt as owing a great proportion of its splendour to the presence of these governors; so does that of Coomassie.

The king of Abyssinia is called a despotic monarch, but his power is in reality more circumscribed by the Rasses, than that of the king of Ashantee by the aristocracy. Bruce too leads us to believe that the Abyssinian government was formerly less despotic, for he observes, that he considers the king's persisting in a measure when he finds himself in the minority, as one of the usurpations of the sovereign authority, contrary to the primitive constitution. It is thus, that the two or three last kings of Ashantee have artfully enlarged the royal prerogatives, at the expence of the original constitution. Although the king of Abyssinia did not abide by the principle, according to Bruce, yet the continued form of his giving his vote individually in common with the other members of the council, which is the case in Ashantee in all foreign politics, is a relic which argues the monarchy to have been formerly a limited one.

In Ludolf's description, after the Abyssinian Gregory, we find still more curious proofs of the similar character and principle of the Abyssinian and Ashantee governments. He tells us, that the four Castrenses, or great military chiefs, influenced the succession to the throne and the most important political affairs; that the

kings frequently followed their pleasure in instituting or abrogating laws, and that their power and interest excited factious jealousy.

"Caeterum Castrenses in successione Regum et maximi momenti negotiis plurimum possunt: illorum nutum et studia Reges in ferendis vel abrogandis legibus saepe sequuntur; ibi plerumque factiones et seditiones nascuntur." This is a striking picture of the aristocracy or council of four in Ashantee, whom the king always consults on the creation or repeal of a law; whose interference in foreign politics or in questions of war or tribute amounts to a veto on the king's decision; whose chief, Amanquatea, like the ancient Mayors of the Palace, can alone sanction the accession even of the legitimate heir to the throne (who must await his presence however procrastinated), and whose power as an estate of the government always keeps alive the jealousy of the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup> Ludolf noticing the order in which these four Castrenses march to war, writes, 'the chief of the quarter Chuala or Postica (the back quarter), who is the most important, moves the last.' Thus Amanquatea, who is the greatest of the four in Ashantee, does not rise until Odumata and Quatchie Quofie have advanced towards or been defeated by the enemy (Apokoo, as treasurer, always remaining with the king), and it is curious, that the suburb or quarter of the city where this chief and his predecessors have always held their separate court, is called Bantama or the Back Town.

It is still more convincing that we trace in Ludolf's description of the Abyssinian government the same privilege and important

(1) Antonius, the 'Novus Auctor' of Godigno, also represents an aristocratical body in the government of Abyssinia, adding, that its influence was greater before the conversion. "Scribit novus auctor ab antiquissimis temporibus fuisse, apud Abassinos, hodieque perseverare, Senatum quemdam summa verendum majestate: magnum vocat, et in eo triginta, ait esse consiliaros, qui jam tunc ante susceptam Christi fidem examinae fuerint auctoritatis et probitatis."—De Abassinorum rebus. Deque Ethiopae Patriarchis, Godigno. Cardon, 1615.

families, which are revered for their ancestry, and possess, even in disgrace, such extraordinary privileges in Ashantee; their lives being out of the king's power. After writing of the arbitrary power of the king over his ordinary subjects (and I have shewn that the king of Ashantee's power is unlimited over the people), he adds, "Sunt tamen illustres et vetustae quaedam familiae in Tigra maxime, quae non modo fundos suos et agros certos a majoribus suis acquisitos, sed et praefecturas nonnullas haereditario jure possident antiquo titulo retento."

Ludolf tells us, that the word slave was applied in Abyssinia even to those powerful chiefs who controlled the king; and it was one of the circumstances which struck me as most extraordinary in Ashantee, considering the nature of the government, that this appellation, in a political sense, was not revolting even to the greatest chiefs, who not only allowed the king to call them so, to impress his power on foreigners, but frequently applied it to themselves when addressing some strong assurance of their devotion to the monarch. But when the king's son dared to tell the son of Amanquatea, that in comparison with himself he was the son of a slave, the insulted chief marched into the city, levelled the royal offender's house, and was proceeding to condemn him, when the king acknowledging the crime in the eye of the Ashantee law, solicited his pardon, and 'bought his head' for fifty ounces of gold.

From these coincidences of such singular principles of government, it is to be inferred, that the Ashantees did not build their constitution entirely on the circumstances of their emigration, but preserved much of the character of that of their former neighbours and of their parent state.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Ludolf writes, that the Abyssinians gave their king the appellation of 'the sacred fire;' and Barretus, that 'Saio,' the prefix with which they addressed their monarchs, means

The policy of the Abyssinian monarchs, as recorded in the Greek inscription at Axum, of forcing the conquered to change their residence and establishing them in their own dominions, though not always practised, is still observed in Ashantee. When part of the Assin nation had submitted to the king, they were collected on the southern frontier, and ordered to build crooms or towns there; and Mr. Hutchison relates, that the Fantee captives brought to Coomassie by Agay, were sent to build a town near Barramang.

I have mentioned in my account of the Mission, that the Ashantees are by no means tenacious of their pagan doctrines, but readily intermix Moorish and other foreign ceremonies and opinions with them. Mr. Salt has observed, that whatever might have been the ancient religion of the Abyssinians, they do not appear to have professed it exclusively of every other, for the Romans, when they cultivated the commerce of the Red Sea, found the Axomites (as they called the Abyssinians) disposed to receive their superstitions as well as their merchandise.

Captain Rudland remarked at Macullah, that the death of a woman was bewailed by troops composed of her own sex only; this is also the case in Ashantee. In Abyssinia, a prolonged groaning of the attendants announces the moment of death; whereupon the relatives parade about the streets, tearing their hair and flesh, rolling on the ground, and crying dismally. The body is then washed and perfumed, sown in a cloth, and carried at a quick pace to the burial ground, on the shoulders of the relatives. A loud and lengthened groaning of those present always proclaimed a death at Coomassie, but the best opportunity we had of witnessing

fire. The people of Dageou, near Darfur, told Mr. Browne that it had been customary amongst them, at the moment of the inauguration of each sovereign, to kindle a fire, which was carefully kept burning until his death. P. 306. The people of Maniana are said to worship fire.

the commencement of the funeral ceremonies was at Dadawasee, on our march, where the insane conduct of the wives and female relatives, tearing their hair and flesh, as much alarmed us, as the quick movement of the relatives who bore the body to the grave surprised us. In Ashantee, the body is washed, greased, and wrapped in cotton cloths; these cloths the king is obliged to furnish, to vindicate his claim as heir (for the use of the state) to all the gold dust of the deceased; the fetish or sacred gold alone descending with the stool to the lineal heir.<sup>1</sup> The barbarous murder of one of the relatives at the mouth of the grave, was probably abolished, with many other Ethiopian cruelties, on the conversion of the Abyssinians.

In Abyssinia, the toscar, or fete in honour of the dead, is celebrated as soon as the relatives can be assembled, and it is renewed at intervals; for in the course of the following year, the near relations emulate each other in magnificent feasts in honour of the deceased, and go frequently to visit the tomb. To assist at these assemblies is the strongest testimony of respect for the family.<sup>2</sup> Such are the funeral customs of the Ashantees, the particulars of which I have described, with the contributions of the relations and acquaintances. Their being repeated in Ashantee as well as Abyssinia, is a still more curious coincidence: the funeral custom for Quatchie Quofie's mother, which we witnessed, was to be renewed eight

(1) The Abyssinians seem to have been superstitiously scrupulous formerly as to the disposition of the property of the deceased; for Abd-Allatif relates (in the thirteenth century) that a relation of his who had established himself in Abyssinia, dying there after he had gained 200 ounces of gold, the people of the country hastened to compel an Egyptian, who had lived with him, to carry it out of the country. p. 200.

(2) I have described the ridiculous effect of old Quatchie Quofie, and the other great chiefs of Ashantee, dancing at the funeral customs of their equals or superiors. Bruce says, that at the death of an ozoro or noble, the twelve umbures, or supreme judges, who were from sixty to seventy years old, sang and dance so ridiculously that it was impossible to avoid laughing.

times; that for Sai Quamina was repeated twelve times; and on the death of the king, the funeral custom of every subject who died during his reign is repeated. In Abyssinia, they mount an effigy of the deceased on his mule, and parade it about, exclaiming, "Why do you quit us?" I never saw any effigy in Ashantee, but the clothes or garments of the deceased were carried on the heads of the women, tied up in fantastical shapes, and "Why do you quit us?" was one of the lamenting cries.

The great annual ablution practised in Abyssinia, when the people assemble on the borders of the rivulets and lakes, leap into the water and throw it over one another, Mr. Salt, after much inquiry, considered to be a commemoration of the baptism of Jesus Christ. I cannot help fancying, however, that it is a relic of the Ethiopian custom, practised annually in Ashantee, when the king, his captains, and the people, go to wash themselves<sup>1</sup> and their ornaments in the river Dah; the domestic utensils are washed on this occasion in both countries: We have many proofs (their polygamy especially) of the justice of Bruce's remark, that although the principles of paganism are destroyed, the prejudices remain. The important part the women act on the succession of the Abyssinian monarchs, as described by Ludolf, I should rather consider to be the perverted relic of an Ethiopian custom than a Jewish innovation; for in Ashantee the kings can never swear, on the occasion of their succession or at any other time, but in the presence of their wives, who, after a formal communication of the particulars through their own interpreter, hold up their fore fingers to the king in sanction.

I cannot find any particulars of the great annual feast of the Abyssinians called the Maskal, which I am inclined to think must have been originally instituted from the same political motives as

(1) Mission to Ashantee. p. 280.

the Yam Custom or great annual feast of the Ashantees; for I observe that all the chiefs were obliged to attend; and that the Ras delayed the arrest of the offender Ayto Hannes, until he presented himself at the Maskal, although it had been long before determined on. If an Ashantee chief has offended, or if his fidelity be suspected, he is seldom accused or punished until the Yam Custom; which they are all compelled to attend, even from the most remote provinces, frequently unconscious and always uncertain of what may be laid to their charge.

The extraordinary custom in Ashantee (which I have illustrated by some anecdotes) of swearing on the king's head, or rather of compelling the most reluctant to perform a dangerous action, by the invocation "May the king die if you do not!" is not yet forgotten in Abyssinia: Mr. Salt relates, that in a passionate dispute between the Bambaras TokLou and the chief Ayto Selasseh, each having pleaded his cause with great warmth before the Ras, to confirm what they had advanced, they extended their right hand, and pronounced one of their most sacred oaths, "May the Ras die if it is not so!" Neither is the faith in charms, so deeply rooted in Ashantee, wholly forgotten in Abyssinia; Mr. Salt was asked if it was by a charm that he was enabled to shoot flying. Circumcision is arbitrary in Abyssinia: it is rarely practised in Ashantee; but amongst the Dagwumbas and other of the their north-eastern neighbours, who seem to possess a superior degree of civilization, it is general.

I have mentioned, that those raised suddenly to favour in Ashantee are sent on embassies, as the certain means of enriching themselves; for if a king or chief has to pay a fine or tribute of one hundred ounces, he must present at least fifteen to the envoy who is sent to receive it: he is also clothed from the king's wardrobe before he proceeds. So Ouelleda Selassa, when he raised the young Debib to favour, sent him on missions to the governor of Samen and other

chiefs, which were very advantageous to him, as Mr. Salt observes; for at the moment of departure the Ras gave him clothes and a mule, and the chiefs availed themselves of the opportunity of testifying their attachment to the Ras by their presents to the envoy. However assured the king of Ashantee may be of the flagitious actions or expressions of any tributary or chief, it is always the form to affect a disbelief of the report, and to send two or three state officers to see if the offender persists or recants: Mr. Salt gives us anecdotes of the same policy being observed by the Ras of Tigris.

In both countries the merits and previous services of the guilty are weighed against their crime; in general, execution immediately follows sentence; and the bodies of those who have been executed for treason or great offences, are also in both countries left exposed to the wild beasts: in Gondar the remains were frequently dragged about the streets by the dogs.<sup>1</sup> Criminals are frequently stoned to death in Abyssinia; and Appia, an Ashantee general, acquired the cognomen of Sheaboo from invariably thus destroying his prisoners.

Mr. Salt observed that the Ras held every Abyssinian at a distance, preserving awe and form by his deportment, whilst his negro slaves were quite at their ease with him, and exclusively dared to indulge in familiarity. This is precisely the case with the king and chiefs of Ashantee. I attributed it to the policy of attaching a foreign force to repress the discontents of the lower orders of their own country. In both countries the child by a female slave does not succeed to a possession, but is only distinguished by being maintained in the father's establishment without labour.

The Ashantees have a generic name for all negroes except themselves, Dunko, which means an ignorant fellow. Before the

(1) Bruce, v. 8. p. 69. Fr. tr.

Mission, it was believed that there was a large country behind Ashantee of that name, as Issert had reported. The Abyssinians have also a generic name for all negroes, Shangalla, and in both nations the terms are synonymous with that of barbarian as applied by the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, to all those who did not speak their language.

When Mr. Salt witnessed the review of the troops of Tigris by the Ras, he observed that the officers wore a scarf, and a band of satin round their heads, tied in a knot behind, with the long ends hanging down or floating broadly in the air during their violent movements: some replaced this head-dress by a band of skin, the stiff bushy hair giving a more fearful aspect. The former is the military attire of such of the chiefs in Coomassie as have not been authorized to assume the costly Fetish war dress; and the bristly skins are worn on the heads of the executioners, and some few others, whom I remarked as looking more like wild beasts than men. The horns of animals distinguish the head-dress of those warriors who have particularly distinguished themselves in either country.<sup>1</sup> The small chains for reins, the large saddle, the elevated pommel, the cantle covered entirely with red leather, the marashut placed under it, the breeching instead of a crupper, the tinkling collar with a little bell, give the caparison of the Abyssinian horses precisely the same peculiarities as noticed in that of Dagwumba.

Mr. Salt continues to relate, that each chief advanced directly in front of the Ras, assumed a menacing attitude, pronounced a pompous detail of his exploits, and threw at his feet the trophy which he had until then suspended above his bracelets. In Ashantee, the same menacing attitude (in all military oaths the sword of the swearer being extended close to the king's nose), the same pompous detail, precede the throwing of a lacerated jaw, a ghastly head, or

(1) See Plate I. in the Mission to Ashantee. Bruce. v. 8. p. 354. Fr. tr.

the bloody weapon of the conquered enemy before the king; and in battle, the reeking heads of the slain are hurried into the rear, to be pressed by the foot of the reclining general, who, in his affected contempt of the enemy, has his draft-board before him. The thigh bones, skulls, and jaws of the Ashantees, are less barbarous, and less disgusting human trophies, than those torn by the Abyssinians from the bodies of the slain.<sup>1</sup> I never heard of such

(1) Ludolf writes, "Adhuc necesse est indicium caesi hostis post pugnam afferre. Primo quidem capita seu honestissimam corporis partem attulerunt, at postquam de sexu imberbium dubitaretur turpissimam viris amputavere. Res dictu foeda! numerant et cumulant exercitu coram. Hac ratione sciri non potest hostis an socius fuerit occisus." L. 1, 16. Herodotus tells us (Eut. § 102.) that Sesostris, erecting pillars, bearing his name and exploits, in the countries he subdued in his great expedition, caused the pudenda of a woman to be engraved in addition, when the natives had not resisted him manfully, as the sign of their cowardice: Diodorus adds (lib. 1 § 55) that the virilia were also engraved, where the contrary conduct had been manifested. There is another evidence of this being an Egyptian custom, in the figures on the wall at the bottom of the gallery south of the peristyle in the interior of the palace at Medynet Aboo. "Elle represente des parties genitales et des mains coupees probablement aux ennemis."—Description de l'Egypte, etc. pendant l'Expedition de l'Armee Francaise, 2d liv. p. 42. The same emblems are perpetuated amongst the neighbours of Ashantee: Adinkarae Regis Gamanorum soror nobilissima foemina nec indigna quae Semiramis alter Nigricolarum vocaretur, cum fratrem videret minis verbisque saevissimis regis Ashanteorum percellum ac prope animo dejectum, acutum rem totam in se recepit, et ad legatos conversa verba haec audacissima edidit: 'sane vos inquit compertum nunc habetis almam naturam longe aberrasse cum formam sexumque utriusque nostrum fingeret; hunc enim ignavum pavidumque muliebram genitalia magis decuissent, ast mihi quae ferox animo sum et libertatis flagrantissima virilia jure ac merito congrua; quae culpa quidem infanda, exitiosa; quod tamen corrigere nefas hoc nostra solertia resarciri conandum est: per Deos juro raturumque esto memet illico fratris in angulo illic sedentis tacitabundi hac manu genitalia evulsuram esse, quae ceu virilia monumenta huic canopeo meo affigam, ita ut conspicuum foret coram rege vestro; haecque manifesta belli signa dabo quod adversus hostes Ashantees geram; hoc namque maximum signum inter nostratos solet.' The king of Ashantee sent her word, "she was a strong woman, proper to be a king's sister," and that he would give her twelve moons to prepare herself before he invaded her country. Hereupon, she commanded all the bards or musicians of the kingdom to repair to the capital, Buntooko, and kept them in constant pay to inspire the collecting troops; but the gigantic force of the king of Ashantee proved superior to the good fortune of this heroine, for, as Mr. Hutchison informs me after several checks, and after the universal belief that she had succeeded in making their king

being brought to Coomassie. The barbarous torments undergone by the Ras Kefla Yasous, when conquered by his rival countryman; the treatment of the Galla chiefs by the Ras Michael after the battle of Fagitta; the flaying alive of their more obnoxious enemies, are evidences that the Abyssinians probably exercised all the barbarities of the Ashantees before their conversion, as some of their pagan descendants still continue to do.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Salt describes, that in this military spectacle, the soldiers with muskets advanced in the greatest disorder and mingled with the lancers, whose ridiculous gestures they not only rivalled but surpassed. They appeared to imitate the actions of men pursuing wild beasts in the thickest; pretended, but most singular, combats took place between the lancers and the musqueteers, who finished their extravagancies by discharging their pieces as near as possible to the legs of their adversaries, and then drawing their cutlasses, as if to dispatch those they had wounded. I could have fancied this to have been a description of a military fete in Ashantee, it is so applicable. The scaramouch attitudes, and the frenzy of the chiefs with their blunderbusses, pursuing the common solders (whose

prisoner, the vastness of the Ashantee army reduced this rebellious tributary, and punished the Gamans with all the horrors of Ethiopic warfare. Browne was informed that the Gnum Gnuns, an interior people south of the Niger, ornament themselves with the skins of the faces and hands of their conquered enemies: necklaces of the teeth and finger joints of eminent warriors were sometimes worn in Ashantee. The heads of their enemies are still sent to Constantinople and exposed as trophies at the gates of the palace. See note 8 to the Bride of Abydos.

(1) "But the retaliation of blood exists in full force. Among the Hallengs, who draw their origin from Abyssinia, a horrible custom is said to attend the revenge of blood; when the slayer has been seized by the relatives of the deceased, a family feast is proclaimed, at which the murderer is brought into the midst of them, bound upon an Angarey; and while his throat is slowly cut with a razor, the blood is caught in a bowl, and handed round amongst the guests, every one of whom is bound to drink of it, at the moment the victim breathes his last. I cannot vouch for the truth of this, although several persons asserted it to be a fact, and I heard no one contradict it."--Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, p. 396.

springs and gestures were astonishing) around the spacious circle formed by the multitude, firing under their legs, whilst resting their musquets on their hips, or whilst holding them erect with one hand, screaming and bounding from side to side like madmen; these extravagancies when read in the details of our entree, and of the 'Customs,' will forcibly recall Mr. Salt's description. The Ashantees always dispatch with the knife after wounding with the musquet, springing at the throat of their enemy directly they have fired in their charge.

The Abyssinians, like the ancient Egyptians, never fight in the night, neither do the Ashantees, not even after sunset, whatever advantages they may lose. The Gallas never fight on a Friday, the Ashantees never on a Saturday.

Marriage in Abyssinia is but a civil contract, subsisting only until dissolved by the wish of either party, which is extraordinary, considering their attachment to the Christian religion: so, in Ashantee, the mere return of the marriage present to the husband by the wife's family, on her dissatisfaction, dissolves the contract. In both countries the property of the wife received from her own family, is always enjoyed and disposed of independent of the husband. In Ashantee, the husband is never involved in the wife's quarrels, offences, or law-suits. Mr. Salt observed the great freedom of conduct of the Ozouros of royal descent, although he did not consider it to be so lawless at Bruce, by whose account it equalled that of the sisters and daughters of the kings of Ashantee.

The Mallowas, Dagwumbas, and the nations of the interior of Africa, even more civilised than the Ashantees, are in the habit of making incisions in the skins of the faces and bodies of their children. I have shewn that the country of a negro from the interior, may be determined by the number and situation of these cuts. The Abyssinians appear to have born these marks formerly, according

to Antonius, who describes them as burnt in: "Solent sibi toto in corpore, praesertim in vultu, inurere stigmata." <sup>1</sup>

Mr. Salt observed, that, when before the Ras, many Abyssinians uncovered their bodies to the waist, others to the breast, replacing their garment afterwards; if they wished to speak, they rose and uncovered part of their bodies. This curious salute is the salute of the Ashantees, though, in their respect to the king, none but the greater chiefs replaced the garment afterwards. The fillet worn around the head was always taken off in presence of a superior, as in Abyssinia: slipping the sandals is also a mark of the greatest respect in both countries. The Ras when he walked, leaned on two of his favourites; this is usual with the great chiefs of Ashantee, who are more frequently held round the waist by their favourites, as if they were expected to fall at every step. Drinking out of the same cup is the mark of reconciliation in Ashantee; and it was thus that Ouellela Sellasse sealed the pardon of the conquered Rassés. Holding the cloth over the mouth is an affection of the great in both countries; and, in both, the women disfigure themselves in grief.<sup>2</sup> In Ashantee they put on a short cloth and the meanest attire, when predicting calamity, they would dissuade their husbands from some doubtful or dangerous enterprize. In Abyssinia, the women are delivered kneeling; in Ashantee, sitting on a low stool.

The evenings in Abyssinia are beguiled, in the houses of the

(1) Dr. Winterbottom, in his interesting Account of the Native Africans, thought that the natives of the Gold Coast, instead of the slaves brought there from the interior, bore these cuts. ISSERT committed a similar error in supposing that they all came from one country, and that the different number and direction of the cuts were accounted for by their belonging to different families.

(2) See Bruce, Shaw, and Ludolf: the latter writes, "et pannosis aut detritis indumentis loco pullae vestis induti."

chiefs, by chess, the songs of the Gallas, and buffoonery. In Ashantee, drafts, the wild melody of the flutes and sankos of his band, the comic songs of his Mallowa slaves, or the antics of his buffoons, divert the chief until the hour of rest. I have mentioned a buffoon of the king's, who frequently entertained us, as possessing irresistible drollery: he would have rivalled the Totta Mazza of the Ras. The Abyssinian escort which conducted Mr. Salt from the coast to Tigre, amused themselves by songs, the improvisatori first singing the verse, on the subject of war or home, and afterwards the whole party repeating it in chorus: our Ashantee escort did precisely the same, to beguile the way in our journey to the coast.

I cannot say whether the Ashantees are charitable, as Mr. Salt considered the Abyssinians to be, for there are no poor; every family being compelled by law to support its own; the indigent members claiming their right to a settlement on the plantations of their nearest kinsman who is known to be capable of affording it, however remote the relationship. There was but one beggar tolerated or known in Ashantee, and he was called the king's **beggar**; a lucrative appointment in the royal household, bestowed on a deformed favourite: he generally paid a visit to all the respectable families weekly, to exact rather than to solicit alms.

I have stated the Ashantee year to begin on the first of October, on the authority of Mr. Hutchison, my own memorandum referring it to the beginning of September; and I am inclined to think I was right, because the neighbours of the Ashantees begin their year in the end of August, or at the same time as the Abyssinians, a curious coincidence. The derivation of the names of the Abyssinian months remains unknown; the Ashantees declared that they divided their months by the fall of particular fruits.

The roasted unripe corn served at the table of the Ras, was also

a frequent dish in Ashantee. Bruce informs us, some will not eat fowl, and others abstain from veal, as different families forswear particular meats in Ashantee, which I shall notice more particularly in their comparison with the ancient Egyptians. Mr. Pearce observed that the Gallas drank large draughts of the blood of animals, although they would not eat the raw flesh: the Ashantees are particularly fond of vegetables stewed in blood.<sup>1</sup> Neither people drink when they eat, but copiously when they have finished their meal; "cibos ceu stabilimenta ventris praemittentes," as Ludolf expresses it.

I have mentioned the numerous exceptions to the Negro countenance, as the first extraordinary peculiarity which struck me on reaching Ashantee: the character and expression are forcibly recalled by Mr. Salt's Abyssinian portraits. Browne's description of the aquiline nose and thin lips of the modern Copts, agreeing with the ancient Egyptian paintings and sculpture, is also applicable to many of the higher class of Ashantees, although the dirty brown complexion is rare amongst them; a clear brownish red being a frequent variety, but deep black the general color.<sup>2</sup> The Abyssinian men carry every burthen on their heads, as well as the Ashantees, who will endure an incredible weight on that part, but shrink from the slightest if placed on their shoulders or back: Herodotus relates, that he found the skulls of the slain of the Egyptians, much thicker than those of the Persians lying near them, which he attributed to

(1) Burckhardt observes that some of the Nubian tribes persist in drinking the blood of animals in spite of the command of Mahomet; the Bisharyes, especially, are very fond of the hot blood of slaughtered sheep.

(2) I am inclined to think, from meeting with it so frequently amongst the Negroes, that the red skin is only a variety, and that there is no nation of that colour, as reported to Browne. I have seen an Accra woman with a brown skin and light red hair, and a Sucondée boy with a black skin and hair of a fiery red.

the shorn and bare heads of the Egyptians being exposed to the sun from childhood, whilst those of the Persians were constantly covered.

The arts and manufactures of the Abyssinians seem, on the whole, to be inferior to those of the Ashantees. Although cotton grows wild in the country of the former, they know not how to separate it from the grain, and consequently are compelled to import it from India: they have no blue dye (or indeed any other than yellow), according to Bruce, but unravel the blue cotton of Surate; and I find no favourable mention of their pottery, whilst that of Ashantee, according to Dr. Meryon the Syrian traveller, is superior to the present pottery of Constantinople. The Abyssinians import their iron from Sennaar, the Ashantees from Dagwumba. The latter dress leather admirably, and excel in weaving, both sides of their cloth being alike. It is true that the art of writing in the Ethiopic character is unknown to the Ashantees; but as they possess traces of the letters, we may expect that their more civilised interior neighbours have preserved some use of them: we are to recollect, also, that writing is a very rare accomplishment in Abyssinia, both Barretus and their countryman Gregory testifying the ignorance of it in general.<sup>1</sup> Bruce says that they know no other countries than their own,<sup>2</sup> and that nothing can be more inexact than their calculations, from their ignorance of arithmetic.

Gregory describes the palace of the king of Abyssinia as composed of round and square houses: it is curious, that throughout Ashantee and Dagwumba, with the exception of the Fetish temples, the

(1) "Nullus etiam nunc apud eos epistolarum usus, neque ea, quae publico iudicio decernuntur, neque aliud quidquam notare literis consuevere."—Bar.  
"Sine scriptura quam plerique ignorant."—Ludolf.

(2) The belief of the Moorish negroes we found in Coomassie, that the earth is composed of one large continent, encircled by a sea which is bounded by a girdle of rocks (p. 92), reminds us of Homer's knowledge of the earth being girt by the ocean, as sculptured on the shield of Achilles. Il. 18. 606.

houses are square; whilst in Inta, the intermediate kingdom, they are always round. I cannot find any particular description of the Abyssinian houses; but as Mr. Salt sometimes speaks of the Ras being in the inner court, I presume, on the authority of Alvarez,<sup>1</sup> that their plan is the same as the Ashantee; where, on occasions of state, we were conducted through several courts (the door of each being unlocked and locked from within by its particular porter, with much form and caution), before we reached the chief, who was generally reclining on an elevated couch, as in Abyssinia.

Mr. Salt observes, that he was struck with the great resemblance between the Abyssinian architecture and the Gothic: in Ashantee, as I have particularly described, the nail-head, cable, lozenge, and other Anglo-Norman ornaments are frequent. Arcades of round and pointed arches are common, the former frequently interlacing and thus, probably, suggesting the first idea of the pointed arch in Ethiopia, as in Europe.<sup>2</sup> The larger ornaments of the bases of the Ashantee buildings are of an Egyptian character, but the intricate and mystical assemblage of lines and circles, which are crowded with so much care into the entablatures, are evidently groupings of Ethiopic characters similar to those found by Mr. Salt at Axum, and in the ruins in the valley of Yiha. Their studied and unaccountable intricacy had long puzzled me; it was so inconsistent with the freedom and simplicity of their larger and more common architectural decorations. Although these Ethiopic characters are always intermixed in the entablatures, yet, in the cornices, I have frequently

(1) "In tutti le sue case sono dui circuiti di muro, comesaria a dir corte: ogni circuito ha le sue et ogni porta li suoi portinari con le sue sferze in mano."—Viaggio della Ethiopia de Alvarez. Ramusio, p. 200.

(2) Alvarez speaks of the temporary buildings of the Abyssinians resembling little cloisters. Heeren's ridicule of Bruce, for saying that he saw ornaments in the Gothic taste on the monuments at Axum, was a little premature. P. 95.

observed them ranged individually: I regret exceedingly that the idea of their being hieroglyphics did not strike me when in Coomassie, nor did it occur to me until, reading Mr. Salt's travels in Abyssinia for the first time, I recognised them in his engravings of the Ethiopic characters found at Axum and Yiha. If I had had the least idea of this, and the probability ought to have occurred to me had I reflected, I might have collected some curious information respecting them, instead of being in ignorance of their derivation and meaning, as I am at present. I took the pains to copy several of these ornaments from cornices and entablatures, independent of the buildings; but finding my drawings multiply, dreading the expence of engraving, and considering at that time that there could be no interest attached to them, I left them with several other papers at Cape Coast Castle, to which I then expected to return with some reward for my risks and services.

The plate contains such of the characters observed by Mr. Salt at Axum and Yiha, as are similar to the hieroglyphics or ornaments of Ashantee.

No. I. This character in long rows was the most frequent cornice in the palace; it was sometimes placed horizontally within a circle, as in the last cornice to the right hand in the plate 8 of the Mission to Ashantee.

No. II and III frequently succeed each other, separately, in long borders: in plate 8 they are interlaced.

No. IV was often to be found separate, forming a border with a simple line between each; two of these characters are evident in the third division of the second compartment of the plate No. 8.

No. V. Inquiring one day if this was not a Moorish crescent, as it appears in plate 8, I was told, no, but that it was an Ashantee ornament used before the Moors visited Coomassie; and, as a proof,

it was added, that this part of the palace was built before their intercourse with the Moors. The houses of the Moors presented none of these figures.

No. VI. This was common in cornices, perpendicular and separate.

No. VII, VIII, IX were very frequent; they are distinguishable in the king's bed room, as is No. X.

No. XI is frequent; in the square of Apokoo's house it is intermixed.

No. XII is very common, and generally painted on the mourning cloths. It is the only character I recollect to have heard any remark upon, and this the son of Aboidwee observed to me, by accident, was a specific character for a bird resembling a pigeon. The intricate appearance which these characters present when not placed separately, as in the borders, but intermixed as in the entablatures of the houses in Coomassie, is approached in No. XIV and No. XV: the first, observed by Mr. Salt on the inscription at Axum, and the latter at Yiha. No. XVI, XVII, and XVIII were frequent, both grouped separate.

These hieroglyphics assume a much more regular appearance in the Ashantee buildings, from the greater facility of working them in plaister; those discovered by Mr. Salt being engraved in stone, of which the Ashantees declare they have none but the iron stone on which their capital is built. The different nature of the new country is one of the circumstances detailed by Meiners, as conspiring to effect diversity between colonies and the mother country; and the want of stone must have compelled, in some degree, the disuse of the Ethiopic characters amongst the Ashantees, as it precluded the most natural application of them, to tombs, as at Axum and Yiha. I imagine too, that the Ashantees having merely preserved them as architectural ornaments, naturally construct them with a precision and delicacy which injures the resemblance; although in some of

the houses of the chiefs they were so rude and disjointed, as to excite my surprise that such uncouth figures could be associated as ornaments with the elegant patterns of the base; for I think two of those figured in the plate may pretend to that character. The rudest cornices, which in my ignorance I despised too much to draw, considering those which shewed grouping and proportion could alone be interesting, were certainly the most important in the present view. Alvarez describes the ancient letters at Axum as unintelligible to the Abyssinians,<sup>1</sup> which Mr. Salt confirms: they bear some resemblance to the mysterious characters at the base of the pyramid at Alexandria, as figured in Shaw.<sup>2</sup>

I have thus traced the close resemblance, and in many cases the identity, of the customs of the Abyssinians and those of the Ashantees; so that the latter are as evidently descendants from the civilised Ethiopians of Herodotus, as the former; especially, as the particulars which he and Diodorus afford of the customs of the savage Ethiopians, are not to be traced at all in those of Ashantee, but actually exist amongst the Sheekans, Jum Jums, and the modern Anthropophagi of the same neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Dont en la plus grande partie d'icelles, sont grandes lettres entalles, que nul des habitans ne sauroit lire et moins entendre.

(2) Diodorus says, that the Ethiopians had no alphabetic writing, but only hieroglyphics or emblems, the knowledge of which was not the exclusive privilege of the priests, as in Egypt; but Heliodorus asserts, that the Ethiopians had two different kinds of characters, the first consisting of hieroglyphics, from which those of Egypt were copied. Lib. 4

(3) The title ozouri is not unlike that of oura, which is always used in addressing a superior in Ashantee, whether man or woman: Bruce writes that o-jan-hoi is king in Abyssinian; o-hen-hie is king in that of Ashantee. Beyond these titles I do not find any affinity between the two languages; neither indeed can it be expected, for Tellez records of Abyssinia, "tot lingua esse quot regna: imo et uno eodemque regno tam differentes dialectos dari ac habitatores in Gojama pagos reperiri haud procul inter se dissitos Demolensium, Gafatarum, Sheworum, Silorum, Shalorum, praeter Agawos, Gonjas, atque indigenas quorum dialecti aequae inter se differunt ac Lusitanica ab Italica et Gallica lingua. Nobiles tamen et peritiores omnes, ut in Europa Latina ita in tota Habessinia Ambarice scire." L. 1, c. 15,

I will now shew, that the Ashantees seem to have preserved the superstitions and customs, which the Egyptian colonists and visitors introduced amongst them, much more tenaciously than the Abyssinians, who must have abandoned many on their conversion.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the polytheism of the Egyptians, it is urged that they acknowledged but one Supreme God, Creator and Governor of the world; and Plutarch has given us the following inscription on the temple of this Supreme Deity, Neith, at Sais, in confirmation.

'I am all that has been is, and shall be, and no mortal has

Gregory of Abyssinia assured Ludolf that there were eight principal languages spoken within its dominions, besides dialects. It strikes me, however, that the following curious coincidences and similitudes between the names of Abyssinian provinces and those of kingdoms in the interior of western Africa, is an additional argument for their common origin.

	(Axum .....	Axim, a small district of Ahanta.
Salt, Appen. 3.	(Ankober, the capital of the province of Efat.....	Ankouber
	Hauasa, a division of	(Houssa.
	Tigris .....	(Aoussa, a town of Soko.
	(Akamba, .. .. Ambara ....	Gamba, N.E. of Dagwumba
	(Cont.....	Kong.
See Bruce, and	(Fatagar.....	Atagara, a kingdom bordering the Niger.
Ludolf, L 1. c.3	(Gan.....	Gana.
	(Dawaro.....	(Dawoorra, N.E. of Kassina.
	(Dowarm.....	Dowarm, S. of Jennie.
	(Gombo.....	Komba, N.N.E. of Dagwumba.
	(Bahargamo.....	Bagherme, adjoining Bornoo.

Gregory told Ludolf, that Abyssinia had been so reduced by the Gallas "ut Habessiniam in ipsa Habessiniam non invenias:" but we read in Jeronimo Lobo, that Rassela Christes, general of the troops of the Nequa Segued, being desirous of invading the countries westward of Abyssinia, in 1615, was so astonished at their vast extent, that he designated them by the name of Adi-Salem, which signifies 'a new world.' Barbot asserts, however, that Abyssinians were brought as slaves to the Volta, and Marco Polo (about 1290) that they were eager in their commerce with the interior provinces, which were rich in gold.-----Ramusio, lib. 3. p. 58. c. 38.

(1) A.D. 521.

yet lifted the veil which covers me.' The inhabitants of the Thebais adored the sole eternal God Cneph or Eneph, from whom proceeded, according to them, a second God, representing the world, whom they called Phtha; a word which the Copts still use to imply divine nature. Strabo writes, in describing the customs of the Ethiopians, that they acknowledged two Gods, the one immortal, and the other mortal, without name, and unknown: Thus, the modern Ethiopians I am acquainted with, have always a name for the one Supreme Deity, whom they acknowledge, whilst all the others bear but the common generic appellation of 'Fetish.'<sup>1</sup> The Ashantees believe (according to the tradition I have related) that the Supreme Deity, Yancoompon, consigned them to the care of the Fetish or inferior deities, in his anger at the cupidity of their first parents. The Accras assert, that the Supreme Deity, Numbo, does not degrade himself to earthly affairs, but has created the Fetish for their superintendance. According to Strabo, the ancient Ethiopians had their Penates; so have the modern.

As Meiners justly observes, we are not sufficiently acquainted with the Egyptian doctrine of the fate of the soul after the death of the body, to compare it with that of other nations: the Ashantee

(1) Jablonsky, the celebrated Coptic scholar, considers the Egyptians to have been deists who admitted the existence of an intelligent being, distinct from matter, and the sovereign of nature. The acknowledgement of one Supreme Deity, omnipotent and universal, appears to prevail in other parts of the interior of Africa, from the following anecdote of Selym of Assouan, in Makrizi's history and description of Egypt called El Khetab, written in the beginning of the 15th century. "Selym adds, that he had seen a man in the audience chamber of the chief of Mokra and had asked him about his country: he replied, 'that it was three months journey from the Nile.' When questioned about his religion, he said, My God, and thy God, and the God of the universe, and of men, is all one.' When asked where God lived, he answered, 'in heaven;' and again declared the unity of the Almighty. He related, 'that when the rains tarried, or plagues and pestilence visited them or their cattle, they ascended the mountain to pray to the Almighty, who forthwith granted their prayers, and fulfilled their demands before they descended.'" —Burckhardt's Travels, p. 501.

doctrine<sup>1</sup> on this subject resembles the Galla, as related by Bruce, and is, without doubt, the same as the ancient Ethiopian, which is likely to have partaken of the Egyptian.

(1) Mission to Ashantee, p. 261. Some of the neighbouring nations believe that the dead are transported immediately to the banks of a famous river in the interior, where God examines their past life, and judges if they have exactly observed the days of fast, if they have abstained from the prohibited meats and kept their oaths: if the result is favourable, they are allowed to pass over to a happy country; if not, they are plunged into the river and lost for ever.

Stavvi Minos orribilmente, e ringhia:  
Esamina le colpe nell' entrata:  
Giudica, e manda secondo ch' avvinghia.

Dante. Inferno, c. 5

May not this belief have originated in the Egyptian tradition respecting Charon being confounded with their custom of judgment after death, by the emigrating ancestors of these people; who are not likely to have received the Egyptian superstitions in all their purity from the colonists, and who probably corrupted and confounded them still more before they were bequeathed to their descendants? "The inhabitants, at present, call this lake the Lake of Charon, concerning whom they tell the following story; that, being a person of mean extraction, and resolved to get money by any means, he took up his abode by this lake, and exacted of every corpse, that was ferried over to be interred, a certain sum; though he acted thus without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the imposition for several years, until, refusing passage to the dead body of the king's son, unless the usual sum were paid him, the fraud was discovered; however, he made the king so sensible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal authority, that he ordered it to be constantly paid for the future."---Ancient Part of Universal History, v. 1, p. 205. "In the mean time the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the last day the body was exposed in a coffin at the entrance of the sepulchre, where, in pursuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at full liberty to accuse him. The priests pronounced his elogy, and, if the deceased had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude assembled on the occasion seconded the applause of the priests; but if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expressed their disapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceased prince should be honoured with a solemn burial, which, through their dislike, was denied to several." P. 212. Cuvier eloquently observes. "L'aplu de gradee des races humaines, celle des negres, dont les formes s'approchent le plus de la brute, et dont l'intelligence ne s'est elevee nulle part au point d'arriver a un gouvernement regulier, ni a la moindre apparence de connoissances suivies, n'a conserve

Human sacrifices were practised by the ancient Egyptians until the reign of Amosis. Men were sacrificed at Heliopolis, and to Juno or Lucina at a city in the upper Thebais, called by the name of that goddess. It was a disgrace reflected on them by the Greeks, even in the time of Herodotus, whose question, "Is it likely that those who were forbidden to sacrifice animals would sacrifice men?" is completely answered by the instance of the Ashantees, who sacrifice their fellow-creatures, whilst they punish the killing of a vulture, a hyaena, or any sacred animal, with death.<sup>1</sup>

nulle part d'annales ni de tradition."—Discourse Preliminaire aux Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles p. 105. This was fairly presumed from our knowledge of the people of the coasts, but as we advance into the interior we shall find that the Africans cherish traditions as interesting as those of other nations: that of the Ashantees relative to the creation of the world I have related; and also that of the inhabitants of Borneo and its neighbourhood which insists that the waters of the deluge burst forth from, and afterwards retired to, the volcanic lake of Caudee. Bruns asserts, on the authority of the Danish residents, that the pagan nation of Kassentai declared that the world had been destroyed by rain, with the exception of a few individuals, who reseeded it, and that the wicked would again be swept off by a similar calamity.—Erd beschreibung von Africa, 4, p. 373. The Gallas of Mocurra have a tradition that a large city formerly occupied the place of the lake Ashangy (about three days' journey in circumference), and that it was destroyed by God in his anger, with his own hand. See Mr. Pearce's Narrative in Salt's Travels, t. 2. p. 17. Fr. trans.—Essay on the Geography of N.W. Africa, p. 34.

(1) Heliodorus, who was a great admirer of the Ethiopians, nevertheless admits that they sacrificed boys to the sun, and girls to the moon; and that although the Gymnosophists (who were wandering priests like the modern Marrabuts) reproved these sacrifices, the people persisted in them. L. 10. The Greeks believed that the Egyptians immolated red men in the city of Ilithya. Jablonsky has satisfied himself that these atrocities were not borrowed by the Egyptians, and that they were abolished under the reign of Pharaoh Amosis. In Darfoor, where so many Egyptians have settled, Mr. Browne informs us that two children are sacrificed at one of the annual festivals. Meiners remarks, that although Herodotus disbelieved it from the long discontinuance, the testimonies of other authors scarcely admit a doubt of the Egyptians having sacrificed men. Nothing the objection of Herodotus, he adds, that the Mahrattas cut the wives, the slaves, and the animals of the deceased at his funeral pile, whilst, like other Indians, they venerated certain genera of animals as gods, and held it impious to kill the most loathsome beasts.—De Humanis

The priests in Ashantee, as in ancient Egypt, are attached in bodies to particular deities, and enjoy a portion of the offerings. When, for instance, the king sends his usual offering of ten ounces of gold, on consulting an oracle, the priests are allowed to appropriate half to themselves, and pretend to throw the rest into the river which the Fetish inhabits.<sup>1</sup>

The priesthood is also hereditary in particular families; they are exempt from all taxes; are supplied with meat and wine; consulted by the king before he undertakes a war;<sup>2</sup> do not pretend to divine of themselves, but simply to utter the voice or disclosures of the Deity;<sup>3</sup> and shave their heads and

Sacrificiis non voluntariis. Comment. Reg. Soc. Gott. t. 10. In the reign of William the Conqueror, "the killing of a deer or boar or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, and that at a time when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or compensation."  
 ---Hume, c. 4. The act for burning heretics alive was only abolished in England in the reign of Charles the Second.

(1) Diodorus relates, that at Meroe, until the reign of Ptolemy Ergamenes, the priests enjoyed so great an authority, that, in their caprice, they sometimes sent to the king to command him to kill himself, the gods having announced to them that he must do so. In Hio, the priests and soldiery when they are tired of the reigning monarch, send word, to him that the Fetish commands him 'to go to sleep;' a signal for suicide, which has never been resisted but by one monarch, and by him unsuccessfully. The same custom exists in Sennaar. Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians held the sea in horror; the people of Hio are forbidden the sight of it by their priests.

(2) Herodotus writes, that the Ethiopians only directed their military expeditions at the times and to the places signified by their oracles. L. 2, c. 29.

(3) When in the ceremony which attends the consulting of the oracle (and the Ashantees, like the Egyptians, have always a favourite one out of the many), the inferior priests bring forth the image or emblem of the Fetish, the chief priest approaches as if it were awful to encounter it, his eyes wander, he screams and cries as if lamenting, distorts his face and limbs, and affecting the whole time to be in conversation with the Fetish, at length recovers himself to deliver the reply he pretends to have received. Amongst the Bedjas, "every clan has its priest, who pitches a tent made of feathers in the shape of a dome, wherein he practices his adorations; when they consult him about their affairs, he strips naked, and enters the tent stepping backwards; he afterwards issues out with the appearance of a mad and delirious person."---Burckhardt, p. 509.

bodies carefully and frequently; the same particulars are recorded of the priests of ancient Egypt. Although Herodotus says that there were no priestesses in Egypt, yet the names of two are found in the tabula Isiaca; and the limited and inferior sacred offices which commentators have agreed to attribute to them, accord with those of the priestesses of Ashantee, who do not shave their heads, and whom I had compared to the second class of Druidess as described by Mela. There are schools attached to each temple, where the children are taught the fetish dance and hymns.<sup>1</sup>

White is a colour as sacred in Ashantee as it was in Egypt; the priests are not only distinguished by a white cloth, but frequently chalk their bodies all over. The king, and all but the poorer class of his subjects, wear a white cloth on their fetish days or Sunday, which is not the same in all families, and also on the day of the week on which they were born. The acquitted are always sprinkled with white chalk by the king's interpreters, as a mark of their innocence. The king always swears and makes other swear on a white fowl, and three white lambs is the sacrifice appointed to be made before his bed-chamber. A corpse is sometimes chalked all over. The Egyptian priests wore black on melancholy occasions, and the mourning cloth of the Ashantees is painted in close patterns of this colour.

Crocodiles were sacred in Egypt, tamed, fed with flesh, and entombed after death. In Ahanta the sacred crocodiles are tamed, fed with white fowls, by the fetishmen or priests, and buried after death. Diodorus mentions wolves as sacred in Egypt; hyaenas and wolves have been frequently confounded, as they are still at the Cape of Good Hope, and the former are sacred amongst

(1) On particular processions of the establishments of these temples, the natives hurry into their houses, dragging their children after them, and hide themselves until the whole suite has passed; believing that whoever looked at the procession designedly, would die at the end of three days.

the neighbours of the Ashantees.<sup>1</sup> In Egypt, to kill a sacred animal designedly, was death; accidentally, a heavy fine to the priests: such is the custom in these countries also, and the head of the hyaena is wrapped in white cloth and buried;<sup>2</sup> which is curious, when we recollect that the Egyptians never eat the head of an animal, but, if they could not sell it to some Greek or stranger, threw it into the river. The vulture is sacred in Ashantee, for the same reason as it was in Egypt, because it consumes all the offal of the neighbourhood;<sup>3</sup> Juno, also, was worshipped under the form of a vulture in the upper Thebais. Some vegetables are sacred in Ashantee, as the onion and other were in Egypt: a sacred vegetable is the safeguard of foreign messenger.<sup>4</sup> I do not recollect to have

(1) The Egyptians, Diodorus informs us, strewed food for the sacred animals, calling them with a loud voice to come and partake of it. The hyaenas, whom no native dares to fire upon, even if they seize his child, have a temple maintained for them at Ningo, where different meats are exposed for these animals to come and eat. Herodotus writes, that a species of sacred serpent, which never did any harm to man, was found in the environs of Thebes, and when it died was interred in the temple of Jupiter. In Whydah, there is a harmless kind of serpent which crawls about the houses, and one of which the natives declare, on tradition, to have killed another of a venomous nature, when in the act of biting a man. Temples are dedicated to it, where meat and drink are always ready; and to which, if discovered sleeping in the neighbourhood, they are carried tenderly by the priests, who, previously to taking them up, prostrate themselves and kiss the earth. They also assert, on tradition, that this sacred serpent came originally from a desert country which it was obliged to abandon: this proves, at least, that the superstition did not originate with the Whydahs.

(2) In the kingdom of Algiers, according to Shaw, who supposes the inhabitants to have borrowed this and many other of their superstitions from their neighbours the Egyptians, they bury the head of the hyaena, from the fear of its being made use of for some witchcraft. Voyages de Shaw, t. 1, p. 319.

(3) The vulture of Ashantee does not belong to the Genus *Pernopterus*, but to the *Sarcoramphi*, which had only, thitherto, been discovered in the new world. Introduction to the Ornithology of Cuvier, p. 19. Cranes were sacred in Egypt (De Paww, p. 158), and a species of dark coloured crane is worshipped in Adampee.

(4) The Egyptians venerated the wild mustard (De Paww, p. 136), and nothing would persuade the Ashantees to eat it or any sort of salad.

ascertained that the Ashantees retain the Egyptian antipathy to beans, but I think it probable, because whenever they spoke of the Arab nations of the interior, they always distinguished them as eating beans.

Herodotus says, that some of the Egyptians did not eat beef, others abstained from mutton, others spared goats. Browne informs us, that the Egyptians who have settled in Darfoor will not eat beef, although the other inhabitants make it their principal nourishment. Bruce observed, that some of the Abyssinians would not eat fowl; others never touched veal,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hutchison remarks in his diary: "Thus many of them are so particular, they will not stay where eggs are; one shuns a fowl; another hates beef; and many mutter a charm if they meet a pig." <sup>2</sup> Pigs were abhorred in Egypt, and many avoided all connection with those who tended that animal: the Appiadee, or 'servant family' of Ashantee, may be compared with the swineherds of ancient Egypt.

I have dwelt, in the chapter on the History of the Kings of Ashantee, on the extraordinary circumstance of the people being divided, by immemorial tradition, into the Buffalo, Bush-Cat, Dog, Parrot, Panther, and other families, each family being forbidden to eat of the animal, whose name they bear: they salute strangers of their particular families as brothers, and treat them with hospitality. Herodotus tells us, that, in Egypt, a certain number of men and women were destined to take care of particular animals, and that the office was hereditary: Diodorus adds, that when they travelled, they bore some mark indicating the animal of which they took care, and that, in consequence they were respected

(1) Ebn al Ouardi relates that "the inhabitants of Kaabar, the residence of the Nadgiaschi or Emperor of Ethiopia, abstain from fowls."

(2) Mission to Ashantee, p. 412.

and revered by those they met.<sup>1</sup> According to De Pauw, apes, lions, and animals of other countries were in the number of those to whom families were dedicated. In Egypt, each month and each day was sacred to some god; in Ashantee, they have good and bad days and good and bad months, and all undertakings are regulated accordingly.

In the great festival, when 700,000 Egyptians are said to have assembled at Bubastus, the women exhibited themselves naked, and more wine was consumed than in all the rest of the year.<sup>2</sup> During the Yam Custom, when the greater part of the population of the whole kingdom is assembled in Coomassie, drunkenness is general, each sex abandons itself to its passions, and adultery is sanctioned.<sup>3</sup> Bruce must surely have had some authority for the licentious conduct he describes as permitted at the great feasts of the Abyssinians, although Mr. Salt was assured to the contrary. In their sacred festivals, the Ashantees always pour some palm wine on the ground, as an offering to the Fetish: the Egyptians, we are told, sometimes made libations of wine to their gods; not that they considered the liquor to be agreeable to them, but because they regarded it as the blood of the gods who had formerly fought against them, whose bodies, they thought, being mixed with the earth, had produced the vine.

(1) L. 1. § XXI.

(2) As the Romans, so tolerant towards other religions, even the most absurd, have often and furiously persecuted the Egyptian, it is to be presumed that it was on account of its profligate excesses.---De Pauw, p. 41. Juvenal testifies, that after a civil war between two of the cities of Egypt, respecting the worship of the crocodile, the victors banquetted off the flesh of the vanquished:

"Ast illum in plurima sectum  
 "Frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus  
 "Sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit  
 "Victrix turba, nec ardenti decoxit aheno  
 "Aut verubus: longum usque adeo tandemque putavit  
 "Expectare focos, contenti cadavere crudo."

SAT XV, 1. 78-83.

See note to p. 10 of this Essay.

(3) Mission to Ashantee, p. 278.

When an Egyptian of respectability died, all the females of his family daubed their faces and heads with mire, and leaving the body in the house, paraded the streets (the men following in a distinct company), lamenting and beating their breasts; they abstained from wine and delicacies, and did not lie in their beds until the body was interred.<sup>1</sup> In Ashantee, all the females of the family daub their faces and breasts with the red earth of which they build their houses, parade the town (distinct from the men), lamenting and beating themselves, assume mean attire, abstain from all nourishment but palm wine, and sleep in the public streets until the corpse is buried.<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, speaking of the Egyptians embalming dead bodies, adds, that the Ethiopians did so too, but in a different manner; the Ashantees sometimes smoke them for preservation.<sup>3</sup>

(1) L. 2, c. 85.

(2) Abd Allatif relates, that Egyptian bodies had been dug up at Bousir, ornamented with plates of leaf-gold on the eyes, nose, and forehead; also with gold bracelets and precious stones, maximeque in pudendis foeminarum: the whole description affords the most curious coincidences with the Ashantee manner of ornamenting the bodies of the dead on their interment, the latter part especially, for their riches ornaments (gold and silver chains, aggr'y beads and coral inter-mixed), and indeed the whole, if they have but few, are always thus bestowed by the women during life, and also, in preference to any other part of the body, after death. The head found by M. Caillaud, in the hypogea at Thebes, is ornamented with a thick plate of gold.

(3) Issert writes that the heads of the Badagrians which had been cut off six months before they were brought to Whydah, were as fresh as if they had just been severed from the bodies; they told him that they smoked them with straw, which, he adds, gave them a glossy appearance.--Voyage en Guinee, p. 155. The Egyptian mummies and skeletons in the Gallery of Anatomy at Paris, are of a decided negro character, with the exception of one of the latter, which is a very interesting evidence of the chirurgical skill of the Egyptians, as it presents several indications of fractures perfectly reduced. The head found by M. Caillaud, at Thebes, and now in the Bibliotheque du Roi, is black, with woolly hair and beard, and as the plate of gold which covers it seems to be an unequivocal proof that the individual was of a distinguished rank in Thebes, M. Langles considers that it is an additional evidence of the Egyptians of Saiyd being of Ethiopian origin.--Monumens anciens et modernes del'Hindostan, liv. 23 p. 44: also his notes to the translation of the Travels of Norden; especially the Dissertation sur la statue parlante de Memnon, whom almost every ancient author acknowledges to have been an Ethiopian: Sir William Jones concluded that the Ethiopians of Meroe were the same as the first Egyptians. Elian declared that it was not

Herodotus writes, 'other nations, when in grief, shave their heads, especially the near relatives; whereas, in Egypt, these persons allow their beard and hair to grow on such occasions.' The present king of Ashantee had not his head shaved or his beard cut for twelve moons after the death of his brother, Sai Quamina, according to the custom of the country. <sup>1</sup> If the first or second child dies, the hair of the third is not cut until the third year.

possible in his time to find any handsome individuals amongst the indigenous Egyptians (De Nat. Animal, l. 4, c. 54); and Pocock says, that the ugliness of the Copts, who are their descendants, cannot be concealed by the richest dress. Aristotle pretended that the Egyptians had a defect in the legs. The Egyptian women are supposed to have formerly followed the same regimen, and to have taken drugs to arrive at the monstrous size, which they now consider the highest degree of beauty.---De Pauw, p. 51. The female Guancho mummy in the Gallery of Anatomy, presents the remains of an aquiline countenance with flowing brown hair; Blumenbach observed marked differences between the zygomatic bones and those of the lower jaw, in comparing the Guancho and Egyptian mummies. Decas quinta collect, etc. p. 7: he has also observed that the incisive teeth in some of the Egyptian mummies, resembled truncated cones; several tribes of the interior file their teeth into a conical shape: but whether the first Egyptians were negroes or not, does not concern the subject of this Essay, which merely contends, that there is already very strong evidence for believing that the Egyptian colonists and emigrants have spread their superstitions and customs very widely in the interior of Africa, and that the inquiry is worth pursuing.

(1) Burckhardt remarks that the Arabs of Egypt shave their heads on the death of their near relatives.....Browne informs us that there is a tribe to the east of Darfoor, who frizzle their hair so that it resembles the large head-dress of the figures in the ruins of Persepolis, t. 1, p. 364. Fr. tr. Godigno, after describing the A byssinians as encouraging the growth of their hair, anointing it profusely with butter, and dressing it in a variety of fantastical ways, adds, that some sleep with their necks fixed or inserted between the two prongs of a forked stick, to prevent the discomposure of their locks: "Atenim ne capillamenta et cincinni disturbentur, cum eunt cubitum, furculam quisque suam pede uno defigit in terra, et inter media cornua immittit collum; atque ita pendente capite somnum capit." c. 12, p. 77. This is truly exquisite: the most refined species of Ashantee Dandyism was practised by a very gallant young captain sent to Cape Coast, some years ago, who after washing and anointing his skin, had a little fine gold dust blown over it, and thus irresistibly bedecked, like spangled ebony, daily sallied forth to make his conquests. Aristophanes either had heard of, or conceived, a similar extravagance:--

Chruso patton m' on gignoscheis

Nubes, Schftz, 910.

Herodotus writes, that 'the Egyptians eat in the streets, but for the other needs of nature, they seclude themselves in their houses.' It is common in Ashantee to eat in the streets, but the passage accounts for one of the most surprising of their superiorities, the cloacae in the retired parts of the houses of the higher class (even in the upper stories), which I have described in the 'Architecture,' 1 and to the construction and cleanliness of which they pay so much attention. The same delicacy, observed in the other calls of nature, according to Herodotus, no doubt originated the remarkable law in Ashantee, which makes any persons committing adultery without the house, even in the most secluded parts of the forest, the slaves of whoever discovers them.

The kings of Egypt assisted in a morning sacrifice, soon after rising; after which, some wise maxims or great actions were read to them from the sacred books: the king of Ashantee always assists in the morning sacrifice, at the fetish temple, Himma, adjoining the palace; pouring the blood of the sheep over his royal stool, and afterwards rubbing it with the juice of the sacred oranges, with his own hands: the Elders of his Council repeat to him every morning (as he frequently impressed on us), the actions and precepts of the great men who lived before him. He has also a guard of foreigners (natives of Coranza), like the Egyptian and Abyssinia monarchs. The kings of Egypt, unable to indulge their private feelings, were constrained to pass sentence according to the laws; the king of Ashantee is constantly reminded of

(1) Mission to Ashantee. p. 306

(2) The variety, which Pliny testifies, in the customs of the inhabitants of the interior of Africa, makes these coincidences the more impressive. In Darfur, there is so little decency, that they gratify the most revolting incests without the houses, in broad day; neither (Mr. Browne continues) is the husband jealous of his wife's conversing familiarly with another man, which would not only torment an Egyptian excessively, but be a sufficient pretext for putting her to death.

this obligation by his ministers, and it was opposed to him as insurmountable when he would have sacrificed the lives of Bakkie and Assafoo to his just indignation; for, although their conduct was most flagitious, being each of a sacred family, they could only be deprived of their possessions. The Egyptians tore their habits, and displayed the most violent grief on the death of their kings, abstained from meat for seventy-two days, and prefaced the funerals with the greatest magnificence. The affected insanity of the royal family, from the violence of their grief, murdering whom they please; the extravagance of the funeral custom, celebrated in monstrous excess the first time (from that of every subject who died during the reign being repeated with it) and renewed weekly for many months; the abstinence of the people; the sacrifice of the ocras; <sup>1</sup> and the other extraordinary circumstances, are fully related in the "Mission to Ashantee."

The following remarkable coincidences between the laws of the Ethiopians and those of the Ashantees, are made still more interesting by the assurance of Diodorus, that the laws of the Egyptians were, in substance, the same as those of the Ethiopians. "According to the established order of succession amongst some Ethiopic nations, upon the death of the king, his sister's son mounted the throne." <sup>2</sup> " Their malefactors were obliged by a

(1) The annual visit to the royal sepulchre in Coomassie, reminds me of Browne's conclusion, from his observations at Achnin, that the ancient Egyptians followed the eastern custom of yearly visiting the tombs of their ancestors: he enforces this conclusion, by remarking, that the custom is still preserved at Damiat, in spite of the precepts of Islamism.

(2) Ancient Part of Universal History, v. 16, p. 209, where the various authorities are cited....Mission to Ashantee, p. 234. The Bedjas, " the extremities of whose country touch upon the confines of Abyssinia," have preserved customs similar to those of the Ashantees: "With them the son by the daughter, or the son by the sister, succeeds to the property, to the exclusion of the true son; and they allege that the birth of the daughter's or sister's son is more certain, because, at all events, whether it is the husband or some one else who is the father, he is always her son." (Burckhardt, p. 503.) See also note 3, to p. 45 of this Essay. The Bedjas appear to have been a very powerful nation formerly: " In the

particular law to fall by their own hands." <sup>1</sup> "At the king's death all his household servants, either in compliance with the laws or an indispensable custom, killed themselves." <sup>2</sup>

The three political classes of ancient Egypt are to be recognised in Ashantee; and Meiner's description of the Milites Nobiliores, as a rank not attainable by merit or achievement but by birth alone, and as sharing the territory with the king, accords precisely with that of the aristocracy in Ashantee; who, until Sai Cudjo's time, always acquired this dignity by inheritance only, and continue to share the power and the territory with the king.<sup>3</sup>

history of Bahmase (Oxyrinchus) and that of its valorous defence against the Arab conquerors of Egypt, I find it stated, that a large army of Bedjas and Noubas, headed by Maksoul, king of Bedja, and Ghalyk, king of Nouba, came to the assistance of the Christian chief, Batlos, who was besieged at Bahmase, by the officers of Amr Ibn el Aas. This black army is said to have consisted of 50,000 men. They had with them 1,300 elephants, each bearing upon its back a vaulted house made of leather, in which 10 men took their post in the battle. In the company of the Bedjas were a race of men of gigantic stature, called El Kowad, coming from beyond Souakin. They were covered with tiger skins, and in their upper lips copper rings were fixed. The Moslems defeated this army. There is a strange mixture of truth and romance in this history, but the arrival of the Bedja army is so well authenticated by a train of witnesses, that little doubt can remain of its having really taken place; although the number both of men and elephants seems to be exaggerated. The elephants of southern Nubia are, as far as I know, no longer used to ride upon."--Burckhardt, p. 527. Is it not likely that many of these Bedjas retired into the interior with their customs and superstitions, not only on this occasion, but on previous emergencies; for Makrizi records that "the Pharaoh kings of Egypt made incursions against the Bedjas, and that the Greeks did the same when they took Egypt."

(1) U.H.I.c. Mission to Ashantee, p. 258.

(2) U.H.I.c. Mission to Ashantee, p. 291.

(3) I have shewn that both the Abyssinian and the Ashantee were very far from being despotic monarches according to the original constitutions; and there were limits to the power of the sovereigns in Egypt: the order of succession was regulated, and the administration of justice confined to a particular body, whose credit was a counterbalance to the authority of the kings, who never possessed the right of judging in civil causes. The judges took an awful oath at their installation, that they would not obey the kings in case they required them to pass an unjust sentence. When the king entered into an assembly of judges, he was obliged to put off his mantle or upper habit,

The Egyptians according to Herodotus, were divided into seven classes: Priests, Soldiers, Cow-herds, Swine-herds, Merchants, Interpreters, and Sailors:<sup>1</sup> The hereditary classes in Ashantee are Priests, Soldiers, Labourers, Artisans, and Traders: the young unarmed Soldier, who in his first campaign does not gain his weapon from the enemy, is dismissed to the plantations as unworthy of his former class.<sup>2</sup> In Egypt, the King, the Priests, and the Soldiers consigned their lands to the Labourers, to cultivate for a reasonable return: the same custom exists in Ashantee, and the condition, generally, is to furnish the household of the proprietor with provisions, and to take such of his numerous children as he may not be able to afford to maintain in the city.

By the laws of Egypt he who saw a man attacked on the high way and did not attempt to assist him, was punished with death; if he proved that it was not possible for him to render assistance, he was nevertheless obliged to discover the culprits and bring them to justice. In Abyssinia, according

apparently to shew that he could not judge of himself. Besides the College of Thirty (which constantly resided at Thebes) and the particular magistrates of other towns and cities, the provinces sent deputies from time to time, which discussed the affairs of the state in the labyrinth.—De Pauw, p. 291.  
Orus Apollon. Diodorus assures us that the kings of Egypt could not tax their subjects arbitrarily. It appears that no king of Egypt was Pontiff before Setho, for royalty and the priesthood were by law incompatible.

(1) Strabo divides the Egyptians into three classes, Priests, Soldiers, and Cultivators. Plato into six, Diodorus names five classes in one part of his work, and three in another.

(2) Purchas asserts, after the earliest travellers in Abyssinia, "yet the Pesants are not employed in militarie service, but only the Cauas, which are men brought up thereto."—Purchas his Pilgrimage, 16267, c. 4. p. 741. Amongst the Guanches, the Achimencey who degraded himself by milking a goat with his own hands forfeited his title to nobility: "On est etonne de voir condamnes au mepris, des le commencement de la civilisation, les travaux utiles de l'agriculture et de la vie pastorale."—Humboldt, Relation Historique, etc. t. 1, p. 191.

to Antonius, when a man was murdered in travelling, it was immediately proclaimed throughout the towns of that neighbourhood, that the inhabitants might seize the murderer, and, unless they did so, they were fined heavily. I have no memorandum of the same law existing in Ashantee, for the same case; but it is very probable, for we detect its peculiar principle in the law permitting a complainant to seize any townsman of the defendant, and to retain him until his family or friends have seized and delivered up the denounced offender. The laws of Egypt permitted the creditor to arrest the corpse of the debtor: in Ashantee, the bodies of those who do not leave property enough to pay their debts, and whose relations are unable to do so, are elevated, in their baskets or coffins, on props by the road side, without the towns, and there drop away in putrefaction: the person who meddled with them would become liable to their debts. The family are obliged to return or make good whatever any relative (a wife is not considered as a relative) may steal or defraud another of; but the law, in acknowledgment of this undertaking, leaves the punishment of the offender wholly in the hands of his relations, who may take away his life when wearied by his repetition of injuries visited on themselves.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Such of the laws of the Ashantees and their neighbours as are identical with those of Lycurgus and Solon, were doubtless borrowed by these Greeks from the Egyptians. The most striking are, the annual revision of laws, the forcible seizure of provisions by the hungry on paying the lawful price, and the forbiddance of praising another man's wife or speaking of any thing that may not be done....."The negro slaves inherit the property of the Bedouins of Nubia with his children, or, if there are none, entirely, to the exclusion of his other relatives; they may even arrive at the dignity of Sheyk: they are only Mahomedans in name:"--(Description de l'Egypte, etc. Etat Mod. p. 588) for a similar law see Mission to Ashantee, p. 254. The Bedouins have been concluded to be the Pastors who conquered the greater part of Egypt, possessed it 511 years, and were driven out of it by the kings of the Thebaid (which had not been subdued) 300 years before Sesostris: their six successive monarchs did all they could to exterminate the Egyptians.--Monetho in Ioseph: Respon. ad. App. 1. 1, c. 5. Is it not probable that numbers of these Bedouins

In Egypt, the coiners of false money lost their hands; they who revealed intelligence to the enemy, their tongues. In Abyssinia, according to Barretus, thieves lost their eyes; and praters, according to Alvarez, their tongues. In Ashantee, the slaves, and frequently the wives, who blab or listen to the secrets of the chief, lose their tongues or upper lips, or their ears: but it is much more extraordinary, that adultery in Ashantee is punished in the woman by the loss of her nose, as it was in Egypt. Every man pleads his own cause, and false accusers are punished as the accused would have been if guilty, as in Egypt. Browne informs us, that a slave who has been legally bought in Egypt, if dissatisfied with his master, has only to say "take me to the market!" and the master must sell him to another. In Ashantee, there is a similar check on the conduct of the master; for the ill-used or dissatisfied slave, if anticipated in vowing himself to the service of the Fetish, may compel any free man to take to him, by swearing "on that free-man's head" that he must do so; an irrevocable oath, never to be compounded.<sup>1</sup>

In Ashantee as in Egypt, the women generally keep the markets,

retreated into the interior of Africa and thus helped to spread Egyptian customs and superstitions, as well as their own, amongst the Negroes? I have before observed, that "the etymology of the names of African kingdoms and African cities must long, if not ever, remain an obscure subject; two or three of the most considerable appear to me to have derived their names from Bedouin tribes who probably founded and, at first, inhabited them separately. Djennie may have been founded by part of the Bedouin tribe Djeheyme, some of whom inhabit Darfoor, whilst one of their tribes still flourishes in the Hedjaz. Kobbe, the capital of Darfoor, may owe its name to the Kobba tribe; Salama and Dogh, south of the Niger, to the Essalamat and Dogherme tribes; Walet to the Fellata; Melly to the Maala; and the celebrated city of Haoussa to the Aouy-sye tribe. We read, in Burckhardt, that portions of all these tribes are scattered throughout Bornoo."--Essay on the Geography of N.W. Africa, p. 49

(1) Mission to Ashantee, p. 260. Burckhardt confirms Browne's assurance, adding that, "the owner may at first refuse to part with his slave, but if, having overcome the fear of exposing himself to his master's rage, the slave finds an opportunity of making his demand in the presence of respectable

and the men always weave and sew. The licentious conduct of the women in Egypt, which was probably characteristic of the higher class only, seems to be preserved in that of the royal family in Ashantee;<sup>1</sup> and the observation of Diodorus, that the men were the slaves of the women, may have arisen from the authority still assumed (according to Mr. Salt) by the women of high rank over their husbands in Abyssinia, and which is carried to such an extreme in Ashantee, that the plebeian husband of the king's sister or daughter (for they may marry or intrigue with whom they please, provided he has a fine person) must sacrifice himself on her grave if she dies before him.<sup>2</sup> The importance of the women has been further exemplified by the kings being unable to take an oath without their sanction. The respect and indulgence observed towards the women in Ashantee struck me forcibly, after witnessing the contempt and slavery to which they are born in the other negro nations, and led me to expect that the Ashantees were as superior in other respects as I afterwards found them to be.<sup>3</sup> I have described the little

witnesses and perseveres in his conduct, he must at last effect his purpose."

(1) Prostitutes are licensed in Ashantee; the female who refuses to become the wife of the man her father accepts for her, being disclaimed by her family, is driven to this class to support herself.

(2) Mr. Salt remarks, that the conduct of Ozoro Asquall furnished a striking example of the tone of superiority which the great ladies of Abyssinia are accustomed to assume over their husbands. Amongst the Guanches a wife had several husbands, who alternately enjoyed the prerogatives of the chief of a family; a husband being duly regarded as such during a lunar revolution, and whilst his rights were exercised by others he remained confounded with the servants of the house.—Noticias de la Historia general de las islas Canarias por Don Jose de Iera, t. 1, p. 150, 171, 191, as cited by Humboldt.

(3) I find a most extraordinary coincidence between the Ababdes and the Empongwas: "The mother of the bride must not speak a word to the bridegroom as long as she live."—Belzoni's Researches and Operations, p. 311 "A man may not look at or converse with his mother-in-law, on pain of a heavy, perhaps a ruinous fine."—Mission to Ashantee, p. 437. The Ababdes differ in language, manners, customs, countenance, and colour from the Arabs. —Description de l'Egypte, etc. F.M. p. 199.

patterns painted on the faces of the Ashantee women, and the practice of darkening the edges of the eyes with a bodkin dipped in finely powdered lead: both these customs are Egyptian.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus was particularly struck with the peculiarity of the Egyptian custom, that those who wished to exercise the calling of thieves, were secretly registered by the superior of the fraternity, to whom they carried all their spoil; so that on the losers going to him and particularizing their property, they received it again on paying one quarter of the value. The following passage is from my chapter on the 'Superstitions' of Ashantee. "The inferior class of priests pursue their various occupations in society, assist in customs or superstitious ceremonies; and are applied to as fortune-tellers or conjurors are in Europe, especially in cases of theft, when, from a secret system of espionage, and a reluctance frequently amounting to a refusal to discover the culprit, or to do more than replace the property whence it was taken, they are generally successful." Diodorus has certainly disclosed the secret of these transactions, the existence of which affords a curious argument.<sup>2</sup>

The superstitious ceremonies for the recovery of the sick, the division of the day, the veneration of rivers, the frequenting of particular temples

(1) Mission to Ashantee, p. 318. On sait que les femmes en Egyptese peignent fortement les cils et les paupieres en noir, et qu'elles se font des taches bleuatres sur le menton et sur le reste du visage, ce qui les distingue des Arabes. Il est a presumer, d'apres les traits que l'on voit sculptes autour des yeux des statues egyptiennes, que cette coutume etoit pratiquee par les femmes de l'antique Egypt.--Description de l'Egypte, etc., p. 560, 593. Shaw's description of the little case containing the lead powder and bodkin, dug up, with other articles of the toilets of the Egyptian ladies, from the catacombs of Sakara, shews its resemblance to those carried about the person, for the same purpose, in Ashantee. T. 1, p. 383. Fr. tr.

(2) "Amongst the Egyptians, who have evinced so much penetration in studying nature, and so much sagacity in inventing arts, all thefts were lawful and unpunished."--Aulus Gellius. Att. Noct. 1. 11, c. 18. Diodorus says, that about a fourth part was kept back to recompense the address of the robbers, and to punish the negligence of those who allowed themselves to be robbed.

by sterile women, the faith in the "maleficinm ligaminis,"<sup>1</sup> and many other coincidences might be adduced, auxiliary to the opinion of a connexion with Egyptian colonists or emigrants, but not so conclusive as the identity of peculiar superstitions and customs, strikingly original and extraordinary, and not common to the infancy of nations.<sup>2</sup>

The freedom and simplicity of the larger ornaments of the Ashantee architecture are truly Egyptian, originating from the calyx or corolla of a flower, as Denon suggests, or from the young leaves of those immense palm-like filices, representing, at their birth, the voluta of the Ionic capital, of which they are supposed to have furnished the idea. The more Etruscan patterns are the same as those in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, and several of the smaller base ornaments are to be recognised at Tentyris and Latopolis;

- (1) "Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores:  
Necte, Amarylli, modo; et, Veneris, dic, vincula necto!"  
Virgil, Ecl. 8, 1. 77.

Mission to Ashantee, p. 264. The ancient Egyptians were as credulous with respect to magic as the Ashantees (Ausonius, epist. 19); and Abd Allatif assures us, that their descendants of the thirteenth century had fully inherited the infirmity.

(2) The following are the most striking amongst the other curious coincidences between the Ashantees and the southern neighbours of Darfoor. "To discover the perpetrator, the poorer natives, far and near, are obliged to undergo expurgation by drinking a liquor called Kilingi; and the person on whom the supposed signs of guilt appear, may be either put to death or treated as a slave."--Browne's Travels, p. 309. "Taking doom is the infallible test, when they consider the case to be too doubtful for human decision. The bark of that tree is put into a large calabash with water, so as to make a strong infusion; it is stirred up whilst the suspected parties sip in turn: it operates instantaneously and convulsively, as a most violent emetic and purge; those who sip first may recover, and the dregs are frequently left, designedly, for the obnoxious."--Mission to Ashantee, p. 297. "A boy brought some milk covered, and Apokoo lifted the lid to look what it was; some of it touched his fingers; he sent for water, herbs, and different things to purify his fingers, and cursed the milk and the boy for bringing it."--Mr. Hutchison's Diary, p. 412. The people of Jungeon, south of Kordofan, not only scrupulously milk their cows into a vessel of so narrow a mouth that it is impossible to look within it, but avoid pouring the milk from one vessel to another, lest it should be seen, and obliged the stranger who visits them to suck from the teat of the cow.--Browne's Travels, Appen. 2

the figure of the sacred bird is also remarkable. The sandal on the figure in the entry of the fifth tomb of the kings of Thebes, is precisely Ashantee; the tye, or courroie, as the artist observes, passing between the first and second toe, and M. Caillaut has just sent home one dug up near Thebes, exactly the same. It is more extraordinary and satisfactory, however, to find a long string of aggy beads<sup>1</sup> amongst the fruits of excavations lately addressed by that traveller to the Bibliotheque du Roi. I have drawn three of them, the first being the counterpart of one I presented to Baron de Humboldt, which he has sent to Berlin, and the others being similar to those in the British Museum. I am inclined to think these aggy beads might have been emblematical of Osiris, from their prevailing pattern resembling rude eyes,

(1) See Mission to Ashantee, p. 268. These beads may be the onyces ficti (from the eye-like patterns) which Edrisi speaks of as existing in the interior of Africa. Strabo learned from the glass workers at Alexandria, that a certain vitrifiable earth existed in Egypt, without which it was impossible to make glass of a great price and various colours. L. 16, p. 758. Pliny assures us, that the Sovereigns of Egypt knew how to counterfeit the precious cyanus (which has been proved to be a lapis lazuli); and Theophrastus, that they had discovered the method of giving a false blue or azure colour. Burckhardt observes, "no doubt can be entertained that the ancient Egyptians made use of glass vessels; fragments of which, of the most varied shapes and colours, are found in the ruins of all their towns. It is even evident that they must have attained to considerable skill in this art, and that they had attempted to imitate precious stones in glass; for during my stay at Esne, several small pieces of glass were dug up amongst the ruins of Edfou (Appolinopolis Magna), which were perfect imitations of the amethyst and topaz."--Travels in Nubia, p. 464. De Pauw says, that it was the soda procured from Egypt (the cinder of the Mesembryanthemum Copticum) which made the Venitian glass so famous: he adds that the ancient pottery dug up in Egypt proves that the inhabitants made use of cobalt, and that the discovery was afterwards lost.--Recherches Philosophiques, etc. p. 346. The Egyptians, like the Ashantees, were celebrated amongst their neighbours as weavers and potters, (the Carthaginians brought Egyptian pottery and linen to their market in the isle of Cerne), and the painted cloths of the former were as much sought after (De Pauw, p. 228) as those of the latter, which are rapidly executed with feathers dipped in blood and juices of vegetables.

and I once saw a bead in which these circles or eyes had evidently been inserted separately, for one had dropped out.<sup>1</sup>

(1) There is not so much discordance between the geographical names of the interior of Africa and those of ancient Egypt, as to contradict the impression, which such numerous and curious coincidences of superstitions and customs convey, that some of the states of the former must have been founded or subdued by the descendants of the emigrants from the latter:

Ghenna, the ancient Coenopolis.....	Ghana, north of the Niger.
Bessa, the ancient Antinoe.....	Boussa, on the Niger.
Falfeia, a town at the confluence of the Bahr Azrac and the Bahr Abiad.....	Alfia, a small state dependant on Ashantee.
Assafu, a town of lower Egypt.....	Assafoo, a suburb of Coomassie.
Mallawi, a city of upper Egypt.....	Mallowa or Marrowa, a region adjoining the Niger and Gambaroo.
Marea, the ancient native name for the Libyan part of Egypt.....	Amamfee, a district of Ashanta.
Memft, the Egyptian name of Memphis.....	Atobobo, a town of Booroom.
Atbo, .. Apollinopolis-Magna.	Toofee, a northern district of Ashantee.
Touphi, .. Tuphium.....	Tapah, an interior country known to the people of Dahomy.
Tapa, .. Thebes.....	
Cnoophis, .. Chnubis.....	Noofie, on the Niger.
Schet-Noofi, an ancient Egyptian town at the origin of the Canopic branch.....	
Tambok, an ancient Egyptian town.....	Timbuctoo.
Tkullo .. ..	Kulla.
Khalige, 'a canal' in the Coptic.....	Kallaghee, adjoining the Gambaroo.
Soonhor, an ancient Egyptian city west of Crocodilopolis.....	Sennaar.

The name of the large river Sharee (first heard of in Ashantee and afterwards by Burokhardt) would seem to be of Egyptian derivation, for the ancient inhabitants called the Red Sea Phiom an Schari, the Sea of Schari: Jablonski interprets Schari as juncus.--L'Egypte sous les Pharaons, ou Recherches sur la Geographie avant l'Invasion de Cambyse, par Champollion le Jeune, Paris, 1814.--Jablonski Opuscula.--A Map of North Western Africa, constructed from Original Itineraries, 1820

Thus we discover, that Abyssinia is not the only country which has been partly civilised by the colonies and emigrations from Egypt, and that much light may be reflected on Antiquity, as well as Natural History and the Physical Sciences, by pursuing our discoveries in Africa, gradually, and in detail.

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## APPENDIX.



PTOLEMY EVERGETES penetrated, through the country of the Shepherds, as far as that of the Ethiopian Troglodytae, who inhabited the territory adjoining the mountains of Abyssinia. He passed these mountains, subjected all the nations as he ascended to the sources of the Astapus, and also the people of the country of the modern Gallas, to the north of Gingiro, beyond which he found mountains knee-deep in snow.<sup>1</sup> That he might leave no enemy behind him, he reascended as high as the 20th degree of north latitude, to subject the Tangaits (the Taguas of Edrisi), and

(1) Mr. Salt saw snow on the mountains of Beyeda, and Mr. Pearce witnessed a fall of snow in passing over Amba Hai: the Abyssinian word for snow is berrit. P. 25. 107, Fr. tr. Anaxagoras, as cited by Diodorus (I, 1, c. 36), and Eschylus and Euripides, as cited by Vossius, affirm that the mountains which give birth to the Nile are covered with snow. "Ex Democriti sententia, qui montes omnium quotquot in orbe sunt maximos esse inquiebat, illos unde Nilus oritur, ut est apud Diodorum; nempe quia Nilus omnium fluviorum est maximus. Is tamen nullas in his montibus nives statuebat, sed nives septentrionis aestate solvi, atque inde nubes oriri arbitrabatur; illas vero ab Etesiiis in Ethiopiam deferri, atque inde imbres existere. Anaxagor e, Euripidis, et Eschyli haec fuit opinio, qui exliquefactis in Aethiopia Nilum incrementa accipere putabant."--Voss. in Melam. I. 1, c. 9, § 27.

whence, to ensure his communication, he made a road into Egypt, existing in the time of Justinian. Afterwards, marching to the south-west, he descended to the Sesee nation, a people of Ethiopic Barbary, which adjoins Zanguebar. In the interior of this country he found chains of exceedingly high mountains, a circumstance which Edrisi confirms, writing, that in this country there is a mountain named Khacouni, from whence seven chains advance towards the sea, and one chain inland which extends to a populous province named Haniot. These mountains have been considered as the point or line of division between the water which flow to the Mediterranean, and those which empty themselves into the Indian Sea and Atlantic Ocean. At last, Ptolemy Evergetes having pushed as far as the country of the Rausae (whom Ptolemy calls Rapsae and places in the eighth degree of south latitude), traversed Zanguebar (which he calls Aromatic Barbary), the kingdom of Adel, (which he calls Solata,) and, passing the Red Sea, returned by the shores of Arabia. Ptolemy Evergetes recorded the principal results of his expedition, in a monument raised at Adulis, which, according to Pliny, (lib. 6. c. 29,) was five journies by water from Ptolemais Theron, but, according to Nonnosus, fifteen days march from Axum. This inscription has been preserved by Cosmas, who was sent into Ethiopia in the beginning of the reign of Justinian; Nonnosus was another ambassador sent by the same monarch, after Cosmas: the latter found this inscription very useful from its copiousness and geographical correctness.

According to his inscription, Ptolemy subdued:

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Gaza. . . . .  | The empire of Abyssinia, where the language and the country is still called Gez. |
| Agami. . . . . | The modern Agamer, to the south of Axum.   |
| Segua. . . . . | Sigamo, near the kingdom of Narea.   |

- Avn. . . . . . Bordering on the river Avasch, or Hawash according to Rennel.
- Tiamo, also called Tziamo . . . . . Apparently the kingdom of Bizamo pronounced Vizamo in the time of the Ptolemies, and which ought to be inserted a little to the east of Cambat in Rennel's map.
- Gambala . . . . . Evidently the modern Cambat or Gambat; for the changing of g into c is so ordinary, that the Portuguese Missionaries frequently called the Gallas, Gallas.
- Zingabene. . . . . The interior of Zanguebar and country of the Zindges, or Zingues according to Ibn al Ouardi
- Angabe.
- Tiama. . . . . Tzana, joining the lake Dembia
- Athagawb. . . . . The Agas.
- Calcas. . . . . The Gallas.
- Semena, beyond the Nile,<sup>1</sup> the inhabitants of which live in mountains knee deep in snow
- Samana or Semen, a country in the Soudan, west of Cambat, according to Edrisi, the patriarch Manuel Almeyda,

(1) With the exception of a few details transmitted by Ptolemy, we have not yet received any more precise accounts of the course of the Nile from Abyssinia, than those of Herodotus and Eratosthenes. It was the sources of the Astapus and of the Astaboras of the ancients, which the Portuguese

and Tellez, as cited in the MSS. notes of Ludolf in a copy of his first edition in the Bibliothéque du Roi. The two latter authorities add, that the country of Semen is filled with mountains covered with snow, as Ptolemy stated those of Semens to be.

Lazina.

Zeh.

Gabala, the people of which inhabit steep mountains with warm springs . . . .

Without doubt the nation of Abala, whom Juba (apud Plin. l. 6, c. 35, p. 343) places beyond the isle of Gojam.

Atalmo.

Bega, and its neighbours.

Missionaries, and Bruce after them, again discovered in Abyssinia; and notwithstanding all our efforts, we know much less of the sources and courses of the Nile, than was known 1800 or 2200 years ago. None of the travellers who have penetrated into Abyssinia by Egypt, followed the course of this interesting river. Father Brevedent, and Poncet, pursued the route of the caravans from Cantarah in Egypt to Moscho upon the Nile, crossing by Shebb and Selyme; which was also the route of Duroul, and of Browne as far as Hadahid: from Moscho to Dongola they followed the course of the Nile, but in proceeding from Dongola to Dereira, they again quitted that river, and traversed the great desert Bahioud. From Dereira to Sennaar they followed the course of the Bahr el Asrek (the Astapus of the ancients) across a well inhabited country. Bruce only followed the Nile on his return from Abyssinia, from Halfaia to Goos, where he quitted it to reach Syene by the distant route of the Nubian desert, the same which Burckhardt afterwards travelled to Shendy.

Ptolemy then finished his expedition by subduing the Tangaits, etc. as we have before stated; and Cosmas verified, by his own journies, the exactness of many of the reports.

See Collect. Patr. ed. Montfaucon, t. 2, p. 142.--Antiquitates Asiaticce, Chishull, p. 73. London, 1728.--Geographie Physique de la Mer Noive, etc. Dureau de La Malle, fils. Paris, 1807.

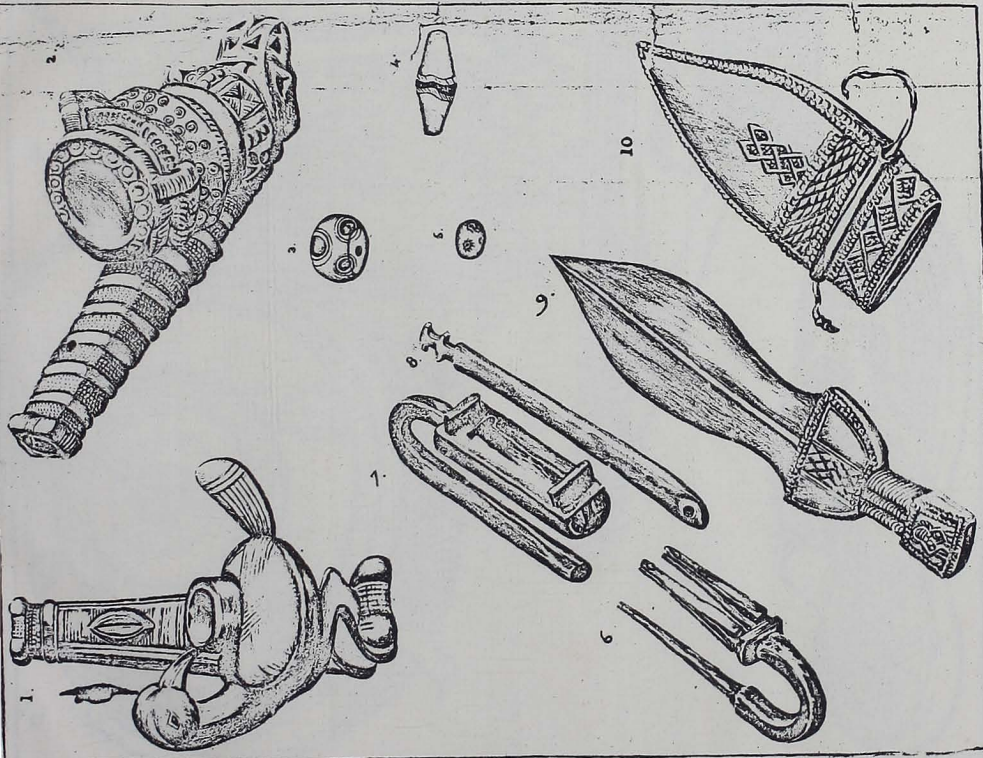
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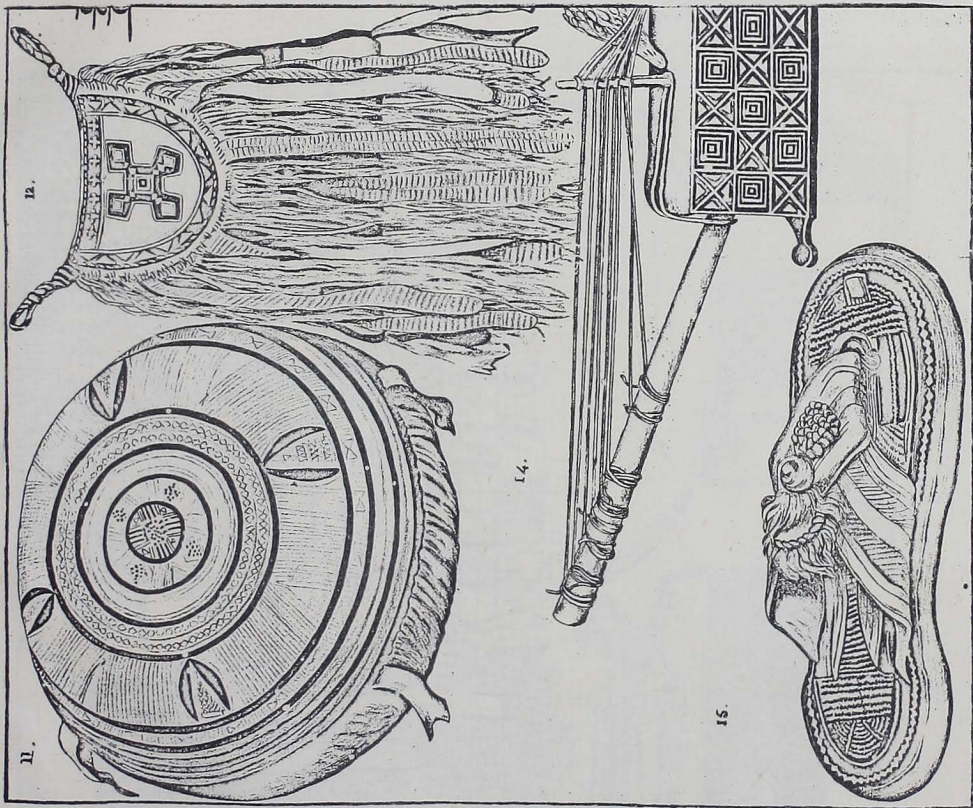
EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

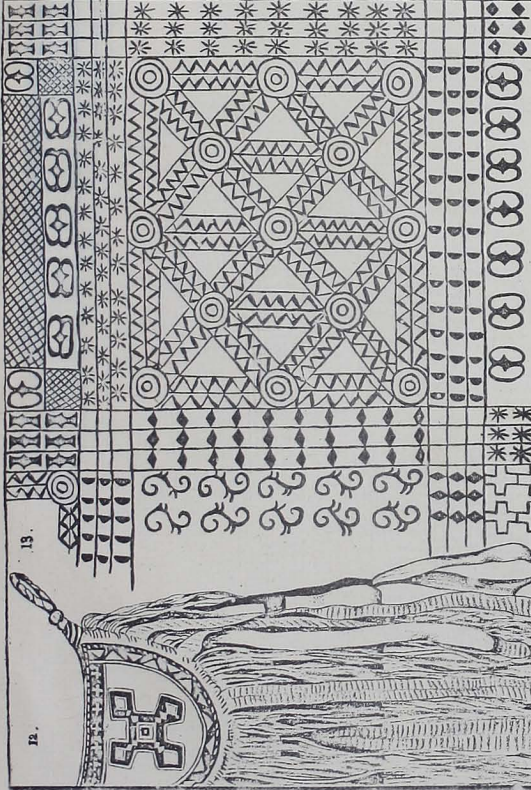
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1. An Ashantee Pipe.
2. .. ..
- 3.)
- 4.) } Aggry Beads dug up at Thebes, and now in the Bibliotheque du Roi
- 5.) }
6. The spring of a lock.
7. .. chamber ..
8. .. key .. ..
9. Knife.
10. Sheath.
11. Cushion.
12. Bag.
13. Part of the pattern of a painted mourning cloth.
14. Sanko or Guitar.
15. Sandal.
16. Stool, carved out of one solid piece of wood.

I cannot sufficiently express my obligation to Miss Landseer, who generously devoted several hours of her valuable time, to making finished coloured drawings of these objects for me, from the originals, which I had presented to the British Museum.

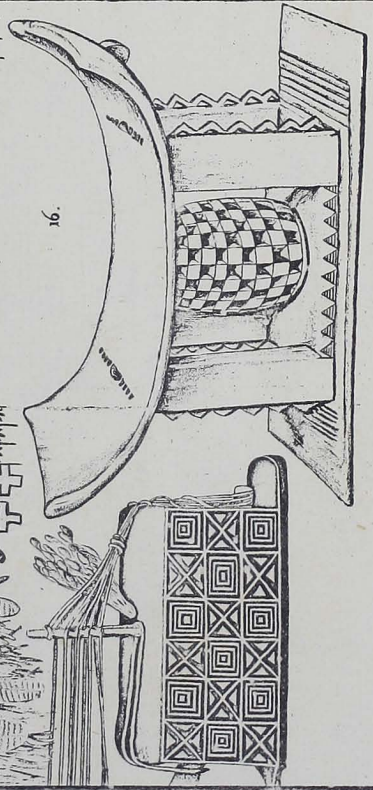






13.

12.



16.

An essay on the superstitions,  
customs, etc. common to the  
ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians ~~and~~  
and Abantees

By

J. Edward Bowdich, esq.